MERMAID CONSTRUCTION

A COMPOUND-PREDICATE CONSTRUCTION WITH BICLAUSAL APPEARANCE

Edited by Tasaku Tsunoda

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Tasaku Tsunoda (Ed.)
Mermaid Construction

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Edited by
Edith Moravcsik and Andrej Malchukov

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Mermaid Construction

—

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DE GRUYTER
MOUTON

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Preface

The present volume investigates a construction that I named "mermaid construction" (MMC) – and constructions similar to it – in eighteen languages, including one dialect of Japanese and the earliest recorded stage of Japanese.

In the languages in which what I termed the MMC is found, the existence of its examples was already known, but it did not seem to be recognized as a distinct construction. This is despite the fact that it has unusual characteristics, in terms of syntax and semantics.

Also, geographically the MMC has a limited distribution. With one exception – Sidaama of Ethiopia, Africa – it has been reported only from languages of Asia, clustering in northeast Asia and in Tibeto-Burman languages, in particular.

The research reported in the present volume initially started in one of the two collaborative research projects that I conducted from October 2009 to March 2012 at the National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics (Tachikawa, Japan), where I served as the Head of the Department of Crosslinguistic Studies (from October 2009 to March 2012). The abbreviated title of this project is "Mermaid construction". That of the other project is "Five levels", and a major outcome of the latter project is Tsunoda (ed.) (2018).

An initial outcome of the project "Mermaid construction" was published in the form of a research report: Tsunoda (ed.) (2013). It examined twenty-one languages: Ainu, Mandarin Chinese and Sive, in addition to the eighteen languages reported in the present volume. All of the chapters on these eighteen languages in the present volume contain a large amount of additional data and they have been revised extensively. The authors of the chapters on Ainu, Mandarin Chinese and Sive in Tsunoda (ed.) (2013) were unable to revise their chapters for the present volume. Nonetheless, these three chapters are referred to in Tsunoda (this volume-a).

For these two projects I had the good fortune to have the participation of a large number of expert linguists who work on languages of North America, Central America, Oceania, Asia, Africa and Europe. It turned out that geographically the MMC has a limited distribution.

Works on languages of Europe and those on so-called major languages are better known and more easily accessible. In contrast, those on languages outside Europe and those on minority languages are lesser known and less easily accessible. It is truly fortunate that the present volume reports works on minority languages (including one dialect of Japanese) – about half of the eighteen languages.

Since the above-mentioned collaborative research projects were conducted at the National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics, in my view one of the most important goals of these two projects should be the following: contributions from Japanese linguistics to general linguistics, that is, to contribute to general linguistics on the basis of analyses of Japanese. The framework employed in the

project "Mermaid construction" was proposed in Tsunoda (1994a, 1994b, 1994c, 1996). It was based on Japanese data. The chapters on individual languages show that this framework is useful for research into these languages. They have uncovered many interesting facts about the MMC and also about related issues, and show crosslinguistic commonalities as well as variations.

The chapters on individual languages share very similar templates, although it has not been possible to employ the same template throughout all of these chapters. (I believe that the use of the same template or a similar template is very much in conformity with a tradition in the Leningrad/St. Petersburg typology school. See Xrakovskij (ed.) (2005), for example.) By employing this method, it has been possible to conduct the kind of research that probably no linguist can conduct single-handedly, specifically, to achieve the kind of depth and breadth that probably no linguist can achieve single-handedly.

Each of the chapters on individual languages provides a detailed description of the MMC (and/or a similar construction) in that language. For general linguistics, one of the major contributions that the present volume may make concerns the grammaticalization of nouns, in particular, denominalization (not nominalization) of nouns and their inclusion in a compound predicate to have modal, evidential, aspectual, temporal, stylistic or discourse-related meanings. It is hoped that the present volume constitutes an important step towards the advancement of research in this field.

The present volume is also a tribute to the late Taro Takahashi. He worked from 1953 to 1988 at an institute whose current English name is the National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics and he subsequently became an emeritus at the same institute. Takahashi (1960) is one of the earliest works – and possibly the earliest work – that examined instances of what I later named "mermaid construction" (see Tsunoda (this volume-a, Section 1, 3.4.1, 5.1.1, 5.4, this volume-b, 6.1)). The present volume employs a framework that was proposed in Tsunoda (1994a, 1994b, 1994c, 1996), as noted above, and Tsunoda (1996) was published in a Festschrift for Taro Takahashi. In view of all these, it is most fitting that the project "Mermaid construction" was conducted at the institute where Taro Takahashi worked – although the project was conducted (from October 2009 to March 2012) long after he retired (in March 1988).

Finally I wish to thank all the people who contributed towards the completion of the present volume. In particular, I wish to thank (i) the authors of individual chapters, who revised their papers over and over, (ii) the other members of the projects "Mermaid construction" and "Five levels" who gave comments on the papers when they were presented at the project meetings, (iii) the people who reviewed the manuscripts for the present volume, (iv) the National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics, which gave me opportunities to conduct these two exciting collaborative research projects, (v) Edith Moravcsik and Andrej Malchukov, the editors of the series "Comparative Handbooks of Linguistics",

who supplied invaluable help and advice, and (vi) Barbara Karlson and Stefan Diezmann at De Gruyter Mouton, who provided much-needed assistance and skill-fully turned our manuscripts into this beautiful book.

February 2020   Tasaku Tsunoda
                                                                        Tsukuba, Ibaraki, Japan

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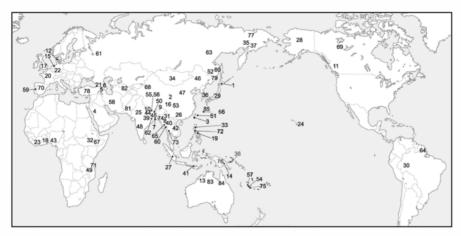
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Map 1. Approximate locations of languages examined or referred to

1 Ainu
2 Amdo Tibetan
3 Amis
4 Arabic
5 Armenian
6 Avar
7 Bengali
8 Burmese
9 Central Tibetan
10 Chantyal
11 Coast Tsimshian
12 Danish
13 Djaru
14 Dom
15 Dutch
16 East Tibetan
17 English
18 Ewe
19 Filipino
20 French
21 Georgian
22 German
23 Godié
24 Hawaiian
25 Hindi
26 Hmyo
27 Indonesian
28 Iñupiaq
29 Japanese
30 Jarawara

31 Jinghpaw
32 Kambaata
33 Kapampangan
34 Khalkha Mongolian
35 Kolyma Yukaghir
36 Korean
37 Koryak
38 Kove
39 Kurux
40 Lahu
41 Lamaholot
42 Lao
43 Leggbo
44 Maithili
45 Malto
46 Manchurian
47 Mandarin Chinese
48 Marathi
49 Matengo
50 Meche
51 Miyako Ryukyuan (including Irabu Ryukyuan)
52 Nanay
53 nDrapa
54 Neku
55 Nepali
56 Newar
57 'Ôrôê
58 Persian
59 Portuguese

60 Pwo Karen
61 Russian
62 Sadri
63 Sakha (Yakut)
64 Saramaccan
65 Sgaw Karen
66 Shuri (Okinawa) Ryukyuan
67 Sidaama
68 Sive
69 Slavey
70 Spanish
71 Swahili
72 Tagalog
73 Thai
74 Tiddim Chin
75 Tinrin
76 Tok Pisin
77 Tundra Yukaghir
78 Turkish
79 Udihe
80 Ulcha
81 Urdu
82 Uzbek
83 Wanyjirra
84 Warrongo
85 Yuwan (Amami) Ryukyuan

Esperanto
Sanskrit

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

1 Ainu ○
2 Amdo Tibetan ○
3 Amis △
4 Arabic (not known)
5 Armenian △
6 Avar △
7 Bengali (not known)
8 Burmese ○
9 Central Tibetan ○
10 Chantyal ○
11 Coast Tsimshian △
12 Danish △
13 Djaru △
14 Dom △
15 Dutch △
16 East Tibetan ○
17 English △
18 Ewe (not known)
19 Filipino ○
20 French △
21 Georgian △
22 German △
23 Godié (not known)
24 Hawaiian △
25 Hindi ○
26 Hmyo △
27 Indonesian △
28 Iñupiaq △
29 Japanese ○
30 Jarawara (not known)

31 Jinghpaw ○
32 Kambaata (not known)
33 Kapampangan ○
34 Khalkha Mongolian ○
35 Kolyma Yukaghir ○
36 Korean ○
37 Koryak ○
38 Kove △
39 Kurux ○
40 Lahu ○
41 Lamaholot △
42 Lao (not known)
43 Leggbo △
44 Maithili (not known)
45 Malto △
46 Manchurian △
47 Mandarin Chinese ○
48 Marathi △
49 Matengo △
50 Meche △
51 Miyako Ryukyuan (including Irabu Ryukyuan) ○
52 Nanay △
53 nDrapa ○
54 Neku △
55 Nepali (not known)
56 Newar ○
57 'Ôrôê △
58 Persian (not known)
59 Portuguese △
60 Pwo Karen △

61 Russian (not known)
62 Sadri (not known)
63 Sakha (Yakut) ○
64 Saramaccan △
65 Sgaw Karen △
66 Shuri (Okinawa) Ryukyuan (not known)
67 Sidaama ○
68 Sive ○
69 Slavey △
70 Spanish (not known)
71 Swahili △
72 Tagalog ○
73 Thai ○
74 Tiddim Chin △
75 Tinrin △
76 Tok Pisin △
77 Tundra Yukaghir (not known)
78 Turkish △
79 Udihe △
80 Ulcha △
81 Urdu ○
82 Uzbek △
83 Wanyjirra △
84 Warrongo △
85 Yuwan (Amami) Ryukyuan (not known)

Esperanto (not known)
Sanskrit (not known)

○   Circles indicate languages in which the MMC ("mermaid construction") or something similar is attested.

△   Triangles indicate languages in which neither is attested.

"Not known" indicates languages in which the presence/absence of the MMC is not known; these languages are not shown in Map 2.

Genetic classification of languages examined or referred to

The following classification may not be definitive in every case. It is merely provided for readers' convenience.

Afro-Asiatic family: Arabic, Kambaata, Sidaama
Arawá family: Jarawara
Athabaskan family: Slavey
Austronesian family: Amis, Filipino, Hawaiian, Indonesian, Kapampangan, Kove, Lamaholot, Neku, 'Ôrôê, Tagalog, Tinrin
Chimbu-Wahgi (or Simbu) family: Dom
Chukchi-Kamchatkan family: Koryak
Dagestanian (or North East Caucasian) family: Avar
Dravidian family: Kurux, Malto
Eskimo-Aleut family: Iñupiaq
Hmong-Mien family: Hmyo
Indo-European family
    Armenian branch: Armenian
    Germanic branch: Danish, Dutch, English, German
    Indo-Iranian branch: Bengali, Hindi, Maithili, Marathi, Nepali, Persian, Sadri, Sanskrit, Urdu
    Italic branch: French, Portuguese, Spanish
    Slavonic branch: Russian
Japonic family:
    Japanese branch: Japanese
    Ryukyuan branch: Miyako Ryukyuan (including Irabu Ryukyuan), Shuri (Okinawa) Ryukyuan, Yuwan (Amami) Ryukyuan
Kartvelian (or South Caucasian) family: Georgian
Mongolic family: Khalkha Mongolian
Niger-Congo family: Ewe, Godié, Leggbo, Matengo, Swahili
Pama-Nyungan family: Djaru, Wanyjirra, Warrongo
Sino-Tibetan family
    Sinitic branch: Mandarin Chinese
    Tibeto-Burman branch: Amdo Tibetan, Burmese, Central Tibetan, Chantyal, East Tibetan, Jinghpaw, Lahu, Meche, nDrapa, Newar, Pwo Karen, Sgaw Karen, Tiddim Chin
Tai-Kadai family: Lao, Thai
Tsimshianic family: Coast Tsimshian
Tungusic family: Manchurian, Nanay, Sive, Udihe, Ulcha
Turkic family: Sakha (Yakut), Turkish, Uzbek

Yukaghir family: Kolyma Yukaghir, Tundra Yukaghir
Genetic affiliation not known for certain: Ainu, Korean
Not classifiable: Esperanto, Saramaccan, Tok Pisin

Tasaku Tsunoda

1 Mermaid construction: An introduction and summary

1 Introduction

Sentences that – superficially at least – have the structure shown in (1) (or a structure similar to (1)) are found in twenty-six languages in Asia, including Japanese, and one language in Africa.[1] Superficially at least, it looks as if such sentences contain a subordinate clause and are bi-clausal. However, languages such as Modern Standard Japanese ("MSJ") (Tsunoda, this volume, Section 6) and Korean (Kim, this volume, Section 6) provide ample evidence that syntactically these sentences are mono-clausal, not bi-clausal.[2] These sentences do not have two predicates: one for the subordinate clause and the other for the main clause. They have just one predicate, and the predicate is a compound predicate that consists of the predicate of the Clause, the Noun and the Copula, as shown in (2).

(1) [Clause]   Noun   Copula.

(2) [... <u>predicate]   Noun   Copula</u>.
              compound predicate

(The mono-clausality of the MMC will be discussed in 3.4.2, and the compound predicate in 3.4.3.)

Three examples from MSJ (cited from Tsunoda (Section 2)) are given below. The noun in the Noun slot is shown in bold face. Both a literal translation ("LT") and a free translation ("FT") are provided. The portion that corresponds to the Clause of (1) and its English translation in the LT are shown with square brackets, while the compound predicate is underlined. It is important to stress that, when literally translated, these sentences do not make sense. Their LTs do not show what these sentences express. The LTs are provided in an attempt to reflect the superficial structure of these sentences. In particular, the portion "Noun + Copula" is literally

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1 The present volume contains three chapters that deal with Japanese: the chapter by Tasaku Tsunoda on Modern Standard Japanese ("MSJ"), that by Kan Sasaki on the Mitsukaido dialect, and that by Asako Miyachi on Old Japanese and Early Middle Japanese ("OEMJ"). In the present chapter, the term "Japanese" refers to Japanese in general, not any specific stage or any dialect of the language.
2 In the following, when a chapter in the present volume is cited, often "this volume" will not be mentioned and only the relevant section(s) will be mentioned. For example, "Tsunoda (this volume, 7.6)" will be cited as "Tsunoda (7.6)" or "Tsunoda, 7.6".

translated, for example, 'a plan is' (rather than 'is a plan') in the LT of (3). Also, the LTs do not reflect the fact that these sentences are mono-clausal sentences, with a compound predicate.

Modern Standard Japanese
(3) [*Asita   Hanako=ga   Nagoya=ni   ik-u*]   **yotee**=*da*.
    tomorrow Hanako=NOM Nagoya=DAT/LOC go-NPST plan=COP.NPST
    LT: '[Hanako goes/will go to Nagoya tomorrow] a plan is.'
    FT: 'Hanako plans to go to Nagoya tomorrow.'

(4) [*Koozyoo=de   ooki=na   bakuhatu=ga   tuzu-i-te*
    factory=LOC/INS big=NPST.ADN explosion=NOM continue-LINK-GNF
    i-ru]   **yoosu**=*da*.
    be-NPST appearance=COP.NPST
    LT: '[Big explosions are continuing in the factory] an appearance is.'
    FT: 'It appears that big explosions are continuing in the factory.'

(5) [*Ima Hanako=ga   dekake-ta*] **tokoro**=*da*.
    now Hanako=NOM go.out-PST place=COP.NPST
    LT: '[Hanako went out now] a place is.'
    FT: 'Hanako has just gone out now.'

(*Hanako* is a feminine given name.)

In (3), *ik-u* 'go-NPST' is the predicate of the Clause, the noun *yotee* 'plan' occupies the Noun slot, and the copula =*da* 'COP.NPST' occupies the Copula slot. They jointly form a compound predicate, and this compound predicate has a modal meaning: 'plan to do'. Similarly, in (4), *tuzu-i-te i-ru* (the predicate of the Clause), *yoosu* (the Noun) and =*da* (the Copula) jointly form a compound predicate, and this compound predicate has an evidential meaning: 'It appears/seems'. Likewise, in (5), *dekake-ta* (the predicate of the Clause), *tokoro* (the Noun) and =*da* (the Copula) jointly form a compound predicate, and this compound predicate has an aspectual meaning: 'have just done'.

I coined the label "mermaid construction" (hereafter "MMC") to refer to sentences such as (3) to (5). Such sentences resemble a mermaid, for they consist of two structures – superficially at least. Thus, (3) to (5) start with a verb-predicate clause, whereas they end with "Noun + Copula" like a noun-predicate sentence. In noun-predicate sentences in MSJ, the predicate noun is generally followed by the copula. (The copula in MSJ is best regarded as an enclitic.) An example of noun-predicate sentences in MSJ is the following.

Modern Standard Japanese

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

The Clause in (3) to (5) is a verb-predicate clause. However, in MSJ and many other languages, the Clause of the MMC may be, for instance, an adjective-predicate clause or a noun-predicate clause.

The existence of instances of what I have labelled "MMC" was generally known in previous studies of the languages concerned. However, they were not recognized as a distinct construction. For example, there are previous studies of MSJ that regard the MMC as noun-predicate sentences that contain an adnominal clause (or a relative clause), e.g. Taro Takahashi (1960), Okutsu (1974), Shin'ya (1989), and Teramura (1992) (see Tsunoda (6.1)). In effect, these studies regard the MMC as bi-clausal. However, as noted above, the MMC in languages such as MSJ and Korean is syntactically mono-clausal, not bi-clausal. It does not contain an adnominal clause or any subordinate clause for that matter.

The compound predicate of the MMC may have various meanings, such as modal, e.g. (3), evidential, e.g. (4), temporal, aspectual, e.g. (5), stylistic, or discourse-related. (See 3.1.2.) That is, these nouns have become a constituent of the predicate, and they have become markers for aspect, evidentiality, mood, tense, style or discourse-related meanings.

Many studies of grammaticalization deal with verbs. There are also studies of grammaticalization of nouns. However, they generally deal with the grammaticalization of nouns into complementizers or into adpositions. There appears to be no previous study that shows the process whereby nouns become a constituent of the predicate, turning into markers for aspect, evidentiality, mood, tense, style or discourse-related meanings. (See 4.5.)

The remainder of this chapter contains the following sections: 2 Definition of the mermaid construction, 3 Properties of the MMC, 4 Grammaticalization of the Noun, 5 Presence/absence of the MMC, and 6 Summary and concluding remarks.

A note on labels for the core grammatical roles is in order. In a seminal work on word order, Greenberg (1966: 76) uses the label "S" for both the transitive subject and the intransitive subject. R. M. W. Dixon (e.g. Dixon 1994: 6) employs "A" for the transitive subject and "S" for the intransitive subject. Both Greenberg and Dixon use "O" for the object. Greenberg's system may be described as the S-S-O system and Dixon's system as the A-S-O system. The A-S-O system is useful for describing ergative languages. When discussing word order, some of the chapters in the present volume use the S-S-O system (e.g. SOV and SVO), while some others employ the A-S-O system (e.g. AOV and AVO). The present chapter employs the S-S-O system regarding word order. The same applies to the table of contents. How-

ever, 2.3.2.3-[2] on Koryak, 2.3.2.3-[4] on Hindi and 2.3.4-[2] on Koryak in the present chapter discuss case marking in these ergative languages and they use the A-S-O system. (I should add that there are languages in which categories such as the subject and the object are not easy to set up and that for these languages the use of terms such as the subject and the object is merely tentative.)

2 Definition of the mermaid construction

2.1 Prototype of the MMC

The prototype of the MMC is proposed here. It has the following five properties.

(a) The structure is as shown in (1) – superficially at least.
(b) The Noun is an independent word (not a clitic) that is a noun.
(c) The subject of the Clause and the Noun are non-coreferential.
(d) The Clause can be used as a sentence by itself.
(e) The Clause is not the subject of the "Noun + Copula".

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

These five properties are proposed as necessary and sufficient conditions to identify the prototype of the MMC. They jointly define it, with none of them dispensable.

This list of the five properties is merely tentative. Nonetheless, it has proved to be a useful checklist for the crosslinguistic comparison conducted in the present volume.

The MMC occurs in MSJ by far the most abundantly among all the languages examined in the present volume (see 3.1.1 and Table 1), including the Mitsukaido dialect of Japanese (Sasaki, this volume) and Old Japanese and Early Middle Japanese (Miyachi, this volume). The proposed prototype of the MMC is based on the MMC in MSJ (Tsunoda, this volume).

All of (3) to (5) (examples in MSJ) are instances of the prototypical MMC; they have all of the properties listed above.

Property (a). The examples (3) to (5) have the structure shown in (1) – superficially at least.

Property (b). The nouns in the Noun slot are independent words: *yotee* 'plan' in (3), *yoosu* 'appearance' in (4), and *tokoro* 'place' in (5).

Property (c). In (3), the subject of the Clause (*Hanako=ga* 'Hanako=NOM') is non-coreferential with the Noun: *yotee* 'plan'. (Hanako is a human being. She is not a plan.) In (4), the subject of the Clause (*bakuhatu=ga* 'explosion=NOM') is non-coreferential with the Noun: *yoosu* 'appearance'. In (5), the subject of the

Clause (*Hanako=ga* 'Hanako=NOM') is non-coreferential with the Noun: *tokoro* 'place'.

Property (d). The Clause in (3) to (5) can be used as a sentence by itself. Compare (3) with (7); (4) with (8); and (5) with (9).

Modern Standard Japanese

(7) *Asita   Hanako=ga   Nagoya=ni   ik-u.*
tomorrow Hanako=NOM Nagoya=DAT/LOC go-NPST
'Hanako will go to Nagoya tomorrow.'

(8) *Koozyoo=de   ooki=na   bakuhatu=ga   tuzu-i-te*
factory=LOC/INS big=NPST.ADN explosion=NOM continue-LINK-GNF
i-ru.
be-NPST
'Big explosions are continuing in the factory.'

(9) *Ima Hanako=ga   dekake-ta.*
now Hanako=NOM go.out-PST
'Hanako went out now.'

Property (e). This has been included in order to exclude noun-predicate sentences whose subject is a complement clause. See (10) and (11); I use English words in them, but they are not intended to be English sentences.

A hypothetical language

(10) [*He won*] *a surprise is.*
     'That he won is a surprise'.

(11) [*He lost*] *a shame is.*
     'That he lost is a shame.'

In (10) and (11), the clause in square brackets is the subject of the noun and the copula that follow. In contrast, in (3) to (5), the Clause is not the subject of "Noun + Copula". (The inclusion of the property (e) as one of the properties of the prototype of the MMC is due to a comment by Kazuhiro Kawachi, to whom I am grateful.)

The property (e) is useful for showing that what is intended to be the MMC differs from noun-predicate sentences whose subject is a complement clause – although they may look similar. See Shirai (5.2.3.7) on nDrapa and Kiryu (Section 7) on Kathmandu Newar, e.g. (12).

Kathmandu Newar

(12) *rām=ã̃:   ta:mi=mha manu:=yā chẽ: jyā   yā-e   da-i=gu*
     Ram=ERG rich=NMLZ man=GEN house.LOC work do-INF get.to-FD=NMLZ
     bhāgya kha:.
     luck   COP.NFND
     LT: '(That) Ram gets to do the work at a rich person's house is a luck.'
     FT: 'It is lucky that Ram will get to work at a rich person's house.'

Also, see the LT of (3): '[Hanako goes/will go to Nagoya tomorrow] a plan is'. Judging by this LT, it may look as if (3) has the structure of sentences such as (10) and (11). If this is the case, (3) will be excluded from the MMC. However, recall that, as noted in Section 1, this LT is provided in an attempt to reflect the superficial structure of (3). There is syntactic evidence that (3) is a mono-clausal sentence – despite its superficial appearance (shown in (1)) – that has a compound predicate that consists of the predicate of the Clause, the Noun and the Copula (3.4.2, 3.4.3). Therefore, "[Hanako goes/will go to Nagoya tomorrow]" is not the subject of "a plan is". That is, (3) has the property (e). The same applies to (4) and (5).

We have seen the five properties of the proposed prototype of the MMC. There are departures from this prototype. In the chapters on individual languages, such departures are sometimes referred to as "quasi-MMC". In the following, I shall refer to the prototypical MMC simply as the MMC – unless indicated otherwise.

2.2 Unusual characteristics of the MMC

The MMC has unusual characteristics, in terms of syntax and semantics.

[1] Syntax
Sentences such as (3) to (5) have an unusual structure. See (1). Superficially at least, their first part, i.e. the Clause, has the structure of a verb-predicate clause or some other clause. However, they resemble a noun-predicate sentence (e.g. (6)) in that they end with "Noun + Copula". Therefore, they resemble a mermaid in that they exhibit a combination of two different structures. As noted in Section 1, it is for this reason that I coined the term "mermaid construction" for them. (This will be further discussed in 5.1.1.)

[2] Semantics
Semantically as well, sentences such as (3) to (5) are peculiar. When literally interpreted, these sentences do not make sense. See their literal translations.

2.3 Non-prototypical types of the MMC

There are constructions that depart from the prototype of the MMC proposed in 2.1. We shall look at these departures in terms of two aspects.

[1] The Noun slot
The Noun slot of the MMC (cf. (1)) may be occupied by the following.

(a) An independent word that is a noun – the prototypical MMC.
(b) A clitic.
(c) An affix.
(d) Zero.

The Noun slot may be occupied by a nominalizer. Nominalizers may be independent words, clitics or affixes.

In the prototypical MMC, cf. (a), the Noun slot is occupied by an independent word that is a noun. Examples from MSJ are *yotee* 'plan' in (3), *yoosu* 'appearance' in (4), and *tokoro* 'place' in (5). In contrast, (b), (c) and (d) are not prototypical in this respect.

A note on (b) and (c) is in order. In this context, by affixes and clitics, I mean only (i) those affixes and clitics which derived from independent nouns and (ii) nominalizing affixes and nominalizing clitics. For examples of (i), see Tsunoda (7.6, 7.7, 7.8) on Japanese and Imamura (7.1) on Hindi. For those of (ii), see Tsunoda (5.1.4) on MSJ and Kurebito (Section 1) on Koryak.

In many languages (including those that are not examined in the present volume), translations of sentences like (3) ('plan to'), (4) ('It appears/seems') and (5) ('have just done') may involve verbal inflectional affixes. However, verbal inflectional affixes are not considered as instances of (c) – unless they are shown to have derived from nouns. Irabu Ryukyuan (Shimoji, 5.2.2, 5.2.3, 5.4.2, 5.4.3) has two verbal inflectional suffixes that derived from nouns. These suffixes are used in the MMC; they are instances of (c). For a noun to become a verbal inflectional suffix seems to be a very uncommon phenomenon among the world's languages. See 4.5 below.

Regarding (d), it is useful and indeed important to set up the zero-type MMC for Old and Early Middle Japanese (Miyachi, 7.4). The zero-type MMC is also reported from Kurux (Kobayashi in collaboration with Tsunoda, 5.3.3.5).

In the quasi-MMC of Khalkha Mongolian (Umetani, Section 1) and Sakha (Ebata, Section 1), nouns in the Noun slot are combined with the derivational suffix 'having, with'.

[2] Order of the Clause, the Noun and the Copula

In by far the vast majority of languages in which it is attested, the MMC has the order of the Clause, the Noun and the Copula shown in (1). These languages, e.g. Japanese, have the SOV order.

(1) [Clause]   Noun   Copula.

As noted in Section 1, (1) shows the prototype of the MMC. There are also departures from the prototype.

Mandarin Chinese (Ono 2013) (an SVO language) has a construction that has the following structure.

(13) [Subject]   Copula   [Clause]   Noun.

Mandarin Chinese is not reported in the present volume, and it is useful to provide an example of (13). The following example is cited from Ono (2013). (In (14), underlines do not indicate a compound predicate.)

Mandarin Chinese
(14) [*Dàjiā   dōu*] *shì*   [*sōng-le   yì   kǒu   qì   de*]   *yàngzi.*
     <u>everyone   all</u>   <u>COP</u>   <u>relax-ASP one CL breath</u> <u>PART</u>   <u>appearance</u>
     Subject   Copula Clause   Clause Noun
     LT: '[Everyone was relieved] an appearance is.'
     FT: 'Everyone seemed to be relieved/looked relieved.'

In (13) and (14), the Clause does not have its own subject. That is, it is possible to say that the subject of the Clause is separated by the Copula from the other constituents of the Clause.

Tagalog (Katagiri, Section 1) (a VSO/VOS language) has a construction that has the structure shown in (15). Tagalog does not have a copula verb, and, apart from the absence of the Copula, (15) is a mirror image of (1). An example is (16), cited from Katagiri (Section 2).

(15)   Noun   [Clause].

Tagalog
(16) ***Mukha**-ng* [*sa-sabog=na   ang bulkan*].
     face-LK   AF:CONT-erupt=already TOP volcano
     LT: 'Face [the volcano will erupt already].'
     FT: 'It seems the volcano will erupt soon.'

(13) and (15) depart from (1), but still they are variants of the MMC, although they are not prototypical ones.

The present volume contains a chapter on Thai (Kiyoko Takahashi, this volume) (an SVO language), which discusses three structures. These structures do not fit into any of (1), (13) and (15). Nonetheless, they contain the copula and a combination of "nominalizer + verb". See (17). An example of one of the three structures is (18) (cited from Kiyoko Takahashi (5.2)). This structure has the following meaning: 'People are affected' (passive-like) (Kiyoko Takahashi, 5.8). As noted in [1] above, the Noun slot of the MMC may be occupied by a nominalizer. These three structures of Thai resemble the MMC in that they contain the Copula and "nominalizer + verb". They may be considered quasi-MMCs. They are the farthest away from the MMC prototype among all the varieties of the MMC investigated in the present volume.

(17) Copula [NMLZ Verb].

(18) *phaasĭi pen* [*kaan ramkhaan*] *kàp*   *khon súu u khǎay.*
      tax   COP NMLZ be.annoyed COM/DAT buyers.and.sellers
      LT: 'Tax is that/what (they) are annoyed (at), with buyers and sellers.'
      FT: 'Buyers and sellers are annoyed at tax' or 'Tax annoys buyers and sellers.'

2.4 Constructions that are not instances of the MMC

There are constructions that may look similar to the MMC, but that are in fact not instances of the MMC. Three selected cases are given.

[1] Noun-predicate sentences whose subject is a complement clause
As noted in 2.1, equivalents to sentences such as (10) and (11) are not instances of the MMC. An example from Kathmandu Newar is (12).

[2] Noun-predicate sentences that contain an adnominal clause
We shall look at MSJ: (19) (MMC) and (20) (a noun-predicate sentence that contains an adnominal clause ("AC") (or a relative clause)). The Clause of the MMC is shown with square brackets. The AC is shown with braces.

Modern Standard Japanese
(19) [*Hanako=wa ima dekake-ta*] ***tokoro**=da*.
      Hanako=TOP now go.out-PST place=COP.NPST
      LT: '[Hanako went out now] a place is.'
      FT: 'Hanako has just gone out now.'

(20) *Hanako=wa* {*ima tu-i-ta*}   *gakusee=da.*
      Hanako=TOP now arrive-LINK-PST student=COP.NPST
      'Hanako is the/a student {who arrived now}.'

According to most of the previous studies of what I have labelled the MMC of MSJ, sentences like (19) contain an AC (cf. Section 1). However, Tsunoda (Section 6) provides eight pieces of evidence that the MSJ MMC does not contain an AC. Indeed, almost all of the languages examined yield evidence that their MMC does not contain an AC. (See 3.4.2.)

[3] Existential/possessive sentences that contain an adnominal clause
In MSJ, existence/possession can be expressed by means of the existential verb *ar-* and the DAT/LOC-NOM case frame. The DAT/LOC case postposition may be absent when the topic postposition *=wa* is present.

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

Now, compare (22) (an existential/possessive sentence that contains an AC) and (23) (MMC).

Modern Standard Japanese
(22) *Hanako=ni=wa*   (or *Hanako=wa*) {*Nagoya=ni*   *ik-u*}
      Hanako=DAT/LOC=TOP (Hanako=TOP) Nagoya=DAT/LOC go-NPST
      yotee=ga   *ar-u.*
      plan=NOM exist-NPST
      LT: 'As for to/at Hanako (or, As for Hanako), a plan {(Hanako) goes/will go to Nagoya} exists.'
      FT: 'Hanako has a plan to go to Nagoya.'

(23) [*Hanako=wa Nagoya=ni*   *ik-u*]   **yotee**=da.
      Hanako=TOP Nagoya=DAT/LOC go-NF plan=COP.NPST
      LT: '[Hanako goes/will go to Nagoya] a plan is.
      FT: 'Hanako plans to go to Nagoya.'

(22) may look similar to (23). Both employ the noun *yotee* 'plan'. However, (22) differs from (23) in two respects. First, (22) involves the existential verb *ar-*. In contrast, (23) involves the copula (=*da* 'COP.NPST'). Second, in (22) the noun *yotee* 'plan' is followed by the nominative case postposition, and *yotee=ga* 'plan=NOM'

is the subject of *ar-u* 'exit-NPST'. In contrast, in (23) the noun *yotee* 'plan' is not followed by any case postposition. It is not the subject of *=da* 'COP.NPST'.

2.5 A note on the definition of the prototype of the MMC

As noted in 2.1, the proposed prototype of the MMC is based on the MMC in MSJ, where the MMC occurs by far the most abundantly among all the languages examined in the present volume. It is merely tentative. Nonetheless, it has proved to be a useful checklist for the crosslinguistic comparison conducted in the present volume.

It is possible to set up a broader definition of the prototypical MMC. It is also possible to put forward a narrower definition thereof. However, neither seems useful for this crosslinguistic comparison.

First, it is possible to set up a broader definition. For example, it is possible to broaden the definition to include constructions that are – in terms of the definition proposed in 2.1 – not instances of the MMC; see 2.4. However, this is not useful. It will obfuscate the unusual characteristics of the MMC shown in 2.2.

Second, it is also possible to put forward a narrower definition. This will involve adding a property (or properties) to those listed in 2.1. However, no additional property is forthcoming which will be useful for this crosslinguistic comparison.

3 Properties of the MMC

We now examine the lexical, semantic, morphological, syntactic, pragmatic and other aspects of the MMC. Section 3 is fairly long. It consists of the following subsections: 3.1 Noun in the MMC, 3.2 Copula of the MMC, 3.3 Clause of the MMC, and 3.4 Syntactic structure of the MMC.

3.1 Noun in the MMC

3.1.1 Noun: independent nouns, clitics and affixes

[1] Table 1 shows very roughly the numbers of independent nouns, clitics and affixes – types, not tokens – attested in the Noun slot of the MMC (including the quasi-MMC). (The sources of information are the chapters on individual languages in the present volume (they are listed in References), except for Bugaeva (2013) on Ainu, Ono (2013) on Mandarin Chinese, and Kubo & Kogura (2013) on Sive.)

Tab. 1: Number of independent nouns, clitics and affixes in the Noun slot.

Language	Independent nouns	Clitics	Affixes
Modern standard Japanese	121	at least 4	at least 5
Old and Early Middle Japanese	34	2	at least 2
Mitsukaido dialect of Japanese	at least 4	at least 1	no information
Irabu Ryukyuan	7	4	2
Korean	about 80	no information	no information
Ainu	10	no information	no information
Amdo Tibetan	6	4	0
Tagalog	6	no information	no information
Burmese	4	5	10
Mandarin Chinese	4	no information	no information
nDrapa	2	2	1
Thai	2	0	0
Kurux	1	2	0
Sidaama	1	1	1
Sive	1	1	0
Kolyma Yukaghir	0	1	1
Kathmandu Newar	0	1	0
Hindi	0	1	0
Koryak	0	0	2
Sakha	28 nouns with proprietive suffix	0	0
Khalkha Mongolian	24 nouns with proprietive suffix	0	0

The number varies greatly from language to language. At least 121 nouns are attested in the Noun slot in MSJ, and about 80 nouns in that in Korean. In contrast, their numbers are much smaller in other languages, e.g. one enclitic in Hindi (Imamura, Section 1) and two suffixes in Koryak (Kurebito, Section 1). Admittedly it is difficult to give precise numbers. Also, in some of the languages a further search may increase the numbers. In the data available, clitics are all enclitics, and affixes are all suffixes.

Sasaki (Section 1) on the Mitsukaido dialect of Japanese focuses on those nouns which do not occur in the Noun slot in MSJ (Tsunoda, 5.1.2, 5.1.3). No doubt the number of independent nouns (and also the enclitics and suffixes) that can occupy the Noun slot in this dialect is much larger than that shown in Table 1.

For Korean (Kim, 5.3.1), no information on enclitics and suffixes in the Noun slot is available. There may actually be enclitics and suffixes that can occupy the Noun slot. The same may apply to some other languages.

For Amdo Tibetan to Koryak in Table 1, a scrutinizing search by the respective authors has uncovered only a very small number of independent nouns (as against enclitics and suffixes) or none at all. A further search in these languages is unlikely to find many independent nouns in the Noun slot.

[2] Independent nouns can be divided into content nouns (i.e. nouns with a full lexical meaning) and non-content nouns (i.e. nouns with a less lexical meaning), although this dichotomy is not clear-cut. As noted above, as many as 121 nouns are attested in the Noun slot of the MSJ MMC, and this classification is useful (Tsunoda, 5.1.2, 5.1.3). Examples from MSJ include the following: (i) content nouns: *yotee* 'plan' in (3), *yoosu* 'appearance' in (4), and (ii) non-content noun: *tokoro* 'place' in (5).

3.1.2 Noun: meanings of the MMC

3.1.2.1 Introductory notes

Consider the MSJ examples (3) to (5). (3) means 'plan to', i.e. it has a modal meaning. (4) means 'It appears/seems …', i.e. it has an evidential meaning. (5) means 'have just done', i.e. it has an aspectual meaning. A wide range of meanings of the MMC are reported in the present volume. They are difficult to classify neatly, but very roughly they can be classified as follows: modal (3.1.2.2), evidential (3.1.2.3), aspectual (3.1.2.4), temporal (3.1.2.5), stylistic (3.1.2.6), discourse-related (3.1.2.7), and other (3.1.2.8).

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

3.1.2.2 Modal meanings

A wide range of modal meanings are attested. Very roughly they can be classified as follows. Specific details are given in the chapters or the works cited – except that there is no chapter on Central Tibetan, information on which was provided by Izumi Hoshi (p.c.). (Modern Standard Japanese will often be referred to as MSJ, Old and Early Middle Japanese as OEMJ, the Mitsukaido dialect of Japanese as Mitsukaido dialect, Kathmandu Newar as Newar, Kolyma Yukaghir as Yukaghir, Khalkha Mongolian as Mongolian, and Mandarin Chinese as Chinese.)

[1] Intention, volition, plan ('intend to do', 'plan to do'), 'have decided to do', 'want to do'
Ainu (Bugaeva 2013), Amdo Tibetan (Ebihara, Table 5), Hindi (Imamura, Section 1), Korean (Kim, 5.3.2-[1], Tables 3, 4), Koryak (Kurebito, Section 1), Kurux (Kobayashi in collaboration with Tsunoda, Table 2), Mongolian (Umetani, Table 3), MSJ (Tsunoda, 5.1.2-[1], 5.1.3-[1]), e.g. (3), nDrapa (Shirai, Table 1), Sakha (Ebata, Table 2), Tagalog (Katagiri, Table 3).

[2] Schedule, expectation ('be expected to do', 'be supposed to do', 'be scheduled to do'), 'be forecasted to do'
Hindi (Imamura, Section 1), Irabu Ryukyuan (Shimoji, Table 5), Korean (Kim, 5.3.2-[2]), Koryak (Kurebito, Section 1), Kurux (Kobayashi in collaboration with Tsunoda, Table 2), MSJ (Tsunoda, 5.1.2-[2], 5.1.3-[2]), e.g. (50), nDrapa (Shirai, Table 1).

[3] Destiny ('be destined to do'), 'be bound to do', fate
Amdo Tibetan (Ebihara, Table 5), Korean (Kim, 5.3.2-[8]), Mongolian (Umetani, Table 3), MSJ (Tsunoda, 5.1.2-[8]), OEMJ (Miyachi, Table 5), Tagalog (Katagiri, Table 3).

[4] Obligation ('have to do', 'should', 'must', 'be supposed to do'), duty, role, instruction, command, advice, pragmatic imperative
Ainu (Bugaeva 2013), Irabu Ryukyuan (Shimoji, Table 5), Korean (Kim, 5.3.2-[8], Tables 3, 4), Koryak (Kurebito, Section 1), Mongolian (Umetani, Table 3), MSJ (Tsunoda, 5.1.2-[8], 5.1.3-[4], -[9]), e.g. (29), (35), OEMJ (Miyachi, Table 5), Sakha (Ebata, Table 2).

[5] 'Need to do' (deontic)
Amdo Tibetan (Ebihara, Table 5).

[6] The right to do something
Mitsukaido dialect (Sasaki, Table 4), Mongolian (Umetani, Table 3), Sakha (Ebata, Table 2).

[7] Ability, capability, capacity, talent, potential
Mongolian (Umetani, Table 3), OEMJ (Miyachi, Table 5), Sakha (Ebata, Table 2).

[8] Possibility (epistemic)
Mongolian (Umetani, Table 3).

[9] Strong emotion
OEMJ (Miyachi, Table 5).
[9–1] Blame, displeasure, surprise
Korean (Kim, Table 4), MSJ (Tsunoda, 5.1.3-[4]).
[9–2] Wish, hope
Mongolian (Umetani, Table 3), MSJ (Tsunoda, 5.1.3-[4]), e.g. (27).
[9–3] Strong assertion, definite assertion
Ainu (Bugaeva 2013), Newar (Kiryu, 5.4.2), OEMJ (Miyachi, Table 5), Sive (Kubo & Kogura 2013), Yukaghir (Endo, Section 1).

[10] Belief, firm belief
Hindi (Imamura, Section 1), Thai (Kiyoko Takahashi, 5.8).

[11] 'I think' (epistemic)
Irabu Ryukyuan (Shimoji, Table 5).

[12] 'X feels that …'
Korean (Kim, 5.3.2-[3], -[5]), MSJ (Tsunoda, 5.1.2-[3]), OEMJ (Miyachi, Table 5).

[13] Speaker's internal feeling
Mitsukaido dialect (Sasaki, Table 4).

[14] 'X considers oneself …' (evaluation)
Central Tibetan (Izumi Hoshi, p.c.), MSJ (Tsunoda, 5.1.3-[1]).

[15] Uncertain conclusion
OEMJ (Miyachi, Table 6).

[16] Undesirable/unpleasant situation/result, adversative state, apprehension
Korean (Kim, 5.3.2-[4], Tables 3, 4), Sakha (Ebata, Table 2).

[17] Tag question
Irabu Ryukyuan (Shimoji, Table 5).

[18] 'Not ordinary'
Mitsukaido dialect (Sasaki, Table 4).

[19] Tone of interrogation, keen interest
Newar (Kiryu, 5.4.4).

3.1.2.3 Evidential meanings
Again, a wide range of evidential meanings are attested. Very roughly they can be classified as follows. (The classification of evidential meanings is largely based on Aikhenvald (2011).)

[1] Visual, auditory or sensory evidence, perception of a situation, direct observation
Ainu (Bugaeva 2013), Amdo Tibetan (Ebihara, Table 5), Chinese (Ono 2013), e.g. (14), Irabu Ryukyuan (Shimoji, Table 5), Korean (Kim, 5.3.2-[4]), Kurux (Kobayashi in collaboration with Tsunoda, Table 2), MSJ (Tsunoda, 7.6-[3], 7.8), e.g. (47), nDrapa

(Shirai, Table 1), OEMJ (Miyachi, Table 5), e.g. (45), Sakha (Ebata, Table 2), Sidaama (Kawachi, 5.2.1, 5.3.1), Tagalog (Katagiri, Table 3), e.g. (16).

[2] Counterfactual ('It appears/looks, but actually not')
Amdo Tibetan (Ebihara, Table 5), Burmese (Kato, Table 13).

[3] Reported evidence
Ainu (Bugaeva 2013), Amdo Tibetan (Ebihara, Table 5), Central Tibetan (Izumi Hoshi, p.c.), Mongolian (Umetani, Table 3), MSJ (Tsunoda, 5.1.3-[10], 7.6-[2]), e.g. (31), (46).

[4] Inference, conjecture, guess
Ainu (Bugaeva 2013), Amdo Tibetan (Ebihara, Table 5), Burmese (Kato, Table 13), Irabu Ryukyuan (Shimoji, Table 5), Korean (Kim, Tables 3, 4), Mitsukaido dialect (Sasaki, Table 4), Mongolian (Umetani, Table 3), MSJ (Tsunoda, 5.1.2-[4], 7.6-[3], 7.7-[3]), e.g. (4), Sakha (Ebata, Table 2), Sidaama (Kawachi, Section 1), Sive (Kubo & Kogura 2013), Tagalog (Katagiri, Table 3), e.g. (16).

[5] Non-visual sensory evidence
Ainu (Bugaeva 2013).

[6] 'X gives the impression that ...'
MSJ (Tsunoda, 5.1.2-[5]).

[7] 'Be suspected to have done'
Korean (Kim, 5.3.2-[12]), MSJ (Tsunoda, 5.1.2-[12]).

[8] Universal truth, common knowledge
Korean (Kim, Table 3).

3.1.2.4 Aspectual meanings
Very roughly, aspectual meanings can be classified as follows.

[1] 'Have finished doing', 'have just done'
Burmese (Kato, Table 13), MSJ (Tsunoda, 5.1.2-[11], 5.1.3-[8]), e.g. (5), (19), (37).

[2] 'Have started doing, but have not finished'
Burmese (Kato, Table 13).

[3] Experiential
Mongolian (Umetani, Table 3), Sakha (Ebata, Table 2).

[4] Progressive, 'in the middle of doing'
Ainu (Bugaeva 2013), Burmese (Kato, Table 13), Korean (Kim, 5.3.2-[11], Tables 3, 4), MSJ (Tsunoda, 5.1.2-[11], 5.1.3-[8]).

[5] 'Be becoming more and more …'
MSJ (Tsunoda, 5.1.3-[7]).

[6] 'Be about to do'
Burmese (Kato, Table 13), Hindi (Imamura, Section 1), MSJ (Tsunoda, 5.1.2-[11], 5.1.3-[8]), OEMJ (Miyachi, Table 5), Sidaama (Kawachi, Section 1).

[7] '(The preparation has been done and) be ready to do'
nDrapa (Shirai, Table 1).

[8] 'Be kept in a certain state', 'be in such and such a state/situation'
Korean (Kim, 5.3.2-[4]), OEMJ (Miyachi, Table 5).

[9] Habit (i.e. habitual), tendency ('tend to'), practice, custom, nature, personality, propensity, attitude, manner
Amdo Tibetan (Ebihara, Table 5), Burmese (Kato, Table 13), Chinese (Ono 2013), Korean (Kim, 5.3.2-[6], -[7], Table 3), Mitsukaido dialect (Sasaki, Table 4), Mongolian (Umetani, Table 3), MSJ (Tsunoda, 5.1.2-[6], -[7], 5.1.3-[4], -[6], 7.8), e.g. (28), OEMJ (Miyachi, Table 5), Sakha (Ebata, Table 2), Tagalog (Katagiri, Table 3).

[10] 'Have a property/physique/structure to do'
Korean (Kim, 5.3.2-[9], -[10], Table 3), Kurux (Kobayashi in collaboration with Tsunoda, Table 2), MSJ (Tsunoda, 5.1.2-[9], -[10]).

[11] 'Have such and such a relationship'
OEMJ (Miyachi, Table 5).

3.1.2.5 Temporal meanings
[1] Past
Yukaghir (Endo, Section 1).

[2] Future
Amdo Tibetan (Ebihara, Table 5), Irabu Ryukyuan (Shimoji, Table 5), OEMJ (Miyachi, Table 5), Sakha (Ebata, Table 2).

[3] 'It is time for X to do'
Korean (Kim, 5.3.2-[11]), Mitsukaido dialect (Sasaki, Table 4), MSJ (Tsunoda, 5.1.2-[11]), e.g. (24), OEMJ (Miyachi, Table 5).

Modern Standard Japanese

(24) [*Watasi=wa moo* ___dekake-ru___] ___zikan=da.___
    I=TOP   already go.out-NPST time=COP.NPST
    LT: '[I already go out] time is.'
    FT: 'It is already time for me to go out.'

[4] 'This is the season of the year to do'
OEMJ (Miyachi, Table 5).

    [5] 'X is spending days [by doing Y]'
MSJ (Tsunoda, 5.1.2-[11]).

3.1.2.6 Stylistic meanings
    [1] Formal
Korean (Kim, Table 4), MSJ (Tsunoda, 5.1.3-[4], -[5], -[8]), e.g. (25).

Modern Standard Japanese

(25) [*Wareware=wa kokoro=kara* ___owabi-su-ru___]
    we=TOP   heart=ABL   apology-do-NPST
    ___sidai=des-u.___
    circumstance=COP.POL-NPST
    LT: '[We apologize from (the bottom of our) heart] the circumstance is.'
    FT: 'We apologize sincerely.'

The noun *sidai* can be used outside the MMC, with the meaning 'circumstance, procedure, program, process', etc. When used in the MMC, it has a stylistic effect: it makes the sentence sound formal, as in (25).

    [2] Humble
Amdo Tibetan (Ebihara, Table 5)

    [3] Elegant
OEMJ (Miyachi, Table 6).

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

    [1] Explanation, reason, cause, background information
Amdo Tibetan (Ebihara, Table 5), Burmese (Kato, Table 13), Irabu Ryukyuan (Shimoji, Table 5), Korean (Kim, Table 4), Kurux (Kobayashi in collaboration with

Tsunoda, Table 2), MSJ (Tsunoda, 5.1.3-[3], -[4], 5.1.4), e.g. the second sentence in (30), Newar (Kiryu, 5.4.3).

[2] Summary, conclusion
MSJ (Tsunoda, 5.1.3-[3], 5.1.4), Newar (Kiryu, 5.4.2).

[3] Realization, e.g. 'I see!', 'No wonder (or It is natural that) ...'
Korean (Kim, Table 4), MSJ (Tsunoda, 5.1.3-[2], -[3]), e.g. (26).

Modern Standard Japanese
(26) ('I did not know that Hanako will have an examination tomorrow.')
　　[*Doori=de Hanako=wa issyokenmee benkyoo-si-te i-ru*]
　　no.wonder Hanako=TOP very.hard　　study-do-GNF be-NPST
　　hazu=da.
　　realization=COP.NPST
　　LT: '[No wonder Hanako is studying hard] a realization is.'
　　FT: 'No wonder (or, It is natural that) Hanako is studying very hard.'

(See 4.4-[2] for the semantic change that *hazu* has undergone.)

[4] Presupposed fact, presupposition
Newar (Kiryu, 5.4.3).

[5] Focus
Amdo Tibetan (Ebihara, Table 5).

3.1.2.8 Other meanings
This group is heterogeneous.

[1] Degree (e.g. 'hardly, scarcely', 'be the most V', 'only do V-ing; have only to do'), extent, limit
Burmese (Kato, Table 13), OEMJ (Miyachi, Table 6).

[2] 'People are affected' (passive-like)
Thai (Kiyoko Takahashi, 5.8), e.g. (18).

3.1.2.9 Notes on the meanings of the Noun and the MMC
As an example, we consider Modern Standard Japanese. In (3) and (23), the noun in the Noun slot, i.e. *yotee*, means 'plan', and therefore the meaning of the MMC (i.e. 'Hanako plans to go to Nagoya (tomorrow)') may be said to be predictable. The same applies to (4) (*yoosu* 'appearance') and (24) (*zikan* 'time'). For example,

on the basis of the meaning 'time' of the noun *zikan*, it is fairly easy to predict the meaning of the MMC in (24): 'It is already time for me to go out'. That is, there are many instances in which the meaning of the MMC is predictable – to varying degrees, though – on the basis of the meaning of the noun in the Noun slot.

However, there are also many instances in which the meaning of the MMC is unpredictable (or at least extremely difficult to predict). For example, in (5), the noun in the Noun slot, i.e. *tokoro*, means 'place' and the MMC means 'Hanako has just gone out now'. The meaning of this MMC is unpredictable (or at least extremely difficult to predict). The same applies to (25) and (27), for instance. In (25), the noun in the Noun slot, i.e. *sidai*, means 'circumstance, procedure, programme, process' and the MMC has a stylistic meaning: formal. In (27), the noun in the Noun slot, i.e. *mono*, means 'thing, person' and the MMC expresses strong emotion, wish or hope.

Modern Standard Japanese

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

The above shows that, in terms of meaning, some of the nouns in the Noun slot have undergone grammaticalization. We have looked at MSJ examples, but the same applies to many nouns in the Noun slot of the MMC of many (or all?) other languages. We shall examine the grammaticalization of nouns in the Noun slot in Section 4.

3.1.3 Noun: semantic types of nouns

Two types of nouns are recurrent in the Noun slot of the MMC: those which may be called generic nouns (3.1.3.1) and evidential nouns (3.1.3.2). We shall also note the frequent use of loan words in the Noun slot (3.1.3.3) and the use of nominalizers for discourse-related meanings (3.1.3.4).

3.1.3.1 Generic nouns

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

Tab. 2: Generic nouns.

Language	Form	Meaning of noun outside MMC	Meaning of MMC
Modern Standard Japanese	*mono*	'thing, person'	(a) obligation, advice (b) strong emotion, surprise, wish, hope, e.g. (27) (c) past habitual, e.g. (28) (d) explanation (e) formal
	tokoro	'place'	(a) 'has just done', e.g. (5) (b) 'be about to do' (c) progressive (d) formal
	koto	'fact'	advice, instruction, obligation, e.g. (29), (35)
	zikan	'time'	'It is time to do', e.g. (24)
Mitsukaido dialect of Japanese	*zigan*	'time'	'It is time to do'
Old and Early Middle Japanese	*mono*	'thing, person'	(a) 'be bound to do' (b) obligation, duty (c) general tendency
	koto	'thing'	(a) strong emotion, definite assertion (b) general tendency (c) 'be bound to do'
	tokoro	'place'	'be about to do'
	koro	'time'	'This is the season of the year to do' with a strong emotion
	mi	'body'	'It/Someone looks like'
	kokoro	'heart, mind'	(a) 'X feels that …' (b) 'It appears/seems'
Irabu Ryukyuan	*kutu*	'fact, thing'	(a) deontic: 'should', 'be supposed to do' (b) future
	munu	'thing, person'	causal: 'because'
	=su(u)	'person, man, thing'	(a) tag question (b) epistemic or evidential: 'I think', 'It seems' (visual/auditory evidence)
Ainu	*pe/p*	'thing, person'	assertive, pragmatic imperative
	kun-i-p	'obligation?-POSS-thing/person'	'should' (deontic)
	us-ke	'the place of'	progressive
	hi	'place, time, thing'	assertive
	kat-u	'the shape/manner of'	assertive
Korean	*hyengthay*	'form'	evidential: 'It appears that'
	kil	'path, road'	progressive
	the	'ground, place'	(a) strong intention (b) conjecture, guess

Tab. 2: (continued)

Language	Form	Meaning of noun outside MMC	Meaning of MMC
	kes	'thing'	(a) background explanation, reason
			(b) self-awareness, realization
			(c) advice, command, instruction, strong obligation
			(d) blame, displeasure, surprise
			(e) guess, conjecture
			(f) speaker's intention
	pa	'thing, ways'	formal
	ttay	'time'	'It is time to do'
	cham, cha	'time, moment'	(a) intention
			(b) progressive
Sakha	*kem*	'time'	experiential
Mongolian	*udaa*	'time, occasion'	temporal or aspectual (experience)
Amdo Tibetan	*bkopa*	'way, manner'	(a) 'have decided to do', 'plan to do'
			(b) future
Central Tibetan	ˉ*khüü*	'appearance'	evaluation
	ˉ*käca*	'talk'	reported evidence
Sidaama	*gara*	'manner, way'	conjecture: 'It seems that'

Examples follow.

Modern Standard Japanese

(28) [*Hanako=wa yoku Nagoya=e   it-ta*]   ***mono**=da.*
    Hanako=TOP often Nagoya=ALL go-PST thing/person=COP.NPST
    LT: '[Hanako often went to Nagoya] a thing/person is.'
    FT: 'Hanako used to go to Nagoya often.'

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

It should be added that, in the quasi-MMC of Thai, the Noun slot is occupied by the nominalizer *kaan* or *thîi*. An example of *kaan* is (18). The nominalizer *kaan* can be used as a noun that means 'activity, affair' or 'matter', and *thîi* can be used as a noun that means 'place' or 'entity (thing, instrument, person, etc.)'. Note that these nouns, too, have a generic meaning.

In their discussion of the sources of complementizers, Heine & Kuteva (2007: 230–231) state that one major source for complementizers consists of generic nouns such as 'thing', 'matter', 'place', 'time', 'kind', and 'way'. Note that these nouns – except for 'kind' – are included in the nouns listed in Table 2, i.e. the generic nouns that recurrently occupy the Noun slot of the MMC.

3.1.3.2 Evidential nouns

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

As noted above, in the instances of the MMC that have an evidential meaning, the Noun slot is often occupied by a noun which refers to (i) appearance, situation, form, shape or the like or (ii) the surface of a person. However, there is one exception. In Sidaama (Kawachi, 5.2.1), the noun *gara* 'manner, way' can occupy the Noun slot. It does not have the meaning of (i) or (ii). Nonetheless this MMC has an evidential meaning: the speaker's conjecture on the truthfulness of the proposition expressed by the Clause based on his/her own observation of the subject's action or state or on the information on it that s/he has obtained from someone else.

Also, conversely, when a noun which refers to appearance, situation, form, shape or the like occupies the Noun slot, the MMC generally has an evidential meaning. There are, however, exceptions. First, in MSJ, the MMC with *katati* 'form, shape' (Tsunoda, 5.1.2-[4]) has a meaning such as 'X in effect did'. This meaning is not really evidential. Second, in Korean, the MMC with a noun from the group (a) in Table 3 has an evidential meaning ('It appears that'), as expected. However, when a noun from the group (b) or (c) is used, the MMC does not have an evidential meaning. See Kim (5.3.2-[4]). Third, in Amdo Tibetan (Ebihara, Table 5), the MMC that has the enclitic noun =k^ha 'surface' in the Noun slot may have an evidential meaning: (a) inference. However, it may also have a stylistic meaning: (b) stylistic: humble. Similarly, the MMC that involves the enclitic noun =k^hawo 'mood, appearance' may simultaneously have both an evidential meaning ((a) sensory evidence, reported evidence, inference) and a counterfactual meaning. However, it may also have a stylistic meaning: (b) stylistic: humble. Fourth, in Central Tibetan (Izumi Hoshi, p.c.), the MMC with the noun ⁻*khüü* 'appearance' expresses evaluation, and it does not have an evidential meaning.

Tab. 3: Evidential nouns.

Language	Form	Meaning of noun outside MMC	Meaning of MMC
Modern Standard Japanese	*moyoo*, *yoosu*, *kehai*, *huu*	'appearance'	'It appears/seems that', e.g. (4)
	katati	'form, shape'	'X in effect did'
Mitsukaido dialect of Japanese	*=joo*	'state, situation'	(a) inference (b) speaker's internal feeling
Old and Early Middle Japanese	*sama*, *arisama*	'situation, appearance'	'It appears/seems that', e.g. (45)
	kesiki, *kewai*	'sign, situation, appearance'	'It appears/seems that'
	katati	'shape, figure, situation'	'It/Someone looks like'
Ainu	*ru-w-e*	'the trace of'	inference
	haw-e	'the voice of'	reported evidence
	sir-i	'the sight of'	visual evidence
	hum-i	'the sound of'	non-visual sensory evidence
	kat-u	'the shape/manner of'	assertive
Korean			
(a)	*hyengthay*	'form'	'It appears that'
	moyang, *mosup*, *kisayk*	'appearance, look'	'It appears that'
(b)	*sangthay*, *sanghwang*, *hyengphyen*	'situation'	'be in such and such a situation'
(c)	*kkol*	'look, sight', 'unpleasant state or result'	unpleasant situation or result
Sakha	*bɯhɯɯ*, *keriŋ*, *kœryŋ*	'appearance'	inference, direct observation
	žyhyn	'shape'	inference, direct observation
	činči	'sign'	inference, direct observation
Mongolian	*janz*	'appearance'	evidential: speaker's inference
	šinž	'sign, indication'	evidential: speaker's inference
Mandarin Chinese	*yàngzi*	'appearance, expression'	'X seems/looks …', e.g. (14) (observation)
Amdo Tibetan	*tsʰəkka*	'appearance'	(a) sensory evidence, reported evidence, inference (b) counterfactual
	=kʰa	'surface'	(a) inference (b) stylistic: humble

Tab. 3: (continued)

Language	Form	Meaning of noun outside MMC	Meaning of MMC
	=kʰawo	'mood, appearance'	(a) both evidential (sensory evidence, reported evidence, inference) and counterfactual (b) stylistic: humble
Central Tibetan	ˉkhüü ˉkäca	'appearance' 'talk'	evaluation reported evidence
nDrapa	nkhei1 (word)/ =nkhei (enclitic)	'appearance'	superficial observation: 'It appears/looks'
Burmese	pòuɴ hàɴ lò lòlò	'shape' 'appearance' 'like, as' 'rather like, as if'	'It seems that' 'It seems that 'It seems that' 'It looks as if' (counterfactual)
Sidaama	=gede	'like, as if, so that, that'	conjecture
Tagalog	mukha	'face'	visual evidence, inference, e.g. (16)
Kapampangan	lupa	'face'	inference (not necessarily based on visual evidence)
	lasa	'taste'	inference (not necessarily based on taste)
	babau	'smell'	inference (not necessarily based on smell)

3.1.3.3 Loan words

The use of loan words in the Noun slot is noticeable at least in Korean, MSJ, Tagalog and possibly Kurux. Regarding Korean, Kim (5.3.2) states as follows.

> Of about 80 nouns attested in the Noun slot, about 20 % are native Korean words, about 73 % are loans from Chinese, five are loans from English, and possibly one loan from Manchurian. That is, about 80 % are loans.

We turn to Japanese. In Early Middle Japanese (from 800 to 1200) (Miyachi, 7.1), thirty-four nouns are attested in the Noun slot. Most of them are native Japanese words, although three are loans from Chinese. In contrast, in MSJ (Tsunoda, 5.1.2, 5.1.3), where at least 121 nouns are found in the Noun slot, close to sixty are native Japanese words, close to sixty are loans from Chinese, and four are loans from English. That is, about 50 % are loans. (It should be added, however, that

MSJ on the whole abounds with loans from Chinese and those from English.) Regarding the increase of Chinese loans in the Noun slot, Miyachi (Section 10) notes as follows.

> Often, they [Chinese loans used in the Noun slot – TT] can express somewhat abstract concepts that native Japanese words cannot express precisely. This in turn facilitates the expression of various meanings, including modal, evidential, aspectual, temporal, and stylistic meanings. Partially at least, if not totally, this may account for the increase in the use of Chinese loans in the noun slot of the MMC.

In Tagalog (Katagiri, Section 1), six nouns are attested in the Noun slot. Among them, two are native Tagalog words, one (*mukha* 'face'; see (16)) is a loan from Sanskrit, and three are loans from Spanish. That is, more than half of the six words are loans. Katagiri (5.2.1) explicitly states as follows.

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

In Kurux (a Dravidian language of east India) (Kobayashi in collaboration with Tsunoda, 5.2.3, 5.3.4, 5.4.6), one independent noun and two enclitics can occupy the Noun slot of the MMC. The etymology of the independent noun is not transparent. However, the two enclitics may be loans from Indo-Aryan languages.

3.1.3.4 Nominalizers for discourse-related meanings

Nominalizers may be independent words, clitics or affixes. Now, the MMC may have discourse-related meanings (3.1.2.7), such as (i) explanation, reason, cause, background information, (ii) summary, conclusion, (iii) realization, and (iv) presupposition. In the data available, if a nominalizer is used in the Noun slot, this MMC generally has a discourse-related meaning, e.g. the MSJ *=no* (Tsunoda, 5.1.4), e.g. the second sentence of (30), the Amdo Tibetan *=nə* (Ebihara, 5.3.4, Table 5), and the Newar *=gu* (Kiryu, 5.4). However, this is not always the case. As seen in 3.1.3.1, in the quasi-MMC in Thai, the Noun slot is occupied by the nominalizer *kaan* or *thîi*. This quasi-MMC does not have a discourse-related meaning. It expresses belief (cited in 3.1.2.2-[10] above) or 'People are affected' (cited in 3.1.2.8-[2] above) (Kiyoko Takahashi, 5.8), e.g. (18). (*Kaan* can be used as a noun that means 'activity, affair' or 'matter', and *thîi* can be used as a noun that means 'place' or 'entity'.)

Modern Standard Japanese
(30) *Gakusee=ga   issyokenmee benkyoo-si-te i-ru*
      student=NOM very.hard   study-do-GNF be-NPST
      'The students are studying very hard.'

[*Siken=ga*   <u>*ar-u*</u>]=**no**=<u>*da.*</u>
examination=NOM be-NPST=NMLZ=COP.NPST
LT: '[There is/will be an examination] NMLZ is.'
FT: 'This is because there will be an examination.'

3.1.4 Modification of the Noun

We now examine whether nouns in the Noun slot of the MMC can be modified by a word or words, such as an adjective, a demonstrative and a genitive phrase. We shall be concerned with nouns that are independent words, to the exclusion of clitics and suffixes. Not all the chapters investigate this issue. Also, languages that can have clitics and/or affixes, but not independent nouns, in the Noun slot are irrelevant.

This modification is attested in the following languages: Mongolian (Umetani, 5.5; modification by an adjective), OEMJ (Miyachi, 7.8-[2]; modification by a genitive phrase), and Sakha (Ebata, 5.5; modification by an adjective). It may not be irrelevant that the MMC in Mongolian and that in Sakha are non-prototypical ones in which nouns in the Noun slot are combined with the proprietive suffix: 'having'.

This modification is either unacceptable or probably unacceptable in the following languages: Amdo Tibetan (Ebihara, 5.4.2), Burmese (Kato, 5.7.2.2), Irabu Ryukyuan (Shimoji, 5.2.5.3), Korean (Kim, 5.4.5), Kurux (Kobayashi in collaboration with Tsunoda, 5.2.2.4), and MSJ (Tsunoda, 5.4.3).

Where nouns in the Noun slot allow this modification, they retain their nounhood in this respect. Where they do not allow this modification, they have lost their nounhood in this respect.

Unacceptability of this modification indicates that syntactically the Noun and the preceding predicate of the Clause form a unit. See 3.4.3 for a further discussion.

3.1.5 Affixation to the Noun

We now examine whether nouns in the Noun slot of the MMC can be combined with an affix. We shall be concerned with nouns that are independent words, to the exclusion of clitics and suffixes. Two chapters investigate this issue: one on Old Japanese (700–800) and Early Middle Japanese (800–1200) and the other on MSJ.

Old and Early Middle Japanese ("OEMJ") has at least two prefixes and one suffix that can be added to the Noun of the MMC. They are *on-* and *mi-* both 'respect' and *-domo* 'plural' (Miyachi, 7.8-[1]).

MSJ (Tsunoda, 7.3) has at least two derivational prefixes that can be added to the nouns in the Noun slot: *go-* and *o-* both 'polite' and/or 'respect'. (The prefix *on-* changed to *o-* (Frellesvig 2010: 370).)

In the instances noted above, the nouns retain their nounhood in that they can be combined with an affix.

3.2 Copula of the MMC

3.2.1 Absence of the Copula

The prototypical MMC contains the Copula; see (1). Examples include (3) to (5), (19), (23) to the second sentence of (30). However, there are languages that do not have a copula verb: Burmese (Kato, Section 1), Tagalog (Katagiri, Section 1) and also Kapampangan (Hiroaki Kitano, p.c.). See (16) (Tagalog).

In the MMC of languages that have a copula, the Copula may be absent. Its absence may be optional in some instances. However, it may be obligatory in other instances. Examples from MSJ follow.

The MMC with the noun *mono* 'thing, person' in the Noun slot may express strong emotion, wish, or hope – of the speaker – (Table 2), and the Copula of this MMC is sometimes absent, e.g. (27). It is in view of this that *=da* 'COP.NPST' is parenthesized in (27). (See Tsunoda (5.4.1-[2]-(b)).) The MMC with the noun *koto* 'fact' may express advice, obligation or instruction (Table 2), and the Copula of this MMC is often absent, e.g. (29), (35). (See Tsunoda (5.4.1-[2]-(a)).) It is in view of this that *=da* 'COP.NPST' is parenthesized in (29) and (35). The MMC with the noun *yosi* 'means, clue' in the Noun slot indicates reported evidence. In this MMC, the Copula is always absent (in my idiolect, at least), e.g. (31). (See Tsunoda (5.4.1-[1]-(b)).)

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

3.2.2 Variants in the Copula slot

The copula verb in the Copula slot may be replaced with what may be considered variants of the copula. They include the following.

(a) *=des-* 'COP.POL' (the polite form of the copula) in MSJ (Tsunoda, 5.2).
(b) The intransitive verb *nar-* 'become' in MSJ (Tsunoda, 5.2).

(c) The adjective *kath-* 'same' in Korean (Kim, 5.1).

(d) Intransitive verbs of perception, such as *e:tʰrʔ-* 'look', *mendrʔ-* 'sound', and *lag-* 'feel' in Kurux (Kobayashi in collaboration with Tsunoda, 5.4.1).

The MMC with (b), (c) or (d) departs from the prototype of the MMC (see (1)) in that it does not involve a copula verb.

3.3 Clause of the MMC

3.3.1 Predicate of the Clause

[1] Morphological possibilities

The predicate of the Clause is generally in a finite form, such as past, present, future (depending on the language). However, this is not always the case. Two examples follow.

Example 1. Korean (Kim, 5.1) has three types of the MMC. Also it has an elaborate set of adnominal forms. In the type of the MMC examined, the predicate of the Clause has to occur in an adnominal form (a non-finite form). It cannot occur in any other non-finite form or in any finite form. (In this respect, it behaves like the predicate of adnominal clauses of Korean.)

Example 2. In MSJ (Tsunoda, 5.3.2.1-[1]), the predicate of the Clause is generally in the past form (a finite form), e.g. (5), or in the nonpast form (again a finite form), e.g. (3), (4). However, there is an exception. Nominal adjectives (one of the two types of adjectives) and the copula verb each have an adnominal nonpast form that is distinct from the finite nonpast form. For the predicate of the Clause, the finite nonpast form cannot be used, and the adnominal nonpast form has to be used instead.

As mentioned above, the predicate of the Clause is generally in a finite form. However, not all finite forms can be used as the predicate of the Clause. Thus, in MSJ (Tsunoda, 5.3.2.1-[1]), the imperative form, the prohibitive and the intentional/hortative form, for instance, are unacceptable as the predicate of the Clause. Compare (3) and (23) (the predicate of the Clause is *i-ku* 'go-NPST') with (32).

Modern Standard Japanese

(32) *[*Hanako=ga   Nagoya=ni   ik-e / ik-una / ik-oo*]
     Hanako=NOM Nagoya=DAT/LOC go-IMP / go-PROH / go-INT/HORT
     ***yotee**=da.*
     plan=COP.NPST
     (Untranslatable)

The imperative is also unacceptable in Amdo Tibetan (Ebihara, 6.2.1), nDrapa (Shirai, 5.2.1.5, 5.2.2.4-[2]), Tagalog (Katagiri, 5.2.5), and probably in many other languages.

[2] Illocutionary possibilities

As just seen, forms such as the imperative form, the prohibitive form and the intentional/hortative form are unacceptable as the predicate of the Clause in the languages listed above, among others. Similarly, sentence-final particles or the like are unacceptable in the Clause in Amdo Tibetan (Ebihara, 6.2.7), MSJ (Tsunoda, 5.3.2.2-[2]) and nDrapa (Shirai, 6.2), among others. For example, in MSJ, final postpositions, such as *=yo* 'assertion', *=ka* 'question' and *=ne* 'request for confirmation', can occur sentence-finally; they follow the predicate. An example of *=ne* is (33). However, they cannot occur in the Clause. See (34).

Modern Standard Japanese

(33) *Hanako=ga*   *Nagoya=ni*   *ik-u=ne.*
    Hanako=NOM Nagoya=DAT/LOC go-NPST=*ne*
    'Hanako goes/will go to Nagoya, doesn't/won't she?'

(34) *[Hanako=ga*   *Nagoya=ni*   *ik-u=yo/=ka/=ne]*   **yotee**=*da.*
    Hanako=NOM Nagoya=DAT/LOC go-NPST=*yo/=ka/=ne* plan=COP.NPST
    (Untranslatable)

The above shows that the morphological and illocutionary possibilities of the predicate of the Clause are limited, in comparison with those of the predicate of independent sentences.

[3] Transitivity/intransitivity

In almost all the languages investigated in the present volume, there appears to be no restriction on the transitivity/intransitivity of the predicate of the Clause. However, there is one exception: Kolyma Yukaghir (Endo, 5.3.4), where, in certain types of the MMC, only intransitive verbs are used as the predicate of the Clause. (In the other types, both transitive and intransitive verbs can be used as the predicate of the Clause.)

3.3.2 Subject of the Clause

3.3.2.1 Absence of the subject

There are languages in which sentences are often elliptical, provided that the referents are recoverable. Furthermore, in the case of the MMC, there are instances in which the subject of the Clause has to be absent or is generally absent. Two examples from MSJ are given.

The MMC with the noun *mono* 'thing, person' in the Noun slot may express strong emotion, wish, hope or the like, e.g. (27). The emotion or the like is always that of the speaker. The subject (referring to the speaker) has to be absent. That is, (27) cannot contain the subject. (See Tsunoda (5.4.4-[1]-(a)).)

The MMC with the noun *koto* 'fact' can indicate advice, instruction or obligation. In effect the MMC with *koto* 'fact' can be used rather like an imperative sentence. In such cases, the subject can be present, e.g. (29), but it is often absent, e.g. (35). The subject understood is the second person. (See Tsunoda (5.4.4-[1]-(b)).) Furthermore, as noted in 3.2.1, when the MMC with the noun *koto* 'fact' expresses advice, obligation or instruction, the Copula of this MMC is often absent, e.g. (29) and (35).

Modern Standard Japanese
(35) [*Issyokenmee* *benkyoo-su-ru*] **koto**(=*da*).
    very.hard   study-do-NPST fact(=COP.NPST)
    '(You) should study very hard.'

3.3.2.2 Person of the subject
The person of the subject of the Clause exhibits certain tendencies. Examples follow.

When the MMC expresses strong emotion, wish or hope, the subject appears to be always the first person, e.g. (27) (MSJ) (Tsunoda, 5.4.4-[2]). When the MMC describes advice, instruction or the like, the subject is often the second person, e.g. (35) (MSJ) (Tsunoda, 5.4.4-[2]).

When the MMC has the evidential meaning of reported evidence, the subject appears to be always the third person, e.g. (31), (46) (MSJ) (Tsunoda, 5.4.4-[2]).

When the MMC has the evidential meaning of inference, conjecture or the like, the subject is generally the third person, e.g. (4) (MSJ) (Tsunoda, 5.4.4-[2]), (16) (Tagalog) (Katagiri, 5.2.2), and (45) (OEMJ) (Miyachi, 7.1-[3]). It has to be the third person (and cannot be the first person or the second person) in two out of the three types of MMCs in Sidaama (Kawachi, 5.2.1, 5.3.1). In contrast, in the MMC of the Mitsukaido dialect of Japanese (Sasaki, 5.3.5), the subject is often the first person, although it may also be the second person or the third person.

3.3.2.3 Case of the subject
Generally, the subject of the Clause has the same case as that of the subject of independent sentences. Examples from MSJ are given. In (7) to (9), which are independent sentences, the subject is marked by the nominative case (=*ga*). In (3) to (5), which are instances of the MMC, the subject of the Clause is marked by the nominative case. (The topic marker =*wa*, e.g. (6), is not a case marker.)

There are, however, a small number of exceptions to this general tendency. All of them are shown below.

[1] Mitsukaido dialect of Japanese

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

[2] Koryak

In Koryak (Kurebito, Section 3, 5.1-(f), 5.3.1-[3]), in independent sentences the A is in the ergative case and the S and the O are in the absolute case. In one type of the MMC, the A may occur in the ergative case or in the dative case.

[3] Kurux

In Kurux (Kobayashi in collaboration with Tsunoda, 4.1, 4.2.1.4, 5.2.2.2, 6.3), the subject in independent sentences is in the nominative case. The subject in one type of the MMC is in the genitive case – as is the case in certain types of adnominal clauses.

[4] Hindi

In Hindi (Imamura, Section 3 and 5.1.3.1-(c)), in independent sentences the A occurs in the ergative case in the perfective and in the direct (i.e. absolutive) case in the imperfective. The S is in the direct case consistently. In the MMC, in which the predicate is in an infinitive form (a non-finite form), the A is in the direct case, like the S.

3.3.3 Absence of the arguments

For the quasi-MMC of Thai (Kiyoko Takahashi, 5.9), it is not easy to identify the Clause itself. (As noted in 2.3 above, the Thai quasi-MMC is the farthest away from the prototype of the MMC among all the varieties of the MMC reported in the present volume.) At least, what may be considered the Clause cannot take any argument, in contrast with independent sentences. See "[NMLZ Verb]" in (17). An example is (18). In other languages investigated in the present volume, there is no such restriction on the arguments in the Clause of the MMC.

3.3.4 Can the Clause be used as a sentence by itself?

As seen in 2.1, the prototype of the MMC has five properties, one of which is the following:

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

There are many instances in which the Clause can be used as a sentence by itself. As examples from MSJ, compare (3) with (7); (4) with (8); and (5) with (9). However, the Clause cannot be always used as a sentence by itself. In the languages examined in the present volume, the acceptability of the Clause as a sentence by itself depends on the following three factors.

Factor 1: Presence of the arguments.
Factor 2: Case of the subject.
Factor 3: Predicate morphology.

We shall look at each of these three factors.

[1] Presence of the arguments
This concerns the quasi-MMC of Thai (Kiyoko Takahashi, 5.9). As noted in 3.3.3, the Clause of the Thai quasi-MMC cannot take any argument (if the Clause can be identified at all), and consequently it cannot be used as a sentence by itself. It may be acceptable as an elliptical sentence, but it is unacceptable as a non-elliptical sentence.

In [2] and [3], we shall look at languages other than Thai.

[2] Case of the subject
In order for the Clause to be acceptable as a sentence by itself, the case of the subject needs to be one that is acceptable in the corresponding sentence. Otherwise, the Clause is unacceptable as a sentence. For example, as seen in 3.3.2.3-[2], in one type of the MMC in Koryak, the A of the Clause may be in the ergative case or the dative case. When the A is in the dative case, the Clause is unacceptable as a sentence. The A of independent sentences needs to be in the ergative case.

[3] Predicate morphology
In languages whose verbs, etc. conjugate, in order for the Clause to be acceptable as a sentence by itself, the predicate of the Clause needs to be in a conjugational category that is acceptable in the predicate of the corresponding sentence.

Verb forms can be classified as follows. (i) Finite forms. (ii) Other forms: adnominal forms, participles, converbs, verbal nouns, infinitive forms, stems, roots, etc.

If the predicate of the Clause is in a finite form, the Clause can be used as a sentence by itself. As examples from MSJ, compare (3) with (7) (nonpast); (4) with (8) (nonpast); and (5) with (9) (past).

As the predicate of independent sentences, other forms are often unacceptable, but they are sometimes acceptable. As examples, we shall look at adnominal forms. As seen in 3.3.1-[1], in Korean (Kim, 5.1), which has an elaborate set of adnominal forms, the predicate of the Clause has to be in an adnominal form. Adnominal forms in Korean cannot be used finitely, and consequently the Clause cannot be used as a sentence by itself. In contrast, in Irabu Ryukyuan (Shimoji, 3.3, 4.1.1, 5.2.5.4), adnominal forms can be used as the predicate of independent sentences. One type of the MMC requires the predicate of the Clause to be in an adnominal form, and its Clause can be used as a sentence by itself.

In nDrapa, the opposition between "Pattern A" (egophoric) and "Pattern B" (non-egophoric) in the predicate is relevant for the acceptability of the Clause as a sentence by itself. See Shirai (Section 3 and 5.2.1.4) for details.

3.3.5 Sentencehood of the Clause

As seen in 3.3.4, there are many instances of the MMC whose Clause can be used by itself as a sentence. However, in all the languages examined in the present volume, the Clause has a lower degree of sentencehood than independent sentences – even when it can be used by itself as a sentence. This is because, as seen in 3.3.1, morphological and illocutionary possibilities of the predicate of the Clause are limited, in comparison with those of the predicate of independent sentences.

3.4 Syntactic structure of the MMC

3.4.1 Introductory notes

As noted in Section 1 and 2.1, the prototype of the MMC has the structure shown in (1) – superficially at least.

(1) [Clause]   Noun   Copula.

That is, superficially at least, the MMC looks bi-clausal, with the Clause as a subordinate clause. Indeed, in many languages reported in the present volume, the Clause of the MMC is identical or similar to adnominal clauses (ACs) (or relative

clauses) in terms of the morphology of the predicate. For example, in Korean (Kim, 4.2.1, 5.1) the predicate has to be in an adnominal form in both ACs and the Clause of the MMC. (See also 3.3.1-[1] above.) As another example, in MSJ, the predicate of ACs and that of the Clause of the MMC are very similar in terms of inflectional possibilities (Tsunoda, Tables 2 and 3). The MMC in such languages may appear to contain an AC and consequently to be bi-clausal. Indeed, there are many previous studies of what I labelled the MMC of MSJ that consider the Clause as an AC, e.g. Taro Takahashi (1960), Okutsu (1974), Shin'ya (1989), and Teramura (1992) (see Tsunoda (6.1)). In effect, these studies regard the MMC as bi-clausal. (These studies do not use the term "mermaid construction", nor do they treat it as a distinct construction in the way the present volume does (Tsunoda, 6.1).)

The main points of 3.4 are the following.

(a) Syntactically, the MMC does not contain AC.
(b) Syntactically, the MMC is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal, despite its superficial appearance (shown in (1)).
(c) The MMC has just one predicate, not two predicates, and the predicate is a compound predicate that consists of the predicate of the Clause, the Noun and (where the Copula is present) the Copula, as shown in (2).

(2) [...   predicate]   Noun   Copula.
            compound predicate

Roughly speaking, most of the languages examined in the present volume provide evidence for (a) and (b), and some of the languages supply evidence for (c).

3.4.2 Mono-clausal status of the MMC

Different chapters examine different syntactic aspects of the MMC, e.g. (i) agreement between the verb and the subject, (ii) topic marking, (iii) contrast marking, (iv) focus marking, (v) *kakarimusubi* (agreement between a focus marker and the predicate), (vi) adverbs of modality, (vii) negation, (viii) case marking of the subject, (ix) anticipatory pronouns, (x) clefting, (xi) relativization, (xii) gapping, (xiii) one subject or two subjects, (xiv) deletion of ACs and the Clause, (xv) sentence-final particles, (xvi) modal and aspectual markers, and (xvii) copula.

We shall look at (a) and (b) listed in 3.4.1. Most of the languages examined supply evidence – robust evidence in some of the languages – for (a) and (b): Amdo Tibetan (Ebihara, 6.4), Burmese (Kato, 6.8), Hindi (Imamura, 6.6), Irabu Ryukyuan (Shimoji, 5.2.7.10, Section 6), Korean (Kim, 6.9), Koryak (Kurebito, 5.2.7, 5.3.7), Kurux (Kobayashi in collaboration with Tsunoda, 6.7), the Mitsukaido dialect of Japanese (Sasaki, 7.8), Mongolian (Umetani, 6.7), MSJ (Tsunoda, 6.10), nDrapa (Shirai, 6.8),

Newar (Kiryu, 6.10), Sakha (Ebata, 6.6), Sidaama (Kawachi, 6.5), Tagalog (Katagiri, 6.6) and Yukaghir (Endo, 6.9).

There is one language that departs from this crosslingusitic tendency. In Thai (Kiyoko Takahashi, 6.8), whether the quasi-MMC is bi-clausal or mono-clausal is not a clear-cut matter. Nonetheless, the evidence for its bi-clausality is stronger than that for its mono-clausality. The Thai quasi-MMC may have to be considered bi-clausal.

For specific details in individual languages, readers are requested to read the above-cited sections in individual chapters. Among the seventeen diagnostic tests listed above, some are language-specific, while others appear to have a universal status. As an example of the latter, (xiv) "deletion of ACs and the Clause" is illustrated for MSJ (Tsunoda, 6.2). Deletion of an AC produces a well-formed sentence; compare (20) and (36). In contrast, deletion of the Clause of the MMC produces a nonsensical sentence or at best an elliptical sentence; compare (37) (MMC) and (38).

Modern Standard Japanese
(20) *Hanako=wa* {*ima tu-i-ta*}   *gakusee=da.*
     Hanako=TOP now arrive-LINK-PST student=COP.NPST
     'Hanako is the/a student {who arrived now}.'

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

(37) [*Hanako=wa ima* <u>*tu-i-ta*</u>]   **tokoro**=*da.*
     Hanako=TOP now arrive-LINK-PST place=COP.NPST
     LT: '[Hanako arrived now] a place is.'
     FT: 'Hanako has just arrived now.'

(38) **Tokoro**=*da.*
     place=COP.NPST
     LT: 'A place is.'

The above clearly shows that the MSJ MMC does not contain an AC. (For that matter, the MMC does not contain any subordinate clause.)

In the languages that provide evidence for the mono-clausality of their MMC, it is justifiable to set up their MMC as a distinct construction.

Recall that one of the syntactic aspects examined is clefting: (x) clefting. In almost all the languages in which clefting is examined, it applies to the MMC and in terms of clefting the MMC behaves like verbal independent sentences. Amdo Tibetan (Ebihara, 6.3.4) is uncommon in that clefting does not apply to the MMC and that in terms of clefting the MMC behaves like ACs, not like verbal independent sentences.

3.4.3 Compound predicate

We shall look at the following issue listed in 3.4.1: (c) "The MMC has just one predicate, not two predicates, and the predicate is a compound predicate that consists of the predicate of the Clause, the Noun and (where the Copula is present) the Copula, as shown in (2)".

As seen in 3.4.2, most of the languages examined produce evidence that syntactically their MMC should be considered mono-clausal, not bi-clausal, despite its superficial appearance (shown in (1)). If their MMC is mono-clausal, then it should have just one predicate, not two predicates.

The following languages yield evidence – robust evidence in some of the languages – for (c): Korean (Kim, 6.10), the Mitsukaido dialect (Sasaki, 7.9), MSJ (Tsunoda, 6.11), Sidaama (Kawachi, 6.6), and Thai (Kiyoko Takahashi, 6.9).

The following languages supply evidence for (c), at least regarding one type of, or certain types, of the MMC: Irabu Ryukyuan (Shimoji, 5.2.7.11) and Yukaghir (Endo, 6.10).

In contrast, the following languages do not furnish evidence for (c): Kurux (Kobayashi in collaboration with Tsunoda, 6.8), nDrapa (Shirai, 6.9), Newar (Kiryu, 6.11), and Sakha (Ebata, 6.7).

The following languages do not have a copula verb, and therefore they can in no way provide evidence for (c) (although they supply evidence that the predicate of the Clause and the Noun form a unit): Burmese (Kato, 6.9) and Tagalog (Katagiri, 6.7).

Examples of evidence for (c) are cited from MSJ (Tsunoda, 6.11). There are two pieces of evidence. First, nouns in the Noun slot (e.g. *yotee* 'plan' in (3)) cannot be modified, e.g., by an adjective or a demonstrative. (See 3.1.4 above.) This shows that the Noun and the predicate of the Clause (e.g. *ik-u* 'go-NPST') form a unit; they reject the intervention of any other word. Second, the copula in the Copula slot (i.e. =*da* 'COP.NPST' in (3)) is an enclitic, and no word can intervene between it and the preceding Noun. That is, the Noun and the Copula form a unit. These two facts show that in the MSJ MMC the predicate of the Clause, the Noun and the Copula jointly form a single unit. That is, they form a compound predicate.

It is interesting to note that there is discrepancy between the evidence for (a) and (b) (the mono-clausality of the MMC) and that for (c) (the compound predicate). First, as seen in 3.4.2, most of the languages examined supply evidence for (a) and (b). Then, the same will be expected to apply to the evidence for (c). However, contrary to this expectation, not many languages yield evidence for (c). That is, the evidence for (c) is less readily available than that for (a) and (b). Second, in Thai, the evidence for the bi-clausality of the quasi-MMC is stronger than that for its mono-clausality (cf. 3.4.2 above). Despite this, there are two pieces of evidence to support the view that the quasi-MMC has only one predicate, but not two predicates. This incongruence is intriguing.

4 Grammaticalization of the Noun

Section 4 is fairly long. It consists of the following subsections: 4.1 Introductory notes, 4.2 Diachronic changes: word → clitic → affix → merger, 4.3 Syntax and morphology of the Noun, 4.4 Semantic aspects of the Noun, and 4.5 Grammaticalization of a noun into a part of the predicate.
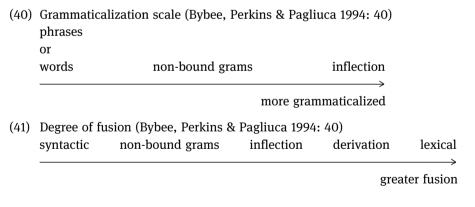
4.1 Introductory notes

Nouns in the Noun slot of the MMC have undergone grammaticalization to varying degrees and in different aspects. We shall look at their grammaticalization, paying attention to its phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic aspects. In this context, it is important to distinguish the following: independent words, clitics, and affixes.

It is convenient first to cite the following works on grammaticalization: Hopper & Traugott (2003) (first edition 1993), and Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca (1994). Hopper & Traugott (2003: 7) propose "a cline of grammaticality".

(39) A cline of grammaticality (Hopper & Traugott 2003: 7)
content item > grammatical word > clitic > inflectional affix

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

(40) Grammaticalization scale (Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994: 40)
phrases
or
words   non-bound grams   inflection
————————————————————————————————————→
                              more grammaticalized

(41) Degree of fusion (Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994: 40)
syntactic   non-bound grams   inflection   derivation   lexical
——→
                                        greater fusion

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

4.2 Diachronic changes: word → clitic → affix → merger

4.2.1 Morphological status of the Noun

On the basis of works such as Heine, Claudi & Hünnemeyer (1991b: 15, 213), Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca (1994: 40) and Hopper & Traugott (2003: 7, 110, 111) among others, grammaticalization may be hypothesized to proceed as shown in (42). Furthermore, the chapter on MSJ (Tsunoda, 7.9) reports an instance of the merger of the Noun and the Copula. "Merger" may be tentatively placed after "affix", as in (43), although there is no evidence available to show that "merger" follows "affix".

(42)   Independent word → clitic → affix

(43)   Independent word → clitic → affix → merger

(In (42) and (43), "X → Y" means "X becomes Y".)

 As we saw in 2.1 and 2.3, in the prototypical MMC, the Noun slot is occupied by a noun that is an independent word, not a clitic. In non-prototypical instances it may be occupied by a clitic or an affix. The Noun slot may be occupied by a nominalizer. Nominalizers may be independent words, clitics or affixes.

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

 [1] Independent words
By definition, the words that occupy the Noun slot of the prototypical MMC are nouns that are independent words, not clitics or affixes. The MMC of this type is by far the most common.

 [2] Clitics
It is not easy to ascertain the word-class status of the clitics that occupy the Noun slot. Nonetheless, there is at least one clitic that functions as a noun. nDrapa (Shirai, 5.2.2.1) has the noun *nkhei1/=nkhei*, which is tentatively translated as 'appearance'. It tends to be an independent word (*nkhei1*) if it follows a disyllabic or longer word, and an enclitic (*=nkhei*) if it follows a monosyllabic word. (The number '1' indicates the tone of this word. Enclitics do not carry their own tone, and their tone is not indicated.) It is used in the MMC only and this MMC has an evidential meaning of superficial observation: 'It appears/looks …'. (The noun *nkhei1/ =nkhei* is listed in Table 3 above.)

[3] Affixes

Most of the affixes that occupy the Noun slot are derivational affixes, not inflectional affixes. For example, MSJ (Tsunoda, 7.8) has the independent word (a noun) *kimi* and a derivational suffix that derives from this noun: *-gimi*. (Note the voicing of the stop.) Both of them mean 'appearance, tendency'. They can occupy the Noun slot, and each of these two types of MMC has a habitual meaning or an evidential meaning (possibly visual evidence).

However, there is at least one language that has inflectional suffixes (not derivational suffixes) that are etymologically nouns: Irabu Ryukyuan (Shimoji, 5.2.2, 5.2.3, 5.4.2, 5.4.3). This language has the independent word *kutu* 'fact' (a noun), and this noun can be used in the MMC. Furthermore, this language has the verbal inflectional suffix *-kutu*, which derived from this noun. This suffix, too, occupies the Noun slot of the MMC. The MMC with the noun *kutu* and the MMC with the suffix *-kutu* express the same meanings: (i) a deontic modal meaning 'should; be supposed to', and (ii) future 'will'. Irabu Ryukyuan likewise has the independent noun *gumata* 'plan' and the verbal inflectional suffix *-gumata*. The MMC with the noun *gumata* and the MMC with the suffix *-gumata* express the same meaning: future (to be precise, anticipated future: 'be scheduled to'). (The suffixes *-kutu* and *-gumata* are attached to verb roots or verb stems, occupying the slot that some other inflectional suffixes occupy, and consequently they are best analyzed as inflectional suffixes.)

[4] Merger

MSJ has the independent noun *koto* 'fact', which is a cognate of the Irabu Ryukyuan *kutu*. It can occur in the Noun slot of the MMC, and this MMC expresses advice, instruction or obligation, among others, e.g. (29), (35). Now, Takada (2011) (cited by Tsunoda (7.9)) reports that in the Tono dialect of Iwate Prefecture in northern Japan the noun *koto* 'fact' and the copula *=da* 'NPST' have merged and become *gotta*. It no longer conjugates, and it behaves like a final postposition. It has an evidential meaning: inference. An example cited from Takada (2011: 113) follows. The Romanization, morpheme demarcation, glossing, and English translation are mine, and they are highly tentative.

Tono dialect of Japanese
(44) *Tanaka hon ka-u gotta.*
    Tanaka book buy-NPST gotta
    'It seems that Tanaka will buy a book.'

4.2.2 Diachronic changes of nouns

It has not been possible to investigate this issue in all the languages reported in the present volume. Relevant data are shown in Table 4. "Words" refers to independent nouns, rather than clitic nouns. In the data available on the MMC, clitics are enclitics, rather than proclitics, and affixes are suffixes, rather than prefixes. There is no example which shows the chain of changes of "word → proclitic → prefix".

In view of (42), it will be possible to say that the MMC with a clitic is at a more advanced stage of grammaticalization than the MMC with the corresponding independent word, and that the MMC with an affix is at a more advanced stage of grammaticalization than the MMC with the corresponding clitic.

It has proved to be very difficult to find examples that show that one and the same item has undergone the changes shown in (42). For example, the form in each of Hindi (Imamura, 5.1.4, 7.1), Kolyma Yukaghir (Endo, 5.2.1, 5.2.8) and nDrapa (Shirai, 5.2.2.1) has a use as a word and also as an enclitic, but its use as a suffix is not attested. As another example, the word *kao* and the suffix *-gao* are attested in Early Middle Japanese ("EMJ"; 800–1200)) (Miyachi, 7.1-[6], 7.3). (Note the voicing of the stop.) But the enclitic form *=kao/=gao* is not attested in EMJ (or in MSJ)). The same applies to the word *kimi* and the suffix *-gimi* in MSJ (Tsunoda, 7.8).

We have seen that it has proved to be very difficult to find examples that show that one and the same item has undergone the changes shown in (42). It is even more difficult to find examples that show that the changes presented in (42) have taken place within the MMC. The only possible set is the one in Japanese that consists of the noun *sama*, the enclitic *=soo* and the suffix *-soo* (Miyachi, 7.1-[3]; Tsunoda, 7.6). *Nihon Kokugo Daiziten* [Comprehensive Japanese Dictionary] (second edition, second printing; Tokyo: Shogakukan 2009), Vol. 8: 290 indicates that the etymology of *=soo* and *-soo* is not certain, but that one possibility is the noun *sama* 'appearance, situation'. (The noun *sama* 'appearance, situation' is still used in MSJ. But it is not used in the MMC.) According to this etymology, *sama*, *=soo* and *-soo* constitute the only set of an independent word (a noun), a clitic and an affix that have undergone the three phases shown in (42) within the MMC. Examples follow. (i) Independent noun: (45) (EMJ, cited from Miyachi (7.1-[3])). (ii) Enclitic: (46) (MSJ, cited from Tsunoda (7.6-[2])). (iii) Suffix: (47) (MSJ, cited from Tsunoda (7.6-[3])). (45) is taken from *Taketori Monogatari* ('Tale of a bamboo cutter'), in which Princess Kaguya came from the moon to the earth and now she wishes to return to the moon.

Tab. 4: Word → enclitic → suffix.

	Word (noun)	Clitic	Affix
Japanese	*sama* 'appearance, situation' (EMJ; MMC) 'It seems/appears', e.g. (45) (MSJ: not used in MMC)	*=soo* (MSJ; MMC) 'reported evidence', e.g. (46)	*-soo* (MSJ; MMC) 'inference', e.g. (47)
	kao 'face, appearance' (EMJ; MMC) 'It/Someone looks like' (MSJ: 'face'; not used in MMC)		*-gao* (EMJ; MMC) '(elegant/refined) feeling, atmosphere, taste' (MSJ: 'face'; not used in MMC)
	kimi 'appearance, tendency' (MSJ; MMC) 'visual evidence?' or 'tendency'		*-gimi* (MSJ; MMC) 'appearance' or 'tendency'
Irabu Ryukyuan	*kutu* 'fact' (MMC) (a) deontic: 'should', 'be supposed to' (b) future ('will')		*-kutu* (MMC) (a) deontic: 'should', 'be supposed to' (b) future ('will')
	gumata 'plan' (MMC) 'future' (anticipated future)		*-gumata* (MMC) 'future' (anticipated future)
Kolyma Yukaghir	*pen* 'supernatural thing' (not used in MMC)	*=ben* (MMC) (a) past (b) strong assertion	
nDrapa	*nkhei1* 'appearance' (MMC) 'It appears/looks'	*=nkhei* 'appearance' (MMC) 'It appears/looks'	
Hindi	*paalaka* (Sanskrit, Hindi) 'guardian, protector' (not used in MMC)	*=vaalaa* (MMC) (a) 'be about to' (b) schedule, intention (c) firm belief about the occurrence/ non-occurrence of a situation	

Early Middle Japanese

(45) (Princess Kaguya is looking at the moon.)
    [*tune=yori=mo   mono-omop-i-tar-u*]
    usual=ABL=ETOP thing-think-LINK-STAT-NPST.ADN
    ***sama**=nar-i.*
    appearance=COP-NPST
    LT: '[(Princess Kaguya) thinks about things more than usual] an appearance is.'
    FT: 'Princess Kaguya seems/appears to be in deeper thought than usual.'

Modern Standard Japanese

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

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

    In EMJ, the noun *sama* means 'situation, appearance'. The MMC with it has an evidential meaning: 'It seems/appears', e.g. (45). In MSJ, the MMC with the enclitic *=soo* has an evidential meaning, to be precise, reported evidence, e.g. (46), and the MMC with the suffix *-soo* has an evidential meaning: visual evidence or inference, e.g. (47). (Tsunoda (7.6) gives evidence to regard *=soo* in (46) as an enclitic, and *-soo* in (47) as a suffix.)
    Note that the forms listed in Table 4 exhibit the following phonological changes.

(a) Voicing of a stop: *k* to *g* in Japanese, and *p* to *b* in Kolyma Yukaghir.
(b) Fricativization (accompanied by voicing) of a stop: *p* to *v* in Hindi.
(c) Deletion of a consonant: *sama* to *=soo*, *-soo* in Japanese, and *paalaka* to *=vaalaa* in Hindi.
(d) Vowel change: *sama* to *=soo*, *-soo* in Japanese.
(e) Loss of inherent tone: *nkhei1* to *=nkhei* in nDrapa.

Hopper & Traugott (2003: 154) state that most of the phonetic/phonological changes that occur in grammaticalization "are characterizable as reductions". As a parameter that concerns the phonetic/phonological aspects of grammaticalization, Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca (1994: 19–21) give phonetic/phonological reduction. Similarly, Heine & Kuteva (2007: 34) give erosion (phonetic reduction), i.e. loss in phonetic substance. These views apply to (c), (e) and also the merger of the Noun and the Copula (see (44)). However, they do not seem to apply to (a), (b) or (d). This suggests that the inventory of phonological changes in grammaticalization needs to be expanded to include (a), (b) and (d).

4.2.3 Affixes: derivational and inflectional

On the basis of "Degree of fusion", shown in (41) (Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994: 40), the order of changes shown in (48) would be expected. Indeed, Heine, Claudi & Hünnemeyer (1991b: 213) suggest this order of changes.

(48) Relative order of changes:
    derivational affix > inflectional affix

(In (48), "X > Y" means "X predates Y".)

    Grammaticalization of a noun into a derivational suffix is well attested. In contrast, grammaticalization of a noun into a verbal inflectional affix seems extremely uncommon crosslinguistically. For example, Japanese – both in EMJ (Miyachi, 7.3) and MSJ (Tsunoda, 7.6, 7.7, 7.8) – has derivational suffixes that derived from nouns, e.g. *-soo*, *-gao* and *-gimi* (Table 4). However, there is no inflectional suffix which is derived from a noun.

    A cursory examination of relevant literature, such as Heine, Claudi & Hünnemeyer (1991b), Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca (1994), Lehmann (1995), Hopper & Traugott (2003), and Heine & Kuteva (2007), indicates that no instance of grammaticalization of a noun into a verbal inflectional affix has been reported previously. (Aikhenvald (2004: 284, 2011: 609) lists seven languages in which evidential markers derive from nouns, but she does not say whether or not these markers are verbal inflectional affixes. Dixon (2003: 180) describes a suffix for reported evidence in Jarawara (southern Amazonia) that can be attached to verbs and also to nouns and that may have derived from an adverb that in turn may have derived a noun.)

    However, among the languages reported in the present volume, there is one language that has inflectional suffixes that derived from nouns. It is Irabu Ryukyuan (Shimoji, 5.2.2, 5.2.3, 5.4.2, 5.4.3). It has the noun *kutu* 'fact' and the verbal inflectional suffix *-kutu*, and the noun *gumata* 'plan' and the verbal inflectional suffix *-gumata*. (See 4.2.1-[3] above.) This phenomenon seems to be truly uncommon crosslinguistically. (It is interesting to note that Shimoji (Section 7) states as follows: "this crosslinguistically uncommon grammaticalization phenomenon seems rather common in Ryukyuan in general".)

    The above supports (48), at least as a crosslinguistic tendency.

4.3 Syntax and morphology of the Noun

Here we are concerned with nouns that are independent words (and not clitics or affixes).

[1] Syntax: modification of the Noun

As seen in 3.1.4, there are instances in which a noun in the Noun slot is modified – by an adjective or a genitive noun phrase – in Mongolian, OEMJ and Sakha. In this respect, the nouns in question have not lost their nounhood. However, this modification is either unacceptable or probably unacceptable in Amdo Tibetan, Burmese, Irabu Ryukyuan, Korean, Kurux, and MSJ. In this respect, the nouns in question have lost their nounhood.

[2] Morphology: affixation to the Noun

As noted in 3.1.5, there are instances in which a noun in the Noun slot is combined with an affix: two derivational prefixes and one derivational suffix in OEMJ, and two derivational prefixes in MSJ. In this respect, the nouns in question have not lost their nounhood. However, crosslinguistically it is not known how common this affixation is.

[3] "Denominalization"

According to Malchukov (2006: 973–974), Hopper & Thompson (1984) introduced the term "decategorization". Malchukov summarizes Hopper & Thompson's findings as follows: they "showed that verbs or nouns, when not used in their primary functions, tend to lose some of the morphosyntactic properties associated with their primary functions of reporting events and referring to terms, respectively". I propose the term "denominalization" to refer to the decategorization of nouns. It seems likely that nouns in the Noun slot are undergoing denominalization. Examples were given in [1] above. (Tsunoda (7.4) on Japanese and Shimoji (5.2.5.1, 5.3.2.2, 5.3.3.3) on Irabu Ryukyuan explicitly use the term "denominalization" to discuss this phenomenon.)

Now, in the MMC of MSJ, the modification of the Noun is impossible, but the affixation to the Noun is attested (3.1.5). Although there is no additional evidence, it is tempting to suggest that syntax is more susceptible to denominalization than is morphology, as follows.

(49) Loss of modification (in syntax) > loss of affixation (in morphology)

4.4 Semantic aspects of the Noun

In 3.1.3.1 and 3.1.3.2, I noted that synchronically there are two groups of nouns that recurrently occupy the Noun slot: generic nouns (Table 2) and evidential nouns (Table 3). Regarding the diachronic aspects of the meanings of the Noun, it is far beyond the scope of the present chapter to discuss every noun reported in the present volume, and we shall look at two of perhaps the most spectacular semantic changes.

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

Hindi (Imamura, Section 1, 5.1.3.1, 7.1) has the enclitic *=vaalaa*. The MMC with it indicates (i) 'be about to' (an aspectual meaning), (ii) schedule, intention (a modal meaning), or (iii) the speaker's firm belief about the occurrence/non-occurrence of a situation (a modal meaning). Etymologically, this enclitic is said to have derived from the Sanskrit noun *paalaka* 'guardian, protector; one who maintains or observes'. This word refers to a human, not a deity.

Kolyma Yukaghir (Endo, 5.2.3, 5.2.8) has the enclitic *=ben*, and the MMC with it expresses (i) a past situation, or (ii) a modal meaning, such as strong assertion. The etymology of this enclitic is suggested to be the noun *pen* 'thing', or more precisely, 'supernatural thing'.

It is not known how these MMCs acquired the meanings they have. This is truly intriguing.

[2] Japanese *hazu*

There are numerous works that deal with grammaticalization in Japanese, although they may not employ the term "grammaticalization". They provide fascinating accounts. One such example is *hazu*.

In MSJ (Tsunoda, 5.1.3-[2]), the noun *hazu* may be used outside the MMC (under very limited syntactic environments), with the meaning 'expectation, schedule' or 'realization'. However, it is generally used in the MMC, and this MMC has two uses: (i) expectation, schedule (a modal meaning), e.g. (50), and (ii) realization (a discourse-related meaning), e.g. (26).

Modern Standard Japanese
(50) [*Hanako=wa   Nagoya=e   ik-u*]   ***hazu*=*da*.**
    Hanako=TOP Nagoya=ALL go-NPST expectation=COP.NPST
    LT: '[Hanako goes/will go to Nagoya] an expectation is.'
    FT: 'Hanako is expected to go to Nagoya.'

Now, how did this MMC acquire this meaning? According to *Nihon Kokugo Daiziten* [Comprehensive Japanese Dictionary] (Tokyo: Shogakukan 2009), Vol. 10: 1123, *hazu* refers to an arrowhead. It fits in the bowstring nicely. Consequently the word *hazu* acquired the meaning 'It is naturally the case that …', 'X stands to reason', 'reason (not in the sense of cause), logic', and subsequently 'promise, plan'.

Heine, Claudi & Hünnemeyer (1991b: 33) seem to suggest in effect that specific terms (as against generic terms) are unlikely to be sources for grammaticalization. Indeed, most of the nouns listed in Table 2 (generic nouns) and Table 3 (evidential nouns) are generic terms. However, there are also many specific nouns that are used in the Noun slot of the MMC and are grammaticalized. Three such examples were given in [1] (Hindi and Kolyma Yukaghir) and [2] (Japanese). Many more ex-

amples are given in Tsunoda (5.1.2, 5.1.3) on MSJ, and Kim (5.3.2, 5.3.3, 5.3.4) on Korean. At least 121 nouns are attested in the Noun slot of the MMC in MSJ, and about 80 nouns are attested in that in Korean, and most of them are specific nouns, not generic nouns.

4.5 Grammaticalization of a noun into a part of the predicate

As seen in 3.4.2, most of the languages examined in the present volume provide evidence that syntactically their MMC is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal. Furthermore, as seen in 3.4.3, some of the languages examined supply evidence that their MMC has a compound predicate that consists of the predicate of the Clause, the Noun and the Copula. In the MMC of the latter languages, the Noun has become a part of the predicate of the sentence.

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

As noted above, works that investigate the grammaticalization of nouns appear to be relatively few. Furthermore, with the exceptions noted below, there seems to hardly any study that reports instances in which a noun has, or has acquired, the function of a marker for a verbal category, such as modal, evidential, aspectual or temporal. Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca (1994) furnish extensive lists of lexical sources of these verbal categories, but they do not seem to list nouns as such lexical sources. (Unlike these previous studies, the present volume amply demonstrates that these meanings can be expressed by the MMC, by means of various nouns. See 3.1.2.2 to 3.1.2.5.)

The exceptions noted above are listed in [1], [2] and [3] in the following. The instances reported in [1] and [2] are parallel to the MSJ MMC and the OEMJ MMC with the noun *tokoro* 'place'. (See Table 2.)

[1] Heine, Claudi & Hünnemeyer (1991a: 182, note 13) give an example in Ewe (a Niger-Congo language of Ghana): a sentence that etymologically contains a noun that means 'area, place' has the meaning of 'be about to do, intend to do'. This resembles the MSJ MMC (67) in Tsunoda (this volume) and the OEMJ MMC (35) in Miyachi (this volume): 'be about to do'.

[2] Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca (1994: 131) mention that in Godié, a Niger-Congo language of Ivory Coast, a noun that means 'place' functions as a progressive marker. This resembles the MSJ MMC (68) in Tsunoda (this volume): progressive. Note that all of these examples contain a noun that means 'place' and that they all have, or can have, an aspectual meaning. The Godié example and (68) of MSJ in Tsunoda (this volume) have a progressive meaning. Regarding lexical sources of progressives, Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca (1994: 120) note as follows: "The majority of progressive forms in our data base derive from expressions involving locative elements [...] The locative notion may be expressed either in the verbal auxiliary employed or in the use of postpositions or prepositions indicating location – 'at', 'in', or 'on'." In view of this, the Godié example and (68) of MSJ in Tsunoda (this volume) appear to be very uncommon; they involve a noun.[3]

[3] As noted in 4.2.3, Aikhenvald (2004: 284, 2011: 609) lists seven languages in which evidential markers derived from nouns.

As we have seen, with the exceptions noted in [1] to [3] above, there seems to hardly any study that reports instances in which a noun has, or has acquired, the function of a marker for a verbal category. However, one chapter in the present volume, i.e. that on Irabu Ryukyuan by Shimoji (5.2.2, 5.2.3, 5.4.2, 5.4.3), shows that there are two instances in which a noun has been grammaticalized into a verbal inflectional suffix, not just a marker for a verbal category. See also 4.2.1-[3] and 4.2.3 above. (As noted in 4.2.3, Aikhenvald (2004: 284, 2011: 609) lists seven languages in which evidential markers derived from nouns, but she does not say whether or not these markers are verbal inflectional affixes.)

As can be seen, the present volume supplies truly fascinating data on grammaticalization. It extensively examines the grammaticalization of nouns. Specifically, it examines the grammaticalization of a noun into a part of the predicate of a sentence. Furthermore, it reports two instances of grammaticalization of a noun into a verbal inflectional affix. In addition, it reports a rare instance of a noun used for aspectual meanings, such as progressive.

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3 Nonetheless, relevant sentences with a noun 'place' do not always have an aspectual meaning. For example, the Ewe example may have a modal meaning: 'intend to do' (Heine, Claudi & Hünnemeyer (1991a: 182, note 13)). Regarding the MMC, the MSJ MMC with the noun *tokoro* 'place' may have a stylistic meaning: formal, e.g. (69) in Tsunoda (this volume) (listed in 3.1.2.6-[1] and Table 2 of the present chapter). The Korean MMC with the noun *the* 'ground, place' expresses (i) strong intention or (ii) conjecture, guess, e.g. (74), (75) in Kim (this volume) (listed in 3.1.2.2-[1], 3.1.2.3-[4] and Table 2 of the present chapter).

5 Presence/absence of the MMC

We shall look at the geographical distribution of the MMC (5.2), its diffusion and areal features (5.3) and the patterns of its emergence (5.5). For this purpose, it is convenient to look at the history of research into the MMC (5.1) and to present a classification of adnominal clauses (or relative clauses) (5.4).

5.1 History of research into the MMC

5.1.1 Previous studies for the present volume

I shall use the term "noun-concluding construction" ("NCC") in addition to "mermaid construction" ("MMC"). They can be characterized as follows.

(51) Noun-concluding construction ("NCC"):
      Clause   Noun   Copula.

(52) Mermaid construction ("MMC"), e.g.:
      (a) Prototype: Clause   Noun   Copula.
      (b)   Copula   Noun   Clause.
      (c)   Subject   Copula   Clause   Noun.

The NCC has only one variety, while the MMC has a few varieties. All of (51) and (52)-(a), -(b), -(c) contain the Clause, the Noun and the Copula. The NCC is the same as the prototype of the MMC: (52)-(a). Note that (52)-(b) is the mirror image of (52)-(a). We shall comment on (52)-(c) below.

Probably in all the languages investigated in the present volume, instances of what I have labelled the MMC were already known. However, generally they did not seem to attract much attention of linguists, and they did not seem to be recognized as a distinct construction. There are many works that deal with instances of the MSJ MMC (e.g. Taro Takahashi (1960), Okutsu (1974), Shin'ya (1989), and Teramura (1992); see Tsunoda (6.1)) and other languages, and it is impossible to refer to all of them. Also they only look at selected aspects of the MMC, and they do not provide a comprehensive account thereof.

For MSJ (and Japanese in general), it is probably Tsunoda (1994a, 1994b, 1994c, 1996) who first recognized the peculiarity of sentences such as (3) to (5), and to distinguish them as a distinct construction. I labelled these sentences as *taigen-zime-bun* 'noun-concluding construction' (NCC), for they end with a noun (followed by the copula) even though the sentence starts with a clause that has the structure of, for instance, a verb-predicate clause.

Tsunoda (1996) in effect pointed out the following regarding the MSJ NCC. It has the structure shown in (1) and (51) – superficially at least. However, it does not contain an adnominal clause ("AC"), and it is mono-clausal. It has a compound predicate shown in (2). Content nouns (nouns with a full lexical meaning), non-content nouns (nouns with a less lexical meaning) and the nominalizer =*no* can occur in the Noun slot. The compound predicate may have various meanings, such as temporal, modal, aspectual, and stylistic. That is, the main features of the MMC were proposed in Tsunoda (1996).

Crosslinguistically, on the basis of information provided by relevant specialists, as of 1996, Tsunoda (1996) concluded tentatively as follows. The NCC or something similar was found in MSJ and a few other languages of Asia. But it was not found elsewhere. These languages were agglutinating, SOV, and postpositional. However, not every language that was SOV, agglutinating and postpositional had the NCC. The conditioning factor that favoured the existence of the NCC was not known.

From 2009 to 2012, at the National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics, I conducted two collaborative research projects. One of them aimed to examine what was labelled "NCC" at that time. Its major outcomes are Tsunoda (ed.) (2013b) (which contains working papers) and the present volume. This project produced interesting findings. (i) The NCC occurs in Sidaama, an SOV language of Ethiopia – a language outside Asia. This is reported in Kawachi (this volume). (ii) A construction that has the structure shown in (52)–(c) (same as (13)) occurs in Mandarin Chinese (an SVO language). This was reported in Ono (2013). An example is (14), cited from Ono (2013). (Also a construction somewhat similar to (51) occurs in Thai (an SVO language); see (17). This is reported in Kiyoko Takahashi (this volume). An example is (18), cited from Kiyoko Takahashi (this volume).) (iii) A construction that is almost the mirror image of (51) was discovered in Tagalog and subsequently in Kapampangan (both are VSO/VOS languages). Tagalog and Kapampangan do not have a copula verb, and the construction in question has the structure shown in (15) (i.e. (52)-(b) without the Copula). This construction in Tagalog is reported in Katagiri (this volume). That in Kapampangan is not reported in the present volume, but the information provided by Hiroaki Kitano is cited in the present chapter. An example in Tagalog is (16), cited from Katagiri (this volume).

As is obvious, the term "noun-concluding construction" (NCC) is not applicable to Tagalog or Kapampangan. In order to accommodate (15), I coined the label "mermaid construction" ("MMC"). This new label shows that the construction in question is a combination of two different structures.

5.1.2 Other studies

To the best of my knowledge, it is Matisoff (1972) who first reported the existence of what I later labelled the MMC. He examined instances of (51) (same as (52)-(a))

in Lahu, Jinghpaw, Burmese, Tibetan (all Tibeto-Burman languages), Mandarin Chinese, and Japanese (to be precise, MSJ). Matisoff (1972: 246) described this construction as "quite alien from the point of view of standard average European languages but surprisingly widespread elsewhere". All the instances that Matisoff examined involve a nominalizer. They do not involve a content noun or a non-content noun.

There are recent works that contain instances of what I have labelled the MMC. They include the following: (i) Noonan (1997) on Chantyal (a Tibeto-Burman language), (ii) Suzuki (2006) on MSJ, (iii) a few of the works in Yap, Grunow-Hårsta & Wrona (eds.) (2011b), such as DeLancey (2011) on Tibeto-Burman languages, Horie (2011) on MSJ and Korean, Rhee (2011) on Korean, and Yap, Grunow-Hårsta & Wrona (2011a), an overview, and (iv) one chapter in Matsumoto, Comrie & Sells (eds.) (2017): Bugaeva (2017) on Ainu.

The works cited in (i), (ii) and (iii) are mainly concerned with nominalization, nominalizers and their semantic/pragmatic aspects. The present volume differs from these works in that (i) it examines content nouns, non-content nouns as well as nominalizers, (ii) it provides comprehensive – semantic, pragmatic and morphosyntactic – accounts thereof, and (iii) it examines denominalization (4.3-[3]), not nominalization.

The works in Matsumoto, Comrie & Sells (eds.) (2017) examine "noun-modifying clauses" or "adnominal clauses", but they do not examine what the present volume refers to as the mermaid construction – with one exception. Namely, Bugaeva (2017: 236–237) on Ainu cites the term "the mermaid construction" from Tsunoda (2013a, 2013b), gives five examples from Ainu and explicitly states that they are instances of the mermaid construction. It should be added that Bugaeva (2013) (which is contained in Tsunoda (2013b)) provides a more detailed account of the MMC in Ainu than does Bugaeva (2017).

5.2 Geographical distribution of the MMC and word order types

A survey conducted among the participants of the two collaborative research projects mentioned in 5.1.1 and my own enquiry yielded the following results. See Map 1 and Map 2.

The MMC or something similar is found in the twenty-seven languages listed below. Except for Ainu (Bugaeva 2013), Mandarin Chinese (Ono 2013), Sive (Kubo & Kogura 2013), Central Tibetan (Izumi Hoshi, p.c.), East Tibetan (Izumi Hoshi, p.c.), Urdu (Yasunari Imamura, p.c.), Filipino (Masumi Katagiri, p.c.) and Kapampangan (Hiroaki Kitano, p.c.), these languages are discussed in separate chapters in the present volume, and the author's surname is given after the name of the language.

Tagalog (Katagiri), Filipino, Kapampangan, Irabu Ryukyuan (Shimoji), MSJ (Tsunoda), Mitsukaido dialect (Sasaki), OEMJ (Miyachi), Ainu, Korean (Kim), Koryak

(Kurebito), Yukaghir (Endo), Sakha (Ebata), Mongolian (Umetani), Mandarin Chinese, Amdo Tibetan (Ebihara), Central Tibetan, East Tibetan, nDrapa (Shirai), Newar (Kiryu), Burmese (Kato), Thai (Kiyoko Takahashi), Kurux (Kobayashi in collaboration with Tsunoda), Hindi (Imamura), Urdu, and Sidaama (Kawachi)

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

Among the languages listed above, the MMC is very close to, or identical with, the prototypical MMC (cf. 2.1) in some languages, while it deviates from the canonical MMC in other languages, to varying degrees. See 2.3.

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

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

(I should note, however, that Toru Shionoya on Hawaiian (a VSO language, rather than a VSO/VOS language), Yasuhiro Kojima on Georgian, Kosei Otsuka on Tiddim Chin, and Nobuko Yoneda on Swahili report that it may be possible to say that something similar to the MMC exists in these languages.)

Keren Rice (p.c.) and Bjarke Frellesvig (p.c.) report that the MMC is not found in Slavey (an SOV language) and Danish (an SVO language), respectively.

Most of the languages that have the MMC (or something close to its prototype) have the SOV order. The exceptions are Mandarin Chinese (an SVO language), and Tagalog, Filipino and Kapampangan (VSO/VOS languages).

Among the languages that do not have the MMC, at least the following have the VSO order and/or the VOS order. They are sometimes called verb-initial languages.

Coast Tsimshian, many Mayan languages, Hawaiian, Tinrin, Neku, 'Ôrôê, Kove, and Amis.

Furthermore, Thomas Payne (p.c.), who had been extensively working on verb-initial languages in North America and Africa (including Nilotic languages of the Nilo-Saharan language family), stated that he had never seen anything like the MMC in these languages. This suggests that the MMC is very uncommon among verb-initial languages. Tagalog, Filipino and Kapampangan are exceptions; they have the MMC, although they are verb-initial languages (they are VSO/VOS languages). (If Hawaiian (VSO, but not VSO/VOS) turns out to have the MMC, it will be another verb-initial language that has the MMC.)

On the basis of the above, it seems safe to say the following. The MMC is uncommon crosslinguistically. It is in the main confined to Asia. It generally occurs in SOV languages, which belong to Type I (SOV languages) in the table of contents. It also occurs in Mandarin Chinese, and a construction somewhat similar to the MMC occurs in Thai. These languages belong to Type II (SVO languages) in the table of contents. This construction in Thai is reported by Kiyoko Takahashi in the present volume. Furthermore, the MMC occurs in Tagalog, Filipino and Kapampangan, all of which belong to Type III (VSO/VOS languages). The MMC in Tagalog is reported by Masumi Katagiri in the present volume. Among the languages of Type IV (in which the order of S, O and V is not fixed), the MMC is found in Koryak only. See the chapter by Megumi Kurebito in the present volume.

5.3 Diffusion and areal features

There are two groups of languages in which the MMC is frequently found. See Genetic classification of languages, Map 1 and Map 2.

[1] Tibeto-Burman languages

The MMC is found in a fair number of languages of the Tibeto-Burman branch of the Sino-Tibetan family: Amdo Tibetan (Ebihara, this volume), Central Tibetan (Izumi Hoshi, p.c.), East Tibetan (Izumi Hoshi, p.c.), nDrapa (Shirai, this volume), Kathmandu Newar (Kiryu, this volume), Burmese (Kato, this volume), and Lahu, Jinghpaw (Matisoff 1972). However, there are also Tibeto-Burman languages in which the MMC is not found, e.g. Meche (Kazuyuki Kiryu, p.c.), and Pwo Karen, Sgaw Karen (Atsuhiko Kato, p.c.). Mandarin Chinese (Ono 2013) (a member of the Sinitic branch of the same family), too, has the MMC. It is important to investigate whether the MMC is genetically inherited from the protolanguage or has diffused among these languages.

As noted in 5.2, the MMC (or something close to its prototype) is generally found in SOV languages, except for Mandarin Chinese (Ono 2013) (SVO), and Tagalog (Katagiri, this volume), Filipino (Masumi Katagiri, p.c.) and Kapampangan (Hiroaki Kitano, p.c.) (they are VSO/VOS languages). Now, regarding the absence of the MMC in Pwo Karen and Sgaw Karen, Atsuhiko Kato (p.c.) notes as follows. They have been in intensive contact with Burmese, from which they have borrowed a

large number of words – even function words. Despite this, unlike Burmese, they do not have the MMC. One factor that may have hindered the borrowing of the MMC is word order: they have the SVO order, whereas Burmese has the SOV order.

[2] Languages in East Asia
The MMC clusters in East Asia.

(a) Irabu Ryukyuan (Shimoji, this volume) and Japanese (Tsunoda, Sasaki, Miyachi, this volume) (both Japonic languages).
(b) Ainu (Bugaeva 2013) (genetic affiliation unknown).
(c) Korean (Kim, this volume) (genetic affiliation unknown).
(d) Mandarin Chinese (Ono 2013) (a Sino-Tibetan language).
(e) Sive (Kubo & Kogura 2013) (a Tungusic language, originally from Manchuria).

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

We have looked at two groups of languages in which the MMC is frequently found. There appears to be no evidence to show that the MMC diffused among the languages of either of these two groups. In this connection, Kurux, a Dravidian language, provides fascinating data.

According to Kobayashi in collaboration with Tsunoda (5.3.4, 5.4.6), Kurux has the MMC, which is uncommon among Dravidian languages. There are two enclitics that can occupy the Noun slot of the MMC, and they may be loans from Indo-Aryan languages. Hindi (Imamura, Section 1) has a parallel construction, and the MMC in Kurux may possibly have risen due to structural borrowing. If the scenario that Kobayashi in collaboration with Tsunoda suggests is correct, the two enclitics and the MMC have diffused and crossed the genetic border. It is relevant to note that both Kurux and Hindi are SOV languages. (Kurux has the MMC of another type, in which the Noun slot is occupied by a noun, not an enclitic. The etymology of this noun is not transparent (Kobayashi in collaboration with Tsunoda, 5.2.3). See 5.5-[4] below.)

5.4 Adnominal clauses of the addition type

It is important to enquire whether the presence of the MMC can be predicted on the basis of some other property in a given language. That is, is there any correlation between the MMC and some other property? When the collaborative research projects mentioned in 5.1.1 started in 2009, it was hypothesized that the presence

of one type of adnominal clauses ("ACs") (or relative clauses) is a prerequisite to the presence of the MMC. They are adnominal clauses of the addition type.

On the basis of works such as Taro Takahashi (1960, 1979), Teramura (1969, 1992) and Okutsu (1974), Tsunoda (4.2.2) proposes to classify ACs of MSJ and also to label them as follows: (i) ACs of the gap type, (ii) ACs of the addition type, and (iii) ACs with an anticipatory pronoun. The gap type and the addition type are relevant in this context. They (together with ACs with an anticipatory pronoun) are discussed and exemplified in Tsunoda (4.2.2), and the main points are repeated below. (Works in Matsumoto, Comrie & Sells (eds.) (2017) examine ACs, including what Tsunoda (4.2.2) calls ACs of the addition type, in a fair number of languages of Eurasia.)

The formation of gap-type ACs involves the gap strategy. The head noun corresponds to an argument or an adjunct of the AC. As a set of examples, compare (53) with (54) (the subject is relativized on) and (55) (the object is relativized on). The ACs are shown with braces. Note that the subject in the AC of (54) and the object in the AC of (55) are obligatorily absent.

Modern Standard Japanese

(53) *Gakusee=ga hon=o yon-da.*
    student=NOM book-ACC read-PST
    'A student read a book.'

(54) {*hon=o yon-da*} *gakusee*
    book=ACC read-PST student
    'a student who read a book' (subject)

(55) {*gakusee=ga yon-da*} *hon*
    student=NOM read-PST book
    'a book that a student read' (object)

With addition-type ACs, unlike gap-type ACs, the head noun is, so to speak, added from outside the underlying clause. It does not correspond to any argument or any adjunct of the AC. Compare:

Modern Standard Japanese

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

(57) {*Hanako=ga sakana=o yak-u*} *nioi*
    Hanako=NOM fish=ACC grill-NPST smell
    LT: 'the smell with which Hanako grills a fish'
    IM: 'the smell emitted when Hanako grills a fish'

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

Note that both the subject and object are present in the AC of (57), in contrast with the gap-type AC in (54) and in (55).

It may be thought that (57) was derived from (58). However, (58) is unacceptable. The head noun *nioi* 'smell' in (57) is, so to speak, added from outside the underlying clause. It does not correspond to any argument or any adjunct of the AC.

The Clause of the MMC can contain the subject, the object – and also adjuncts (although there are exceptions; cf. 3.3.2.1). See (3) to (5), and (23) to (26), for example. In this respect, the Clause of the MMC is similar to addition-type ACs (rather than to gap-type ACs) – superficially at least. As noted in Section 1 and 3.4.1, there are many previous studies of the MSJ MMC that consider the Clause as an AC, e.g. Taro Takahashi (1960), Okutsu (1974), Shin'ya (1989), and Teramura (1992) (see Tsunoda (6.1)). (These studies do not use the term "mermaid construction".) In particular, Teramura (1992: 279–280) regards the MMC as containing an addition-type AC.

It is largely in view of the above that it was hypothesized that the presence of addition-type ACs is a prerequisite to the presence of the MMC. For this reason, the chapters on individual languages contain a section that discusses addition-type ACs.

Nonetheless, the research reported in the present volume shows that this hypothesis is untenable. Indeed, most of the languages that have the MMC have addition-type ACs. However, there are languages that do not (or do not seem to) have addition-type ACs but that have the MMC: Koryak (Kurebito, 4.2.3) and Sidaama (Kawachi, 4.2.3). In Tagalog (Katagiri, 4.2.3), generally addition-type ACs are not acceptable (although there are marginally acceptable instances), and yet this language has the MMC.

5.5 Emergence of the MMC

At this stage of investigation, it is not known how the MMC emerges in a given language, and only brief and tentative observations are offered below.

[1] Adnominal clauses
As seen in 3.4.1, the MMC may look bi-clausal, with an AC as a subordinate clause. Indeed, in many languages reported in the present volume, the Clause of the MMC and an AC are identical or very similar in terms of the morphology of the predicate. (However, as we saw in 3.4.2, most of the languages provide evidence that their MMC does not contain an AC.) It seems likely that one of the sources of the MMC

is a sentence with an AC. Miyachi (Section 6) shows that, in Old Japanese (700–800), there is no unequivocal instance of the MMC, each instance allowing both an AC-reading and an MMC-reading, and she suggests that sentences with an AC developed into the MMC. Shimoji (4.2-[2], 5.2.6) suggests that the source structure of the MMC in Irabu Ryukyuan is sentences with an AC, specifically, sentences with an addition-type AC. Kobayashi in collaboration with Tsunoda (5.2.2.2) makes the same suggestion regarding the origin of one of the three varieties of the MMC in Kurux. Endo (5.2.8) suggests that one of the two varieties of the MMC in Kolyma Yukaghir may have originated in sentences with an AC (and have become mono-clausal by reanalysis). Imamura (7.2) proposes a similar scenario for the development of the MMC of Hindi.

[2] Noun-predicate sentences whose subject is a complement clause
See (10) and (11) for the structure of such sentences. An example from Kathmandu Newar is (12), cited from Kiryu (Section 7). Shirai (5.2.3.7) on nDrapa and Kiryu (Section 7) on Kathmandu Newar suggest that such sentences may possibly become a source of the MMC.

[3] Clefting
Sidaama has three varieties of the MMC, and Kawachi (7.2, 7.3) suggests that two of them may have originated in cleft sentences.

[4] Language contact
Two of the three varieties of the MMC of Kurux each employ an enclitic (cf. 5.3 above). These two varieties of the MMC may possibly have risen due to structural borrowing, from Indo-Aryan languages (Kobayashi in collaboration with Tsunoda, 5.3.4, 5.4.6).

6 Summary and concluding remarks

The MMC has been found in twenty-seven languages – mainly in languages of Asia (except for Sidaama of Ethiopia), in particular, in (i) those of East Asia and (ii) Tibeto-Burman languages. It may be an areal feature of each of these two groups. Also, it is generally found in SOV languages.

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

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

Superficially at least, the MMC looks bi-clausal. However, most of the languages examined provide evidence that syntactically their MMC is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal. Some of the languages examined provide evidence that their MMC contains a compound predicate that consists of the predicate of the Clause, the Noun and the Copula. In these languages, the Noun has become a part of the predicate. In the case of Irabu Ryukyuan, two nouns in the Noun slot have become verbal inflectional suffixes.

To sum up, the present volume provides truly unique data on grammaticalization. It extensively examines the grammaticalization of nouns. Specifically, it examines the grammaticalization of a noun into a part of the predicate of a sentence. Furthermore, it reports two instances of grammaticalization of a noun into a verbal inflectional suffix. In addition, it reports a rare instance of a noun used for aspectual meanings, such as progressive.

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

A = transitive subject; ABL = ablative; AC = adnominal clause; ACC = accusative; ADN = adnominal; AF = actor focus; ALL = allative; ASP = aspect marker; CL =

classifier; COM = comitative; CONT = contemplated; COP = copula; DAT = dative; DESID = desiderative; EMJ = Early Middle Japanese; ERG = ergative; ETOP = emphatic topic; FD = future disjunct; FT = free translation; GEN = genitive; GNF = general nonfinite; HORT = hortative; IMP = imperative; INF = infinitive; INS = instrumental; INT = intentional; LINK = linking interfix; LK = linker; LOC = locative; LT = literal translation; MMC = mermaid construction; MSJ = Modern Standard Japanese; NCC = noun-concluding construction; NFND = nonfuture neutral disjunct; NMLZ = nominalizer; NOM = nominative; NPST = nonpast; O = object; OEMJ = Old and Early Middle Japanese; PART = particle; p.c. = personal communication; POL = polite; PROH = prohibitive; PST = past; S = subject (transitive/intransitive subject) or intransitive subject (in contrast with transitive subject (A)); STAT = stative; TOP = topic; V = verb.

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| SOV languages

Tasaku Tsunoda
2 Modern Standard Japanese

1 Introduction

T. Tsunoda (this volume, 2.1) proposes that the prototype of the mermaid construction ("MMC") has all of the following five properties.

(a) The structure is as shown in (1) – superficially at least.
(b) The Noun is an independent word (not a clitic) that is a noun.
(c) The subject of the Clause and the Noun are non-coreferential.
(d) The Clause can be used as a sentence by itself.
(e) The Clause is not the subject of the "Noun + Copula".

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

In the prototypical MMC, the Noun slot of the MMC is occupied by a noun that is an independent word. In non-prototypical instances, it may be occupied by an enclitic or a suffix which derives from a noun. Nouns, enclitics and suffixes in the Noun slot may also be nominalizers.

T. Tsunoda (this volume, Section 1 and 2.1) notes as follows. Superficially at least, it looks as if the MMC contains a subordinate clause and is bi-clausal. However, languages such as Modern Standard Japanese (the present chapter, Section 6) and Korean (Kim, this volume, Section 6) provide ample evidence that syntactically their MMC is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal, despite its superficial appearance (shown in (1)). Their MMC has just one predicate, not two predicates, and the predicate is a compound predicate that consists of the predicate of the Clause, the Noun and the Copula, as shown in (2).

(2) [... predicate of Clause]   Noun   Copula.
                compound predicate

The MMC abounds in Modern Standard Japanese.[1] It is used frequently, and at least 121 nouns are attested in the Noun slot. Despite this, it was not recognized as a distinct construction prior to T. Tsunoda (1994a, 1994b, 1994c, 1996), in which

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1 Modern Standard Japanese (abbreviated as "MSJ") will sometimes be referred to simply as "Japanese". Depending on the context, "Japanese" may also refer to the entire Japanese language, including its dialects and its earlier stages.

what I later termed the mermaid construction was first recognized as a distinct construction in Japanese.[2]

Nouns in the Noun slot of the Japanese MMC have undergone grammaticalization, to varying degrees. Semantically, they often have a meaning different from that which they have when used outside the MMC. The compound predicate may have a meaning such as modal, evidential, aspectual, temporal, stylistic or discourse-related. Syntactically, the nouns in the Noun slot do not have the full status of a noun. Morphologically, there is evidence that suggests the following diachronic changes:

(3) Independent word → enclitic → suffix → merger

2 Initial illustration

Three examples of the MSJ MMC are given below. The portion that corresponds to the Clause of (1) and its English translation are shown with square brackets, while the compound predicate is underlined. The noun in the Noun slot is shown in bold face. When literally translated, the MMC does not make sense. In view of this, both a literal translation ("LT") and a free translation ("FT") are provided. (*Hanako* is a feminine given name.)

(4) [*Asita*   *Hanako=ga*   *Nagoya=ni*   <u>*ik-u*</u>]   **yotee**=*da*.
    tomorrow Hanako=NOM Nagoya=DAT/LOC go-NPST plan=COP.NPST
    LT: '[Hanako goes/will go to Nagoya tomorrow] a plan is.'
    FT: 'Hanako plans to go to Nagoya tomorrow.'

(5) [*Koozyoo=de*   *ooki=na*   *bakuhatu=ga* <u>*tuzu-i-te*</u>
    factory=LOC/INS big=NPST.ADN explosion=NOM continue-LINK-GNF
    <u>*i-ru*</u>]   **yoosu**=*da*.
    be-NPST appearance=COP.NPST
    LT: '[Big explosions are continuing in the factory] an appearance is.'
    FT: 'It appears that big explosions are continuing in the factory.'

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2 The present work is based on T. Tsunoda (2013), which is in turn based on T. Tsunoda (1994a, 1994b, 1994c, 1996). There are many works that were published before 1994 or after 1996 and that deal with instances of this construction. These works look at this construction only partially, and they do not provide a comprehensive account thereof. In the present work, I make efforts to refer to as many of them as possible. Nonetheless, it is impossible to refer to all of them. See T. Tsunoda (this volume, 5.1) for the history of research into the mermaid construction.

(6) [*Ima Hanako=ga   <u>dekake-ta</u>*] **tokoro**=*da*.
    now Hanako=NOM go.out-PST place=COP.NPST
    LT: '[Hanako went out now] a place is.'
    FT: 'Hanako has just gone out now.'

3 Profile of the language

The following typological profile concerns MSJ, which is largely based on the Tokyo dialect.

The following phonemes can be set up: /p, t, k, b, d, g, m, n, s, z, h, r, y, w, a, i, u, e, o/.[3] Pitch accent is phonologically significant.

Japanese is agglutinating. It employs both suffixes and prefixes. It is largely dependent-marking. In my view at least, it is mildly configurational.

It is clear that Japanese has enclitics. However, it is not a straightforward matter to identify them. (See 7.6-[2], for example.) In the present work, I regard a fair number of forms as enclitics, but this assignment is highly tentative. (What I tentatively consider enclitics are shown by means of a preceding equals symbol.)

MSJ has three groups of what may be termed postpositions: case postpositions, modal postpositions and final postpositions. Case postpositions include =*ga* 'NOM' and =*o* 'ACC'. The case system is of the nominative-accusative type. Modal postpositions include =*wa* 'topic' and =*mo* 'too, also'. The topic postposition =*wa* cannot co-occur with the nominative case postposition =*ga*, and =*ga* is obligatorily obliterated. That is, their combinations *=*ga*=*wa* 'NOM=TOP' and *=*wa*=*ga* 'TOP=NOM' are unacceptable, but =*wa* is acceptable.

Verb-final orders are preferred: AOV and SV. Modifiers of a noun, e.g. a demonstrative, a numeral, an adjective, and an adnominal clause (or a relative clause) precede the noun they modify.

Table 1 shows portions of the conjugation of verbs, adjectives and the copula. Adjectives are of two types: *i*-adjective and nominal adjective. (The terms "infinitive" and "nominal adjective" are adopted from Frellesvig (2010), while the terms "adnominal nonpast" and "general nonfinite" have been coined by me.)

Morphological analysis of the conjugation is highly problematic, and the analysis shown in Table 1 is tentative.

Nominal adjectives and the copula have an adnominal nonpast form (involving =*na*) that is distinct from the finite nonpast form (involving =*da*). For =*no* 'GEN'(?), see 5.3.2.1-[1]-(d).

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3 Roughly speaking, examples and Japanese technical terms will be written phonemically, except that names of people, places, etc. in glosses, the main text and References will be written in the Romanization system called *Hebon-siki* 'Hepburn style'.

Tab. 1: Conjugation of verbs, adjectives and the copula.

	Verb	*i*-adjective
	'lend'	'high'
Finite forms		
past	*kas-i-ta*	*taka-k-at-ta*
nonpast	*kas-u*	*taka-i*
imperative	*kas-e*	(none)
prohibitive	*kas-una*	(none)
intentional/hortative	*kas-oo*	(none)
Nonfinite forms		
infinitive	*kas-i*	*taka-k-u*
general nonfinite	*kas-i-te*	*taka-k-u-te*
	Nominal adjective	Copula
	'healthy, well'	
Finite forms		
past	*genki=da-t-ta*	*=da-t-ta*
nonpast	*genki=da*	*=da*
Nonfinite forms		
adnominal nonpast	*genki=na*	*=na*
		(=*no* 'GEN'(?))
infinitive	*genki=ni*	*=ni*
general nonfinite	*genki=de*	*=de*

Excessive details of the morphology are not necessary for the purpose of the present work. Therefore, in some of the examples given below, segmentation of inflectional suffixes is simplified.

Japanese has a number of styles, e.g. neutral (or plain), formal, and polite. The forms in Table 1 are used in the neutral style.

Japanese has a long history of literary tradition. There is some difference between the spoken language and the written language. The examples cited below are largely taken from the written language, e.g. from newspapers and magazines.

The present chapter considers the MMC in MSJ. Sasaki (this volume) examines the MMC in the Mitsukaido dialect (about 50 km north of Tokyo), and Miyachi (this volume) investigates the MMC in Old Japanese and Early Middle Japanese.

4 Types of sentences and clauses

4.1 Sentences

In terms of the type of the predicate, sentences of MSJ can be classified as follows.

(a) Verb-predicate sentences, e.g. (7).
(b) Adjective-predicate sentences
    (b-1) Involving an *i*-adjective e.g. (8).
    (b-2) Involving a nominal adjective, e.g. (9).
(c) Noun-predicate sentences, e.g. (10). (They involve the copula.)

(7) *Asita   Hanako=ga   Nagoya=ni   ik-u.*
    tomorrow Hanako=TOP Nagoya=DAT/LOC go-NPST
    'Hanako will go to Nagoya tomorrow.'

(8) *Sora=ga   kura-i.*
    sky=NOM dark-NPST
    'The sky is dark.'

(9) *Hanako=wa   genki=da.*
    Hanako=TOP healthy=NPST
    'Hanako is well.'

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

4.2 Adnominal clauses

As we shall see in 6.1, there are previous studies that argue that what I term the MMC contains an adnominal clause ("AC"). In my view, the MMC does not contain an AC. (See 6.10.) It is therefore important to examine ACs in some detail. An AC precedes the noun it modifies.

4.2.1 Inflectional possibilities of the predicate of ACs

These possibilities are shown in Table 2. The important point to note is that the nonpast form of nominal adjectives and that of the copula cannot be used as the predicate of ACs and that the adnominal nonpast form has to be used instead. (Verbs and *i*-adjectives do not have a distinct adnominal nonpast form. See Table 1.)

Tab. 2.: Predicate of adnominal clauses.

	Verb	*i*-adjective	Nominal adjective	Copula
Finite forms				
past	+	+	+	+
nonpast	+	+	–	–
Nonfinite forms				
adnominal nonpast	…	…	+	+

Legend: +: acceptable. –: unacceptable. …: non-existent.

Examples follow. ACs are shown in braces.

[1] Verbs and *i*-adjectives. The past forms and the nonpast forms can be used as the predicate of ACs. An example involving a verb:

(11) {*Hanako=ga   yon-da / yom-u*}   *hon*
     Hanako=NOM read-PST / read-NPST book
     'a book that Hanako read / reads, will read'

[2] Nominal adjectives and the copula. Examples involving a nominal adjective are given. The finite past form can be used as the predicate of ACs; see (12). However, the finite nonpast form cannot be used as the predicate of ACs. The adnominal nonpast form has to be used instead. See (13).

(12) {*itumo genki=datta*} *kodomo*
     always healthy=PST child
     'a child who was always healthy'

(13) {*itumo genki=na / *genki=da*}   *kodomo*
     always healthy=NPST.ADN / healthy=NPST child
     'a child who is always healthy'

The inflectional restrictions noted above are well known in the literature. In addition, previous works point out a number of restrictions on the inflectional, derivational and other possibilities of the predicate of ACs. These restrictions include the following.

(a) Inflectional forms such as imperative and intentional/hortative are unacceptable (Okutsu 1974: 46–47, Takahashi 1974: 42, Teramura 1992: 248). In my observation, prohibitive forms, too, are unacceptable.

(b) Polite forms – e.g. the polite suffix *-mas-* and the suppletive polite copula *=des-* – are unacceptable or not highly acceptable (Takahashi 1974: 42, 48, Harada 1976: 557, and Teramura 1992: 249).

4.2.2 Three types of ACs

There are various classifications of MSJ ACs (e.g. Takahashi 1960, 1979, Teramura 1969, 1992, Okutsu 1974). On the basis of these works, I propose to classify MSJ ACs and also to label them as follows.

(a) ACs of the gap type.
(b) ACs of the addition type.
(c) ACs with an anticipatory pronoun.

Previous studies recognize the existence of instances of (c), but they do not seem to set up (c) separately from (a) and (b).

    [1] Gap-type ACs
This type employs the gap strategy. All of the positions on Keenan & Comrie's (1977) accessibility hierarchy can be relativized on, except for the object of comparison. The head noun corresponds to an argument or an adjunct of the AC. As a set of examples, compare (14) with (15) (subject) and (16) (direct object).

(14) *Gakusee=ga   hon=o   yon-da.*
     student=NOM book-ACC read-PST
     'A student read a book.'

(15) {*hon=o   yon-da*} *gakusee*
     book=ACC read-PST student
     'a student who read a book' (subject)

(16) {*gakusee=ga   yon-da*} *hon*
     student=NOM read-PST book
     'a book that a student read' (direct object)

As another pair of examples, compare (17) with (18) (an adjunct, i.e. something similar to the oblique object of Keenan & Comrie).

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

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

[2] Addition-type ACs

With addition-type ACs, unlike gap-type ACs, the head noun is, so to speak, added from outside the underlying clause. It does not correspond to any argument or any adjunct of the AC. Compare:

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

(20) {*Hanako=ga   sakana=o yak-u*}   *nioi*
    Hanako=NOM fish=ACC grill-NPST smell
    LT: 'the smell with which Hanako grills a fish'
    IM: 'the smell emitted when Hanako grills a fish'

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

In (20), the head noun is *nioi* 'smell'. It might be thought that (20) was derived from (21). However, (21) is ungrammatical. Rather, (20) may be said to be formed by adding the noun *nioi* 'smell' to (19), placing it in the position for the head noun. That is, the head noun *nioi* 'smell' is, so to speak, added from outside the underlying clause. It does not correspond to any argument or any adjunct of the AC. Another set of examples:

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

(23) {*doroboo=ga   aruk-u*}   *oto*
    burglar=NOM walk-NPST noise
    LT: 'the noise with which a burglar walks'
    IM: 'the noise that is made when a burglar walks'

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

As noted above, there are previous studies that argue that what I term the MMC contains an AC. In particular, in Teramura's (1992: 279–280) view, it contains an AC of the addition type. However, in my view, it does not contain an AC. See 6.10. See also T. Tsunoda (this volume, 5.4, 5.5).

[3] ACs with an anticipatory pronoun

When an adjunct is relativized on, a demonstrative such as *sore* 'that' (not the attributive use), *sono* 'that' (the attributive use only) or *soko* 'there' can sometimes (though not always) be used like a mirror image of a resumptive pronoun (Okutsu 1974, Shibatani et al. 1982, Teramura 1992). These demonstratives do not follow the head noun, but they precede it (though not immediately). They may be called "anticipatory pronouns". This label is due to Syuntaro Tida (p.c.). Examples (based on Shibatani et al. (1982: 371)):

(25) *Otoko=ga nokogiri=de ki=o kit-ta.*
     man=NOM saw=LOC/INS tree=ACC cut-PST
     'A man cut a tree with a saw.'

(26) {*otoko=ga sore=de ki=o kit-ta*} *nokogiri*
     man=NOM that=LOC/INS tree=ACC cut-PST saw
     'a saw with which a man cut a tree'

5 Mermaid construction ("MMC")

We shall now consider lexical, semantic, pragmatic, morphological, syntactic, diachronic and other aspects of the MMC of MSJ.

5.1 Noun of the MMC

5.1.1 Introductory notes

At least 121 nouns are attested in the Noun slot of the MMC. (This number is by far the largest among the languages investigated in the present volume (T. Tsunoda, this volume, 3.1.1).) They can be classified very roughly as follows.

(a) Content nouns (5.1.2).
(b) Non-content nouns (5.1.3).
(c) The enclitic *=no* (5.1.4).

The distinction between (a) and (b) is not clear-cut, but is a matter of degree. Also, it is not a straightforward matter to analyze the enclitic *=no* as a noun.

    I have been collecting examples of the MSJ MMC since 1993, from newspapers, magazines, TV news programmes, TV dramas, etc. The lists of nouns given in 5.1.2 and 5.1.3 are almost exhaustive, although there may be items that have been overlooked.

The MMC has various meanings, e.g. modal, evidential, aspectual, temporal, stylistic, and discourse-related. (The classification of various evidential meanings is largely based on Aikhenvald (2011).)

Shin'ya (1989) lists many nouns (content nouns and non-content nouns) that can occur in what I later termed the MMC, and she states that that these sentences express subjectivity, explanation, aspect, or hearsay.

5.1.2 Content nouns

All the nouns that belong to this group can be used outside the MMC, with a lexical meaning, like other nouns. However, when used in the MMC, some of them may have a meaning that is somewhat – though not drastically – different from the meaning(s) that they have when used outside the MMC. They may be considered grammaticalized in this respect.

As noted in T. Tsunoda (this volume, 3.1.3.3), whether a given noun used in the Noun slot of the MMC is a native word or a loan word may be an important issue. MSJ on the whole abounds with loans from Chinese and those from English. The 121 nouns attested in the Noun slot consist of close to sixty native Japanese words, close to sixty loans from Chinese, and four loans from English. That is, about 50 % are loans. In the following lists, loans from Chinese are indicated with "(C)", those from English with "(E)", and native Japanese words with "(J)". This classification is only tentative. For example, for certain entries, even an authoritative dictionary like *Nihon Kokugo Daiziten* [Comprehensive Japanese Dictionary] (Tokyo: Shogakukan 2009) is unable to decide whether they are native Japanese words or loans from Chinese.

The content nouns attested in the Noun slot can be classified into twelve groups, as shown below. This classification is highly tentative. Also, it is not clear-cut.

Selected sentential examples will be given for each group. They will generally be accompanied by a free translation only, without a literal translation. The noun in the Noun slot will be shown in bold face. The Clause of the MMC will be indicated with square brackets. However, the compound predicate will not be underlined.

[1] Nouns that indicate plan, intention or the like

(a) *yotee*, *keekaku*, *hoosin* 'plan' (C), e.g. (4), (81), (82), (96) to (98), (100), (127), (129).
(b) *sinsan* (somewhat archaic), *ikoo*, *syozon*, *kontan* (C), *takurami*, *mokuromi*, *omowaku* (J) 'intention', e.g. (27), (95).
(c) *nerai* 'aim' (J).
(d) *kamae* (J), *sisee* (C) 'attitude, posture'.

(e) *ki*, *kimoti*, *kangae* 'mind, thought' (J), e.g. (28).

(f) *kessin*, *ketui* 'decision', *kakugo* 'determination' (C).

(g) *ikigomi* 'eagerness, enthusiasm' (J).

(h) *senzyutu* 'tactics', *senryaku* 'strategy', *sandan* 'strategy, calculation', *keesan* 'calculation' (C).

(In (b), "(C)" indicates that all the words that precede it are loans from Chinese. Similarly for "J". I am grateful to Yuuki Katori (p.c.) for pointing out that *keesan* 'calculation' can be used in the MMC.) These nouns provide a modal meaning.

(27) [*Seehu=wa*   *kome=no yunyuu=o*   *mitome-ru*]
     government=TOP rice=GEN import=ACC approve-NPST
     ***ikoo**=da.*
     intention=COP.NPST
     'The government intends to approve the import of rice.'

(28) [*Hanako=wa Nagoya=e*   *ik-u*]   ***ki**=da.*
     Hanako=TOP Nagoya=ALL go-NPST thought=COP.NPST
     'Hanako intends to go to Nagoya.'

[2] Nouns that indicate schedule, expectation or the like
These nouns are similar to those of [1], and they, too, supply a modal meaning.

(a) *dandori* (C), *hakobi* (J) 'schedule', e.g. (29).

(b) *mitoosi*, *mikomi* 'expectation' (J), e.g. (30), (76).

(c) *yosoo* 'forecast' (C), e.g. (31).

(d) *hookoo*, *hookoosee* 'direction' (C).

(e) *nagare* 'flow', *ikioi* 'strength' (J).

(29) [*Seehu=wa*   *yatoo=to*   *hanas-i-a-u*]
     government=TOP opposition.party=COM talk-LINK-RECP-NPST
     ***dandori**=da.*
     schedule=COP.NPST
     'The government is scheduled to have a talk with the opposition parties.'

(30) [*Seehu=wa*   *kome=no yunyuu=o*   *mitome-ru*]
     government=TOP rice=GEN import=ACC approve-NPST
     ***mikomi**=da.*
     expectation=COP.NPST
     'The government is expected to approve the import of rice.'

(31) [*Yuki=wa*   *yuugata=made tuzuk-u*]   ***yosoo**=des-u.*
     snow=TOP evening=until   continue-NPST forecast(noun)=COP.POL-NPST
     'The snow is forecasted to continue until evening.'

The nouns of [1] and [2] are frequently used in newspaper articles and TV news that describe the political scene; see (27), (29) and (30).

[3] Nouns that indicate feeling or the like

kanzi, *ki*, *kimoti*, *kibun*, *omoi* (J), *sinkyoo* (C) 'feeling, thought'.

These nouns, too, add a modal meaning. Some of them are difficult to distinguish from the nouns of [1]. The following nouns are tentatively assigned to both [1] and [3]: *ki* and *kimoti*. Examples of the nouns of [3] follow.

(32) [*Watasi=wa yatto mokuhyoo=o tassee-si-ta*]
I=TOP at.long.last goal=ACC achievement-do-PST
kanzi=*des-u*
feeling=COP.POL-NPST
'I feel that I have achieved my goal at long last.'

(33) [*Watasi-wa hitori torinokos-are-ta*] **omoi**=*da*.
I=TOP alone leave.behind-PASS-PST feeling=COP.NPST
'I feel that I have been left behind alone.'

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

(a) *moyoo*, *yoosu*, *huu* (semi-archaic) (C), *kehai*, *tatazumai* (J) 'appearance', e.g. (5), (34), (77), (78), (88), (90).
(b) *zyootai*, *zyookyoo*, *zyoosee*, *zitai* (C), *arisama* (J) 'situation'.
(c) *katati* (J), *kakkoo* (C) 'form, shape', e.g. (35).
(d) *simatu* 'unpleasant result' (C).

Moyoo and *yoosu* 'appearance' in (a) may be said to furnish an evidential meaning: inference. See the examples listed above.

(34) [*Soto=de kaze=ga hui-te i-ru*] **moyoo**=*da*.
outside=LOC/INS wind=NOM blow-GNF be-NPST appearance=COP.NPST
LT: '[The wind is blowing outside] an appearance is.'
FT: 'It appears/seems that the wind is blowing outside.'

(35) [*Seehu=wa sippai=o mitome-ta*] **katati**=*da*.
government=TOP mistake=ACC acknowledge-PST form/shape=COP.NPST
LT: '[The government acknowledged (their) mistake] a form/shape is.'
FT: 'The government in effect acknowledged their mistake.'

[5] Nouns that indicate atmosphere, impression or the like

(a) *insyoo*, *kansyoku* (C), *kanzi* (J) 'impression', e.g. (36).
(b) *omomuki* (J), *hun'iki* (C), *muudo* (E: *mood*) 'atmosphere'.

(36) [*Kono mati=wa   bessekai=ni   ar-u*]
     this   town=TOP another.world=DAT/LOC exist-NPST
     ***insyoo**=des-u.*
     impression=COP.POL-NPST
     'This town gives the impression that it exists in another world.'

The nouns in [5] are similar to those in [4] "Nouns that indicate situation, appearance, result or the like", and are even more similar to those in [3] "Nouns that indicate feeling or the like". For example, *kanzi* 'impression' is assigned to both [3] and [5]. The difference between [3] and [5] is as follows. *Kanzi* in [3] indicates that someone (e.g. the speaker) feels in a certain way. In contrast, *kanzi* in [5] indicates that someone or something gives someone else (e.g. the speaker) a certain impression. The nouns in [3] provide a modal meaning. In contrast, those in [5] may be said to furnish something like an evidential meaning.

[6] Nouns that indicate tendency, practice, habit or the like

(a) *keekoo* 'tendency' (C).
(b) *huutyoo* 'fashion, trend' (C).
(c) *narawasi* (J), *huusyuu* (C) 'practice', e.g. (37).
(d) *syuukan* (C), *kuse* (J) 'habit'.
(e) *seekatu* 'life, life style' (C).

These nouns add something similar to an aspectual meaning: habitual.

(37) [*Nihonzin=wa syoogatu=o   iwa-u*]   ***narawasi**=des-u.*
     Japanese=TOP New.Year=ACC celebrate-NPST practice=COP.POL-NPST
     'Japanese people have the practice of celebrating the New Year.'

[7] Nouns that indicate the nature, propensity or the like of humans

seekaku, *seesitu*, *syoobun*, *kisitu* (C), *hitogara*, *tati* (J), *taipu* (E: *type*) 'nature, personality, propensity', e.g. (38).

Needless to say, the meaning that these nouns provide is similar to that of the nouns in [6] "Nouns that indicate tendency, practice, habit or the like". The nouns

of [7], too, may be said to supply something similar to an aspectual meaning: something like habitual.

(38) [*Hanako=wa itumo minna=o tasuke-ru*] **seekaku**=*da*.
　　 Hanako=TOP always everyone=ACC help-NPST nature=COP.NPST
　　 'Hanako has the nature to always help everyone.'

　　 [8] Nouns that indicate role, rule, duty, destiny or the like

(a) *yakume*, *yakuwari* 'role' (J), e.g. (39).
(b) *sekinin* 'duty, responsibility' (C).
(c) *kimari* 'rule, regulation' (J), e.g. (40).
(d) *okite* 'law, rule' (J), e.g. (41).
(e) *tatiba* 'position' (J).
(f) *sikaku* 'qualification' (C).
(g) *unmee*, *syukumee* (C), *sadame*, *minoue* (J) 'destiny', e.g. (42).

These nouns supply something like a modal meaning: deontic modality.

(39) [*Hanako=wa minna=o tasuke-ru*] **yakume**=*da*.
　　 Hanako=TOP everyone=ACC help-NPST role=COP.NPST
　　 'Hanako has a role to help everyone.'

(40) [*Gakusee=wa mai-syuu repooto=o teesyutu-su-ru*]
　　 student=TOP every-week essay=ACC submission-do-NPST
　　 kimari=*da*.
　　 regulation=COP.NPST
　　 'By regulation, the students must submit an essay every week.'

(41) [*Uragirimono=wa koros-are-ru*] **okite**=*da*.
　　 traitor=TOP kill-PASS-NPST law=COP.NPST
　　 'By the law (of the group) traitors are killed.'

(42) [*Hanako=wa kekkyoku sippai-su-ru*] **unmee**=*dat-ta*.
　　 Hanako=TOP after.all failure-do-NPST destiny=COP-PST
　　 'Hanako was destined to fail after all.'

　　 [9] Nouns that indicate features or characteristics of someone's body or the like

(a) *karada* 'body', *karada-tuki* 'physique, build of the body' (J), *taikaku* 'physique, build of the body', *taisitu* 'nature (of the body)' (C), e.g. (43).
(b) *hyoozyoo* (C), *omomoti* (J) 'expression on the face', e.g. (44).
(c) *kutiburi* 'way of talking' (J).

(d) *sisee* 'posture' (C). (This noun is also assigned to [1] 'Nouns that indicate plan, intention or the like'.)

The meaning that these nouns provide is difficult to characterize. (I am grateful to Hiroto Takuzawa (p.c.) for pointing out that *omomoti* 'expression on the face' can be used in the MMC.)

(43) [*Ano rikisi=wa   rippa=na*]   **taikaku**=da.
      that sumo.wrestler=TOP splendid=NPST.ADN build=COP.NPST
      'That sumo wrestler has a splendid physique.'

(44) [*Hanako=wa itumo akaru-i*]   **hyoozyoo**=da.
      Hanako=TOP always cheerful-NPST expression=COP.NPST
      LT: '[Hanako is always cheerful] an expression is.'
      FT: 'Hanako always has a bright expression on her face', or 'Hanako always looks cheerful.'

   [10] Nouns that indicate the structure, mechanism or the like of inanimate objects, such as cars

tukuri 'make', *sikumi* 'design' (J), *koozoo* 'structure', e.g. (44), *naiyoo* 'content', *sekkee* 'design' (C), *sisutemu* 'system' (E: *system*), *sutairu* 'style' (E: *style*)

These nouns are similar to the nouns in [9] "Nouns that indicate features or characteristics of someone's body or the like".

(45) [*Kono kuruma=wa zi-soku-300-kiro=de   hasir-u*]
      this   car=TOP   hour-speed-300-km=LOC/INS run-NPST
      koozoo=da.
      structure=COP.NPST
      'This car has the structure that enables it to run 300 km per hour.'

   [11] Nouns that indicate time, temporal relations, progress, or the like

zikan 'time' (C), e.g. (46), *koro* '(around the) time' (J), *tyokuzen* 'immediately before', *tyokugo* 'immediately after', *totyuu* 'in the process/middle of', e.g. (47), *saityuu* 'in the middle of', *massaityuu* 'right in the middle of' (C), *mae* 'before', e.g. (48), *ato* 'after', *kaeri* 'on the way back', *hibi* 'days' (J), e.g. (49). (To be precise, *massaityuu* 'right in the middle of' consists of the prefix *ma-* 'true' (J) and the noun *saityuu* ''in the middle of' (C).)

These nouns add a temporal or an aspectual meaning. (I am grateful to the following people for pointing out that the words listed below can occur in the MMC:

(i) Mie Tsunoda on *koro* '(around the) time', *totyuu* 'in the process/middle of', *mae* 'before' and *ato* 'after', and (ii) Shin Shimamura on *kaeri* 'on the way back'.)

(46) [*Watasi=wa moo   gakkoo=e   ik-u*]   **zikan**=da.
     I=TOP   already school=ALL go-NPST time=COP.NPST
     LT: '[I already go/will go to school] a time is.'
     FT: 'It is already time for me to go to school.'

(47) [*Hanako=wa ima gakkoo=e   ik-u*]   **totyuu**=da.
     Hanako=TOP now school=ALL go-NPST middle=COP.NPST
     'Hanako is on the way to school now.'

(48) [*Hanako=wa tyoodo dekake-ru*]   **mae**=dat-ta.
     Hanako=TOP just   go.out-NPST before=COP-PST
     'Hanako was just about to go out.'

(49) (This example is based on a sentence in an internet news article about a princess who was just engaged.)
     [*Noriko-sama=wa   koozoku=to si-te=no*
     Noriko-POLITE.TITLE=TOP imperial.member=in.the.capacity.of
     koomu=o   konas-u]   **hibi**=dat-ta.
     official.duty=ACC perform-NPST days=COP-PST
     LT: '[Princess Noriko performs official duties in the capacity of a member of the imperial family] days was.'
     FT: 'Princess Noriko was spending days, performing her official duties as a member of the imperial family.'

[12] *Utagai* (J) 'suspicion'
This noun constitutes a group by itself. It provides an evidential meaning: 'be suspected to'. It is often used in newspaper articles that report someone's arrest. The sentence generally starts with an expression such as *sirabe=de=wa* 'according to the investigation'. The copula is always absent, as in (50).

(50) (The prefecture police arrested the previous governor.)
     [*Sirabe=de=wa   zen-tizi=wa*
     investigation=LOC/INS=TOP previous-governor=TOP
     kensetu-gyookai=kara   1000-man-en=o   morat-ta]
     construction-industry=ABL 1000-ten.thousand-yen=ACC receive-PST
     utagai.
     suspicion
     'According to the investigation, the previous governor is suspected to have received 10 million yen from the construction industry.'

5.1.3 Non-content nouns

Some of the non-content nouns are difficult to gloss. In the examples of such nouns, the word in question itself will often be given in place of a gloss. Nonetheless, where this is possible, an etymological note will be provided, cited from *Nihon Kokugo Daiziten* [Comprehensive Japanese Dictionary] (abbreviated as "NKD") (second edition, second printing; Tokyo: Shogakukan 2009), a very comprehensive dictionary of Japanese, consisting of 13 volumes. Unfortunately, however, it is beyond the scope of the present chapter to discuss the semantic change that each noun underwent.

[1] *Tumori* 'intention' and 'evaluation' (J)
According to NKD Vol. 9: 454, etymologically *tumori* is the nominalized form (with the suffix *-i*) of the verb *tumor-* 'to be accumulated', and later it acquired the meaning 'calculation in advance'. In MSJ, *tumori* may be used outside the MMC, with the meaning 'intention', e.g. (126). But it is generally used in the MMC, and it has two uses. Both are modal.

(a) Intention, decision or the like to do (or not to do) something (in the future), e.g. (51), (110), (113), (117), (121), (122), (128).
(b) Evaluation or the like about oneself, regarding his/her action/situation in the present (Setsuko Ando (p.c.), Hisakazu Kaneko (p.c.)) or in the past (but not in the future), e.g. (52), (53), (79), (80).

(51) [*Asita   Hanako=ga   Nagoya=ni   ik-u*]   **tumori**=*da*.
    tomorrow Hanako=NOM Nagoya=DAT/LOC go-NPST intention=COP.NPST
    LT: '[Hanako goes/will go to Nagoya tomorrow] an intention is.'
    FT: 'Hanako intends to go to Nagoya tomorrow.'

(52) (Hanako thinks that she was a fast runner in her younger days.)
    [*Hanako=wa   hayak-atta*] **tumori**=*da*.
    Hanako=TOP fast-PST   *tumori*=COP.NPST
    'Hanako thinks (of herself) that she was fast', or 'In Hanako's evaluation (of herself) she was fast.'

(53) [*Hanako=wa   issyokenmee doryoku-si-te i-ru*]   **tumori**=*da*.
    Hanako=TOP very.hard   effort-do-GNF be-NPST *tumori*=COP.NPST
    'Hanako thinks (of herself) that she is trying very hard', or 'In Hanako's evaluation (of herself) she is trying very hard.'

There are nouns based on *tumori*, such as *kokoro-zumori* 'heart/mind-*tumori*' and *hara-zumori* 'stomach/belly-*tumori*' (J). They, too, can be used in the MMC. They seem to have the use of (a) "intention, decision" only, and not the use of (b) "evaluation".

[2] *Hazu* 'expectation, schedule' and 'realization' (J)

According to NKD Vol. 10: 1123, *hazu* underwent the following semantic changes. It refers to an arrowhead with a groove. It fits in the bowstring nicely. Consequently the word *hazu* acquired the meaning 'It is naturally the case that ...', 'X stands to reason', 'reason (not in the sense of cause), logic', and subsequently 'promise, plan'. In MSJ, *hazu* may be used outside the MMC, under very limited syntactic environments, with the meaning 'expectation, schedule' or 'realization'. However, it is generally used in the MMC, and, according to Takahashi (1975), it has two uses in what I term the MMC: (i) expectation, schedule, e.g. (54), and (ii) realization, e.g. (55). The use of *hazu* in (54) is modal, and that in (55) is discourse-related.

(54) [*Hanako=wa asita Nagoya=e ik-u*] **hazu**=*da.*
    Hanako=TOP tomorrow Nagoya=ALL go-NPST *hazu*=COP.NPST
    'Hanako is expected to go to Nagoya tomorrow.'

(55) ('I did not know that Hanako will have an examination tomorrow.')
    [*Doori=de Hanako=wa issyokenmee benkyoo-si-te i-ru*]
    no.wonder Hanako=TOP very.hard study-do-GNF be-NPST
    hazu=*da.*
    hazu=COP.NPST
    'No wonder (or, It is natural that) Hanako is studying very hard.'

[3] *Wake* 'cause, reason' (J)

In MSJ, *wake* may be used outside the MMC, often with the meaning 'cause, reason'. Also it is often used in the MMC, largely with discourse-related meanings, such as (i) cause, reason, explanation, e.g. (56), (ii) conclusion, (iii) realization, and (iv) something like 'in other words', e.g. (57). Sometimes it does not seem to have any clear meaning and it is very difficult to translate into English. Teramura (1984: 272–290) provides its details, and M. Tsunoda (2004: 129–153) an alternative analysis thereof.

(56) *Hanako=wa issyokenmee benkyoo-si-te i-ru.*
    Hanako=TOP very.hard study-do-GNF be-NPST
    'Hanako is studying very hard.'
    [*Gookaku-si-ta-i*] **wake**=*da.*
    passing-do-DESID-NPST *wake*=COP.NPST
    '(This is) because (she) wants to pass (the examination).'

(57) *Hanako=wa gookaku-si-ta.*
    Hanako=TOP passing-do-PST
    'Hanako passed (the examination).'
    [*Mokuhyoo=o tassee-si-ta*] **wake**=*da.*
    goal=ACC achievement-do-PST *wake*=COP.NPST
    'In other words (or, That is) (she) achieved (her) goal.'

[4] *Mono* 'thing, person' (J)

Mono is often used outside the MMC, with the meaning 'thing, person'. According to Teramura (1984: 297–305), when used in what I term the MMC, *mono* has various meanings, such as (i) obligation, advice, e.g. (58), (ii) surprise, strong emotion, wish, hope, e.g. (59), (94), (iii) past habitual or recalling a past experience, e.g. (60), and (iv) explanation, e.g. (61). The uses (i) and (ii) are modal, (iii) probably aspectual, and (iv) discourse-related. Teramura refers to the use in (60) as "recalling a past experience". However, "past habitual" is probably a more adequate label.

(58) [*Otokonoko=wa nak-ana-i*]   ***mono**=da*.
      boy=TOP   cry-NEG-NPST *mono*=COP.NPST
      'Boys should not cry.'

(59) [*Uma-i   sake=o   nom-i-ta-i*]   ***mono**=da*.
      nice-NPST rice.wine=ACC drink-LINK-DESID-NPST   *mono*=COP.NPST
      '(I) would love to drink nice *sake*.'

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

(61) *Seehu=wa   kome=no yunyuu=o   kinsi-si-ta*.
      government=TOP rice=GEN import=ACC prohibition-do-PST
      'The government banned the import of rice.'
      [*Noomin=no yookyuu=ni   kotae-ta*]   ***mono***.
      farmer=GEN demand=DAT/LOC answer-PST *mono*
      'That is, (the government) responded to the farmers' demand.'

The use of *mono* for explanation is often observed in newspaper articles. In this use, the copula is almost always deleted, as in (61).

There is another use of *mono*, which Teramura (1984) did not list.

(62) [*Koko=ni   wareware=wa seehu=no   kettee=ni*
      here=DAT/LOC we=TOP   government=GEN decision=DAT/LOC
      koogi-su-ru]   ***mono**=de   ar-u*.
      protesting-do-NPST *mono*=COP.GNF be-NPST
      'We hereby protest against the government's decision.'

In this use, *mono* makes the sentence sound formal. That is, it has a stylistic effect. The copula always (?) has the periphrastic nonpast form: =*de ar-u* (formal), which consists of =*de* (general nonfinite of the copula; cf. Table 1) and *ar-u* 'exist, be-NPST'.

[5] *Sidai* 'circumstance, procedure, programme, process' (C)
Sidai can be used outside the MMC, with the meaning 'circumstance, procedure, programme, process', etc. When used in the MMC, it has a stylistic effect: it makes the sentence sound formal, e.g. (63). Unlike *mono* in (62), the copula does not have to be in the formal form *=de ar-u*.

(63) [*Wareware=wa kokoro=kara owabi-su-ru*]   ***sidai*=*des-u.***
    we=TOP   heart=ABL   apology-do-NPST *sidai*=COP.POL-NPST
    'We apologize from the (bottom of our) heart.'

[6] *Hoo* (C) and *muki* (J) 'direction'
These nouns can be used outside the MMC, with the meaning 'direction'. When used in the MMC, they describe human propensity, tendency or the like. Therefore, they are similar to the nouns discussed in 5.1.2-[6] "Nouns that indicate tendency, practice, habit or the like" and 5.1.2-[7] "Nouns that indicate nature, propensity or the like of humans". They have an aspectual meaning: habitual. *Hoo* implies 'in comparison with X'.

(64) [*Hanako=wa yoku benkyoo-su-ru*] ***hoo*=*da.***
    Hanako=TOP well study-do-NPST *hoo*=COP.NPST
    '(Compared with other students) Hanako tends to study hard.'

(65) [*Yamada-si=wa   koo kangae-te or-are-ru*]   ***muki*=*de***
    Yamada-Mr.=TOP thus think-GNF be-SUBJ.RESP-NPST *muki*=COP.GNF
    ar-u.
    be-NPST
    'Mr. Yamada tends to think this way.'[4]

[7] *Ippoo* 'one direction, one way' (C)
When used outside the MMC, *ippoo* means 'one direction, one way'. When used in the MMC, it adds something like an aspectual meaning: 'more and more' or 'increasingly, progressively'.

(66) [*Ame=ga   tuyo-ku   nar-u*]   ***ippoo*=*da.***
    rain=NOM strong-INF become-NPST *ippoo*=COP.NPST
    'The rain is becoming heavier and heavier.'

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4 The ex. (65) is based on an attested sentence. A reviewer noted that (65) sounds odd to him. In my intuition, the MMC with the noun *muki* sounds slightly archaic.

[8] *Tokoro* 'place' (J)

Tokoro can be used outside the MMC, with the meaning 'place'. When used in what I term the MMC, it has various meanings (Suzuki 1972: 391, Kindaichi 1976: 42–44, 56–57, Takahashi 1976: 123–124, Teramura 1984: 290–293), which are predominantly aspectual, e.g. (6) ('has just gone out') (the verb of the Clause is in the past), (67) ('is about to go out') (the verb of the Clause is in the nonpast), (68) (progressive: 'is reading a book') (the verb of the Clause is in the progressive form: GNF be).[5]

(67) [*Hanako=wa ima dekake-ru*] ***tokoro=da.***
      Hanako=TOP now go.out-NPST *tokoro*=COP.NPST
      'Hanako is about to go out now.'

(68) [*Ima Hanako=ga hon=o yon-de i-ru*] ***tokoro=da.***
      now Hanako=NOM book=ACC read-GNF be-NPST place=COP.NPST
      'Hanako is reading a book now.'

Although this does not seem to be mentioned in previous works, *tokoro* has another use: stylistic effect. It makes the sentence formal, like *mono* in (62) and *sidai* in (63).

(69) (A certain professor made the following remark about someone else's research.)
      [*Minna sigeki=o uke-ta*] ***tokoro=des-u.***
      all stimulus=ACC receive-PST *tokoro*=COP.POL-NPST
      Less free translation: '(We) all received stimulus (from his research).'
      FT: '(His research) is stimulating to (us) all.'[6]

[9] *Koto* 'fact' (J)

Koto can be used outside the MMC, with the meaning 'fact', e.g. (133). It can also be used as a complementizer. When used in the MMC, it expresses advice, instruction or obligation, e.g. (70), (93), (103), (104). It supplies a modal meaning: deontic modality. (Teramura (1984: 293–297) provides a detailed discussion.)

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5 I have found two similar instances outside Japanese. Heine, Claudi & Hünnemeyer (1991: 182, note 13) give an example in Ewe (a Niger-Congo language of Ghana): a sentence that etymologically contains a noun that means 'area, place' has the meaning of 'be about to do, intend to do'. This resembles (67) of the Japanese MMC: 'be about to do'. Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca (1994: 131) mention that in Godié, a Kru language of Ivory Coast, a noun that means 'place' functions as a progressive marker. This resembles (68) of the Japanese MMC: progressive. Note that all of the examples from the three languages contain a noun that means 'place' and that they all have, or can have, an aspectual meaning. See T. Tsunoda (this volume, 4.5) for a further discussion.
6 A reviewer suggested that (69) has an aspectual meaning. However, the professor who uttered it confirmed that a stylistic effect was intended.

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

[10] *Yosi* 'reported evidence' (J)

According to NKD Vol. 13: 605, 622, etymologically the noun *yosi* means 'relating a fact/thing to another'. It seems to be the nominalized form (with the suffix *-i*) of the archaic verb *yos-* 'to make something go/come near something else'. In MSJ, *yosi* can be used outside the MMC, with the meaning 'means, clue'. However, it is almost always used in the MMC. It furnishes an evidential meaning: reported evidence. It is often used in letters, and the copula is always deleted. An example is (71).

(71) [*Hanako=ga gookaku-si-ta*] **_yosi._**
 Hanako=NOM passing-do-PST *yosi*
 'I heard that Hanako passed (an examination).'

5.1.4 Enclitic *=no*

The enclitic *=no* has various uses, which include the following. The classification and the labels employed are only tentative. (I owe Mie Tsunoda (p.c.) the observation that *=no* can be used in the MMC.)

(a) Genitive case marker, e.g. (72).
(b) Nominalizer or non-content noun, e.g. (73).
(c) Complementizer, e.g. (74).
(d) In the MMC, e.g. (75).

(72) *Hanako=no ie*
 Hanako=GEN house
 'Hanako's house'

(73) *Watasi=wa yasu-i=no=o kat-ta.*
 I=TOP cheap-NPST=NMLZ=ACC buy-PST
 'I bought a cheap one.'

(74) *Watasi=wa Hanako=ga hon=o yon-de i-ru=no=o*
 I=TOP Hanako=NOM book=ACC read-GNF be-NPST=COMP=ACC
 mi-ta.
 see-PST
 LT: 'I saw Hanako is reading a book.'
 FT: 'I saw Hanako reading a book.'

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

When used in the MMC, e.g. (75), =*no* may be considered a non-content noun or a nominalizer. There is a huge literature on =*no* as used in what I term the MMC, e.g. Alfonso (1966: 405), Suzuki (1972: 488–489), Kuno (1973: 223–233), Teramura (1984: 305–311), Masuoka & Takubo (1989: 28, 30, 199), and M. Tsunoda (2004: 69–128). The MMC with =*no* abounds in MSJ, expressing cause, reason, e.g. (75), summary, or conclusion, although its precise meaning is sometimes difficult to pinpoint. The use of this MMC is discourse-related.

The uses of the enclitic =*no* listed in (a) to (d) above are well known in the literature. Furthermore, in my view at least, it is possible to say that =*no* can be used as an adnominal nonpast form of the copula. See (80) and the comment on it.

In 5.1, we listed the nouns – and also the enclitic =*no* – that can occur in the Noun slot of the MMC, and looked at the semantic or discourse-related aspects of the MMC. We now examine the structure of the MMC: the Copula of the MMC in 5.2, the Clause of the MMC in 5.3, and the syntax of the MMC in 5.4.

5.2 Copula of the MMC

The Copula used in the MMC is generally what may be called the unmarked copula =*da*, e.g. (4) to (6). But the copula may be replaced by one of its variants, e.g. (a), (b), or a verb whose meaning is similar to that of the copula, e.g. (c).

(a) =*des*- 'COP.POL' (polite), e.g. (31), (32), (36), (37), (63), (69).
(b) =*de ar*- 'COP.GNF be' (formal), e.g. (62), (65).
(c) *nar*- 'become', e.g. (76).

(76) [*Seehu=wa   kome=no yunyuu=o   mitome-ru*]
    government=TOP rice=GEN import=ACC approve-NPST
    mitoosi=*ni   nar-i-mas-i-ta*.
    expectation=DAT/LOC become-LINK-POL-LINK-PST
    LT: '[The government approves the import of rice] an expectation became.'
    Somewhat free translation: 'It has become known that the government is
    expected to approve the import of rice.'

The copula and the forms listed in (a), (b) and (c) above conjugate (just like any other verb).

5.3 Clause of the MMC

5.3.1 Types of the Clause of the MMC

As is the case with the classification of clauses shown in 4.1, in terms of the type of the predicate, the Clause of the MMC can be classified as follows. Any type of clause can occur in the Clause slot of the MMC. Verb-predicate clauses are used by far the most frequently.

(a) Verb-predicate clauses, e.g. (4) to (6), (27) to (42).
(b) Adjective-predicate clauses:
    (b-1) involving an *i*-adjective, e.g. (44), (52).
    (b-2) involving a nominal adjective, e.g. (43), (77), (78), (90).
(c) Noun-predicate clauses, e.g. (79), (80).

5.3.2 Predicate of the Clause of the MMC

We shall examine the morphological and illocutionary possibilities of the predicate of the Clause of the MMC.

5.3.2.1 Morphological possibilities
We shall look at inflectional categories in [1] and derivational categories in [2].

    [1] Inflectional categories
The inflectional possibilities of the predicate of the Clause of the MMC are shown in Table 3.
    The inflectional possibilities of the predicate of adnominal clauses ("ACs") (cf. Table 2) and those of the predicate of the Clause of the MMC (cf. Table 3) are very similar. However, they differ in that in the latter the adnominal nonpast of the copula (=*na*) is unacceptable and the enclitic =*no* has to be used instead. As noted in 4.2, there are previous studies that argue that what I term the MMC contains an AC. However, these works did not seem to notice this difference. (This

Tab. 3: Predicate of the Clause of the MMC.

	Verb	*i*-adjective	Nominal adjective	Copula
Finite forms				
past	+	+	+	+
nonpast	+	+	−	−
Nonfinite forms				
adnominal nonpast	…	…	+	−
=no ('GEN' (?))	…	…	…	+

Legend: +: acceptable. −: unacceptable. …: non-existent.

difference shows that the MMC does not contain an AC. See 6.10.) Examples for Table 3 follow.

(a) Verbs. Past: (6), (32), (33), (35), (50). Nonpast: (4), (5), (27) to (31).
(b) *I*-adjectives. Past: (52). Nonpast: (44).
(c) Nominal adjectives. Past: (77). Nonpast: the adnominal nonpast is acceptable: (43), (78). The finite nonpast is unacceptable; see (78).

(77) [*Hanako=wa genki=datta*] **moyoo**=*da*.
    Hanako=TOP healthy=PST appearance=COP.NPST
    'Hanako appears to have been well.'

(78) [*Hanako=wa *genki=da / genki=na*]   **moyoo**=*da*
    Hanako=TOP healthy=NPST / healthy=NPST.ADN appearance=COP.NPST
    'Hanako appears to be well.'

(d) Copula. Past: (79). Nonpast. See (80). The finite nonpast form (=*da*) and the adnominal nonpast form (=*na*) are unacceptable. Instead, the enclitic =*no* is acceptable.

(79) [*Hanako=wa tensai=dat-ta*]   **tumori**=*da*.
    Hanako=TOP genius=COP-PST *tumori*=COP.NPST
    'Hanako thinks (of herself) that she was a genius.'

(80) [*Hanako=wa *tensai=da / *tensai=na / tensai=no*]
    Hanako=TOP genius=COP.NPST / genius=COP.NPST.ADN / genius=*no*
    tumori=*da*
    tumori=COP.NPST
    'Hanako thinks (of herself) that she is a genius.'

This =*no* can be regarded as the genitive case marker (cf. Tables 1 and 3). In my view, it can also be regarded as another adnominal nonpast form of the copula.

First, this =*no* is used in place of the adnominal nonpast =*na*. Second, it shares the initial nasal /n/ with =*na*.

As noted in 4.2.1, inflectional forms such as imperative, intentional/hortative and prohibitive are unacceptable in the predicate of ACs. This restriction applies to the predicate of the Clause of the MMC.

There may be a restriction or the like on the tense of the predicate (mainly a verb; cf. 5.3.1) of the Clause. This is due to the meaning of the noun employed and/or the meaning that this particular MMC expresses. Selected examples follow. (i) 5.1.2-[11]: Nouns that indicate time, temporal relations, progress, or the like. The verb is in the nonpast form with *mae* 'before', e.g. (48), and in the past form with *ato* 'after'. (ii) 5.1.3-[1]: *tumori*. To express intention, decision or the like to do (or not to do) something (in the future), the verb is in the nonpast form, e.g. (51), (110), (113), (117), (121), (122), (128). To express evaluation or the like about oneself, regarding his/her action/situation in the present or in the past (but not in the future), the verb is in the nonpast form, e.g. (53), or in the past form, e.g. (52), (79). Note that the same noun may require different tenses for different meanings.

[2] Derivational categories

As noted in 4.2.1, polite forms (e.g. the polite suffix -*mas*- and the suppletive polite copula =*des*-) are unacceptable or not highly acceptable in the predicate of ACs. This restriction applies to the predicate of the Clause of the MMC. Consider the following examples.

(81) [*Hanako=wa Nagoya=ni ik-u*] **yotee**=*da*.
 Hanako=TOP Nagoya=DAT/LOC go-NPST plan=COP.NPST
 'Hanako plans to go to Nagoya.' (neutral + neutral)

(82) [*Hanako=wa Nagoya=ni ik-u*] **yotee**=*des-u*.
 Hanako=TOP Nagoya=DAT/LOC go-NPST plan=COP.POL-NPST
 'Hanako plans to go to Nagoya.' (neutral + polite)

(83) *[*Hanako=wa Nagoya=ni ik-i-mas-u*]
 Hanako=TOP Nagoya=DAT/LOC go-LINK-POL-NPST
 yotee=*da*.
 plan=COP.NPST (polite + neutral)
 IM: 'Hanako plans to go to Nagoya.'

(84) *[*Hanako=wa Nagoya=ni ik-i-mas-u*]
 Hanako=TOP Nagoya=DAT/LOC go-LINK-POL-NPST
 yotee=*des-u*.
 plan=COP.POL-NPST (polite + polite)
 IM: '(As above)'

(81) and (82) are instances of the MMC. (83) and (84) are intended to be instances of the MMC. The Copula is in the neutral form in (81) and (83), and in the polite form in (82) and (84). The predicate of the Clause is in the neutral form in (81) and (82), and in the polite form in (83) and (84). The polite form is unacceptable in the predicate of the Clause of the MMC; see (83). This is true even when the Copula, too, is in the polite form; see (84). This is despite the fact that the polite form in the Clause might be expected to be acceptable if the Copula, too, is in the polite form.

All the other derivational categories are acceptable in the predicate of ACs and also in the predicate of the Clause of the MMC. Selected examples follow. (One of the categories has a periphrastic realization: general nonfinite + *i-* 'be' for progressive/perfect.)

(a) Voice
Passive (*-(r)are*), e.g. (33), (41).
Reciprocal (*-a*), e.g. (29).
(b) Respect
Subject respect (*-(r)are*, etc.), e.g. (65), (127) to (129).
(c) Aspect
Progressive/perfect, e.g. (5), (34), (53), (55).
(d) Polarity: negation (*-na*), e.g. (58), (97), (98).
(e) Modality
Desiderative (*-ta*), e.g. (56), (59).

5.3.2.2 Illocutionary possibilities

The predicate of ACs lacks certain illocutionary possibilities that full-fledged sentences have. The same restrictions apply to the predicate of the Clause of the MMC. Selected examples follow.

[1] Conjugational categories
Inflectional forms such as imperative, intentional/hortative and prohibitive are unacceptable in the predicate of ACs and also in the predicate of the Clause of the MMC (4.2.1, 5.3.2.1-[1]). An example of the MMC:

(85) *[*Hanako=wa Nagoya=ni   ik-e / ik-una / ik-oo*]
    Hanako=TOP Nagoya=DAT/LOC go-IMP / go-PROH / go-INT/HORT
    ***yotee**=da.*
    plan=COP.NPST
    (Untranslatable)

[2] Final postpositions
Final postpositions (cf. Section 3) generally occur sentence-finally and provide a modal meaning or the like, e.g. *=yo* 'assertion', *=ne* 'request for confirmation', e.g.

(86), and *=ka* 'question'. They cannot occur in ACs (Okutsu 1974: 45, Teramura 1992: 248). Likewise, they cannot occur in the Clause of the MMC. See (87).

(86) *Hanako=wa   Nagoya=ni   ik-u=ne.*
     Hanako=TOP Nagoya=DAT/LOC go-NPST=ne
     'Hanako goes/will go to Nagoya, doesn't/won't she?'

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

5.3.3 Can the Clause be used as a sentence by itself?

As seen in Section 1, T. Tsunoda (this volume) proposes that the prototype of the MMC has five properties, one of which is the following:

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

The situation in MSJ is as follows. See Table 3, which shows the inflectional possibilities of the predicate of the Clause of the MMC. When the predicate is in a finite form, the Clause can be used as a sentence. For example, compare (88) (MMC) and (89). The relevant predicate is a verb, and it is in the past form (a finite form).

(88) [*Ame=ga   hut-ta*] **moyoo**=da.
     rain=NOM fall-PST appearance=COP.NPST
     'It seems that it rained.'

(89) *Ame=ga   hut-ta.*
     rain=NOM fall-PST
     'It rained.'

However, when the predicate of the Clause of the MMC is in a nonfinite form, the Clause cannot be used as a sentence. For example, compare (90) (MMC) and (91). The relevant predicate is a nominal adjective and it is in the adnominal nonpast form (a nonfinite form).

(90) [*Hanako=wa genki=na*]   **moyoo**=da.
     Hanako=TOP healthy=NPST.ADN appearance=COP.NPST
     'It appears that Hanako is well.'

(91) *Hanako=wa genki=na.
      Hanako=TOP healthy=NPST.ADN
      IM: 'Hanako is well.'

Similarly, when the predicate of the Clause of the MMC involves the enclitic =no, the Clause cannot be used as a sentence. Compare (80) (MMC) and (92).

(92) *Hanako=wa tensai=no.
      Hanako=TOP genius=no
      IM: 'Hanako is a genius.'

5.3.4 Sentencehood of the Clause of the MMC

As seen in 5.3.3, the Clause of the MMC can be used as a sentence if its predicate is in one of the acceptable finite forms listed in Table 3. However, the Clause lacks at least three properties of full-fledged sentences. First, inflectional categories such as imperative, intentional/hortative and prohibitive are unacceptable (5.3.2.1-[1], 5.3.2.2-[1]). Second, polite forms are unacceptable or not highly acceptable (5.3.2.1-[2]). Third, its illocutionary possibilities are nonexistent (5.3.2.2). That is, even when it can be used as a sentence, the Clause exhibits a lower degree of sentence-hood than full-fledged sentences.

Nonetheless, the Clause of the MMC has a very high degree of sententiality in terms of Lehmann's (1988: 200) scale of "sententiality". It lacks full sententiality only in that it has no illocutionary force.

5.4 Syntax of the MMC

5.4.1 Copula

The Copula of the MMC may be absent. It is always absent or often absent depending on the noun in the Noun slot. A detailed discussion, dealing with each noun separately, is beyond the scope of the present work. Selected examples follow.

[1] The Copula is always absent in the following cases.

(a) When the content noun *utagai* 'suspicion' is employed, the Copula is always absent, e.g. (50). This MMC is often used in newspaper articles, but I have never seen the Copula included. In my judgment, if the Copula is included, that is, if (50) has *utagai=da* 'suspicion=COP.NPST' in place of just *utagai*, the resultant sentence sounds unnatural, if not entirely unacceptable. (However, there are speakers of Japanese who consider the resultant sentence acceptable.)

(b) When the non-content noun *yosi* 'reported evidence' is employed, the Copula is always absent, e.g. (71). In my judgment, if the Copula is present, that is, if (71) has *yosi=da* '*yosi*=COP.NPST' in place of just *yosi*, the resultant sentence is unacceptable. (However, one speaker of Japanese stated that the resultant sentence is acceptable.)[7]

[2] The Copula is often absent in the following cases.

(a) When the non-content noun *koto* 'fact' is employed, the MMC may express advice, obligation, or instruction. In effect, this MMC can be used rather like an imperative sentence. In such instances, the Copula can be present, e.g. (70), (103), but it is often absent, e.g. (93), (104). (I owe this observation to Kaoru Horie (p.c.).) Compare (70) with:

(93) [*Gakusee=wa issyokenmee benkyoo-su-ru*] **koto**.
    student=TOP very.hard   study-do-NPST *koto*
    'Students should study very hard.'[8]

(b) When the non-content noun *mono* 'thing, person' is employed, the MMC may express strong emotion, wish, or hope. In such instances, the Copula is often present, e.g. (59). But it can be absent.

(94) [*Uma-i sake=o nom-i-ta-i*]   **mono**.
    nice-NPST rice.wine-ACC drink-LINK-DESID-NPST *mono*
    '(I) would love to drink nice *sake*.'

(c) The MMC with *mono* 'thing, person' may be used to provide an explanation, and it is often observed in newspaper articles. In this use, the Copula is almost always deleted, e.g. (61).

(d) The MMC whose Noun indicates plan, intention or the like (5.1.2-[1]) or schedule, expectation or the like (5.1.2-[2]) is often used in newspapers, in particular, in articles about the political scene, and the Copula is often omitted. Compare (27) with (95).[9]

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7 Also, a reviewer suggests that the formal *=de ar-* 'COP.GNF be' (cf. 5.2-(b)) sounds better because of the stylistic compatibility of *yosi* with a more formal register.

8 The difference between (70) (with *=da* 'COP.NPST') and (93) (without *=da*) is subtle, but in my intuition (70) sounds more like advice, while (93) sounds more like an order.

9 A reviewer notes as follows: "absence and presence of Copula seems to be related to specific genre of writing. Newspaper genre seems to prefer non-copula version".

(95) [*Seehu=wa   kome=no yunyuu=o   mitome-ru*]   ***ikoo***.
government=TOP rice=GEN import=ACC approve-NPST intention
'The government intends to approve the import of rice.'

5.4.2 Negation

When the Copula is present, it can be negated, e.g. (96). (Negation of the copula employs a periphrastic expression that involves the negation word *na-*.) The predicate of the Clause may be negated, e.g. (58), (97). The scope of negation differs between (96) and (97). Both of the predicate of the Clause and the Copula can be negated, e.g. (98).

(96) [*Hanako=wa ik-u*]   ***yotee***=de=wa   na-i.
Hanako=TOP go-NPST plan=COP.GNF=TOP NEG-NPST
'It is not the case that Hanako plans to go.'

(97) [*Hanako=wa ik-ana-i*]   ***yotee***=da.
Hanako=TOP go-NEG-NPST plan=COP.NPST
'Hanako plans not to go.'

(98) [*Hanako=wa ik-ana-i*]   ***yotee***=de=wa   na-i.
Hanako=TOP go-NEG-NPST plan=COP.GNF=TOP NEG-NPST
'It is not the case that Hanako plans not to go.'

When the Copula is absent (cf. 5.4.1), naturally it cannot be negated. Only the predicate of the Clause can be negated.

5.4.3 Modification of the Noun

When they are used outside the MMC, all of the content nouns (5.1.2) and some of the non-content nouns (5.1.3) can be modified by an adjective, a demonstrative or the like, e.g. (99) (*kyuuna* 'urgent'); (125), (126) (*sono* 'that'); and (133) (*sonna* 'such'). However, when a noun is used in the Noun slot of the MMC (e.g. (100)), it cannot be modified by any word. See (101).

(99) *Kyuuna yotee=ga   deki-ta.*
urgent   plan=NOM emerge-PST
'An urgent schedule has come up.'

(100) [*Hanako=wa Nagoya=ni   ik-u*]   ***yotee=da.***
     Hanako=TOP Nagoya=DAT/LOC go-NPST plan=COP.NPST
     'Hanako plans to go to Nagoya.'

(101) *[*Hanako=wa Nagoya=ni   ik-u*]   *kyuuna* ***yotee=da.***
     Hanako=TOP Nagoya=DAT/LOC go-NPST urgent plan=COP.NPST
     IM: 'Hanako plans to go to Nagoya urgently.'

5.4.4 Subject of the Clause

[1] Presence/absence of the subject
The subject of the Clause has to be absent or is often absent depending on the
Noun. Selected examples follow.

(a) The MMC with the non-content noun *mono* 'thing, person' can express
strong emotion, wish, or hope, e.g. (59), (94). The emotion or the like is always (?)
that of the speaker. The subject cannot occur; see (102).

(102) *[*Watasi=wa uma-i   sake=o   nom-i-ta-i*]
     I=TOP   nice-NPST rice.wine-ACC drink-LINK-DESID-NPST
     mono=da.
     mono=COP.NPST
     IM: 'I would love to drink nice *sake*.'

In contrast, when the MMC with *mono* 'thing, person' is used for (i) obligation,
advice, e.g. (58), (ii) past habitual or past experience, e.g. (60), (iii) explanation,
e.g. (61), or (iv) stylistic effect, e.g. (62), the subject can be present.

(b) The MMC with the non-content noun *koto* 'fact' can indicate advice, instruc-
tion or obligation. As noted in 5.4.1-[2]-(a), in effect the MMC with *koto* 'fact' can
be used rather like an imperative sentence. In such cases, the subject can be
present, e.g. (70), (93), but it is often absent, e.g. (103), (104). The subject under-
stood is the second person.

(103) [*Issyokenmee benkyoo-su-ru*] ***koto=da.***
     very.hard   study-do-NPST *koto*=COP.NPST
     '(You) should study very hard.'

(104) [*Syukudai=o   su-ru*]   ***koto.***
     homework=ACC do-NPST *koto*
     'Do (your) homework.'

[2] Person of the subject

A semantic aspect (not a syntactic aspect) of the subject is conveniently included here. The person of the subject of the Clause exhibits the following tendencies. When the MMC expresses strong emotion, wish or hope, the subject appears to be always the first person, e.g. (59), (94) (where the subject is obligatorily absent). (Shin'ya (1989: (11)) in effect makes a similar observation.) When the MMC describes advice, instruction or the like, the subject is often the second person, e.g. (103), (104). When the MMC has the evidential meaning of reported evidence, the subject appears to be always the third person, e.g. (71).

5.4.5 MMC in a subordinate clause

In all the examples given above, the MMC occurs in simple sentences. But it can also occur in complex sentences. In the following example, the MMC occurs in each of the subordinate clause and the main clause.

(105) [*Hanako=ga   Nagoya=ni   ik-u*]   **yotee**=*de,*   [*Akio=ga*
      Hanako=NOM Nagoya=DAT/LOC go-NPST plan=COP.GNF Akio=NOM
      Sendai=ni   ik-u]   **yotee**=*dat-ta.*
      Sendai=DAT/LOC go-NPST plan=COP-PST
      'Hanako planned to go to Nagoya, and Akio planned to go to Sendai.'

6 Comparison of the MMC with other constructions

6.1 Introductory notes

We now compare the MMC with other constructions. In particular, we shall examine the following two issues.

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

The structure of the prototype of the MMC is as shown in (1). Superficially at least, it looks as if the prototypical MMC is bi-clausal. In some of the languages reported in the present volume, the Clause of the MMC looks similar to an adnominal clause ("AC") (or a relative clause) of the respective languages and consequently it looks as if the MMC is bi-clausal, with an AC as a subordinate clause.

Previous studies of MSJ have proposed the following four analyses of what I term the MMC. The labels of these analyses were coined by me, except for "bridge construction", which Kato (1994) used.

Adnominal-clause analysis ("AC analysis") (Takahashi 1960, Okutsu 1974, Shin'ya
  1989, Teramura 1992).
Complementation analysis (Nakau 1973).
Compound-predicate analysis (Takahashi 1979: 157).
Bridge-construction analysis (Kato 1994: 110).

These authors deal with instances of what I term the MMC, but they do not recognize it as a distinct construction.

In effect, the compound-predicate analysis regards the MMC as mono-clausal, while the other three analyses regard it as bi-clausal. However, to be strict, most of the works cited above do not furnish syntactic evidence to support the analysis they propose and generally they do not state explicitly whether what I term the MMC should be considered bi-clausal or mono-clausal.

The dominant view seems to be the AC analysis, which was proposed by eminent grammarians of Japanese such as Taro Takahashi, Keiichiro Okutsu and Hideo Teramura. According to their view, what I regard as the Clause of the MMC (see (1)) is an AC and it modifies the Noun. In particular, in Teramura's (1992: 279–280) view, the MMC contains an AC of the addition type. (See 4.2.2-[2] for addition-type ACs.) To examine each of the four analyses listed above is far beyond the scope of the present work, and we shall concentrate on the AC analysis.

The motivation for the AC analysis is no doubt morphological. Compare Tables 2 and 3. The predicate of ACs and that of the Clause of the MMC show very similar restrictions. It may look as if the MMC is bi-clausal, with an AC as a subordinate clause. In view of this, it is important to examine the two issues listed above: (a) and (b).

However, even regarding the predicate morphology, as noted in 5.3.2.1, there is one difference between Tables 2 and 3 that previous studies did not seem to notice. This shows that the MMC does not contain an AC.

We shall compare the following constructions. This comparison will concern their syntactic aspects.

(i)   Mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences (cf. 4.1).
(ii) MMC (cf. Section 5).
(iii) AC of the gap type (cf. 4.2.2-[1]).
(iv) AC of the addition type (cf. 4.2.2-[2]).
(v)   AC with an anticipatory pronoun (cf. 4.2.2-[3])

Verb-predicate sentences are chosen as the representative of independent sentences. It is necessary to consider mono-clausal sentences, since one of the aims of this comparison is to examine the issue (b) listed above. The result of this comparison is discussed in 6.10 and summarized in Table 4.

When we look at the MMC, we shall mainly be concerned with the Clause, but we shall also look at the entire MMC.

6.2 Deletion of an AC and the Clause

It is convenient to start with ACs.

(iii) AC of the gap type
(iv) AC of the addition type
(v) AC with an anticipatory pronoun

Deletion of an AC produces a well-formed sentence; compare (106) (an example of the gap type) and (107).

(106) *Kore=wa* {*Hanako=ga yom-u*} *hon=da.*
    this=TOP Hanako=NOM read-NPST book=COP.NPST
    'This is a book that Hanako reads/will read.'

(107) *Kore=wa hon=da.*
    this=TOP book=COP.NPST
    'This is a book.'

(ii) MMC

Deletion of the Clause of the MMC produces a nonsensical sentence or at best an elliptical sentence; compare (6) (repeated below) and (108). (Shin'ya (1989: (12)) makes the same observation.)

(6) [*Ima Hanako=ga dekake-ta*] **tokoro**=da.
    now Hanako=NOM go.out-PST place=COP.NPST
    LT: '[Hanako went out now] a place is.'
    FT: 'Hanako has just gone out now.'

(108) *Tokoro=da.*
    place=COP.NPST
    LT: 'A place is.'

(i) Mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences

This criterion is irrelevant; these sentences do not contain an AC or the Clause of the MMC.

The evidence regarding the deletion of an AC and the Clause of the MMC constitutes probably the clearest and strongest piece of evidence that the MMC does not contain an AC. It is in view of this that this evidence is presented first.

6.3 Modal postposition *=wa* 'TOP'

The modal postposition *=wa* 'TOP' can indicate topic or contrast (see Kuno 1973: 37–61). We shall mainly look at *=wa* for topic (not *=wa* for contrast).

  (i) Mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences
=wa for topic can occur, e.g. (86), (109). The contrast reading, too, is possible; see (109).

(109) *Hanako=wa   hon=o   yom-u.*
     Hanako=TOP book=ACC read-NPST
     Topic reading: 'As for Hanako, she reads/will read a book'.
     Contrast reading: 'In contrast with other people, Hanako reads/will read a book.'

  (ii) MMC
=wa for topic can occur in the Clause of the MMC, e.g. (27) to (33), and:

(110) [*Hanako=wa   hon=o   yom-u*]   **tumori**=*da.*
     Hanako=TOP book-ACC read-NPST intention=COP.NPST
     'Hanako intends to read a book.'

(The contrast reading, too, is possible in the Clause of the MMC.)

  (iii) AC of the gap type
  (iv) AC of the addition type
  (v) AC with an anticipatory pronoun
=wa for topic (though not *=wa* for contrast) cannot occur in ACs (Minami 1961: 83, 1974: 127, 1993: 98–99); see (111).

(111) #*Kore=wa* {*Hanako=wa   yom-u*}   *hon=da.*
     this=TOP   Hanako=TOP read-NPST book=COP.NPST
     IM: 'This is a book that Hanako reads/will read.'

("#" indicates that this sentence is unacceptable for the intended reading, but that it is acceptable for some other reading. (111) is acceptable for the contrast reading (cf. Minami 1961: 83): 'This is a book that, in contrast with other people, Hanako reads/will read'.)

6.4 Adverbs of modality

We shall look at adverbs of modality, such as *tabun* 'probably', *osoraku* 'possibly', *masaka* 'unlikely' and *yomoya* 'highly unlikely'.

(i) Mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences
These adverbs are acceptable, e.g.:

(112) *Hanako=wa   osoraku hon=o   yom-u.*
      Hanako=TOP possibly book-ACC read-NPST
      'Hanako possibly reads/will read a book.'

(ii) MMC
These adverbs are acceptable in the Clause of the MMC, e.g.:

(113) [*Hanako=wa osoraku hon=o   yom-u*]   **tumori**=*da.*
      Hanako=TOP possibly book-ACC read-NPST intention=COP.NPST
      'Hanako possibly intends to read a book.

(iii) AC of the gap type
(iv) AC of the addition type
(v) AC with an anticipatory pronoun
These adverbs are unacceptable (Minami 1974: 127, 1993: 98) or at best marginally acceptable in ACs.

(114) ?*Kore=wa* {*Hanako=ga   osoraku yom-u*}   *hon=da.*
      this=TOP Hanako=NOM possibly read-NPST book=COP.NPST
      IM: 'This is a book that Hanako possibly reads/will read.'

6.5 NOM~GEN conversion

It is convenient to start with ACs.

(iii) AC of the gap type
(iv) AC of the addition type
(v) AC with an anticipatory pronoun
The nominative =*ga* can be replaced with the genitive =*no* (Mikami 1972: 27–28, 234) – though not always (Masuoka & Takubo 1989: 182).

(115) {*Hanako=ga / Hanako=no   yom-u*}   *hon*
      Hanako=NOM / Hanako=GEN read-NPST book
      'a book that Hanako reads/will read'

(i) Mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences
The NOM~GEN conversion is impossible.

(116) *Asita   Hanako=ga / *Hanako=no   ik-u.*
      tomorrow Hanako=NOM / Hanako=GEN go-NPST
      'Hanako will go tomorrow.'

(ii) MMC
The NOM~GEN conversion is impossible.

(117) [*Asita   Hanako=ga / *Hanako=no   ik-u*]   **tumori**=*da*.
      tomorrow Hanako=NOM / Hanako=GEN go-NPST intention=COP.NPST
      'Hanako intends to go tomorrow.'

(I owe Yukinori Takubo (p.c.) the observation that the NOM~GEN conversion is unacceptable in the MMC.) Previous works such as Mikami (1972: 28, 234–235), Teramura (1984: 264), Masuoka & Takubo (1989: 119) and Shin'ya (1989: 12) pointed out that the NOM~GEN conversion is unacceptable with certain instances of the Noun of what I later labelled the MMC.

6.6 Gapping

It is convenient to start with gap-type ACs.

(iii) AC of the gap type
Gapping takes place in the formation of gap-type ACs. For example, compare (14) with (15) and (16). The subject is absent in the AC of (15) and the object is absent in the AC of (16).

(iv) AC of the addition type
Gapping does not take place in the formation of addition-type ACs. For example, compare (19) and (20). The subject and the object are present in the AC of (20).

(v) AC with an anticipatory pronoun
Gapping does not take place in the formation of ACs with an anticipatory pronoun. For example, the corresponding sentence (25) contains *nokogiri=de* 'saw=LOC/INS'. It is replaced with *sore=de* 'that=LOC/INS' in the AC of (26).

(ii) MMC
Gapping does not occur in the formation of the Clause of the MMC. See (113) and (117), for example.

(i) Mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences

Gapping does not occur. See (112) and (116), for example.

6.7 An anticipatory pronoun

(v) AC with an anticipatory pronoun

An anticipatory pronoun occurs in ACs of this type. See (26).

(iii) AC of the gap type
(iv) AC of the addition type

An anticipatory pronoun does not occur in ACs of these types. See (15), (16), (18), (20), (23).

(ii) MMC

An anticipatory pronoun does not occur in the Clause of the MMC. See (113) and (117).

(i) Mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences

An anticipatory pronoun does not occur. See (112) and (116).

6.8 One subject or two subjects?

(iii) AC of the gap type
(iv) AC of the addition type
(v) AC with an anticipatory pronoun

Sentences with an AC may – though not always – contain two subjects. For example, in (123), *kore=wa* 'this=TOP' is the subject of the main clause and *Hanako=ga* 'Hanako=NOM' is the subject of the AC.

(i) Mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences
(ii) MMC

These sentences can contain only one subject. For example, (119) (an example of (i)) and (121) (an example of (ii)) each have only one subject: *Hanako=wa* 'Hanako=TOP'.

It may be argued that the MMC has two subjects, that is, the Clause has its subject and also the Clause is the subject of "Noun + Copula". However, such a sentence is not an instance of the MMC. See the property (e) listed in Section 1.

6.9 Clefting

The cleft construction in MSJ has the following structure.

(118) X=*no=wa*   NP=*da*.
       X=NMLZ=TOP   NP=COP.NPST

The subject will be focused on in the examples given below. In the case of ACs, it is the subject of an AC, not the subject of the main clause, that will be focused on.

   (i) Mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences
Clefting is acceptable. Compare (119) and (120).

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

(120) *Nagoya=ni   ik-u=no=wa   Hanako=da.*
       Nagoya=DAT/LOC go-NPST=NMLZ=TOP Hanako=COP.NPST
       'It is Hanako who goes/will go to Nagoya.'

   (ii) MMC
Clefting is acceptable. Compare (121) and (122).

(121) [*Hanako=wa Nagoya=ni*   *ik-u*]   **tumori**=*da*.
       Hanako=TOP Nagoya=DAT/LOC go-NPST intention=COP.NPST
       'Hanako intends to go to Nagoya.'

(122) *Nagoya=ni   ik-u*   **tumori**=*na=no=wa*
       Nagoya=DAT/LOC go-NPST intention=COP.NPST.ADN=NMLZ=TOP
       Hanako=da.
       Hanako=COP.NPST
       'It is Hanako who intends to go to Nagoya.'

   (iii) AC of the gap type
   (iv) AC of the addition type
   (v) AC with an anticipatory pronoun
Clefting is unacceptable. Thus, compare (123) and (124).

(123) *Kore=wa* {*Hanako=ga   yom-u*}   *hon=da.*
       this=TOP Hanako=NOM read-NPST book=COP.NPST
       'This is a book that Hanako reads/will read.'

(124) **Kore=wa yom-u hon=na=no=wa*
　　　 this=TOP read-NPST book=COP.NPST.ADN=NMLZ=TOP
　　　 Hanako=da.
　　　 Hanako=COP.NPST
　　　 (Untranslatable)

As seen above, the subject of ACs cannot be moved out of ACs. This indicates that ACs constitute "islands" (Ross 1986: 233–234, 288). In contrast, the subject of the Clause of the MMC can be moved out of the Clause. Also, the subject of mono-clausal sentences can be moved out of the sentences. The Clause of the MMC and mono-clausal sentences do not constitute an "island". (I am grateful to Kan Sasaki (p.c.) for drawing Ross (1986) to my attention.)

6.10 Discussion

The result of the comparison above is shown in Table 4.

Tab. 4: Comparison of the MMC with other constructions.

	Deletion	=*wa* 'TOP'	Adverbs of modality
Mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences	…	+	+
MMC	−	+	+
AC: gap type	+	−	?
AC: addition type	+	−	?
AC with an anticipatory pronoun	+	−	?

	NOM~GEN conversion	Gapping	An anticipatory pronoun
Mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences	−	−	−
MMC	−	−	−
AC: gap type	+	+	−
AC: addition type	+	−	−
AC with an anticipatory pronoun	+	−	+

	Two subjects	Clefting
Mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences	−	+
MMC	−	+
AC: gap type	+	−
AC: addition type	+	−
AC with an anticipatory pronoun	+	−

Legend: +: acceptable or obligatory. ?: marginally acceptable. −: unacceptable. …: irrelevant.

As seen in 6.1, in terms of the morphology of the predicate, the Clause of the MMC is very similar to ACs (cf. Tables 2 and 3), and it may look as if the MMC is bi-clausal, with an AC as a subordinate clause. This seems to be the dominant view (cf. 6.1).

However, even regarding the predicate morphology, there is one difference between the Clause of the MMC and ACs that previous studies did not seem to notice. This shows that the MMC does not contain an AC.

Furthermore, in terms of syntax (Table 4), the Clause of the MMC behaves differently from ACs. That is, the MMC does not contain an AC. The entire MMC behaves exactly like mono-clausal sentences. This shows clearly that syntactically the MMC is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal. The MMC does not contain any subordinate clause – despite the superficial structure of the MMC shown in (1) (repeated below). This conclusion is contrary to the view that appears to be dominant.

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

Similarly, Korean (Kim, this volume, Section 6) yields evidence that its MMC does not contain an AC and that it is syntactically mono-clausal. See also T. Tsunoda (this volume, 3.4).

6.11 Compound predicate

We saw in 6.10 that syntactically the MSJ MMC is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal. Then, it should have just one predicate, not two predicates. We now investigate what structure the predicate has. MSJ provides two pieces of evidence that the predicate of its MMC is a compound predicate that consists of the predicate of the Clause, the Noun and the Copula, as shown in (2) (repeated below).

(2) [...   predicate of Clause]   Noun   Copula.
                    compound predicate

[1] As seen in 5.4.3, all of the content nouns (5.1.2) and some of the non-content nouns (5.1.3) can be modified by an adjective, a demonstrative or the like when they are used outside the MMC. In contrast, when a noun is used in the Noun slot of the MMC, it cannot be modified by any word. This shows that syntactically the Noun and the preceding predicate of the Clause form a unit; they reject the intervention of any word.

[2] The copula in the Copula slot is an enclitic, and no word can intervene between it and the preceding Noun. That is, the Noun and the Copula form a unit.

These two facts show that the predicate of the Clause, the Noun and the Copula jointly form a single unit. That is, they form a compound predicate.

7 Grammaticalization of the Noun

7.1 Introductory notes

So far we have looked at synchronic aspects of the MSJ MMC. Section 7 furnishes a very brief and highly selective account of the grammaticalization of nouns in the Noun slot. A full investigation of this issue is far beyond the scope of the present work.

All the nouns that can occur in the Noun slot of the MMC (i.e. content nouns (5.1.2) and non-content nouns (5.1.3)) are – in terms of syntax and morphology – grammaticalized, though to a limited degree. In terms of semantics, too, they are grammaticalized, to varying degrees.

Those aspects of the grammaticalization to be examined can be very roughly shown as follows.

(a) Syntax:　　　　 modification of the Noun.
(b) Morphology (1):　 affixation to the Noun.
(c) Morphology (2):　 independent word → enclitic → suffix → merger.
(d) Word class:　　　 noun → postposition.
(e) Semantics:　　　 lexical meaning → grammatical meaning.

7.2 Syntax: modification of the Noun

As seen in 5.4.3, nouns in the Noun slot of the MMC cannot be modified by any word, although they can be modified in such a way when used outside the MMC. In this respect, nouns in the Noun slot have lost their nounhood.

7.3 Morphology: affixation to the Noun

Japanese nouns do not involve any inflectional affix. There are at least two derivational affixes that can be added to nouns in the Noun slot of the MMC: the prefixes *go-* and *o-* both 'polite' and/or 'respect'. These prefixes can be added to nouns outside the MMC. (125) and (126) are answers to the question "Will Professor Tanaka go to Nagoya?"

(125) *Sono go-yotee=wa   ar-i-mas-en.*
     that   POL-plan=TOP exist-LINK-POL-NEG
     LT: 'That plan does not exist.'
     FT: '(Professor Tanaka) does not have such a plan.'

(126) *Sono o-tumori=wa   ar-i-mas-en.*
     that   POL-intention=TOP exist-LINK-POL-NEG
     LT: 'That intention does not exist.'
     FT: '(Professor Tanaka) does not have such an intention.'

These prefixes can be added to some of the nouns in the Noun slot of the MMC.

(127) [*Tanaka-sensee=wa   Nagoya=ni   irassyar-u*]
     Tanaka-professor=TOP Nagoya=DAT/LOC go.SUBJ.RESP-NPST
     *go-**yotee**=da.*
     POL-plan=COP.NPST
     'Professor Tanaka plans to go to Nagoya.'

(128) [*Tanaka-sensee=wa   Nagoya=ni   irassyar-u*]
     Tanaka-professor=TOP Nagoya=DAT/LOC go.SUBJ.RESP-NPST
     *o-**tumori**=da.*
     POL-intention=COP.NPST
     'Professor Tanaka intends to go to Nagoya.'

(There is a suppletive alternation between *ik-* 'go' (neutral) and *irassyar-* 'go' (subject respect) (Harada 1976: 506).) Both (127) and (128) are correct, but stylistically they sound better if the Copula is in the polite form. For example, (129) sounds better than (127).

(129) [*Tanaka-sensee=wa   Nagoya=ni   irassyar-u*]
     Tanaka-professor=TOP Nagoya=DAT/LOC go.SUBJ.RESP-NPST
     *go-**yotee**=des-u.*
     POL-plan=COP.POL-NPST
     'Professor Tanaka plans to go to Nagoya.'

These two prefixes are attested with some content nouns and some non-content nouns in the Noun slot of the MMC. In this respect, these nouns in the Noun slot of the MMC have not lost their nounhood. (*Yotee* 'plan' is a content noun (cf. 5.1.2-[1]-(a)), while *tumori* 'intention' is a non-content noun (cf. 5.1.3-[1]).)

7.4 Denominalization of the Noun

According to Malchukov (2006: 973–974), Hopper & Thompson (1984) introduced the term "decategorization". Malchukov summarizes Hopper & Thompson's findings as follows: they "showed that verbs or nouns, when not used in their primary functions, tend to lose some of the morphosyntactic properties associated with their primary functions of reporting events and referring to terms, respectively". (Takahashi (1986) made a very similar observation regarding verbs of MSJ.)

Clearly the nouns in the Noun slot of the MMC are undergoing decategorization. To be precise, they are undergoing a process which I propose to term "denominalization". A detailed account of this issue is beyond the scope of the present work, and only a very brief remark will be provided.

Nouns in the Noun slot of the MMC cannot be modified by any word (cf. 5.4.3 and 7.2). In this respect, they have lost their nounhood. This is a syntactic phenomenon.

There are at least two derivational affixes that can be added to nouns in the Noun slot of the MMC (cf. 7.3). In this respect, these nouns have not lost their nounhood. This is a morphological phenomenon.

The above suggests the following order of denominalization:

(130) Loss of modification (in syntax) → loss of affixation (in morphology)

Although there is no additional evidence, it is tempting to suggest that syntax is more susceptible to denominalization than is morphology.

7.5 Final postpositions

Final postpositions (cf. Section 3) occur sentence-finally and provide a modal meaning to a sentence, e.g. =*ne* 'request for confirmation' in (86). There are final postpositions whose etymology is a noun in the Noun slot of the MMC. Two examples are given below: the nouns *mono* and *koto*. (I am grateful to Joungmin Kim (p.c.) for pointing out that these two nouns have acquired the use as a final postposition.)

[1] The final postposition =*mono* 'strong emotion, explanation', etc.
Miyachi (this volume) reports that, in Old Japanese ("OJ") (700–800), the noun *mono* 'thing, person' is attested in the MMC. This MMC has a modal meaning, such as 'be bound to' and 'should' (obligation). In Early Middle Japanese ("EMJ") (800–1200), too, *mono* 'thing, person' is attested in the MMC, and this MMC indicates general tendency or the like.

In MSJ, the noun *mono* 'thing, person' can be used in the MMC, and this MMC has various meanings, such as (i) obligation, advice, (ii) explanation, (iii) recalling

a past experience, and (iv) surprise, strong emotion, wish, hope; see 5.1.3-[4]. Also, as noted in 5.4.1-[2]-(b), when *mono* expresses strong emotion, wish, or hope, the Copula can be absent, e.g. (94).

Furthermore, *mono* has the use as a final postposition, expressing (i) explanation, (ii) strong emotion, etc. An example:

(131) (An example cited from a TV ad, about life insurance for women, in which an actress says as follows.)
Onna=des-u=mono.
woman=COP.POL-NPST=mono
'(I) am a woman.'

(The implication of this TV ad is the following: "Because I am a woman, I want to remain young and beautiful, so I will buy this life insurance. I recommend this to you, too".)

Previous studies recognize the use of *mono* as a final postposition. In my view, it is important to mention the following two facts.

Fact 1. As noted in 5.3.2.1-[2], the predicate of the Clause of the MMC cannot be in a polite form. Note, however, that the predicate in (131) is in a polite form. (With all (or most?) of the other final postpositions, the predicate can be in a polite form.)

Fact 2. *Mono* that is used in the Noun slot of the MMC can be followed by the Copula (5.1.3-[4]), although the Copula may be absent (5.4.1-[2]-(b)). In contrast, *mono* in (131) cannot be followed by the copula. This holds true not only when the copula is in the neutral style (=*da* 'COP.NPST'), but also when it is in the polite style (=*des-u* 'COP.POL-NPST'), like the copula that precedes *mono* in (131).

(132) **Onna=des-u=mono=da* / =*des-u.*
woman=COP.POL-NPST=*mono*=COP.NPST / =COP.POL-NPST

These two facts show that, in (131), *mono* does not occupy the Noun slot of the MMC, and that (131) is no longer an instance of the MCC.

In the spoken language, =*mono* is sometimes shortened to =*mon*.

(133) (An example cited from the dictionary *Kojien* (Tokyo: Iwanami, 2008, 6th edition, p. 2807))
Sonna koto sit-te i-ru=mon.
such fact know-GNF be-NPST=*mono*
'(I) do know such a thing.'

To sum up, the following changes have occurred.

(134) *mono* (OJ, EMJ) (noun) 'thing, person' →
    mono (OJ) (noun in MMC) 'be bound to', 'should' (obligation) →
    mono (EMJ) (noun in MMC) 'general tendency' →
    mono (MSJ) (noun in MMC) 'explanation, strong emotion', etc. →
    =*mono* (MSJ) (final postposition) 'explanation, strong emotion', etc. →
    =*mon* (MSJ) (final postposition) 'explanation, strong emotion', etc.

    [2] The final postposition =*koto* 'advice, obligation, instruction'
Miyachi (this volume) reports that the noun *koto* 'fact' is attested in the Noun slot in the MMC of EMJ, and this MMC indicates general tendency or strong emotion.

    In MSJ, the noun *koto* 'fact' can be used in the MMC; see 5.1.3-[9] above. As seen in 5.4.1-[2]-(a), when it expresses advice, obligation, or instruction, the Copula is often deleted (sometimes obligatorily), e.g. (93), (104).

    Furthermore, *koto* has the use of a final postposition, expressing strong emotion or the like (this use is limited to women's speech), e.g.:

(135) *Maa kiree=na   hana=des-u=koto.*
    Oh! beautiful=ADN.NPST flower=COP.POL-NPST=*koto*
    'Oh, what a beautiful flower (this) is!'

    Previous studies recognize the use of *koto* as a final postposition. In my view, it is important to note that the two facts that were stated regarding *mono* used as a final postposition apply to *koto* used as a final postposition.

    To sum up, the following changes have occurred.

(136) *koto* (EMJ) (noun) 'thing' →
    koto (EMJ) (noun in MMC) 'general tendency', 'strong emotion' →
    koto (MSJ) (noun in MMC) 'advice, obligation, instruction, etc.' →
    =*koto* (MSJ) (final postposition) 'strong emotion'

    Furthermore, in the Tono dialect of Iwate Prefecture in northern Japan, *koto* and the copula have merged and become something like a final postposition. See 7.9.

    In 7.6 to 7.8, we shall consider three additional examples of the grammaticalization of nouns in the Noun slot of the MMC.

7.6 *Sama* (noun) 'appearance, situation', *=soo* (enclitic) 'reported evidence', and *-soo* (suffix) 'inference'

NKD Vol. 8: 290 indicates that the etymology of =*soo* and -*soo* is not certain, but that one possibility is the noun *sama* 'appearance, situation'.

[1] Noun *sama* 'appearance, situation'

Miyachi (this volume) reports that in EMJ the noun *sama* 'appearance, situation' can occupy the Noun slot of the MMC, and this MMC has an evidential meaning: 'It seems/appears that'.

In MSJ, this noun is still used, but it is not attested in the MMC. (In my idiolect, it is unacceptable in the MMC.) It is not listed among the nouns in 5.1.2 (content nouns) or 5.1.3 (non-content nouns).

[2] Enclitic *=soo* 'reported evidence'

In MSJ, the enclitic *=soo* can occupy the Noun slot of the MMC. It can be added to the following, among others.

(a) Verb and *i*-adjective. Past, e.g. (137), (139). Nonpast: (138), (140).
(b) Nominal adjective. Past: (141). Nonpast: (142). Adnominal nonpast is unacceptable; see (142).

The enclitic *=soo* is generally (though not always) followed by the copula. This MMC has an evidential meaning: reported evidence ('I heard that').

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

(138) [*Hanako=ga   Nagoya=ni   ik-u*]=**soo**=*da.*
      Hanako=NOM Nagoya=DAT/LOC go-NPST=*soo*=NPST
      'I heard that Hanako goes/will go to Nagoya.'

Involving an *i*-adjective:
(139) [*Hanako=wa   akaruk-atta*]=**soo**=*da.*
      Hanako=TOP cheerful-PST=*soo*=COP.NPST
      'I heard that Hanako was cheerful.'

(140) [*Hanako=wa   akaru-i*]=**soo**=*da.*
      Hanako=TOP cheerful-NPST=*soo*=COP.NPST
      'I heard that Hanako is cheerful.'

Involving a nominal adjective:
(141) [*Hanako=wa   genki=dat-ta*]=**soo**=*da.*
      Hanako=TOP well=COP-PST=*soo*=COP.NPST
      'I heard that Hanako was well.'

(142) [*Hanako=wa genki=da* / **genki=na*]=**soo**=*da*.
　　　Hanako=TOP well=NPST / well=NPST.ADN=*soo*=COP.NPST
　　　'I heard that Hanako is well.'

In accordance with the practice of many grammarians of Japanese, NKD does not distinguish enclitics from words and suffixes. Nonetheless, I consider =*soo* an enclitic, not an independent word or a suffix. The reasons for this are as follows.

Reason 1. There is no form *soo* 'reported evidence' in MSJ that is used as an independent word. Therefore, this form must be either an enclitic or a suffix.

The following reasons indicate that =*soo* is an enclitic, and not a suffix.

Reason 2. This morpheme can be attached to more than one word class, e.g. a verb, an *i*-adjective, and a nominal adjective.

Reason 3. The word that precedes this morpheme can conjugate: past and non-past.

In sum, the form in question should be considered an enclitic, and not an independent word or a suffix.

As seen in 4.2.1 (cf. Table 2), when a nominal adjective modifies a noun, the finite nonpast form (=*da*) is unacceptable and the adnominal nonpast form (=*na*) is acceptable. Exactly the same restriction applies when a nominal adjective is used as the predicate of the Clause of the MMC; see 5.3.2.1-[1] and Table 3. In contrast, when a nominal adjective precedes the enclitic =*soo* 'reported evidence', the finite nonpast form (=*da*) is acceptable and the adnominal nonpast form (=*na*) is unacceptable. See (142). This is shown in Table 5. The main (or sole?) function of adnominal forms is to modify nouns. This indicates that the enclitic =*soo* has lost the status as a noun at least in this respect. (Table 5 also show the situation regarding the enclitic =*yoo* 'inference', which will be discussed in 7.7.)

Tab. 5: Nominal adjectives that precede =*soo* 'reported evidence' and =*yoo* 'inference'.

	=*soo* 'reported evidence'	=*yoo* 'inference'
Finite forms		
past (=*dat-ta*)	+	+
nonpast (=*da*)	+	–
Nonfinite form		
adnominal nonpast (=*na*)	–	+

[3] Suffix -*soo* 'visual evidence' and 'inference'
In MSJ, like the enclitic =*soo* 'reported evidence', the suffix -*soo* can occupy the Noun slot of the MMC. This MMC indicates visual evidence or inference ('It appears/seems that').

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

(144) [*Hanako=wa   akaru*]-**soo**=*da.*
　　　Hanako=TOP cheerful-*soo*=COP.NPST
　　　'It appears/seems that Hanako is cheerful.'

(145) [*Hanako=wa   genki*]-**soo**=*da.*
　　　Hanako=TOP well-*soo*=COP.NPST
　　　'Hanako looks well.'

　　I consider the form in question a suffix, and not an enclitic. The reasons for this are the following.

　　Reason 1. In contrast with the enclitic =*soo*, the element that precedes -*soo* cannot conjugate. This preceding element is (i) the infinitive form of verbs (cf. Table 1), e.g. (143) (*ik-i*), and (ii) the root/stem of the two kinds of adjectives, e.g. (144) (*i*-adjective: *akaru-*), and (145) (nominal adjective: *genki*).

　　Reason 2. This concerns pitch contour. Compare (146) and (147).

(146)　　*Ame=ga   hur-u=soo=da.*
　　a.　H L　 L　　H L　LL　 L
　　b.　　　　　　　H L　HL　 L
　　　　rain=NOM fall-NPST=*soo*=COP.NPST
　　　　'I heard that it will rain.'

(147) *Ame=ga   hur-i-soo=da.*
　　　H L　 L　　 L H HL　 L
　　　rain=NOM fall-LINK-*soo*=COP.NPST
　　　'It appears/looks/seems that it will rain.'

Tokyo dialect has two levels of pitch phonologically: high (H) and low (L). A word – a phonological word, to be precise – can contain at most one fall in pitch (a fall from H to L, i.e. "HL") (Hattori 1960: 251). Note that *hur-i-soo=da* in (147) contains only one fall. This indicates that *hur-i-soo=da* constitutes one single word, as far as pitch contour is concerned. This in turn indicates that -*soo* does not have an independent status in this respect, and that consequently it should be regarded as a suffix, rather than as an enclitic. In contrast, in (146), *hur-u=soo=da* has two possibilities. In (146-a) it has one fall (as is the case in (147)). However, in (146-b), it contains two falls. Note in particular that =*soo* itself contains a fall. This indicates that, as far as pitch contour is concerned, =*soo* has a more independent status than -*soo*, and that consequently it should be considered an enclitic, rather than a suffix.

　　The suffix -*soo* is used as a derivational suffix.

　　To sum up, possibly the following changes have occurred.

(148) *sama* (EMJ, MSJ) (noun; not MMC) 'appearance, situation' →
  sama (EMJ) (noun in MMC) 'It appears/seems' →
  =soo (MSJ) (enclitic in MMC) 'reported evidence' →
  -soo (MSJ) (suffix in MMC) 'inference'

7.7 *Yau* (noun) 'appearance, manner, example', *=yau* (enclitic) 'appearance, situation', *=yoo* (enclitic) 'inference', and *-yoo* (suffix) 'way, manner, method'

According to NKD Vol. 13: 533, the etymology of *=yoo* is the noun *yau* 'appearance, situation' (no longer used in MSJ). NKD Vol. 13: 492 indicates that *yau* may be a loan from Chinese.

 [1] Noun *yau* 'manner, example'
Asako Miyachi (p.c.) reports that the noun *yau* 'manner, example' is not attested in the MMC in EMJ.

 [2] Enclitic *=yau* 'appearance, situation'
Miyachi (this volume) reports that in EMJ the enclitic *=yau* 'appearance, situation' can occupy the Noun slot of the MMC, and this MMC indicates (i) similitude 'X looks like Y', 'It looks as if …' (an evidential meaning) or (ii) uncertain conclusion (a modal meaning). Miyachi considers this form an enclitic, not an independent word.

 [3] Enclitic *=yoo* 'inference'
In MSJ, too, the enclitic *=yoo* can occupy the Noun slot. This MMC has an evidential meaning: inference. The inference may be based on direct evidence or reported evidence. Examples follow.

Involving a verb:
(149) [*Hanako=ga Nagoya=ni   it-ta*]=**yoo**=*da.*
  Hanako=NOM Nagoya=DAT/LOC go-PST=*yoo*=NPST
  'It seems that Hanako went to Nagoya.'

(150) [*Hanako=ga Nagoya=ni   ik-u*]=**yoo**=*da.*
  Hanako=NOM Nagoya=DAT/LOC go-NPST=*yoo*=NPST
  'It seems that Hanako goes/will go to Nagoya.'

Involving an *i*-adjective:
(151) [*Hanako=wa akaruk-atta*]=**yoo**=*da.*
  Hanako=TOP cheerful-PST=*yoo*=COP.NPST
  'It seems that Hanako was cheerful.'

(152) [*Hanako=wa   akaru-i*]=**yoo**=*da*.
      Hanako=TOP   cheerful-NPST=*yoo*=COP.NPST
      'It seems that Hanako is cheerful.'

Involving a nominal adjective:
(153) [*Hanako=wa   genki=dat-ta*]=**yoo**=*da*.
      Hanako=TOP   well=COP-PST=*yoo*=COP.NPST
      'It seems that Hanako was well.'

(154) [*Hanako=wa   *genki=da / genki=na*]=**yoo**=*da*.
      Hanako=TOP   well=NPST / well-NPST.ADN=*yoo*=COP.NPST
      'It seems that Hanako is well.'

For MSJ, I consider the form in question an enclitic, and not an independent noun or a suffix. The reasons are virtually identical to those given for the enclitic status of =*soo* 'reported evidence'. See 7.6.

The enclitics =*soo* 'reported evidence' and =*yoo* 'inference' exhibit the opposite distributions in terms of the use of the nonpast form (=*da*) and the adnominal nonpast form (=*na*) of nominal adjectives. See Table 5. =*yoo* behaves like a noun in that the preceding nominal adjective is in the adnominal nonpast form, not the nonpast form. (See (13), given in 4.2.1; the noun *kodomo* 'child' can be modified by the adnominal nonpast form (=*na*), but not by the nonpast form (=*da*).) In contrast, =*soo* shows the opposite distribution; the nonpast form (=*da*) is acceptable, but the adnominal nonpast form (=*na*) is unacceptable. That is, =*soo* does not behave like a noun. In this respect, =*yoo* is more noun-like than =*soo*. Since =*soo* has lost this noun-like property, it is more grammaticalized than =*yoo*. Both =*soo* 'reported evidence' and =*yoo* 'inference' are enclitics derived from nouns, and yet they show different degrees of grammaticalization.

[4] Suffix -*yoo* 'way, manner, method'
This suffix is used as a derivational suffix. It does not seem to have any evidential meaning. An example is:

(155) *yorokob-i-yoo*
      rejoice-LINK-*yoo*
      'the way (someone) rejoices/is glad'

In contrast with the suffix -*soo* 'inference' (7.6-[3]), it is difficult to find or compose any MMC-like sentence. The suffix -*yoo* 'way, manner, method' does not seem to occupy the Noun slot of the MMC.

In terms of pitch contour, the enclitic =*yoo* 'inference' and the suffix -*yoo* 'way, manner, method' exhibit exactly the same difference as that between enclitic =*soo* 'reported evidence' and the suffix -*soo* 'inference' (cf. 7.6-[3]).

To sum up, the following changes seem to have taken place.

(156) *yau* (EMJ; not MMC) 'manner, example'
=*yau* (EMJ) (enclitic in MMC) 'appearance, situation' →
=*yoo* (MSJ) (enclitic in MMC) 'It appears/looks/seems' →
-*yoo* (MSJ) (suffix; not MMC) 'way, manner, method'

7.8 *Kimi* (noun) and *-gimi* (suffix) 'appearance, tendency'

According to Miyachi (this volume), in OJ and EMJ, neither the noun *kimi* nor the suffix -*gimi* is attested in the MMC.

For MSJ, Akimoto (1998) examines the change of the noun *kimi* to the suffix -*gimi*, both 'tendency, appearance'. (Note the change from the voiceless *k* to the voiced *g*.)

The examples in Akimoto (1998: 13) from the Taisho Era (1912–1926) include a few instances of what I call the MMC. They seem to have something like a habitual meaning or an evidential meaning (visual evidence?). Two examples cited from Akimoto (1998: 13) follow.

(157) [*Sukosi yuge=ni*   *mus-are-ru*]   **kimi**=*de*
a.little bath.steam=DAT/LOC steam-PASS-NPST tendency=COP.GNF
at-ta.
be-PST
'(He) tended to be steamed by the bath steam a little' or '(He) looked steamed by the bath steam a little.'

(158) [... *sinpai-su-ru*]   **kimi**=*dat-ta.*
worrying-do-NPST tendency=COP-PST
'(He) tended to worry ...' or '(He) looked worried ...'

According to Akimoto (1998: 14), during the Showa Era (1926–1989), the use of the noun *kimi* decreased drastically, and the use of the suffix -*gimi* was overwhelmingly common. Akimoto does not cite any clear instance of the MMC from the Showa Era. Indeed, in my judgment, the noun *kimi* cannot be used in the MMC. (I was born in the 21st year of the Showa Era, i.e. 1946.)

According to NKD Vol. 4: 266, the suffix -*gimi* is added to a noun or to the infinitive form of verbs, and it produces nouns and nominal adjectives. (It is used as a derivational suffix.) It describes appearance or tendency. (See Table 1 for the

infinitive.) It can occupy the Noun slot of the MMC. An example that I have composed:

(159) [*Hanako=wa sigoto=o   yokubar-i*]-**gimi**=*da*
     Hanako=TOP work=ACC take.too.much-INF-tendency=COP.NPST
     'Hanako tends to take/accept too much work.'

To sum up, probably the following change occurred.

(160) *kimi* (MSJ) (noun in MMC) 'appearance, tendency' →
     -gimi (MSJ) (suffix in MMC) 'appearance, tendency'

Akimoto does not report the existence of the corresponding enclitic (=*kimi* or =*gimi*). It is not attested, and it is not used in my idiolect.

7.9 Merger of the Noun and the Copula

We have seen instances of the following changes.

(a) An independent word (a noun) → an enclitic (7.5).
(b) An independent word (a noun) → an enclitic → a suffix (7.6, 7.7).
(c) An independent word (a noun) → a suffix (7.8).

There are even instances in which the Noun and the Copula have merged. See (d) (same as (3)). (See also T. Tsunoda (this volume, 4.2.1).)

(d) Independent word → enclitic → suffix → merger

Recall that, in MSJ, the non-content noun *koto* 'fact' can occupy the Noun slot of the MMC, and that this MMC expresses advice, instruction or obligation, among others (5.1.3-[9]). Now, Takada (2011) reports that in the Tono dialect of Iwate Prefecture in northern Japan the noun *koto* 'fact' and the copula =*da* 'NPST' have merged and have become *gotta*. It no longer conjugates, and it behaves like a final postposition. It has an evidential meaning: inference. An example cited from Takada (2011: 113) follows. The Romanization, morpheme demarcation, glossing, and English translation are mine, and they are highly tentative.

(161) *Tanaka hon   ka-u   gotta*.
     Tanaka book buy-NPST *gotta*
     'It seems that Tanaka will buy a book.'

7.10 Semantics

As mentioned in 7.1, content nouns (5.1.2) and non-content nouns (5.1.3) are grammaticalized in terms of semantics, to varying degrees.

In the case of content nouns, the meaning they have in the MMC may differ from that which they have when used outside the MMC. In the case of non-content nouns, this difference may be drastic. The situation concerning non-content nouns is shown in Table 6. The MMC has a wide range of meanings that include the following.

(a) Grammatical: modal, evidential, aspectual, and temporal.
(b) Stylistic: formal.
(c) Discourse-related.
(d) Difficult to classify or characterize.

The situation concerning the nouns, enclitics, and suffixes that we looked at in 7.5 to 7.8 is shown in Table 7.

Tab. 6: Semantics of non-content nouns.

	Meaning outside the MMC (MSJ)	**Meaning in the MMC (MSJ)**
tumori	intention	(i) intention, decision (ii) evaluation
hazu	expectation	(i) expectation, schedule (ii) realization
wake	cause, reason	(i) cause/reason, explanation (ii) conclusion (iii) realization (iv) 'in other words' (v) (no clear meaning)
mono	thing, person	various meanings, including: (i) obligation, advice (ii) explanation (iii) past habitual (iv) surprise, strong emotion (v) formal
sidai	circumstance, procedure, programme, process	formal
hoo, muki	direction	human propensity or tendency
ippoo	one direction, one way	'increasingly, progressively'
tokoro	place	(i) aspectual (ii) temporal (iii) formal
koto	fact	advice, instruction, obligation
yosi	means, clue	reported evidence

Tab. 7: Semantics of nouns, enclitics and suffixes.

Etymology: noun	Modern Standard Japanese ("MSJ")
mono 'thing, person' (used in MSJ)	=*mono* (final postposition) 'explanation, strong emotion' =*mon* (final postposition) 'explanation, strong emotion'
koto 'fact' (used in MSJ)	=*koto* (final postposition) 'advice, obligation, instruction'
sama 'appearance, situation' (used in MSJ)	=*soo* 'reported evidence' -*soo* 'inference'
yau 'appearance, situation' (not used in MSJ)	=*yoo* 'It appears/looks/seems' -*soo* 'way, manner, method'
kimi 'appearance, tendency' (used in MSJ)	-*gimi* 'appearance, tendency'

8 Summary and concluding remarks

The MMC abounds in MSJ. It is used frequently, and at least 121 nouns are attested in the Noun slot. This MMC has a truly wide range of meanings that include the following: (i) grammatical: modal, evidential, aspectual, and temporal, (ii) stylistic: formal, and (iii) discourse-related.

This MMC may look bi-clausal – superficially at least. However, syntactically it is mono-clausal, and it contains a compound predicate that consists of the predicate of the Clause, the Noun and the Copula.

Nouns in the Noun slot have undergone grammaticalization, to varying degrees. Semantically, they often have a meaning different from that which they have when used outside the MMC. Syntactically, the nouns in the Noun slot do not have the full status of a noun. Morphologically, there is evidence that suggests the following diachronic changes: independent word → enclitic → suffix → merger. The Noun slot is generally occupied by a noun that is an independent word, but it may also be occupied by an enclitic or a suffix that derives from an independent noun.

The MMC of MSJ is by far the most abundant among the languages investigated in the present volume and possibly among the world's languages. Japanese offers a unique opportunity for a comprehensive investigation of (i) the MMC and (ii) the grammaticalization of nouns to become a part of a compound predicate.

At this stage of investigation, the cause for the abundance of the MMC in MSJ is not known, and it is a topic for future research. (See Miyachi (this volume, 10-[3]).)

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

A = transitive subject; ABL = ablative; ACC = accusative; ADN = adnominal; ALL = allative; C = loan from Chinese; COM = comitative; COMP = complementizer; COP = copula; DAT/LOC = dative/locative; DESID = desiderative; E = loan from English; EMJ = Early Middle Japanese; FT = free translation; GEN = genitive; GNF = general nonfinite; H = high; HORT = hortative; IM = intended meaning; IMP = imperative; INF = infinitive; INT = intentional; J = native Japanese word; L = low; LINK = linking interfix; LOC/INS = locative/instrumental; LT = literal translation; MSJ = Modern Standard Japanese; MMC = mermaid construction; NEG = negation; NKD = *Nihon Kokugo Daiziten* [Comprehensive Japanese Dictionary] (Tokyo: Shogakukan 2009); NOM = nominative; NMLZ = nominalizer; OJ = Old Japanese; NPST = nonpast; O = object; PASS = passive; POL = polite; PROH = prohibitive; PST = past; RECP = reciprocal; RESP = respect; S = intransitive subject; SUBJ = subject; TOP = topic; V = verb.

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Kan Sasaki
3 Mitsukaido dialect of Japanese

1 Introduction

Tsunoda (this volume-a, 2.1) proposes that the prototype of the mermaid construction ("MMC") has all of the following five properties.

(a) The structure is as shown in (1) – superficially at least.
(b) The Noun is an independent word (not a clitic) that is a noun.
(c) The subject of the Clause and the Noun are non-coreferential.
(d) The Clause can be used as a sentence by itself.
(e) The Clause is not the subject of the "Noun + Copula".

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

In the prototypical MMC, the Noun slot is occupied by a noun that is an independent word. In non-prototypical instances, it may be occupied by an enclitic or a suffix which derives from a noun. Nouns, enclitics and suffixes in the Noun slot may also be nominalizers.

Tsunoda (this volume-a, Section 1 and 2.1) notes as follows. Superficially at least, it looks as if the MMC contains a subordinate clause and is bi-clausal. However, languages such as Modern Standard Japanese (Tsunoda, this volume-b, Section 6) and Korean (Kim, this volume, Section 6) provide ample evidence that syntactically their MMC is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal, despite its superficial appearance (shown in (1)). Their MMC has just one predicate, not two predicates, and the predicate is a compound predicate that consists of the predicate of the Clause, the Noun and the Copula, as shown in (2). (Hereafter, Modern Standard Japanese will be referred to as Standard Japanese (often abbreviated as "SJ").)

(2) [...   predicate of Clause]   Noun   Copula.
                    compound predicate

Like Standard Japanese (see Tsunoda (this volume-b)), the Mitsukaido dialect of Japanese, spoken about 50 km north of Tokyo, has the MMC. The present chapter mainly focuses on those features which are absent in the MMC in Standard Japanese. The main features are the following.

First, in the Mitsukaido MMC, the case marking of the subject of the Clause exhibits a somewhat complicated situation as shown below, in contrast with the MMC of Standard Japanese.

Second, the following three nouns can occupy the Noun slot specified in (1). One is *eNŋi* 'origin': the MMC involving it describes a custom, e.g. (3). Another is *wariee* 'ratio' and the MMC involving it means that something is not ordinary, e.g. (4). The third is *segi* 'seat': the MMC involving it denotes a right to do something. (The cognates of these three nouns cannot occupy the Noun slot of the MMC in Standard Japanese.) In the MMC with *eNŋi* 'origin' and the MMC with *wariee* 'ratio', the subject of the Clause is in the nominative case, but in the MMC with *segi* 'seat' the nominative and the genitive are used for the subject.

Third, when the Noun slot is occupied by the adjectival noun enclitic *=joo*, which may be translated as 'state, situation', the MMC expresses inference about events or the speaker's internal feeling. (The cognate of *=joo* in Standard Japanese can occur in the Noun slot of the MMC.) The nominative, the experiencer, e.g. (5), and the locative are used for the subject of the Clause.

As can be seen, despite its geographical proximity to Tokyo (only 50 km away), the Mitsukaido dialect exhibits truly interesting phenomena that are not found in Standard Japanese.

2 Initial illustration

Examples of the MMC in Mitsukaido include (3) (*eNŋi* 'origin'), (4) (*wariee* 'ratio'), and (5) (enclitic *=joo*, which may be translated as 'state, situation'; the subject is in the experiencer case). When literally translated, the MMC does not make sense. For each example, both a literal translation ("LT") and a free translation ("FT") are provided. The noun in the Noun slot is shown in bold face, and the Clause of (1) and its English translation in the literal translation are shown with square brackets. Judging by its structure shown in (1), it may look as if the MMC is bi-clausal. However, there is syntactic evidence that the MMC is mono-clausal (see 7.8). Therefore, literal translations of the MMC do not really reflect its structure.

(3) [*oraNte=wa*   *gaNzizu=dage*   *udoN*   *ku-u*]
my.family.NOM=TOP New.Year's.Day=only udon.ACC eat-NPST
***eNŋi**=da*.
origin=COP.NPST
LT: '[My family eat *udon* on New Year's Day only] an origin is.'
FT: 'It is my family's custom to eat *udon* on New Year's Day only.'

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

(4) [*kinoo=no   mame=wa   soNdemo   taNto tore-da*]
yesterday=GEN bean.NOM=TOP nonetheless a.lot be.harvested-PST
***wariee**=daQ-ke=ŋa*.   (*Tsuchi*, p. 306)
ratio=COP-PST=SFP
LT: '[Nonetheless, yesterday's beans were harvested a lot] a ratio was, but.'
FT: 'In comparison with usual harvests, a large amount of beans were
harvested yesterday, though.'

(In (24), the concessive particle *=ŋa* 'but' is used as a conjunction, joining two
clauses. The second clause has been deleted for the purpose of exposition. In (4),
it is used as a sentence-final particle.[1])

(5) [*ore=ŋani seetaa   ki-ru*]= ***joo**=da*.
1SG=EXP sweater.ACC put.on-NPST=state=COP.NPST
LT: '[I put on a sweater] a state is.'
FT: 'It seems that I will put on a sweater (because it is so cold).'

3 Profile of the language

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

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

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

The data used in this article were obtained from speakers aged over 80 and
thus reflect traditional features. The traditional variety of this dialect, which is
investigated below, is highly endangered.

The phonemic inventory of this dialect is the same as that of Standard Japa-
nese. This dialect has five vowel phonemes /i, e, a, o, u/ and 11 consonant pho-

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1 Tasaku Tsunoda (p.c.) points out that *=ŋa* is similar to the English *though* in that it has two uses:
as a conjunction and as a sentence-final particle.
2 I use the data from the Syun-yōdō edition of *Tsuchi*, published in 1971.

nemes /p, t, k, b, d, g, s, z, h, n, m, r, w, j/. In addition, I use the following three symbols: <ŋ>, <Q> and <N>. <ŋ> is used for the velar nasal consonant, an allophone of /g/ in the non-word-initial position. I use this symbol to distinguish it from [g] derived from /k/ by the intervocalic voicing. <Q> is used for the non-nasal moraic consonant. The place of articulation of <Q> is the same as that of the consonant that follows. <N> is used for the nasal moraic consonant. The segmental realization of <N> depends on the phonological environment: when it stands before a consonant, its place feature is homorganic to the following consonant; otherwise, it is realized as a nasal vowel homorganic to the preceding vowel. I use these archisegment symbols only for notational convenience, with no implication regarding the theoretical adequacy of the archi-phonemes. Unlike Standard Japanese, Mitsukaido does not have lexical accent.

Mitsukaido is entirely agglutinating, largely suffixing and partly prefixing. It is entirely dependent-marking. It employs postpositions, but not prepositions. The postpositions are enclitics. Case is indicated by postpositions, and the case system is a nominative-accusative system (A/S vs. O), as in Standard Japanese. Noun modifiers, such as demonstratives, adjectives, "noun=GEN", and adnominal clauses (or relative clauses), precede the head noun. Examples include (4) (*kinoo=no* 'yesterday=GEN': noun=GEN) and (7) (*ano* 'that'), and (12), (13) (*kono* 'this'). AOV and SV are preferred orders. Mitsukaido is mildly configurational.

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

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

First, as noted above, Mitsukaido has a nominative-accusative system, like Standard Japanese. However, the morphological shapes of the nominative and the accusative are different from those of Standard Japanese. The nominative is expressed by zero-marking, e.g. (6), (7). (In Standard Japanese, the nominative case is marked by =*ga*.) The accusative case form varies depending on the animacy of the host nominal: zero (Ø) if the referent is inanimate, e.g. (6), and =*godo* if the referent is animate (including human), e.g. (7). Case-marking for the object in Mitsukaido can be regarded as an instance of Differential Object Marking determined by animacy (Bossong 1985). (In Standard Japanese, the accusative case is invariably indicated by =*o*.)

Accusative case, inanimate:
(6) *maŋo   hagama   hae-da*.
     grandchild.NOM hakama.ACC put.on-PST
     '(My) grandchild put on a *hakama*.'

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

Tab. 1: Case system in Mitsukaido and in Standard Japanese.

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

Accusative case, animate:

(7) *seNsee ano kodomo=godo igiN-da*.
  teacher.NOM that child=ACC scold-PST
  'The teacher scolded that child.'

  Second, regarding oblique cases, Mitsukaido is more elaborate than Standard Japanese. The semantic sphere of the Standard Japanese dative/locative =*ni* is divided among four cases in Mitsukaido: the locative case =*ni*, e.g. (8), the dative =*ŋe*/=*sa* (=*ŋe* for animate goals, e.g. (9), and =*sa* for inanimate goals, e.g. (10)), and the experiencer case =*ŋani*, e.g. (11). The main usage of the experiencer case =*ŋani* is as a marker for experiencer oblique subjects. The existence of an oblique case specific to the experiencer appears to be typologically rare. See Sasaki (2004, 2008) for details. Examples follow.

Locative case (NP=*ni*):

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

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

Dative case, animate (NP=*ŋe*):

(9) *teŋami   ozitsjaN=ŋe   naatede   kj-ta.*
    letter.NOM grandfather=DAT name.specified come-PST
    'A letter addressed to (my) grandfather came.'

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

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

Experiencer case (NP=*ŋani*):

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

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

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

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

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

An elaborate distinction is also found in the adnominal cases. This is the third point of difference between Mitsukaido and Standard Japanese. There are three adnominal case enclitics =*no* (genitive), =*ŋa* (possessive) and =*na* (adnominal locative) in Mitsukaido, while Standard Japanese has just one adnominal case enclitic =*no*. The case enclitics =*ŋa* and =*na* are semantically restricted in their usage. The host of =*ŋa* is restricted to the noun phrases referring to humans or animates. The structure [NP=*ŋa* N]$_{NP}$ is acceptable only for semantic relations close to the possessive relation in the semantic network proposed by Nikiforidou (1991). The adnominal case particle =*na* can be attached only to location nouns such as *ue* 'above'. The genitive case particle =*no* in Mitsukaido can be regarded as a semantically unrestricted grammatical case in the adnominal structure. For details of adnominal case particles in Mitsukaido, see Sasaki & Caluianu (1997).

Verbs inflect for the following categories:

(a) Finite: past, nonpast and imperative.
(b) Non-finite: infinitive, gerundive, irrealis and conditionals.

(In addition, the copula and *na*-adjectives (called *keiyoodoosi* in the traditional Japanese linguistics) have an adnominal form. With verbs the adnominal form is identical with the nonpast form.) Also, verbs have derived forms, such as potential and progressive.

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

Among the three types of voice mentioned above, the potential voice is highly relevant to the issue of the MMC. The subject of an active sentence corresponds to a constituent marked by experiencer case in the potential construction, as illustrated in (14) (active) and (15) (potential).

Active:
(14) *are   hadarae-de-ru.*
     3SG.NOM work-GER.be-NPST
     'S/he is working.'

Potential:
(15) *are=ŋanja   hadarag-e-ru.*
     3SG=EXP.TOP work-POT-NPST
     'S/he can work.'

The constituent marked by the experiencer case in potential constructions maintains subject properties, such as being the antecedent of the reflexive pronoun, controlling the missing subject of the adverbial clause, although it does not launch floating quantifiers, unlike nominative-marked subjects. Thus, the experiencer case marked oblique element can be regarded as an oblique subject. For details of the syntactic behavior of the experiencer case marked oblique element, see Sasaki (2004, 2008).

The present chapter often uses the term "subject". Indeed, the concept of subject is very useful for an account of the MMC and related constructions in Mitsukaido. However, it is difficult to characterize precisely the subject in this dialect in a limited space, and consequently I use the term "subject" in a loose way, following the practice of, for example, Palmer (1994). Roughly speaking, the

unmarked subject is in the nominative case, e.g. (6), (7). In addition, there are oblique subjects: the locative, e.g. (57), (58), the experiencer case, e.g. (11), (15), (58), (66), (67), the possessive case, e.g. (21), (32), and the genitive case, e.g. (21), (23), (32). (However, the possessive subject may be a borrowing from Standard Japanese. See 5.2.2.)

The Mitsukaido dialect sentences often end with a sentence-final enclitic, e.g. =*to*/=*do*, =*na*, e.g. (11), (25), (34), =*jo*, =*ŋa*, e.g. (4), but the meanings of these enclitics are difficult to describe precisely. I will assign "SFP" (sentence-final particle) uniformly in the glossing line corresponding to these enclitics, in accordance with a traditional practice in Japanese grammar.

4 Types of sentences and clauses

4.1 Sentences

Sentences in Mitsukaido can be classified into four types (as is the case in Standard Japanese; cf. Tsunoda (this volume-b, 4.1)).

[1] Verb-predicate sentences
Examples include (6)–(11).

[2] Adjective-predicate sentences
Examples include (12).

[3] Adjectival-noun-predicate sentences
The predicate is an adjectival noun. Examples of these sentences include:

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

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

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

In independent sentences, three cases are used for the subject: nominative, locative and experiencer. See 5.3.3.

4.2 Adnominal clauses

The formation of adnominal clauses (or relative clauses) in Mitsukaido is very similar to that in Standard Japanese (cf. Tsunoda (this volume-b, 4.2)). Adnominal clauses ("ACs') precede the head noun (as is the case with Standard Japanese). Teramura (1969) classifies ACs of Standard Japanese into two types. Tsunoda (this volume-b, 4.2.2) proposes to label them as "gap type" and "addition type". Mitsukaido has both types of ACs.

[1] ACs of the gap type

ACs of this type are formed by the gap strategy. The head noun corresponds to an argument or an adjunct of the AC. All the positions on Keenan and Comrie's (1977) accessibility hierarchy can be relativized on, except for the object of comparison. Compare (18) and (19). An "e" stands for a gap in the clause. The AC is shown with braces.

(18) *seNsee   ore=ŋa   seŋare=godo home-da.*
    teacher.NOM 1SG=POSS son=ACC   praise-PST
    'The teacher praised my son.'

(19) {e$_i$ *ore=ŋa   seŋare=godo home-da*} *seNsee$_i$=wa   ano*
        1SG=POSS son=ACC   praise-PST teacher.NOM=TOP that
    hjto=da.
    person=COP.NPST
    'The teacher who praised my son is that person.'

The subject of the AC may be in the nominative case or in the genitive case (as is the case in Standard Japanese (Tsunoda, this volume-b, 6.5)). It may also be in the possessive case if it is human or animate (cf. Section 3 above). These phenomena may be called the nominative-genitive conversion and the nominative-possessive conversion, respectively. (The genitive case is semantically unrestricted; cf. Section 3.) Consider:

(20) *seŋare   saNma   jae-da.*
    son.NOM saury.ACC grill-PST
    'The son grilled a saury.'

(21) {*seŋare / seŋare=no / seŋare=ŋa jae-da*}   *saNma.*
    son.NOM/ son=GEN / son=POSS grill-PST saury
    'the saury that the son grilled.'

[2] ACs of the addition type

The formation of ACs of this type does not involve the gap strategy. The head noun is, so to speak, added from "outside the underlying clause". It does not correspond to any argument or any adjunct of the AC. There is no gap in the AC. Compare (22) and (23). Note that *nioe* 'smell' is absent in (22), but present in (23).

(22) *saNma   jage-ru.*
    saury.NOM be.grilled-NPST
    'A saury (fish sp.) is grilled.'

(23) {*saNma /   saNma=no / *saNma=ŋa jage-ru*}   *nioe.*
    saury.NOM / saury=GEN / saury=POSS be.grilled-NPST smell
    LT: 'the smell with which a saury is grilled'
    FT: 'the smell of saury being grilled'

As is the case with the subject of ACs of the gap type, the nominative-genitive/possessive conversion is possible for the subject of ACs of the addition type; the possessive case is acceptable if the subject is human or animate. In (23), the subject of the AC may be marked either by the nominative case or the genitive case. However, in (23) the possessive (=*ŋa*) is unacceptable, for the subject (i.e. a fish which is being cooked) is not animate. (There are instances in which=*ŋa* is acceptable.[3])

    An additional example of the addition type is in (26), in which the subject of the AC is in the nominative case.

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3 The nominative-genitive/possessive conversion in the Mitsukaido dialect is not acceptable when the AC contains an overt object. In this respect, this dialect is the same as Harada's (1971) "Dialect B". Compare the examples (i) and (ii). In both examples, the predicate in the AC is the transitive verb *jag-* 'grill'. If the adnominal case-marking is possible for the AC subject, the expected case form is the possessive form or the genitive form. The genitive subject is unacceptable in the example (i) containing an overt object in AC, while it is acceptable in the example (ii) where the AC does not contain an overt object. The possessive subject is acceptable in both examples. But this can be a recent borrowing from Standard Japanese for the nominative expression, as stated in 5.2.2. What is important here is the exclusion of the genitive subject. The possessive case is classified as a case for animate NPs. But being an animate NP is not a sufficient condition but a necessary condition for possessive case-marking as pointed out in Sasaki & Caluianu (1997: 62–70). All the NPs with the possessive case particle can be case-marked in the genitive. The unacceptability of the genitive subject in (i) indicates that the adnominal case marking of the AC subject obeys transitivity constraint.

(i) {*seŋare / seŋare=ŋa / *seŋare=no saNma   jag-u*   *nioe.*
    son.NOM / son=POSS / son=GEN   saury.ACC grill-NPST smell
    LT: 'the smell with which (my) son grills a saury'
    FT: 'the smell of (my) son's grilling of a saury'

(ii) {*seŋare / seŋare=ŋa / seŋare=no   jae-da*}   *saNma.*
    son.NOM / son=POSS / son=GEN   grill-PST   saury
    'the saury that (my) son grilled.'

The subject of the ACs of either type may be in the experiencer case under a limited circumstance. See 7.5.

5 Mermaid construction

5.1 Introductory notes

The structure of the prototype of the MMC is shown in (1). As noted in Section 1, our discussion of the MMC in Mitsukaido will mainly focus on those features which are absent in the Standard Japanese MMC. We shall examine the following two types: the word-type MMC (5.2) and the enclitic-type MMC (5.3).

(a) The word-type MMC involves the following three nouns: *eNŋi* 'origin', *wariee* 'ratio' and *segi* 'seat'. Their cognates in Standard Japanese do not occupy the Noun slot of the MMC. They are not listed in Tsunoda (this volume-b, 5.1.2, 5.1.3). Furthermore, I shall cite one instance of the MMC that contains the noun *zigan* 'time' in the Noun slot, i.e. (95). Its cognate in Standard Japanese, i.e. *zikan* 'time', can occupy the Noun slot of the MMC (Tsunoda, this volume-b, 5.1.2-[11]).

(b) The enclitic-type MMC involves the enclitic *=joo* 'state, situation'. When the Noun slot is occupied by *=joo*, three cases are attested for the subject: nominative, locative and experiencer. Standard Japanese may have *=joo* in its MMC (Tsunoda, this volume-b, 7.7-[3]), but it does not have a distinct experiencer case, nor may the subject appear with the oblique case enclitic used to mark experiencers (*=ni*).

5.2 Word-type MMC

5.2.1 Three nouns

[1] *eNŋi* 'origin'
The MMC with *eNŋi* 'origin' in the Noun slot of the MMC describes a custom. This is an aspectual meaning: habitual. Examples include (3) and:

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

[2] *wariee* 'ratio'

The MMC with *wariee* 'ratio' in the Noun slot indicates that the degree of something is not ordinary. Possibly this can be considered a modal meaning. Examples include (4) (cited from the novel *Tsuchi* by Takashi Nagatsuka), and:

(25) [*ezumo=jori   kuQ-ta*] ***wariee=da=na*.**
    everyday=than eat-PST ratio=COP.NPST=SFP
    LT: '[(I) ate (more) than everyday] a ratio is.'
    FT: 'I ate a lot more than usual.'

[3] *segi* 'seat'

The noun *segi* means 'seat'. The MMC involving this noun indicates that the referent of the subject has the right to do something. This is a modal meaning, probably deontic. (26) is an instance of an existential construction, and not an instance of the MMC. (It contains an adnominal clause ("AC") of the addition type (shown with braces).) My subsequent inquiry elicited (27) and (28). These are instances of the MMC. (The Clause of the MMC is shown with square brackets.) Note that (26) (which involves an AC) and (27) and (28) (which are instances of the MMC) look similar – superficially at least. We shall return to this in 7.1.

(26) *ora*   {*nanimo huhugu   ii*}   *segi=wa*
    1SG.NOM.TOP any   complaint.ACC say.NPST seat.NOM=TOP
    nee=na.   (*Tsuchi*, p.287)
    not.exist=SFP
    LT: 'As for me, the seat to say any complaint does not exist.'
    FT: 'I have no right to complain about anything.'

(27) [*ora*   *tema*   *moraa*]   ***segi*=da*.**
    1SG.NOM.TOP wage.ACC receive.NPST seat=COP.NPST
    LT: '[I receive the wage] a seat is.'
    FT: 'I have the right to receive the wage.'

(28) [*ore*   *ii*]   ***segi*=zja=ne*.**
    1SG.NOM say.NPST seat=COP.IRR=NEG.NPST
    LT: '[I say] a seat is not.'
    FT: 'I have no right to say (it).'

5.2.2 Subject of the Clause: person and case

Regarding person, there appears to be no restriction on the subject of the Clause. Examples include the following.

First person: (24) ('(we)'), (25) ('(I)'), (27) ('I'), (28) ('I').
Third person: (4) ('beans'), (30) ('beans'), (32) ('s/he').

Regarding case, we need to treat [1] *eNηi* 'origin' and *wariee* 'ratio' and [2] *segi* 'seat' separately.

[1] *eNηi* 'origin' and *wariee* 'ratio'
The subject of the Clause of the MMC is marked by the nominative case, e.g. (3), (4), (29), (30), (31). The experiencer and the locative are not attested. The subject cannot occur in the genitive, as shown in (29), (30) and (31). (The subject is often followed by the topic marker *=wa* 'TOP', and the subject followed by *=wa* is often included in the examples below.)

Furthermore, my consultants accept the possessive case. See (29) and (30). However, this possessive marking is not always possible; see (31).

(29) [*siηazu jooga=ni oraNte=wa / oraNte /*
April 8th=LOC my.family.NOM=TOP / my.family.NOM /
oraNte=ηa / *oraNte=no omeeri su-ru] **eNηi**=da.
my.family=POSS / my.family=GEN visit-NPST origin=COP.NPST
LT: '[My family visit (a temple) on the 8th April] an origin is.'
FT: 'It is my family's custom to visit a temple on 8th April.'

(30) [*kinoo=no mame=wa / mame / mame=ηa /*mame=no*
yesterday=GEN bean.NOM=TOP / bean.NOM / bean=POSS / bean=GEN
taNto tore-da] **wariee**=da.
a.lot be.harvested-PST ratio=COP.NPST
LT: '[Yesterday's beans were harvested a lot] a ratio is.'
FT: 'In comparison with usual harvests, a large amount of beans were harvested yesterday.'

(31) [*oraNte=wa / oraNte / *oraNte=ηa / oraNte=no*
my.family.NOM=TOP / my.family.NOM / my.family=POSS / my.family=GEN
ganzizu=dage udoN ku-u] **eNηi**=da.
New.Year's.Day=only udon.ACC eat-NPST origin=COP.NPST
LT: '[My family eat *udon* only on New Year's Day] an origin is.'
FT: 'It is my family's custom to eat *udon* only on New Year's Day.'

If this use of the possessive case to mark the subject is a bona fide Mitsukaido expression, it will be possible to say that the MMCs in Mitsukaido exhibit the nominative-possessive conversion. However, this use may not be a traditional expression. There are two reasons for this. First, the phonetic shape of the possessive case particle *=ηa* is the same as that of the Standard Japanese nominative case particle *=ga* (phonetically [ŋa] in some idiolects). The speakers of the Mitsukaido

dialect are under heavy influence of Standard Japanese. The possessive case-marked subject in (29) and (30) may have been borrowed from Standard Japanese. One consultant added a comment that X=*ŋa* means 'only X' in (29). This interpretation is parallel to the exhaustive reading of =*ga* in Standard Japanese (Kuno 1973: 38). The exhaustive interpretation suggests that morpho-syntactic borrowing is involved. Second, as seen above, this possessive marking of the subject is not acceptable in every instance. This suggests that this possessive marking has been borrowed recently and it has not been stalibized yet.[4]

[2] *segi* 'seat'
The subject can be marked not only in the nominative but also in the possessive and the genitive:

(32) [*are=wa / are / are=ŋa / are=no*   *uresiŋar-u*]
     3SG.NOM=TOP / 3SG.NOM / 3SG=POSS / 3SG=GEN be.pleased=NPST
     ***segi**=zja=nee.*
     seat=COP.IRR=NEG.NPST
     LT: '[S/he is pleased] a seat is not.'
     FT: 'S/he has no right to be pleased (with that).'

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

5.2.3 Copula of the MMC

The Copula is generally in the non-past form, e.g. (3), (27), (28). It can also be in the past form, e.g. (4).

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4 A reviewer suggested that it is possible to account for the possessive subject (NP=*ŋa*) without attributing the use to the influence of Standard Japanese if we assume that it has a usage as focus marker i.e., it is an established expression for focused subject. Although the suggestion is plausible, there are examples of possessive case-marked non-focused subject as in (i). In this example, the possessive case-marked NP *mune=ŋa* is a part of idiom for 'feel sick'.

(i) *aNmari   ama-guQte ora=ŋanja   mune=ŋa   waru-gu*
     extremely sweet-ADV 1SG=EXP.TOP chest=POSS bad-ADV
     nar-u=joo=da=na.
     become-NPST=state=COP.NPST=SFP
     'It is so sweet that it seems that I will feel sick.'   (Tsuchi, p.32)

Example (i) seems to contradict the reviewer's suggestion. Nonetheless, non-adnominal usage of possessive case-marking is worth investigating. I would like to pursue this topic in the future research.

5.2.4 Can the Clause of the MMC be used as a sentence by itself?

One of the five properties of the prototype of the MMC as proposed by Tsunoda (this volume-a) (listed in Section 1 above) is the following.

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

In the Clause of the word-type MMC, the verb is in the past form, e.g. (25), (30), or in the non-past form, e.g. (31), (32). Both past forms and non-past forms are finite forms (cf. Section 3). That is, as far as the inflection of the verb is concerned, the Clause can be used as a sentence by itself.

As seen in 5.2.2, the nominative, the possessive and the genitive are used for the subject of the Clause of the word-type MMC. As noted in 4.1, the nominative, the locative and the experiencer are used for the subject of independent sentences.

Therefore, with the word-type MMC the Clause can be used as a sentence by itself only when the subject is in the nominative case. For example, compare (3) with:

(33) *oraNte=wa   gaNzizu=dage   udoN   ku-u.*
my.family.NOM=TOP New.Year's.Day=only udon.ACC eat-NPST
'My family eat *udon* on New Year's Day only.

5.2.5 Sentencehood of the Clause of the MMC

The Clause of the word-type MMC can be used as a sentence by itself, but this applies only when the subject is in the nominative case. In this respect, it lacks a property of independent sentences. It also lacks a few other properties of independent sentences. Examples follow.

[1] Verb form
As seen in 5.2.4, the verb of the Clause is in the past form or the non-past form. It cannot be in the imperative form, unlike the verb of independent sentences.

[2] Sentence-final enclitics ("SFPs")
The verb of an independent sentence (or the main clause in the case of a non-simplex independent sentence) may be followed by a sentence-final enclitic (glossed as 'SFP'; see Section 3), e.g. (4), (11), (25). An additional example involving the SFP =*na* follows.

(34) *hara   heQ-tsja   nag-u-be=na.*
     stomach.NOM decrease-COND   cry-NPST-may=SFP
     LT: 'If (his/her) stomach decreases, (s/he) may cry.'
     FT: 'If s/he becomes hungry, s/he will cry.'

In contrast, the MMCs where the Clause is followed by a sentence-final enclitic are judged as unacceptable, although the MMCs where the copula is followed by a sentence-final enclitic are judged as acceptable.

(35) **[ore   sore   ii=na]   segi=zja=nee.*
     1SG.NOM   that.ACC say.NPST=SFP   seat=COP.IRR= NEG.NPST
     IM: 'I have no right to say that.'

(36) *[ore   sore   ii]   segi=zja=nee=na.*
     1SG.NOM   that.ACC say.NPST   seat=COP.IRR=NEG.NPST=SFP
     'I have no right to say that.'

5.3 Enclitic-type MMC: the adjectival noun *=joo* 'state, situation'

5.3.1 Introductory notes

Like Standard Japanese, Mitsukaido has a variety of the MMC in which the Noun slot is occupied by the adjectival noun enclitic *=joo*. The enclitic *=joo* may be translated as 'state, situation'. This MMC is used to express inference about events or the speaker's internal feeling.[5] (For Standard Japanese, Tsunoda (this volume-b,

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5 The SJ MMC with *=yoo* indicates inference (Tsunoda, this volume-b, 7.7-[3]). Likewise, the Mitsukaido MMC with *=joo* may express inference (5.3.1), e.g. (46), (47). However, it differs from the equivalent construction in Standard Japanese in that it may also describe the speaker's internal feeling, as shown in (5) and (49). According to Okabe (2011: 198–199), during the Edo period (1603 to 1868) the construction with *=joo* described (i) the speaker's observation of a situation, and also (ii) his/her internal feeling (as against an observation of a situation). Furthermore, Okabe (2011: 199) states that the use in (ii) no longer exists in Modern Japanese. (Okabe's "Modern Japanese" is equivalent to the language referred as Standard Japanese in the present chapter.) Examples such as (5) may be a remnant of the use in (ii). However, the MMC with *=joo* in the Mitsukaido dialect is not completely the same with that in Japanese in the Edo period. Okabe (2011: 196–197) states that the MMC with *=yoo* in Modern Japanese expresses both an inference about an event at the time of reference and an inference about an event occurring before the time of reference but that in the Edo period only expresses the former type of inference. The MMC with *=joo* in the Mitsukaido dialect, as well as that in Standard Japanese, can express the later type of inference, as shown in (57) and (58). (I am grateful to Mie Tsunoda (p.c.) for drawing Okabe (2011) to my attention.)

7.7-[3]) describes the enclitic =*yoo*, and states that the MMC involving it indicates inference based on what the speaker observed or what he/she heard from someone else: 'It looks/appears/seems'. Tsunoda (this volume-b) uses the letter *y*, rather than *j*, for the semivowel in question.)

The MMC with =*joo* is special in that the subject may be marked with the experiencer case, or by the locative case. We shall examine the semantic and morphosyntactic aspects of the MMC with =*joo*.

5.3.2 Lexical aspect

Oblique case-marking of subject in the MMC with =*yoo* in Standard Japanese is possible only when the lexical aspect (Vendler 1967; Dowty 1979) of the predicate of Clause is stative. The subject cannot appear in the oblique case with non-stative predicates.

Activity (Standard Japanese):
(37) *boku(*=ni)=wa kimono=o hikizur-u yoo=da.*
　　1sg=DAT=TOP kimono=ACC trail-NPST state=COP.NPST
　　'It seems that I will trail (my) kimono.'

State (Standard Japanese):
(38) *kare(=ni)=wa musuko=ga i-ru yoo=da.*
　　he=DAT=TOP son=NOM be-NPST state=COP.NPST
　　'It seems that he has a son.'

Achievement (Standard Japanese):
(39) *kare(*=ni)=wa suguni guai=ga waru-ku nar-u*
　　1sg(=DAT)=TOP soon health.condition=NOM bad-ADV become-NPST
　　yoo=da.
　　state=COP.NPST
　　'It seems that he will get sick.'

Accomplishment (Standard Japanese):
(40) *kare(*=ni)=wa ie=o tate-ru yoo=da.*
　　he=DAT=TOP house=ACC build-NPST state=COP.NPST
　　'It seems that he will build his own house.'

The fact that the subject of the non-MMC counterpart of (38) can also be case-marked in oblique case (in this case, dative) indicates that the oblique case-marking of the subject in (38) is not a property of MMC but an inheritance from the Clause.

Non-MMC counterpart of (38) (Standard Japanese):

(41) *kare(=ni)=wa musuko=ga i-ru.*
    he=DAT=TOP son=NOM be-NPST
    'He has a son.'

On the other hand, the MMC with *=joo* in Mitsukaido has no restriction on the lexical aspect of the verb for the oblique case-marking of the subject. Thus, consider the following pairs of a non-MMC and an instance of the MMC.

(a) Activity: (42) and (43).
(b) State: (44), (45), (46) and (47).
(c) Achievement: (48) and (49).
(d) Accomplishment: (50) and (51) (same as (5)).

Activity:

(42) *ore kimono hjkizuQ-ta.*
    1SG.NOM kimono.ACC trail-PST
    'I trailed (my) kimono.'

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

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

State:
In the existential/possessive construction, when the sentence refers to alienable possession, the subject is case-marked only in the locative, e.g. (44). On the other hand, when the sentence refers to a kinship relation, the subject can be case-marked either by the locative or the experiencer case, e.g. (45). The examples (46) and (47) are the corresponding MMCs with *=joo*. Both the locative and the experiencer are possible even when the sentence describes alienable possession, e.g. (46).

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

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

(46) [*are=ni=wa / are=ŋani=wa   kane   ar-u*]=***joo***=*da*.
    3SG=LOC=TOP / 3SG=EXP=TOP money.NOM be-NPST=state=COP.NPST
    'It seems that s/he has money.'

(47) [*are=ni=wa / are=ŋani=wa   seŋare   e-ru*]=***joo***=*da*.
    3SG=LOC=TOP / 3SG=EXP=TOP son.NOM be-NPST=state=COP.NPST
    'It seems that s/he has a son.'

Achievement:

(48) *ore / *ore=ŋani   mune   waru-gu naQ-ta*.
    1SG.NOM / *1SG=EXP chest.NOM bad-ADV become-PST
    'I got sick.'

(49) [*ore=ŋani mune   waru-gu nar-u*]=***joo***=*da*.
    1SG=EXP chest.NOM bad-ADV become-NPST=state=COP.NPST
    'It seems that I will get sick.'

(Semantically, "I" in (48) may be considered an experiencer. However, the experiencer case is not allowed.)

Accomplishment:

(50) *ore   seetaa   ki-ru*.
    1SG.NOM sweater.ACC put.on-NPST
    'I will put on a sweater.'

(51) [*ore=ŋani seetaa   ki-ru*]=***joo***=*da*.
    1sg=EXP   sweater.ACC put.on-NPST=state=COP.NPST
    'It seems that I will put on a sweater (because it is so cold).'

5.3.3 Case of the subject

Three cases are attested for the subject in independent sentences and the MMC with =*joo* 'state': nominative, experiencer and locative. The correspondence between independent sentences and the MMC with =*joo* is somewhat complicated. It can be classified into five patterns, as shown in Table 2.

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

Pattern (a) is the unmarked one. The subject is in the nominative case both in independent sentences, e.g. (52), and in the corresponding MMC, e.g. (53), (54). In this pattern, there is no restriction on the tense and aspect of the verb of the Clause. Past (e.g. (53)), non-past (e.g. (54)), progressive, etc. are acceptable.

Tab. 2: Case-marking of the subject.

	Independent sentence	MMC with =*joo*
(a)	NOM, e.g. (52)	NOM, e.g. (53), (54) (past, non-past, progressive, etc.)
(b)	NOM, e.g. (42), (48), (50)	EXP, e.g. (43), (49), (51) (non-past only)
(c)	LOC, e.g. (44), (45)	LOC, e.g. (46), (47), (57), (58) (past, non-past)
(d)	LOC, e.g. (44)	EXP, e.g. (46) (non-past only)
(e)	EXP, e.g. (45)	EXP, e.g. (47), (58) (past, non-past)

(52) *ore   mune   waru-gu   naQ-ta.*
   1SG.NOM chest.NOM bad-ADV become-PST.
   'I felt sick.'

(53) [*ore* (**ore=ŋani*)   *mune   waru-gu   naQ-ta*]=***joo***=*da.*
   1SG.NOM (*1SG=EXP) chest.NOM bad-ADV become-PST=state=COP.NPST
   'It seems that I feel sick.'

(54) [*ore   mune   waru-gu   nar-u*]=***joo***=*da.*
   1SG.NOM chest.NOM bad-ADV become-NPST=state=COP.NPST
   'It seems that I will feel sick.'

Pattern (b). The subject is in the nominative case in independent sentences, e.g. (42), (48), (50). But in the corresponding MMC it is in the experiencer case, e.g. (43), (49), (51). The verb of the Clause has to be in the non-past; see (43), (49), (51). The subject cannot occur in the experiencer case when the verb of the Clause is, for example, in the past form (see (55)) or the progressive form (see (56)). (The progressive aspect is expressed with a combination of the gerundive form of verb (V-*te* and the existential verb (*e-ru* 'be'), as in most mainland Japanese dialects. The gerundive suffix (-*te*) and the existential verb root (*e-*) are usually contracted as V-*te-ru* (←V-*te e-ru*).)

(55) *[*ore=ŋanja kimono   hjkizuQ-ta*]=***joo***=*da.*
   1SG=EXP.TOP kimono.ACC trail-PST=state=COP.NPST
   IM: It seems that I trailed the kimono.

(56) *[*ore=ŋanja kimono   hjkizuQ-te-ru*]=***joo***=*da.*
   1SG=EXP.TOP kimono.ACC trail-GER.be-NPST=state=COP.NPST
   IM: It seems that I am trailing the kimono.

Pattern (c). The locative case can mark the subject of the existential/possessive construction, e.g. (44), (45), and the locative marking of the subject may remain in the corresponding MMC, e.g. (46), (47), (57), (58). There appears to be no restriction

on the tense or aspect of the predicate of this MMC. At least, the past (e.g. (57), (58)) and the non-past (e.g. (46), (47)) are attested.

Pattern (d). The subject is in the locative in independent sentences, e.g. (44), but it is in the experiencer in the corresponding MMC, e.g. (46). The predicate of the Clause has to be in the non-past; see (46). If the predicate is in the past, for example, the subject cannot be in the experiencer case:

(57) [*are=ŋani=wa / are=ni=wa   mugasi kane
    3SG=EXP=TOP / 3SG=LOC=TOP once   money.NOM
    aQ-ta]=**joo**=da.
    be-PST=state=COP.NPST
    'It seems that s/he had money before.'

Pattern (e). In independent sentences, the experiencer case can mark the subject with certain stative predicates, e.g. (11) ('I, too, will be annoyed'), potential predicates, e.g. (15) ('S/he can work'), and the existential/possessive construction that concerns a kinship relationship, e.g. (45). The experiencer marking of the subject can remain in the corresponding MMC, e.g. (47), (58). There appears to be no restriction on the tense or aspect of the predicate of this MMC. At least, the past (e.g. (58)) and the non-past (e.g. (47)) are attested.

(58) [are=ŋani=wa / are=ni=wa   seŋare   e-da]=**joo**=da.
    3SG=EXP=TOP / 3SG=LOC=TOP son.NOM be-PST=state=COP.NPST
    'It seems that s/he had a son.'

We have seen that the nominative, the experiencer and the locative may mark the subject in the MMC with =*joo* 'state'. The genitive is not acceptable; see (59). Also, the possessive is attested; again see (59). However, this use of the possessive may have been borrowed from Standard Japanese (cf. 5.2.2).

(59) [ano odome=ŋani / odome=wa / odome / *odome=no
    that baby=EXP / baby.NOM=TOP / baby.NOM / baby=GEN
    arug-e-ru]=j**oo**=da.
    walk-POT-NPST=state=COP.NPST
    LT: '[That baby can walk] is a state.'
    FT: 'That baby seems to be able to walk.'

(For (59), both a literal translation and a free translation are given. The example (59) will be referred to in 7.6.)

To sum up, in the MMC with =*joo* 'state, situation', there may be a change in the case marking of the subject. When the case of the subject in independent sentences is retained in this MMC (i.e. (a) NOM → NOM, (c) LOC → LOC, (e) EXP →

EXP), there appears to be no restriction on the tense or aspect of the verb of the Clause. At least, the past and the non-past are attested for all of the nominative, the locative and the experiencer. However, when the case of the subject in independent sentences is changed in this MMC (i.e. (b) NOM → EXP, (d) LOC → EXP), the verb of the Clause can only occur in the non-past. It cannot occur in any other form, such as the past or the progressive form. In contrast, there is no change in the case marking of the subject in the word-type MMC.

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

Standard Japanese:

(60) *kare=ni=wa   musuko=ga i-ru.*
    3SG.M=DAT=TOP son=NOM   be-NPST
    'To him (there) is a son', i.e. 'He has a son.' (DAT+NOM)

(61) [*kare=ni=wa   musuko=ga i-ru*]=**yoo**=*da.*
    3SG.M=DAT=TOP son=NOM   be-NPST=state=COP.NPST
    'It seems that he has a son.' (DAT+NOM)

(62) *Hanako=ga hon=o   ka-u.*
    (name)=NOM book=ACC buy-NPST
    'Hanako buys/will buy a book.' (NOM+ACC)

(63) [*Hanako=ga hon=o   ka-u*]=**yoo**=*da.*
    (name)=NOM book=ACC buy-NPST=state=COP.NPST
    'It seems that Hanako buys/will buy a book.' (NOM+ACC)

The example (60) has the DAT+NOM case frame, and this case frame is retained in (61). The subject is consistently in the dative case. The example (62) has the NOM+ACC case frame, and this case frame is retained in (63). The subject is consistently in the nominative case.

In both the Mitsukaido dialect and Standard Japanese, the subject in the MMC with =*joo* may occur in an oblique case: the experiencer case or the locative in the Mitsukaido dialect and the dative case in Standard Japanese. However, the Mitsukaido dialect differs from Standard Japanese in that it exhibits a change in the case of the subject, i.e. the nominative case and the locative case may change to the experiencer case.

5.3.4 Modality and voice

We saw in 5.3.3 that there may be a change in the case marking of the subject in the MMC with =*joo* 'state, situation' (although there is no such change in the word-

type MMC). This difference is important for considering the relation between modality and voice.

In Mitsukaido, the subject is/may be marked by the experiencer case (one of the oblique cases) in two derived constructions: the potential construction, e.g. (15), and the MMC with *=joo*, e.g. (58). In Sasaki (2004), I regard the experiencer case-marking of the subject in the potential construction as a manifestation of voice. It is important to enquire whether these two subjects in the experiencer case should be treated under the rubric of two separate grammatical categories or one and the same category.

The potential construction in Mitsukaido expresses ability and the MMC with *=joo* expresses inference and also the speaker's internal feeling. According to Kiefer (1994: 2515), "[t]he essence of 'modality' consists in the relativization of the validity of sentence meanings to a set of possible worlds". For example, modality may concern ability (Ziegeler 2006: 262) and inference (Kiefer 1994: 2518). That is, from the semantic point of view, both the potential construction and the MMC with *=joo* are expressions of modality.[6]

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

We shall look at the potential construction first. The verb in the potential construction contains the potential suffix: V-*e*-/C-*rare*-, e.g. *hadarag-e-* 'work-POT-' in (15). Furthermore, the case of the subject changes: NOM → EXP; compare (14) and (15). These two facts show that the potential construction is an expression of voice.

The same applies to the MMC with *=joo*. It contains *=joo*, while the corresponding sentence does not have *=joo*. Furthermore, when the verb is in the non-past tense form, the case of the subject may change: (i) LOC → EXP and (ii) NOM → EXP. See Table 2. These two facts show that the MMC with *=joo*, too, is an expression of voice. (In this case, the definition of voice is somehow extended. Although prototypical voice is manifested by word-internal morphological modification such as medio-passives in Indo-European classic languages and passive and causative in Japonic languages, periphrastic expressions such as English passive (*be broken*) and verb-clitic complexes such as French reflexive (*se briser* 'break (intransitive)'), both incurring case alternations of arguments, are recognized as instances of voice in the linguistic literature. The predicate in the MMC with *=joo* is comparable to French reflexive in that it is a verb-clitic complex incurring case alternation.)

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6 Our view on inference and ability is in line with Lyons (1977), who classifies ability under deontic modality and inference under epistemic modality. However, Aikhenvald (2006) regards inference as a type of evidentiality, and evidentiality as a category distinct from modality.

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

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

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

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

We shall provide additional notes on the comparison of the Mitsukaido dialect and Standard Japanese. In Mitsukaido, the verb in the potential construction employs the suffix C-*e*-/V-*rare*-, and the case of the subject changes from the nominative case to the experiencer case. See (14) and (15). The MMC with =*joo* expresses inference and also the speaker's internal feeling, and the subject may change from the locative case or the nominative case to the experiencer case when the verb is in the non-past form. See Table 2.

In Standard Japanese, the verb in the potential construction employs the suffix C-*e*-/V-*rare*-, and the case of the subject changes from the nominative case to the dative case, and (if the verb is a transitive verb) the case of the object changes from the accusative case to the nominative case. Compare (64) and (65). The example (64) has the NOM+ACC case frame, while (65) has DAT+NOM. The potential construction is clearly a voice expression.

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

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

Now, in Standard Japanese, the MMC with =*yoo* expresses inference (as in Mitsukaido). This is a modal expression. (Recall, though, that Aikhenvald (2006) regards evidentiality, including inference, as distinct from modality. See Note 6.) However, the case of the subject does not change. The subject remains in the dative case, e.g. (61), or the nominative case, e.g. (63). Both (60) and (61) have DAT+NOM,

Tab. 3: Modality and voice in Standard Japanese and Mitsukaido dialect.

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

and both (62) and (63) have NOM+ACC. There is no alternation in the configuration of the nominal status. That is, according to Klaiman's definition of voice, the MMC with *=yoo* does not qualify as a voice phenomenon.

What has been stated above is shown in Table 3.

5.3.5 Person of the subject of the Clause

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

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

5.3.6 Copula of the NMC

The Copula of the MMC with *=joo* 'state' is generally in the non-past form, e.g. (66). It can also be in the past form, e.g.:

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

5.3.7 Can the Clause of the MMC be used as a sentence by itself?

The verb of the Clause of the MMC with *=joo* is in a finite form. It may be in the past form, e.g. (53), or the non-past, e.g. (54). As far as the inflection of the verb is concerned, the Clause can be used as a sentence by itself.

As seen in 5.3.3, three cases are attested for the subject in independent sentences and the MMC with *=joo* 'state': nominative, experiencer and locative. The correspondence between independent sentences and the MMC with *=joo* is somewhat complicated. See Table 2.

When the case of the subject remains unchanged, i.e. in Patters (a), (c) and (e), the Clause can be used as a sentence by itself. See the following examples.

Pattern (a) (nominative case): (52) (an independent sentence) and (53), (54) (MMC).

Pattern (c) (locative case): (44), (45) (independent sentences) and (46), (47), (57), (58) (MMC).

Pattern (e) (experiencer case): (45) (an independent sentence) and (47), (58) (MMC).

However, when the subject of the Clause differs from that of the corresponding independent sentences, i.e. Patterns (b) and (d), the Clause cannot be used as a sentence by itself. Compare the following examples.

Pattern (b): (68) (an independent sentence; experiencer case) and (43) (MMC, experiencer case).
(In grammatical independent sentences; the nominative case is used (Table 2).)

Pattern (d): (69) (an independent sentence; experiencer case) and (46) (MMC, experiencer case).
(In grammatical independent sentences, the locative case is used (Table 2).)

(68) **ore=ŋanja   kimono   hjkizur-u.*
1SG=EXP.TOP kimono.ACC trail-NPST
IM: 'I trail/will trail (my) kimono.'

(69) **are=ŋani=wa kane   ar-u.*
3SG=EXP=TOP money.NOM be-NPST
IM: 'S/he has money.'

5.3.8 Sentencehood of the Clause of the MMC

The Clause of the MMC with *=joo* can be used as a sentence by itself, but this applies only when the case of the subject remains unchanged. In this respect, it lacks a property of independent sentences. It also lacks a few other properties of independent sentences. What was stated in 5.2.5 regarding the word-type MMC applies to the MMC with *=joo*, i.e. [1] Verb form, and [2] Sentence-final enclitics ("SFPs"). Concerning the unacceptability of the Clause followed by an SFP, see the contrast between (70) and (71).

(70) *[are=ni   jasjaŋo   e-ru=na]=joo=da*
     3SG=LOC great-great-grandchild.NOM be-NPST=SFP=state=COP.NPST
     IM: 'It seems that s/he has a great-great-grandchild.'

(71) *[are=ni   jasjaŋo   e-ru]=joo=da=na*
     3SG=LOC great-great-grandchild.NOM be-NPST=state=COP.NPST=SFP
     'It seems that s/he has a great-great-grandchild.'

6 Semantics of the two types of the MMC

We have seen three nouns in 5.2 and one adjectival noun in 5.3 that can occupy the Noun slot of the MMC. We shall give an example of another noun in (95): *zigan* 'time'. Their semantic aspects are summarized in Table 4. As can be seen, in terms of semantics, they are highly grammaticalized in the MMC.

Tab. 4: Semantics of the MMC.

	Outside MMC	Meaning of MMC
noun *eNŋi*	'origin'	custom (aspectual: habitual)
noun *wariee*	'ratio'	'not ordinary' (modal?)
noun *segi*	'seat'	right to do something (modal)
adjectival noun *=joo*	'state, situation'	inference or the speaker's internal feeling (modal)
noun *zigan*	'time'	'It is time to do' (temporal)

7 Comparison of the MMC with other constructions

7.1 Introductory notes

We now compare the MMC with other constructions. In particular, we shall examine the following two issues.

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

The structure of the prototype of the MMC is as shown in (1). Superficially at least, it looks as if the prototypical MMC is bi-clausal. In some of the languages reported in the present volume, the Clause of the MMC looks similar to an adnominal clause ("AC") (or a relative clause) of the respective languages and consequently it looks as if the MMC is bi-clausal, with an AC as a subordinate clause.

Regarding Mitsukaido, we saw in 4.2-[2] that in the case of ACs of the addition type the head noun does not correspond to any argument or any adjunct of the AC. Also, there is no gap in ACs of this type. In these respects, it may look as if the MMC (Clause + Noun + Copula) is made up of an AC of the addition type and its head noun. The Noun does not correspond to any argument or any adjunct of the Clause, and there is no gap in the Clause. Recall that (26) (a sentence that contains an AC of the addition type) and (27) (an instance of the MMC) look similar – superficially at least.

However, languages such as Standard Japanese (Tsunoda, this volume-b, Section 6) and Korean (Kim, this volume, Section 6) yield evidence that their MMC does not contain an AC and that it is syntactically mono-clausal, not bi-clausal. (See Tsunoda (this volume-a, 3.4).) In view of this, it is important to examine the two issues listed above.

Specifically, Tsunoda (this volume-b, Section 6) shows that syntactically the MMC of Standard Japanese ("SJ") is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal. According to Tsunoda, there are four previous analyses of the SJ MMC, and the dominant view seems to the one that regards the Clause of the MMC as an AC. That is, in effect this view regards the SJ MMC as bi-clausal. However, Tsunoda lists eight pieces of evidence that show that syntactically the SJ MMC is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal. Three of the eight pieces of evidence that Tsunoda puts forward in support of the mono-clausal status of the SJ MMC apply to the Mitsukaido MMC, and they will be included in the following comparison: topic enclitic =*wa* (7.4), one or two subjects (7.6) and clefting (7.7).

For Mitsukaido, we compare the following constructions.

(i) Mono-clausal independent sentences (cf. 4.1).
(ii) Word-type MMC (cf. 5.2).

(iii) Enclitic-type MMC, with the enclitic =*joo* (5.3).
(iv) ACs (1): gap type (cf. 4.2-[1]).
(iv) ACs (2): addition type (cf. 4.2-[2]).

Verb-predicate sentences are chosen as the representative of independent sentences. It is necessary to consider mono-clausal sentences, since one of the aims of this comparison is to examine the issue (b) listed above.

When we look at the MMC, we shall mainly be concerned with the Clause, but we shall look at the entire MMC as well.

We shall compare the constructions listed above in terms of morphology and syntax. The result of this comparison is shown in Table 5.

7.2 Verb morphology

(i) Mono-clausal independent sentences
The verb may be in the past form, the non-past form or the imperative form.

(ii) Word-type MMC
(iii) MMC with the enclitic =*joo*
(iv) ACs (1): gap type
(v) ACs (2): addition type
In all of these four constructions, the verb is in the past form or the non-past form. It cannot be in the imperative form.

7.3 Sentence-final enclitics ('SFP')

(i) Mono-clausal independent sentences
The verb can be followed by an SFP, e.g. (4), (11), (25), (34).

(ii) Word-type MMC
(iii) MMC with the enclitic =*joo*
In both types of MMCs, the verb of Clause cannot be followed by an SFP, although the copula can; see (35), (36), (70) and (71).

(iv) ACs (1): gap type
(v) ACs (2): addition type
The verbs of both types of ACs cannot be followed by an SFP. See (72) for AC of the gap type and (73) for AC of the additional type.

(72) *[ore   e_i *jae-da=na]*   saNma_i   *same-QtjaQ-ta.*
      1SG.NOM   grill-PST=SFP   saury.NOM   get.cold-PFV-PST
      IM: 'The saury I had grilled got cold.'

(73) *[saNma   jage-ru=na]*   nioe   *su-ru.*
      saury.NOM   be.grilled-NPST=SFP   smell.NOM   do-NPST
      IM: 'It smells of saury being grilled.'

7.4 Topic enclitic *=wa*

(i) Mono-clausal independent sentences
The topic enclitic *=wa* can occur, e.g. (44), (45).

(ii) Word-type MMC
(iii) MMC with the enclitic *=joo*
The topic enclitic *=wa* can occur in the Clause of the MMC, e.g. (3), (4), (46), (47).

(iv) ACs (1): gap type
(v) ACs (2): addition type
The topic enclitic *=wa* is unacceptable in ACs. (In (74), the head noun *eeŋa* corresponds to the direct object of the AC.)

AC of the gap type:
(74) {*kodomo* / **kodomo=wa*   *uresiŋar-u*}   *eeŋa.*
      child.NOM / child.NOM=TOP   be.pleased=NPST   movie
      'the movie that children like'

AC of the addition type:
(75) {*odome* / **odome=wa*   *arug-u*}   *odo.*
      baby.NOM / baby.NOM=TOP   walk-NPST   sound
      'the sound of the baby's walking'

7.5 Case of the subject

(i) Mono-clausal independent sentences
Three cases are attested for the subject: nominative, experiencer, and locative. See Table 2. The genitive is unacceptable; compare (22) with (76). The possessive is not attested.

(76) *saNma=no jage-ru.
    saury=GEN be.grilled-NPST
    IM: 'A saury is grilled.'

(ii) Word-type MMC

In the MMC with *eNηi* 'origin' and the MMC with *wariee* 'ratio', the nominative and the possessive are used for the subject of the Clause. The experiencer and the locative are not attested. The subject cannot occur in the genitive.

In the MMC with *segi* 'seat', the subject of the Clause can in the nominative, the possessive or the genitive. The experiencer and the locative are not attested.

Recall that the possessive subject may be a borrowing from Standard Japanese.

(iii) MMC with the enclitic *=joo*

Three cases are attested for the subject: nominative, experiencer, and locative. The genitive is unacceptable. There are instances of the possessive, but this may have been borrowed from Standard Japanese.

(iv) ACs (1): gap type
(v) ACs (2): addition type

The subject may occur in the nominative or the genitive, e.g. (21), (23). It may also be in the possessive case if it is human or animate, e.g. (21.). The subject optionally occurs in the experiencer case when the subject of the corresponding independent sentence occurs in the experiencer case, i.e. in the potential voice. Compare (77) and (78).

(77) rogu-zi=dara   dare=ηani=mo ogi-rare-Q-pe.
    6 o'clock=COND who=EXP=also wake.up-POT-NPST-may
    LT: If (it is) 6 o'clock, anyone can wake up'.
    FT: 'Anyone can wake up at 6 o'clock.'

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

7.6 One subject or two subjects?

It is convenient to start with ACs.

(iv) ACs (1): gap type
(v) ACs (2): addition type

Sentences with an AC may contain two subjects: the subject of the AC and the subject of the main clause. However, it is difficult to provide a suitable spontane-

ous example. The best example available is the following. The enclitic *=na* is a portmanteau morpheme for 'NMLZ.NOM.TOP'. The subject of the AC is *are* '3SG.NOM'. The subject of the main clause is best considered to be expressed by *=na* 'NMLZ.NOM.TOP'.

(79) {*sogo=ni   aN*}=*na*   {*are   kae-da*}
    there=LOC exist.NPST=NMLZ.NOM.TOP 3SG.NOM write-PST
    teŋami=da.
    letter=COP.NPST
    LT: 'That which exists there is the letter s/he wrote.'
    FT: 'The thing over there is the letter s/he wrote.'

(ii) Word-type MMC
(iii) MMC with the enclitic *=joo*

The MMC contains two predicates: the predicate in the Clause and the copula enclitic attached to the Noun. However, it contains only one subject. For example, (3) has only one subject: *oraNte=wa* 'my.family.NOM=TOP'.

The MMC with *=joo* 'state' is comparable to subject-to-subject raising constructions in English appearing, for example, in the FT line in (59), which has two predicates, *seems* and *(to be able to) walk* but it contains only one subject *that baby*. The MMC in Japanese (not only SJ but also Mitsukaido) and subject-to-subject raising constructions share a syntactic property although they differ in the morphological property of their predicates: the MMC contains two tensed predicates but the subject-to-subject raising construction contains one.

(i) Mono-clausal independent sentences

These sentences can contain only one subject. For example, (8) has only one subject: *ora* '1SG.NOM.TOP'.

7.7 Clefting

The cleft construction has the following structure.

(80) X=*no*=*wa*   NP=*da.*
    X=NMLZ.NOM=TOP NP=COP.NPST

Clefting is possible in independent sentences and MMCs but it is impossible in ACs. The situation is the same as in Standard Japanese. See Tsunoda (this volume-b, 6.9). We shall be concerned with the clefting that puts the subject in focus.

(i) Mono-clausal independent sentences[7]

Clefting is possible. The pre-copular NP in the cleft sentences corresponds to the subject of the independent sentences.

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

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

(ii) Word-type MMC
(iii) MMC with the enclitic *=joo*

Clefting is possible. Compare (3) with (83); (4) with (84); (27) with (85); and (49) with (86). For example, the predicate noun of the matrix clause in (86), i.e. *ore* '1SG', corresponds to the subject of the Clause in (49).

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7 As noted in 7.1, for this comparison, verb-predicate sentences are chosen as the representative of independent sentences. Clefting can be applied to the other three types of sentences: adjective-predicate sentences, adjectival-noun-predicate sentences, and noun-predicate sentences.

An adjective-predicate sentence:
(i) *kono hku   ore=ŋanja   ega-e*.
    this   outfit.NOM 1SG=EXP.TOP big-NPST
    'These clothes are (too) big for me.'

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

An adjectival-noun-predicate sentence:
(iii) *are=wa   tosjori=ŋe   siNsezu=da*.
    3SG.NOM=TOP old.man=DAT kind=COP.NPST
    'S/he is kind to old people.

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

A noun-predicate sentence:
(v) *are=wa   dereske=da*.
    3SG.NOM=TOP fool=COP.NPST
    'S/he is a fool.'

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

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

(84) *kinoo*   *taNto tore-da*   ***wariee**=na=no=wa*
     yesterday a.lot   be.harvested-PST ratio=COP.ADN=NMLZ.NOM=TOP
     mame=da.
     bean=COP.NPST
     'It is the beans that were harvested in large quantity yesterday.'

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

(86) *mune*   *waru-gu*   *nar-u=j**oo**=na=no=wa*
     chest.NOM bad-ADV become-NPST=state=COP.ADN=NMLZ.NOM=TOP
     ore=da.
     1SG=COP.NPST
     'It is me who seems to get sick.'

     (iv) ACs (1): gap type
     (v) ACs (2): addition type

In contrast with the subject of independent sentences and that of the Clause of the MMC, the subject of ACs – both of the gap type and of the addition type – cannot be clefted. Syntactically the ACs clearly form a unit in this respect, but the Clause of the MMC does not.

     We look at ACs of the gap type first. If clefting is applied to the subject of the AC in (87), we obtain (88). The latter is ungrammatical and also untranslatable.

(87) {*are*   e$_i$ *kae-da*}   *teŋami*$_i$.
     3SG.NOM   write-PST letter
     'the letter that s/he wrote.'

(88) *{e$_i$ e$_j$ *kae-da*}   *teŋami*$_j$=na=no=wa*   *are*$_i$=da.
           write-PST letter=COP.ADN=NMLZ.NOM=TOP 3SG=COP.NPST
     (Untranslatable)

The ungrammatical example (88) is structurally parallel to the cleft sentences based on the MMC, e.g. (83)–(86), in that (88) involves clefting of the subject out of the AC in (87) and that (83)–(86) involve clefting of the subject out of the Clause of the MMC. Note that (83)–(86) are grammatical but that (88) is ungrammatical and also untranslatable.

We turn now to ACs of the addition type. If clefting is applied to the subject of the AC in (89), we obtain (90). The latter is ungrammatical and also untranslatable.

(89) {*kuruma toor-u*}   *odo*.
     car.NOM pass-NPST sound
     'the sound of a car passing.'

(90) *{e$_i$ *toor-u*}   *odo=na=no=wa*   *kuruma$_i$=da*.
           pass-NPST sound=COP.ADN=NMLZ.NOM=TOP car=COP.NPST
     (Untranslatable)

As is the case with (88), the ungrammatical example (90) is structurally parallel to the cleft sentences based on the MMC, e.g. (83)–(86). Note that (83)–(86) are grammatical but that (90) is ungrammatical and also untranslatable.

Both the MMC and ACs have the sequence of "Clause + Noun". However, they differ in terms of the grammaticality of cleft sentences based on them. The cleft sentences (83)–(86), based on the MMC, are grammatical, while the cleft sentences (88) and (90), where pre-copular NP corresponds to the subject of the AC, are ungrammatical. In this respect, the MMC behaves like an independent sentence.

Ross (1986: 78) argues that the Japanese Relative Clause (our "AC") Formation Rule is subject to the Complex NP Constraint, a constraint banning a transformation moving an element contained in a sentence dominated by a noun phrase with a lexical head noun out of that noun phrase. The ungrammaticality of the cleft sentences involving an AC is considered to be due to the violation of the Complex NP Constraint. The applicability of the Complex NP Constraint to Japanese has been questioned since Kuno (1973: 239) pointed out the grammaticality of (91), where the modified noun *kodomo* corresponds to the gap inside the complex NP.

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

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

The ungrammaticality of (88) and (90) indicates that the sequence of "Clause + Noun" in ACs in Mitsukaido functions as an Island at least when the complex NPs are in the predicate noun of the matrix clause and the Complex NP Constraint is applicable in this structure. On the other hand, the sequence of "Clause + Noun"

in the MMC does not function as an Island. In this respect, the MMC behaves like an independent sentence.

There is a correlation between the case of the subject and clefting: MMCs prohibit genitive-subjects and allow clefting of a subject out of the predicate nouns, while ACs – of the gap type and of the addition type – allow genitive-subjects and prohibit clefting of a subject out of the predicate nouns. The MMC with *segi* 'seat' apparently does not fit in this correlation. As noted in 5.2.2, in the MMC with *eNŋi* 'origin' or *wariee* 'ratio', the subject of the Clause of the MMC is in the nominative, and it cannot occur in the genitive. In the MMC with *segi* 'seat', the subject of the Clause may be in the nominative, the possessive or the genitive. (These facts are show in Table 4.) However, there is a possible analysis where the genitive subject in (32) does not contradict the correlation mentioned above.

My consultants accepted all of *are=wa* '3SG.NOM=TOP', *are* '3SG.NOM', *are=ŋa* '3SG=POSS' and *are=no* '3SG=GEN' as subject forms in (32). If (32) can be analyzed in two ways, illustrated in (92) and (93) below, and if the cleft sentence (85) corresponds not to the AC structure (92) but to the MMC structure (93), the correlation between the case of the subject and clefting is also compatible with the MMC with *segi*.[8] The "pro" in parenthesis stands for an unexpressed subject in the matrix clause.

AC of the addition type:
(92) (pro) {*are / are=ŋa / are=no*   *uresiŋar-u*}
          3SG.NOM / 3SG=POSS / 3SG=GEN   be.pleased-NPST
    segi=zja=nee.
    seat=COP.IRR=NEG.NPST
    'It is not something s/he has the right to be pleased about.'

MMC:
(93) [*are=wa / are / are=ŋa*   *uresiŋar-u*]
    3SG.NOM=TOP / 3SG.NOM / 3SG=POSS   be.pleased-NPST
    segi=*zja=nee*.
    seat=COP.IRR=NEG.NPST
    'S/he does not have the right to be pleased (with that).'

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8 The verb *uresiŋar-* 'be pleased' has two case-frames, NOM and NOM-ACC. The nominative argument is interpreted as an experiencer in both case-frames. The accusative argument is interpreted as the target of emotion. Sentence (92) cannot be analyzed as a gap-type AC with a modified noun *segi* corresponding to the accusative argument in the AC, because the noun *segi* does not have the meaning 'right' when it is located in the argument position, where *segi* stands for 'seat' or 'place'.

The same type of dual interpretation is possible for the sequence of "Clause + *zigan* 'time'" as shown in (94) and (95). The cleft sentence (96) corresponds to the MMC structure in (95).

AC of the addition type:
(94) *zii-zi=wa*   {*ezumo ore / ore=ŋa / ore=no   ne-ru*}
     10-hour.NOM=TOP always 1SG.NOM / 1SG=POSS/ 1SG=GEN sleep-NPST
     zigaN=da.
     time=COP.NPST
     '10 o'clock is the time when I always sleep.'

MMC:
(95) [*ore=wa / ore / ore=ŋa / *ore=no   moo   ne-ru*]
     1SG.NOM=TOP / 1SG.NOM / 1SG=POSS / 1SG=GEN already sleep-NPST
     ***zigaN**=da*.
     time=COP.NPST
     'It is already time for me to sleep.'

Clefting of MMC:
(96) *moo   ne-ru   zigaN=na=no=wa   ore=da*.
     already sleep-NPST time=COP.ADN=NMLZ.NOM=TOP 1SG=COP.NPST
     'It is me who has to go to sleep.'

(Standard Japanese has the cognate of *zigan* 'time', i.e. *zikan* 'time'. This noun, too, can occupy the "Noun" slot of the MMC, and this MMC means 'It is time to do' (Tsunoda, this volume-b, 5.1.2-[11]), as is the case with (95).)

7.8 Discussion

The result of the comparison above can be shown as in Table 5.

The criteria "Verb morphology" and "Case of the subject" concern morphological aspects. The other criteria largely concern syntactic aspects.

In terms of "Case of the subject", it is difficult to say whether the MMC behaves like mono-clausal independent sentences or like ACs. The MMC with *eNŋi* 'origin', the MMC with *wariee* 'ratio' and the MMC with *=joo* 'state' resemble mono-clausal independent sentences in that the genitive case is not allowed. In contrast, the MMC with *segi* 'seat' resembles ACs in that the genitive is permitted. Both of the word-type MMC and the MMC with *=joo* behave like ACs in that the possessive is acceptable, but this may be a borrowing from Standard Japanese.

In terms of "Verb morphology" and "Sentence-final enclitic", the MMC behaves, or probably behaves, like ACs. However, in terms of the other three criteria,

Tab. 5: Comparison of the MMC with other constructions.

	Verb morphology	Sentence-final enclitic
Mono-clausal independent sentences	Past, non-past, imperative	+
Word-type MMC	Past, non-past	−
MMC with =*joo*	Past, non-past	−
ACs (1): gap type	Past, non-past	−
ACs (2): addition type	Past, non-past	−
	Topic enclitic =*wa*	
Mono-clausal independent sentences	+	
Word-type MMC	+	
MMC with =*joo*	+	
ACs (1): gap type	−	
ACs (2): addition type	−	

	Case of the subject:				
	NOM (Ø)	EXP (=*ŋani*)	LOC (=*ni*)	GEN (=*no*)	POSS (=*ŋa*)
Mono-clausal independent sentences	+	+	+	−	n.a.
Word-type MMC					
eNŋi 'origin', *wariee* 'ratio'	+	n.a.	n.a.	−	+ (borrowing?)
segi 'seat'	+	n.a.	n.a.	+	+ (borrowing?)
MMC with =*joo*	+	+	+	−	+ (borrowing?)
ACs (1): gap type	+	+	n.a.	+	+ (borrowing?)
ACs (2): addition type	+	+	n.a.	+	+ (borrowing?)

	Two subjects	Clefting
Mono-clausal independent sentences	−	+
Word-type MMC	−	+
MMC with =*joo*	−	+
ACs (1): gap type	+	−
ACs (2): addition type	+	−

Legend: +: acceptable; −: unacceptable; n.a.: not attested.

the MMC behaves like mono-clausal independent sentences and unlike ACs. These three criteria are syntactic.

In view of the above, syntactically the MMC does not contain an AC, and it behaves like mono-clausal independent sentences. Syntactically it should be considered mono-clausal, not bi-clausal.

7.9 Compound predicate

We saw in 7.8 that syntactically the Mitsukaido MMC should be considered mono-clausal, not bi-clausal. Then, it should have just one predicate, not two predicates. We now investigate what structure the predicate has.

As noted in 7.1, for Standard Japanese, Tsunoda (this volume-b, Section 6) gives eight pieces of evidence to show that syntactically its MMC is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal. Furthermore, Tsunoda (this volume-b, 6.11) gives two pieces of evidence to show that, in the SJ MMC, the predicate of the Clause, the Noun and the Copula jointly form a single unit, as shown in (2) in Section 1 above.

First, Tsunoda (this volume-b, 6.11-[1]) states as follows: "[...] a noun [...] in the Noun slot of the MMC [...] cannot be modified by an adjective, a demonstrative or the like. This shows that syntactically the Noun and the preceding predicate of the Clause form a unit; they reject the intervention of any other word". For the Mitsu-kaido MMC, this point has not been checked with the language consultants. None-theless, there is no example available in which a noun in the Noun slot is modified by any word, and it seems likely that this modification is unacceptable.

Second, Tsunoda (this volume-b, 6.11-[2]) states as follows: "The copula in the Copula slot is an enclitic, and no word can intervene between it and the preceding Noun. That is, the Noun and the Copula form a unit." This applies to the Mitsukai-do MMC; the Copula is an enclitic.

The Mitsukaido MMC furnishes another kind of evidence. Note that in the MMC with the enclitic =joo 'state', the Noun slot is occupied by an enclitic, not an inde-pendent word. An enclitic is closely attached to its host, and the enclitic and the host form a close unit. That is, =joo 'state' and the preceding verb form a close unit.

On the whole it seems justifiable to say that, in the Mitsukaido MMC, the predi-cate of the Clause, the Noun and the Copula jointly form a single unit, and that this unit is the predicate of the MMC. It is a compound predicate. According to this view, (3), for example, can be shown as follows. The compound predicate is shown with an underline.

(97) [*oraNte=wa*   *gaNzizu=dage*   *udoN*
　　　my.family.NOM=TOP New.Year's.Day=only udon.ACC
　　　ku-u]   **eNŋi**=da.
　　　eat-NPST origin=COP.NPST
　　　compound predicate
　　　LT: '[My family eat *udon* on New Year's Day only] an origin is.'
　　　FT: 'It is my family's custom to eat *udon* on New Year's Day only.'

8 Summary and concluding remarks

The present chapter has mainly focused on those features of the Mitsukaido MMC which are absent in the Standard Japanese (SJ) MMC. The Mitsukaido MMC differs from the SJ MMC in three respects.

First, three nouns, whose cognates do not occupy the Noun slot in the SJ MMC, are attested in the Noun slot. The MMC with the noun *eNŋi* 'origin' indicates custom (an aspectual meaning: habitual), while the one with the noun *wariee* 'ratio' means that something is not ordinary (a modal meaning?). The one with *segi* 'seat' denotes the right to do something (a modal meaning). In the MMC with *eNŋi* 'origin' and the MMC with *wariee* 'ratio', the subject of the Clause is in the nominative case, but in the MMC with *segi* 'seat' the nominative and the genitive are used for the subject. (The possessive, too, is attested, but this may be a borrowing from Standard Japanese.)

Second, the Mitsukaido MMC with the enclitic *=joo* 'state' is both a modal expression and a voice expression. It is a modal expression in that it expresses inference and the speaker's internal feeling. At the same time it is a voice expression in that, at least when the verb is in the nonpast form, the case of the subject may change: NOM → EXP, and LOC → EXP. In contrast, its Standard Japanese counterpart is a modal expression only. It does not involve any change in the nominal configuration. This shows that this Mitsukaido MMC and this SJ MMC differ in their grammatical status, although they both involve the same form: *=joo*.

Third, as shown above, the case marking of the subject in the Mitsukaido MMC exhibits a complicated and interesting phenomenon, unlike the SJ MMC.

However, the Mitsukaido MMC is similar to the SJ MMC in that syntactically it behaves like mono-clausal independent sentences, it does not contain an AC, and it should be considered mono-clausal, not bi-clausal, with a compound predicate which consists of the predicate of the Clause, the Noun and the Copula.

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

A = transitive subject; AC = adnominal clause; ACC = accusative; ADN = adnominal; ADV = adverbial; C = consonant; CONCP = concessive particle; COND = conditional; COP = copula; DAT = dative; EXP = experiencer case; FT = free translation; GEN = genitive; GER = gerund; IM = intended meaning; INS = instrumental; IRR = irrealis; LOC = locative; LT = literal translation; M = masculine; MMC = mermaid construction; NEG = negation; NMLZ = nominalizer; NOM = nominative; NPST = non-past; O = object; POSS = possessive; POT = potential; PST = past; S = intransitive subject; SFP = sentence-final particle; SG = singular; SJ = Standard Japanese; TOP = topic; V = verb; V = vowel; 1 = first person; 3 = third person.

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Asako Miyachi
4 Old and Early Middle Japanese

1 Introduction

T. Tsunoda (this volume-a, 2.1) proposes that the prototype of the mermaid construction ("MMC") has all of the following five properties.

(a) The structure is as shown in (1) – superficially at least.
(b) The Noun is an independent word (not a clitic) that is a noun.
(c) The subject of the Clause and the Noun are non-coreferential.
(d) The Clause can be used as a sentence by itself.
(e) The Clause is not the subject of the "Noun + Copula".

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

In the prototypical MMC, the Noun slot is occupied by a noun that is an independent word. In non-prototypical instances, it may be occupied by an enclitic or a suffix which derives from a noun. Also, in non-prototypical instances of the MMC, the Noun slot may be occupied by a nominalizer, and the nominalizer may be an independent word, a clitic or an affix (T. Tsunoda, this volume-a, 2.3). In exceptional instances, the Noun slot may be empty. (See T. Tsunoda (this volume-a, 2.3-[1])).

   T. Tsunoda (this volume-a, Section 1 and 2.1) notes as follows. Superficially at least, it looks as if the MMC contains a subordinate clause and is bi-clausal. However, languages such as Modern Standard Japanese (T. Tsunoda, this volume-b, Section 6) and Korean (J. Kim, this volume, Section 6) provide ample evidence that syntactically their MMC is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal, despite its superficial appearance (shown in (1)). Their MMC has just one predicate, not two predicates, and the predicate is a compound predicate that consists of the predicate of the Clause, the Noun and the Copula, as shown in (2).

(2) [... predicate of Clause]   Noun   Copula.
              compound predicate

   The present chapter examines the MMC of Old Japanese ("OJ"; 700–800) and Early Middle Japanese ("EMJ"; 800–1200). Japanese has written records that show how the MMC may originate and develop.

   The MMC is attested already in the oldest written sources of Japanese: OJ and EMJ. The MMC appears to be at its incipient stage and not established in OJ, but it

is more developed and stabilized in EMJ. The present work is mainly concerned with EMJ. OJ and EMJ will be jointly referred to as OEMJ.

The MMC in OEMJ is of four types: word type, enclitic type, suffix type, and zero type. In the word type, the Noun slot is occupied by a noun that is an independent word. At this stage of investigation, thirty-four nouns are attested in this slot. In the enclitic type, the Noun slot is occupied by an enclitic. Only two enclitics have been found in the Noun slot. In the suffix type, the Noun slot is occupied by a suffix. Two such suffixes will be considered in the present work. These enclitics and suffixes are etymologically independent nouns. In the zero type, the Noun slot is empty (shown with Ø). These four types of MMC have various meanings, such as modal, evidential, aspectual, temporal, discourse-related, and possibly stylistic. Generally the Clause of the MMC cannot be used by itself as a sentence. In this respect, the MMC in OEMJ is not a prototypical MMC; it does not have the property (d).

The zero-type MMC seems uncommon crosslinguistically. Among the languages investigated in the present volume, the zero-type MMC is reported from only OEMJ and Kurux (a Dravidian language of east India) (Kobayashi in collaboration with Tsunoda, this volume, 5.3.3.5). (See T. Tsunoda (this volume-a. 2.3-[1]).)

The present work is based on Miyachi (2013), but it has been revised extensively and the data have been expanded.

English translations of Japanese technical terms, their abbreviations, and also the Romanization of relevant Japanese words and sentences in the main follow those of Frellesvig (2010). However, this is not always the case. For example, the label "OEMJ" was coined by Miyachi (2013).

Generally a literal translation of the MMC does not make sense, and both a literal translation ("LT") and a free translation ("FT") will be provided for each example. The form in the Noun slot is in bold face, and the Clause and its literal translation are shown with square brackets. Enclitics are preceded by an equal symbol, while other morpheme boundaries (e.g. a boundary preceding a suffix) are indicated with a hyphen. However, the decision to regard a given form as an independent word, as an enclitic, or as a suffix is inevitably difficult; it is no longer possible to consult a native speaker of OEMJ.

2 Initial illustration

An example of the MMC in OJ is (3) (word type).

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

Examples of the MMC in EMJ include (4) (word type), (5) (enclitic type), (6) (suffix type), and (7) (zero type).

(4) [*yupuyami=ni=wa   mono-omop-a-nu*]
dusk=DAT/LOC=TOP thing-consider-LI-NEG.ADN
***kesiki**=nar-i.*
sign/appearance=COP-NPST
LT: '[In the dusk (Princess Kaguya) does not consider things] a sign is.'
FT: 'In the dusk (Princess Kaguya) does not seem to be worried about
anything.'   (*Taketori*)

(5) (A description of the autumn scenery:)
[*yama=no   pa=Ø   nisiki=o*
mountain=GEN edge=NOM fine.dress=ACC
piroge-tar-u]=***yau**=nar-i.*
spread-STAT-NPST.ADN=appearance=COP-NPST
LT: '[The edge of mountains has spread a fine dress] an appearance is.'
FT: 'The ridgeline looks like a fine dress that is spread out.'   (*Sarashina*)

(6) (Spring has come.)
[*niwa=no   kusa=Ø   kowori=ni*
garden=GEN grass=NOM ice=DAT/LOC
yurus-are-Ø]-***gawo**=nar-i.*
permit-PASS-INF-appearance=COP-NPST
LT: '[The grass in the garden is permitted by the ice] an appearance is.'
FT: 'The grass in the garden looks as if it had been freed by the ice.' (*Kagerō*)

(7) (A prince is looking for a legendary treasure that is said to exist in a swallow
nest. He orders his servant to grope for it in a swallow nest, but the servant
cannot find it. The prince says to the servant as follows.)
asi-ku   sagur-e-ba   [na-ki]=***Ø**=nar-i.*
bad-INF grope.for-LI-GCOND nonexistent-NPST.ADN=Ø=COP-NPST
LT: 'Because (you) grope for (the treasure) badly, [(it) is nonexistent] Ø is.'
FT: 'Because you do not grope for the treasure properly, you cannot find it.'
(*Taketori*)

Mono 'thing' in (3) and *kesiki* 'sign, appearance' in (4) are independent words that are nouns, =*yau* 'appearance' in (5) is an enclitic, and -*gawo* 'appearance' in (6) is a suffix. In (7), the Noun slot is empty, shown with ***Ø*** in bold face.

3 Profile of the language

3.1 Introductory notes

Roughly speaking, the typological profile of OEMJ is the same as that of Modern Standard Japanese ("MSJ") (see T. Tsunoda (this volume-b, Section 3)). (Frellesvig (2010: 1) employs the label "MJ" for Middle Japanese (1200–1600), and the label "NJ" for Modern Japanese (1600–).) Nonetheless, specific details differ between OEMJ and MSJ. The following two points are important: case marking (3.2) and conjugation (3.3). (For details, see Takeuchi (1999) or Frellesvig (2010).) 3.4 will list the sources that were consulted for the present work.

3.2 Case marking: the nominative, the accusative, and the genitive cases

It is possible to say that OEMJ has a nominative-accusative case system, and that the nominative case is generally marked by zero; the accusative by zero or =o; and the genitive by =ga or =no. It is convenient to set up the zero form for the nominative and for one of the forms of the accusative. (To be precise, the non-zero form of the accusative case changed from =wo to =o around A.D. 1000.) In MSJ, the nominative is marked by =ga; the accusative by =o; and the genitive by =no. Note that =ga marks the nominative, and not the genitive. See Table 1.

Tab. 1: Nominative, accusative and genitive cases.

	Nominative	Accusative	Genitive
OEMJ	=Ø	=Ø, =o	=ga,=no
MSJ	=ga	=o	=no

3.3 Conjugation

The present work mainly considers EMJ, rather than OJ, and we look at the conjugation in EMJ in the following. To provide full paradigms of verbs, adjectives, and the copula is beyond the scope of the present work, and I will present only partial paradigms.

The present work proposes my analysis of the conjugation in EMJ, as shown in Tables 2 and 3. There is a large literature on a morphological analysis of the EMJ conjugation, e.g. Kuroki (2012), Oda (2015) and Ooki (2010), among many others. However, there is no consensus among the specialists. To assess previous studies

on this issue is far beyond the scope of the present work. At least, my proposal incorporates portions of some of previous studies, e.g. Kuroki (2012) and Ooki (2010). However, it differs from previous studies in three respects.

First, previous studies of EMJ (at least many of them), e.g. Oda (2015), treat conjugational suffixes separately from verb roots or verb stems, and they do not show how a given verb is conjugated. In contrast, the present work does not treat conjugational suffixes separately from verb roots or verb stems, and it shows how a given verb is conjugated.

Second, for MSJ, M. Tsunoda (2007) classifies the conjugated forms of verbs as follows: (i) basic series and (ii) derived series, e.g. causative series, passive series, potential series, negation series, polite series, desiderative series. The present work adopts this classification. (Due to space considerations, Tables 2 and 3 present the basic series only.) In contrast, previous studies of EMJ do not make this distinction.

Third, the present work classifies the conjugated forms as follows: (i) those with a finite use only, (ii) those with a finite use and a nonfinite use, and (ii) those with a nonfinite use only. (This classification is due to Tasaku Tsunoda (p.c.).) This classification is considered very important, as shown in Tables 2 and 3. Regarding EMJ, Ooki (2010) and Kuroki (2012) distinguish between inflection and derivation. Nonetheless, previous studies (including Ooki (2010) and Kuroki (2012)) do not distinguish (i), (ii) and (iii) explicitly. (For the assignment of a given conjugated form to (i), (ii) or (iii), I consulted Oda's (2015: 70) description of the relative order of conjugational suffixes.)

In the analysis of conjugated forms, it is often difficult to distinguish enclitics (generally shown with an equal symbol) and suffixes (generally shown with a hyphen). In most cases my proposal does not distinguish between them, and it shows the relevant forms with a hyphen. Admittedly my proposal is not entirely satisfactory, and the assignment of suffix boundaries and glosses for the suffixes are tentative. Also, there are cases where one gloss is provided for two consecutive suffixes jointly. For example, consider the modal past forms *puk-i-ker-i* and *ide-ker-i* in Table 2. The gloss 'MPST' is provided for *-ker* and *-i* jointly, e.g. *-ker-i* 'MPST' in (8). As another example, consider *-m-u* in the "finite: conjectural" form and the "finite and nonfinite: conjectural adnominal" form in Table 2. The gloss 'CONJ' is provided for *-m* and *-u* jointly, e.g. *-m-u* 'CONJ' in (74). The gloss 'CONJ.ADN' is provided for *-m* and *-u* jointly, e.g. *-m-u* 'CONJ.ADN' in (30).

Verbs, adjectives, and the copula in EMJ have a fair number of adnominal forms. (MSJ, too, has adnominal forms, but only limitedly. See T. Tsunoda (this volume-b, Section 3).) Verbs of EMJ can be classified as follows (Kuroki 2012: 114–115).

(a) Regular verbs
   (a-1) Consonant-stem verbs, e.g. *puk-* 'blow'.

    (a-2) Vowel-stem verbs
        (a-2-1) Mono-vocalic, e.g. *mi-* 'see'.
        (a-2-2) Bi-vocalic, e.g. *idu-/ide-* 'go out, come out'.
(b) Irregular verbs, e.g. *ku-/ki-/ko-* 'come', *su-/si-/se-* 'do', *ar-* 'exist', *sin-* 'die'.

Table 2 shows a portion of the paradigm of the verb *puk-* 'blow' (transitive/intransitive, consonant-stem) and *idu-/ide-* 'go out, come out' (intransitive, vowel-stem) of EMJ. As mentioned above, there are a fair number of adnominal catego-

Tab. 2: A partial paradigm of verbs in EMJ.

	Consonant-stem 'blow'	Vowel-stem 'go out, come out'
Finite use only		
Nonpast	*puk-u*	*idu-Ø*
Imperative	*puk-e*	*ide-yo*
Modal past	*puk-i-ker-i*	*ide-ker-i*
Simple past	*puk-i-ki*	*ide-ki*
Finite use and nonfinite use (Part 1)		
Nonpast adnominal	*puk-u*	*idu-r-u*
Negative adnominal	*puk-a-nu*	*ide-nu*
Modal past adnominal	*puk-i-ker-u*	*ide-ker-u*
Simple past adnominal	*puk-i-si*	*ide-si*
Visual evidential adnominal	*puk-u-mer-u*	*idu-mer-u*
Reported evidential adnominal	*puk-u-nar-u*	*idu-nar-u*
Finite use and nonfinite use (Part 2)		
Finite: Negative nonpast	*puk-a-zu*	*ide-zu*
Nonfinite: Negative infinitive	*puk-a-zu*	*ide-zu*
Finite: Exclamatory (used in *kakarimusubi*)	*puk-e*	*idu-r-e*
Nonfinite: Concessive conditional	*puk-e*	*idu-r-e*
Finite: Conjectural	*puk-a-m-u*	*ide-m-u*
Finite and nonfinite: Conjectural adnominal	*puk-a-m-u*	*ide-m-u*
Non-finite use only		
Infinitive	*puk-i*	*ide-Ø*
Successive	*puk-i-te*	*ide-te*
Iterative	*puk-i-tutu*	*ide-tutu*
Hypothetical conditional	*puk-a-ba*	*ide-ba*
Given conditional	*puk-e-ba*	*idu-r-e-ba*
Given concessive conditional	*puk-e-do*	*idu-r-e-do*

ries. The nonpast form and the nonpast adnominal form are identical for consonant-stem verbs, but they are distinct for vowel-stem verbs. Table 2 is intended to show the conjugational possibilities of EMJ verbs, and it contains forms that are not attested.

Table 2 classifies the conjugational categories into three groups: those with a finite use only, those with both a finite use and a nonfinite use, and those with a nonfinite use only.

Notes on those with both uses are in order. Firstly, consider "Finite use and nonfinite use (Part 1)". All the adnominal forms have both uses. They can modify a noun (cf. 4.2). This is a nonfinite use. In addition, they can be used finitely, e.g. in sentences that involve a phenomenon called *kakarimusubi* (agreement between a focus particle and the predicate; see 8.2). Secondly, consider "Finite use and nonfinite use (Part 2)". The negative nonpast (finite use) and the negative infinitive (nonfinite use) have the same form. They are tentatively allocated to the group "Finite use and nonfinite use". The exclamatory (finite use; in *kakarimusubi*) and the concessive conditional (nonfinite use) have the same form. They, too, are tentatively allocated to this group. Similarly, the conjectural (finite use) and the conjectural adnominal (finite use and nonfinite use) have the same form. They, too, are allocated to this group.

The label of a conjugational category does not always indicate all the meanings that category has. Examples follow. The conjectural may express (i) conjectural, (ii) irrealis, or (iii) intentional. The conjectural adnominal may function as (i) conjectural adnominal or (ii) irrealis adnominal. The given conditional may express (i) given conditional, (ii) generic/habitual conditional, or (iii) causal, e.g. (7). The infinitive can be used as an infinitive form, and also like the successive, indicating a situation that follows another situation.

Table 2 shows a partial paradigm, and some of the examples given in the present work contain conjugational categories that are not shown in Table 2.

Table 3 shows a portion of the paradigm of adjectives and the copula of EMJ. Like Table 2, Table 3 is intended to show the conjugational possibilities of adjectives and the copula in EMJ, and it contains forms that are not attested.

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

In addition to adjectives, there are adjectival nouns (also called nominal adjectives) (Frellesvig 2010: 235). They may be considered to conjugate involving the copula, e.g. *kotoyau=nar-u* 'strange=COP-NPST.ADN' in (46).

Tab. 3: A partial paradigm of adjectives and the copula in EMJ.

	Adjective 'good'	Copula
Finite use only		
Nonpast	*yo-si*	*=nar-i*
Imperative	*yo-kar-e*	*=nar-e*
Modal past	*yo-kar-i-ker-i*	*=nar-i-ker-i*
Simple past	*yo-kar-i-ki*	*=nar-i-ki*
Finite use and nonfinite use (Part 1)		
Nonpast adnominal	*yo-ki*	*=nar-u*
Negative adnominal	*yo-kar-a-nu*	*=nar-a-nu*
Modal past adnominal	*yo-kar-i-ker-u*	*=nar-i-ker-u*
Simple past adnominal	*yo-kar-i-si*	*=nar-i-si*
Visual evidential adnominal	*yo-kan-mer-u*	*=nan-mer-u*
Reported evidential adnominal	*yo-kan-nar-u*	*=nan-nar-u*
Finite use and nonfinite use (Part 2)		
Finite: Negative nonpast	*yo-kar-a-zu*	*=nar-a-zu*
Nonfinite: Negative infinitive	*yo-kar-a-zu*	*=nar-a-zu*
Finite: Exclamatory (used in *kakarimusubi*)	*yo-ker-e*	*=nar-e*
Nonfinite: Concessive conditional	*yo-ker-e*	*=nar-e*
Finite: Conjectural	*yo-kar-a-m-u*	*=nar-a-m-u*
Finite and nonfinite: Conjectural adnominal	*yo-kar-a-m-u*	*=nar-a-m-u*
Nonfinite use only		
Infinitive	*yo-ku*	*=ni*
Successive	*yo-ku-te*	*=ni-te*
Given conditional	*yo-ker-e-ba*	*=nar-e-ba*
Given concessive conditional	*yo-ker-e-do*	*=nar-e-do*

3.4 Sources of the data

The data for the present work is cited from the sixteen sources listed in Table 4. The original manuscripts of these works no longer exist, and only their handwritten copies have survived, many of which are hand-written copies of earlier hand-written copies. These copies, whose details do not always agree, were employed for compiling the two anthologies mentioned below.

For *Man'yōshū* (OJ) and *Utsuho Monogatari* (EMJ), I consulted *Nihon Koten Bungaku Taikei* [Comprehensive anthology of Japanese classic literature] (Tokyo: Iwanami) ("the Iwanami anthology"). For *Utsuho Monogatari*, I consulted only Volume 1 of this anthology.

For EMJ, except for *Utsuho Monogatari*, in the main I consulted *Shinpen Nihon Koten Bungaku Zenshū* [Newly edited comprehensive anthology of Japanese classi-

Tab. 4: Sources of the data.

	Approximate time	Genre of writing	Short title for citation
OJ			
Man'yōshū	8th century	anthology of poems	*MYS*[1]
EMJ			
Kokin Wakasyū	905 to 913	anthology of poems	*Kokin*
Taketori Monogatari	late 9th to mid-10th century	novel	*Taketori*
Ise Monogatari	late 9th to mid-10th century	novel	*Ise*
Tosa Nikki	circa 935	diary	*Tosa*
Yamato Monogatari	mid- to latter 10th century	novel	*Yamato*
Heichū Monogatari	circa 960	novel	*Heichū*
Kagerō Nikki	circa 974	diary	*Kagerō*
Utsuho Monogatari[2]	circa 983	novel	*Utsuho*
Ochikubo Monogatari	late 10th century	novel	*Ochikubo*
Makura no Sōshi	late 10th century	essay	*Makura*
Izumi Shikibu Nikki	circa 1007	diary	*Izumi*
Murasaki Shikibu Nikki	circa 1010	diary	*Murasaki*
Genji Monogatari[3]	circa 1010	novel	*Genji*
Tsutsumi Chūnagon Monogatari	circa 1055	novel	*Tsutsumi*
Sarashina Nikki	circa 1060	diary	*Sarashina*

[1] As an example, see (3), which is cited from *Man'yōshū*. "11" is the number of the volume, and "2547" is the number allocated to this particular poem.

[2] As an example, see (29), cited from *Utsuho Monogatari*. *Kasugamōde* is the title of the volume in the original source.

[3] As an example, see (31), cited from *Genji Monogatari*. *Suma* is the title of the volume in the original source.

cal literature] (Tokyo: Shōgakukan) ("the Shōgakukan anthology"). However, I consulted the Iwanami anthology in cases where the hand-written copies do not agree and their comparison suggests that the Iwanami anthology gives the form that is the most likely to have been used in the original manuscript. Relevant examples are (50), (59) and (83). See the comments on (50).

Furthermore, for EMJ, except for *Utsuho Monogatari*, the data were checked against the following corpus, compiled by The National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics: *Nihongo rekishi kōpasu Heian jidai hen* [Diachronic corpus of Japanese: Heian period] (http://pj.ninjal.ac.jp/corpus_center/chj/heian.html) (accessed 30 July 2016). This corpus is based on the Shōgakukan anthology. It is in view of the existence of this corpus that in the main I consulted the Shōgakukan anthology for EMJ.

It must be admitted at the outset that, even after a thorough search throughout the sixteen sources listed in Table 4, it is not easy to provide an example which is

suitable for illustrating the point under discussion. It is no longer possible to elicit data from a native speaker of OEMJ.

4 Types of sentences and clauses

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

Roughly speaking, sentences in OEMJ can be classified as follows: (i) verb-predicate sentences, e.g. (8), (ii) adjective-predicate sentences, e.g. (9), and (iii) noun-predicate sentences, e.g. (10), (11), (12).

(8) (The woman requested the man to stay, but:)
 wotoko=Ø kawer-i-ni-ker-i.
 man=NOM return-LI-INCEP-MPST
 'The man has returned (home).'   (*Ise*)

(9) (The boatman says that it is not time to sail.)
 kita-kaze=Ø   a-si.
 north-wind=NOM bad-NPST
 'The north wind is bad.'   (*Tosa*)

In OEMJ, noun-predicate sentences generally contain the copula verb, e.g. (10) (an example from EMJ), although they do not require it; see (11) (an example from EMJ). In OJ, there are instances in which the copula verb does not appear and the focus particle *=so* appears instead, e.g. (12). (The focus particle *=so* of OJ changed into *=zo* in EMJ.)

(10) *kore=wa Pourai=no yama=nar-i.*
  this=TOP Horai=GEN mountain=COP-NPST
  'This is Mt. Hōrai.'   (*Taketori*)

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

(12) *umasi kuni=so,   Akidusima, Yamato=no kuni=pa.*
  splendid country=FOC Akitsushima Yamato=GEN country=TOP
  'Akitsushima (, that is,) the country of Yamato, is splendid.'   (*MYS* 1.2)

4.2 Adnominal clauses

The formation of adnominal clauses ("ACs'") (or relative clauses) in OEMJ differs from that of ACs in MSJ (cf. T. Tsunoda (this volume-b, 4.2)) with respect to the points (a), (b), and (c), listed below. In other respects, there is no difference. For example, both in OEMJ and MSJ, an AC precedes the noun that it modifies. In the examples with an AC, the AC and its English translation are shown with braces.

(a) The predicate of an AC is consistently in an adnominal form, e.g. (13) (an example from EMJ). Recall that EMJ has a fair number of adnominal categories (Section 3). (As noted in Section 3, MSJ, too, has adnominal forms, but only limitedly. Therefore, the predicate of an AC occurs in an adnominal form only under limited circumstances.)

(b) The subject in an AC is generally marked by the genitive case (=*ga* or =*no*) (Kinsui et al. 2011: 111), e.g. =*no* in (13), (16), and =*ga* in (14). (In ACs of MSJ, it may be marked by the nominative (=*ga*) or the genitive (=*no*).) Recently, E. Kim (2016) in effect pointed out that there are instances in which the subject in an AC is marked by the nominative (=Ø); the predicates describes a state, a change of state, or the like, and the subject is not agentive. An example is (15).

(13) {*punabito=no   yom-er-u*}   *uta=Ø*
      boat.man=GEN compose-STAT-NPST.ADN poem=NOM
      'the/a poem {that a boatman composed}'   (*Tosa*)

(14) (A woman says as follows.)
      {*wa=ga seko=ga   ku-be-ki*}   *yowi=nar-i.*
      I=GEN   husband=GEN come-NEC-NPST.ADN evening=COP-NPST
      LT: '(This evening) is an evening when my husband should come.'
      FT: '(This) is the kind of evening that my husband will visit me.'
      (*Kokin* 1110)

(15) {*kami=Ø   naga-ki*}   *pito=to   ...*
      hair=NOM long-NPST.ADN person=COM
      'A person whose hair is long and ...'   (*Makura*)

The sentence (14) concerns a form of marriage in which a husband visits his wife/ wives.

(c) OEMJ has headless ACs. A headless AC can occupy the slot of the predicate of a noun-predicate sentence, e.g. (16). (The zero symbol Ø indicates what would correspond to the head noun of other ACs.)

(16) (A warrior, who has set out on a trip to kill a dragon, is caught in a violent
storm and lightning, and asks the boatman to stop the rolling of the boat. The
boatman replies as follows.)
payate=mo {*riu=no   puk-a-su-r-u*}=Ø=*nar-i.*
gale=ETOP   dragon=GEN   blow-LI-CAUS-LI-NPST.ADN=Ø=COP-NPST
(*Taketori*)
LT: 'The gale is (something) {that the dragon makes blow}.'

The verb *puk-* 'blow' (cf. Table 2) can be used as a transitive verb and also as an
intransitive verb. It is used as an intransitive verb in (16). What (16) means is the
following: 'The dragon is offended, and it is making the gale blow. So there is
nothing I can do about it.'

5 Mermaid construction: introductory notes

The sixteen written sources listed in Table 4 have been consulted for the present
work. In OJ, only the word-type MMC has been found, but in EMJ all of the four
types are attested: word type, enclitic type, suffix type, and zero type. The MMC in
OJ will be discussed in Section 6, and that in EMJ in Section 7.

It is important to note here that, as T. Tsunoda (this volume-a, 2.4-[2]) shows,
the MMC may look similar to, but is different, from noun-predicate sentences
whose predicate contains an adnominal clause (AC) (or a relative clause). The latter
has the structure shown in (17-a). This structure has two subtypes: (17-a1) and
(17-a2). ACs are shown with braces.

(17) Noun-predicate sentences whose predicate contains an AC
   a. Subject   Predicate   Copula.
                    ({AC} + Noun)

   a1. Subject$_i$ Predicate   Copula.
                    ({Subject$_j$ ...} + Noun)

   a2. Subject$_i$ Predicate   Copula.
                    ({e_i ...} + Noun

In contrast, as noted in Section 1, the prototype of the MMC has the structure
shown in (1) – superficially at least. The Clause of the MMC is shown with square
brackets. Also, as noted in Section 1, superficially at least, it looks as if the MMC
contains a subordinate clause and is bi-clausal. However, languages such as Mod-
ern Standard Japanese ("MSJ") (Tsunoda, this volume-b, Section 6) and Korean
(J. Kim, this volume, Section 6) provide ample evidence that syntactically their MMC
is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal, despite its superficial appearance (shown in (1)).

Their MMC has just one predicate, not two predicates, and the predicate is a compound predicate that consists of the predicate of the Clause, the Noun and the Copula, as shown in (2).

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

(2) [...   <u>predicate of Clause]   Noun   Copula</u>.
                            Predicate

In OEMJ, too, the MMC looks similar to noun-predicate sentences whose predicate contain an AC. Indeed, there are instances that allow both analyses (cf. Section 6).

We shall compare (17) and (1)–(2). In the sources I consulted, sentences are often elliptical, and it is not easy to show the differences between (17) and (1)–(2) clearly. Therefore, I shall employ examples from MSJ, based on those in T. Tsunoda (this volume-a, -b).

The predicate of (17-a) consists of a noun and an AC that modifies the noun. (17-a) has two subtypes: (17-a1) and (17-a2). A sentence of the subtype (17-a1) may have two overt subjects: the subject of the AC and the subject of the main clause. An MSJ example is (18). The subject of the AC is *Hanako=ga* 'Hanako=NOM' and the subject of the main clause is *kore=wa* 'this=TOP'. In a sentence of the subtype (17-a2), the subject of the AC is coreferential with that of the main clause, and the subject of the AC leaves a gap (shown with *e*), that is, it is not expressed overtly. An MSJ example is (19). The subject of the AC is coreferential with that of the main clause, i.e. *Hanako=wa*, and it is not overtly expressed in the AC.

Modern Standard Japanese
(18) *kore=wa*_i {*Hanako=ga*_i   *kat-ta*}   *hon=da*.
    this=TOP Hanako=NOM buy-PST book=COP.NPST
    'This is the/a book {that Hanako bought}.'   (17-a1)

(19) *Hanako*_i*=wa* {*e*_i *buturigaku=o benkyoo-si-te i-ru*}   *gakusee=da*.
    Hanako=TOP   physics=ACC study-do-GNF be-NPST student=COP.NPST
    'Hanako is a student {who is studying physics}.'   (17-a2)

(*Benkyoo* 'study' is a noun, not a verb.)

OEMJ examples of (17-a1) include (14) and (16). In (16), the subject of the AC is *riu=no* 'dragon=GEN', and the subject of the main clause is *payate=mo* 'gale= ETOP'. In (14), the subject of the AC is *seko=ga* 'husband=GEN' and the subject of the main clause is the covert subject 'this evening'. (In (16), the head of the AC is zero (shown with "Ø"). That is, the AC is a headless AC.)

OEMJ examples of (17-a2) include (22), (24) and (26). In (22), the subject of the main clause is the covert subject 'I'. The subject of the AC is coreferential with the subject of the main clause, and it is not overtly expressed. The same applies to (26). In (24), the subject of the main clause is *yononaka=pa* 'world=TOP". The subject of the AC is coreferential with the subject of the main clause, and it is not overtly expressed.

The structure shown in (17) contains a subordinate clause (an AC). Furthermore, as just seen, (17-a) may have two overt subjects: the subject of the AC and the subject of the main clause, i.e. (17-a1). That is, (17-a) is clearly bi-clausal.

In contrast, (1) has only one subject, i.e. the subject of the Clause. (It might be argued that the Clause itself is the subject. However, in the prototype of the MMC the Clause is not the subject. See the property (e), listed in Section 1.) It does not have any other subject. An MSJ example of (1) is (20).

Modern Standard Japanese
(20) [*Hanako=wa hon=o   ka-u*]   **yotee**=da.
　　　Hanako=TOP book=ACC buy-NPST plan=COP.NPST
　　　LT: '[Hanako buys/will buy a book] a plan is.'
　　　FT: 'Hanako plans to buy a book'.

T. Tsunoda (this volume-b, 6.2 to 6.9) gives eight pieces of evidence to show that the MMC of MSJ is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal. Furthermore, T. Tsunoda (this volume-b, 6.11) gives two pieces of evidence to show that in the MMC of MSJ the predicate is a compound predicate that consists of (i) the predicate of what is labelled "Clause", (ii) the Noun and (iii) the Copula. This is shown in (2). For example, (20) has a compound predicate that consists of *ka-u* 'buy-NPST', *yotee* 'plan' and *=da* 'COP.NPST'. This is shown in (21). The compound predicate is underlined. Since *ka-u* 'buy-NPST', *yotee* 'plan' and *=da* 'COP.NPST' constitute the predicate, *Hanako=wa* 'Hanako=TOP' is regarded as the subject of the entire sentence and *hon=o* 'book=ACC' as the object.

Modern Standard Japanese
(21) [*Hanako=wa hon=o   ka-u*]   **yotee**=da.
　　　Hanako=TOP book=ACC buy-NPST plan=COP.NPST
　　　Subject   Object   Predicate
　　　'Hanako plans to buy a book'.

That is, superficially at least it may look as if (1) contains a subordinate clause, and it may look as if (1) is bi-clausal. However, in MSJ, (1) does not contain a subordinate clause. That is, it is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal. EMJ, too, yields evidence for the mono-clausal status of its MMC; see 8.9. Also, EMJ yields evidence that its MMC has a compound predicate as shown in (2); see 9.1. For example, in

(29), the subject is *yononaka=wa* 'world=TOP' and the predicate consists of *ar-a-nu mono=nar-i* 'exist-LI-NEG.ADN thing/person=COP-NPST'. (Regarding these two points, it is difficult to find robust evidence in OJ.)

We have pointed out that the MMC may look similar to, but is different, from noun-predicate sentences whose predicate contain an AC. At the same time, there are instances that allow both analyses; see Section 6. It is likely that the MMC of OEMJ originated from noun-predicate sentences whose predicate contains an AC.

In OEMJ, the head of ACs may be zero, i.e. a headless AC (4.2-(c)). Furthermore, we recognize the zero-type MMC, in which the Noun slot is zero, e.g. (7). Here again, the zero-type MMC may look similar to noun-predicate sentences whose predicate is a headless AC, e.g. (16). However, here again, they have different structures, although admittedly there are instances that allow both analyses.

It is widely known that what I refer to as the zero-type MMC, e.g. (7), and noun-predicate sentences whose predicate is a headless AC, e.g. (16), have meanings similar to those of a construction that T. Tsunoda (this volume-b, 5.1.4) on MSJ terms the MMC with the enclitic *=no* 'genitive, nominalizer, complementizer'. The latter indicates cause, reason, explanation or the like.

6 Mermaid construction in Old Japanese

For the MMC in OJ, *Man'yōshū* (cf. Table 4) was consulted. As noted in Section 1, in OJ the MMC appears to be at its incipient stage and not established yet. First, only one noun is attested in the Noun slot of the MMC: *mono* 'thing, person'. Second, the examples involving *mono* are not unequivocal instances of the MMC. They may also be regarded as involving an AC.

As just noted, the earliest attestation of the MMC in Japanese involves the noun *mono* 'thing, person'. In the MMC, this noun is always followed by the focus particle *=so*. This particle indicates emphasis (Frellesvig 2010: 132). There is no example involving the copula (cf. Table 3): *mono=nar-*. Kuginuki (1999) notes that the *mono=nar-* structure developed later. (It is attested in EMJ; see 7.1-[1]. According to Katsumata (2014), in OJ the *mono=nar-* structure is found only in *Senmyō* (which was not consulted for the present work), and it is not found in *Man'yōshū* (which was consulted for the present work). (*Senmyō* refers to the documents that record imperial orders.)

Examples of the MMC with *mono* 'thing, person' followed by *=so* 'FOC' include (3), (25), (27) and (28). The MMC with *mono=so* have modal meanings, such as 'be bound to' (an epistemic meaning), and 'should (obligation)' (a deontic meaning). The predicate of the Clause is consistently in an adnominal form.

As mentioned above, the examples with *mono=so* allow both an AC reading and an MMC reading. As an example, we shall consider (3). For (3), only an MMC reading was given. This is in order to avoid unnecessary confusion and complica-

tion at an initial stage of the chapter. However, (3) allows both an AC reading and an MMC reading. When it has an AC reading, it can be shown as in (22). It is an instance of (17-a2).

AC reading of (3):
(22) {*kaku=bakari* *kwopwi-m-u*}   *mono=so*, ...
     thus=RES   fall.in.love-CONJ.ADN thing/person=FOC
                     Predicate
     '(I am) a person {who may fall in love only in such a way}, ...'

When (3) has an MMC reading, it can be shown as in (23a) (cf. (1)).

MMC reading of (3):
(23a) [*kaku=bakari* *kwopwi-m-u*]   **mono**=*so*, ...
      thus=RES   fall.in.love-CONJ.ADN thing/person=FOC
      LT: '[(I) may fall in love only in such a way] a thing/person, ...'
      FT: '(I) am bound to fall in love only in such a way, ...'

Also, (23a) can be shown as in (23b) (cf. (2)).

MMC reading of (3):
(23b) [*kaku=bakari* *kwopwi-m-u*]   **mono**=*so*, ...
      thus=RES   fall.in.love-CONJ.ADN thing/person=FOC
                                     Predicate
      LT: '[(I) may fall in love only in such a way] a thing/person, ...'
      FT: '(I) am bound to fall in love only in such a way, ...'

Another example follows. The following sentence can have an AC reading, as shown in (24), and an MMC reading, as shown in (25). Context: People have been saying as follows since olden times.

(24) AC reading:
     yononaka=pa {*kaduna-ki*}   *mono=so.*
     world=TOP   insignificant/ephemeral-NPST.ADN thing/person=FOC
     Subject   Predicate
     LT: 'The world is a thing that is insignificant/ephemeral'.   (*MYS* 17.3973)

(25) MMC reading:
     [*yononaka=pa* *kaduna-ki*]   **mono**=*so.*
     world=TOP   insignificant/ephemeral-NPST.ADN thing/person=FOC
     Subject   Predicate
     LT: [The world is insignificant/ephemeral] a thing/person.'
     FT: 'The world is bound to be insignificant/ephemeral!'   (*MYS* 17.3973)

An additional example follows. Context: A man deplores his life.

(26) AC reading:
{*iduku=yori kitar-i-si*}   *mono*=so.
<u>where=ABL come-LI-SPST.ADN thing/person=FOC</u>
                          Predicate
'(I am) a person who came from where?', i.e. 'Due to what fate was I born at all?'   (*MYS* 5.802)

(27) MMC reading:
[*iduku=yori kitar-i-si*]   **mono**=so.
where=ABL <u>come-LI-SPST.ADN thing/person=FOC</u>
                               Predicate
LT: '[(I) came from where] a thing/person.'
FT: 'Why should I have such a fate?'   (*MYS* 5.802)

The following example is long, and I shall provide its MMC reading only.

MMC reading:
(28) [{*puru-koromo=Ø utitu-r-u*}   *pito=pa*
old-wear=ACC   put.away-LI-NPST.ADN <u>man=TOP</u>
                                              Subject
{*aki-kaze=no   tati-ku-r-u*}   *toki=ni*
autumn-wind=GEN stand-come-LI-NPST.ADN   time=DAT/LOC
mono-omop-u]   **mono**=so.
<u>thing-consider-NPST.ADN thing/person=FOC</u>
                Predicate
LT: '[A man {who puts old clothes away} considers things at a time {when the autumn wind stands and comes}] a thing/person.'
FT: 'A man who deserts his wife he has been married to for a long time is bound to regret when his days are over.'   (*MYS* 11.2626)

In (28), the Clause (shown with square brackets) contains two ACs (shown with braces): {who puts old clothes away} and {when the autumn wind stands and comes}.

In OJ, there is no unequivocal instance of the MMC that involves the noun *mono* 'thing, person'. Examples given above allow both analyses. This indicates that in OJ the MMC is not established yet. As noted in Section 1, the MMC is more developed and stabilized in EMJ. It seems likely that sentences such as (22), (24) and (26) (all of which have an AC reading) developed into the MMC.

The noun *mono* 'thing, person' is also used in the MMC of MSJ (T. Tsunoda (this volume-b, 5.1.3-[4])). The MSJ MMC with *mono* expresses various meanings, such as (i) obligation, advice, (ii) surprise, strong emotion, wish, hope, (iii) past habitual or recalling a past experience, and (iv) explanation.

7 Mermaid construction in Early Middle Japanese

Fifteen sources listed in Table 4 were consulted. The MMC in EMJ can be classified into four types: word type (7.1), enclitic type (7.2), suffix type (7.3), and zero type (7.4).

7.1 Word-type MMC

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

    [1] Nouns that indicate a thing or a matter
The following nouns belong to this group.

(a) *mono* 'thing, person'.
(b) *koto* 'thing, matter'.

    (a) *Mono* 'thing, person'
The MMC with *mono* 'thing, person' indicates a general tendency or the like, e.g. (29), (96). This meaning is aspectual. It may also have a modal meaning: epistemic in (30) ('be bound to …'), and deontic in (31), (84) (obligation, duty or the like).

(29) [*yononaka=wa kokoro=ni=mo   ar-a-nu*]
      world=TOP   mind=DAT/LOC=ETOP exist-LI-NEG.ADN
      ***mono**=nar-i.*
      thing/person=COP-NPST
      LT: '[The world does not exist to/in (my) mind] a thing is.'
      FT: 'The world tends not to go in the way I want.'   (*Utsuho: Kasugamōde*)

((29) can have both an AC reading and an MMC reading, as is the case with sentences with *mono* 'thing, person' of OJ; see Section 6. Due to space considerations, only the MMC reading is given for (29). The same applies to some other examples.)
    The following example involves a pun. The verb *wew-* may mean 'be/get drunk' and 'be/get seasick'.

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

It might be argued that this sentence allows the AC analysis as well. However, the sentence has an epistemic meaning ('be bound to …'), and this indicates that *mono* 'thing, person' does not have its literal meaning. This in turn indicates that this sentence does not contain an AC that modifies the noun *mono* 'thing, person'. It is in view of this that only the MMC analysis is assigned to (30). An analogous remark applies to (31).

(31) [*wonna=wa   kokoro=Ø   taka-ku   tukaw-u-be-ki*]
woman=TOP mind=ACC high-INF work-NPST-NEC-NPST.ADN
mono=*nar-i*.
thing/person=COP-NPST
LT: '[Women work (their) minds high] a thing is.'
FT: 'Ladies should be proud and hold themselves in high esteem.'
(*Genji: Suma*)

Katsumata (2014) scrutinizes sentences with *mono=nar-* 'thing, person=COP" in OJ and EMJ. Rather like Miyachi (2013, the present work), Katsumata (2014: 67) concludes that sentences with *mono=nar-* express a general tendency, inevitability, necessity or the like.
(b) *Koto* 'thing'
The MMC with *koto* 'thing' may indicate a general tendency or the like, e.g. (32). This is an aspectual meaning. Particularly when the subject is understood and *koto* 'thing' is followed by the copula =*nar-i* 'COP-NPST' or sentence final particle =*zo*, this MMC expresses strong emotion or definite assertion, e.g. (33), (34) (FT(1)). This meaning is modal. Also, particularly when the subject is understood and *koto* 'thing' is followed by the copula =*nar-i* 'COP-NPST' or sentence final particle =*zo*, this MMC may have an epistemic meaning: 'be bound to', e.g. (34) (FT(2)).

(32) [*miya-dukawe-bito=wa   ito   u-ki*]   **koto**=*nar-i*.
court-service-person=TOP very hard-NPST.ADN thing=COP-NPST
LT: '[Court service persons are very hard] a thing is.'
FT: 'To work in the court is a very hard job.'   (*Sarashina*)

(33) [*ito kokoro-seba-ki*]   on-**koto**=*nar-i*.
   very mind-narrow-NPST.ADN HON-thing=COP-NPST
   LT: '[(You) are very narrow-minded] a thing is.'
   FT: 'How narrow-minded (you) are!'   (*Kagerō*)

(34) ('You should not have caught that bird.')
   [*tumi*=Ø *u-r-u*]   **koto**=*zo*.
   sin=ACC get-LI-NPST.ADN thing=FOC
   LT: '[(You) get a sin] a thing (is).'
   FT(1): 'You will be punished!'
   FT(2): 'You are bound to be punished.'   (*Genji: Wakamurasaki*)

[2] Nouns that indicate location or direction

(a) *tokoro* 'place'.
(b) *kata* 'direction'.
(c) *atari* 'place nearby'.

The MMC with *tokoro* 'place' has an aspectual meaning: 'be about to', e.g. (35). The MMC with *kata* 'direction' and that with *atari* 'place nearby' have an evidential meaning: 'It appears/looks …', e.g. (36).

(35) [*Nakatada*=*mo* … *idetat-u*]   **tokoro**=*nar-i*.
   Nakatada=ETOP   start.out-NPST.ADN place=COP-NPST
   LT: '[Nakatada, too, starts out …] a place is.'
   FT: 'Nakatada, too, is just about to go out, …'   (*Utsuho: Fukiage jō*)

(36) [*on-kadi-domo*=*mo*   *mawir-u*]   **kata**=*nar-i*.
   HON-faith.healer-PL=ETOP come.HUM-NPST.ADN direction=COP-NPST
   LT: '[The faith healers, too, come] a direction is.'
   FT: 'The faith healers, too, appear to have come.'   (*Murasaki*)

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

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

The MMC with (a) and that with (b) have an evidential meaning ('It appears/seems'), e.g. (37), (76) to (78), (80), (81), (92). The MMC with *mama* has an aspectual meaning: 'X is kept in such and such a state', e.g. (38). (According to one view,

the noun *sama* 'situation, appearance' is the source of the enclitic *=soo* 'I heard' (reported evidence) used in the MMC of MSJ. See T. Tsunoda (this volume-b, 7.6).)

(37) *tuki=no   omosiro-ku   ide-tar-u=wo   mi-te,*
  moon=GEN graceful-INF go.out-STAT-NPST.ADN=ACC look-SUC
  [*tune=yori=mo   mono-omop-i-tar-u*]   *sama=nar-i.*
  usual=ABL=ETOP thing-think-LI-STAT-NPST.ADN state=COP-NPST
  LT: 'Looking at the moon appearing gracefully, [(Princess Kaguya) considers things (more) than usual] a state is.'
  FT: 'Looking at the graceful moon, Princess Kaguya seems to be in deeper thought than usual.'   (*Taketori*)

(38) *sika.* [*makade-paber-u*]   *mama=nar-i.*
  so   leave.HUM-POL-NPST.ADN as.it.is=COP-NPST
  LT: 'Yes. [(I) have left (that place)] as.it.is is.'
  FT: 'Yes. (I) have left that place and am here now.'   (*Genji*: *Suetsumuhana*)

  [4] A noun that indicates degree, extent or quantity
Only one noun belongs to this group: *podo* 'degree, extent, quantity, season'. The MMC with *podo* may indicate season (a temporal meaning), e.g. (39), or an aspectual meaning: 'be about to', e.g. (40).

(39) (A description of the month of October (in the lunar calendar))
  [*tuki=wa   kumor-i-kumor-i,   siguru-r-u*]
  moon=TOP cloud.over-INF-cloud.over-INF be.showery-LI-NPST.ADN
  podo=nar-i.
  extent=COP-NPST
  LT: '[The moon clouds over and clouds over, and (the sky) is showery] an extent is.'
  FT: '(October is) the season when the moon is clouded and the sky is showery.'   (*Izumi*)

(40) [*kono wonna=Ø   tutumi=ni   mono=nado tutum-i-te,*
  this   woman=NOM package=DAT/LOC thing=COMP pack-LI-SUC
  kuruma=Ø   tor-i=ni   yar-i-te   mat-u]
  vehicle=ACC take-INF=DAT/LOC send-LI-SUC wait-NPST.ADN
  podo=nar-i.
  degree=COP-NPST
  LT: '[This woman packed (her) things in the package, sent (someone) to get a vehicle, and waits] a degree is.'
  FT: 'Having packed her things in the package, having sent someone to get a vehicle, this woman is about (or ready) to wait.'   (*Yamato*)

[5] Nouns that indicate time

(a) *koro, korowowi* '(approximate) time, season', e.g. (41).
(b) *wori* 'occasion, opportunity', e.g. (42).
(c) *yowawi* 'year, age', e.g. (43).
(d) *woisaki* 'growth, the future', e.g. (44).

Five nouns belong to this group. Some of the instances of this MMC describe the situation of a certain time or season with a strong emotion. This meaning is both temporal and modal.

(41) (The season is September, the beginning of autumn.)
subete yo=ni   *pur-u*   *koto=Ø*   *kawi-na-ku,*
all   world=DAT/LOC   fade-NPST.ADN   thing=NOM   worth-nonexistent-INF
[*adikina-ki*   *kokoti=Ø*   *ito*   *su-r-u*]
helpless-NPST.ADN   feeling=NOM   very   do(Vi)-LI-NPST.ADN
koro=*nar-i.*
time=COP-NPST
LT: 'The things that fade away in the world are all worthless, and [a helpless feeling does very much] a time is.'
FT: 'All the things that fade away are worthless. This is the season of the year when I really feel helpless.'   (*Kagerō*)

(42) (A prince and a princess are thinking about the same deceased person, who was the prince's sweetheart and the princess's younger sister.)
[*puta-tokoro=Ø*   *nagame-tamaw-u*]   **wori**=*nar-i-ker-i.*
two-place=NOM   fall.into.thought-RESP-NPST.ADN   occasion=COP-LI-MPST
LT: '[The two places fall into thought] an occasion was.'
FT: 'The two people were deep in thought (about the deceased).'
(*Genji: Kagerō*)

(43) [*nanigoto=o=mo*   *obosi-siri-ni-tar-u*]
everything=ACC=ETOP   think-know-INCEP-STAT-NPST.ADN
*on-**yowawi**=nar-e-ba, ...*
HON-age=COP-LI-GCOND
LT: 'As [(the princess) thinks and knows everything] an age is, ...'
Somewhat free translation: 'As the princes is at an age where she knows everything, ...'
Freer translation: 'As the princess is old enough to know everything, ...'
(*Genji: Hotaru*)

(44) [*pitogara=mo*   *tuwini owoyake=no*   *on-usiromi=to=mo*
personality=ETOP finally imperial.court=GEN HON-backer=COMP=ETOP
nar-i-nu-be-ki]   ***wowisaki***=*nan-mer-e-ba,* ...
become-LI-INCEP.NPST-NEC-NPST.ADN one's.future=COP-VEVID-LI-GCOND
LT: 'As [– personality, too – (he) will eventually become a backer of the
imperial court] (his) future is, ...'
FT: 'As – considering his personality, too – he will eventually become a
backer of the imperial court in the future, ...'   (*Genji: Wakana jō*)

(The enclitic *=to* may be translated as 'into', as in *A changes into B*.)

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

(a) *katati* 'shape, figure, situation', e.g. (82).
(b) *mi* 'body, circumstance, situation', e.g. (45).
(c) *sugata* 'figure, form, appearance', e.g. (46).
(d) *kawo > kao* 'face, appearance', e.g. (47).[1]
(e) *kowe* 'voice', e.g. (48).

The MMC of [6] describes a person's circumstance or situation. The meaning may
be sometimes evidential: 'It/someone looks like ...'. The noun *kawo > kao* 'face,
appearance' can be used as an independent noun in the MMC, but its use in compound nouns is more dominant. See 7.3.

(45) [*ware=Ø tomosi-ku*   *madusi-ki*]   ***mi***=*nar-i.*
I=NOM   lacking-INF poor-NPST.ADN body=COP-NPST
LT: '[(I) am lacking (in wealth) and poor] a body is.'
FT: 'I have no wealth and am poor.'   (*Utsuho*: *Toshikage*)

(46) ('On a rainy night, on our way to visit our sweethearts, we came across
comings and goings of some noble men. We knelt on the ground and got
covered with cattle dung all over.')
[*ito*   *kotoyau=nar-u*]   ***sugata***=*nar-u-be-si.*
very   strange=COP-NPST.ADN figure=COP-LI-CONJ-NPST
LT: '[(We) are very strange] a figure is.'
FT: 'We must look really strange.'   (*Ochikubo*)

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1 The arrow ">" indicates a phonological change. For example, the form *kawo* later changed into
kao. The change of "*wo > o*" (in a non-initial positon in a word) took place around A.D.1000, i.e.
during the period of EMJ (800–1200). Additional examples of this change include the following:
(i) the suffix *-gawo > -gao* 'appearance' (discussed in 7.3) and (ii) the accusative case postposition *=wo > =o* (mentioned in Section 3.2).

(47) ('Children brought to us some grass that we had never seen before, and they
asked us what the name of the grass was, but we could not answer. Then
someone said the name of the grass.')
mbe=nar-i-ker-i, [*kik-a-nu*] **kao***=nar-u=Ø=wa.*
convincing=COP-LI-MPST hear-LI-NEG.ADN face=COP-NPST.ADN=Ø=TOP
LT: '(That was) natural/understandable. [(You) do not hear (the name of the
grass)] a face is.'
FT: 'It is natural that it looked like you had not heard the name of the
grass.' (*Makura*)

(48) ('I met the old man for the first time in many years'.)
... [*woi-bito=namu kawar-a-nu*] **kowe***=ni-te*
... old-man=FOC change-LI-NEG.ADN voice=COP-SUC
paber-i-tu-r-u.
exist.POL-LI-PERF-LI-NPST.ADN
LT: '... [the old man does not change] a voice is and existed.'
FT: '... the old man's voice had not changed.' (*Genji: Yomogiu*)

(In (48), the copula *=ni-te* is followed by the verb *paber-i-tu-r-u*. The former may
be regarded as the main verb and the latter as an auxiliary verb.)

[7] Noun that expresses acts or the like
Only one noun belongs to this group: *waza* 'act, deed, work'. The MMC with this
noun expresses duty, obligation or the like (i.e. deontic modality). In (49), the pred-
icate of the Clause is negated, and this sentence expresses prohibition.

(49) *sibasi.* *pito=Ø* *owasimas-u=ni* [*kaku=wa*
just.a.moment person=NOM exist.RESP-NPST.ADN=DAT/LOC thus=TOP
se-nu] **waza***=nar-i.*
do-NEG.ADN act=COP-NPST
LT: '(Wait) a moment. When persons exist, [(one/you) does/do not do thus]
an act is.'
FT: 'Wait a minute. When there are people around, you should not behave
like that.' (*Makura*)

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

kokoro 'heart, mind', e.g. (50), (51), (88), *kokorozama* 'nature', e.g. (83), *kokorobawe*
'heart, mind, nature', *kokoti* 'feeling, atmosphere', e.g. (52).

The MMC of [8] describes the perception of a situation, or, how someone feels about
a given situation. The meaning may be evidential or modal.

(50) is cited from the Iwanami anthology, not from the Shōgakukan anthology. See 3.4. There are hand-written copies in which the noun *kokoti* 'feeling, atmosphere' and *koro* '(approximate) time' respectively occur in place of *kokoro* 'heart, mind' in this sentence. The version of this sentence with *kokoti* 'feeling, atmosphere' is an instance of the MMC, as is the case with (52). Also, the version of this sentence with *koro* '(approximate) time' is an instance of the MMC, as is the case with (41). That is, all of these three nouns (*kokoro*, *kokoti* and *koro*) can be used in the MMC.

(50) [*Kaminaduki=Ø rei=no   tosi=yori=mo,*
      October=NOM   usual=GEN year=ABL=ETOP,
      sigure-gati=nar-u]   ***kokoro=nar-i.***
      shower-exceed=COP-NPST.ADN mind=COP-NPST
      LT: '(In this) October (the sky) showers and exceeds than usual years] a mind is.'
      FT(1): 'This October seems to be more showery than usual.'
      FT(2): 'I feel that this October is more showery than usual.'   (*Kagerō*)

(51) ('My husband is thinking of his sweetheart when I, his wife, am around.')
      [*akugare-tati-nu-r-u*]   *on-**kokoro**=nan-mer-i.*
      absent.minded-stand-INCEP-LI-NPST.ADN HON-mind=COP-VEVID-NPST
      LT: '[(He) is absent-minded and standing] a mind appears to be.'
      FT: 'He appears to be absent-minded.   (*Genji: Yūgiri*)

(52) ('The prince has been sick, but:')
      [*miya=Ø   pusi-sidumi-te=nomi=wa   ar-a-nu*]
      princess=NOM lie.down-sink-SUC=FOC=TOP exist-LI-NEG.ADN
      *on-**kokoti**=nar-e-ba, ...*
      HON-feeling=COP-LI-GCOND
      LT: 'As [the prince does not exist, only lying down and sinking] a feeling is, ...'
      FT: 'As the prince does not feel like lying in bed all the time, ...'
      (*Genji: Kagerō*)

[9] Nouns that describes ability, personality, one's true nature

(a) *zae* 'ability', e.g. (53).
(b) *pitogara* 'personality' e.g. (54).
(c) *ponzyau* 'one's true nature' e.g. (55).
(d) *kuse* 'habit', e.g. (56).
(e) *suzi* 'line, nature, talent' e.g. (57).

The MMC of [9] describes a person's personality, nature or talent.

(53) [*zizyuu=Ø   sarani=mo   iw-a-nu*]   **zae**=*nar-i.*
lady-in-waiting=NOM especially=ETOP say-LI-NEG.ADN talent=COP-NPST
LT: '[The lady-in-waiting does not say especially] a talent is.'
FT: 'The lady-in-waiting has the kind of talent that is obvious to everyone.'
(*Utsuho: Fukiage jō*)

(54) [*ko=no   pito=Ø   ...* {*ito   aware=to   pito=no*
this=GEN person=NOM   very admirable=COMP person=GEN
omowi-nu-be-ki}   *sama=o*
think-INCEP-NEC-NPST.ADN appearance=ACC
sime-tamaw-er-u]   **pitogara**=*nar-i.*
possess-RESP-STAT-NPST.ADN personality=COP-NPST
LT: '[This person possesses an appearance {that (other) persons think that
(it) is very admirable}] a personality is.'
FT: 'This prince has the kind of personality that other people consider very
admirable.'   (*Genji: Ukifune*)

The Clause of (54) (shown with square brackets) contains an AC (shown with bra-ces).

(55) ('The princess tends to give up things easily and appears to be resigned.')
[*musubowore-tar-u*]   **ponzyau**=*nan-mer-i=to*   *omow-u.*
be.depressed-STAT-NPST.ADN nature=COP-VEVID-NPST=COMP think-NPST
LT: '(Other people) think that [(she) is depressed] a nature is.'
FT: 'Other people think that she is depressed by nature.'   (*Genji: Tenarai*)

(56) [*ko=no   pimegimi=wa kaku pitouto-ki*]   *on-***kuse**=*nar-e-ba, ...*
this=GEN princess=TOP thus shy-NPST.ADN HON-habit=COP-LI-GCOND
LT: 'As [this princess is shy like this] a habit is, ...'
FT: 'As this princess is shy like this by nature, ...'   (*Genji: Yomogiu*)

(57) (A man and his girl friend had a fight.)
[*wonna=mo   e-wosame-nu*]   **suzi**=*ni-te, ...*
woman=ETOP POSSIB-settle-NEG.ADN line=COP-SUC
LT: '[The woman, too, cannot settle] a line is, ...'
FT: 'By nature, the woman, too, cannot hold back, ...'   (*Genji: Hahakigi*)

[10] Nouns that indicate relationship or the like

(a) *naka* 'inside, relationship, friendship', e.g. (58), *nakarawi* 'relationship'.
(b) *awawi* 'boundary, space in between, relationship', e.g. (59).

The MMC of [10] generally refers to the relationship between people. This meaning
may be considered a type of aspectual meaning.

(58) [{*Nousan=no kimi=to   iw-i-ker-u*}   *pito=Ø*
Nōsan=GEN   dignitary=COMP say-LI-MPST.ADN   person=NOM
Zyauzau=to=wa ito   ninau   omowi-kawas-u]
Jōzō=COM=TOP   very uniquely think-exchange-NPST.ADN
naka=*nar-i-ker-i.*
friendship=COP-LI-MPST
LT: '[The person {whom (people) called the Lord of Nosan} thinks and
exchanges very uniquely with Jozo] a friendship was.'
FT: 'The Lord of Nosan had a unique friendship with the monk Jozo
whereby they often thought about each other.'   *(Yamato)*

The Clause of (58) contains an AC.

(59) (Prince Sochi, who is an excellent performer of musical instruments, often
visits Prince Genji and plays music with him. That kind of friendship is
modern.)
Soti=no   miya=mo   {tuneni watari-tamaw-i-tutu,
Sochi=GEN prince=ETOP   often   go.across-RESP-LI-ITE
on-asobi=nado=mo   okasi-u   owasu-r-u}
HON-play=COMP=ETOP excellent-INF exist.RESP-LI-NPST.ADN
miya=nar-e-ba,   [imamekasi-ki]
prince=COP-LI-GCOND modern.style-NPST.ADN
*on-**awawi**-domo=nar-i.*
HON-relationship-PL=COP-NPST
LT: 'As Prince Sochi is a prince {who often goes over to (Prince Genji's
place) and play exists excellently}, [(Prince Sochi and Prince Genji) are
modern-style] relationships are.'
FT: 'As Prince Sochi often goes to Prince Genji's place to play music
excellently, they have a modern kind of friendship.'   (*Genji: Sakaki*)

We have seen one noun in OJ and ten groups of nouns in EMJ that are attested
in the Noun slot of the MMC – thirty-four nouns in all. They are summarized in
Table 5. They have various meanings, such as modal (e.g. epistemic, deontic), evi-
dential, and aspectual.

7.2 Enclitic-type MMC

The enclitic-type MMC is not attested in OJ (700–800), while it is attested in EMJ
(800–1200); only two enclitics are attested in the Noun slot of the MMC: *=yau* 'ap-
pearance' and *=bakari* 'extent, limit, and situation'.

Tab. 5: Nouns in the Noun slot.

	Noun	Meaning outside MMC	Meaning of MMC
OJ			
	mono	thing, person	epistemic: 'be bound to'
			deontic: obligation
EMJ			
[1]	*mono*	thing, person	aspectual: general tendency
			epistemic: 'be bound to'
			deontic: obligation, duty
	koto	thing	aspectual: general tendency
			modal: strong emotion, definite assertion
			epistemic: 'be bound to'
[2]	*tokoro*	place	aspectual: 'be about to'
	kata	direction	evidential: 'It appears/looks'
	atari	place nearby	evidential: 'It appears/looks'
[3]	*sama*, *arisama*	situation, appearance	evidential: 'It appears/seems'
	kesiki, *kewawi*	sign, situation, appearance	evidential: 'It appears/seems'
	mama	as such, in X state	aspectual: 'be kept in X'
[4]	*podo*	degree, extent, quantity	temporal: 'This is the season of the year to do'
			aspectual: 'be about to'
[5]	*koro, korowowi*	time, season	temporal and modal: 'This is the season of the year to do' with a strong emotion
	wori	occasion, opportunity	temporal
	yowawi	year, age	temporal
	wowisaki	growth, one's future	temporal: future
[6]	*katati*	shape, figure, situation	evidential: 'It/someone looks like'
	mi	body, circumstance, situation	(as above)
	sugata	figure, form, appearance	(as above)
	kawo > kao	face, appearance	(as above)
	kowe	voice	(as above)
[7]	*waza*	act, deed, work	deontic: duty, obligation
[8]	*kokoro*	heart, mind	evidential: perception of a situation ('It appears/seems')
			modal: 'X feels …'
	kokorozama	nature	(as above)
	kokorobawe	heart, mind, nature	(as above)
	kokoti	feeling, atmosphere	(as above)
[9]	*zae*	ability, talent	personality, nature, talent
	pitogara	personality	(as above)
	ponzyau	one's true nature	(as above)
	kuse	habit	(as above)
	suzi	line, string, nature	(as above)
[10]	*naka*	inside, relationship	aspectual(?): 'have such and such a relationship'
	nakarawi	relationship	(as above)
	awawi	boundary, space in between	(as above)

[1] =*yau* 'appearance'

This morpheme is a loan from Chinese. It means 'appearance'. (In 7.1-[3], we saw the native Japanese noun *sama* 'situation, appearance'. Both of the noun *sama* and the enclitic =*yau* are written with the same Chinese character: 様.)

Concerning the use of this form in general, that is, not confining myself to its use in the MMC, I regard =*yau* 'appearance' as an enclitic, and not an independent word or a suffix. The reasons for this are the following.

(a) It is not justifiable to consider =*yau* an independent word. This is because, except in a very small number of set phrases (Kondo 2006), it is not used by itself; it is always preceded by a word or words that modifies/modify it.

(b) =*yau* is not a suffix. The reasons for this are the following.

(b-1) The word classes or the like to which =*yau* is added are not limited to one class. It may be attached to, for example, a verb, an adjective, a noun, the genitive case postposition (=*ga* or =*no*), or the complementizer =*to*.

(b-2) The inflected forms of, e.g., verbs and adjectives to which =*yau* is added, are not limited to one category. =*yau* may be attached to an adnominal form or an infinitive form.

It is in view of the above that I consider =*yau* an enclitic, not an independent word or a suffix.

The enclitic =*yau* 'appearance' can be used in the MMC, and this MMC may mean (i) similitude 'X looks like Y', 'It looks as if ...' (an evidential meaning), e.g. (5), (60), (61), (80a), (90a), or (ii) uncertain conclusion (a modal meaning), e.g. (62), (79), (89).

(60) (The colour of the sky at dawn is really beautiful.)
      [{*yauyau ake-yuk-u*}   *sora=no   kesiki=Ø*
      gradually dawn-go-NPST.ADN sky=GEN appearance=NOM
      kotosara=ni   tukuri-ide-tar-a-m-u]=**yau**=*nar-i.*
      special=COP.INF make-put.out-STAT-LI-CONJ.ADN=appearance=COP-NPST
      LT: '[The appearance of the sky {that is gradually dawning} is (something
      that someone) may have produced specially] an appearance is.'
      FT: 'The color of the dawning sky is so beautiful that it looks like an art of
      work that someone made specially.'   (*Genji: Sakaki*)

(*ake-* 'dawn' is not a noun, but a verb (to be precise, an intransitive verb).)

(61) (The empress is about to have her first childbirth, and the monks are saying prayers for her safe childbirth. The emperor's father is so excited that he is giving instructions about everything in a very loud voice. The monks are overwhelmed by his excitement and enthusiasm.)

[*sou=mo*   *ke-tare-te*   *oto=Ø*
monk=ETOP   lost-suppressed-SUC   sound=ACC
se-nu]=**yau**=*nar-i.*
do(Vt)-NEG.ADN=appearance=COP-NPST

LT: '[The monks, too, are overwhelmed and do not make sound] an appearance is.'

FT: 'The monks, too, are overwhelmed, and it looks as if they are making no sound.'   (*Murasaki*)

In the MMC, the enclitic *=yau* 'appearance' is always followed by the copula. The copula is in the infinitive form *=ni* (i.e. *=yau=ni*) most frequently (Kondo 2006). (In such instances, the MMC is used as a subordinate clause, and it is not used as an independent sentence or as the main clause of a complex sentence.) Otherwise, the copula is generally in the nonpast form: *=nar-i* 'COP-NPST' (i.e. *=yau=nar-i*), e.g. (5), (60), (61). (In such instances, the MMC is used as an independent sentence or as the main clause of a complex sentence.) Furthermore, there are a small number of examples involving an adnominal form of the copula. Kondo (2006) gives one example: *=yau=nar-a-m-u* 'appearance=COP-LI-CONJ.ADN'. Also, I have found just a few examples: *=yau=nar-u=yo* 'appearance=COP-NPST.ADN=*yo*', e.g. (79), and *=yau=nar-u=zo=kasi*. (*=yo* and *=zo=kasi* are sentence-final particles: *=yo*, *=kasi* both 'emphatic' (Frellesvig 2010: 242), and *=zo* 'identifying' (Frellesvig 2010: 253).) An additional example is (80), in which an MMC with *=nar-u* 'COP-NPST.ADN' is used as the Clause of an MMC and embedded in another MMC (word-type MMC). The predicate of the Clause of the word-type is in an adnominal form (7.1).

As noted in (b-2) above, *=yau* may be attached to an adnominal form or an infinitive form. However, when used in the MMC, the predicate that proceeds *=yau* must be in an adnominal form. It cannot be in an infinitive form. Nor can it be in any finite form.

The enclitic *=yau* of EMJ changed into the enclitic *=yoo* and the suffix *-yoo* (both phonetically [joː]) in MSJ. The MSJ enclitic *=yoo* can occupy the Noun slot of the MMC, and means 'It appears/looks/seems' (T. Tsunoda (this volume-b, 7.7-[3])), e.g. (63).

We now turn to the marking of the subject of the Clause. In the MMC with the enclitic *=yau* 'appearance', when the subject is present, it is marked by the nominative case (=Ø) most frequently, e.g. (5), (60). It may also be marked by *=wa* 'topic', e.g. (62), or *=mo* 'emphatic topic', e.g. (61), but their examples are few.

(62) (A lady describes how her husband cared for her when she had childbirth.
  'Generally, he is not kind to me. But:')
  [*sono podo=no   kokorobawe=wa=simo*
  that   season=GEN consideration=TOP=FOC
  nengoro=nar-u]=**yau**=*nar-i-ker-i.*
  kind=COP-NPST.ADN=appearance=COP-LI-MPST
  LT: '[(His) consideration of that season is kind] an appearance is.'
  FT: 'His consideration at that time looked warm-hearted.'   (*Kagerō*)

Kondo (2006) notes in effect that the MMC with =*yau* in EMJ and the MMC with
=*yoo* in MSJ exhibit a semantic difference. Consider an example in MSJ, cited from
Kondo (2006). (The morpheme boundaries, glosses, square brackets and trans-
lations are mine.)

Modern Standard Japanese
(63) [*asita=wa   ame=ga   hur-u*]=**yoo**=*da.*
  tomorrow=TOP rain=NOM fall-NPST=*yoo*=COP.NPST
  LT: '[Tomorrow rain falls] =*yoo* is.'
  FT: 'It appears that it will rain tomorrow.'

As (63) shows, the MSJ MMC with =*yoo* can describe a situation that has not been
realized. Kondo (2006) states that in contrast he has not found any example of the
EMJ MMC with =*yau* that describes such a situation.

  [2] =*bakari* 'extent, limit, situation'
According to the dominant view, the etymology of =*bakari* is the infinitive form of
the verb *pakar-* 'to measure (e.g. length, weight)': *pakar-i* 'measure-INF'. (Infinitive
forms of verbs could be used as nouns. The use of infinitive forms was a productive
means of turning verbs into nouns.) Already in OJ, this form was a bound (not
free) form. The initial /p/ (voiceless) had turned into /b/ (voiced). This change (a
phenomenon called *rendaku*), from a voiceless consonant into a voiced counter-
part, is often observed in bound forms in Japanese.
  Concerning the use of this form in general, that is, not confining myself to its
use in the MMC, I regard =*bakari* as an enclitic, and not as an independent word
or a suffix. The reasons for this are as follows.
  (a) =*bakari* is not an independent word. The reasons for this are the following.
  (a-1) =*bakari* is not used by itself.
  (a-2) =*bakari* underwent the process of *rendaku*.
  (b) =*bakari* is not a suffix. The reasons for this are the following.
  (b-1) The word classes or the like to which =*bakari* is added are not limited to
one class. It may be attached to, for example, a verb, an adjective, a noun, an
adverb or the complementizer =*to*.

(b-2) The inflected forms of, e.g., verbs and adjectives to which =*bakari* is added are not limited to one category. =*bakari* may be attached to:

(b-2–1) the nonpast form, e.g. (65) (*sin-u* 'die-NPST'), (67) (*piromu-Ø* 'spread-NPST'), or;

(b-2–2) an adnominal form, e.g. (64) (*mi-r-u* 'see-LI-NPST.ADN'), (66) (*asob-a-nu* 'play-LI-NEG.ADN').

(*Sin-* 'die' is an irregular verb (cf. 3.3-(b)). In contrast with regular consonant-stem verbs (cf. Table 2), its nonpast form (*sin-u*) and the nonpast adnominal form (*sin-u-r-u*) are distinct. *Piromu-* 'spread' is a vowel-stem verb, not a consonant-stem verb (cf. Table 2). Its nonpast form (*piromu-Ø*) and the nonpast adnominal form (*piromu-r-u*) are distinct.)

It is in view of the above that I consider =*bakari* an enclitic, not an independent word or a suffix.

The enclitic =*bakari* 'extent, limit, situation' can be used in the MMC, and this MMC denotes degree, extent, e.g. (64), limit, e.g. (65), or situation, e.g. (66). However, the presence of =*bakari* is difficult to reflect in the English translation of these sentences. It may be that it has some kind of stylistic effect.

In the MMC, =*bakari* is followed by the copula or a particle or particles (e.g. =*bakari=zo*, e.g. (67), and =*bakari=ka*) (=*zo* 'identifying' and =*ka* 'doubted identity' (Frellesvig 2010: 252–253)). The copula is generally in the nonpast form =*nar-i* (i.e. =*bakari=nar-i*), e.g. (64) to (66), although it may be in some other form.

(64) (A man who lives on a mountain, rather like a hermit, says as follows. 'People in the capital city say that I have hidden myself in a remote mountain. However, the mountain where I live now is not that remote. Consider Mt. Hiei. It is just an ordinary (not remote) mountain, very close to the capital city.')
[*yo=no   tune=no   Piei=wo   toyama=to*
world=GEN usual=GEN Hiei=ACC foothill=COMP
mi-r-u]=**bakari**=*nar-i.*
see-LI-NPST.ADN=extent=COP-NPST
LT: '[(People) regard Mt. Hiei of the usual world as a foothill] an extent is.'
Somewhat free translation: 'The mountain where I live is remote to the extent that Mt. Hiei, which people in the capital city regard as a foothill, is remote.'
Freer translation: 'The mountain where I live is just an ordinary mountain just like Mt. Hiei, which people in the capital city regard as just a nearby foothill (and not a remote mountain).'   (*Yamato*)

(65) (An old man plans to make Princess Kaguya, his adopted granddaughter, accept the emperor's proposal for marriage, in return for an official rank promised to him. Princess Kaguya says to the old man as follows. 'If I accept the emperor's proposal':)

*mi-tukasa-kauburi=Ø   tukaumatur-i-te   [sin-u]=**bakari**=nar-i.*
HON-office-crown=ACC serve.HUM-LI-SUC die-NPST=extent=COP-NPST
LT: '(You will serve) an office crown and [(I) die] an extent is.'
FT: 'You will receive an official rank. Then the only thing left I can do is to die.'   (*Taketori*)

(66) (The splendor of this palace is just magnificent.)

[*kuzyaku aumu=no   tori=Ø   asob-a-nu*]=**bakari**=nar-i.*
peacock parrot=GEN bird=NOM play-LI-NEG.ADN=extent=COP-NPST
LT: '[Birds of peacocks and parrots do not play] an extent is.
FT: '(This palace is so magnificent that, if they were here) birds like peacocks and parrots would not stay on the ground and they would almost fly around.'   (*Utsuho: Fukiage jō*)

As noted above, the predicate of the Clause of the MMC with *=bakari* may be in the nonpast form or in an adnominal form. Also, the MMC with *=bakari* denotes degree/extent, limit, or situation. Koyanagi (1997) provides a detailed study of (i) the conjugational forms that may precede *=bakari* and (ii) the semantics of the sentences that contain *=bakari* and he concludes that there is no significant correlation between (i) and (ii).

We now turn to the marking of the subject of the Clause. In the MMC with the enclitic *=bakari*, the subject is absent in most instances; see (63) and (64). When the subject is present, it is marked by the nominative case (=Ø) in many instances, e.g. (6), and by the topic particle *=wa* in very few instances, e.g. (67). I have not found any example involving the emphatic topic particle *=mo* in the sources consulted.

(67) (A prince sends a message to his girlfriend: 'I would like to come to see you. Unfortunately, however, I have to go to a Buddhist temple for Buddhist training – sitting on a straw mat and preaching'. She replies: 'OK, then, I will come over'. She continues as follows.)

[*kimi=wa   tada   nori=no   musiro=ni*
lord＝TOP solely teachings.of.Buddha=GEN mat=DAT/LOC
piromu-Ø]=**bakari**=zo.*
spread-NPST=extent=FOC
LT: '[The lord only (sits) on a mat (and) spreads (the teachings of Buddha)] an extent is.'
FT: 'Your highness, you only need to sit on a seat and spread the teachings of Buddha.'   (*Izumi*)

7.3 Suffix-type MMC

The suffix-type MMC is not attested in OJ (700–800), while it is attested in EMJ (800–1200). EMJ has a number of suffixes that derived from nouns and that are attested in the Noun slot of the MMC. We shall look at the two most productive ones: *-ge* and *-gawo > -gao*, both 'appearance'.

The suffix *-ge* is derived from the noun *ke* 'appearance, feeling, sign, atmosphere, weather'. The suffix *-gawo > -gao* is derived from the noun *kawo > kao* 'face, surface, situation'. The noun *kao* is attested in the Noun slot of the word-type MMC, e.g. (47). (Note that these two suffixes have the voiced /g/, not the voiceless /k/.) Both suffixes are attached to the infinitive form of a verb (e.g. (6), (90)) or the stem of an adjective (e.g. (68) to (70), (81a), (82a)). The resultant forms are always followed the copula *=nar-*. (These suffixes are used in MSJ, too. They are added to the infinitive form of a verb or the stem of an adjective. See T. Tsunoda (2013: 142–143).)

These suffixes can occupy the Noun slot of the MMC. This MMC describes feeling, atmosphere (in particular, elegant/refined atmosphere), taste or the like. But this is difficult to reflect in the English translations of the examples. It may be that, like the enclitic *=bakari* 'extent, limit, situation' (7.2-[2]), these suffixes have some kind of stylistic effect. Examples include (6) (*-gawo*), and (68) to (70), (81a), (82a), (90) (*-ge*).

(68) (A boy picks up some flowers and presents them to Prince Genji.)
    [*pana=no   naka=ni   mazir-i-te, asagao   wor-i-te*
    flower=GEN inside=DAT/LOC join-LI-SUC morning.glory pick-LI-SUC
    mawir-u   podo=nado,   we=ni
    present-NPST.ADN extent=COMP picture=DAT/LOC
    kak-a-mawosi]-***ge**=nar-i.*
    draw-LI-OPT-appearance=COP-NPST
    LT: '[(I) would love to draw (a picture of) the extent {whereby (the boy) joins the inside of the flowers, picks morning glories and presents (them to Prince Genji)}] an appearance is.'
    FT: 'When I see the boy walking through flowers, picking morning glories and presenting them to Prince Genji, I would love to draw a picture of him.' (*Genji*: *Yūgao*)

In the suffix-type MMC, the subject of the Clause is followed by *=Ø* 'NOM', e.g. (6), (90), *=wa* 'TOP', e.g. (69), or *=mo* 'ETOP', e.g. (70).

(69) (An old nun has been sick.)
    [*ko=no   pito=wa   nawo ito   yowa*]-***ge**=nar-i.*
    this=GEN person=TOP still   very weak-appearance=COP-NPST
    LT: '[This person is still very weak] an appearance is.'
    FT: 'This person is still very weak.'   (*Genji: Tenarai*)

(70) ('A letter with a poem reached my daughter from her suitor.')
[*te=mo   ito   padukasi*]-**ge**=*nar-i=ya*.
handwriting＝ETOP very respectable-appearance=COP-NPST=ADM
LT: '[(His) handwriting is respectable] an appearance is.'
FT: 'His handwriting is splendid.'   (*Kagerō*)

MSJ has both -*ge* and -*gao*. But only -*ge* (not -*gao*) can occupy the Noun slot of the MMC (T. Tsunoda, 2013: 142–143). It has an evidential meaning: visual evidence. An example cited from T. Tsunoda (2013: 143), which was originally provided by Taro Kageyama (p.c.).

Modern Standard Japanese
(71) [*kare=wa mizu=o   nom-i-ta*]-**ge**=*da*.
he=TOP   water=ACC drink-LI-DESID-*ge*=COP.NPST
LT: '[He wants to drink water] -*ge* is.'
FT: 'He looks thirsty.'

Regarding MSJ, Kageyama (1993: 329–330) examines the behaviour of a number of derivational suffixes, including -*ge*, and he states to the effect as follows. Morphologically these suffixes form compound words. However, semantically, the scope of these suffixes is the entire phrase or the entire clause that precedes the suffix. According to this view, in (71), the scope of -*ge* is the clause in square brackets. Aoki (2010) endorses Kageyama's view and states that the same applies to EMJ. He gives four examples involving -*ge* (pp. 211–212) and eight examples involving -*gao* (pp. 209–210).

The two enclitics discussed in 7.2 and the two suffixes examined in 7.3 can be summarized as in Table 6.

Tab. 6: Two enclitics and two suffixes.

Etymology	Form in MMC	Meaning of MMC
(Chinese loan)	=*yau*	evidential: 'looks like', 'looks as if' (similitude) modal: uncertain conclusion
infinitive form of *pakar*- 'to measure'	=*bakari*	degree, extent, limit, situation, stylistic?
ke 'appearance, feeling, sign, atmosphere, weather'	-*ge*	(elegant/refined) feeling, atmosphere, taste, stylistic?
kawo > *kao* 'face, surface, situation'	-*gawo* > -*gao*	(elegant/refined) feeling, atmosphere, taste, stylistic?

7.4 Zero-type MMC

The zero-type MMC is not attested in OJ (700–800), while it is attested in EMJ (800–1200). In the zero-type MMC, the Noun slot is empty, indicated by -Ø. For the MMC of EMJ, it is important to set up the zero-type MMC. As noted in Section 1, the zero-type MMC seems uncommon crosslinguistically. Among the languages investigated in the present volume, the zero-type MMC is set up for only OEMJ and Kurux (Kobayashi in collaboration with Tsunoda, this volume, 5.3.3.5). (See T. Tsunoda (this volume-a. 2.3-[1]).)

In the zero-type MMC of EMJ, the predicate of the Clause occurs in an adnominal form only. As pointed out by Miyachi (2013), this MMC has various modal meanings, such as the following. (Katsumata (2014) makes a similar observation.) However, it may be more accurate to say that this MMC has discourse-related meanings, rather than modal meanings.

(a) Reason/cause or the background of a situation that the speaker observes, e.g. (72), (73), (93).
(b) Conclusion based on a certain reason, e.g. (7), (74).
(c) Focus: the kind of focus that would be expressed by the cleft construction: 'It is … that …', e.g. (75).

(72) (There is a vehicle here. The people in it are here to see the festival, obviously shunning the public eye.)
[*saiguu=no   on-papa   miyasudokoro=Ø, …, sinob-i-te*
princess=GEN HON-mother empress=NOM   conceal.oneself-LI-SUC
ide-tamaw-er-u]=**Ø**=*nar-i-ker-i.*
emerge-RESP-STAT-NPST.ADN=Ø=COP-LI-MPST
LT: '[The empress (, who is) the princess's mother, conceals oneself and emerges] Ø was.'
FT: 'The empress, who is the princess' mother, is here incognito to see the festival.'   (*Genji: Aoi*)

(73) (A man is travelling on a ship on a stormy sea. He offers *nusa* (a sacred paper object offered to gods) to the god of the sea, but the sea does not calm down. The boatman says to him, 'Because the god of the sea is not satisfied with *nusa*':)
[*mi-pune=mo   ik-a-nu*]=**Ø**=*nar-i.*
HON-ship=ETOP go-LI-NEG.ADN=Ø=COP-NPST
LT: '[The ship does not go] Ø is.'
FT: 'The ship does not move forward.'   (*Tosa*)

(74) (A prince proposes to Princess Kaguya, but he is assigned a very difficult task by her, i.e. to get gem balls that hang round a dragon's neck. He is nearly killed in this attempt, and he complains as follows.)
[*Kaguya-pime=tepu   opo-nusubito=no yatu=ga   pito=wo*
Kaguya-princess=COMP big-thief=GEN   fellow=GEN person=ACC
koros-a-m-u=to   su-r-u]=**Ø**=*nar-i-ker-i.*
kill-LI-CONJ=COMP do-LI-NPST.ADN=**Ø**=COP-LI-MPST
LT: '[A big thief fellow whom (people) call Princess Kaguya tries to kill persons] Ø was.'
FT: 'The big thief called Princess Kaguya tried to kill men (who proposed to her).'   (*Taketori*)

(Princess Kaguya is not a thief, but the prince abuses her by calling her a big thief.)

(75) ('We, the ladies-in-waiting who serve the empress, were tense, for we thought that supreme minister, who is her father, was coming to visit her. But we were relieved.')
[*Dainagon-dono=no*
chief.councillor-HON=GEN
mawiri-tamaw-er-u]=**Ø**=*nar-i-ker-i.*
visit.HUM-HON-STAT-NPST.ADN=**Ø**=COP-LI-MPST
LT: '[The Chief Councillor visited] Ø was.'
FT: 'It was the Chief Councillor who payed the visit.'   (*Makura*)

In the zero-type MMC, the Copula is almost always either in the nonpast form (=*nar-i*), e.g. (7), (73), (93), or the modal past form (=*nar-i-ker-i*), e.g. (72), (74), (75). This MMC is not used in adverbial clauses, and the Copula does not occur in any one of the non-finite forms that are used for adverbial clauses (e.g. infinitive, successive, conditional, concessive conditional).

The subject of the Clause may be followed by the nominative case marker =*Ø*, e.g. (72), the genitive marker =*ga*, e.g. (74), =*no*, e.g. (75), the topic marker =*wa*, e.g. (93), or the emphatic topic marker =*mo*, e.g. (73).

The Noun slot of this MMC is empty (-*Ø*). In MSJ, it is the enclitic =*no* that will correspond to the -*Ø* of the zero-type MMC (Kinsui et al. 2011). (The enclitic =*no* may be considered a non-content noun, a nominalizer, a complementizer or the genitive case marker.) The EMJ zero-type MMC and the MSJ MMC with =*no* overlap in their meanings. However, they differ in that the EMJ zero-type MMC cannot be followed by any sentence-final particle (Takayama 2002: 185), while the MSJ MMC with =*no* can. See T. Tsunoda (this volume-b, 5.1.4) for the MSJ MMC with =*no*. The diachronic development of the MMC with =*no* will be briefly discussed in 10-[3] below.

We examined the four types of the MMC of EMJ – the word type (7.1), the enclitic type (7.2), the suffix type (7.3), and the zero type MMC (7.4) – mainly regarding their semantic (or pragmatic) aspects, but also concerning their morphosyntactic aspects to some extent. We now investigate their morphosyntactic aspects in some more detail.

7.5 Copula of the MMC

As noted in Section 3, the copula was not well developed in OJ, but in EMJ it was well developed and fully inflected like other verbs, e.g. for tense, aspect and mood.

As noted in Section 6, the MMC of OJ involves the noun *mono* 'thing, person', and this noun is always followed by the focus particle *=so*. There is no example involving the copula. (*=so* became *=zo* in EMJ.)

In the MMC of EMJ, indeed there are examples that involve the focus particle *=zo* and that do not contain the copula. Examples include (30) (*mono=zo* 'thing/person=FOC'), (34) (*koto=zo* 'thing-FOC'), and (67) (*=bakari=zo* 'extent=FOC'). (These examples depart from the prototype of the MMC in that the Copula slot is not occupied by the copula; see (1).) However, the Copula slot is generally occupied by the copula. When the MMC is used as an independent sentence (to be precise, as a simple sentence or as the main clause of a complex sentence), the Copula generally occurs in the nonpast form *=nar-i* 'COP-NPST', but it is also attested in a few other conjugational categories.

The forms that are attested in the examples provided in the present work are listed below. First, we look at the categories with a finite use only and those with both a finite use and a nonfinite use. (The conjectural nonpast and the visual evidential nonpast are not shown in Table 3.)

(a) Finite use only
    (a-1) Nonpast (*=nar-i*), e.g. (4) to (7).
    (a-2) Modal past (*=nar-i-ker-i*), e.g. (42), (58), (62), (72), (74), (75).
    (a-3) Conjectural nonpast (*=nar-u-be-si*), e.g. (46).
    (a-4) Visual evidential nonpast (*=nan-mer-i*), e.g. (51), (55).
(b) Finite use and nonfinite use
    (b-1) Nonpast adnominal (*=nar-u*), e.g. (47), (79), (80a), (81a), (83).
    (b-2) Exclamatory (*=nar-e*), e.g. (88) to (90).

That is, when the MMC is used as an independent sentence, the Copula is generally attested in a finite form.

The above is the result of my search through the sources listed in 3.4. Regarding what I refer to as the EMJ MMC, Takayama (2002: 182–183) in effect states as follows. (He does not use the term "mermaid construction" (MMC).) In the structure

of "Noun=*nar-*" generally (including the word-type MMC and the zero-type MMC (ADN=Ø=*nar-*)) the modal past and the visual evidential forms are used frequently. Takayama's observation is similar to mine.

We now look at the categories with a nonfinite use only. (The visual evidential-given conditional is not shown in Table 3.) When the MMC is used in an adverbial clause, the Copula occurs in a nonfinite form.

(c) Nonfinite use only
    (c-1) Infinitive (=*ni*), e.g. (90a).
    (c-2) Successive (=*ni-te*), e.g. (48), (57).
    (c-3) Given conditional (=*nar-e-ba*), e.g. (43), (52), (56), (76), (96).
    (c-4) Given concessive conditional (=*nar-e-do*), e.g. (77).
    (c-5) Visual evidential-given conditional (=*nan-mer-e-ba*), e.g. (44).

(76) [*nagusame-gata-ki*]   **kesiki**=*nar-e-ba*
     comfort-hard-NPST.ADN appearance=COP-LI-GCOND
     kosirae-kane-tamaw-u.
     make-unable-RESP-NPST
     LT: '[Because (the lady) is difficult to comfort] an appearance is, (Prince Genji) cannot make.'
     FT: 'Because (the lady) looks so difficult to comfort, (Prince Genji) does not know what to do.'   (*Genji: Usugumo*)

(77) (The princess is lying sick in bed.)
     [*mono*=Ø   *oboe-zu*   *nar-i-ni-tar-u*]
     thing=ACC feel-NEG.INF become-LI-INCEP-STAT-NPST.ADN
     sama=*nar-e-do,*   *kawo*=*wa ito   yo-ku*
     appearance=COP-LI-GCCOND face=TOP very right-INF
     kakus-i-tamaw-er-i.
     hide-LI-RESP-STAT-NPST
     LT: 'Although [(she) has become not feeling things] an appearance is, (she) has hidden (her) face very well.'
     FT: 'Although she is not feeling right, she has hidden her face well (as a noble lady should).'   (*Genji: Agemaki*)

I note the following in passing. Takayama (2002: 185–188) in effect notes that the word-type MMC is attested in all of adnominal clauses, conditional clauses, causal clauses and concessive clauses, but that the zero-type MMC hardly ever occurs in a subordinate clause. My own search has produced a similar result. I have found no example of the zero-type MMC in any of these types of subordinate clauses.

7.6 Sentence-final particles

In the word-type MMC, the enclitic-type MMC and the suffix-type MMC, sentence-final particles (such as =*ya* 'exclamation, admiration', =*kasi* 'emphasis, confirmation' and =*yo* 'emphasis') are attested following a nonpast form of the copula, e.g. (70) (=*nar-i*=*ya*), (78) (=*nar-i*=*kasi*), and (79) (=*nar-u*=*yo*). *Nar-i* is the nonpast finite form, while *nar-u* is the nonpast adnominal form (Table 3). In contrast, in the zero-type MMC, they are not attested following the Copula. (As mentioned in 7.4, Takayama (2002: 185) states in effect that the zero-type MMC cannot be followed by any sentence-final particle.)

(78) [*mi*=*o*   *kokoro*=*to*=*mo*   *se-nu*]   ***arisama***=*nar-i*=*kasi.*
      body=ACC mind=COMP=ETOP do-NEG.ADN appearance=COP-NPST=EMPH
      LT: '[(I) do not do (my) body as (my) mind] an appearance is indeed.'
      FT: 'I am in a situation in which I cannot behave in the way I wish to.'
      (*Genji: Yadorigi*)

(79) (A woman is not happy with her life and wants to become a nun, but she
      cannot obtain her husband's approval. Later she learns that a few very close
      friends of hers became nuns, and she deplores her situation as follows.)
      [*samazama kokoroboso-ki*   *yononaka*=*no arisama*=*wo*   *yoku*
      various   helpless-NPST.ADN world=GEN   appearance=ACC thoroughly
      mi-sugus-i-tu-r-u]=***yau***=*nar-u*=*yo*
      look-pass-LI-PERF-LI-NPST.ADN=appearance=COP-NPST.ADN=EMPH
      LT: '[(I) have thoroughly overlooked (or, let go by) various hopeless
      appearances of the world] an appearance is.'
      FT: 'I feel/think that I have completely overlooked (or, let go by) various
      hopeless situations around me.'   (*Genji: Wakana ge*)

7.7 Embedding of an MMC in another MMC

An instance of the MMC may be embedded in another instance of the MMC. An example is the following.

(80)   (A woman is exaggerating her stepchild's outstanding ability.)
    [[*monogatari=ni kotosara=ni*
    story=DAT/LOC special=COP.INF
    tukuri-ide-tar-u]=**yau**=nar-u*]
    make-put.out-STAT-NPST.ADN=appearance=COP-NPST.ADN
    *on-**arisama**=nar-i.*
    HON-appearance=COP-NPST
    LT: '[[(The woman) makes this specially in a story] an appearance is]
    appearance is.'
    FT: 'The way the woman talks about her stepchild's ability is unnatural. It
    almost sounds like a story.'   (*Genji: Sakaki*)

The following part of (80) is an instance of the enclitic-type MMC. It contains the enclitic =*yau* 'appearance'. This MMC expresses similitude 'X looks like Y', 'It looks as if …' (an evidential meaning) or (ii) uncertain conclusion (a modal meaning) (7.2-[1]).

(80a) [*monogatari=ni kotosara=ni*
    story=DAT/LOC special=COP.INF
    tukuri-ide-tar-u]=**yau**=nar-u*
    make-put.out-STAT-NPST.ADN=appearance=COP-NPST.ADN
    LT: '[(the woman) makes this particularly in a story] an appearance is'
    FT: 'it looks like (the woman) makes (this) in a story'

In turn, (80a) is embedded in another MMC, and the embedded MMC constitutes the Clause of the embedding MMC. The embedding MMC is of the word-type and the Noun slot is occupied by the noun *arisama* 'situation, appearance'. This MMC has an evidential meaning: 'It appears/seems' (7.1-[3]).

Another example of embedding of an MMC in another MMC is the following. The embedded MMC contains an AC (shown with braces).

(81)   ('The Grand Councilor and another high-ranking officer are concerned about
    me and visit me. But I refrain from going out. I am considerate of other
    people's situations. However:')
    [[*ito* {*omo-u*}   *koto=Ø*   *na*]-**ge**=nar-u*]
    very think-NPST.ADN thing=NOM nonexistent-appearance=COP-NPST.ADN
    *mi-**kesiki**-domo=nar-i.*
    HON-appearance-PL=COP-NPST
    LT: '[[Things {that (they) think (about)} are very much nonexistent] an
    appearance is] appearances are.'
    FT: 'They do not seem to think a lot about other people's situation.'
    (*Murasaki*)

The following part of (81) is an instance of the suffix-type MMC. It contains the suffix *-ge* 'appearance', but this suffix is difficult to reflect in English translations (7.3).

(81a) [*ito* {*omo-u*}   *koto=Ø*
      very think-NPST.ADN thing=NOM
      na]-***ge***=*nar-u*
      nonexistent-appearance=COP-NPST.ADN
      LT: '[things {that (they) think (about)}] are very much nonexistent] an
      appearance is'
      Somewhat free translation: 'they do not think about things a lot'

In turn, (81a) is embedded in another MMC, and the embedded MMC constitutes the Clause of the embedding MMC. The embedding MMC is of the word-type and the Noun slot is occupied by the noun *kesiki* 'situation, appearance, atmosphere, expression on the face'. This MMC has an evidential meaning: 'It appears/seems' (7.1-[3]).
    An additional example:

(82) [[*pasiri-ki-tar-u*   *onna-go=Ø*], ... *imizi-ku* *oi-saki*   *mie-te,*
     run-come-STAT-NPST.ADN girl-child=NOM great-INF old-ahead see-SUC
     [*utukusi*]-***ge***=*nar-u*]   ***katati***=*nar-i.*
     pretty-appearance=COP-NPST.ADN shape=COP-NPST
     LT: '[The girl who ran and came], ... (I) see (her) future ahead greatly, [a
     pretty appearance is] a shape is.
     FT: 'The girl who ran to here – I can easily imagine how she will look when
     she grows up – looks very pretty.'   (*Genji*: *Wakamurasaki*)

The following part of (82) is embedded in another MMC. This part is divided into two parts, with the subordinate clause *imiziku oi-saki mie-te* intervening between them.

(82a) [*pasiri-ki-tar-u*   *onna-go=Ø*],
      run-come-STAT-NPST.ADN girl-child=NOM
      [*utukusi*]-***ge***=*nar-u*
      pretty-appearance=COP-NPST.ADN
      LT: '[the girl who ran and came], ... [a pretty appearance] is'
      FT: 'the girl who ran to here ... looks very pretty.'

In turn, (82a) is embedded in another MMC, and the embedded MMC constitutes the Clause of the embedding MMC. The embedding MMC is of the word-type and the Noun slot is occupied by the noun *katati* 'shape, figure, situation'. This MMC may have an evidential meaning: 'It/someone looks like ...' (7.1-[6]).

A further example is (90), where the embedded MMC is of the enclitic type (=*yau* 'appearance') and the embedding MMC is of the suffix type (-*ge* 'appearance').

At least three types of embedding of an MMC in another MMC are attested. They are shown in Table 7.

Tab. 7: Embedding of an MMC in another MMC.

Embedded MMC	Embedding MMC	Example
enclitic type	word type	(80)
suffix type	word type	(81), (82)
enclitic type	suffix type	(90)

Takayama (2002: 185–188) in effects states that what we have termed the zero-type MMC behaves differently. Namely, the zero type has yielded no example of embedding in another instance of the MMC.

I should also note that there is no example in which an MMC of the zero type is used as an adverbial clause. At least, the word type can be used as an adverbial clause. Thus, in (43) (*yowawi* 'age'), (52) (*kokoti* 'feeling') and (56) (*kuse* 'habit'), the MMC ends with the given conditional form of the copula (=*nar-e-ba*) and it forms a subordinate clause: 'As …' (causal).

7.8 Noun of the MMC

[1] Affixation

The nouns in the Noun slot are attested with two prefixes and one suffix.

(a) The honorific prefix *on-*, e.g. (33), (43), (51), (52), (56), (59), (80), (83).
(b) The honorific prefix *mi-*, e.g. (81).
(c) The plural suffix -*domo*, e.g. (59), (81).

(83) [*tura-ki*   *pito=simo=zo*   *aware=ni*
     hard-NPST.ADN person=FOC=FOC sensitive=COP.INF
     oboe-tamaw-u]   *pito=no*   *on-***kokorozama**=nar-u.
     think-RESP-NPST.ADN person=GEN HON-mind/nature=COP-NPST.ADN
     LT: '[(Prince Genji) thinks sensitively (of) people who are hard (on him)] a person's nature/mind is.'
     FT: 'Prince Genji, by nature, tends to be interested in people who are hard on him.'   (*Genji: Aoi*)

Consider *mi-kesiki-domo* 'HON-appearance-PL' in (81). Note that a noun (*kesiki* 'appearance') is combined with both a prefix (*mi-*) and a suffix (-*domo*).

It is interesting to note that, in (59) and (81), the noun in the Noun slot of the MMC is combined with the plural suffix *-domo*. I need to mention first that in EMJ, as in MSJ, the use of plural suffixes (*-domo*, *-tati*, *-ra*) is not obligatory and also that the predicate does not show number agreement. Now, it seems likely, though by no means certain, that the plural suffix *-domo* in (59) and (81) indicates that the subject is plural: Prince Sochi and Prince Genji in (59), and the Grand Councilor and another high-ranking officer in (81).

[2] Modification

A noun in the Noun slot may be modified by a preceding "Noun GEN", e.g. (83) (*pito=no* 'person=GEN'). Alternatively, *=no* can be interpreted as the adnominal form of the copula *=nar-*. (This interpretation is not shown in Table 3.) According to either interpretation, (83) is an instance of the MMC and the noun in the Noun is modified by the preceding *pito=no*.

The existence of the characteristics noted in [1] and [2] shows that these nouns still retain nounhood in these two respects. Among the nouns examined in 7.1, these two characteristics are observed in the nouns of [1] (*koto* 'thing' only), [3] 'situation, etc.', [6] 'shape, etc.', [7] 'act, etc.', [8] 'heart, etc.', [10] 'relationship'. These nouns in the main refer to humans.

In the MMC of MSJ, a noun in the Noun slot is attested with two honorific prefixes (*o-* and *go-*), but no suffixation is attested (T. Tsunoda, this volume-b, 7.3). Also, a noun in the Noun slot cannot be modified by any word (T. Tsunoda, this volume-b, 5.4.3). This suggests that the nouns in the Noun slot of the MSJ MMC have lost nounhood in this respect.

7.9 Predicate of the Clause

We shall look at the morphology of the predicate of the Clause.

7.9.1 Word-type MMC

The predicate of the Clause is in an adnominal form (7.1). Many of them are in one of the adnominal forms shown in Table 2 or Table 3. The following forms are attested in the examples provided in the present work.

Adnominal forms
(a) Verbs
    (a-1) Nonpast (C-*u*, V-*r-u*), e.g. (34) to (43), (51), (54), (55), (58), (77), (83), (92), (96).

(a-2) Conjectural (C-*a-m-u*, V-*m-u*), e.g. (30).

(a-3) Negative (C-*a-nu*, V-*nu*), e.g. (4), (29), (47) to (49), (52), (53), (57), (78), (88).

(b) Adjectives

(b-1) Nonpast (-*ki*), e.g. (31) to (33), (44), (45), (56), (59), (76), (84).

(c) Copula

(c-1) Nonpast (-*u*), e.g. (46), (50), (80), (81), (82).

(In (80), (81) and (82), the copula in question (=*nar-u* 'COP-NPST.ADN') occurs in the embedded MMC. See (80a), (81a) and (82a).)

The present work contains two adjective-forming suffixes that are attached to verbs: -*mazi*- 'NCONJ' and -*be*- 'NEC'. I tentatively consider them to be attached to nonpast forms. An example of -*mazi*- 'NCONJ' is in the following sentence, which is an instance of the word-type MMC (*mono* 'thing').

(84) [*ko=wo   tadune-r-aru-mazi-ki*]   ***mono***=*nar-i.*
     this=ACC ask-LI-RESP.NPST-NCONJ-NPST.ADN thing=COP-NPST
     LT: '[(You) may not ask this] a thing is.'
     FT: '(Your highness,) I suggest (you) do not ask me about this.'   (*Utsuho: Tadakoso*)

The predicate of the Clause in (84) contains the verb root *tadune*- 'ask' and the stem-forming suffix -*mazi*-. This suffix expresses negative conjecture, negative intention, inability, mild negative advice, or the like. It is glossed as 'NCONJ'. Examples of -*be*- 'NEC' are the following.

(31): *tukaw-u-be-ki* 'work-NPST-NEC-NPST.ADN'.
(44): *nar-i-nu-be-ki* 'become-LI-INCEP.NPST-NEC-NPST.ADN'.

The predicate of the Clause in (31) contains the verb root *tukaw*- 'work', and that in (44) the verb root *nar*- 'become'. The suffix -*be*- expresses conjecture, intention, necessity, advice, ability or the like. It is glossed as 'NEC'.

Words formed with -*mazi*- and those formed with -*be*- conjugate like adjectives (cf. Table 3), and (84), (31) and (44) are assigned to (b-1).

Also, there are compound verbs in the predicate of the Clause that consist of two verbs and whose second verb express respect or politeness. The second verb is in an adnominal form. They are assigned to (a-1).

(38): *makade-paber-u* 'leave.HUM-POL-NPST.ADN'.
(42): *nagame-tamaw-u* 'fall.into.thought-RESP-NPST.ADN'.
(83): *oboe-tamaw-u* 'think-RESP-NPST.ADN'.

7.9.2 Enclitic-type MMC

[1] MMC with =*yau* 'appearance'
The predicate of the Clause is in an adnominal form (7.2-[1]). The following forms are found in the examples provided in the present work.

Adnominal forms
(a) Verbs
    (a-1) Nonpast (C-*u*), e.g. (5), (79), (80a), (89), (90a).
    (a-2) Negative (V-*nu*), e.g. (61).
    (a-3) Conjectural (C-*a-m-u*), e.g. (60).
(b) Copula
    (b-1) Nonpast (-*u*), e.g. (62).

[2] MMC with =*bakari* 'extent'
The predicate of the Clause is in the nonpast form (a finite form) or an adnominal form (7.2-[2]). The following forms are found in the examples provided in the present work.

Finite form
(a) Verbs
    (a-1) Nonpast (C-*u*, V-Ø), e.g. (65), (67).
Adnominal forms
(a) Verbs
    (a-1) Nonpast (V-*r-u*), e.g. (64).
    (a-2) Negative (C-*a-nu*), e.g. (66).

7.9.3 Suffix-type MMC

The predicate of the Clause is the infinitive form of a verb or the stem of an adjective (7.3). The following forms are found in the examples provided in the present work.

Infinitive of a verb: (6), (90).
Stem of an adjective: (68) to (70), (81a), (82a).

The predicate of the Clause in (68) is *kak-a-maosi* 'draw-LI-OPT'. It contains the verb root *kak-* 'draw' and the stem-forming suffix *-maosi*. This suffix expresses wish, and it is glossed as 'OPT'. (*-a-* is a linking interfix.) Words with *-maosi* conjugate like adjectives (cf. Table 3). That is, in (68) the suffix *-ge* 'appearance' is added to an adjective stem.

7.9.4 Zero-type MMC

The predicate of the Clause is in an adnominal form (7.4). The following forms are found in the examples provided in the present work.

Adnominal forms
(a) Verbs
 (a-1) Nonpast (C-*u*, V-*r-u*), e.g. (72), (74), (75).
 (a-2) Negative (C-*a-nu*), e.g. (73).
(b) Adjectives
 (b-1) Nonpast (-*ki*), e.g. (7).

As seen above, the predicate of the Clause of the EMJ MMC has to be in an adnominal form in the word type and in the zero type. In the enclitic type, the predicate has to be in an adnominal form with *=yau* 'style', and either in an adnominal form or the past form with *=bakari* 'extent'. In the suffix type, the predicate is the infinitive form of a verb or the stem of an adjective. That is, adnominal forms are the most widely used as the predicate of the Clause. It is relevant to recall in this connection that there are a fair number of adnominal categories (cf. Tables 2 and 3).

8 Comparison of the MMC with other constructions

8.1 Introductory notes

We now compare the MMC of EMJ with other constructions. (The MMC of OJ appears to be at its incipient (cf. Section 6) stage and it is difficult to generalize about.) In particular, we shall examine the following two issues.

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

The structure of the prototype of the MMC was shown in (1). Superficially at least, it looks as if the prototypical MMC is bi-clausal. In some of the languages reported in the present volume, the Clause of the MMC looks similar to an adnominal clause ("AC") (or a relative clause) and consequently it looks as if the MMC is bi-clausal, with an AC as a subordinate clause. This applies to the MMC of EMJ. The predicate of ACs is in an adnominal form (cf. 4.2). The predicate of the Clause of the MMC must be, or can be, in an adnominal form in the word type, the enclitic type and the zero type.

However, languages such as Modern Standard Japanese ("MSJ") (T. Tsunoda, this volume-b, Section 6) and Korean (J. Kim, this volume, Section 6) yield evidence

that their MMC does not contain an AC and that it is syntactically mono-clausal. (See T. Tsunoda (this volume-a, 3.4).) In view of this, it is important to examine the two issues listed above.

For EMJ, we shall compare the following constructions.

(i)   Mono-clausal sentences (cf. 4.1).
(ii)   MMC, word type (cf. 7.1).
(iii) MMC, enclitic type, *=yau* 'appearance' (cf. 7.2-[1]).
(iv)   MMC, enclitic type, *=bakari* 'extent, limit, situation' of (cf. 7.2-[2]).
(v)   MMC, suffix type (cf. 7.3).
(vi)   MMC, zero type (cf. 7.4).
(vii) ACs (4.2).

It is necessary to consider mono-clausal sentences, not bi-clausal sentences, since one of the aims of this comparison is to examine the issue (b) listed above.

When we look at the MMC, we shall mainly be concerned with the Clause, but we also look at the entire MMC.

We shall compare the constructions listed above in terms of predicate morphology (8.5) and syntax (8.4, 8.6, 8.7, 8.8). The result of this comparison is shown in Table 8.

Before embarking on this comparison, it is necessary to outline a phenomenon called *kakarimusubi* (a kind of agreement) (8.2) and a special use of adnominal forms (8.3).

8.2 *Kakarimusubi* (Part 1)

EMJ exhibits a phenomenon called *kakarimusubi*. When a certain focus particle occurs in the sentence, the predicate has to occur in a certain form – an adnominal form or the exclamatory form. (See Frellesvig (2010: 247–257).) That is, this phenomenon may be considered a type of agreement: agreement between a focus particle and the predicate. Specifically, the following focus particles are employed: *=ka* 'doubted identity', *=ya* 'confirmation soliciting', *=zo* 'emphatic; identifying', *=namu* 'confirmative', and *=koso* 'unique identification'. They can be classified as follows.

(a) Interrogative: *=ka*, *=ya*
    =ka and *=ya* agree with an adnominal form.
(b) Emphatic: *=zo*, *=namu*, *=koso*
    (b-1) *=zo* and *=namu* agree with an adnominal form.
    (b-2) *=koso* agrees with the exclamatory form.

An example of =*namu* 'confirmative' is (85), cited from Frellesvig (2010: 254). The notation system, the glosses and the translation in (85) are Frellesvig's. Note that the predicate is in an adnominal form (MPST.ADN).

(85) *pasi   wo   yatu   watas-eru   ni   yorite   namu   yatupasi*
     bridge ACC eight lay-STAT.ADN DAT depend.GER NAMU Yatsuhashi
     to   ipi-keru
     COMP call-MPST.ADN
     'It is because there are eight bridges, you see, that it is called "Yatsuhashi"'
     (*Ise* 9) (cited from Frellesvig 2010: 254)

It is widely agreed upon that *kakarimusubi* concerns the main clause only, and it does not occur within ACs (Yamada (1908)). Focus particles do not occur within ACs.

8.3 Adnominal forms with an exclamatory meaning

In independent sentences, the predicate can be in any finite form, such as the nonpast form. Exceptionally, there are sentences that end with an adnominal form. They all have an exclamatory meaning. The subject in such sentences occurs in the genitive case. Examples include (86) (=*no* 'GEN') and (87) (=*ga* 'GEN').

(86) (Someone sees a ship sailing along very fast and says as follows.)
     tiwisa-ki   pune=no   tob-u=yau=ni-te   ku-r-u.
     small-NPST.ADN ship=GEN fly-NPST=style=COP-SUC come-LI-NPST.ADN
     A tentative LT: 'A small ship is coming in a flying style.'
     FT: 'A small ship is sailing along very fast, as if it were flying!'   (*Genji: Tamakazura*)

(87) (A princess catches a sparrow and keeps it. However, a girl called *Inuki* frees it. The princess is distressed. When asked by her grandmother, 'What has happened', she replies as follows.)
     suzume=no   ko=o   Inuki=ga   nigasi-tu-r-u.
     sparrow=GEN baby=ACC Inuki=GEN let.go-PERF-LI-NPST.ADN
     'Inuki has freed my baby sparrow!'   (*Genji: Wakamurasaki*)

We now compare the constructions listed in 8.1 in terms of five morphosyntactic criteria: *kakarimusubi* (8.4), predicate morphology (8.5), case marking of the subject (8.6), topic marking (8.7), and "One subject or two subjects?" (8.8).

8.4 *Kakarimusubi* (Part 2)

(i) Mono-clausal sentences
Kakarimusubi occurs. See 8.2.

(ii) MMC, word type
(iii) MMC, enclitic type, *=yau* 'appearance'
(v) MMC, suffix type

Kakarimusubi occurs in these types of MMC. Specifically, it occurs between a focus particle and the Copula. However, it does not occur between a focus particle and the predicate of the Clause. That is, it does not occur within the Clause.

As noted in 4.1, noun-predicate sentences may contain the copula *=nar-*. For *kakarimusubi*, they are attested with the focus particles of the group (b) "emphatic" (cf. 8.2): *=zo*, *=namu*, *=koso*. But there is no example involving the group (a) 'interrogative' *=ya* or *=ka* (Takayama 2002: 188). Exactly the same applies to the MMC.

Examples follow: (88) (word type: *kokoro* 'heart'), (89) (enclitic type: *=yau* 'appearance'), and (90) (suffix type: *-ge* 'appearance'). Each of them contains the focus particle *=koso* and the copula in the exclamatory form *=nar-e* 'COP-EXCL'; see 8.2-(b-2).

(88) [*karaauwi=Ø   pi=no   kage=ni   sitagaw-i-te*
    hollyhock=NOM sun=GEN light=DAT/LOC follow-LI-SUC
    katabuk-u=koso   kusa-ki=to   iw-u-be-ku=mo
    lean-NPST.ADN=FOC plant-tree=COMP say-NPST-NEC-INF=ETOP
    ar-a-nu]   **kokoro**=*nar-e*.
    be-LI-NEG.ADN heart=COP-EXCL
    LT: '[The hollyhock follows the light of the sun and leans (towards it), (you) should not call it a plant tree] a heart is.'
    FT: 'The hollyhock follows the sunlight and its flowers lean toward it. The hollyhock is sensible almost to the extent that you cannot call it a plant.'
    (*Makura*)

(89) (A lady visits her son, a prince, whom she has left under a nanny's care. She is really impressed to see how big her son has grown.)
    [*kokoti=koso kasira=Ø   siro-ku*
    feeling=FOC   head=NOM   white-INF
    nar-i-ni-tar-u]=**yau**=*nar-e*.
    become-LI-INCEP-STAT-NPST.ADN=appearance=COP-EXCL
    LT: '[(In my) feeling, (my) head has become white] an appearance is.'
    FT: 'I feel as if I have grown old.'   (*Utsuho: Kuniyuzuri*)

(90) (A prince does not send letters to a certain lady friend. This is because:')
    [[*pito=Ø   owasimas-i   kayo-u*]=**yau**=*ni=koso*
    person=NOM come.RESP-INF attend-NPST.ADN=appearance=COP.INF=FOC
    kikos-i-mes-i]-**ge**=*nar-e.*
    hear-INF-get(RESP)-INF-appearance=COP-EXCL
    LT: '[[(A person comes and attends) an appearance is], (the prince) hears]
    an appearance is.'
    FT: 'The prince seems to have heard that someone else seems to be visiting
    her.'   (*Izumi*)

In (90), an MMC is embedded in another MMC. The embedded MMC is the follow-ing. It is an instance of the enclitic-type MMC: *=yau* 'appearance'.

(90a) [*pito=Ø   owasimas-i*
     person=NOM come.RESP-INF
     kayo-u]=**yau**=*ni=koso*
     attend-NPST.ADN=appearance=COP.INF=FOC
     LT: '[a person comes and attends] an appearance is'
     FT: 'it looks like someone else is visiting her'

The embedding MMC is of the suffix type: *-ge* 'appearance'.

    The predicate of the Clause is an adnominal form ('be-LI-NEG.ADN') in (88), an adnominal form in (89) ('become-LI-INCEP-STAT-NPST.ADN'), and an infinitive form ('hear-INF-get(RESP)-INF') in the embedding MMC in (90). The focus particle employed in (88) to (90) is *=koso*, which agrees with the exclamatory form (and not an adnominal form); see 8.2-(b-2). Note that in each of (88) to (90) it is the Copula, and not the predicate of the Clause, that is in the exclamatory form. This shows that it is the Copula, and not the predicate of the Clause, that agrees with the focus particle *=koso*. That is, this agreement occurs in the entire MMC, but it does not occur within the Clause.

    I note in passing that I selected examples involving *=koso* on purpose. The rea-son for this is as follows. The predicate of the Clause has to be in an adnominal form in the word type (7.9.1) and the zero type (7.9.4), and it may be in an adnominal form in the enclitic type (7.9.2). When *=zo* or *=namu* is used in the MMC with *kakarimusubi*, the Copula is in an adnominal form; see 8.2-(b-1). That is, both the Copula and the predicate of the Clause may occur in an adnominal form. For example, consider (83), an instance of the word-type MMC; the Noun slot is occupied by *on-kokorozama* 'HON-mind/nature'. (83) is an instance of *kakarimusubi*. It contains *=zo*. The predi-cate of the Clause is in an adnominal form ('think-RESP-NPST.ADN'), but the Copula, too, is in an adnominal form ('COP-NPST.ADN'). When *=zo* is employed for *kakarimu-subi*, it is difficult to decide which adnominal form agrees with the focus particle. It is for this reason that I selected examples involving=*koso*, not *=zo* or *=namu*.

(iv) MMC, enclitic type, =*bakari* 'extent, limit, situation'
(vi) MMC, zero type
(vii) AC

These constructions do not exhibit *kakarimusubi*.

Katsumata (2014) in effect notes that *kakarimusubi* is absent in the zero-type MMC, as pointed by Miyachi (2013).

We have seen that in the MMC it is the Copula, and not the predicate of the Clause, that agrees with the focus particle =*koso*. In this respect, the Clause of the MMC does not have sentencehood. This shows that, in terms of *kakarimusubi*, not the Clause but the entire MMC behaves like mono-clausal sentences.

8.5 Predicate morphology

(i) Mono-clausal sentences

The predicate can be in any finite form, such as the nonpast form or the imperative form. Exceptionally, there are sentences that end with an adnominal form. They are of two types. First, in *kakarimusubi*, the predicate is either an adnominal form or the exclamatory form (cf. 8.2). Second, sentences can end with an adnominal form when they have an exclamatory meaning (8.3).

(ii) MMC, word type
(iii) MMC, enclitic type, =*yau* 'appearance'

The predicate of the Clause is in an adnominal form.

(iv) MMC, enclitic type, =*bakari* 'extent, limit, situation'

The predicate of the Clause is in an adnominal form or the nonpast form.

(v) MMC, suffix type

The predicate of the Clause is in the infinitive form of a verb or the stem of an adjective.

(vi) MMC, zero type
(vii) AC

The predicate of the Clause is in an adnominal form.

8.6 Marking of the subject

As noted in Section 3, in EMJ, the nominative case is generally marked by zero; the accusative by zero or =*o*; and the genitive by =*ga* or =*no* (cf. Table 1). Also, EMJ has the topic marker =*wa* and the emphatic topic marker =*mo*. The subject is marked as follows.

(i) Mono-clausal sentences
The subject is followed by the following, among others. The nominative marking is by far the most frequent.

(a) Sentences with an adnominal form with an exclamatory meaning
    (a-1) Case marker
        (a-1-1) Genitive, e.g. (86) (=*no* 'GEN'), (87) (=*ga* 'GEN').
(b) Other sentences
    (b-1) Case marker
        Nominative =∅, e.g. (8), (9).
    (b-2) Topic markers
        (b-2-1) Topic =*wa*, e.g. (10).
        (b-2-2) Emphatic topic =*mo*, e.g. (91).

(91) (For the context, see (7). When asked, 'Have you found the treasure?', the servant replies as follows.)
    mono=mo   na-si.
    thing=ETOP nonexistent-NPST
    'There is nothing.'   (*Taketori*)

(ii) MMC, word type
The subject of the Clause is generally followed by =∅ 'NOM', =*wa* 'TOP', or =*mo* 'ETOP'. It is followed by =*no* 'GEN' only in a very small number of examples. Again, the nominative marking is by far the most frequent. For the genitive case, =*no* is attested – though rarely –, but =*ga* is not attested.

(a) Case markers
    (a-1) Nominative =∅, e.g. (40) to (42), (45), (50), (52) to (54), (58), (88).
    (a-2) Genitive =*no* (but not =*ga*), e.g. (92).
(b) Topic markers
    (b-1) Topic =*wa*, e.g. (29), (31), (32), (39), (56).
    (b-2) Emphatic topic =*mo*, e.g. (35), (36), (57), (96).

(92) (These young ladies-in-waiting pay a visit to the prince regularly. However, recently they have been away from the imperial court for a few months, and it looks as if they have forgotten this duty and think that this is a new duty.)
[*wakaudo=tati=no   medurasi-Ø=to   omow-er-u*]
young.person=PL=GEN novel-NPST=COMP think-STAT-NPST.ADN
***kesiki**=nar-i.*
appearance=COP-NPST
LT: '[Young persons think (that this duty) is novel] an appearance is.'
FT: 'The young ladies-in-waiting seem to think that this is a new duty.'
(*Murasaki*)

(iii) MMC, enclitic type, *=yau* 'appearance'
The subject of the Clause is followed by *=Ø* 'NOM', e.g. (5), (60), (89), (90a), *=wa* 'TOP', e.g. (62), or *=mo* 'ETOP', e.g. (61).

(iv) MMC, enclitic type, *=bakari* 'extent, limit, situation'
The subject of the Clause is followed by *=Ø* 'NOM', e.g. (66), or *=wa* 'TOP', e.g. (67).

(v) MMC, suffix type
The subject of the Clause is followed by *=Ø* 'NOM', e.g. (6), (81a), (82a), *=wa* 'TOP', e.g. (69), or *=mo* 'ETOP', e.g. (70).

(vi) MMC, zero type
The following are attested. The genitive *=no* is more common than the genitive *=ga*, the nominative *=Ø*, the topic *=wa*, and the emphatic topic *=mo*. This situation differs from that in the word type and that in mono-clausal sentences.

(a) Case markers
    (a-1) Nominative *=Ø*, e.g. (72).
    (a-2) Genitive: both *=no* and *=ga* are attested. *=no* is common, e.g. (75), but *=ga* is not common, e.g. (74).
(b) Topic markers
    (b-1) Topic *=wa*, e.g. (93).
    (b-2) Emphatic topic *=mo*, e.g. (73).

(93) (Princess Kaguya is a noble person whose home is in the moon. However:)

    [*Kaguya-pime=wa*   *tumi=wo tukuri-tamap-er-i-ker-e-ba*   *kaku*
    Kaguya-princess=TOP sin=ACC make-RESP-STAT-LI-MPST-LI-GCOND thus
    iyasi-ki   onore=ga   moto=ni   sibasi
    humble-ADN yourself=GEN side=DAT/LOC temporarily
    opas-i-tu-r-u]**=Ø**=nar-i.
    be.RESP-LI-PERF-LI-NPST.ADN=Ø=COP-NPST
    LT: '[Princess Kaguya – because (she) committed a sin – has been staying at
    a side of yourself which is humble like this] is Ø.'
    FT: 'Princess Kaguya is temporarily staying at such a humble place like
    yours on the earth for punishment because she committed a sin on the
    moon.'   (*Taketori*)

    (vii) AC

As noted in 4.2, the subject of ACs is generally in the genitive case. Both *=ga* and *=no* are common. Examples include (13), (16) (*=no*), and (14) (*=ga*). Nonetheless, the subject may occur in the nominative case (*=Ø*) under limited conditions, e.g. (15).

8.7 Topic marking

As far as the subject is concerned, the use of the two topic markers is as follows. In the case of the MMC, we look at the subject of the Clause.

    (i) Mono-clausal sentences
    (ii) MMC, word type
    (iii) MMC, enclitic type, *=yau* 'appearance'
    (v) MMC, suffix type
    (vi) MMC, zero type
Both the topic marker *=wa* and the emphatic topic marker *=mo* are attested.

    (iv) MMC, enclitic type, *=bakari* 'extent, limit, situation'
=wa is attested, but *=mo* is not attested.

    (vii) AC
=wa and *=mo* may indicate topic (Oda 2015: 425), but they may also indicate something else, e.g. contrast. When they indicate topic, they do not occur in ACs. See (13) to (16). Nonetheless, they may occur in ACs when they indicate something else, e.g. contrast (Kinsui et al. 2011: 122).

8.8 One subject or two subjects?

It is convenient to start with ACs.

(vii) AC

A sentence that contains an AC may have two subjects. To be precise, a sentence that contains an AC of (17-a1) may have two overt subjects: the subject of an AC and the subject of the main clause. For example, (16) has two subjects: the subject of the AC is *riu=no* 'dragon=GEN', and the subject of the main clause is *payate=mo* 'gale=ETOP'.

(i) Mono-clausal sentences
(ii) MMC, word type
(iii) MMC, enclitic type, *=yau* 'appearance'
(iv) MMC, enclitic type, *=bakari* 'extent, limit, situation'
(v) MMC, suffix type
(vi) MMC, zero type

These constructions have only one subject. The MMC cannot have any subject in addition to the subject of the Clause. Recall that the Clause of the MMC is not the subject of the "Noun + Copula"; see (e) in Section 1.

8.9 Discussion

The result of the comparison conducted above can be summarized as in Table 8.

The criterion "Predicate morphology" concerns a morphological aspect, while the other criteria largely have to do with syntactic aspects.

In terms of "Predicate morphology", the Clause of the MMC is more similar to ACs than to mono-clausal sentences. Except for the suffix-type MMC, the predicate of the Clause has to be in an adnominal form – as in ACs – or can be in an adnominal form.

In terms of *kakarimusubi* (a kind of agreement), the MMC (to be precise, the entire MMC, not the Clause) behaves like mono-clausal sentences and unlike ACs, except that this phenomenon is not attested in the enclitic-type MMC with *=bakari* 'extent, limit, situation' or in the zero-type MMC.

In terms of "Case marking of the subject", except for the zero-type MMC, the MMC in the main behaves like mono-clausal sentences and unlike ACs.

In terms of "Topic marking", except for the zero-type MMC, the MMC behaves like mono-clausal sentences and unlike ACs.

In terms of "Two subjects", the MMC behaves like mono-clausal sentences and unlike ACs.

To sum up, in terms of the morphology of the predicate – the predicate of the Clause in the case of the MMC –, it may look as if the MMC contains an AC. That

Tab. 8: Comparison of the MMC with other constructions.

	Predicate
Mono-clausal sentences	any finite form (including the exclamatory form). exception: adnominal form (in *kakarimusubi* or with exclamatory meaning)
MMC, word type	adnominal form
MMC, enclitic type, *=yau* 'appearance'	adnominal form
MMC, enclitic type, *=bakari* 'extent'	adnominal form, nonpast form
MMC, suffix type	verb infinitive, adjective stem
MMC, zero type	adnominal form
AC	adnominal form

	kakarimusubi
Mono-clausal sentences	+
MMC, word type	+
MMC, enclitic type, *=yau* 'appearance'	+
MMC, enclitic type, *=bakari* 'extent'	−
MMC, suffix type	+
MMC, zero type	−
AC	−

	Case marking of the subject		
	=Ø 'NOM'	*=no* 'GEN'	*=ga* 'GEN'
Mono-clausal sentences	+	−	−
		+ (exceptions)	+
MMC, word type	+	+ (rarely)	−
MMC, enclitic type, *=yau* 'appearance'	+	−	−
MMC, enclitic type, *=bakari* 'extent'	+	−	−
MMC, suffix type	+	−	−
MMC, zero type	+	+	+
AC	+	+	+

	Topic marking		Two subjects
	=wa	*=mo*	
Mono-clausal sentences	+	+	−
MMC, word type	+	+	−
MMC, enclitic type, *=yau* 'appearance'	+	+	−
MMC, enclitic type, *=bakari* 'extent'	+	+	−
MMC, suffix type	+	+	−
MMC, zero type	+	−	−
AC	−*	−*	+

Legend: +: possible or attested; −: not attested; *: attested with a non-topic reading.

is, it may look as if the MMC is bi-clausal. However, in terms of syntax, the MMC behaves almost entirely like mono-clausal sentences. That is, syntactically the MMC should be considered mono-clausal, not bi-clausal.[2]

9 More on the MMC of EMJ

9.1 Compound predicate of the MMC

We saw in 8.9 that syntactically the EMJ MMC should be considered mono-clausal, not bi-clausal. Then, it should have just one predicate, not two predicates. It is important to investigate what structure the predicate has.

As noted in Section 5, for MSJ, T. Tsunoda (this volume-b, 6.2 to 6.9) gives eight pieces of evidence to show that the MSJ MMC is mono-clausal. In 6.11, he argues that the MSJ MMC has a compound predicate that consists of (i) the predicate of the Clause, (ii) the Noun and (iii) the Copula. See (2) above for the structure of this compound predicate. He gives two pieces of evidence to show that the predicate of the Clause, the Noun and the Copula jointly form a single unit.

First, T. Tsunoda states as follows: "when a noun is used in the Noun slot of the MMC, it cannot be modified by any word. This shows that syntactically the Noun and the preceding predicate of the Clause form a unit; they reject the intervention of any word". This argument does not apply to the EMJ MMC. As seen in 7.8-[2], a noun in the Noun may be modified by a preceding "Noun GEN".

Second, T. Tsunoda states as follows: "The copula in the Copula slot is an enclitic, and no word can intervene between it and the preceding Noun. That is, the Noun and the Copula form a unit." This argument applies to the EMJ MMC.

To sum up, there is evidence to say that in the EMJ MMC the predicate of the Clause, the Noun and the Copula jointly form a single unit – although the evidence is not so strong as the evidence for the MSJ MMC.

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2 Subsequent to Miyachi (2013), Katsumata (2014) scrutinizes what I call the EMJ MMC, although he does not use the term "mermaid construction" (MMC). Specifically, he compares the word-type MMC with *mono=nar-* 'thing=COP' (cf. 7.1-[1]-(a)) and the zero-type MMC with *=nar-* 'COP' (cf. 7.4). He concludes as follows. (i) In the MMC with *mono=nar-* 'thing=COP', *kakarimusubi* occurs. The subject is not marked by the genitive *=ga* or the genitive *=no*. In these two respects, the word-type MMC with *mono=nar-* 'thing=COP' behaves like verb-predicate sentences. (ii) In the zero-type MMC with *=nar-* 'COP', *kakarimusubi* does not occur. The subject may be marked by the genitive *=ga* or the genitive *=no*. (iii) In view of these two differences, the word-type MMC with *mono=nar-* 'thing=COP' and the zero-type MMC with *=nar-* 'COP' have different structures. Katsumata's observations are similar to mine in Miyachi (2013) and the present work.

9.2 Can the Clause be used as a sentence by itself?

One of the five properties of the prototype of the MMC, listed in Section 1, is the following.

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

We now examine whether the Clause of the EMJ MMC can be used as a sentence by itself. The situation varies among the types of the MMC.

[1] Word-type MMC, enclitic-type MMC with=*yau* 'appearance', and zero-type MMC
As seen in 8.5, the predicate of the Clause is in an adnominal form. Adnominal forms are generally used nonfinitely. There are two exceptional cases where an adnominal form is used finitely; see 8.2 and 8.3. However, such an adnominal form does not occur in the Clause of the MMC. That is, the Clause whose predicate is in an adnominal form cannot be used as a sentence by itself.

[2] Enclitic-type MMC with =*bakari* 'extent, limit, situation'
The predicate of the Clause is in an adnominal form or the nonpast form. The Clause cannot be used as a sentence by itself when its predicate is in an adnominal form, as seen in [1]. However, it can be used as a sentence by itself when its predicate is in the nonpast form.

[3] Suffix-type MMC
The predicate of the Clause is the infinitive form of a verb or the stem of an adjective. A sentence cannot end with the infinitive form of a verb or the stem of an adjective. Therefore, the Clause of this MMC cannot be used as a sentence by itself.

To sum up, the Clause of the EMJ MMC cannot be used as a sentence by itself, except for when the enclitic-type MMC with =*bakari* 'extent, limit, situation' has the nonpast form as its predicate. In this respect, the EMJ MMC is not prototypical. It does not have the property (d) of the prototype of the MMC, listed in Section 1.

9.3 Sentencehood of the Clause of the MMC

As seen in 9.2, generally the Clause of the EMJ MMC cannot be used as a sentence by itself. In this respect, the degree of its sentencehood is low. There are additional respects in which the degree of its sentencehood is low. Examples follow.

[1] Conjugational categories of the predicate (cf. Tables 1 and 2)
The predicate of the Clause of the MMC does not have some of the conjugational categories. As an example, evidential categories can – and often do – occur in independent sentences, e.g. (94) (-*mer*- 'visual evidential'), and ACs, e.g. (95) (-*nar*- 'reported evidential').

(94) *koromo=Ø   susuke-tan-mer-i.*
      clothes=NOM become.sooty-STAT-VEVID-NPST
      '(Your) clothes look sooty (and unclean).'   (*Makura*)

(95) *Kopata-yama=wa   {ito osorosi-kan-nar-u}*
      Kohata-mountain=TOP very horrifying-LI-REVID-NPST.ADN
      yama=zo=kasi.
      mountain=EMPH=EMPH
      'Mount Kohata (is) a mountain that is reported to be very horrifying.'
      (*Genji: Ukifune*)

However, evidential categories are generally absent in the Clause of the MMC. The only example I have found is the following. The predicate of the clause contains -*mer*- 'visual evidential'.

(96) ('This is a busy time of the year. People are busy. I thought that my husband was not coming to see me, so I slept alone.')
      [... *asi-ki=mo   yo-ki=mo   sawag-u-mer-u*]
      ... bad-ADN=ETOP good-ADN=ETOP be.busy-NPST-VEVID-NPST.ADN
      mono=*nar-e-ba,   pitori-ne=no   yau=ni-te   sugus-i-tu.*
      thing=COP-LI-GCOND alone-sleep=GEN style=COP-SUC spend-LI-PERF
      LT: '[As bad (people) too, good (people) too, look busy] a thing is, I spent time in an alone-sleep style.'
      FT: 'As everyone – whether they are of a low class or a high class – looked busy, I spent time, sleeping alone.'   (*Kagerō*)

As another example, hearer-oriented modal categories (e.g. the imperative) can occur in independent sentences, e.g. (97). However, they do not occur in the Clause of the MMC. (Nor can they occur in ACs.)

(97) *ware=ni   awi-tamaw-e.*
      I=DAT/LOC get.married.to-RESP-IMP
      'Please marry me.'   (*Yamato*)

[2] Sentence-final particles
EMJ has sentence-final particles, such as =*kasi* 'emphasis, confirmation', =*yo* 'emphasis', and =*ya* 'exclamation, admiration'. A sentence-final particle can occur in

independent sentences, e.g. (98). However, they do not occur in the Clause of the MMC. (Nor do they occur in ACs.)

(98) *ware=wa saiwawi=Ø   ar-i=kasi.*
      I=TOP   happiness=NOM exist-NPST=EMPH
      LT: 'As for me, happiness exists.'
      FT: 'I am a lucky person.'   (*Ochikubo*)

   [3] *Kakarimusubi*
Kakarimusubi (agreement between a focus particle and the predicate) occurs in independent sentences (8.2). However, it does not occur in the Clause of the MMC. It occurs in the entire MMC (8.4).

10 Diachronic notes on the MMC

As seen in Section 6, the MMC is at its incipient stage in OJ. However, it is flourishing in MSJ (T. Tsunoda, this volume-b). We shall trace this development just briefly. A full discussion of this issue is far beyond the scope of the present work. We shall look at two aspects of this development: [1] syntactic structure, and [2] nouns in the Noun slot. In [3], we shall attempt to investigate the causes of the abundance of the MMC in MSJ.

   [1] Syntactic structure
As just noted, in OJ (700–800) the MMC appears to be at its incipient stage and not established yet. There is no unequivocal example of the MMC. Possible examples allow both the AC analysis and the MMC analysis. Compare (22) and (23a); (24) and (25); and (26) and (27). In EMJ (800–1200), there are examples that allow both analyses, e.g. (29). At the same time, there are those that allow the MMC analysis but exclude the AC analysis, e.g. (30) and (31). In MSJ (1600–) (T. Tsunoda, this volume-b), the MMC is firmly established. There are a truly large number of examples that allow the MMC analysis but exclude the AC analysis. In view of this it is probably in EMJ that the MMC began to be established – as a construction distinct from noun-predicate sentences whose predicate contain an AC.

   It is relevant to mention that, since the time of OJ, sentences that end with a noun (often followed by the copula) have been very common (Yamada 1908: 818–827, 1217–1289). This may have facilitated – partially at least, if not totally – the development of the MMC from noun-predicate sentences whose predicate contains an AC (cf. Section 5).

[2] Nouns in the Noun slot

The number of the nouns that are attested in the Noun slot of the MMC is only one in OJ (700–800). But it increased to thirty-four in EMJ (800–1200), and at least 121 in MSJ (1600–) (T. Tsunoda, this volume-b, Section 1). Therefore it is in EMJ that the number began to increase.

That is, in terms of both the syntactic structure and the number of nouns employed, it is probably in EMJ that the MMC began to develop.

The presence of loan words is conspicuous in the MMC of languages such as MSJ, Korean and Tagalog (T. Tsunoda, this volume-a, 3.1.3.3). Regarding Japanese in general, and not confining our attention to the MMC, loans from Chinese were initially used in the written language only, but especially in the first half of the EMJ period (800–1200) the majority of them gained currency in the spoken language (Frellesvig 2010: 284). From the time of Late Middle Japanese (1200–1600) an increasing number of Chinese loans were used that express abstract concepts or superordinate categories (as against subordinate-level categories).

Now, regarding the MMC, in OJ, no loan word is attested in the Noun slot. In EMJ, four out of the thirty-four nouns (i.e. about 11 %) are loans from Chinese: *kesiki* and *kewawi* both 'situation, appearance' (7.1-[3]), *zae* and *ponzyau* both 'ability, personality, one's true nature' (7.1-[9]). In addition, one of the two enclitics (i.e. 50 %) is a loan from Chinese: =*yau* 'appearance' (7.2-[1]). That is, five out of the total of thirty-six (i.e. about 14 %) are loans from Chinese. In the MMC of MSJ, the 121 nouns attested in the Noun slot consist of close to sixty native Japanese words, close to sixty loans from Chinese, and four loans from English. That is, about 50 % are loans from Chinese. See T. Tsunoda (this volume-b, 5.1.2). (It should be added, however, MSJ on the whole abounds with loans from Chinese and also with those from English.)

[3] Why does the MMC abound in Modern Standard Japanese?

The number of the nouns in the Noun slot in MSJ, i.e. 121 (according to T. Tsunoda (this volume-b)), has roughly speaking centupled since the time of OJ (700–800) and quadrupled since the time of EMJ (800–1200). In MSJ, the MMC flourishes, exhibiting a wide range of meanings, including modal, evidential, aspectual, temporal, stylistic and discourse-related meanings (T. Tsunoda, this volume-b, 5.1.2). The MMC is perhaps most productively and most frequently used in MSJ, among the languages studied in the present volume (and possibly among all the languages of the world). It is tempting to enquire why MSJ abounds with the MMC. On the basis of works such as Aoki (2005), Horie & Pardeshi (2009: 152–153) and Shida (1970), the following scenario can be postulated concerning the increase of the nouns in the Noun slot.

(a) In OEMJ, verbs and adjectives had adnominal forms, which were distinct from those forms which had a finite use only. See Tables 2 and 3.

(b) Towards the end of the 12th century (i.e. towards the end of the EMJ period), with verbs and adjectives, the adnominal forms began to oust the corresponding finite forms. For example, the nonpast adnominal form began to oust the finite nonpast form. Kinsui et al. (2011: 110) surmise that this ousting was completed in the spoken language of the capital area, i.e. Kyoto, in the 15th century. (In MSJ, only adjectival nouns (cf. Section 3) retain the opposition between the nonpast adnominal form and the finite nonpast form.) This ousting occurred in the predicate of the Clause of the MMC, too.

(c) After this ousting, the enclitic =*no* (which may be considered a non-content noun, a complementizer, a nominalizer or the genitive marker) began to be used as the head of what was headless ACs (cf. 4.2-(c)) previously and also in place of zero in the Noun slot of the zero-type MMC. (That is, the zero-type MMC went out of use.)

(d) In parallel with this, an increasing number of nouns began to be used in the Noun slot. As a result, the number of the nouns that occupied the Noun slot has been multiplied, from thirty-four in EMJ to at least 121 in MSJ.

Admittedly, it is difficult to prove the cause-and-effect relationship from (b) (the ousting of the corresponding finite forms) to (d) (the increase of the nouns in the Noun slot). Aoki (2011) in effect attempts to account for this as follows. (He does not use the term mermaid construction ("MMC").)

"Due to this ousting, the adnominal form in the structure "Adnominal + Noun" began to be re-analyzed as the predicate of the entire sentence. It is because of this that the MMC is fully developed in MSJ, in comparison with OEMJ."

However, Aoki's view does not really account for the increase of the nouns in the Noun slot. For example, in Korean, verbs have a rich array of distinct adnominal forms, as distinct from the corresponding finite forms. According to Aoki's view, Korean would not be expected to have a developed MMC. However, contrary to what his view would predict, Korean has a highly developed MMC. About 80 nouns are attested in the Noun slot of the MMC (J. Kim, this volume, Section 1). In line with Miyachi (2013), Katsumata (2014: 70, Note 12) states in effect that Korean has the MMC despite the presence of the opposition between adnominal forms and the corresponding finite forms.

At least, the following point may be relevant. Namely, many loan words from Chinese began to be used in the Noun slot of the MMC. (They are still used in the MMC. See T. Tsunoda (this volume-b).) Often, they can express somewhat abstract concepts that native Japanese words cannot express precisely. This in turn facilitates the expression of various meanings, including modal, evidential, aspectual, temporal, stylistic and discourse-related meanings. Partially at least, if not totally, this may account for the increase in the use of Chinese loans in the Noun slot of the MMC.

11 Summary and concluding remarks

Japanese has written records that show how the MMC may originate and develop. (See T. Tsunoda (this volume-a, 5.5) for a discussion of this issue.)

In OJ (700–800), the MMC appears to be at its incipient stage. Only one noun is attested in the Noun slot: *mono* 'thing, person'. This noun is followed by the focus particle *=so*. This MMC has a modal meaning: 'be bound to' (epistemic) or 'should (obligation)' (deontic). Its syntactic structure is not established yet. Possible examples allow both the AC analysis and the MMC analysis. It seems likely that the Japanese MMC originated from such sentences.

In EMJ (800–1200) the MMC began to be established. Thirty-four nouns are attested in the Noun slot. There are examples that allow the MMC analysis but exclude the AC analysis. In addition, the copula *=nar-* is fully developed, and now the Copula slot of the MMC is filled. (In MSJ, at least 121 nouns are attested in this slot. Their number has been quadruplicated during the last 800 years.)

The MMC in EMJ is of four types: word type, enclitic type, suffix type, and zero type. The word type is used the most frequently. Some of the nouns in the Noun slot exhibit nounhood in that they may be combined with a prefix or a suffix, and in that they may be modified by a genitive phrase. For the Noun slot of the enclitic type, only two enclitics are attested. For the suffix type, two suffixes were examined. In the zero type, the Noun slot is empty. These four types of the MMC have various meanings, such as modal, evidential, aspectual, temporal, discourse-related, and possibly stylistic.

The zero-type MMC seems uncommon crosslinguistically. Among the languages investigated in the present volume, it is reported only from OEMJ and Kurux (a Dravidian language of east India).

Regarding the EMJ MMC, in terms of predicate morphology, it may look as if the MMC contains an AC. That is, it may look as if the MMC is bi-clausal. However, in terms of syntax, the MMC behaves almost entirely like mono-clausal sentences. That is, syntactically the MMC should be considered mono-clausal, not bi-clausal. There is some – though not robust – evidence that the predicate of the Clause, the Noun and the Copula jointly form a single unit, constituting a compound predicate.

Generally, the Clause cannot be used by itself as a sentence, and the MMC is not prototypical. Also, in terms of sentencehood, the Clause does not have some of the properties that independent sentences have.

Finally, the present chapter provided some tentative diachronic notes on the development of the MMC of Japanese.

As shown above, the MMC in OJ and EMJ provides invaluable data on how the MMC may originate and develop.

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

ABL = ablative; AC = adnominal clause; ACC = accusative; ADM = admiral; ADN = adnominal; C = consonant; CAUS = causative; COM = comitative; COMP = complementizer; CONJ = conjectural; COP = copula; DAT = dative; DESID = desiderative; EMJ = Early Middle Japanese; EMPH = emphasis; ETOP = emphatic topic; EXC = exclamatory; FOC = focus; FT = free translation; GCCOND = given concessive conditional; GCOND = given conditional; GEN = genitive; GER = gerund; GNF = general nonfinite; HON = honorific; HUM = humble; IMP = imperative; INCEP = inceptive; INF = infinitive; ITE = iterative; LI = linking interfix; LOC = locative; LT = literal translation; MMC = mermaid construction; MPST = modal past; MSJ = Modern Standard Japanese; NCONJ = negative conjectural; NEC = necessitive; NEG = negative; NOM = nominative; NPST = nonpast; OEMJ = Old and Early Middle Japanese; OJ = Old Japanese; OPT = optative; PASS = passive; PERF = perfective; PL = plural; POL = polite; POSSIB = possibility; PST = past; RES = restrictive; RESP = respect; REVID = reported evidential; SPST = simple past; STAT = stative; SUC = successive; TOP = topic; V = vowel; VEVID = visual evidential; Vi = intransitive verb; Vt = transitive verb.

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5 Irabu Ryukyuan

1 Introduction

Tsunoda (this volume-a, 2.1) proposes that the prototype of the mermaid construction (hereafter "MMC") has all of the following five properties.

(a) The structure is as shown in (1) – superficially at least.
(b) The Noun is an independent word (not a clitic) that is a noun.
(c) The subject of the Clause and the Noun are non-coreferential.
(d) The Clause can be used as a sentence by itself.
(e) The Clause is not the subject of the "Noun + Copula".

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

In the prototypical MMC, the Noun slot of the MMC is occupied by a noun that is an independent word. In non-prototypical instances, it may be occupied by an enclitic or a suffix which derives from a noun. Nouns, enclitics and suffixes in the Noun slot may also be nominalizers. (See Tsunoda (this volume-a, 2.3-[1]).)

Tsunoda (this volume-a, Section 1 and 2.1) notes as follows. Superficially at least, it looks as if the MMC contains a subordinate clause and is bi-clausal. However, languages such as Modern Standard Japanese (Tsunoda, this volume-b, Section 6) and Korean (Kim, this volume, Section 6) provide ample evidence that syntactically their MMC is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal, despite its superficial appearance (shown in (1)). Their MMC has just one predicate, not two predicates, and the predicate is a compound predicate that consists of the predicate of the Clause, the Noun and the Copula, as shown in (2).

(2) [... predicate of Clause]   Noun   Copula.
                compound predicate

Irabu Ryukyuan (henceforth "Irabu") has three types of the MMC: the word type, the clitic type, and the affix type.

[1] Word-type MMC
The Noun slot is occupied by a noun which is an independent word, e.g. *kutu* 'fact, thing', *gumata* 'plan', and *munu* 'thing, person'. The predicate of the Clause is in an adnominal form. The MMC with *kutu* expresses (i) a deontic modal meaning 'should; be supposed to', or (ii) future 'will'. That with *gumata* has a future mean-

ing 'will' – to be precise, anticipated future; its tentative translation is 'be scheduled to do'. That with *munu* has a causal meaning: 'because'.

[2] Clitic-type MMC
The Noun slot is occupied by an enclitic, which is attached to the predicate verb of the Clause, which is generally in an adnominal form. The MMC with *=su(u)* 'person, man, thing', for example, denotes a tag-question-like meaning or an evidential modal meaning ('It seems'), and the MMC with *=paz* has an epistemic modal meaning: 'maybe'.

[3] Affix-type MMC
The Noun slot is occupied by the verbal inflectional suffix *-kutu* or *-gumata*, which attaches to the root or the stem of the predicate verb of the Clause. The suffix *-kutu* is a grammaticalized form of the noun *kutu* 'fact, thing', and the MMC with *-kutu* has the same range of meanings as that of the MMC with the noun *kutu*: 'should, be supposed to' (deontic) and 'will' (future). The suffix *-gumata* is a grammaticalized form of the noun *gumata* 'plan', and the MMC with *-gumata* has the same meaning as that of the MMC with the noun *gumata*: future (to be precise, anticipated future). A verb inflected with *-kutu* or *-gumata* may further be followed by the copula verb, demonstrating that each of these suffixes still occupies the Noun slot even when it is now part of the verb morphologically.

The word type conforms to the prototype of the MMC depending on the noun involved. Thus, the MMC with *kutu* 'fact, thing' and that with *gumata* 'plan' have all of the five properties listed above. However, the MMC with *munu* 'thing, person' cannot take the copula (cf. (1)), and in this respect it departs from the prototype of the MMC. This fact in turn indicates that *munu* is grammaticalized to the point where it can be analysed as a sentence-final particle. The clitic type and the affix type do not conform to the prototype. For example, the Noun slot is not occupied by a noun that is an independent word. Nonetheless, the affix type serves as an interesting example of grammaticalization associated with the MMC.

As shown above, Irabu demonstrates all three possibilities with regard to the grammaticalization path of the Noun: independent word, enclitic and suffix. Note in particular the following grammaticalization path:

kutu 'fact, thing' (noun) →
kutu 'should; be supposed to; will' (noun) in the word-type MMC →
-kutu 'should; be supposed to; will' (verbal inflectional suffix) in the affix-type MMC

The noun *gumata* 'plan' and the verbal inflectional suffix *-gumata* 'future' exhibit a parallel grammaticalization process.

Grammaticalization of a noun into a verbal inflectional suffix appears to be uncommon crosslinguistically.

2 Initial illustration

As an initial illustration, three examples are given. The Noun slot is occupied by a noun (an independent word) in (3), by an enclitic in (4), and by a suffix in (5). The Clause is indicated with square brackets, and the element in the Noun slot is shown in bold face.

(3) [*vva=ga nkai-r*] ***kutu**=du jar-Ø*.
    2SG=NOM pick.up-ADN.NPST fact/thing=FOC COP-ADN.NPST
    'You should pick up (your child).'

(4) [*kai=ga=du sac=n idi-r*]=***paz***.
    3SG=NOM=FOC first=DAT go.out-ADN.NPST=maybe
    'S/he may go first.'

(5) [*vva=ga nkai*]-***kutu**=du jar-Ø*.
    2SG=NOM pick.up-OBL/FUT=FOC COP-ADN.NPST
    'You should pick up (your child).'

3 Profile of the language

3.1 The language and its speakers

Irabu is a northwest variety of the Miyako Ryukyuan language, which belongs to the Southern Ryukyuan group of the Ryukyuan branch of the Japonic language family. All Ryukyuan languages are in an imminent danger of extinction. The number of Irabu speakers is estimated to be approximately 2,500 (Shimoji 2008). There are detailed reference grammars of Irabu (Shimoji 2008, 2017, 2018). Like most other Ryukyuan languages, Irabu has no written tradition. The data used in this study is thus based on the spoken language.

Irabu has five sub-varieties, i.e. Irabu, Nakachi, Kuninaka, Nagahama, and Sawada. Our focus is on Nagahama. To the best of my knowledge, there is no major dialectal difference with regard to the types of the MMC and the relevant features of each type, except for one point: the affix-type MMC does not seem to be attested in the Irabu and Nakachi sub-varieties.

3.2 Phonology

Irabu has five vowel phonemes /a, i, u, e, o/, and eighteen consonant phonemes /p, t, k, b, d, g, f, v, s, (h), c [ts], z [dz], m, n, ž [z], r, w, j/. The phoneme /ž/ will be written as *z* in practical orthography.

A basic understanding of the word-level prosody of Irabu is essential in examining the grammaticalization of the elements of the MMC, which will be dealt with in Section 5.

Irabu has no lexical accent. The word-level prosody is characterized by a foot-based alternating rhythm of tone features (/H/ vs. /L/). The domain in which foot building and tone assignment occur is defined as a phonological word. A phonological word is generally a morphosyntactic word plus a whole number of clitics (see Shimoji 2009 for details).

Foot building is based on the moraic structure. In Irabu, any light syllable is monomoraic, whereas a coda (as in /r/ of *par* 'needle'), a geminated onset (as in the first /f/ of *ffa* 'child'), the second component of a long vowel/consonant or a diphthong, and a syllabic consonant (e.g. /m/ of *m.ta* 'mud') have one mora each. Thus, the monosyllabic word *ssair* 'get to be known' (CCVVC) has four morae.

A foot is bimoraic or trimoraic. A phonological word must have at least one foot. If a monomoraic morpheme occurs as a phonological word, then it undergoes obligatory lengthening, as in *r-* 'enter' (root) > *rr* 'enter' (non-past adnominal). Within a phonological word, two or three adjacent morae form a foot. Binary footing is default, and ternary footing is marked. Footing proceeds from left to right exhaustively in each phonological word. Ternary footing occurs in either of the following two cases. First, if the default binary footing results in one stray mora finally, the stray is integrated as part of the preceding binary foot, as in *tunuka* 'egg' > (tunuka) and *banckira* 'guava' > (ban)(ckira). Second, a polymoraic morpheme (or allomorph) always commences a foot, and this may give rise to a stray on the part of the host to which the morpheme is attached. The stray is avoided by ternary footing, as noted above: *uttu* 'younger sibling' + *-gama* (diminutive) > uttu(gama) > (ut)tu(gama) > (uttu)(gama); *banckira* 'guava' + *-nagi* (approximative) > (ban)(cki)ra(nagi) > (ban)(ckira)(nagi).

On the basis of the pre-existing foot structure generated by the above-mentioned rule, tone is assigned by a rhythmic rule. The rhythmic rule states that (i) word-initial foot is always assigned /H/ tone, (ii) word-final foot is always toneless (/L/), and (iii) the other feet within a phonological word have an alternate rhythm of /H/ while satisfying (i) and (ii). Thus, (ban)(ckira)(nagi) 'guava, etc.' is assigned the tonal pattern of (H)(L)(L) rather than (H)(L)(H), the latter of which would violate (ii). On the other hand, (ban)(ckira)(nagi)(mai) 'guava, etc., too' (where the clitic =*mai* 'too' is further attached) is assigned the tonal pattern of (H)(L)(H)(L), with the first and third feet bearing /H/ tone to satisfy (iii).

3.3 Morphosyntax

Irabu is a verb-final language with SV/AOV being the most common and unmarked word orders. In a noun phrase, the modifiers (e.g. adjective and adnominal clause ("AC")) precede the head noun. Irabu has a largely agglutinating morphology, but there is some fusion in the verbal inflectional morphology. Most affixes and clitics are suffixes and enclitics, respectively. Irabu has a dependent-marking system.

Nouns do not inflect. Case is indicated by a case enclitic. Irabu has the nominative-accusative case system. Both A and O arguments are marked. The nominative case is marked by the enclitic *=nu* or *=ga*. (The choice is based on the animacy/definiteness of the NP to which the clitic is attached; see Shimoji (2008, 2017: 141–142)). The accusative case is indicated by the enclitic *=Cu* or *=Ca* (/C/ is morphophonologically determined). Whereas *=Cu* is an unmarked choice for O arguments, *=Ca* only occurs in clause-chaining constructions, and its function is still unclear.

The inflectional morphology of verbs is characterized by marking of (i) syntactic dependency (i.e. whether the verb heads an independent clause) and (ii) finiteness (tense-mood marking). Verbs have the following forms.

(a) Independent forms, which inflect for tense and/or mood.
(b) Adnominal dependent forms, which are tensed.
(c) Adverbial dependent forms (or converbs), which are tenseless.

There are two major conjugation classes: Class 1 and Class 2. Table 1 shows a portion of the inflection of verbs.

The two classes of verbs are phonologically determined. If the stem ends in /i/, then it is a Class-1 verb, e.g. *ibi-* 'plant' in Table 1. Otherwise, the stem belongs to Class 2 (or one of other minor conjugation classes which I do not mention in this chapter). There are two crucial differences between the two classes. First, Class 1 and Class 2 take differing inflectional endings for the imperative (*-ru* for Class 1 and *-i* for Class 2) and the non-past adnominal inflection (*-r* for Class 2 and *-Ø* for Class 2). Second, Class-2 verb stems may carry the thematic suffix (stem extender) ("THM") *-a* or *-i* to further carry certain inflectional endings.

A Class-2 verb stem may be changed into a Class-1 stem by attaching a derivational affix ending in /i/. Thus, if the Class-2 verb stem *jum-* 'read' is followed by the passive-potential affix *-rai*, for example, the derived stem *jum-ai* (where /r/ is deleted) is a Class-1 stem, and thus carries *-r* for non-past adnominal inflection (*jum-ai-r* 'be read', not **jum-ai*).

Independent forms (see (a) and (b) in Table 1) can occur as the predicate of independent sentences. They comprise (a) irrealis forms, such as the intentional (e.g. *ibi-di* 'will plant', *ibi-djaan* 'will not plant'), the imperative (*ibi-ru* '(you) plant'), the optative (e.g. *ibi-baa* 'want to plant'), which express future-oriented

Tab. 1: Partial paradigm of verbs.

	Class 1 *ibi-* 'plant'	Class 2 *jum-* 'read'
(a) Independent: irrealis	**stem-mood**	**stem-THM-mood**
intentional	*ibi-di*	*jum-a-di*
negative intentional	*ibi-djaan*	*jum-a-djaan*
imperative	*ibi-ru*	*jum-Ø-i*
optative	*ibi-baa*	*jum-a-baa*
obligative/future	*ibi-kutu*	... [1]
future (anticipated future)	*ibi-gumata*	... [2]
(b) Independent: realis	**stem-tense-mood**	**stem-tense-mood**
non-past	*ibi-r-m*	*jum-Ø-m*
past	*ibi-ta(r)-m*	*jum-ta(r)-m*
(c) Dependent: adnominal	**stem-tense**	**stem-tense**
non-past	*ibi-r*	*jum-Ø*
past	*ibi-ta(r)*	*jum-ta(r)*
(d) Dependent: converbal	**stem-CVB**	**stem-THM-CVB**
conditional 1/causal	*ibi-(ri)ba*	*jum-i-(ri)-ba*
conditional 2	*ibi-tigaa*	*jum-Ø-tigaa*
negative	*ibi-da*	*jum-a-da*
negative conditional	*ibi-dakaa*	*jum-a-dakaa*
sequential	*ibi-i*	*jum-i-i*
simultaneous	*ibi-ccjaaki*	*jum-Ø-ccjaaki*
purposive	*ibi-ga*	*jum-Ø-ga*

[1], [2] The forms *jum-kutu* and *jum-gumata* would be expected. However, there is no evidence that Class-2 verbs have a form that contains the suffix *-kutu* or *-gumata*. See 5.4.2 and 5.4.4.

modal meanings (with no overt marking of tense), the obligative/future (e.g. *ibi-kutu* 'should plant; will plant'), and the future (to be precise, anticipated future) (e.g. *ibi-gumata* 'be scheduled to plant'), and (b) realis forms, which express the speaker's perceived certainty (with an overt marking of tense). Dependent verbs comprise (c) adnominal forms and (d) converbs (see (c) and (d) in Table 1). Adnominal forms are marked for tense only, whereas converbs are tenseless. Adnominal forms can be used as the predicate of adnominal clauses (cf. 4.2). In additional, they can occur as the predicate of independent sentences (4.1.1). Converbs only occur as predicates of adverbial or chained clauses. Unlike most other Miyako Ryukyuan dialects, such as Hirara, independent realis forms and adnominal forms are formally distinct in Irabu, with the former additionally carrying the realis mood affix *-m*.

If a verb only inflects for tense, then it is identified as an adnominal form, as in *jum-tar* (read-ADN.PST) 'read'. If a verb inflects for tense and mood, then it is identified as a realis form, as in *jum-ta-m* (read-PST-RLS) 'read'.

3.4 Topic and focus

Irabu has a rich inventory of topic markers and focus markers. They are all clitics that phonologically attach to the last word of the host phrase. There is a distributional constraint on topic markers and focus markers which is relevant to the main body of this chapter. First, embedded subordinate clauses (i.e. adverbial and adnominal clauses) cannot contain a topic marker. Second, the occurrence of a focus marker in an embedded subordinate clause is usually blocked, or makes the sentence sound unnatural. If a clause contains either of them, especially a topic marker, then it is not embedded.

There are two topic markers: *=ba(a)* and *=a*. The topic marker *=a* has three additional allomorphs, *=ja*, *=Ca* (where C is a consonant) and *=u*, depending on the final segment of the word to which it is attached. The form *=ja* occurs when the final segment is a long vowel or diphthong, as in *sinsii=ja* 'teacher=TOP', *bau=ja* 'stick=TOP', etc. The form *=Ca* occurs when the final segment is a consonant, as in *kam=ma* 'god=TOP', *kan=na* 'crab=TOP', etc. The form *=u* occurs when the final segment is the vowel /u/, as in *pztu=u* 'person=TOP'. The underlying *=a* occurs elsewhere.

The topic marker *=ba(a)* only co-occurs with a direct object argument, while *=a* is used in all the other environments. Basically, they follow a case clitic. However, the nominative case (*=ga*/*=nu*) is replaced by the topic marker *=a*. For example, in (6), the subject argument *jarabi* 'child' is not case-marked, for the nominative case is replaced by the topic marker *=a*.

(6) *jarabi=a   miz=zu=du   num-tar.*
    child=TOP water=ACC=FOC drink-ADN.PST
    'The child drank water.'

The object topic *=ba(a)* simply follows the accusative case marker. If the object argument *miz* 'water' in (6) (which is focus-marked) is topic-marked, we will obtain:

(7) *jarabi=a   miz=zu=baa   num-tar.*
    child=TOP water=ACC=TOP drink-ADN.PST
    'The child drank water.'

There are three focus markers, the choice of which is sensitive to the type of speech act in which the focus marker occurs: *=du* (statement), *=ru* (Yes-No question), and *=ga* (information question). In (8), which is a statement, the subject NP is focus-marked by *=du*.

(8) *jarabi=nu=du   miz=zu   num-tar.*
    child=NOM=FOC water=ACC drink-ADN.PST
    'A child (e.g. as opposed to an adult) drank water.'

If this sentence is turned into a Yes-No question, we obtain the following, with the focus marker replaced by *=ru*.

(9) *jarabi=nu=ru   miz=zu   num-tar?*
    child=NOM=FOC water=ACC drink-ADN.PST
    'Did a child (as opposed to an adult) drink water?'

On the other hand, if (8) is turned into an information question in which the subject NP is questioned, the resultant sentence is the following, in which the focus marker is replaced by *=ga*.

(10) *taru=nu=ga   miz=zu   num-tar?*
     who=NOM=FOC water=ACC drink-ADN.PST
     'Who drank water?'

4 Types of sentences and clauses

4.1 Verbal-predicate and nominal-predicate sentences

There are two major types of sentences: verbal-predicate sentences (4.1.1) and nominal-predicate sentences (4.1.2).

4.1.1 Verbal-predicate sentences

The predicate of verbal-predicate sentences consists of a main verb and optionally an auxiliary verb. When it consists of a main verb alone, the main verb is inflected, either in an independent form, e.g. (11), (44), (75) (PST-RLS), (22) (INT), or an adnominal form, e.g. (6) to (10), (12) (ADN-NPST).[1]

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1 The presence of a focus marker restricts the possible inflection of the predicate verb, blocking the occurrence of the realis form, which is used when the predicate is focused (i.e. there is no focus on its arguments). This reminds us of a phenomenon known as *kakarimusubi*, a focus concord construction whereby the presence of a focus marker requires the verb to be in adnominal form. The Irabu system differs from the standard *kakarimusubi* in that it has a negative concord (whereby the realis form is blocked), rather than a positive one (whereby the adnominal form is required). See Shimoji (2011) for a detailed discussion of Irabu focus constructions.

(11) *kanu pztu=u   budur-ta-m.*
   that person=TOP dance-PST-RLS
   'That person danced.'

(12) *uku-kazi=nu=du   ff-Ø.*
   big-wind=NOM=FOC come-ADN.NPST
   'A typhoon comes/will come.'

When the predicate consists of a main verb and an auxiliary verb, the main verb must be inflected as the sequential form (a tenseless adverbial dependent verb; see (d) in Table 1), and the tense-mood marking is taken over by the auxiliary verb. As shown in (13), focus marking may occur on the main verb, but some auxiliaries such as the benefactive *fii-* 'do something for someone' do not allow focus marking on the main verb, as shown in (14).

(13) *kanu pztu=nu   budur-i-i=du   u-tar.*
   that person=NOM dance-THM-SEQ=FOC PROG-ADN.PST
   'That person danced.'

(14) *kanu pztu=nu   budur-i-i   fii-ta-m.*
   that person=NOM dance-THM-SEQ BEN-PST-RLS
   'That person danced (for me).'

4.1.2 Nominal-predicate sentences

The predicate of nominal-predicate sentences consists of the predicate NP and the copula verb. The copula verb is not obligatory; see (15).

(15) *kanu pztu=u   sinsii.*
   that person=TOP teacher
   'That person is a teacher.'

The copula verb indicates predicate categories (tense, mood, polarity, etc.), which cannot be indicated by the predicate NP. Thus, the copula is required only if an overt marking of tense, mood, polarity, etc., is necessary, e.g. (16) (tense: past tense) and (17) (polarity: negation).

(16) *kanu pztu=nu=du   sinsii   a-tar.*
   that person=NOM=FOC teacher COP-ADN.PST
   'That person was a teacher.'

(17) *kanu pztu=u   sinsii=ja   ar-a-n-Ø.*
    that person=TOP teacher=TOP COP-THM-NEG-ADN.NPST
    'That person isn't a teacher.'

We have seen nominal-predicate sentences and verbal-predicate sentences. Adjectival predication takes two forms.

(a) Stative verb (e.g. *taka-ka-tar* (high-VLZ-PST) 'was high'), which is a subtype of the verb, and thus follows the predication pattern discussed in 4.1.1.

(b) Dummy compound nominal (e.g. *muckas-munu* 'difficult-NMLZ', 'difficult'), where the head stem *munu* is a dummy noun that does not have a substantive or referential meaning), which is a subtype of the noun, and thus follows the predication pattern discussed in 4.1.2.

4.2 Adnominal clauses

The adnominal clause construction ("AC") (or a relative clause) in Irabu is a diachronic source of a variety of grammaticalized constructions – including the MMC (this issue will be discussed in 5.2.6). An AC precedes the head noun. It does not employ a relative pronoun or a resumptive pronoun. The predicate verb of an AC must be in an adnominal form. (Adnominal forms are tensed; cf. Section 3.) The subject occurs in the nominative case. In the relevant examples below, the AC is indicated with braces.

(18) {*vva=ga   jurav-tar*}   *pztu*
    2SG=NOM call-ADN.PST man
    'the man you called'

Teramura (1969) classifies ACs in Modern Standard Japanese into two types. Tsunoda (this volume-b, 4.2.2) proposes to label these two types as "gap type" and "addition type". Roughly speaking, in ACs of the gap type, the head noun corresponds to an argument or an adjunct of the AC. The "gap" strategy (Keenan 1985) marks the position relativised on. In contrast, in ACs of the addition type, the head noun is, so to speak, added from outside the underlying clause. It does not correspond to any argument or any adjunct of the AC. Irabu has both of these two types of ACs.

[1] ACs of the gap type
Any position on Keenan and Comrie's (1977) accessibility hierarchy can be relativised on, except for the object of comparison. For example, compare (19), (20) and (21).

(19) *pztu=nu=du   zzu=u   cc-tar.*
    man=NOM=FOC fish=ACC get-ADN.PST
    'A man caught fish.'

(20) {*zzu=u   cc-tar*}   *pztu* (subject)
    fish=ACC get-ADN.PST man
    'the man who caught fish'

(21) {*pztu=nu   cc-tar*}   *zzu* (direct object)
    man=NOM get-ADN.PST fish
    'the fish that the man caught'

The position relativised on is the subject in (20), and the direct object in (21), and also in (18). Additional examples follow. The position relativised on is shown for each example.

Subject:

(22) {*kuu-t-tar*}   *pztu=u=baa   z-zadi.*
    come-NEG-ADN.PST man=ACC=TOP scold-INT
    '(I) have to scold those men who did not come.'

(23) {*jaa=ju   muc-i-u-r*}   *pztu=u   daiz.*
    house=ACC have-THM-PROG-ADN.NPST person=TOP great
    'People who have their own houses are quite something.'

Indirect object:

(24) *kuri=a*   {*vva=ga   iravc=cu   naraas-tar*}   *pztu=dara.*
    3SG.PROX=TOP 2SG=NOM Irabu=ACC teach-ADN.PST man=EMP
    'This (guy) is the man to whom you taught Irabu a lot.'

Oblique object:

(25) {*munu=u   jaf-Ø*}   *konro=mai njaa-t-ta-iba* ...
    thing=ACC burn-ADN.NPST grill=even not.exist-NEG-PST-CVB.CSL
    'Because there was no grill with which (one) burns things ...'

    [2] ACs of the addition type

Compare (26) and (27), and also (28) and (29). Note that *koe* 'voice' is present in (27), and absent in (26), and that *nioi* 'smell' is present in (29), and absent in (28). That is, in the ACs of the addition type, the head noun is, so to speak, added from outside the underlying clause. It does not correspond to any argument or any adjunct of the AC. An NP that cannot be seen as an argument or an adjunct of the AC can establish a modifying relationship with the AC, where pragmatic inference determines how the AC narrows down the reference without the head noun playing any role in the AC.

(26) *kaami=ga=du   panas-sas-i-u-r.*
Kaami=NOM=FOC speech-VLZ-THM-PROG-ADN.NPST
'Kaami is speaking.'

(27) {*kaami=ga   panas-sas-i-u-r*}   *kui*
Kaami=NOM speech-VLZ-THM-PROG-ADN.NPST voice
'the voice (which is heard when) Kaami is speaking'

(28) *zzu=u=du   jak-i-u-r.*
fish=ACC=FOC grill-THM-PROG-ADN.NPST
'(Someone) is grilling fish.'

(29) {*zzu=u   jak-i-u-r*}   *kaza*
fish=ACC grill-THM-PROG-ADN.NPST smell
'the smell (which is felt when) (someone) is grilling fish.'

An additional example:

(30) *hai, kuri=a   mmja* {*stabutu=nu   ur-Ø*}
Hey 3SG.PROX=TOP well   bed.fellow=NOM exist-ADN.NPST
kui=dooi=tii.
voice=EMP=QT
'Hey, this (voice of her that is heard over telephone) sounds like a voice
which is heard when her bedfellow is at her place.' [i.e. This voice sounds
so upset that this probably indicates that her bedfellow is at her place now.]

An AC of the addition type has a main-clause-like syntax, i.e. it is a full-fledged
clause with no gap occurring within the clause. As will be shown in 5.2.6, sentences
that contain an AC are bi-clausal and they were reanalyzed as mono-clausal and
resulted in the MMC. The existence of the main-clause-like AC (i.e. an AC of the
addition type) is definitely a relevant factor for an AC to develop into the MMC in
Irabu.

5 Mermaid construction

5.1 Introductory notes

Following Tsunoda (this volume-a; also see (1) above), the structure of the MMC in
Irabu is schematized as follows.

(31) [(Subject) (Object) (Circumstance) Verb]   Noun   (Copula).
                        Clause

Tab. 2: Three types of the MMC in Irabu.

	Morphological independence of Noun	Phonological independence of Noun
Word-type MMC	+	±
Clitic-type MMC	+	−
Affix-type MMC	−	−

The constituents in parentheses are not always present; they may be absent under certain conditions. As mentioned in 4.1.2, the use of the copula verb is not obligatory in Irabu. Hence, an MMC may end in the Noun component, without the copula verb.

The MMC abounds in Irabu. As summarised in Table 2, Irabu has three types of the MMC in terms of the morphological and phonological status of the element that fills the Noun slot. Each of the three types of the MMC will be examined in 5.2 to 5.4, noting how (i) the three types differ in terms of the morphological and phonological independence of the Noun, and (ii) the ways in which the MMC and ACs are differentiated in each type.

5.2 Word-type MMC

5.2.1 An overview

In the word-type MMC, the Noun slot is occupied by an independent word that is a noun. Approximately, seven nouns are attested in its Noun slot, though they include loanwords from Japanese, e.g. *wake* 'cause, reason'. Proto Japanese-Ryukyuan */w/ in word-initial position corresponds to /b/ in Irabu. This loanword from Japanese starts with /w/, not /b/. (*Wake* 'cause, reason' is used in the MMC of Modern Standard Japanese; see Tsunoda (this volume-b, 5.1.3-[3].)

For the discussion of the word-type MMC, I examine the following three native words: *kutu* 'fact, thing' (5.2.2), *gumata* 'plan' (5.2.3), and *munu* 'thing, person' (5.2.4). I have selected *kutu* and *munu* because they are frequently used in Irabu (outside the MMC as well). Also I have selected *kutu* and *gumata* because there are corresponding grammaticalized suffixal forms that are used in the MMC: -*kutu* 'should; be supposed to' and 'will' (future) and -*gumata* 'be scheduled to do' (anticipated future). These suffixes are verbal inflectional suffixes. Grammaticalization of a noun into a verbal inflectional suffix appears to be uncommon crosslinguistically.

The original meanings of these nouns are not necessarily retained in the MMC. Rather, the MMC has a variety of non-substantive and non-referential meanings: modal, temporal and causal.

The predicate of the Clause is in an adnominal form.

As noted in Section 1, the word-type MMC conforms to the prototype of the MMC depending on the noun involved. Thus, the MMC with *kutu* 'fact, thing' and that with *gumata* 'plan' have all of the five properties of the prototype listed in Section 1. However, the MMC with *munu* 'thing, person' cannot take the copula (cf. (1) and (31)), and in this respect it departs from the prototype of the MMC.

5.2.2 *Kutu* 'fact, thing'

When used outside the MMC, the noun *kutu* means 'fact, thing'.

(32) *ai=nu   kutu=u=gami=a   bassi-i   njaa-n.*
      that.way-GEN fact/thing=ACC=LMT=TOP forget-SEQ PRF-ADN.NPST
      '(I) have forgotten things like that.'

The MMC with the noun *kutu* expresses (i) a deontic modal meaning 'should; be supposed to', e.g. (3), (33) to (39), (46), (56), (59), (61), (83), or (ii) future 'will', e.g. (46), (48), (71). As noted above, the predicate of the Clause is in an adnominal form. To be precise, in the MMC with the noun *kutu*, the predicate is in the non-past adnominal form (as opposed to the past adnominal form) (cf. (c) in Table 1). The meaning of the non-past is compatible with the meanings (i) and (ii) of this MMC.

(33) [*kai=ga=du   sac=n   idi-r*]   **kutu**.
      3SG=NOM=FOC first=DAT go.out-ADN.NPST fact/thing
      'S/he should go first.'

(34) [*vva=a   z-zai-r*]   **kutu**.
      2SG=TOP scold-PASS-ADN.NPST fact/thing
      'You are supposed to be scolded.'

(35) [*uri=u=baa   mainic   as*]   **kutu**=*dooi*
      that=ACC=TOP everyday do.ADN.NPST fact/thing=EMP
      '(You) should do that everyday.'

In the MMC with *kutu* 'fact, thing', the copula verb is not always used. Thus, it is present in (3) (*jar-Ø* 'COP-ADN.NPST'), but it is absent in (33) to (35). It is present where necessary. For example, it is required when it is negated, e.g. (36), or when it is in the past tense, e.g. (37), (38). (In (3), the copula verb is in the non-past tense. (33) to (35), which do not have the copula verb, have a non-past time reference.)

(36) [*vva=a   z-zai-r*]   **kutu**   *ar-a-n-Ø.*
      2SG=TOP scold-PASS-ADN.NPST fact/thing COP-THM-NEG-ADN.NPST
      'You are not supposed to be scolded.'

(37) [*vva=ga   nkai-r*]   **kutu**=du   *a-tar*.
     2SG=NOM pick.up-ADN.NPST fact/thing=FOC COP-ADN.PST
     'You were supposed to pick up (your child).'

(38) [*vva=a   z-zai-r*]   **kutu**   *a-tar=ri*.
     2SG=TOP scold-PASS-ADN.NPST fact/thing COP-ADN.PST=TAG
     'You were supposed to be scolded, weren't you?'

The predicate of the Clause can be negated, e.g.:

(39) [*vva=a   z-zai-n-Ø*]   **kutu**.
     2SG=TOP scold-PASS-NEG-ADN.NPST fact/thing
     'You are supposed not to be scolded.'

In (39), the negative operator (*-n* 'NEG') is within the scope of the modal operator (*kutu*), whereas in (36) the modal operator is within the scope of the negative operator.

A cognate of the Irabu *kutu* 'fact, thing' occurs in Modern Standard Japanese ("MSJ"): the noun *koto* 'fact' (an independent word). The MSJ *koto* 'fact' can be used in the MMC, and this MMC expresses advice, instruction or obligation. It supplies a modal meaning: deontic modality. See Tsunoda (this volume-b, 5.1.3-[9]).

5.2.3 *Gumata* 'plan'

The noun *gumata* 'plan' (whose etymology is not known) is always used in the MMC. It is not used outside the MMC. The MMC with *gumata* has a future meaning 'will' – to be precise, anticipated future: 'be scheduled to do'. The copula verb is always present. The predicate of the Clause is in an adnominal form – to be precise, the non-past adnominal form. Examples of the MMC with *gumata* include the following.

(40) [*vva=ga   nkai-r*]   **gumata**=du *a-tar*.
     2SG=NOM pick.up-ADN.NPST plan=FOC   COP-ADN.PST
     'You were supposed/scheduled to pick up (your child).'

(41) [*vva=ga   nkai-r*]   **gumata**=du *jar-Ø*.
     2SG=NOM pick.up-ADN.NPST plan=FOC   COP-ADN.NPST
     'You are scheduled to pick up (your child).'

5.2.4 *Munu* 'thing, person'

When used outside the MMC, the noun *munu* means 'thing, person', e.g. (25). The MMC with the noun *munu* denotes a causal meaning, roughly translated as 'because' in English (but see the discussion below).

(42) A： *kai=mai if-Ø=dara=i.*
      3SG=too go-ADN.NPST=EMP=TAG
      'He's gonna come (with us), eh?'

  B： *gui!*   [*nnama=du kuma=n*   *ck-i-u-r*]
     come.on now=FOC   this.place=DAT arrive-THM-PROG-ADN.NPST
     munu.
     thing/person
     'Com'on! (He) has just arrived here.
     (So he can't come with us.)'

Unlike the MMC with *kutu* and that with *gumata*, the MMC with *munu* never contains the copula.

Despite the fact that the MMC with *munu* has a causal meaning, it does not require a clause that serves as the effect clause. The effect is only inferred from the causal statement. Thus, the MMC with *munu* is distinct from a causal adverbial clause such as one ending in *-(i)ba* 'because' (cf. (d) in Table 1), which is (in principle) followed by the effect clause. The *munu* MMC is a sentence-terminating, main-clause construction, or an insubordinated (Evans 2007) use of a former adnominal clause rather than an incomplete bi-clausal construction. Synchronically, I treat *munu* as a sentence-terminating particle that occurs sentence-finally (despite the translation 'thing/person'), even though it still exhibits its former status as a head noun of an adnominal clause in that it always requires its preceding verb to be in adnominal form. See also 5.2.5.1 below for further discussion.

A cognate of the Irabu *munu* 'thing, person' occurs in Modern Standard Japanese: the noun *mono* 'thing, person' (an independent word). The MSJ *mono* 'thing, person' can be used in the MMC, and this MMC has various meanings, such as (i) obligation, advice, (ii) surprise, strong emotion, wish, hope, (iii) past habitual or recalling a past experience, and (iv) explanation. The uses (i) and (ii) are modal, (iii) probably aspectual, and (iv) discourse-related. See Tsunoda (this volume-b, 5.1.3-[4]).

The use of the Irabu MMC with *munu* 'thing, person' for a causal meaning is similar to the use (iv) "explanation" of the MSJ MMC with *mono* 'thing'. An example cited from Tsunoda (this volume-b, 5.1.3-[4]) follows. It is slightly modified.

Modern Standard Japanese

(43) *Seehu=wa   kome=no yunyuu=o   kinsi-si-mas-i-ta.*
    government=TOP rice=GEN import=ACC prohibition-do-POL-LINK-PST
    'The government banned the import of rice.'

    [*Noomin=no yookyuu=ni   kotae-ta*]   **mono**=*des-u.*
    farmer=GEN demand=DAT/LOC answer-PST thing=COP.POL-NPST
    'That is, (the government) responded to the farmers' demand.'

5.2.5 Structural characteristics of the word-type MMC

5.2.5.1 Copula

According to my research (elicitation and text-search) into the MMC of Irabu, the noun *kutu* 'fact, thing' attracts copula support where necessary (5.2.2). The noun *gumata* is always used with the copula verb, e.g. (40) and (41). In contrast, the noun *munu* 'thing, person' never attracts copula support, and it always occurs sentence-finally; cf. (42-B). See Table 3. (This table also shows the two clitics examined in 5.3 and two affixes considered in 5.4.)

This "edge-only" distributional character of *munu* 'thing, person' is very much like that of speech-act particles, such as the tag particle *=i* 'eh?' (e.g. (42-A)) and the question particle *=Cu* (e.g. (44)).

(44) (When the war became severe:)
    taiwan=kai=ja   ik-ah-a-t-ta-m=mu?
    Taiwan=ALL=TOP go-CAUS-THM-NEG-PST-RLS=Q
    '(Didn't the government) make (people) move to Taiwan?'

The above shows that *munu* used in the MMC may be regarded as a sentence-final particle ("SFP"). (This analysis is shown in (51).) In contrast, *kutu* 'fact, thing' and *gumata* 'plan' may be said to retain a nominal feature in that they attract copula support. In this regard, the noun *munu* is more denominalized than *kutu* and *gumata* when they are used in the MMC.

It is useful in this connection to consider the situation in Modern Standard Japanese; the data are cited from Tsunoda (this volume-b, 5.1.3-[4], -[9] and 7.5).

Tab. 3: Copula support in the MMC.

Word type			Clitic type		Affix type	
kutu	*gumata*	*munu*	*=paz*	*=su(u)*	*-kutu*	*-gumata*
+	+	n.a.	+	n.a.	+	+

Legend: +: acceptable; n.a.: not attested.

Tab. 4: Irabu and Modern Standard Japanese: *kutu*/*koto* 'fact, thing'/'fact' and *munu*/*mono* 'thing, person'/'thing, person'.

	Irabu		Modern Standard Japanese	
Outside MMC	*kutu* 'fact, thing'	*munu* 'thing, person'	*koto* 'fact'	*mono* 'thing, person'
In MMC	*kutu*	*munu*	*koto*	*mono*
Copula	+	n.a.	+	+
Polite form in Clause	n. d.	n. d.	–	–
Sentence-final particle	n.a.	*munu*	=*koto*	=*mono*, =*mon*
Polite form	n. d.	n. d.	+	+

Legend: +: acceptable; –: unacceptable; n.a.: not attested; n. d.: no data available.

See Table 4. (The noun *gumata* is not included in Table 4. Its cognate is not known in Modern Standard Japanese.)

Tsunoda (this volume-b, 7.5) shows that Modern Standard Japanese furnishes evidence to show that its *koto* 'fact' and *mono* 'thing, person' can be used as nouns in the Noun slot of the MMC and also that *koto* 'fact' and *mono* 'thing, person' have acquired the status of sentence-final particles. That is, in their second use, *koto* 'fact' and *mono* 'thing, person' do not occur in the MMC. This evidence concerns the predicate of the Clause. In the MMC, the predicate cannot occur in a polite form. For example, for the predicate of the second sentence of (43) (an instance of the MMC), the polite form *kotae-mas-i-ta* 'answer-POL-LINK-PST' is unacceptable. Now, there are instances involving *koto* 'fact' or *mono* 'thing, person' in which the preceding predicate is in a polite form. Consider the following example, cited from Tsunoda (this volume-b, 7.5-[1]).

Modern Standard Japanese
(45) (An example cited from a TV ad, about life insurance for women, in which an actress says as follows.)
Onna=des-u=mono.
woman=COP.POL-NPST=*mono*
'(I) am a woman.'

(The implication of this TV ad is the following: "Because I am a woman, I want to remain young and beautiful, so I will buy this life insurance. I recommend this to you, too".) The fact that the preceding predicate is in a polite form indicates that (45) is no longer an instance of the MCC. This in turn shows that *mono* has acquired the status of a sentence-final particle in (45). (With all (or most?) of the other sentence-final particles, the predicate can be in a polite form.) In the spoken language, =*mono* is sometimes shortened to =*mon*. (This is shown in Table 4.) The sentence-final particle =*mono* can express (i) explanation, e.g. (45), (ii) strong emo-

tion, etc. The example (45) (explanation) is parallel to the Irabu example (42-B) ('because'). Note that a description (in English) of what (45) implies involves *because*. (Tsunoda (this volume-b, 7.5) regards *koto* and *mono* as enclitics when they are used as sentence-final particles. They are shown with a preceding equal symbol.)

5.2.5.2 Dependency of the Noun

In the word-type MMC, the Noun slot is filled by an independent word. The morphological independence of the Noun is evidenced by the following two facts.

First, the form filling this slot may occur as a free noun in other environments, e.g. *munu* 'thing, person' in (25) and *kutu* 'fact, thing' in (32). Thus, the forms *kutu* 'fact, thing' and *munu* 'thing, person' are productively used as free nouns. However, to be precise, this does not apply to *gumata* 'plan'. As noted in 5.2.3, *gumata* is always used in the MMC, and it is not used outside the MMC.

Second, the preceding verb occurs as a fully inflected word form. In (33) (*kutu*), (40) (*gumata*) and (42-B) (*munu*), for example, the verb ends with the non-past adnominal affix -*r*, demonstrating that there is a morphosyntactic word boundary between the verb and the Noun.

As just seen, there are two pieces of evidence for the morphological independence of the Noun (but see the note on *gumata* above). In contrast, its phonological independence is ambiguous. The prosodic boundary (i.e. phonological-word boundary) is not always drawn between the verb and the Noun. Consider the following example, where the verb is *bizismirair* 'be made to sit' and the Noun is *kutu*.

(46) [*ai=nu   siitu-mmi=a   mmja bizi-smi-rai-r*]   ***kutu**=dara*.
    that=GEN pupil-PL=TOP well   sit-CAUS-PASS-ADN.NPST fact/thing=EMP
    'That sort of pupil should/will be made to sit (as a punishment).'

(47)   *bizi-smi-rai-r*   *kutu=dara*
        (bizi)(smi)(rair)   (kutu)(dara)
    a.   H   L   L#   H   L#
    b.   H   L   H   L   L#

The second line in (47) indicates foot building, and the third one and the fourth one assignment. Both assignment patterns ("a" and "b") are possible, even though the "a" pattern is the more common according to the result of the production tests devised for five native consultants of Irabu; all were in favour of the "a" pattern, one actually pronounced the "b" pattern, and three reported that they accept the "b" pattern. In the "a" pattern, there is a phonological-word boundary (indicated by '#') between the verb and the Noun, for a sequence of two L tones indicates the termination of a phonological word. In the "b" pattern, then, the phonological word boundary comes at sentence-final position, with the verb and Noun treated

as part of a single phonological word. That is, there are two contradicting pieces of evidence regarding the phonological independence of the Noun.

5.2.5.3 Modification of the Noun

There are languages in which a noun (an independent word) in the Noun slot of the MMC can be accompanied by a modifier: Early Middle Japanese (800–1200) (Miyachi, this volume, 7.8-[2]; modification by a genitive phrase) and Sakha (Ebata, this volume, 5.5; modification by an adjective). However, this modification is impossible in Irabu, as is the case with Modern Standard Japanese (Tsunoda, this volume-b, 5.4.3). See Tsunoda (this volume-a, 3.1.4).

5.2.5.4 Can the Clause be used as a sentence by itself?

As seen in Section 1, Tsunoda (this volume-a, 2.1) proposes that the prototype of the MMC has five properties, one of which is the following:

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

The Clause of the word-type MMC of Irabu possesses this property. Its predicate has to be in an adnominal form (5.2.1). An adnominal form can be used as the predicate of independent sentences (3.3, 4.1.1), e.g. (12). Therefore, the Clause of the word-type MMC can stand on its own as an independent sentence. Thus, compare (48) and (49).

(48) [*uri=u=du*   *fau-Ø*]   **kutu**=*dara*.
      that=NOM=FOC eat-ADN.NPST fact/thing=EMP
      '(We) will eat that.'

(49) *uri=u=du*   *fau-Ø*.
      that=NOM=FOC eat-ADN.NPST
      '(We) eat/will eat that.'

5.2.5.5 Sentencehood of the Clause of the MMC

As seen in 5.2.5.4, the Clause of the word-type MMC can be used as a sentence by itself. Nonetheless, the Clause of the word-type MMC does not have some of the properties that independent sentences possess. For example, the predicate of the Clause has to be in an adnominal form. It cannot be in an independent form, such as an intentional form, an imperative form, or an optative form.

5.2.6 ACs of the addition type as the source structure of the MMC

Recall that, as seen in 4.2, ACs are of two types: gap type and addition type. In the gap type, there is a gap in the AC. For example, when the subject is relativised on, the subject is absent in the AC, e.g. (20), (22), (23). When the direct object is relativised on, it is absent in the AC, e.g. (18), (21). The same applies to (24) (indirect object) and (25) (oblique object). In contrast, ACs of the addition type have a full-fledged clause, with no gap in them. For example, the subject is present in (27) and (30).

It seems certain that the MMC developed from the AC construction – specifically, that of the addition type – as its source structure. There are three reasons for this. The source structure of the MMC seems certain to be as shown in (50). The word-type MMC can be shown as (51); see (31).

(50) Source structure: ACs of the addition type

{(Subject) (Object) (Circumstance) Verb}	Noun
AC	Head

(51) Word-type MMC

[(Subject) (Object) (Circumstance) Verb]	Noun	(Copula)
Clause	Noun	
	(or SFP)	

The three reasons mentioned above are the following.

First, at least superficially the MMC and the AC construction look identical in that a clause precedes a noun.

Second, the ACs of the addition type (though not those of the gap type) have a full-fledged clause like the Clause of the MMC (4.2-[2]).

Third, the predicate of an AC and that of the Clause of the MMC are in an adnominal form (cf. 4.2 and 5.2.1).

It is for these three reasons that it seems certain that the MMC developed from the AC construction – specifically, that of the addition type – as its source structure. Furthermore, it is interesting to note in this connection that Miyachi (this volume, Section 6 in particular) reports that in Old Japanese and Early Middle Japanese there are instances that allow both an AC reading and an MMC reading. (51) presents the word-type MMC. It seems likely that the word-type MMC first emerged, which subsequently changed to the enclitic-type MMC, and then to the affix-type MMC. (See Tsunoda (this volume-a, 5.5) for possible sources of the MMC.)

5.2.7 Comparison of the word-type MMC with other constructions

5.2.7.1 Introductory notes

It is important to compare the MMC with other constructions. In particular, it is important to examine the following two issues.

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

The structure of the prototype of the MMC is as shown in (1). Superficially at least, it looks as if the prototypical MMC is bi-clausal. In some of the languages reported in the present volume, the Clause of the MMC looks similar to an adnominal clause ("AC") (or a relative clause) of the respective languages and consequently it looks as if the MMC is bi-clausal, with an AC as a subordinate clause. This applies to the word-type MMC of Irabu. The predicate of ACs is in an adnominal form (4.2). Likewise, the predicate of the Clause of the word-type MMC is in an adnominal form (5.2.1).

However, languages such as Modern Standard Japanese (Tsunoda, this volume-b, Section 6) and Korean (Kim, this volume, Section 6) yield evidence that their MMC does not contain an AC and that it is syntactically mono-clausal. (See Tsunoda (this volume-a, 3.4.2).) In view of this, it is important to examine the two issues listed above.

Recall that the Irabu MMC is of three types: the word type, the clitic type and the affix type (5.1). In view of the two issues listed above, it is important to compare the word-type MMC with other constructions in some detail. This comparison will be conducted in 5.2.7.2 to 5.2.7.9. The clitic-type MMC and the affix-type MMC will be compared with other constructions briefly; see Section 6. The results of these two comparisons will be shown in Table 6.

In 5.2.7.2 to 5.2.7.9, we shall compare the following constructions.

(i)   Mono-clausal sentences (4.1).
(ii) MMC, word type, *kutu* 'fact, thing' (5.2.2).
(iii) MMC, word type, *gumata* 'plan' (5.2.3).
(iv) MMC, word type, *munu* 'thing, person' (5.2.4).
(v)   AC, gap type (4.2-[1]).
(vi) AC, addition type (4.2-[2]).

It is necessary to consider mono-clausal sentences, not bi-clausal sentences, since one of the aims of this comparison is to examine the issue (b) listed above.

When we look at the MMC, we shall mainly be concerned with the Clause, but we also look at the entire MMC.

We shall compare the constructions listed above in terms of the morphology of the predicate (5.2.7.2) and syntax (5.2.7.3 to 5.2.7.9).

5.2.7.2 Verb morphology

(i) Mono-clausal sentences

The predicate may be in an independent form or in an adnominal form.

(ii) MMC, word type, *kutu* 'fact, thing'
(iii) MMC, word type, *gumata* 'plan'

The predicate of the Clause is in an adnominal form. To be precise, it is in the non-past adnominal form.

(iv) MMC, word type, *munu* 'thing, person'

The predicate of the Clause is in an adnominal form. To be precise, it is in the non-past adnominal form or in the past adnominal form.

This MMC differs from the MMC in (ii) and (iii) in that it is never followed by the copula verb.

(v) AC, gap type
(vi) AC, addition type

The predicate of ACs is in an adnominal form.

In terms of verb morphology, the Clause of the word-type MMC is only slightly more similar to ACs than to mono-clausal sentences.

5.2.7.3 ACs and the Clause of the word-type MMC (1): deletion

It is convenient to start with ACs.

(v) AC, gap type
(vi) AC, addition type

Deletion of an AC may produce a well-formed sentence. For example, compare (22), repeated below, and (52).

(22) {*kuu-t-tar*}　　　　*pztu=u=baa*　*z-za-di*.
　　 come-NEG-ADN.PST　man=ACC=TOP　scold-THM-INT
　　 '(I) have to scold those men who did not come.'

(52) *pztu=u=baa*　　*z-za-di*.
　　 man=ACC=TOP　scold-THM-INT
　　 '(I) have to scold the men.'

(ii) MMC, word type, *kutu* 'fact, thing'
(iii) MMC, word type, *gumata* 'plan'
(iv) MMC, word type, *munu* 'thing, person'

In contrast, deletion of the Clause of the word-type MMC produces a nonsensical sentence or at best an elliptical sentence. For example, compare (34), repeated below, and (53).

(34) [*vva=a   z-zai-r*]   **kutu**.
     2SG=TOP scold-PASS-ADN.NPST fact/thing
     'You are supposed to be scolded.'

(53) *kutu*.
     fact/thing
     LT: '(Is) a fact/thing.'

    (i) Mono-clausal sentences
The issue under discussion is irrelevant.

In terms of this deletion, the Clause of the word-type MMC behaves differently from ACs. Mono-clausal sentences are irrelevant.

5.2.7.4 ACs and the Clause of the word-type MMC (2): modification
Again, it is convenient to start with ACs.

    (v) AC, gap type
    (vi) AC, addition type
An AC can be replaced with a modifier, such as a demonstrative. Compare:

(54) {*vva=ga   as-Ø*}   *kutu*
     2SG=NOM do-ADN.NPST fact/thing
     'the thing you do'

(55) *unu kutu*
     that fact/thing
     'that fact/thing'

    (ii) MMC, word type, *kutu* 'fact, thing'
    (iii) MMC, word type, *gumata* 'plan'
    (iv) MMC, word type, *munu* 'thing, person'
As noted in 5.2.5.3, the Noun of the word-type MMC cannot be modified by any word. Compare:

MMC
(56) [*vva=ga   as-Ø*]   **kutu**.
     2SG=NOM do-ADN.NPST fact/thing
     'You should do (this).'

non-MMC

(57) *unu kutu*
    that fact/thing
    'that fact/thing'

If the Clause of (56) is replaced with *unu* 'that', we obtain (57). However, (57) is no longer an instance of the MMC. It is the same as (55).

    Superficially at least, (54) and (56) look identical. However, the above comparison shows convincingly that an AC and the Clause behave differently.

    (i) Mono-clausal sentences
This issue is irrelevant.

5.2.7.5 Topic marking
See 3.4 for topic marking.

    (i) Mono-clausal sentences
Topic markers can occur, e.g. (6), (7), (11), (15) and (17).

    (ii) MMC, word type, *kutu* 'fact, thing'
    (iii) MMC, word type, *gumata* 'plan'
    (iv) MMC, word type, *munu* 'thing, person'
Topic markers can occur in the Clause. See (34) to (36), (38), (39), (46), (61), (71) (examples of *kutu*).

    (v) AC, gap type
    (vi) AC, addition type
Topic markers cannot occur in ACs. Compare (6) (an independent sentence), repeated below, and (58).

(6) *jarabi=a   miz=zu=du   num-tar.*
    child=TOP water=ACC=FOC drink-ADN.PST
    'The child drank water.'

(58) {*jarabi=nu/*=a   miz=zu   num-tar*}   *tukuma*
    child=NOM/*=TOP water=ACC=FOC drink-ADN.PST place
    'the place where the child drank water'

    In terms of topic marking, the Clause of the word-type MMC behaves like mono-clausal sentences and unlike ACs.

5.2.7.6 Focus marking

See 3.4 for focus marking. What we saw in 5.2.7.5 regarding topic marking applies to focus marking.

(i) Mono-clausal sentences

Focus markers can occur. See (6), (8) to (10), (49), for example.

Note that in Irabu (and in Southern Ryukyuan in general) focus marking is almost obligatory in mono-clausal sentences and the main clauses of bi-clausal sentences. If the focused element lacks overt focus-marking, the sentence is un-grammatical.

(ii) MMC, word type, *kutu* 'fact, thing'
(iii) MMC, word type, *gumata* 'plan'
(iv) MMC, word type, *munu* 'thing, person'

Focus markers can occur in the Clause, e.g. (33), (48) (*kutu*) and (42-B) (*munu*).

It should be noted, however, that focus marking in the word-type MMC is not frequently observed in natural discourse, even though native speakers judges them absolutely grammatical. This should be related to the fact that declarative focus marking *=du* is usually incompatible with the optative-future modalities (such as imperative, desiderative, etc.). Therefore, it is more useful to examine WH-questions (or information questions), where the WH-word serves as a focus, which is morphologically marked by the WH-focus marker *=ga*. It is perfectly grammatical for any MMC to contain the WH-focus marker *=ga* within the Clause. As an example, compare (33), repeated below, with (59).

(33) [*kai=ga=du   sac=n   idi-r*]   ***kutu****.*
     3SG=NOM=FOC first=DAT go.out-ADN.NPST fact/thing
     'S/he should go first.'

(59) [*taru=nu=ga   sac=n   idir*]   ***kutu****?*
     who=NOM=FOC first=DAT go.out-ADN.NPST fact/thing
     'Who should go out first?'

(v) AC, gap type
(vi) AC, addition type

In contrast, in ACs, focus markers are very likely to be blocked even if the argument is clearly focused. Consider (6) (an independent sentence), repeated below, and (60) (an AC).

(6) *jarabi=a   miz=zu=du   num-tar.*
    child=TOP water=ACC=FOC drink-ADN.PST
    'The child drank water.'

(60) {*jarabi=nu   miz=zu(?=du)   num-tar*}   *tukuma*
     child=NOM water=ACC(?=FOC) drink-ADN.PST place
     'the place where the child drank water'

In terms of focus marking, too, the Clause of the MMC behaves like mono-clausal sentences and unlike ACs.

5.2.7.7 Gapping

It is convenient to start with ACs of the gap type.

(v) AC, gap type

Gapping occurs in the formation of ACs of the gap type. For example, compare (19) with (20) and (21). Both the subject and the object are present in (19). In contrast, the subject is absent in the AC of (20), and the object is absent in the AC of (21).

(vi) AC, addition type

Gapping does not occur in the formation of ACs of the addition type. For example, the subject is present in the AC of (27), as is the case with (26). As another pair of examples, the object is present in the AC of (29), as is the case with (28).

(i) Mono-clausal sentences

Gapping can in no way occur in the formation of mono-clausal sentences. See (11) to (14), for example.

(ii) MMC, word type, *kutu* 'fact, thing'
(iii) MMC, word type, *gumata* 'plan'
(iv) MMC, word type, *munu* 'thing, person'

Gapping can in no way occur in the formation of the MMC or in the formation of the Clause. See the examples given in 5.2.2, 5.2.3 and 5.2.4. As noted in 5.2.6, the Clause has a full-fledged clause like ACs of the addition type.

In terms of gapping, the MMC behaves unlike ACs of the gap type, and like mono-clausal independent sentences and also like ACs of the addition type.

5.2.7.8 One subject or two subjects?

It is convenient to start with ACs.

(v) AC, gap type
(vi) AC, addition type

Sentences with an AC may contain two subjects: the subject of the AC and the subject of the main clause. For example, (24) (gap type) has two subjects; *vva=ga*

'2SG=NOM' is the subject of the AC, and *kuri=a* '3SG.PROX=TOP' is the subject of the main clause. (30) (addition type), too, has two subjects: *stabutu=nu* 'bed.fellow=NOM' is the subject of the AC, and *kuri=a* '3SG.PROX=TOP' is the subject of the main clause.

(i) Mono-clausal sentences

These sentences can contain only one subject. For example, (11) has one subject: *kanu pztu=nu* 'that person=NOM'.

(ii) MMC, word type, *kutu* 'fact, thing'
(iii) MMC, word type, *gumata* 'plan'
(iv) MMC, word type, *munu* 'thing, person'

The MMC can contain only one subject. For example, (3) contains only one subject: *vva=ga* '2SG=NOM'.

It might be argued that the MMC has two subjects. For example, consider (33), repeated in 5.2.7.6. It might be argued that (33) has two subjects; the Clause is the subject of the entire sentence and *kai=ga=du* '3SG=NOM=FOC' is the subject of the Clause. However, this view has to be rejected. If it is adopted, (33) will not possess one of the five properties of the prototype of the MMC, listed in Section 1:

(e) The Clause is not the subject of the "Noun + Copula".

That is, if this view is adopted, (33) is not an instance of the MMC, at least not an instance of the prototype of the MMC. However, there is no evidence available to show that the Clause of (33) is the subject of Noun. Furthermore, if the Clause were the subject of the entire sentence, it would be expected that a case marker such as a nominative marker could follow the Clause. However, it is impossible for any case marker to occur after the Clause. That is, (33) is an instance of the MMC.

In terms of the number of the subjects, the word-type MMC behaves like mono-clausal sentences and unlike sentences with an AC.

5.2.7.9 Non-embeddedness of the Clause

We shall look at the Clause of the word-type MMC and ACs. This issue is irrelevant to mono-clausal sentences.

The Clause in the MMC differs from an AC in that it is not embedded. That is, it is not subordinated to the NP structure. This observation is supported by the fact that the Noun is no longer analyzed as the head noun, and that there is no reason to assume the NP structure in the MMC. This is shown by the facts given in 5.2.7.3 and 5.2.7.4. An additional piece of evidence is the following.

A noun preceded by an AC can function as an argument, e.g. (22) (object: 'men') and (23) (subject: 'people'). In contrast, the Noun in the MMC cannot func-

tion as an argument. None of *kutu*, *gumata* and *munu* is used as an argument. In fact, *munu* functions like a sentence-final particle, as was noted in 5.2.5.1.

Since the Noun is never used as an argument, it is impossible to claim that it is the head noun of an NP.

These synchronic facts show that the Noun is not the head noun of an NP anymore. It is therefore impossible to postulate the NP structure.

5.2.7.10 Summary of the comparison

The result of the comparison of the word-type MMC with other constructions is shown in Table 6, together with the result of the comparison of the clitic-type MMC and the affix-type MMC with other constructions.

In terms of verb morphology (5.2.7.2), which concerns a morphological aspect of the predicate, the Clause of the word-type MMC is only slightly more similar to ACs than to mono-clausal sentences. That is, this Clause accepts an adnominal form like mono-clausal sentences and ACs. But this Clause behaves unlike mono-clausal sentences and like ACs in that it does not accept an independent form.

The other seven criteria have to do with syntactic aspects. In terms of deletion (5.2.7.3) and modification (5.2.7.4), and non-embeddedness (5.2.7.9), the Clause of the word-type MMC behaves differently from ACs. Mono-clausal sentences are irrelevant. In terms of topic marking (5.2.7.5) and focus marking (5.2.7.6), the Clause of the word-type MMC behaves like mono-clausal sentences and unlike ACs. In terms of gapping (5.2.7.7) and the number of the subjects (5.2.7.8), the entire MMC behaves unlike ACs of the gap type, and like mono-clausal independent sentences and also like ACs of the addition type. That is, syntactically, in the main, the Clause of the MMC behaves differently from ACs and the entire MMC behave like mono-clausal sentences.

To sum up, in terms of the morphology of the predicate, the Clause of the word-type MMC is slightly more similar to ACs than to mono-clausal sentences. However, syntactically the word-type MMC should be considered mono-clausal, not bi-clausal.

As noted in 5.2.6, it seems certain that sentences with an AC (specifically, an AC of the addition type) are the diachronic source of the MMC. However, synchronically the Clause in the MMC behaves differently from an AC. The Noun is no longer a head noun carrying an AC. That is, the MMC does not contain an AC, and it is mono-clausal.

5.2.7.11 Compound predicate

We saw in 5.2.7.10 that syntactically the word-type MMC should be considered mono-clausal, not bi-clausal. Then, it should have just one predicate, not two predicates. We now investigate what structure the predicate has.

As seen in Section 1, the prototype of the MMC has the structure shown in (1) – superficially at least. However, languages such as Modern Standard Japanese (Tsunoda, this volume-b, Section 6) and Korean (Kim, this volume, Section 6) provide ample evidence that syntactically their MMC is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal, despite its superficial appearance (shown in (1)). The MMC in these languages has just one predicate, not two predicates, and the predicate is a compound predicate that consists of the predicate of the Clause, the Noun and the Copula, as shown in (2).

(1) Prototype of the mermaid construction ("MMC"):
[Clause]　　Noun　　Copula

(2) [... predicate of Clause]　　　Noun　　Copula.
　　　　　　　　　compound predicate

Then, what structure does the predicate of the word-type MMC of Irabu have? The most likely candidate is that shown in (2): the predicate is a compound predicate that consists of the predicate of the Clause, the Noun and the Copula (when the Copula is present). (*Kutu* 'fact, thing' can attract copula support where necessary, e.g. (36) to (38), and *gumata* 'plan' is always used with the copula verb, e.g. (40), (41). In contrast, *munu* 'thing, person' never attracts copula support, and it always occurs sentence-finally (5.2.4, 5.2.5.1). See Table 3.) For example, (36) will have a compound predicate as shown in (61); the compound predicate is underlined.

(61) [*vva=a　　z-zai-r*]　　　　　　　　**kutu**　　　*ar-a-n-Ø*.
　　 2SG=TOP scold-PASS-ADN.NPST fact/thing COP-THM-NEG-NPST
　　 'You are not supposed to be scolded.'

For Modern Standard Japanese, Tsunoda (this volume-b, 6.11) gives two pieces of evidence to show that in its MMC the predicate of the Clause, the Noun and the Copula form a single unit. The situation in the word-type MMC of Irabu is as follows.

First, as seen in 5.2.5.3, nouns in the Noun slot cannot be modified by any word. This shows that the predicate of the Clause and the Noun reject the intervention of any word. This in turn shows that they form a unit. (This evidence is the same as the first piece of evidence that Tsunoda (this volume-b, 6.11) gives for Modern Standard Japanese.)

Second, as seen in 5.2.5.2, there is a piece of evidence (although this is not decisive) that the phonological word boundary comes at sentence-final position, with the verb and Noun treated as part of a single phonological word.

These two pieces of evidence show that, in the word-type MMC, the predicate of the Clause and the Noun form a unit.

We now turn to the Copula. This issue is irrelevant to the MMC with *munu* 'thing, person', since it never contains the copula verb.

The MMC with *kutu* 'fact, thing' can contain the Copula, e.g. (3), (36) to (38). The Noun may be followed by a focus marker, e.g. (3), (37), or may not be followed by one, e.g. (36), (38), (61). The MMC with *gumata* 'plan' always contains the Copula, e.g. (40), (41). The Noun may be followed by a focus marker, e.g. (40), (41). Focus markers are enclitics, not independent words. There is no example in which the Noun and the Copula are separated by any independent word. Therefore, it seems likely – though by no means certain – that the Copula (when it is present) forms a unit with the Noun.

To sum up, in the word-type MMC, the predicate of the Clause and the Noun form a unit. Furthermore, it seems likely – though by no means certain – that, in the MMC with *kutu* and that with *gumata* (though not in the MMC with *munu*), the predicate of the Clause, the Noun (*kutu* or *gumata*) and the Copula (when the Copula is present) form a compound predicate.

5.3 Clitic-type MMC

5.3.1 An overview

In the clitic-type MMC, the Noun slot is filled by a clitic, to be precise, an enclitic. The clitic is integrated into the host word to which it is phonologically attached. In the MMC, the host is the predicate verb of the Clause. The phonological integration established between the verb and the Noun will be examined in detail in the sections below.

Like Modern Standard Japanese (Tsunoda, this volume-b, 5.1.4, 7.6, 7.7), there are a variety of clitics – approximately four in all – that occur in the Noun slot of the MMC in Irabu. In this section, I shall examine the following two forms: *=paz* 'maybe' and *=su(u)* 'tag-question; guess ('It seems'). I have selected *=paz* because the MMC involving *=paz* is a typical example of the clitic-type MMC in Irabu. I have chosen *=su(u)* because the MMC involving *=su(u)* does not have its corresponding construction in Modern Standard Japanese.

The two major generalizations about the word-type MMC apply to the clitic-type MMC as well. First, the Clause is not an AC, i.e. the entire sentence is reanalyzed as mono-clausal. Second, like *munu* 'thing, person' (though not *kutu* 'fact, thing' or *gumata* 'plan'), *=su(u)* (though not *=paz*) is being reanalyzed as a sentence-final particle and there is little evidence that it heads an NP as will be expected of ordinary nouns.

In what follows, the focus is on how the clitic-type MMC differs from the word-type MMC. In particular, the following two aspects will be examined in detail: (i) the degree of "denominalization" on the part of the Noun component, and (ii) phonological dependency established between the verb and the Noun. (The term "denominalization" is due to Tsunoda (this volume-b, 7.4).)

5.3.2 *=paz*

5.3.2.1 Introduction and examples

The clitic *=paz* denotes an epistemic modal meaning ranging from a weak guess ('maybe') to a somewhat stronger guess based on the speaker's certainty ('must be'). It may attach to a verbal predicate, e.g. (62), and a nominal predicate, e.g. (63). It generally functions as a sentence-final modal particle. (However, it may be followed by the Copula, and in such instances it is not a sentence-final particle. See (64).) The predicate verb of the Clause is generally in an adnominal form, e.g. (62), (although there are exceptions; they will be discussed in 5.3.2.2-[2]). Examples follow.

(62) [*kari=a   pzsara=kara t-tar*]=**paz**.
    3SG=TOP Hirara=ABL   come-ADN.PST=maybe
    'He may have come from Hirara.'

(63) [*kari=a   sinsii*]=**paz**.
    3SG=TOP teacher=maybe
    'He may be a teacher.'

5.3.2.2 Denominalization

The clitic *=paz* shows a higher degree of denominalization than *kutu* 'fact, thing', *gumata* 'plan', and *munu* 'thing, person', which are used in the word-type MMC. We shall look at various aspects of the denominalization of *=paz*.

    [1] Unlike *kutu*, *gumata* and *munu*, there is no independent noun *paz* in Irabu. Its nominal origin is only indirectly traced and its nominal feature is only weakly justified. There are two kinds of evidence for the noun origin of *=paz*.
    (a) Historical-comparative evidence. The cognate form *hazu* in Modern Standard Japanese can be used as a noun denoting 'arrowhead with a groove' (cf. Tsunoda, this volume-b, 5.1.3-[2]). In Modern Standard Japanese, *hazu* is a noun (an independent word), and it can be used in the MMC. This MMC can express (i) intention, decision, and (ii) evaluation.
    (b) Language-internal evidence
    (b-1) The clitic *=paz* attracts copula support, like the noun *kutu* 'fact, thing' and *gumata* 'plan' (5.2.2, 5.2.3, 5.2.5.1). (This is shown in Table 3.)

(64) [*kari=a   pzsara=kara t-tar*]=**paz**=*du*   *a-tar*.
    3SG=TOP Hirara=ABL   come-ADN.PST=maybe=FOC COP-ADN.PST
    'It was probable that he had come from Hirara.'

It should be emphasized, however, that the copula support is not usually encountered in natural discourse. The above example was constructed by the present writer. It was judged as grammatical by two consultants, even though they would not normally use such an expression.

(b-2) The clitic *=paz* mostly requires the preceding verb to be in an adnominal form, e.g. (62) (ADN.PST), (64) (ADN.PST), and (73) (ADN.NPST). This shows that *=paz* was the head noun that carried an AC.

[2] Even though the verb to which the clitic *=paz* attaches is in most cases in an adnominal form, there are important exceptions to this generalization. That is, in natural discourse we do encounter cases where the preceding verb is in an independent form (not an adnominal form). In (65), the verb form *azzattam* is an independent form, inflecting for tense and mood (PST-RLS) (cf. Table 1).

(65) *s-sa-n-Ø.*   [*az-za-t-ta-m*]=**paz**.
  know-THM-NEG-ADN.NPST say-THM-NEG-PST-RLS=maybe
  '(I) don't know. (He) may have not said (that).'

Recall that in the word-type MMC (5.2.1) and also ACs (4.2), the predicate verb must always be in an adnominal form. In this regard, then, the MMC with *=paz* shows a higher degree of denominalization than the word-type MMC and also ACs, for the preceding verb does not have to be in an adnominal form.

[3] The clitic *=paz* never allows modification by an adnominal word like the demonstrative *unu* 'that' or other expressions that would occur in an ordinary NP.

It is interesting to note that, while the adverbial *ai* 'that way', which usually modifies a predicate (e.g. (66)), can directly precedes the clitic *=paz*, as in (67). In contrast, if a noun needs to be modified by *ai*, the latter must take the genitive case, as in (32) and (68), and the direct modification of a noun by *ai* is ungrammatical; see (69). Unlike ordinary nouns, *=paz* is never modified by the derived adnominal modifier *ai=nu*; see, (70). All these indicate that *=paz* behaves differently from ordinary nouns.

(66) *ai=du*   *as-tar.*
  that.way=FOC do-ADN.PST
  '(I) did that way.'

(67) *ai=paz.*
  that.way=maybe
  '(It) may be that way.'

(68) *ai=nu   pztu*
      that.way=GEN man
      'that kind of person'

(69) *ai   pztu*
      that.way=GEN man
      IM: 'that kind of person'

(70) *ai=nu=paz.*
      that.way=GEN=maybe
      IM: '(It) may be that way.'

In (63) the clitic *=paz* directly follows the noun *sinsii* 'teacher', since it simply attaches to a nominal predicate. If the clitic *=paz* were a noun, then this kind of juxtaposition would never occur, and the noun *sinsii* would take the genitive form *sinsii=nu* (teacher=GEN). This shows that the clitic *=paz* no longer behaves as a noun, only functioning as a sentence-final particle.

[4] There is also a conspicuous difference between *kutu*, *gumata* and *munu* in the word-type MMC and *=paz* in the clitic-type MMC with regard to the phonological dependency of the Noun component. That is, while the Noun in the word-type MMC and the predicate verb of the Clause may or may not form a single phonological word (cf. 5.2.5.2), the clitic *=paz* is always phonologically integrated into the host, forming a single phonological word with the verb, as shown below.

A sequence of two L-toned feet, which indicates a phonological-word boundary (cf. 3.2), may or may not occur in the verb of the Clause of the word-type MMC; see (71) and (72). In contrast, it never occurs in that of the clitic-type MMC; see (73). This indicates that phonologically the clitic *=paz* is integrated into the host, forming a single phonological word with the verb.

(71) Word-type MMC
      [*aca   kanukja=u=baa ugunaar-as*]   **kutu**=*dooi.*
      tomorrow 3PL=ACC=TOP   gather-CAUS.ADN.NPST fact/thing=EMP
      '(Someone) will make them get together tomorrow.'

(72) (ugu)(naa)(ras)   (kutu)(dooi)
      H   L   L #   H   L
      H   L   H   L   L#

(73) Clitic-type MMC

[*aca kanukja=u=baa ugunaar-as*]=***paz**=dooi.*
tomorrow 3PL=ACC=TOP   gather-CAUS.ADN.NPST=maybe=EMP
(ugu)(naa)(ras)(paz)(dooi)
H   L   H   L   L #
'(Someone) may make them get together tomorrow.'

To sum up, *=paz* was a noun etymologically but it has been denominalized phonologically, morphologically and syntactically.

5.3.2.3 Compound predicate

In the MMC with *=paz*, the predicate of the Clause and the Noun form a unit. As seen in 5.3.2.2-[4], phonologically *=paz* is integrated into the host, forming a single phonological word with the verb. Regarding the Copula (when it is present, e.g. (64)), *=paz* may be followed by a focus marker, which is an enclitic. However, there is no example in which the Noun and the Copula are separated by any independent word. Therefore, it seems likely – though by no means certain – that the Copula (when it is present) forms a unit with the Noun and also the predicate of the Clause.

To sum up, in the MMC with *=paz*, the predicate of the Clause and the Noun form a unit. Furthermore, it seems likely – though by no means certain – that the predicate of the Clause, the Noun and the Copula (when the it is present) form a compound predicate.

5.3.2.4 Can the Clause be used as a sentence by itself?

As seen in 5.3.2.2-[2], the predicate of the Clause of the MMC with *=paz* is generally in an adnominal form, and exceptionally in an independent form. An adnominal form can be used as the predicate of independent sentences (cf. 3.3, 4.1.1), and the Clause whose predicate is in an adnominal form can stand on its own as a sentence. Thus, compare (64) with (74). When the predicate of the Clause is in an independent form, naturally the Clause can be used as a sentence by itself. Compare the second sentence of (65) with (75).

(74) *kari=a   pzsara=kara t-tar.*
3SG=TOP Hirara=ABL   come-ADN.PST
'He came from Hirara.'

(75) *az-za-t-ta-m.*
say-THM-NEG-PST-RLS
'(He) did not say (that).'

5.3.2.5 Sentencehood of the Clause of the MMC

It is possible to say that, in terms of the morphology of the predicate, the Clause of the clitic-type MMC with *=paz* has a higher degree of sentencehood than the Clause of the word-type MMC (5.2.5.5). The predicate of the Clause of the word type has to be in an adnominal form. It cannot be in an independent form. In contrast, the Clause of the MMC with *=paz* can be in an independent form or in an adnominal form.

5.3.3 *=su(u)*

5.3.3.1 Introduction and examples

Another clitic that is used in the clitic-type MMC is *=su(u)*. Etymologically it was a noun which meant 'person, man, thing'. Its original form is not known for certain. In Modern Irabu, it is not an independent word, but an enclitic. It has an allomorph *=ru(u)*, which occurs when preceded by a word that ends in /r/. The vowel in parentheses occurs in free variation. This clitic is usually used as a non-content noun or non-lexical noun, and in this use it always carries an AC. In the following example, the clitic *=ruu* carries an AC (which is shown with braces), and the entire NP consisting of the AC and the head noun *=ruu* functions as the subject argument marked by the nominative case *=nu*. The verb that precedes *=su(u)* has to be in an adnominal form.

(76) {*jaa=ju*   *muc-i-u-r*}*=ruu=nu=du*   *mas*.
　　 house=ACC have-THM-PROG-ADN.NPST=person=NOM=FOC better
　　 'A person who has his own house is better.'

In (76), this clitic functions as an agent nominal. It may also function like a complementizer (glossed 'COMP'), like *that* in English:

(77) *vva=ga*   *jaa=ju*   *muc-i-u-r=ruu=ju=ba*
　　 2SG=NOM house=ACC have-THM-PROG-ADN.NPST=COMP=ACC=TOP.
　　 s-sa-t-tar
　　 know-THM-NEG-ADN.PST
　　 '(I) didn't know that you have your own house.'

　　 The clitic *=su(u)* in the MMC never attracts copula support. At least no example is attested. (This is shown in Table 3.) That is, *=su(u)* in the MMC functions as a sentence-final particle. It denotes a tag-question-like meaning, as in (78), or an evidential meaning ('It seems'), as in (79).

(78) [*vva=mai az-tar*]=**ruu**=*da*.
　　2SG=too   say-ADN.PST=I.think=TAG
　　'You also said (so), didn't you?'

(79) [*pztu=nu   jaa=nu   suija-gama=n   ik-i-i,   mmna*
　　person=GEN house=GEN balcony-DIM=DAT go-THM-SEQ all
　　par-ri-i   uk-i-ar]=**ruu**.
　　leave-THM-SEQ put-THM-RES.ADN.NPST=it.seems
　　'It seemed that (they) had gone to the balcony of someone's house, and had all entered (under the balcony).'

5.3.3.2 *=suu* and *=da*

When the MMC under discussion functions like a tag-question, the clitic *=su(u)* usually occur as a sequence of *=su(u) + =da*, e.g. (78). The meaning of the morpheme *=da* is still unknown, for it always occurs with *=su(u)*. One might thus want to analyze the two forms as constituting a single morpheme *=su(u)da*, which denotes a tag question. However, there do exist cases where *=su(u)* is used without *=da*; see (79).

　　My current analysis treats *=su(u)* as a separate morpheme that designates speaker's guess or evidentiality ('It seems', etc.), and it is *=da* that designates a tag question. As far as distributional features are concerned, the formative *=da* always occurs sentence-finally. In Irabu, sequences of two sentence-final particles are quite common, and when an edge-only particle (i.e. *=da* in this case) and another particle co-occur successively, the final particle is likely to be a speech-act-oriented discourse marker whereas the one to its left is likely to be a modal marker.

　　When *=su(u)* is used without *=da*, as in (79), *=su(u)* denotes a speaker's guess roughly translated as 'It seems'. However, this kind of isolated use of *=su(u)* is highly limited in natural discourse. According to the existing data, the clitic *=su(u)* denotes a guess based on visual or auditory evidence that is available to the speaker. If this sketchy description is adequate, *=su(u)* contrasts with other epistemic expressions that denote a simple guess (like *=paz* 'maybe'), which do not specify the source and type of the information that enables the guess. In this respect, it may be more appropriate to say that the clitic *=su(u)* in the MMC denotes an evidential meaning that specifies visual or auditory evidence.

5.3.3.3 Denominalization

The clitic *=su(u)* is closer to a noun on the denominalization scale than is the clitic *=paz*. When used in the MMC, the clitic *=su(u)* always requires the preceding verb to be in an adnominal form. (In the MMC with *=paz*, the verb of the Clause may be in an adnominal form, but it may also be in an independent form (5.3.2.2-[2]).) This is not surprising, since the source structure of the *=su(u)* MMC (e.g. (76)) still exists, with the clitic *=su(u)* functioning as the head of an NP. Probably the

only feature that shows a certain degree of denominalization is that the clitic *=su(u)* is never followed by the copula verb when used in the MMC (5.3.3.1). Note that the other clitic *=paz* does allow copula support (5.3.2.2-[1]-(b-1)).

On the other hand, the phonological dependency of *=su(u)* is conspicuous. First, as is the case with *=paz,* it forms a single phonological word with the preceding verb. Second, it has the mono-moraic allomorph *=su,* which violates the minimality constraint in Irabu (cf. 3.2): a phonological word must have at least one foot (bimoraic or trimoraic). Third, the clitic *=su(u)* alternates its initial segment (/s/ > /r/) as a morpho-phonological alternation, which only occurs within a phonological word. The second and third characteristics are not found in *=paz.*

That is, syntactically *=su(u)* is less denominalized than *=paz.* However, phonologically *=su(u)* is more denominalized than *=paz.*

5.3.3.4 Compound predicate

As seen in 5.3.3.3, there is evidence – indeed strong evidence – to show that the predicate of the Clause and the Noun of the MMC with *=su(u)* form a unit. However, *=su(u)* in the MMC never attracts copula support (5.3.3.1 and Table 3). Therefore, the MMC with *=su(u)* does not – and probably cannot – have a compound predicate that consists of the predicate of the Clause, the Noun and the Copula.

5.3.3.5 Can the Clause be used as a sentence by itself?

As seen above, the predicate verb of the Clause of the MMC with *=su(u)* is in an adnominal form. An adnominal form can be used as the predicate of independent sentences (cf. 3.3, 4.1.1), and the Clause whose predicate is in an adnominal form can stand on its own as a sentence. Thus, compare (78) with:

(80) *vva=mai az-tar.*
       2SG=too say-ADN.PST
       'You also said (so).'

5.3.3.6 Sentencehood of the Clause of the MMC

The predicate of the Clause of the MMC with *=su(u)* is in an adnominal form, as is the case with the predicate of the Clause of the word-type MMC (5.2.1). What was stated about the latter (5.2.5.5) applies here. That is, the Clause of the clitic-type MMC with *=su(u)* does not have some of the properties that independent sentences possess. For example, the predicate of the Clause cannot be in an independent form. In this respect, it is possible to say that the Clause of the MMC with *=su(u)* has a lower degree of sentencehood than the Clause of the MMC with *=paz,* in which the predicate can be in an adnominal form or in an independent form.

5.4 Affix-type MMC

5.4.1 Introductory notes

In the affix-type MMC, the Noun slot is filled by the suffix *-kutu* or *-gumata*. They are attached to the root or the stem of a verb. See Table 1. They are conjugational suffixes, i.e. verbal inflectional suffixes. *-kutu* expresses obligative/future, and *-gumata* future (to be precise, anticipated future). As indicated in the notes to Table 1, they are specific to Class 1, and they are absent in Class 2. Etymologically they derived from the nouns *kutu* 'fact, thing' (5.2.2) and *gumata* 'plan' (5.2.3) in the MMC, respectively. We shall first look at *-kutu*, followed by *-gumata*.

5.4.2 *-kutu* 'obligative/future'

Etymologically *-kutu* is a noun that means 'fact, thing'. The noun *kutu* 'fact, thing' can occur in the Noun slot of the MMC (5.2.2), and this MMC expresses (i) a deontic modal meaning 'should; be supposed to', e.g. (3), (33) to (39), (46), (56), (61), (83), or (ii) future 'will', e.g. (46), (48), (71). The MMC with the suffix *-kutu* expresses the same meaning: (i) a deontic modal meaning 'should; be supposed to', e.g. (5), (81), (82), (84) to (86), (91), or (ii) future 'will', e.g. (91). However, the structural difference between the word-type and affix-type MMCs is conspicuous. In the latter, the form *kutu* is an inflectional affix used with verbs, e.g.:

(81) [*kai=ga=du   sac=n   idi*]-**kutu**.
    3SG=NOM=FOC first=DAT go.out-OBL/FUT
                        Clause   Noun
    'S/he should go first.'

(82) [*kanukja=nkai=ja aca   fii*]-**kutu**.
    3PL=ALL=TOP   tomorrow give-OBL/FUT
                        Clause   Noun
    'I am supposed to give (it) to them tomorrow.'

In (82), for example, *fiikutu* is a single verb consisting of the root *fii-* 'give' and the inflectional affix *-kutu*. This structure developed from the following word-type MMC, in which the predicate of the Clause is the non-past adnominal verb *fiir* 'give' and the Noun slot is occupied by the noun *kutu* 'fact, thing'.

(83) [*kanukja=nkai=ja aca fii-r*] ***kutu***.
    3PL=ALL=TOP   tomorrow give-ADN.NPST <u>fact/thing</u>
    Clause   Noun
    'I am supposed to give (it) to them tomorrow.'

Note that, in the affix-type MMC, the non-past inflectional affix *-r* of the adnominal verb *fiir* is replaced by what was the noun *kutu* previously. Diachronically speaking, morphological fusion occurred so that the non-past affix *-r* was lost and the noun *kutu* came to fill the inflection slot, and *kutu* came to be reanalyzed as a new inflectional affix. (In the MMC with the noun *kutu*, the predicate of the Clause is in the non-past adnominal form (5.2.2).) That is, a noun (an independent word) (*kutu*) became a verbal inflectional suffix.

This /r/ deletion is not phonologically motivated, i.e. we cannot assume that the underlying form of /fii-kutu/ is /fii-r-kutu/ to which /r/ deletion operated to derive the surface form /fii-kutu/. If this were the case, we could not claim that *kutu* is an affix directly attached to the stem. Our analysis is supported by the fact that the stem-final /r/ of a Class-2 stem like *tur* 'take' never undergoes /r/ deletion, demonstrating that the deletion is not a simple phonological rule but a rule specific to Class-1 verbs.[2]

It seems very uncommon among the world's languages for a noun to become a verbal inflectional suffix. (See Tsunoda (this volume-a, 2.3-[1], 4.2.1, 4.2.3, 4.5).) A cursory examination of the relevant literature, such as Heine, Claudi & Hünnemeyer (1991), Hopper & Traugott (2003) and Lehmann (1995), indicates that no such instance seems to have been reported previously. (Aikhenvald (2004: 284, 2011: 609) lists seven languages in which evidential markers derive from nouns, but she does not say whether or not these markers are verbal inflectional affixes. Dixon (2003: 180) describes a suffix for reported evidence in Jarawara (southern Amazonia) that can be attached to verbs and also to nouns and that may have derived from an adverb that in turn may have derived a noun.)

As Table 4 shows, in Modern Standard Japanese, the noun *koto* 'fact' (an independent noun) can occur in the Noun slot of the MMC. Also, the enclitic *=koto* can occupy the Noun slot. However, there is no verbal inflectional suffix which derives from the noun *koto* 'fact'. Indeed in Modern Standard Japanese there appears to be no verbal inflectional suffix which derives from a noun.

We return to Irabu. It is interesting to note that the affix *-kutu* still retains its former status as a noun. As is the case with the word-type MMC containing the noun *kutu* (cf. 5.2.2, 5.2.5.1), the affix *-kutu* allows the copula verb to follow. (This

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2 A Class-2 stem may take a thematic vowel, which occurs stem-finally, to carry certain inflections (Table 1). If a Class-2 stem took a thematic vowel when carrying *-kutu*, then the *kutu* affixation would not be specific to Class-1 verbs. However, a thematic vowel never occurs before *-kutu*, supporting our view that the *kutu* affixation is specific to Class-1 verbs.

is shown in Table 3.) In (84), the copula verb is in the past tense. In (85) and (86), the copula verb is negated. (81) to (83) do not contain the copula verb. They have a non-past time reference, and also they are not negated.

(84) [*vva=ga   nkai*]-**kutu**=*du   a-tar.*
      2SG=NOM pick.up-OBL/FUT=FOC COP-ADN.PST
      'You were supposed to pick up (your child).'

(85) [*vva=ga   nkai*]-**kutu**=*u   ar-a-n-Ø.*
      2SG=NOM pick.up-OBL/FUT=TOP COP-THM-NEG-ADN.NPST
      'You are not supposed to pick up (your child).'

(86) [*kanukja=nkai=ja aca   fii*]-**kutu**   *ar-a-n-Ø.*
      3PL=ALL=TOP   tomorrow give-OBL/FUT COP-THM-NEG-ADN.NPST
      'I am not supposed to give (it) to them tomorrow.'

5.4.3 *-gumata* 'future' (anticipated future)

Etymologically *-gumata* is a noun that means 'plan'. The noun *gumata* 'plan' is always used in the Noun slot of the MMC. The MMC with *gumata* has a future meaning 'will' – to be precise, anticipated future. This meaning is tentatively translated as 'be scheduled to do'. The MMC with *-gumata*, too, has this meaning. *-gumata* is regarded as a verbal inflectional suffix for the same reason as that given for *-kutu* in 5.4.2. Examples of the MMC with *-gumata* include the following.

(87) [*vva=ga   nkai*]-**gumata**=*du   jar-Ø.*
      2SG=NOM pick.up-ANTC=FOC COP-ADN.NPST
      'You are scheduled to pick up (your child).'

(88) [*vva=ga   nkai*]-**gumata**=*du   a-tar.*
      2SG=NOM pick.u-u-ANTC=FOC COP-ADN.PST
      'You were scheduled to pick up (your child).'

(89) [*vva=ga   nkai*]-**gumata**=*a   ar-a-n-Ø.*
      2SG=NOM pick.up-ANTC=TOP COP-THM-NEG-ADN.NPST
      'You are not scheduled to pick up (your child).'

In (88) the copula verb is in the past tense, as is the case with (84) (*-kutu*). In (89), it is negated, as is the case with (85) and (86) (*-kutu*). However, there is one difference between the MMC with *-kutu* and that with *-gumata*. (81) to (831) (*-kutu*) do not contain the copula verb. They have a non-past time reference and they are not negated. In contrast, (87) (*-gumata*) has a non-past time reference and it is not negated. Despite this, (87) contains the copula (in the non-past tense). In the data

available, the MMC with *-gumata* always contains the copula verb – even when the copula verb is in the non-past form and is not negated.

5.4.4 Morphological dependency

I examine the suffix *-kutu* and the noun *kutu* 'fact, thing', but the statements on them apply to the suffix *-gumata* and the noun *gumata* 'plan' as well.

It is obvious that the Noun of the affix-type MMC is morphologically dependent; it occurs within a morphosyntactic word, i.e. as an inflectional affix by replacing the original inflectional affix *-r*.

As is often the case in grammaticalization phenomena, however, the fused morphology as noted above is not regular or stable. First, it occurs only in Class-1 verbs (*mii-* 'look', *idi-* 'come out', *nkai-* 'bring (someone)', *fii-* 'give', *nii-* 'boil', *nci-* 'put', etc.), which all end in *-r* for non-past adnominal inflection (see Table 3). As noted in 3.3, Class-1 verbs may be derived from Class-2 verbs (e.g. *jum-* 'read') by attaching the passive-potential affix *-rai* (e.g. *jum* 'read' → *jum-ai*). Such derived Class-1 verbs may also undergo this fused morphology: *jumair kutu* → *jumai-kutu* 'be supposed to be read'. Second, Class-1 verbs do not always show the fused morphology, and they often occur in the non-fused form (i.e. with the original inflectional affix *-r*). That is, the source structure like (83) (word-type MMC) and its grammaticalized structure like (82) (affix-type MMC) are co-existent in Irabu.

With respect to Class-2 verbs (such as *fau-* 'eat', *tur-* 'take', *jum-* 'read', *kug-* 'paddle', etc.), the adnominal non-past is expressed by a root or a stem alone (or, they have a zero non-past affix) (see Table 3). Thus, we cannot say whether what we are looking at is, say, *jum kutu* (*jum-Ø kutu*) or *jum-kutu*, since the original inflectional affix is not "replaced". Hence, we cannot say that Class-2 verbs instantiate the affix-type MMC in which *kutu* functions as an inflectional affix. No useful test is forthcoming that will confirm this. Therefore, in terms of the morphological dependency, I tentatively treat every instance of the *kutu* MMC with a Class-2 verb as an instance of the word-type MMC.

5.4.5 Phonological dependency

I examine the suffix *-kutu* and the noun *kutu* 'fact, thing', but the statements on them apply to the suffix *-gumata* and the noun *gumata* 'plan' as well.

As noted in 5.4.4, one striking fact about the affix-type MMC is that the Noun component (i.e. the affix *-kutu*) is morphologically integrated into the preceding verb, although this only applies to Class-1 verbs unequivocally. Moreover, prosodic evidence shows that the two components constitute a single phonological word; there is no prosodic (phonological-word) boundary between the preceding verb

(Class-1 verb stem) and the Noun (-*kutu*). Consider the following pair of examples. (46), repeated below, is an instance of the word-type MMC). (91) is an instance of the affix-type MMC, with the inflectional affix of (46) (i.e. -*r*) replaced with the affix -*kutu*.

(46) [*ai=nu   siitu-mmi=a   mmja bizi-smi-rai-r*]   **kutu**=*dara*.
    that=GEN pupil-PL=TOP well   sit-CAUS-PASS-ADN.NPST fact/thing=EMP
    'That sort of pupil should/will be made to sit (as a punishment).'

(90)   bizi-smi-rai-r   kutu=dara
       (bizi)(smi)(rair)   (kutu)(dara)
   a. H   L   L#   H   L#
   b. H   L   H   L   L#

(91) [*ai=nu   siitu-mmi=a   mmja bizi-smi-rai*]   -**kutu**=*dara*.
    that=GEN pupil-PL=TOP well   sit-CAUS-PASS- -OBL/FUT=EMP
    'That sort of pupil should/will be made to sit (as a punishment).'

(92)   (bizi)(smi)(rair)   (kutu)(dara)
  *a. H   L   L#   H   L#
   b. H   L   H   L   L#

As indicated by the asterisk on (92-a), it is impossible for a phonological-word boundary to be drawn between the verb and the Noun in the affix-type MMC. Thus, in the affix-type MMC, the Noun component is both morphologically and phonologically dependent.

    In 5.4.4, I noted that it is impossible to argue, on the basis of morphological dependency, that Class-2 verbs may instantiate the affix-type MMC given that the original inflectional affix is zero in the first place. When the phonological criterion as discussed in this section is applied, it becomes clear that the Noun *kutu* and the preceding verb (a Class-2 verb) are not always treated as a single phonological word, a fact which also holds true for the word-type MMC (5.2.5.2). Thus, there is no phonological nor morphological evidence that a Class-2 verb may constitute a single word with the Noun *kutu*.

5.4.6 Compound predicate

As seen in 5.4.4 and 5.4.5, when a Class-1 verb is used in the affix-type MMC, both morphologically and phonologically the predicate of the Clause (a root or a stem) and the Noun (the suffix -*kutu* or -*gumata*) form a single unit. Regarding the Copula (when it is present, e.g. (84) to (89)), there is no example in which the Noun and the Copula are separated by any independent word (although an enclitic may intervene between them). Therefore, it seems likely – though by no means certain – that

the Copula (when it is present) forms a unit with the Noun and also the predicate of the Clause. To sum up, the predicate of the Clause and the Noun form a unit. Furthermore, it seems likely – though by no means certain – that the predicate of the Clause, the Noun and the Copula (when the Copula is present) form a compound predicate.

Regarding Class-2 verbs, there is no phonological nor morphological evidence to show that they are used in the affix-type MMC.

5.4.7 Can the Clause be used as a sentence by itself?

As seen above, there is no evidence that Class-2 verbs can be used in the affix-type MMC. Therefore, we shall only look at the MMC with a Class-1 verb. As noted in 5.4.1, the suffixes *-kutu* and *-gumata* are added to the root or the stem of a verb. The root/stem of a Class-1 verb by itself cannot be used as an independent form or an adnominal form, and the Clause by itself cannot be used as a sentence. As a pair of examples, compare (93) and (94).

(93) [*vva=a   kunu buuz=zu   ibi*]-***kutu***.
      2SG=TOP this   sugarcane=ACC plant-OBL/FUT
      'You are supposed to plant this sugarcane.'

(94) **vva=a   kunu buuz=zu=du   ibi*.
      2SG=TOP this   sugarcane=ACC=FOC plant
      (Untranslatable)

5.4.8 Sentencehood of the Clause of the MMC

Again, we shall be concerned with the affix-type MMC with a Class-1 verb. As seen in 5.4.7, when a Class-1 verb is employed, the verb form (i.e. a root or a stem) cannot conclude a sentence, and the Clause has a very low degree of sentencehood.

5.5 Meanings of the MMC

We saw the meanings of the three types of the MMC, from 5.2 to 5.4. They can be summarized as in Table 5. Where possible, the etymology of the Noun, too, is shown.

Tab. 5: Meanings of the MMC.

Etymology	Meaning outside MMC	Meaning of MMC
kutu	*kutu* 'fact, thing'	(a) deontic: 'should; be supposed to' (b) future: 'will'
gumata	(not attested)	future (to be precise, anticipated future): 'be scheduled to'
munu	*munu* 'thing, person'	causal: 'because'
(cf. Japanese *hazu* 'arrowhead with a groove')	*=paz*	epistemic: guess ('may be' or 'must be')
'person, man, thing'	*=su(u)*	(a) tag question (b) epistemic ('I think') or evidential ('It seems': visual/auditory evidence)
kutu 'fact, thing'	*-kutu*	(a) deontic: 'should; be supposed to' (b) future ('will')
gumata 'plan'	*-gumata*	future (to be precise, anticipated future): 'be scheduled to'

6 Comparison of the MMC with other constructions

[1] Introductory notes

In 5.2.7, we compared the word-type MMC (and its Clause) with independent monoclausal sentences and ACs. We now look at the following four types of the MMC.

(vii)   MMC, clitic type, *=paz* (5.3.2)
(viii) MMC, clitic type, *=su(u)* (5.3.3)
(ix)   MMC, affix type (*-kutu*) (5.4.2)
(x)   MMC, affix type (*-gumata*) (5.4.3)

The result can be summarized as in Table 6. Not every point in this comparison was discussed or exemplified above.

[2] Verb morphology
(vii) MMC, clitic type, *=paz*
The predicate of the Clause is generally in an adnominal form, and exceptionally in an independent form.

(viii) MMC, clitic type, *=su(u)*
The predicate of the Clause is in an adnominal form.

(ix) MMC, affix type (-*kutu*)

(x) MMC, affix type (-*gumata*)

The predicate of the Clause is the root or the stem of a verb.

[3] Clause of the MMC (1): deletion

In these four types of the MMC, deletion of the Clause produces a nonsensical sentence.

[4] Clause of the MMC (2): modification

In these four types of the MMC, the Noun cannot be modified by any word.

[5] Topic marking

In these four types of the MMC, topic markers can occur in the Clause, e.g. (62) to (64), (73) (examples of (vii) MMC, clitic type, =*paz*) and (82), (86), (91), (93) (examples of (ix) MMC, affix type, -*kutu*). (I note in passing that in (85) and (89) the topic marker (=*a* or =*u*) occurs in the MMC, but that it occurs outside the Clause, not in the Clause.)

[6] Focus marking

In these four types of the MMC, focus markers can occur in the Clause, e.g. (4) (an example of (vii) MMC, clitic type, =*paz*), and (81) (an example of (ix) MMC, affix type, -*kutu*)). (I note in passing that in (5), (64), (84), (87) and (88) the focus marker =*du* occurs in the MMC, but that it occurs outside the Clause, not in the Clause.)

[7] Gapping

Gapping is impossible in the formation of these four types of the MMC.

[8] One subject or two subjects?

These four types of the MMC can have only one subject.

[9] Embeddedness

In these four types of the MMC, the Clause is not embedded.

The result of the comparison is shown in Table 6.

Table 6 shows the following. In terms of verb morphology, which is a morphological criterion, the Clause of the MMC – except for the affix-type MMC – resembles both mono-clausal sentences and ACs. The affix-type MMC differs from both mono-clausal sentences and ACs. However, in terms of the other seven criteria, which concern syntax, the Clause or/and the entire MMC always behave unlike ACs and they generally behave like mono-clausal sentences – except that ACs of the addition type disallows gapping, like mono-clausal sentences and the MMC. That is, the MMC does not contain an (embedded) AC. In these syntactic respects, the MMC is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal.

Tab. 6: Comparison of the MMC with other constructions.

	Verb morphology	Does deletion of the Clause or the AC produce a well- formed sentence?	Can the Clause or the AC be replaced with a modifier?
Mono-clausal sentence	independent, adnominal	irr.	irr.
MMC: *kutu*	adnominal (non-past only)	no	no
MMC: *gumata*	adnominal (non-past only)	no	no
MMC: *munu*	adnominal (past or non-past)	no	no
MMC: *=paz*	adnominal, independent	no	no
MMC: *=su(u)*	adnominal	no	no
MMC: *-kutu*	root or stem	no	no
MMC: *-gumata*	root or stem	no	no
AC: addition type	adnominal	yes	yes
AC: gap type	adnominal	yes	yes

	Topic marking	Focus marking	Gapping	Two subjects	Is the Clause or the AC embedded?
Mono-clausal sentence	+	+	–	–	irr.
MMC: *kutu*	+	+	–	–	–
MMC: *gumata*	+	+	–	–	–
MMC: *munu*	+	+	–	–	–
MMC: *=paz*	+	+	–	–	–
MMC: *=su(u)*	+	+	–	–	–
MMC: *-kutu*	+	+	–	–	–
MMC: *-gumata*	+	+	–	–	–
AC: addition type	–	(–)	–	+	+
AC: gap type	–	(–)	+	+	+

Legend: +: possible or (in the case of gapping) obligatory; –: not possible; (–): usually absent; irr. irrelevant.

7 Summary and concluding remarks

The present chapter has shown that Irabu has three types of the MMC: the word-type, the clitic-type, and the affix-type MMCs. Most instances have a modal meaning – deontic, epistemic, or evidential –, while the word-type MMC with *munu* has a causal meaning, and the word-type MMC with *gumata* and the affix-type MMC with *-gumata* have a future meaning (to be precise, anticipated future). Furthermore, the word-type MMC with *kutu* and the affix-type MMC with *-kutu* may also have a future meaning.

In terms of the morphology of the predicate of the Clause, in the main the MMC resembles both independent sentences and ACs. However, regarding the seven syntactic criteria examined, the Clause or/and the entire the MMC always behave differently from ACs and they generally behave like independent mono-clausal sentences. That is, the MMC does not contain an AC, and it is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal.

It seems likely that at least the word-type MMC with *kutu*, that with *gumata*, the clitic-type MMC with *=paz* and the affix-type MMC (with *-kutu* or *-gumata*) have a compound predicate that consists of the predicate of the Clause, the Noun and the Copula (when the Copula is present). In the case of the word-type MMC with *munu* and the clitic-type MMC with *=su(u)*, the predicate of the Clause and the Noun form a unit. However, the Copula is not attested. That is, these two MMCs cannot have a compound predicate that consists of the predicate of the Clause, the Noun and the Copula.

The three types of MMC exhibit different stages of grammaticalization, in which the word-type MMC is clearly the incipient structure from which the clitic-type MMC and the affix-type MMC have developed:

Independent word → enclitic → suffix.

Perhaps the most striking fact about this process is that independent nouns (*kutu* 'fact, thing' and *gumata* 'plan') have become verbal inflectional suffixes (*-kutu* (i) deontic 'should; be supposed to', and (ii) future, and *-gumata* future, to be precise, anticipated future). Crosslinguistically the co-existence of a grammaticalized structure together with its non-grammaticalised source structure is common. However, the grammaticalization of nouns to verbal inflectional suffixes is definitely uncommon.

It needs to be emphasized here that this crosslinguistically uncommon grammaticalization phenomenon seems rather common in Ryukyuan in general. For example, in Shuri (Okinawa Ryukyuan), the formal noun (or non-content noun) *kutu* 'fact, thing' is used as a converbal suffix denoting the causal relation (Shimoji 2012). Yuwan (Amami Ryukyuan) has a formal noun (or non-content noun) *sɨ* (note that it corresponds to *=su(u)* in Irabu; Section 5.3.3), which stands as a clitic when

used in an NP with an adnominal word, whereas it stands as an affix when used in an NP with an adnominal clause (Niinaga 2011). The Ryukyuan data presented here indicate one possible source structure that feeds the crosslinguistically uncommon grammaticalization (from a noun to a verbal inflectional affix): in Ryukyuan, this structure commonly developed from the AC structure, with the head noun of an NP being grammaticalized to become an inflectional affix of the predicate verb of the AC that precedes the head noun. The affix-type MMC in Irabu is one resultant construction of this grammaticalization phenomenon.

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

A = transitive subject; ABL = ablative; AC = adnominal clause; ACC = accusative; ADN = adnominal; ALL = allative; ANTC = anticipated future; BEN = benefactive; C = consonant; CAUS = causative; COMP = complementizer; COP = copula; CSL = causal; CVB = converb; DAT = dative; DIM = diminutive; EMP = emphasis; FOC = focus; FUT = future; GEN = genitive; H = high; IM = intended meaning; INT = intentional; L = low; LINK = linking interfix; LMT = limitative; LOC = locative; MMC = mermaid construction; MSJ = Modern Standard Japanese; NEG = negation; NMLZ = nominalizer; NOM = nominative; NPST = non-past; O = object; OBL = obligative; PASS = passive-potential; PL = plural; POL = polite; PRF = perfect; PROG = progressive; PROX = proximate; PST = past; Q = question; QT = quotation; RES = resultative; RLS = realis; S = intransitive subject; SEQ = sequential; SFP = sentence-final particle; SG = singular; TAG = tag question; THM = thematic vowel; TOP = topic; V = vowel; V = verb; VLZ = verbalizer; 2 = second person; 3 = third person.

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6 Korean

1 Introduction

Tsunoda (this volume-a, 2.1) proposes that the prototype of the mermaid construction ("MMC") has all of the following five properties.

(a) The structure is as shown in (1) – superficially at least.
(b) The Noun is an independent word (not a clitic) that is a noun.
(c) The subject of the Clause and the Noun are non-coreferential.
(d) The Clause can be used as a sentence by itself.
(e) The Clause is not the subject of the "Noun + Copula".

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

In the prototypical MMC, the Noun slot of the MMC is occupied by a noun that is an independent word. In non-prototypical instances, it may be occupied by an enclitic or a suffix which derives from a noun. Nouns, enclitics and suffixes in the Noun slot may also be nominalizers

Tsunoda (this volume-a, Section 1 and 2.1) notes as follows. Superficially at least, it looks as if the MMC contains a subordinate clause and is bi-clausal. However, languages such as Modern Standard Japanese (Tsunoda, this volume-b, Section 6) and Korean (J. Kim, the present chapter, Section 6) provide ample evidence that syntactically their MMC is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal, despite its superficial appearance (shown in (1)). Their MMC has just one predicate, not two predicates, and the predicate is a compound predicate that consists of the predicate of the Clause, the Noun and the Copula, as shown in (2).

(2) [... predicate of Clause]   Noun   Copula.
                    compound predicate

Korean has three types of MMC. Among these three types, the dominant type is examined in the present chapter. In the following, the dominant type of the MMC will be simply referred to as "MMC".

About 80 nouns are attested in the Noun slot of the MMC. They can be classified into three groups: content nouns, non-content nouns, and defective nouns. Some of the nouns in the Noun slot exhibit grammaticalization, to varying degrees.

The MMC has a wide range of meaning, such as modal, evidential, epistemic, aspectual, temporal and stylistic meanings, among others.

In terms of the morphology of the predicate, the Clause of the MMC and that of adnominal clauses ("ACs") (or relative clauses) are identical; they must take an adnominalizer suffix.

However, as alluded to above, syntactically, the Clause of the MMC behaves differently from ACs. The MMC does not contain an AC. The MMC behaves like mono-clausal independent sentences. It is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal.

Adnominal forms are non-finite, and the Clause of the MMC by itself cannot be used as a sentence.

The MMC abounds in Korean and it is frequently used both in written and spoken discourse in Korean.

2 Initial illustration

Three examples of the MMC are given below. (Yale Romanization will be adopted for the illustration of Korean examples.) The noun in the Noun slot is shown in bold face. When literally translated, the MMC does not make any sense. In view of this, both a literal translation ("LT") and a free translation ("FT") are sometimes provided. The portion that corresponds to the Clause of (1) and its literal translation are shown with square brackets.

(3) [*Chinkwu=nun ilpon=ey   ka-l*]   ***yeyceng***=*i-ta*.
    friend=TOP   Japan=DAT/LOC go-ADN.PROS plan=COP-DECL
    LT: '[(My) friend goes to Japan] a plan is.'
    FT: '(My) friend plans to go to Japan.'

(4) [*Pakk=ey=nun   pi=ka   o-nun*]   ***moyang***=*i-ta*.
    outside=DAT/LOC=TOP rain=NOM fall-ADN.NPST appearance=COP-DECL
    LT: '[As for the outside, rain is falling] an appearance is.'
    Less literal translation: 'Rain appears to be falling outside.'
    FT: 'It appears to be raining outside.'

(5) [*Na=nun unhayng=ey   ka-nun*]   ***kil***=*i-ta*.
    I=TOP   bank=DAT/LOC go-ADN.NPST road=COP-DECL
    LT: '[I go to the bank] the road is.'
    FT: 'I am on my way to the bank.'

3 Profile of the language

The Korean language is mainly spoken in the Korean peninsula, by approximately 78 to 80 million people. It can be classified as an Altaic language, although this is a controversial issue. The variety spoken in South Korea and that spoken in North

Tab. 1: Paradigm of conjugation.

	Verb	Copula
Finite forms	'go'	'be'
Past	*ka-ss-ta*	*=i-ess-ta*
Nonpast	*ka-n-ta*	*=i-ta*
Nonfinite forms		
Adnominal forms		
Past	*ka-n*	*=i-ten*
Nonpast	*ka-nun*	*=i-n*
Retrospective	*ka-ten*	*=i-ten*
Prospective	*ka-l*	*=i-l*
Past retrospective	*ka-ssten*	*=i-essten*
Past prospective	*ka-ssul*	*=i-essul*
Conjunctive	*ka-se*	*=i-ese*
	ka-ko	*=i-ko*
	Adjective	**Existential verb**
Finite forms	'small'	'exist'
Past	*cak-ass-ta*	*iss-ess-ta*
Nonpast	*cak-ta*	*iss-ta*
Nonfinite forms		
Adnominal forms		
Past	*cak-ten*	*iss-ten*
Nonpast	*cak-un*	*iss-nun*
Retrospective	*cak-ten*	*iss-ten*
Prospective	*cak-ul*	*iss-ul*
Past retrospective	*cak-assten*	*iss-essten*
Past prospective	*cak-assul*	*iss-essul*
Conjunctive	*cak-ase*	*iss-ese*
	cak-ko	*iss-ko*

Korea exhibit some differences in pronunciation, spelling, grammar and vocabulary. The present chapter deals with the Seoul dialect of South Korea. There are reference grammars of Korean such as Martin (1992).

The phonemes of Korean are 19 consonants (14 consonants and 5 geminates): /k, n, t, l, m, p, s, ng, c, ch, kh, th, ph, h, kk, tt, pp, ss, cc/, and 21 vowels and diphthongs: /a, ya, e, ye, o, yo, wu, yu, u, i, ay, yay, ey, yey, wa, way, oy, we, wey, wi, uy/.

Korean is largely agglutinating, dependent-marking and mildly configurational. It employs both suffixes and prefixes.

Verbs inflect. They have a rich set of adnominal forms, in addition to finite forms and conjunctive forms. Portions of the paradigm of verbs (including existential verbs), adjectives and also the copula are shown in Table 1. There are several conjunctive forms, and two of them are shown in Table 1.

Tab. 2: Copula.

	Nonpast form	Past form
Plain form	*=i-ta*	*=i-ess-ta*
Intimate form	*=i-ya*	*=i-ess-e*
Polite form	*=i-eyyo* / *=yeyyo*	*=i-ess-eyo*
Deferential form	*=i-pni-ta*	*=i-ess-supni-ta*

In addition to the categories such as those shown Table 1, verbs, adjectives and the copula may contain suffixes that show a speech level, deference, politeness, respect, and so on. As an example, some of such forms of the copula are shown in Table 2.

The preferred word order is the predicate-final order, and the unmarked order is SOV. Case markers are postpositions. The case system is of the nominative-accusative type. A demonstrative, a numeral, an adjective and an adnominal clause (or a relative clause) precede the noun they modify.

Korean has a literary/literacy tradition. The data in this chapter is mainly taken from the written language, such as newspaper articles and blogs on the internet. This chapter also contains examples that I have composed.

4 Types of sentences and clauses

4.1 Verb-predicate, adjective-predicate, noun-predicate and existential-predicate sentences

Sentences in Korean can be classified into four types.

(a) Verb-predicate sentence, e.g. (6).
(b) Adjective-predicate sentence: (7).
(c) Noun-predicate sentence, e.g. (8).
(d) Existential-predicate sentence, e.g. (9).

In every type of sentences, the predicate is followed by a sentence-final suffix, e.g. *-ta* for declarative sentences. Noun-predicate sentences contain the copula verb. The predicate of existential-predicate sentences is *iss-* 'be, exist, have' or *eps-* 'do not exist, be absent'.

(6) *Chinkwu=nun nayil   ilpon=ey   ka-n-ta.*
    friend=TOP   tomorrow Japan=DAT/LOC go-NPST-DECL
    '(My) friend goes/will go to Japan tomorrow.'

(7) *Chinkwu=nun yeyppu-ta.*
    friend=TOP   pretty-DECL
    '(My) friend is pretty.'

(8) *Chinkwu=nun uysa(=i)-ta.*
    friend=TOP   medical.doctor=COP-DECL
    '(My) friend is a medical doctor.'

(9) *Onul=un   seysi=pwuthe hoyuy=ka   iss-ta.*
    today=TOP 3.o'clock=ABL meeting=NOM exist-DECL
    'Today there is a meeting at 3 o'clock.'

See (8). As shown in Table 1, the nonpast form of the copula is *=i-ta*. It consists of the copula *i* and the sentence-final suffix *-ta* (which shows that the sentence is a declarative sentence). The copula *=i* can be omitted when it is preceded by a noun that ends with a vowel and followed by the sentence-final suffix *-ta*.

4.2 Adnominal clauses

4.2.1 Introductory notes

In Korean, an adnominal clause ("AC") (or a relative clause) precedes the noun it modifies. Korean has no relative pronouns. The predicate of an AC has to be in an adnominal form, e.g. adnominal past (*-un*) in (10). Adnominal forms involve an adnominal (or relativizer) suffix (hereafter "adnominalizer"). Some of the adnominal forms are shown in Table 1. In the examples given below, the AC is shown with braces.

(10) {*sosel=ul   ilk-un*}   *namca*
     novel=ACC read-ADN.PST man
     'the man who read a novel'

     For Modern Standard Japanese, Teramura (1969) divides its ACs into two types. Tsunoda (this volume-b, 4.2.2) proposes to label these two types as "gap type" and "addition type". In addition, Tsunoda (this volume-b, 4.2.2) sets up a type of ACs that involve what may be called "an anticipatory pronoun". (The label "an anticipatory pronoun" was suggested by Syuntaro Tida (p.c.).) Korean has all of these three types of ACs, as shown below.

4.2.2 ACs of the gap type

The formation of ACs of this type employs the gap strategy. The head noun corresponds to an argument or an adjunct of the AC. In terms of Keenan & Comrie's (1977) accessibility hierarchy, the subject, the direct object, the indirect object, and the oblique object can be relativized on. The possessive requires an anticipatory pronoun; see 4.2.4. The object of comparison cannot be relativized on in Korean. Examples of the gap type follow. Compare:

(11) *Kyoswu-nim=kkeyse chayk=ul haksayng=eykey cwu-si-ess-ta.*
professor-HS=NOM book=ACC student=DAT/LOC give-HS-PST-DECL
'A professor gave a book to a student.'

(12) {*chayk=ul haksayng=eykey cwu-si-n*} *kyoswu-nim*
book=ACC student=DAT/LOC give-HS-ADN.PST professor-HS
'a professor who gave a book to a student'   (subject)

(13) {*kyoswu-nim=kkeyse haksayng=eykey cwu-si-n*} *chayk*
professor-HS=NOM student=DAT/LOC give-HS-ADN.PST book
'a book that a professor gave to a student'   (direct object)

(14) {*kyoswu-nim=kkeyse chayk=ul cwu-si-n*} *haksayng*
professor-HS=NOM book=ACC give-HS-ADN.PST student
'a student to whom a professor gave a book'   (indirect object)

The position relativized on is the subject in (12), the direct object in (13), and the indirect object in (14). Something similar to the oblique object is relativized on in (15).

(15) {*emma=ka chayk=ul ilk-un*} *secem*
mother=NOM book=ACC read-ADN.PST book.store
'the book store where (my) mother read a book'

4.2.3 ACs of the addition type

In ACs of the addition type, the head noun is, so to speak, added from outside the underlying clause. It does not correspond to any argument or any adjunct of the AC. Thus, compare:

(16) *Yeca=ka malha-n-ta.*
woman=NOM talk-NPST-DECL
'A woman talks.'

(17) {*yeca=ka malha-nun*} *moksoli*
　　woman=NOM talk-ADN.NPST voice
　　LT: 'the voice with which a woman talks'

Note that the head noun in (17), i.e. *moksoli* 'voice', is absent in (16). As another pair of examples, compare:

(18) *Namca=ka sayngsen=ul kwup-nun-ta.*
　　man=NOM fish=ACC　grill-NPST-DECL
　　'A man grills a fish.'

(19) {*namca=ka sayngsen=ul kwup-nun*} *naymsay*
　　man=NOM　fish=ACC　grill-ADN.NPST smell
　　LT: 'the smell with which a man grills a fish'

Note that the head noun in (19), i.e. *naymsay* 'smell', is absent in (18).

4.2.4 ACs with an anticipatory pronoun

Relativization of the possessive requires what may be called an anticipatory pronoun. (See Cho (1999).) It involves neither a gap nor the addition of any noun. Compare:

(20) *Ku haksayng=uy emma=nun uysa(=i)-ta*
　　that student=GEN mother=TOP doctor=COP-DECL
　　'That student's mother is a doctor.'

(21) {*caki emma=ka uysa=i-n*}　　ku haksayng
　　self　mother=NOM doctor=COP-ADN.NPST that student
　　'that student whose mother is a doctor'

In (21), *caki* 'self' functions as an anticipatory pronoun.

5 Mermaid construction

5.1 Introductory notes

The five properties and the structure of the prototype of MMC as proposed by Tsunoda (this volume-a) are given in Section 1. Korean has three types of MMC.

(a) [Clause]   Noun   Copula, e.g. (3), (4), (5).
(with an adnominalizer suffix)

(b) [Clause]   Noun   Copula, e.g. (22).
(with a nominalizer suffix)

(c) [Clause]   Noun   Adjective or auxiliary verb, e.g. (23).
(with an adnominalizer suffix)

(22) [*Salam=un   cwuk-ki*]   **malyen**=*i-ta.*
person=TOP die-NMLZ preparation=COP-DECL
LT: '[Human beings die] a preparation is.'
FT: 'Human beings are doomed to die.'

(23) [*Pi=ka   o-l*]   **kes**   *kath-ta.*
rain=NOM fall-ADN.PROS thing same-DECL
LT: '[Rain will fall] thing same.'
FT: 'It looks like it will rain.'

The predicate of the Clause contains an adnominalizer suffix in the types (a) and (c), and the nominalizer suffix *-ki* in the type (b). In each type, the predicate is a non-finite form. The type (c) does not have the copula verb, and it differs from the prototype in this respect. (See (1) in Section 1.)

The three types of the MMC are frequently used both in written and spoken discourse in Korean. Due to space considerations, the present chapter examines the type (a). The reasons for this are the following. First, the type (a) is the most frequently used among the three types. Second, the type (a) allows the largest number of nouns (about 80 in all) and the widest range of nouns for the Noun slot. In the following, I shall refer to the type (a) simply as the MMC.

As noted above, in the type (a), the predicate of the Clause contains an adnominalizer suffix, that is, it is a non-finite form, and the Clause cannot be used as a sentence by itself. In this respect, this MMC departs from the prototype. (See the property (d) listed in Section 1.)

The nouns that can occupy the Noun slot can be classified into three groups: content nouns, non-content nouns, and defective nouns.

5.2 Previous studies

There are many works on Korean that discuss instances of what we term the MMC, although they do not use the term "MMC". In Korean linguistics, the MMC has not been recognized as a distinct construction. It has been regarded as a type of the "copula construction" (Nam 2004a, b) or as an instance of "grammaticalization of noun" (Ahn 1997, Kang 2004). Nam (2004a, b) pays more attention to the identifica-

tion of category of the copula =*i*- than to the types of nouns that are attested in this construction. Ahn (1997) and Kang (2004) focus on the clarification of the semantic changes of content nouns and the process of their grammaticalization. Although they present an exhaustive list of nouns employed, they do not provide a detailed discussion of what I refer to as non-content nouns.

In the functional-typological approach to Korean, much attention has been paid to the grammaticalization of nominalizers (e.g. Horie 1998, 2008, Rhee 2008, 2011). However, these works are largely confined to the nominalizer *kes* (discussed in 5.3.4-[1] below). Therefore, it is important to examine exhaustively the nouns that can occupy the Noun slot of the MMC.

It is impossible to comment on each of the works that discuss instances of the MMC. I have chosen Rhee (2011) as an example of recent works on this issue. The present chapter differs from Rhee (2011) in the following respects, among others.

First, for the nouns that occupy the Noun slot of the MMC (cf. (1)), the present chapter examines content nouns (5.3.2), non-content nouns (5.3.3) and defective nouns (5.3.4). Rhee (2011) discusses non-content nouns and defective nouns. However, he does not look at content nouns.

Second, the present chapter provides syntactic evidence that the Korean MMC is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal (6.9). In contrast, Rhee does not make it clear whether he considers the Korean MMC bi-clausal or mono-clausal. He (p. 417, lines 10–11) states as follows: "the subject of the embedded clause became the main clause subject through reanalysis". That is, in his view, previously the Korean MMC contained an embedded clause, that is, it was bi-clausal. However, he does not say whether the Modern Korean MMC is bi-clausal or mono-clausal. Unlike the present chapter, Rhee (2011) does not give any syntactic evidence regarding the bi-clausal vs. mono-clausal status of the Korean MMC.

Third, Rhee (2011: 395, lines 16–17) states to the effect that the predicate of the Clause is a modifier of the Noun. In contrast, the present chapter furnishes evidence that the predicate of the Clause, the Noun and the Copula form a compound predicate (6.10). That is, the predicate of the Clause is not a modifier of the Noun.

5.3 Types of the Noun

5.3.1 Introductory notes

In the MMC of Modern Standard Japanese, at least 121 nouns are attested in the Noun slot (Tsunoda, this volume-b, 5.1.1). On the basis of Tsunoda's list of these nouns, I examined what nouns can occur in the Noun slot of the Korean MMC. About 80 nouns have been attested in this slot. This is the largest number among the languages examined in the present volume – apart from Modern Standard Japanese. These Korean nouns are tentatively classified into three groups.

(a) Content nouns (5.3.2).
(b) Non-content nouns (5.3.3).
(c) Defective nouns (5.3.4).

Defective nouns cannot be used independently outside the MMC. Both content nouns and non-content nouns can be used outside the MMC. Roughly speaking, when used in the MMC, content nouns have the meaning that they have when used outside the MMC, while non-content nouns do not. However, this classification is not clear-cut, but a matter of degree. It may not be endorsed by every specialist in Korean grammar. For example, *moyang* 'appearance', *pep* 'law' and *kil* 'path, road', which are tentatively assigned to (b), may be assigned to (a). In the present work, *moyang* 'appearance' is assigned to both (a) (cf. 5.3.2-[4]) and (b) (cf. 5.3.3-[1]).

Korean has an elaborate set of adnominalizer suffixes; see Table 1. There are co-occurrence restrictions between adnominalizer suffixes and nouns. These restrictions are difficult to generalize about, but at least they are much stricter with (b) non-content nouns and (c) defective nouns than with (a) content nouns.

5.3.2 Content nouns

The classification of content nouns is largely based on that of Tsunoda's (this volume-b, 5.1.2) classification of the content nouns that occur in the Noun slot of the MMC of Modern Standard Japanese.

As noted in Tsunoda (this volume-a, 3.1.3.3), whether a given noun used in the Noun slot of the MMC is a native word or a loan word may be an important issue. Korean on the whole abounds with loans from Chinese. Of about 80 nouns attested in the Noun slot, about 20 % are native Korean words, about 73 % are loans from Chinese, five are loans from English, and possibly one loan from Manchurian. That is, about 80 % are loans. In the following lists, loans from Chinese are indicated with "(C)", those from English with "(E)", and native Korean words with "(K)". This classification is only tentative. (To be precise, not all the words marked with "(C)" are loans from Chinese. Thus, they include at least two calques that were coined on the basis of Japanese words, employing Sino-Korean morphemes: *yekhal* 'role' and *ipcang* 'position' in 5.3.2-[8]. See K. Kim (2005) for the influence of Japanese on Korean.)

The nouns that are not fully acceptable in the MMC are marked with "?", and those that are totally unacceptable are indicated with "*".

Due to space considerations, the examples of the MMC given below will often be accompanied by a free translation only.

[1] Nouns that indicate plan, intention or the like
The MMC has a modal meaning. Nouns in (a) to (f) tend to co-occur with the prospective adnominalizer *-(u)l*.

(a) *yeyceng*, *kyeyhoyk*, *pangchim* (C) 'plan', e.g. (3), (101), (105), (106), (108), (109), (118), (120), (121), (122), (136).
(b) *cakceng*, *uyhyang* (C) 'intention', e.g. (24), (110).
(c) *mokcek* (C) 'aim'.
(d) *casey* (C) 'attitude'.
(e) *maum* 'mind', *sayngkak* (K) 'thought'.
(f) **kyelsim*, **kyeluy* 'decision', *kako* (C) 'determination', e.g. (25).
(g) ?*censwul* 'tactics', *cenlyak* (C) 'strategy'.

(In (a), all the words that precede "(C)" are loans from Chinese, while in (e) all the words that precede "(K)" are native Korean words. The same applies to the other lists of nouns.)

(24) [*Na=nun nayil   yeki=lul   ttena-l*]   ***cakceng**=i-ta.*
     I=TOP   tomorrow here=ACC leave-ADN.PROS intention=COP-DECL
     'I intend to leave here tomorrow.'

Among the nouns listed in (f), *kako* 'determination' is felicitous in the MMC, while *kyelsim* and *kyeluy*, both 'decision', are not.

(25) [*Na=nun ku=wa   ssawu-l*]
     I=TOP   he=COM fight-ADN.PROS
     ***kako**(=i)-ta / ***kyelsim**=i-ta /   ***kyeluy**(=i)-ta.*
     determination=COP-DECL / decision=COP-DECL decision=COP-DECL
     'I am determined to fight him.'

[2] Nouns that indicate schedule, expectation or the like
The MMC in the main has a modal meaning. (28) probably has an evidential meaning.

(a) *cenmang* (C) 'view, expectation', e.g. (26).
(b) *yeysang* (C) 'forecast', e.g. (27).
(c) *panghyang* (C) 'direction'.
(d) *hulum* (K) 'flow'.
(e) *kisey* (C) 'strength', e.g. (28).

(26) [*Mwulka=ka olu-l*]   ***cenmang**=i-ta.*
     price=NOM   go.up-ADN.PROS expectation=COP-DECL
     'Prices will go up (prospectively).'

(27) [*Samkup=un silyong   yenge=lul   chukceng-ha-nun   sihem=i*
    3.level=TOP practical English=ACC measure-do-ADN.NPST test=NOM
    toy-l]   **yeysang**=*i-ta*.
    become-ADN.PROS forecast=COP-DECL
    'Level 3 will be the test to measure practical English ability.'

(28) [*Ku=nun tangcang   mal=ul   tha-ko   naka-l*]
    he=TOP   immediately horse=ACC ride-CONJ go.out-ADN.PROS
    kisey(=*i*)-*ta*.
    strength=COP-DECL
    'He appears to ride on a horse and go out immediately.'

Most of the nouns listed in [1] and [2] are frequently used in newspapers (i.e. in written articles).

[3] Nouns that indicate feeling or the like
Nouns such as *maum* (K), *simceng* (C), e.g. (29), *nukkim* (K), *kipwun* (C), e.g. (30), and *simkyeng* (C) are translated as 'feeling', 'mind' or the like. The MMC has a modal meaning.

(29) [*Na=nun cwuk-ko siph-un*]   **simceng**=*i-ta*.
    I=TOP   die-want-ADN.NPST mind=COP-DECL
    'I want to die.'

(30) *Wuntong=ul   sicak-ha-n   ilay* [*na=nun say salam=i*
    exercise=ACC start-do-ADN.PST since I=TOP   new person=NOM
    toy-n]   **kipwun**=*i-ta*.
    become-ADN.PST feeling=COP-DECL
    'Since (I) started doing exercise I feel like another person.'

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

(a) *moyang, kisayk* (C), *mosup* (K) 'appearance, look', e.g. (4).
(b) *hyengthay* (C) 'form'.
(c) *sangthay, hyengphyen, sanghwang* (C) 'situation' ('be in such and such a situation', e.g. (31), (32).
(d) *kkol* (K) 'look, sight', 'unpleasant state/result', e.g. (33).

(31) *Saynghwalpi=ka   pwucok-hay-se   * [*na=nun il=ul   kyeysok*
    living.expenses=NOM shortage-do-CONJ I=TOP   work=ACC continuously
    hay-ya   ha-l]   **hyengphyen**=*i-ta*.
    do-CONJ do-ADN.PROS situation=COP-DECL
    'Because (I) am short of living expenses I have to keep working.'

(32) [*Cikum namca chinkwu=wa tangsin=un heyeci-l*]
now boy friend=COM you=TOP break.up-ADN.PROS
sanghwang*=i-ta.*
situation=COP-DECL
'Now you and your boyfriend are bound to break up.'

(33) *Pangsim-ha-taka* [*na=wa oppa=nun kathi nemeci-n*]
carelessness-do-CONJ I=COM brother=TOP together fall.down-ADN.PST
kkol*=i-ta.*
result=COP-DECL
'While (my brother and I) were acting carelessly, (my) brother and I ended
up falling down together.'

The MMC with a noun from (a) and (b) has an evidential meaning: 'It appears
that', e.g. (4). However, the MMC with a noun from other groups appears to have
some kind of modal meaning. Specifically, (c): situation ('be in such and such a
situation'), e.g. (31) and (32), and (d): unpleasant situation or result, e.g. (33).

[5] Nouns that indicate atmosphere, impression or the like
The meaning of the MMC is probably modal.

(a) *insang* (C) 'impression'.
(b) *pwunwiki* (C) 'atmosphere, mood', e.g. (34).

(34) [*Onul-to eccenci yakun-ha-l*] ***pwunwiki****(=i)-ta.*
today-also somehow overtime-do-ADN.PROS atmosphere=COP-DECL
'(I) feel somehow (I) have to do overtime job again today.'

[6] Nouns that indicate tendency, practice, habit or the like
The meaning of the MMC is aspectual, to be precise, habitual.

(a) *kyenghyang, chwusey* (C) 'tendency', e.g. (35).
(b) *phwungco* (C) 'fashion, trend', e.g. (36).
(c) **supkwan* (C), **pelus* (K) 'habit'.
(d) **kwansup, *phwungsup* (C) 'practice'.

(35) [*Hankwuke haksupca=ka nulena-nun*] ***chwusey****(=i)-ta.*
Korean.language learner=NOM increase-ADN.NPST tendency=COP-DECL
'Korean learners are on the increase.'

(36) *Yocum=un   olay sal-ki ttaymwuney* [*hwankap   canchi-cocha   an*
recently=TOP long live-because   60.years.old celebration-even NEG
ha-nun]   **phwungco(=i)-ta.**
do-ADN.NPST   trend=COP-DECL
'Recently, because (people) live long, (they) tend not to celebrate even their 60th birthday.'

Note that *supkwan, pelus* 'habit' in (c) and *kwansup, phwungsup* 'practice' in (d) are not felicitous in the Korean MMC; see (37). In contrast, in Modern Standard Japanese, the noun *narawasi* 'practice' can be used in the MMC (Tsunoda, this volume-b, 5.1.2-[6]). That is, the Modern Standard Japanese equivalent of (37) is acceptable.

(37) *[*Hankwuk salam=un   kwuceng=ul   soy-nun*]
Korea   people=TOP lunar.New.Year's.Day=ACC celebrate-ADN.NPST
kwansup=i-ta.
practice=COP-DECL
IM: 'Korean people have the practice of celebrating the New Year's Day in the lunar calendar.'

However, the Korean *supkwan* and *pelus*, both 'habit', and also *kwansup* and *phwungsup*, both 'practice', become acceptable if the copula *=i* is replaced with the existential verb *iss-*, e.g. (38). The noun *kwansup* is followed by the nominative case marker. The example (38) is an instance of an existential-predicate sentence, and not an instance of the MMC. The words within the braces form an AC, and this AC modifies the noun *kwansup* 'practice'. This AC is an instance of the addition type (cf. 4.2.3).

(38) {*Hankwuk salam=un   kwuceng=ul   soy-nun*}
Korea   people=TOP lunar.New.Year's.Day=ACC celebrate-ADN.NPST
kwansup=i   iss-ta.
practice=NOM exist-DECL
LT: 'The practice such that Korean people celebrate the lunar New Year's Day exists.'
FT: 'Korean people have the practice of celebrating the New Year's Day in the lunar calendar.'

[7] Nouns that indicate the nature, or the propensity of humans
The meaning of the MMC is probably habitual, i.e. a type of "aspectual".

(a) *sengkyek, sengcil, ?kicil* (C) 'personality', e.g. (39).
(b) *thaip, suthail* 'type, style' (E), e.g. (40).

(39) [*Ponlay   cem   kath-un   ke-n*
      in.nature fortune.telling be.like-ADN.NPST thing=TOP
      mit-ci anh-nun]   ***sengkyek**=i-ta.*
      trust-NEG-ADN.NPST personality=COP-DECL
      'I have the nature not to trust the like of fortunetelling.'

(*-ci* and *anh-* jointly indicate negation. See 5.4.3.1.)

(40) [*Ku=nun inkan   kwankyey=lul   cwungyohakey sayngkak-ha-nun*]
      he=TOP person relationship=ACC importantly   think-do-ADN.NPST
      ***thaip**=i-ta.*
      type=COP-DECL
      'He is the kind of person who thinks much of personal relationships.'

(*Suthail* 'style, type' can also be used in [10] "Nouns that indicate the structure, mechanism or the like of inanimate objects". It is interesting to note that in Modern Standard Japanese the loans from the English *taipu* (from *type*) and *sutairu* (from *style*) can be used in the MMC, as is the case with the Korean MMC. *Taipu* is used in [7], as is the case with the Korean *thaip*, while *sutairu* is used in [10] (Tsunoda, this volume-b, 5.1.2-[7], -[10].)

[8] Nouns that indicate role, duty or destiny
The meaning of the MMC is in the main modal, to be precise, deontic.

(a) *yekhal* (C) 'role', e.g. (41).
(b) **chaykim,*uymwu* (C) 'responsibility, duty'.
(c) **kyuchik,*kyuceng* (C) 'rule, regulation'; see (44).
(d) **cakyek* (C) 'qualification'.
(e) *ipcang* (C) 'position', e.g. (42)
(f) *wunmyeng, swukmyeng* (C) 'destiny', e.g. (43).

(41) [*Ilpen   thaca=nun thwuswu=lul koylophi-nun*]   ***yekhal**=i-ta.*
      one.number batter=TOP pitcher=ACC harass-ADN.NPST role=COP-DECL
      'The first batter has a role to harass the pitcher.'

(42) [*Cengpwu=nun   ssal swuip=ey   pantay-ha-nun*]
      government=TOP rice import=DAT/LOC disagreement-do-ADN.NPST
      ***ipcang**=i-pni-ta.*
      position=COP-DEF-DECL
      'The government disagrees about the import of rice.'

(43) [*Ku=nun kyelkwuk silphay-ha-l*]   ***wunmyeng**=i-ess-ta*.
     he=top   after.all   failure-do-ADN.PROS destiny=COP-PST-DECL
     'He was destined to fail after all.'

Ipcang 'position' is frequently observed in Korean TV news programs and newspapers articles, e.g. (42).

Chaykim and *uymwu*, both 'responsibility, duty', and *cakyek* 'qualification' cannot be used in the Noun slot of the MMC.

Similarly, *kyuchik* and *kyuceng,* both 'rule, regulation', cannot be used in the MMC; see (44). In contrast, in Modern Standard Japanese the noun '*kimari*' 'rule, regulation' and *okite* 'law, rule' can be used in the MMC (Tsunoda, this volume-b, 5.1.2-[8]). That is, the Modern Standard Japanese equivalent of (44) is acceptable.

(44) *[*Haksayng=un maycwu*   *leyphothu=lul ceychwul-ha-nun*]
     student=TOP   every.week report=ACC   submission-do-ADN.NPST
     ***kyuchik**=i-ta* **/** ***kyuceng**=i-ta*.
     regulation=COP-DECL / rule=COP-DECL
     IM: 'By regulation, the students must submit an essay every week.'

[9] Nouns that indicate features or characteristics of someone's body or the like

(a) *mom* (K) 'body'.
(b) *cheycil* (C) 'nature (of the body)', e.g. (45), (111).
(c) *cheykyek* (C) 'physique', *momcip* (K) 'physique, build of body', e.g. (46).
(d) *phyoceng* (C) 'expression on the face', *elkwul* (K) 'face', e.g. (47), (99), (102).
(e) *malthwu* (K) 'way of talking'.
(f) *casey* (C) 'posture'.

(45) [*Ku=nun*] *cokum-man mek-eto* [*sal=i   cal cci-nun*]
     he=TOP   a.little-only eat-CONJ fat=NOM well get.fat-ADN.NPST
     ***cheycil**=i-ta*.
     nature.of.body=COP-DECL
     'Although he eats only a little, he gains weight easily.'

(46) [*Mikwuk yeseng=un   taypwupwun khu-n   khi=ey*
     America women=TOP most.of   tall-ADN.NPST height-DAT/LOC
     ttwungttwung-ha-n] ***momcip**=i-ta*.
     fat-do-ADN.NPST   physique=COP-DECL
     'Most of American women are tall and fat.'

(47) [*Ku=nun hangsang palk-un*]   ***phyoceng**=i-ta*.
     he=TOP always   bright-ADN.NPST expression=COP-DECL
     'He always looks bright.'

(In (45), the MMC should probably be considered discontinuous, with the subordinate clause intervening. Probably the same applies to (66) and (94), for instance.)

[10] Nouns that indicate the structure or the mechanism of inanimate objects
The meaning of the MMC is similar to that examined in [9], except that [10] concerns inanimate objects.

(a) *kwuco* (C) 'structure', e.g. (48).
(b) *selkyey* (C) 'design', e.g. (49).
(c) *nayyong* (C) 'content'.
(d) *sisutheym* (E) 'system'.
(e) *suthail* (E) 'style'.

(48) [*Maycik thechi=nun   kamayngcem=i ton=ul   pe-nun*]
     (name of a company)=TOP franchise=NOM money=ACC earn-ADN.NPST
     ***kwuco**(=i)-ta*.
     structure=COP-DECL
     'Magic Touch is structured in such a way that its franchises make a big
     profit.'

(49) [*I   kwangcang=un simin-tul=eykey   hyusik kongkan=kwa mwunhwa*
     this square=TOP   citizen-PL=DAT/LOC rest   space=COM   culture
     kongkan=ul tongsiey   ceykong-ha-nun]   ***selkyey**(=i)-ta*.
     space=ACC simultaneously supply-do-ADN.NPST design=COP-DECL
     'This square is designed to provide citizens with a space to relax and to
     experience culture simultaneously.'

(In the Modern Standard Japanese MMC, too, the loans from English *sisutemu* (from
system) and *sutairu* (from *style*) can be used in [10] (Tsunoda, this volume-b, 5.1.2-
[10].)

[11] Nouns that indicate temporal relations, progress or the like
The meaning of the MMC is aspectual or temporal. The co-occurrence restrictions
are found in the following nouns. Nouns in (a) co-occur with the prospective adnominalizer *-(u)l*, e.g. (50), or the nonpast adnominalizer *-(u)n*, e.g. (51); *tocwung*
in (b) only with the nonpast adnominalizer *-nun*, e.g. (52); and *cikhwu* in (c) only
with the past adnominalizer *-n*.

(a) *sikan, sicem* (C), *ttay* (K) 'time', e.g. (50), (51).
(b) *tocwung* (C) 'in the process/middle of', e.g. (52).
(c) *cikhwu* (C) 'immediately after'.

(50) [*Icey=nun simin-tul=i   him=ul   moa-ya   ha-l*]
     now=TOP citizen-PL=NOM power=ACC get-CONJ do-ADN.PROS
     ttay(=i)-ta.
     time=COP-DECL
     'It's time for citizens to get together.'

(51) [*Wuli hoysa=nun   cikum sepisu kaysen=i   philyo-ha-n*]
     our   company=TOP now   service improvement=NOM need-do-ADN.NPST
     sicem*=*i-ta.
     time=COP-DECL
     'It's time for our company to improve service.'

(52) [*Na=nun cikum swukcey=lul   ha-nun*]   ***tocwung*=*i-ta.***
     I=TOP   now   homework=ACC do-ADN.NPST in.the.middle.of=COP-DECL
     'I am doing homework now.'

     [12] 'Suspicion'
Only two nouns belong to this group: *hyemuy* (C) and *uyhok* (C), both 'suspicion'.
The meaning of the MMC is evidential. In the MMC, *hyemuy* is acceptable, but *uyhok*
(C) is not fully acceptable.

(53) [Ku=nun *noymwul=ul pat-un*]
     he=TOP   bribe-ACC   receive-ADN.PST
     hyemuy*(*=i*)*-ta* / ?*uyhok*=*i-ta.
     suspicion=COP-DECL / suspicion=COP-DECL
     'He is suspected to have received a bribe.'

5.3.3 Non-content nouns

As noted in 5.3.1, the division between content nouns and non-content nouns is not
clear-cut, but a matter of degree. Also, there are co-occurrence restrictions between
adnominalizers and some of the non-content nouns.

     [1] *Moyang* (C) 'appearance, look'
Moyang is often used outside the MMC with the meaning 'appearance, looks, de-
sign'. (In view of this, *moyang* is also listed as a content noun; see 5.3.2-[4].)

(54) *Theyibul* ***moyang*=*i***   *yeyppu-ta.*
     table   appearance=NOM pretty-DECL
     'The look (i.e. design) of the table is pretty.'

When used in the MMC, *moyang=i-ta* encodes an evidential meaning, to be precise, inference based on visible, tangible, or audible evidence, e.g. (4) and (100). All of the adnominalizers can precede it, e.g.:

(55) [*Pi=ka   o-n / o-nun / o-l*]
    rain=NOM fall-ADN.PST / fall-ADN.NPST / fall-ADN.PROS
    ***moyang**=i-ta.*
    appearance=COP-DECL
    'It seems that it rained/it is raining/it will rain.'

Nam (2004b) points out that, when *moyang* 'appearance, look' is used in what I refer to as the MMC, negation of the Copula is not highly acceptable; see (56). (When the Copula is negated, either the nominative case marker or the topic marker follows the Noun; see 5.4.3.2.)

(56) ?[*Pi=ka   o-l*]   ***moyang**=i   ani-ta.*
    rain=NOM fall-ADN.PROS appearance=NOM COP.NEG-DECL
    'It does not seem that it will rain.'   (Nam 2004b: 79)

[2] *Pep* (C) 'law'
The lexical meaning of *pep* when used outside the MMC is 'law'. Ahn (1997) and Kang (2004) point out that, when used in what I refer to as the MMC, *pep* has various meanings, such as universal truth, common knowledge (an epistemic meaning), e.g. (57), and moral obligation (a modal meaning), e.g. (58), (59). They also point out that *pep* tends to take the nonpast adnominalizer when it encodes an epistemic or a modal meaning, e.g. (57), (58) and (59).

(57) [*Sinpwu=nun wenlay   yeyppu-n*]   ***pep**=i-ta.*
    bride=TOP   in.nature beautiful-ADN.NPST law=COP-DECL
    '(Every) bride is beautiful (in nature).' (Ahn 1997: 107)

(58) [*Haksayng=un yelsimhi kongpwu-ha-nun*]   ***pep**=i-ta.*
    student=TOP   hard   study-do-ADN.NPST law=COP-DECL
    'Students should study hard.'

The MMC with *pep* 'law' shows a semantic commonality partially with the Modern Standard Japanese MMC that contains the non-content noun *mono* 'thing', which can express obligation or advice, among others (Tsunoda, this volume-b, 5.1.3-[4]). The Modern Standard Japanese equivalent of (59) with the noun *mono* 'thing' is acceptable.

(59) [*Namca ai=nun   wul-ci anh-nun*]   ***pep***=*i-ta.*
     male   child=TOP cry-NEG-ADN.NPST law=COP-DECL
     'Boys should not cry.'

[3] *Kil* (K) 'path, road, means, ways'

Kil 'path, road' can be used outside the MMC with the meaning of 'road, path, ways, means'. See (60) and (61).

(60) {*Hakkyo-kkaci ka-nun*}   *kil=ul   al-ko   siph-eyo.*
     school-to   go-ADN.NPST road=ACC know-CONJ wish-POL
     'I want to know how to go to school.'

(61) {*Te isang a-l*}   *kil=i   eps-ta.*
     no.more   know-ADN.PROS way=NOM   do.not.exist-DECL
     'There is no way to know any more.'

When used in the MMC, *kil* encodes an aspectual meaning: progressive, e.g. (5). In this case, it tends to exclusively take the nonpast adnominalizer. Consider:

(62) [*Na=nun cikum hakkyo=ey*]
     I=TOP   now   school=DAT/LOC
     ka-nun / *ka-n / *ka-l   ***kil***=*i-ta.*
     go-ADN.NPST / go-ADN.PST / go-ADN.PROS road=COP-DECL
     'I am on my way to school now.'

[4] *Seym* (K) 'calculation'

Seym 'calculation' is a derived noun, which consists of the verb root *sey-* 'to calculate' and the derivational nominalizer suffix *-m*. When it is used outside the MMC, it has the meaning of 'calculation':

(63) *Ku=nun seym=ul   cal ha-n-ta.*
     he=TOP calculation=ACC well do-NPST-DECL
     'He is strong/good at calculation.'

When used in the MMC, *seym* has various meanings. Different adnominalizers contribute to different meanings (Ahn 1997, Nam 2004b). For example, when preceded by the past adnominalizer *-(u)n* or the nonpast adnominalizer *-nun, seym* encodes a situation or result that a speaker actually did not want to happen, i.e. an undesirable situation or result, e.g. (64). This meaning is modal, and at the same time aspectual or temporal.

(64) [*Cengka-pota   pissakey   sa-n*]   **seym**=*i-ta*.
regular.price-than expensively buy-ADN.PST calculation=COP-DECL
'We paid too much more than its regular price. (Actually we did not want
to.)'

When the prospective adnominalizer *-(u)l* is used, the MMC with *seym* 'calculation' indicates an intention or a plan (including an intention or a plan in the past), e.g. (65), or an adverse state in which the subject is situated, e.g. (66).

(65) [*Na=nun ocen-cwung=ey   tolao-l*]
I=TOP   noon-during=DAT/LOC come.back-ADN.PROS
seym=*i-ta*.
calculation =COP-DECL
'I was planning to come back before noon.'

(66) [*Wuli=nun*] *pwuto=lul   mak-ki wihayse*   [*ton=ul*
we=TOP   bankruptcy=ACC prevent-in.order.to money=ACC
yeki ceki-se   pillye-ya   ha-l]   **seym**=*i-ta*.
here.there-from borrow-CONJ do-ADN.PROS calculation=COP-DECL
'We have to borrow money from various sources in order to prevent
bankruptcy.'

When this MMC expresses intention, its meaning is similar to that of the MMC with a noun such as *cakceng* 'intention' and *kyeyhoyk* 'plan' (5.3.2-[1]).

Ahn (1997) points out that this MMC (*-(u)l seym=i-*) usually encodes (the speaker's) "negative" or "unexpected, undesirable" situation rather "positive" one. For example, (67) is not acceptable; it expresses a positive intention.

(67) *[*Na=nun kayin   saep=ul   sicak-ha-l*]
I=TOP   personal business=ACC start-do-ADN.PROS
seym=*i-ta*.
calculation=COP-DECL
IM: 'I am going to start my own business.'   (Ahn 1997: 125)

[5] *Phan* (C) 'venue, spot, site'
(According to Ahn (1997: 62), *phan* is a loan from Chinese.) *Phan* can be used outside the MMC with the meaning 'venue, spot, site'. When used in the MMC, *phan* refers to "negative/bad situation" (Ahn 1997: 125). (68) and (69) are acceptable, but (70) is not. This meaning is modal, and at the same time, aspectual or temporal.

(68) [*Ku kenmwul=un olaytongan kwanli sohol=lo*
 that building=TOP for.a.long.time maintain neglect=as
 mwunecye nayli-l] **phan=i-ta.**
 crumble-ADN.PROS venue=COP-DECL
 'The buildings are about to crumble from years of neglect.'

(69) [*Ipen hakki=nun nakcey-ha-l*] **phan=i-ta.**
 this semester=TOP fail-do-ADN.PROS venue=COP-DECL
 'I may fail the class this semester.'

(70) *[*Ipen hakki=nun ol eyi=lul mac-ul*] **phan=i-ta.**
 this semester=TOP all A=ACC get-ADN.PROS venue=COP-DECL
 IM: 'I may get all A's this semester.' (Ahn 1997: 125)

 [6] *Phok* (C) 'width'
Phok can be used outside the MMC with the meaning of 'width (of space)'.

(71) *Ikos=un hanmyeng=i cinaka-l swu iss-nun*
 here=TOP one.person=NOM pass-ADN.PROS thing be-ADN.NPST
 phok=i-ta.
 width=COP-DECL
 'It is just wide enough for one person to pass.'

 When used in the MMC, *phok* describes a situation or result that the speaker (or the subject) did not want to happen, i.e. an undesirable situation or result, e.g. (72). This meaning is similar to that of the MMC with *seym* 'calculation' preceded by the past adnominalizer or the nonpast adnominalizer, e.g. (64). This meaning is modal and also aspectual or temporal.

(72) [*Nay=ka chenwen mithci-n*] **phok=i-ta.**
 I=NOM thousand.won lose-ADN.PST width=COP-DECL
 'I lost as much as one thousand won.'

 [7] *Phyen* (C) 'side, part, direction, way'
When used outside the MMC, *phyen* means 'side, part, direction, way', e.g. *olun phyen* 'right side', *oyn phyen* 'left side', and *ce phyen* 'that way'. When used in the MMC, *phyen* describes tendency, habit or attitude, e.g. (73), (114). This MMC has an aspectual meaning. *Phyen* can be preceded by the nonpast adnominalizer or the past adnominalizer, but not by the prospective adnominalizer.

(73) [*Chinkwu=nun achim=ey ilccik ilena-nun*] **phyen=i-ta.**
 friend=TOP morning=DAT/LOC early get.up-ADN.NPST side=COP-DECL
 '(My) friend has a habit of getting up early in the morning.'

[8] *The* (K) 'ground, place'

When used outside the MMC, *the* means 'ground, place', e.g. *swi-l the* 'rest-ADN.PROS place', i.e. 'place to rest'. When used in the MMC, it is preceded by the prospective adnominalizer or the past prospective adnominalizer and encodes the speaker's (i) strong intention, e.g. (74), or (ii) conjecture, guess, e.g. (75). This MMC has a modal meaning. The phonologically contracted form of *-(u)l the=i-ta*, i.e. *-l they-ta* (e.g. (74)) is frequently used in casual spoken discourse.

The copula is often omitted when this MMC expresses the speaker's strong intention, e.g. (76), or when it is used in the title of news articles. The copula can remain, e.g. (77). Its presence/absence does not affect the acceptability of the sentence.

(74) [*Na=nun sihem=ey kkok hapkyek-ha-l*]
I=TOP exam=DAT/LOC at.any.cost pass-do-ADN.PROS
***they*-ta**.
ground.COP-DECL
'I will pass the exam at any cost.'

(75) [*Ama ku=nun yongki=ka philyo-hay-ss ul*] ***the*=i-ta.**
maybe he=TOP courage=NOM need-do-ADN.PPROS ground=COP-DECL
'He might need courage.'

(76) [*Na=nun na=lul towacu-n salam-tul=eykey kkok*
I=TOP I=ACC help-ADN.PST person-PL=DAT/LOC surely
potap-ha-l] ***the*.**
repayment-do-ADN.PROS ground
'I will repay those who help me.'

(77) [*Na=nun na=lul towacu-n salam-tul=eykey kkok*
I=TOP I=ACC help-ADN.PST person-PL=DAT/LOC surely
potap-ha-l] ***the*=i-ta.**
repayment-do-ADN.PROS ground=COP-DECL
'I will repay those who helped me.'

5.3.4 Defective nouns

As noted in 5.3.1, content nouns and non-content nouns can be used outside the MMC, while on the other hand defective nouns cannot be used independently outside the MMC.

[1] *Kes* (K) 'thing'

Kes has been discussed extensively in the Korean literature (e.g. Hwang 2004, Ikseop Lee 2005, Juhaeng Lee 2009, Rhee 2008, 2011). Etymologically, it is traced

to a noun meaning '*thing*'. In Modern Korean, it is a defective noun. It is no longer used as a lexical morpheme except in expressions like *i kes* 'this thing', *ku kes* 'that thing' and *mek-ul kes* 'eat-ADN.PROS thing', 'thing to eat', i.e. 'food'. It is used as a function morpheme, with various uses such as nominalizer, complementizer, and cleft construction marker (cf. 6.8). In addition, it can be used in the MMC. In this regard, *kes* closely resembles the enclitic *=no* of Modern Standard Japanese (cf. Tsunoda, this volume-b, 5.1.4). However, unlike the Modern Standard Japanese *=no*, the Korean *ke*s does not have the use as a genitive marker; the genitive case is marked by *=uy*.

As just noted, *kes* can be used in the MMC. There is no co-occurrence restriction between *kes* and adnominalizers. That is, it can occur with any adnominalizer. It has a phonologically reduced variant: *ke*.

The MMC with *kes* has various meanings, which depend on the adnominalizer employed. For instance, when preceded by the past adnominalizer or the nonpast adnominalizer, *kes=i-* (and its variant in spoken discourse *ke-ya*) receives contextually variable interpretations such as (i) background explanation, or reason, e.g. (78), (ii) self-awareness or speaker's realization, e.g. (79), (iii) advice to the addressee, e.g. (80) (Yin 2003, J. Kim 2008, Kim & Horie 2009, Rhee 2008), (iv) command, instruction, strong obligation, e.g. (103), (104), and (v) the speaker's emotivity, such as blame, displeasure, and surprise (Yin 2003, J. Kim 2008, Kim & Horie 2009), e.g. (81). ((78), (79) and (81) are cited from Kim & Horie 2009: 282–284), with minor modifications in the glosses.) Rhee (2008) posits that it is in Middle Korean that the MMC with *kes* became productive.

(78) *Mancye pelye-ss-e.   Kulayse* [*kunynag sa-n*]   ***ke**=ya.*
　　 touch　end-PST-SFS　so　　just　　buy-ADN.PST　thing=COP.DECL
　　 '(I) touched (it). So (I) just bought (it), you see.'

(79) *Ku=ka　wa-ss-ta.*　　　 [*Ku=ka　cengmallo nay aph=ey*
　　 he=NOM　come-PST-DECL　he=NOM　really　　my　front=DAT/LOC
　　 nathana-n]　　***kes**=i-ta.*
　　 appear-ADN.PST　thing=COP.DECL
　　 'He really presented himself before my very eyes, as I am reporting in disbelief.'

(80) [*Hoyngtanpoto=eyse cwawu=lul　　cal salphi-ko　kil=ul*
　　 cross.walk=DAT/LOC　left.right=ACC　well look-CONJ　street-ACC
　　 kenne-nun]　　***ke**=ya.*
　　 cross-ADN.NPST　thing=COP.DECL
　　 'Look both ways when you cross the street at the cross walk.'

(81) *Eccay   chayksang soli=lul   nay-ci anh-nun-ta   siph-ese*
   somehow desk   sound=ACC make-NEG-NPST-DECL seem-because
   tolapo-myen   [ipen=ey=nun   swuep-cwung=ey
   look.back-COND this.time=DAT/LOC=TOP class-during=DAT/LOC
   *se iss-nun]   **ke**=yeyyo!   Kyeysokhayse!*
   stand.up-ADN.NPST thing=COP.POL continuously
   'Just as I was thinking (she) did not seem to make any sound at the desk,
   next thing, (surprisingly) (she) kept standing all the time during the class!'
   (Kim & Horie 2009: 284, minor modifications added)

When the prospective adnominalizer is used, this MMC has various meanings, such as guess, conjecture (future possibility), e.g. (82), (144), and speaker's intention, e.g. (83), (84) (Ahn 1997, Rhee 2008).

(82) [*Ama   nayil   pi=ka   o-l]   **kes**=i-ta.*
   probably tomorrow rain=NOM come-ADN.PROS thing=COP-DECL
   'Probably it will rain tomorrow.'

(83) [*Na=nun ku   kapang=ul kkok   sa-l]   **ke**=ya.*
   I=TOP   that bag=ACC   in.any.case buy-ADN.PROS thing=COP.DECL
   '(I) will buy that bag in any case.'

(84) [*Hoyuy=ey   chamsek-ha-l]   **kes**=i-ta.*
   meeting=DAT/LOC attendance-do-ADN.PROS thing=COP-DECL
   '(I) will attend the meeting.'

Like (83) and (84), the MMC with a noun such as *cakceng* 'intention' in (5.3.2-[1]), e.g. (24), or *seym* 'calculation' (5.3.3-[4]), e.g. (65), can indicate intention. In all of these examples, the adnominalizer has to be in the prospective form.

   [2] *Pa* 'thing, ways'
(Ahn (1997: 70–71) states that *pa* 'thing, ways' seems to be the same word as the Manchurian *pa* 'place'. This statement seems to suggest that *pa* is possibly a loan from Manchurian.) *Pa*, too, is a defective noun. It cannot be used independently outside MMC; see (85). A modifier or an AC is mandatory, e.g. (86) and (87).

(85) **Pa=ka   iss-ta.*
   thing=NOM exist-DECL
   (Untranslatable)

(86) *Na=nun {ipen phuloceykthu=eyse math-un}   pa=ka   iss-ta.*
   I=TOP   this project=DAT/LOC take.on-ADN.PST thing=NOM exist-DECL
   'I have something to take a responsibility on this project.'

(87) {*I   yenkwu=nun   enehak=ey   konghen-ha-nun*}
this research=TOP linguistics=DAT/LOC contribution-do-ADN.NPST
pa=ka   khu-ta.
thing=NOM big-DECL
LT: 'The thing that this research contributes to linguistics is big.'
FT: 'This study makes a huge contribution to linguistics.'

According to Ahn (1997: 128), *pa* was productively used in Middle Korean and it meant 'place', and in Modern Korean its fossilized form (i.e. the MMC) became its main usage. In Modern Korean, the defective noun *pa* can be used in the MMC.

The MMC with *pa* is restricted to specific contexts such as newspaper articles and politicians' formal speeches. It has a stylistic effect: it makes sentence sound formal, like the Modern Standard Japanese MMC with the noun *mono* 'thing', *sidai* 'procedure' or *tokoro 'place'* (Tsunoda, this volume-b, 5.1.3-[4], -[5], -[8]). The MMC has to contain the copula, and the copula has to be the nonpast form: *=i-ta* or its deferential form *= i-pni-ta* (Table 2).

(88) [*Icaymin-tul=eykey   simsim-ha-n   yukam=ul*
victim-PL=DAT/LOC deep-do-ADN.NPST sorrow=ACC
phyo-ha-nun]   ***pa**(=i)-pni-ta.*
express-do-ADN.NPST thing=COP.DEF-DECL
'I am deeply sorry for the victims.'

(89) [*Ikes-ulo   chwuksa=lul   taysin-ha-nun*]
this-with congratulatory.address=ACC replacement-do-ADN.NPST
***pa**(=i)-pni-ta.*
thing=COP.DEF-DECL
LT: '[(I) replace (my) congratulatory address with these (words)] a thing is.'
FT: 'I offer these words as my congratulatory address.'

(It is interesting to note that Modern Standard Japanese has an expression that exactly parallels (89).)

[3] *Cikyeng* (C) 'domain' and *nolus* (K) 'role, part'
Both are defective nouns. *Cikyeng* 'domain' cannot be used by itself outside the MMC except for some fossilized expression with demonstrative *i cikyeng* 'this situation'; see (90).

(90) *Yelsimhi kongpwu-hay-ss-ciman kyelkwa=nun i   cikyeng=i-ta.*
hard   study-do-PST-but   result=TOP   this domain=COP-DECL
LT: '(I) studied hard, but the result is this domain.'
FT: '(I) studied hard, but the result is terrible.'

Nolus 'role, part' cannot occur outside the MMC except in some fossilized expressions with a demonstrative, such as *i nolus* 'this situation', *ce nolus* 'that situation', or compound nouns, such as *emma nolus* 'mother's role', *appa nolus* 'father's role', and *coswu nolus* 'assistant's role'. See (91).

(91) *Na=nun kunye=uy coswu   nolus=ul hay-ss-ta.*
    I=TOP   she=GEN assistant role=ACC do-PST-DECL
    LT: 'I did her assistant role.'
    FT: 'I was her assistant.'

Both *cikyeng* 'domain' and *nolus* 'role, part' can be used in the MMC. This MMC encodes a somewhat unpleasant, negative situation that is out of one's control rather than a pleasant, positive one (Ahn 1997: 122). Compare (92) and (93).

(92) [*I   nai=ey   yenge=lul   paywu-cani cwuk-ul*]
    this age=DAT/LOC English=ACC learn-CONJ die-ADN.PROS
    ***cikyeng**=i-ta* / ***nolus**=i-ta.*
    domain=COP-DECL / role=COP-DECL
    'Learning English at my age is killing me.'

(93) *[Ikes=un cengmal haplicek=i-n]
    this=TOP really   reasonable=COP-ADN.NPST
    ***cikyeng**=i-ta* / ***nolus**=i-ta.*
    domain=COP-DECL / role=COP-DECL
    IM: 'This is really reasonable.'   (Ahn 1997: 122)

Another example of *cikyeng* 'domain' is the following.

(94) [*Chelswu=nun*] *il=i   himtul-ese* [*cwuk-ul*]   ***cikyeng**=i-ta.*
    (name)=TOP   work=NOM hard-CONJ die-ADN.PROS domain=COP-DECL
    'Chelswu almost feels as if he is going to die because of hard work.'

[4] *Cham* (C), *cha* (C) 'time, moment'
Cham and *cha*, both 'time, moment', are defective nouns. They cannot be used outside the MMC. But they can be used in the MMC. In the MMC, when preceded by the prospective adnominalizer, it indicates the speaker's intention (a modal meaning) e.g. (95). When the nonpast adnominalizer is used, it may have a progressive meaning (a type of aspectual meaning), e.g. (96). Ahn (1997: 131) states to the effect that the MMC with *cham* indicates that the event/state of affairs continues for a relatively long time, e.g. (96) (the adnominalizer is the nonpast form), while that with *cha* indicates just the very moment when the event/state of affairs happens, e.g. (97) (the adnominalizer is the retrospective form).

(95) [*Na=nun i   iyaki=nun kkok chayk=eyta   ssu-l*]
I=TOP   this story=TOP surely book=DAT/LOC write-ADN.PROS
cham=*i-ta*.
time=COP-DECL
'I am sure that I will write this story as a book.'

(96) [*Cikum mak cemsim=ul mek-nun*]   **cham**=*i-ta*.
now   right lunch=ACC eat-ADN.NPST time=COP-DECL
'(I) am eating lunch right now.'

(97) [*Cikum achim   hanswul   ttu-lye-ten*]
now   breakfast one.spoon scoop.up-VOL-ADN.RETRO
cha(=i)-ta.
moment=COP-DECL
'(I) am just having a bite of breakfast.'

[5] *Cwung* (C) 'middle'

Cwung is a defective noun which has an aspectual meaning of 'be in the middle of'. In the MMC with *cwung*, the adnominalizer has to be in the nonpast form or the retrospective form.

(98) [*Na=nun yenkwusil=eyse nonmwun=ul ssu-nun / ssu-ten*]
I=TOP   lab=DAT/LOC   paper=ACC   write-ADN.NPST / write-ADN.RETRO
cwung=*i-ta*.
middle=COP-DECL
'I am writing a paper in (my) laboratory.'

5.3.5 Meanings of the MMC

In 5.3.2 to 5.3.4, we looked at three types of nouns that can occur in the Noun slot of the MMC: content nouns in 5.3.2, non-content nouns in 5.3.3 and defective nouns in 5.3.4. As noted in 5.3.1, when used in the MMC, content nouns have the meaning(s) that they have when outside the MMC. In contrast, this is not the case with non-content nouns or defective nouns. They have lost their lexical meanings. That is, they are grammaticalized in this respect.

Table 3 concerns the non-content nouns. It summarizes the meaning(s) that they have outside the MMC and the meaning(s) of the MMC with respective nouns. The meaning of the MMC is largely modal. But an evidential meaning, an epistemic meaning and an aspectual meaning, too, are attested.

Table 4 deals with defective nouns. It summarizes (i) their etymology or the meaning(s) they have when used outside the MMC and (ii) the meaning(s) of the

Tab. 3: Semantics of non-content nouns.

	Meaning outside the MMC	Meaning of the MMC
[1] *moyang*	'appearance, look'	evidential: inference
[2] *pep*	'law'	(a) epistemic: universal truth, common knowledge (b) modal: moral obligation
[3] *kil*	'road, path, means, ways'	aspectual: progressive
[4] *seym*	'calculation'	various modal meanings, such as: (a) undesirable situation or result (b) intention, plan (c) adverse state
[5] *phan*	'venue, spot, site'	modal: negative/unpleasant situation
[6] *phok*	'width'	modal: undesirable situation or result
[7] *phyen*	'side, part, direction, way'	aspectual: tendency, habit, attitude
[8] *the*	'ground, place'	(a) modal: strong intention (b) modal: conjecture, guess

Tab. 4: Semantics of defective nouns.

Original meaning		Meaning of the MMC
[1] *kes*	'thing'	various modal or discourse-pragmatic meanings, such as: (a) background explanation, reason (b) self-awareness, speaker's realization (c) advice (d) speaker's emotivity, e.g. blame, displeasure, surprise (e) guess, conjecture (f) speaker's intention (g) command, instruction, strong obligation
[2] *pa*	'thing, ways'	stylistic: formal
[3] *cikyeng* *nolus*	'domain' 'role, part'	modal: unpleasant situation
[4] *cham*, *cha*	'time, moment'	modal: intention aspectual: progressive
[5] *cwung*	'middle'	aspectual: 'in the middle of'

MMC with respective nouns. The meaning of the MMC is mainly modal. In addition, aspectual meanings and one stylistic effect are observed.

In this connection, we shall look at the co-occurrence possibilities between the nouns and the adnominalizer suffixes. They are shown in Table 5 regarding

Tab. 5: Non-content nouns and adnominalizer suffixes.

Non-content nouns	NPST -nun	PST -n	RETRO -ten	PRETRO -ss ten	PROS -(u)l	PPROS -ss ul
[1] *moyang* 'appearance'	+	+	+	+	+	−
[2] *pep* 'law'	+	−	−	−	−	−
[3] *kil* 'road, path'	+	−	+	−	−	−
[4] *seym* 'calculation'	+	+	+	+	+	?
[5] *phan* 'venue, spot'	+	+	−	−	+	−
[6] *phok* 'width'	+	+	−	−	−	−
[7] *phyen* 'side, part'	+	+	+	+	−	−
[8] *the* 'ground, place'	+	+	+	+	+	+

Legend: NPST: nonpast; PST: past; RETRO: retrospective; PRETRO: past retrospective; PROS: prospective; PPROS: past prospective; +: acceptable; ?: marginally acceptable; −: unacceptable.

Tab. 6: Defective nouns and adnominalizer suffixes.

Defective nouns	NPST -nun	PST -n	RETRO -ten	PRETRO -ss ten	PROS -(u)l	PPROS -ss ul
[1] *kes* 'thing'	+	+	+	+	+	+
[2] *pa* 'thing'	+	−	+	+	−	−
[3] *cikyeng, nolus* 'domain, role'	+	+	−	−	+	+
[4] *cham, cha* 'time, moment'	+	+	+	+	+	−
[5] *cwung* 'middle'	+	−	+	−	−	−

non-content nouns, and in Table 6 regarding defective nouns. It is difficult to make any generalizations, except to note that the nonpast has the widest range of possibilities.

In 5.3, we looked at the nouns that can occur in the Noun slot of the MMC and their semantic and/or pragmatic aspects. In 5.4 we shall examine the morphosyntax of the MMC.

5.4 Morphosyntax of the MMC

5.4.1 Types of the predicate of the Clause

As seen in 4.1 regarding sentences, the predicate is of four types. All of them can occur in the Clause of the MMC. Examples are (98) (verb), (99) (adjective), (100) (noun plus the copula), and (101) (existential).

(99) [*Ku=nun hangsang palk-un*]   ***phyoceng****=i-ta.*
     he=TOP always   cheerful-ADN.NPST expression=COP-DECL
     LT: '[He is always cheerful] an expression is.'
     FT: 'He always looks cheerful.'

(100) [*Ku=nun uysa=i-n*]   ***moyang****=i-ta.*
     he=TOP doctor=COP-ADN.NPST appearance=COP-DECL
     LT: '[He is a medical doctor] an appearance is.'
     FT: 'He seems to be a medical doctor.'

(101) [*Seysi=pwuthe hoyuy=ka*   *iss-ul*]   ***yeyceng****=i-ta.*
     3.o'clock=ABL meeting=NOM exist-ADN.PROS plan=COP-DECL
     LT: '[The meeting exists from 3 o'clock] a plan is.'
     FT: 'The meeting is scheduled to be held from 3 o'clock .'

5.4.2 Copula of the MMC

The Copula slot may be occupied by the copula *=i-* or by one of its variants (Table 2).

     [1] Morphological possibilities
As noted in 4.1, the copula *=i* can be omitted when it is preceded by a noun that ends with a vowel and followed by the sentence-final suffix *-ta*. Examples include (8), (20), (25), (28), (34) to (36), (48) to (50), (53), (88) and (89).

     When used in the Copula slot of the MMC, the copula has many morphological possibilities that it has when it is used outside the MMC. For example, it can be combined with the subject honorific suffix. See *-si* 'HS' in:

(102) [*Sensayngnim=kkeyse=nun konlan-ha-n*]
     teacher=NOM.HOR=TOP   embarrassment-do-ADN.NPST
     phyoceng*=i-si-ess-ta.*
     expression=COP-HS-PST-DECL
     LT: '[The teacher did embarrassment] an expression on the face is.'
     FT: 'The teacher looked embarrassed.'

However, there are restrictions on the negation of the Copula of the MMC. See 5.4.3.2.

[2] Absence of the Copula

Regarding the Korean MMC in general, the copula =i- can be omitted rather freely – particularly when it is followed by the sentence-final suffix -ta 'DECL' (i.e. =i-ta). It tends to be omitted in newspaper articles, but its presence/absence does not affect the acceptability of the sentence.

For example, as mentioned in 5.3.3-[8], the Copula is often absent when the MMC with the non-content noun the 'ground, place' describes the speaker's strong intention or when it is used in newspaper articles.

Of particular interest is the MMC that contains the defective noun kes 'thing' (5.3.4-[1]). When the copula is absent, this MMC has modal meanings such as strong advice, command, command, instruction to the addressee, strong obligation (Kim & Horie 2006, Rhee 2011).

(103) [*Tampay phiwu-ci ma-l*]   ***kes***.
      cigarette smoke-NEG-ADN.PROS thing
      'No smoking.'

(104) [*Hoyuy=ey   chamsek-ha-l*]   ***kes***.
      meeting=DAT/LOC attendance-do-ADN.PROS thing
      'Attend the meeting.'

Note that (83) and (84), which contain the copula, do not indicate a strong command toward addressees. They describe the speaker's intention.

5.4.3 Negation

5.4.3.1 Negation of the predicate of the Clause

Korean has two ways to negate verbs (though not the copula) and adjectives. They can be used for the negation of the predicate of the Clause of the MMC as well. One involves the short form *an*, which precedes the predicate, e.g. (105). The other employs the bipartite form -ci anh-, which is attached to the end of the stem of the predicate, e.g. (39) and (106).

(105) [*Na=nun ilpon=ey   an   ka-l*]   ***yeyceng***=i-ta
      I=TOP   Japan=DAT/LOC NEG plan-ADN.PROS plan=COP-DECL
      'I plan not to go to Japan.'

(106) [*Na=nun ilpon=ey   ka-ci anh-ul*]   ***yeyceng**=i-ta.*
     I=TOP   Japan=DAT/LOC go-NEG-ADN.PROS plan=COP-DECL
     'I plan not to go to Japan.'

5.4.3.2 Negation of the Copula

Negation of the copula involve the negative marker *an* (mentioned in 5.4.3.1). For example, the negative form *=i-ta* 'COP-DECL' is *ani-ta* 'COP.NEG-DECL'.

(107) *Chinkwu=nun uysa=ka   ani-ta.*
     friend=TOP   doctor=NOM COP.NEG-DECL
     '(My) friend is not a doctor.'

The Copula in the MMC can be negated. This negation exhibits an unusual phenomenon. Furthermore, there are certain restrictions on the negation of the Copula.

     We shall first look at the unusual phenomenon. As a pair of examples, compare (108) (affirmative) (same as (3)) and (109) (negative). When the copula is negated, either the nominative case marker or the topic marker follows the Noun; see (109). As pointed out by Nam (2004a: 88), here the topic marker is more acceptable than the nominative case marker. This probably has to do with the scope of negation and focalization.

(108) [*Chinkwu=nun ilpon=ey   ka-l*]   ***yeyceng**=i-ta.*
     friend=TOP   Japan=DAT/LOC go-ADN.PROS plan=COP-DECL
     '(My) friend plans to go to Japan.'

(109) [*Chinkwu=nun ilpon=ey   ka-l*]   ***yeyceng**=i / **yeyceng**=un*
     friend=TOP   Japan=DAT/LOC go-ADN.PROS plan=NOM / plan=TOP
     ani-ta.
     COP.NEG-DECL
     '(My) friend does not plan to go to Japan.'

In (109) the Noun is followed by the nominative marker or the topic marker, and in this respect it departs from the structure of the prototype of the MMC, shown in (1). Due to the presence of the nominative marker or the topic marker following the Noun, (109) is unusual among all the instances of the MMC of Korean. Furthermore, such a phenomenon (i.e. the presence of the nominative marker or the topic marker following the Noun that is caused by the negation of the Copula) is not reported from any other language investigated in the present volume.

     We now turn to the restrictions on the negation of the Copula in the MMC. The acceptability of this negation depends on the type of the noun in the Noun slot (Nam 2004a). We shall look at content nouns, non-content nouns and defective nouns.

[1] Content nouns

When a content noun is in the Noun slot, the Copula can be negated with no restriction. Examples include (110) (*cakceng* 'intention') and (111) (*cheycil* 'nature of body').

(110) [*Chinkwu=nun nayil yeki=lul ttena-l*] **cakceng**=*i*
　　　 friend=TOP　　tomorrow here=ACC leave-ADN.PROS intention=NOM
　　　 ani-ta.
　　　 COP.NEG-DECL
　　　 '(My) friend will not leave here tomorrow.'

(111) [*Chinkwu=nun sal=i cal cci-nun*] **cheycil**=*i*
　　　 friend=TOP　　fat=NOM well get.fat-ADN.NPST nature.of.body=NOM
　　　 ani-ta.
　　　 COP.NEG-DECL
　　　 '(My) friend does not gain weight easily.'

[2] Non-content nouns

With most of the non-content nouns, e.g. *pep* 'law' in (112), the negation of the Copula is not acceptable. With non-content nouns such as *moyang* 'appearance', this negation may be unacceptable, e.g. (113) or marginally acceptable, e.g. (56). However, this negation is possible with non-content nouns such as *phyen* 'side' in (114).

(112) *[*Sinpwu=nun wenlay yeyppu-n*] **pep**=*i ani-ta.*
　　　 bride=TOP　　in.nature beautiful-ADN.NPST law=NOM COP.NEG-DECL
　　　 IM: 'It is not the case that every bride is beautiful (in nature).'

(113) *[*Chinkwu=nun wu-nun*] **moyang**=*i ani-ta.*
　　　 friend=TOP　　cry-ADN.NPST appearance=NOM COP.NEG-DECL
　　　 IM: '(My) friend does not seem to cry.'

(114) [*Chinkwu=nun sal=i cal cci-nun*] **phyen**=*i ani-ta.*
　　　 friend=TOP　　fat=NOM well get.fat-ADN.NPST side=NOM COP.NEG-DECL
　　　 '(My) friend does not gain weight easily.'

[3] Defective nouns

The acceptability of the negation of the Copula varies depending on the defective noun involved. This negation is unacceptable with defective nouns such as *kes* 'thing' in (115) and *cikyeng* 'domain' in (116). In contrast, it is acceptable with defective nouns such as *cwung* 'middle' in (117).

Tab. 7: Content nouns, non-content nouns and defective nouns.

	Content nouns	Non-content nouns	Defective nouns
Negation of Copula	all the nouns	a small number of nouns	depends on the noun
Use outside MMC	+	+	−
Lexical meaning retained in MMC	+	−	−
Clefting	all the nouns	depends on the noun	depends on the noun
Grammaticalized	←		→
	least		most

Legend: +: acceptable; −: unacceptable or non-existent.

(115) *[*Na=nun ku kapang=ul kkok   sa-l*]   ***kes**=i*
      I=TOP   that bag=ACC in.any.case buy-ADN.PROS thing=NOM
      ani-ta.
      COP.NEG-DECL
      IM: '(I) will not buy that bag in any case.'

(116) *[*Na=nun yocum   cwuk-ul*]   ***cikyeng**=i   ani-ta*.
      I=TOP   these.days die-ADN.PROS domain=NOM COP.NEG-DECL
      IM: 'I do not feel half dead these days.'

(117) [*Na=nun yenkwusil=eyse nonmwun=ul ssu-nun*]   ***cwung**=i*
      I=TOP   lab=DAT/LOC   paper=ACC   write-ADN.NPST middle=NOM
      ani-ta.
      COP.NEG-DECL
      'I am not writing a paper in (my) laboratory.'

As seen above, the negation of the Copula is acceptable with all the content nouns. It is unacceptable with most of the non-content nouns, that is, it is acceptable with only a small number of non-content nouns. With defective nouns, this acceptability varies depending on the noun. Where negation is unacceptable, the Copula has lost one of its morphological possibilities. It is possible – though by no means certain – that, where negation is unacceptable, the Noun and the Copula are beginning to form a unit. Merger of the Noun and the Copula is reported from a dialect of Japanese; see Tsunoda (this volume-b, 7.9).

Furthermore, as noted in 5.3.1, defective nouns cannot be used independently outside the MMC. Both content nouns and non-content nouns can be used outside the MMC. Roughly speaking, when used in the MMC, content nouns have the meaning that they have when used outside the MMC, while non-content nouns do not.

These facts can be shown as in Table 7. "Lexical meaning" refers to the meaning that nouns have when used outside the MMC. As will be shown in 6.8, clefting involving the MMC is possible with all the content nouns. However, with non-con-

tent nouns and defective nouns, the acceptability of clefting depends on the sentence. This fact, too, is shown in Table 7.

It is possible to say that, in terms of these four criteria, content nouns are the least grammaticalized, followed by non-content nouns, and that defective nouns are the most grammaticalized.

Thus far we have examined the negation of the Copula of the MMC.

As seen in 5.4.3.1, the predicate of the Clause can be negated, e.g. (105), (106) ('I plan not to go to Japan'). As just seen, the Copula can be negated (if the Noun allows the negation of the Copula), e.g. (109) ('(My) friend does not plan to go to Japan'). Furthermore, both the Copula and the predicate of the Clause can be negated (if the Noun allows the negation of the Copula), e.g. (118).

(118) [*Na=nun ilpon=ey   an   ka-l*]   **yeyceng**=i *ani-ta.*
     I=TOP   Japan=DAT/LOC NEG go-ADN.PROS plan=NOM COP.NEG-DECL
     'I do not plan not to go to Japan.'

5.4.4 Subject respect suffix *-(u)si-*

The honorific suffix *-(u)si-* 'HS' is used for subject respect. It is attached to the stem of the predicate, e.g.:

(119) *Appa=ka   o-si-ess-ta.*
     father=NOM come-HS-PST-DECL
     '(My) father came.'

In the MMC, it can be added to the predicate of the Clause, e.g. (120), to the Copula, e.g. (102), (121), and to both, e.g. (122).

(120) [*Halapeci=kkeyse=nun   nayil   ilpon=ey   ka-si-l*]
     grandfather=NOM.HOR=TOP tomorrow Japan=DAT/LOC go-HS-ADN.PROS
     yeyceng=*i-ta.*
     plan=COP-DECL
     '(My) grandfather plans to go to Japan tomorrow.'

(121) [*Halapeci=kkeyse=nun   nayil   ilpon=ey   ka-l*]
     grandfather=NOM.HOR=TOP tomorrow Japan=DAT/LOC go-ADN.PROS
     yeyceng=*i-si-ta.*
     plan=COP-HS-DECL
     '(My) grandfather plans to go to Japan tomorrow.'

(122) [*Halapeci=kkeyse=nun*   *nayil*   *ilpon=ey*   *ka-si-l*]
      grandfather=NOM.HOR=TOP tomorrow Japan=DAT/LOC go-HS-ADN.PROS
      yeyceng*=i-si-ta*.
      plan=COP-HS-DECL
      '(My) grandfather plans to go to Japan tomorrow.'

As seen in 5.3.4.2, the negation of the Copula is unacceptable under certain conditions. In contrast, there is no such restriction on the use of the honorific suffix *-(u)si-* 'HS'. This shows that the loss of the morphological possibilities of the copula is more advanced in negation than in the use of the honorific suffix *-(u)si-* 'HS'.

5.4.5 Modification of the Noun

When used outside the MMC, all of the content nouns, some of the non-content nouns and some of the defective nouns can be modified by a demonstrative and/or an adjective. However, when they are used in the MMC, they cannot be modified by any word. In this respect, the Noun has lost one property as a noun. For example, in (123) the noun *kil* 'path, road, means, ways' is modified by an AC (shown with braces) and the demonstrative *ku* 'that'. The noun *kil* (classified as a non-content noun; cf. 5.3.3-[3]) can be used in the Noun slot of the MMC, e.g. (62) and (124). (This MMC has a progressive meaning.) However, when they are used in the MMC, they cannot be modified by any word; see (125).

(123) {*chinkwu=ka ecey*   *cinaka-n*}   *ku*   *kil*
      friend=NOM yesterday pass-ADN.PST that road
      'that road which (my) friend passed yesterday'

(124) [*Chinkwu=nun cikum hakkyo=ey*   *ka-nun*]   ***kil****=i-ta*.
      friend=TOP   now   school=DAT/LOC go-ADN.NPST road=COP-DECL
      '(My) friend is on the way to school now.'

(125) *[*Chinkwu=nun cikum hakkyo=ey*   *ka-nun*]   *ku*
      friend=TOP   now   school=DAT/LOC go-ADN.NPST that
      kil*=i-ta*.
      road=COP-DECL
      LT: '(My) friend is on that way to school now.'

5.4.6 Can the Clause of the MMC used as a sentence?

As seen in Section 1, Tsunoda (this volume-a, 2.1) proposes that the prototype of the MMC has five properties, one of which is the following.

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

As noted in 5.1, in the Korean MMC, the predicate of the Clause has to be in an adnominal form. That is, the predicate is a non-finite form, and consequently the Clause cannot be used by itself as a sentence. In this respect, the Korean MMC departs from the prototype of the MMC.

   As a pair of examples, compare (101) with (126). The latter is ungrammatical.

(126) *Seysi=pwuthe hoyuy=ka   iss-ul.*
       3.o'clock=ABL meeting=NOM exist-ADN.PROS
       LT: 'The meeting exists from 3 o'clock.'

5.4.7 Sentencehood of the Clause of the MMC

The Clause of the MMC does not have a full status as an independent sentence and it shows a lower degree of sentencehood than independent sentences. For example, as just seen, the predicate of the Clause has to be in an adnominal form. Consequently the Clause cannot be used by itself as a sentence. The Clause or its predicate cannot have sentence-final expressions, such as the declarative suffix *-ta*.

6 Comparison of the MMC with other chapters

6.1 Introductory notes

We now compare the MMC with other constructions. In particular, we shall examine the following two issues.

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

The structure of the prototype of the MMC is as shown in (1). Superficially at least, it looks as if the prototypical MMC is bi-clausal. In some of the languages reported in the present volume, the Clause of the MMC looks similar to an adnominal clause ("AC") (or a relative clause) of the respective languages and consequently it looks as if the MMC is bi-clausal, with an AC as a subordinate clause. This applies to Korean. The predicate of the Clause has to be in an adnominal form (5.1) like the predicate of adnominal clauses ("ACs") (4.2.1). On the morphological grounds – it may look as if the MMC contains an AC, that is, it may look as if the MMC is bi-clausal.

   Syntactically, however, as noted in Section 1, like Modern Standard Japanese (Tsunoda, this volume-b, Section 6), Korean provides ample evidence to show that

its MMC does not contain an AC and that its MMC is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal. Tsunoda (this volume-b, Section 6) gives eight pieces of evidence in support of the mono-clausal status of the Modern Standard Japanese MMC. Most of the eight pieces of evidence apply to the Korean MMC as well. (See also Tsunoda (this volume-a, 3.4.2).)

For Korean, we shall compare the following constructions.

(i)   Mono-clausal sentences (cf. 4.1).
(ii) MMC (cf. Section 5).
(iii) ACs, gap type (cf. 4.2.2).
(iv) ACs, addition type (cf. 4.2.3).
(v)   ACs with an anticipatory pronoun (cf. 4.2.4).

It is necessary to consider mono-clausal sentences, not bi-clausal sentences, since one of the aims of this comparison is to examine the issue (b) listed above.

When we look at the MMC, we shall mainly be concerned with the Clause, but we also look at the entire MMC.

We shall compare the constructions listed above in terms of predicate morphology (6.2) and syntax (6.3 to 6.8). The result of this comparison is shown in Table 8.

6.2 Predicate morphology

(i) Mono-clausal sentences
The predicate can be fully inflected.

(ii) MMC
The predicate of the Clause has to be in an adnominal form.

(iii) ACs, gap type
(iv) ACs, addition type
(v) ACs with an anticipatory pronoun
The predicate of ACs has to be in an adnominal form.

6.3 Deletion of the Clause and ACs

It is convenient to start with ACs.

(iii) ACs, gap type
(iv) ACs, addition type
(v) ACs with an anticipatory pronoun
Deletion of an AC produces a well-formed sentence. Compare (127) and (128).

(127) *Ikes=un* {*Chelswu=ka ilk-nun*} *chayk=i-ta.*
  this=NOM (name)=NOM read-NPST book=COP-DECL
  'This is a book that Chelswu reads/will read.'

(128) *Ikes=un chayk=i-ta.*
  this=NOM book=COP-DECL
  'This is a book.'

(ii) MMC

Deletion of the Clause of the MMC produces a nonsensical sentence or at best an elliptical sentence. Compare (129) (same as (5)) and (130).

(129) [*Na=nun unhayng=ey ka-nun*] ***kil=i-ta.***
  I=TOP bank=DAT/LOC go-ADN.NPST road=COP-DECL
  'I am on my way to the bank.'

(130) ***Kil=i*** *ta.*
  road=COP DECL
  LT: 'Is the road.'

(i) Mono-clausal sentences
This issue is irrelevant.

6.4 Topic marking

(i) Mono-clausal sentences
The topic marker (*=un/=nun*) can occur in mono-clausal sentences, e.g. (6) to (9).

(ii) MMC
The topic marker can occur in the Clause of the MMC, e.g. (110), (111), (114), (117).

(iii) ACs, gap type
(iv) ACs, addition type
(v) ACs with an anticipatory pronoun
The topic marker cannot occur in an AC. (The subject of ACs is generally marked by the nominative case.) See (131) (gap type), and (132) (addition type).

(131) **Ikes=un* {*chinkwu=nun sa-n*} *os=i-ta.*
  this=TOP friend=TOP buy-ADN.PST clothes=COP-DECL
  IM: 'These are the clothes that (my) friend bought.'

(132) *{*chinkwu=nun mal-ha-nun*}   *moksoli*
　　　friend=TOP   talk-do-ADN.NPST voice
　　　IM: 'the voice with which (my) friend talks'

6.5 Gapping

It is convenient to start with ACs of the gap type.

　　(iii) ACs, gap type
Gapping occurs in the formation of ACs of the gap type. Compare (11) with (12) to (14). All of the subject, the direct object and the indirect object are present in (11). In contrast, the subject is absent in the AC of (12), the direct object is absent in the AC of (13), and the indirect object is absent in the AC of (14).

　　(iv) ACs, addition type
Gapping does not take place in the formation of these ACs. Compare (18) with the AC in (19). Both the subject and the object are present in the AC of (19), as is the case with (18).

　　(v) ACs with an anticipatory pronoun
Gapping does not take place in the formation of these ACs. Compare (20) with the AC in (21). (20) contains an expression for the possessor: *ku haksayng=uy* 'that student-GEN'. The AC in (21), too, contains an expression for the possessor: *caki* 'self'.

　　(i) Mono-clausal sentences
Gapping does not take place.

　　(ii) MMC
Gapping does not take place in the formation of the Clause of the MMC.

6.6 Anticipatory pronoun

It is convenient to start with ACs with an anticipatory pronoun.

　　(v) ACs with an anticipatory pronoun
An anticipatory pronoun occurs in ACs of this type.

　　(iii) ACs, gap type
　　(iv) ACs, addition type
　　(i) Mono-clausal sentences
An anticipatory pronoun does not occur.

(ii) MMC
An anticipatory pronoun does not occur in the Clause of the MMC.

6.7 One subject or two subjects?

It is convenient to start with ACs.

    (iii) ACs, gap type
    (iv) ACs, addition type
    (v) ACs with an anticipatory pronoun

A sentence with an AC may contain two subjects: the subject of the AC and the subject of the main clause. For example, in (38) (addition type), *Hankwuk salam=un* 'Korea people=TOP' is the subject of the AC and *kwansup=i* 'practice=NOM' is the subject of the main clause. As another example, in (127) (gap type), *Chelswu=ka* '(name)=NOM' is the subject of the AC and *ikes=un* 'this=TOP' is the subject of the main clause.

    (i) Mono-clausal sentences
These sentences have only one subject, e.g. (6) to (9).

    (ii) MMC
The entire MMC has only one subject, e.g. (110), (111), (114), (117).

6.8 Clefting

The cleft construction in Korean has the following structure.

(133) X=*kes=un*   NP*(=i)-ta*.
       X=NMLZ=TOP NP=COP-DECL

(*Kes* can also be used as a defective noun; see 5.3.4-[1].) In the following discussion, the subject will be put in focus by clefting.

    (i) Mono-clausal sentences
Clefting is acceptable. Compare:

(134) *Chinkwu=nun chayk=ul   sa-ss-ta*.
      friend=TOP   book=ACC buy-PST-DECL
      '(My) friend bought a book.'

(135) *Chayk=ul sa-n   kes=un   chinkwu(=i)-ta.*
book=ACC buy-ADN.PST NMLZ=TOP friend=COP-DECL
'It is (my) friend who bought a book.'

(ii) MMC

The acceptability of clefting depends on the type of the noun involved. With all the content nouns, clefting is acceptable.

(136) [*Chinkwu=nun ilpon=ey   ka-l*]   **yeyceng**=*i-ta.*
friend=TOP   Japan=DAT/LOC go-ADN.PROS plan=COP-DECL
'(My) friend plans to go to Japan.'

(137) *Ilpon=ey   ka-l   **yeyceng**=i-n   kes=un*
Japan=DAT/LOC go-ADN.PROS plan=COP-ADN.NPST NMLZ=TOP
chinkwu=(i)-ta.
friend=COP-DECL
'It is (my) friend who plans to go to Japan.'

With non-content nouns, the acceptability of clefting depends on the noun employed. For example, clefting is acceptable with non-content nouns such as *phyen* 'side'; see (138) and (139). However, it is not acceptable with non-content nouns such as *pep* 'law'; see (140) and (141).

(138) [*Chinkwu=nun achim=ey   ilccik*] *ilena-nun*
friend=TOP   morning=DAT/LOC early get.up-ADN.NPST
phyen=*i-ta.*
side=COP-DECL
'(My) friend has a habit of getting up early in the morning.'

(139) *Achim=ey   ilccik ilena-nun   **phyen**=i-n*
morning=DAT/LOC early get.up-ADN.NPST side=COP-ADN.NPST
kes=un   chinkwu(=i)-ta.
NMLZ=TOP friend=COP-DECL
'It is (my) friend who has a habit of getting up early in the morning.'

(140) [*Haksayng=un yelsimhi kongpwu-ha-nun*]   **pep**=*i-ta.*
student=TOP   hard   study-do-ADN.NPST law=COP-DECL
'Students should study hard.'

(141) **Yelsimhi kongpwu-ha-nun   **pep**=i-n   kes=un*
hard   study-do-ADN.NPST law=COP-ADN.NPST NMLZ=TOP
haksayng=i-ta.
student=COP-DECL
IM: 'It is students who should study hard.'

With defective nouns, as is the case with non-content nouns, the acceptability of clefting depends on the noun employed. For example, clefting is acceptable with defective nouns such as *cikyeng* 'domain'; see (142) and (143). However, it is not acceptable with defective nouns such as *kes* 'thing'; see (144) and (145).

(142) [*Chinkwu=nun cwuk-ul*]   ***cikyeng**=i-ta.*
      friend=TOP   die-ADN.PROS domain=COP-DECL
      '(My) friend is feeling as if he is almost dead.'

(143) *Cwuk-ul*   ***cikyeng**=i-n*   *kes=un*   *chinkwu(=i)-ta.*
      die-ADN.PROS domain=COP-ADN.PROS NMLZ=TOP friend=COP-DECL
      'It is (my) friend who is feeling as if he is almost dead.'

(144) [*Chinkwu=nun hoyuy=ey*   *chamsek-ha-l*]
      friend=TOP   meeting=DAT/LOC attendance-do-ADN.PROS
      ***kes**=i-ta.*
      thing=COP-DECL
      '(My) friend will attend the meeting.'

(145) **Hoyuy=ey*   *chamsek-ha -l*   ***kes**=i-n*
      meeting=DAT/LOC attend-do-ADN.PROS thing=COP-ADN.NPST
      kes=un   *chinkwu(=i)-ta.*
      NMLZ=TOP friend=COP-DECL
      IM: 'It is (my) friend who will attend the meeting.'

   (iii) ACs, gap type
   (iv) ACs, addition type
   (v) ACs with an anticipatory pronoun
Clefting is impossible. For example, compare (146) and (147) (gap type). As another pair of examples, compare (148) and (149) (addition type).

(146) *Ikes=un*   {*chinkwu=ka ssu-n*}   *chayk=i-ta.*
      this=TOP friend=NOM write-ADN.PST book=COP-DECL
      'This is the/a book that (my) friend wrote.'

(147) **Ikes=un ssu-n*   *chayk=i-n*   *kes=un*
      this=TOP write-ADN.PST book=COP-ADN.NPST NMLZ=TOP
      chinkwu(=i)-ta.
      friend=COP-DECL
      (untranslatable)

(148) *Ikes=un*   {*chinkwu=ka mal-ha-nun*}   *moksoli(=i)-ta.*
      this=TOP friend=NOM talk-do-ADN.NPST voice=COP-DECL
      LT: 'This is the voice with which (my) friend talks.'

(149) *Ikes=un mal-ha-nun   moksoli(=i)-n   kes=un
      this=TOP talk-do-ADN.NPST voice=COP-ADN.NPST NMLZ=TOP
      chinkwu(=i)-ta
      friend=COP-DECL
      (untranslatable)

6.9 Summary of the comparison

The result of the comparison above can be summarized as in Table 8.

Table 8 shows the following. In terms of "Predicate morphology", which is a morphological criterion, the Clause of the MMC behaves like ACs and unlike mono-clausal sentences. In terms of the other six criteria, which are syntactic criteria, the entire MMC or its Clause almost always behaves like mono-clausal sentences and unlike ACs. That is, on morphological grounds, it may look as if the MMC contains an AC. However, syntactically the MMC does not contain an AC. In the main, it behaves like mono-clausal sentences. That is, the MMC should be considered mono-clausal, not bi-clausal – despite its superficial appearance shown in (1), which is repeated below.

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

Tab. 8: Comparison of mono-clausal sentences, the MMC and ACs.

	Predicate morphology	Does deletion of Clause or AC produce a well-formed sentence?		Topic marking
Mono-clausal sentences	fully inflected	…		+
MMC	adnominal	no		+
AC, gap type	adnominal	yes		–
AC, addition type	adnominal	yes		–
AC, anticipatory pronoun	adnominal	yes		–

	Gapping	Anticipatory pronoun	Two subjects	Clefting
Mono-clausal sentences	–	–	–	+
MMC	–	–	–	+, –
AC, gap type	+	–	+	–
AC, addition type	–	–	+	–
AC, anticipatory pronoun	–	+	+	–

Legend: +: acceptable or obligatory; –: unacceptable; …: irrelevant.

6.10 Compound predicate of the MMC

We saw in 6.9 that syntactically the MMC should be considered mono-clausal, not bi-clausal. Then, it should have just one predicate, not two predicates. It is important to investigate what structure the predicate has.

As noted in 6.1, for Modern Standard Japanese, Tsunoda (this volume-b, 6.2 to 6.9) gives eight pieces of evidence to show that syntactically its MMC is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal. Furthermore, Tsunoda (this volume-b, 6.11) gives two pieces of evidence to show that, in the MMC of Modern Standard Japanese, the predicate of the Clause, the Noun and the Copula jointly form a single unit, as shown in (2), which is repeated below.

(2) [... predicate of Clause]   Noun   Copula.
           compound predicate

Both pieces of evidence apply to the Korean MMC. In addition, there is a third piece of evidence to show the existence of this compound predicate.

Evidence 1. (This is Tsunoda's first piece of evidence.) As seen in 5.4.5, a noun in the Noun slot cannot be modified by any word. This shows that syntactically the Noun and the preceding predicate of the Clause form a unit; they reject the intervention of any other word.

Evidence 2. (This is Tsunoda's second piece of evidence.) The copula in the Copula slot is an enclitic, and no word can intervene between it and the preceding Noun. That is, the Noun and the Copula form a unit.

Evidence 3. (This evidence seems to be absent in the MMC of Modern Standard Japanese.) As seen in 5.4.3.2, the negation of the Copula is unacceptable with most of the non-content nouns, and with defective nouns this acceptability varies depending on the noun. It is possible – though by no means certain – that, where negation is unacceptable, the Noun and the Copula are beginning to form a unit.

To sum up, there is evidence to show that in the Korean MMC the predicate of the Clause, the Noun and the Copula jointly form a single unit. This evidence is possibly stronger than the evidence for the MMC of Modern Standard Japanese.

According to this view, (142), for example, has a compound predicate as shown in (150). The compound predicate is underlined.

(150) [*Chinkwu=nun cwuk-ul*]   ***cikyeng**=i-ta*.
       friend=TOP   die-ADN.PROS domain=COP-DECL
                                  compound predicate
       '(My) friend is feeling as if s/he is almost dead.'

7 Summary and concluding remarks

The MMC abounds in Korean, and it is of three types. In the dominant type, about 80 nouns are attested in the Noun slot. They can be classified into three groups: content nouns, non-content nouns, and defectives nouns. These nouns (about 80) and the nouns attested in the Noun slot of the MMC of Modern Standard Japanese (at least 121) in the main coincide. However, there are some nouns that are acceptable in the Korean MMC, but not in the MMC of Modern Standard Japanese. The reverse applies to some other nouns.

The MMC in Korean has a wide range of meanings, such as modal, evidential, epistemic, aspectual, temporal and stylistic.

In terms of the morphology of the predicate, the Clause of the MMC and that of ACs are identical; they must take an adnominalizer suffix. Since the predicate is in an adnominal form, the Clause by itself cannot be used as a sentence.

Regarding syntax, however, the Clause of the MMC behaves differently from ACs, and the MMC does not contain an AC. The entire MMC or the Clause behaves like mono-clausal sentences. Syntactically, the MMC is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal.

In terms of semantics and syntax, the nouns in the Noun slot of the MMC are grammaticalized to varying degrees. Among them, some of the non-content nouns and the defective nouns mentioned above are the most grammaticalized.

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

ABL = ablative; AC = adnominal clause; ACC = accusative; ADN = adnominal; C = Chinese; COM = comitative; COND = conditional; CONJ = conjunctive; COP = copula; DAT/LOC = dative/locative; DECL = declarative; DEF = deferential; E = English; FT = free translation; GEN = genitive; HOR = honorific; HS = honorific suffix; IM = intended meaning; K = Korean; LT = literal translation; MMC = mermaid construction; NEG = negation; NMLZ = nominalizer; NOM = nominative; NPST = non-past; PL = plural; POL = polite; PPROS = past prospective; PRETRO = past retrospective; PROS = prospective; PST = past; RETRO = retrospective; SFS = sentence final suffix; TOP = topic; VOL = volitional.

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Fubito Endo
7 Kolyma Yukaghir

1 Introduction

Tsunoda (this volume-a, 2.1) proposes that the prototype of the mermaid construction ("MMC") has all of the following five properties.

(a) The structure is as shown in (1) – superficially at least.
(b) The Noun is an independent word (not a clitic) that is a noun.
(c) The subject of the Clause and the Noun are non-coreferential.
(d) The Clause can be used as a sentence by itself.
(e) The Clause is not the subject of the "Noun + Copula".

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

In the prototypical MMC, the Noun slot of the MMC is occupied by a noun that is an independent word. In non-prototypical instances, it may be occupied by an enclitic or a suffix which derives from a noun. Nouns, enclitics and suffixes in the Noun slot may also be nominalizers.

Tsunoda (this volume-a, Section 1 and 2.1) notes as follows. Superficially at least, it looks as if the MMC contains a subordinate clause and is bi-clausal. However, languages such as Modern Standard Japanese (Tsunoda, this volume-b, Section 6) and Korean (Kim, this volume, Section 6) provide ample evidence that syntactically their MMC is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal, despite its superficial appearance (shown in (1)). Their MMC has just one predicate, not two predicates, and the predicate is a compound predicate that consists of the predicate of the Clause, the Noun and the Copula, as shown in (2).

(2) [… predicate of Clause]   Noun   Copula.
                compound predicate

Kolyma Yukaghir does not have the prototype of the MMC. Nonetheless, it has two constructions that are non-prototypical varieties of the MMC. Both types of the MMC are marginal in the language.

In one type of the MMC, the Noun slot is occupied by the enclitic *=ben/=bed*. This enclitic is attached to a participle. The Copula slot is generally left empty (for details, see 5.2.1). This MMC (i) expresses past situations (a temporal meaning), or (ii) has a modal meaning, such as strong assertion. The etymology of *=ben* is not

known for certain. Nonetheless, it has been suggested that this enclitic is related to the noun *pen* that means 'thing', or more precisely, 'supernatural thing'.

In the other type of the MMC, the Noun slot is occupied by the nominalizer suffix *-jo:n*. This suffix is added to a verb stem. The Copula slot is occupied by the copula verb. This MMC, too, expresses past situations (a temporal meaning), although it does not seem to have a modal meaning. It has been suggested that etymologically this suffix contains the noun *pen*, but this is not certain.

There is clear evidence that the Yukaghir MMC is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal.

It seems likely that the Yukaghir MMC is at a very advanced stage of its development. Even if the enclitic *=ben* and the suffix *-jo:n* are related to the noun *pen*, the Noun slot of the MMC is not occupied by an independent word, but by an enclitic in one type of the MMC and by a suffix in the other type of the MMC.

2 Initial illustration

As an initial illustration, one example of each of the two types of the MMC in Kolyma Yukaghir is given: (3) (the enclitic *=ben*) and (4) (the nominalizer suffix *-jo:n*). This enclitic has two allomorphs: *=ben* and *=bed* (represented by *=ben*). This suffix has the following allomorphs: *-jo:n/-jo:d*, *-d'o:n/-d'o:d*, and *-t'o:n/-t'o:d* (represented by *-jo:n*).

Throughout this chapter, glosses are mine. When literally translated, the MMC does not make sense. For the examples of the MMC given below, both a literal translation ("LT") and a free translation ("FT") will often be provided. An English translation that is cited from the source is indicated to that effect: 'cited from the source'. Other English translations are mine. The form in the Noun slot is in bold face, and the Clause and its translation in the LT are shown with square brackets. The enclitic *=ben* is glossed as '*ben*', while the nominalizer suffix *-jo:n* is glossed as 'NMLZ'.

(3) [*jel'o:ǰe puden   nutn'e-j*]=**bed**-*ek*.
    sun   upward stay-PTCP=*ben*-FOC   (Nikolaeva 1997: 21)
    LT: '[The sun stays upward] *ben*-FOC.'
    FT: 'The sun stayed high outside.' (cited from the source)

(4) [*tet tuda: xon*]-**d'o:n** *o:-d'ek*.
    2SG before go-NMLZ   be-I2SG   (Nagasaki 2001: 63)
    LT: '[You go before] NMLZ are.'
    FT: 'You went (there) before.'

3 Profile of the language

Kolyma Yukaghir is spoken in the Taiga area along the upper reaches of the River Kolyma in East Siberia. It is closely related to Tundra Yukaghir. The possibility of the genetic affinity of the Yukaghir languages to the Uralic language family has been suggested by several researchers, such as Collinder (1940) and Angere (1956). No definitive conclusion, however, has been reached so far.

Kolyma Yukaghir is a critically endangered, or possibly moribund, language. As of 2016, the number of its fluent speakers is around 20.

The following phonemes can be set up: twenty-one consonants /p, b, t, d, k, g, m, n, n'[nʲ], ŋ, r, č [ʧ~ʃ], ǰ [ʤ], ʃ, ʒ, x [χ~q], ʁ, w, j, l, l'[lʲ]/, six short vowels /i, e, ö, a, o, u/, and six long vowels /i:, e:, ö:, a:, o:, u:/. The main stress within a word falls on the final heavy syllable. Stress placement on words with light syllables only is largely unpredictable.

Kolyma Yukaghir overwhelmingly shows agglutinating morphology. It possesses suffixing morphology.

Verbs have the following forms.

(a) Finite forms, which may inflect for aspect, mood, and number-plus-person of the subject.
(b) Nonfinite forms: two participles (*-je* participle and *-me* participle), one verbal noun, and five converbs.

Two of the nonfinite forms can be used as the predicate of independent sentences. (That is, these nonfinite forms have the finite use as well.) A *-me* participle can be employed in transitive sentences with focus on the object, e.g. (51), and a verbal noun can be employed in intransitive sentences with focus on the subject, e.g. (50).

Kolyma Yukaghir shows both head-marking and dependent-marking. It is mildly configurational.

The case system in Kolyma Yukaghir is basically of the NOM-ACC type, where the nominative case has the zero-suffix, while the accusative case has a non-zero suffix. (In the examples that follow, the nominative case will be left unglossed.)

(5) *tudel met-kele juö-m*.
 3SG 1SG-ACC see-T3SG
 'He/She saw me.'

The subject is consistently in the nominative case (zero) (unless it is followed by a focus marker; see 4.1). The object generally has the accusative case marker, e.g. (5), although it has no case suffix if the subject is the first or second person and the object is the third person. When both the subject and the object are third

persons, the object is marked by the accusative case if it is definite, e.g. (6), and by the instrumental case if it is indefinite, e.g. (7).

(6) *tudel Nikolaj-de:-gele juö-m.*
  3SG Nikolai-DIM-ACC see-T3SG
  'He saw Nikolai.'

(7) *tat emej-gi qaʃe-le a-m.*
  then mother-POSS porridge-INS make-T3SG (Nikolaeva 1997: 30)
  'Then their mother made porridge.' (cited from the source)

Kolyma Yukaghir has SOV as the unmarked order. It has postpositions, and does not have prepositions. Noun modifiers, including an adnominal clause ("AC") (or a relative clause), precede the noun they modify. Kolyma Yukaghir does not have adjectives proper as a word class. Concepts that may be expressed by adjectives in languages such as Japanese are often expressed by participles, e.g. *omo-če* 'be.good-PTCP' in (52) to (54). A participle precedes the noun it modifies.

Kolyma Yukaghir does not have a written tradition. With the development of primary education in recent decades, however, a few introductory textbooks using "Yukaghir alphabets" (based on Cyrillic alphabets) have been published. Children are taught how to write and read them in primary schools in their village.

The data used in this chapter were obtained from the spoken language. The data cited from previously published books and articles are indicated to that effect, while the ones I directly obtained from my language consultants during the field trips are not accompanied by any citation information.

4 Types of sentences and clauses

4.1 Verb-predicate and noun-predicate sentences

Kolyma Yukaghir has two major sentence types: verb-predicate sentences and noun-predicate sentences.

Examples of verb-predicate sentences include (8) (transitive) and (9) (intransitive).

(8) *taŋ ʃoromo-pul parna: aʒu:-gele medi-nu-l'el-ŋa:.*
  that person-PL raven language-ACC hear-PROG-EVID-T3PL
  'The people understood the language of ravens.'

(9) *irki-n anil aj kie-s'.*
  one-ATTR fish again come-I3SG
  'A fish came again.'

In verb-predicate sentences, the subject is cross-referenced by the number-plus-person agreement marker on the verb. For the same person-plus-number, the marker alternates depending on whether the verb is transitive or intransitive. In glosses, the person-plus-number marker is preceded by 'T' if the verb is transitive (e.g. 'T3PL' in (8)), and by 'I' if the verb is intransitive (e.g. 'I3SG' in (9)).

Examples of noun-predicate sentences include the following.

(10) (The following is a conversation between Person A and Person B.)
    A: *tituön   nem-dik?*
       here.this what-FOC
       'What is this here?'
    B: *tuön lunbuge-lek.*
       this   pot-FOC
       'This is a pot.'

(11) *kin   o:-ǰek?*
      who be-I2SG
      'Who are you?'

(12) *alme-ŋo-ǰe.*
      shaman-be-I1SG
      'I am a shaman.'

In noun-predicate sentences, generally (though not always) the predicate includes a focus marker, which is attached to a noun or a pronoun, e.g. *nem-dik* 'what-FOC' in (10-A) and *lunbuge-lek* 'pot-FOC' in (10-B). In this case, the predicate does not include any person-number agreement marker. The focus marker in effect functions as the copula.

Focus markers indicate informational focus (essentially a new piece of information or contrastive focus). The focus marker on nouns has two variants: (i) *-lek* (after vowels) ~ *-ek* (after consonants) and (ii) *-k* (after vowels) ~ *-ek* (after consonants). The variant *-lek/-ek* is used if the noun is low in definiteness or referentiality, e.g. (10-B), while *-k/-ek* is used if the noun is high in definiteness or referentiality. The focus marker on pronouns is lexically conditioned, e.g. *nem-dik* 'what-FOC', cf. (10-A), *kin-tek* 'who-FOC', and *met-ek* '1SG-FOC'.

The same focus markers are used in verb-predicate sentences, as well. They concern the information status of the intransitive subject, e.g. (50), and the object, e.g. (51).

If the subject refers to the first or the second person, the copula verb *o:-* 'be' may appear with a person-number agreement marker, e.g. (11). Alternatively, the verbalizing suffix *-ŋo:* 'be' is attached to the noun, followed by a person-number marker, e.g. (12).

4.2 Adnominal clauses

4.2.1 Introductory notes

There are three ways to form adnominal clauses ("ACs") (or relative clauses): (i) a *-je* participle (4.2.2), (ii) a *-me* participle (4.2.3), and (iii) a verbal noun (4.2.4). As noted in Section 3, ACs precede the noun they modify. These three types of ACs differ in terms of their acceptability on Keenan and Comrie's (1977) accessibility hierarchy. See Table 1.

Tab. 1: Acceptability of the three types of ACs.

	Subject	Direct object	Indirect object	Oblique	Possessor
-je participle	+	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)
-me participle	−	+	+	(+)	−
verbal noun	+	(+)	(+)	+	+

Legend: +: acceptable; (+): marginally acceptable or barely acceptable (elicited from language consultants but poorly attested in text data); −: unacceptable.

4.2.2 ACs with a *-je* participle

A *-je* participle can be used to modify the subject, e.g. (14), and it is marginally acceptable for the direct object, e.g. (15), (52). It is barely acceptable for any other position on the hierarchy; see (16) (indirect object). (To be precise, for the positions other than the subject, examples were elicited from language consultants, but they are poorly attested in text data.) Examples follow. ACs are shown with braces.

(13) *tiŋ ʃoromo ekʃil'-e   a:-m*
      this person boat-INS make-T3SG
      'This person made a boat.' (the author's own composition)

(14) {*ekʃil' a:-je*}   *ʃoromo*
      boat   make-PTCP person
      'the person who made a boat'

(15) ?{*tiŋ ʃoromo a:-je*}   *ekʃil'*
      this person make-PTCP boat
      'the boat that this person made'

(16) ?*{*met ču:l tadi-je*} ʃoromo
     1SG meat give-PTCP person
     IM: 'the person to whom I gave meat'

4.2.3 ACs with a *-me* participle

A *-me* participle inflects for person-and-number, and agrees with the subject of the AC. An AC involving a *-me* participle can be used to modify the direct object, e.g. (17), (53), and the indirect object, e.g. (18). It is marginally acceptable for the oblique object. (To be precise, for the oblique object, examples were elicited from language consultants, but they are poorly attested in text data.) However, it cannot be used for any other position on the hierarchy; see (19) (subject).

(17) {*tiŋ ʃoromo a:-mele*} ekʃil'
     this person make-PTCP.3SG boat
     'the boat that this person made'

(18) {*met ču:l tadi-me*} ʃoromo
     1SG meat give-PTCP.1SG person
     'the person to whom I gave meat'

(19) *{*ekʃil' a:-mele*} ʃoromo
     boat make-PTCP.3SG person
     IM: 'the person who made a boat'

4.2.4 ACs with a verbal noun

The verbal noun suffix is *-l*. It is suffixed to verb stems. Verbal nouns have three functions, one of which is to form ACs. In terms of Keenan and Comrie's hierarchy, the ACs involving a verbal noun have the widest range of possibilities among the three types of ACs. They can be used to modify the subject, e.g. (20), the direct object, e.g. (21), (54), the indirect object, e.g. (22), the oblique object, e.g. (23), and the possessor, e.g. (24). However, they cannot be used to modify the object of comparison.

(20) {*ekʃil' a:-l*} ʃoromo
     boat make-VN person
     'the person who made a boat'

(21) {*tiŋ ʃoromo a:-l*} ekʃil'
     this person make-VN] boat
     'the boat that this person made'

(22) {*met ču:l   tadi-l*}   *ʃoromo*
     1SG   meat give-VN person
     'the person to whom I gave meat'

(23) {*met modo-l*} *nume*
     1SG   live-VN house
     'the house in which I lived'

(24) {*aŋǰe-gi   embe-l*}   *ʃoromo*
     eye-POSS be.black-VN person
     'the person whose eyes are black'

Kolyma Yukaghir does not seem to have ACs of the type that Tsunoda (this volume-b, 4.2.2-[2]) refers to as "the addition type". Tsunoda (this volume-a, 5.4) notes that most of the languages that have a prototypical mermaid construction ("MMC") or an MMC close to its prototype have ACs of the addition type. Kolyma Yukaghir has neither a prototypical MMC nor ACs of the addition type.

5 Mermaid construction

5.1 Introductory notes

The five properties of the prototype of the MMC as proposed by Tsunoda (this volume-a) are listed in Section 1 above. Kolyma Yukaghir has two varieties of the MMC although they are not prototypical ones. The MMC involves a construction that is called the "Periphrastic Past" by Maslova (2003: 179–181). Nagasaki (2001), too, gives a description of the same construction. No previous study has recognized the MMC in this language. Nonetheless, the "periphrastic past" construction can be regarded as a non-prototypical instance of the MMC.

Maslova (2003) and Nagasaki (2001) note that the periphrastic past is of two types.

(a) Type A involves an enclitic whose allomorphs are *=ben* and *=bed* (represented by *=ben*).
(b) Type B involves a nominalizer suffix whose allomorphs are *jo:n/-jo:d*, *-d'o:n/ -d'o:d*, and *-t'o:n/-t'o:d* (represented by *-jo:n*).

(The allomorphs ending in *d* are used before vowels, and the allomorphs ending with *n* are used elsewhere.)

The periphrastic past is a marginal construction in the language. It does not occur frequently in folklore text collections, such as Nikolaeva (1989). We shall look at the MMC involving *=ben* in 5.2, followed by the MMC with *-jo:n* in 5.3.

5.2 MMC with the enclitic *=ben*

5.2.1 Overview

The structure of the prototype of the MMC as proposed by Tsunoda (this volume-a) is shown in (1). The structure of the MMC with the enclitic *=ben* can be tentatively shown as follows.

(25) [(SUBJ)   ...   (OBJ)   V(non-finite)]=*ben*-FOC.

The Noun slot is occupied by the enclitic *=ben*. It is not occupied by an independent word (not a clitic) that is a noun. In this respect, this MMC departs from the prototype of the MMC. See the property (b) listed in Section 1.

Alongside (25), this MMC has a marginal subtype whose structure can be tentatively shown as follows:

(26) [(SUBJ)   ...   V(non-finite)]=*ben*   Copula-AGR.

This subtype is used only if the subject refers to the first or the second person, and if the verb is intransitive. Note that, if the verb is transitive, (25) is the only possible option for the subject of all persons. (I am grateful to Iku Nagasaki for pointing out the existence of the structure shown in (26), and also for providing the example (31).)

Let us compare the structure of these two subtypes. (25) does not contain the copula verb. (In this respect, too, this MMC departs from the prototype of the MMC. See (1).) The enclitic *=ben* is always followed by the focus marker *-k/-ek*. (This focus marker is the one that is used for nouns that are high in definiteness or referentiality. See 4.1.)

In contrast, (26) contains the copula verb. (In this respect, (26) conforms to the prototype of the MMC; see (1).) The copula verb is followed by an agreement suffix, which inflects for person-plus-number and agrees with the subject of the Clause.

5.2.2 Examples

Examples of (25) are (3), and (27) to (30). Example of (26) is (31).

(27) [*tudel tuda: mi:d'i:-le   xonroʃ-mele*]=**bed**-*ek*
      3SG   before sledge-INS break-PTCP.3SG=*ben*-FOC   (Nagasaki 2001: 63)
      LT: '[He breaks a sledge before] *ben*-FOC.'
      FT: 'He broke a sledge before.'

(28) [*tuda: unuŋ-gen   ejre-j*]=**bed**-*ek*   <...>
    before river-PROL walk-PTCP=ben-FOC   (Nikolaeva 1997: 52)
    LT: '[He walks along the rivers before] ben-FOC <...>
    FT: 'He walked along the rivers before <...>.' (cited from the source)

(29) [*pajpe-n   pajlu:l-gele   n'an'u:lben el*
    woman-ATTR cunningness-ACC devil   NEG
    muddej-mele]=**bed**-*ek*
    overcome-PTCP.3SG=ben-FOC   (Nikolaeva 1997: 23)
    LT: '[The devil does not overcome the cunningness of women] ben-FOC.'
    FT: 'The devil could not overcome the cunningness of women.' (cited from
    the source)

(30) [*met töwke juo-me*]=**bed**-*ek*
    1SG dog   see-PTCP.1SG=ben-FOC   (Nagasaki 2001: 64)
    LT: '[I see a dog] ben-FOC.'
    FT: 'I saw a dog.'

(31) *met lejdi:,   [qodo tet ejre-j]=ben   o-ɟek, <...>*
    1SG know:T1SG how   2SG go-PTCP=ben be-I2SG   (Nikolaeva 1997: 17)
    LT: 'I know [how you go] ben are
    FT: 'I know how you were going <...>' (cited from the source)

5.2.3 Meaning

Nagasaki (2001: 63–64) points out that this construction basically describes past
situations (a temporal meaning). For examples, see (3), and (27) to (31). She ob-
serves that an adverb which refers to the time of utterance cannot co-occur with
this construction.

(32) [*met tuda: tet-ul   jalʁil-ŋin peʃʃej-me*]=**bed**-*ek*.
    1SG before 2SG-ACC lake-ALL throw-PTCP.1SG=ben-FOC
    (Nagasaki 2001: 64)
    'I threw you into the lake then.'

(33) *[met t'a:ʃ et tet-ul   jalʁil-ŋin peʃʃej-me*]=**bed**-*ek*
    1SG   now   2SG-ACC lake-ALL throw-PTCP.1SG=ben-FOC
    (Nagasaki 2001: 64)
    'I will throw you into the lake now!'

The example (32) is appropriately taken as referring to the past, and it is accept-
able. On the other hand, (33) contains the adverb *t'a:ʃet* 'now' which refers to the
time of utterance, and it is not acceptable.

Furthermore, Nagasaki (2001: 63–64) points out that this construction also has a modal meaning, such as strong assertion. In this case, it can refer to present situations. This usage is, however, found very rarely, as Maslova (2003: 181) mentions. An example:

(34) *xa:xa:,*   [*tinla:ʁ et lebeidi: ninge-j*]=**bed**-ek
     grandfather over.there berry   many-PTCP=*ben*-FOC
     (Nikolaeva 1989: 60)
     LT: 'Grandfather, [over there berries are many] *ben*-FOC.'
     FT: 'Grandfather, there are a lot of berries over there!' (cited from the source)

5.2.4 Predicate of the Clause

As shown in (25) and (26), the verb of the Clause of the MMC with =*ben* is non-finite. The form employed is a -*je* participle, e.g. (3), (28), (31), (34), or a -*me* participle, e.g. (27), (29), (30), (32). A -*me* participle inflects for person-plus-number and agrees with the subject of the Clause, while a -*je* participle does not have any agreement marker. Note that these two forms of verbs can be used for ACs, too (see 4.2.2 and 4.2.3). (A verbal noun (cf. 4.2.4) can be used for ACs. It can also precede =*ben*, e.g. (40). It does not form MMCs, however.)

Although the amount of data available is limited, the general tendency appears to be for a -*je* participle to occur with intransitive verbs, e.g. (3), (28), (31), (34), and a -*me* participle with transitive verbs, e.g. (27), (29), (30), (32).

5.2.5 Case marking in the Clause

In terms of case marking, the Clause of the MMC with =*ben* behaves like independent sentences (cf. Section 3 and 4.1). In independent sentences, the subject is consistently marked by the nominative (zero). The object generally has the accusative case marker, although it has no case suffix if the subject is the first or second person and the object is the third person. When both the subject and the object are third persons, the object is marked by the accusative case if it is definite, e.g. (6) ('Nikolai-DIM-ACC'), and by the instrumental case if it is indefinite, e.g. (7) ('porridge-INS'). The same applies to the MMC with =*ben*. The subject is always in the nominative case. In (30), the subject is first person. The object is the third person ('dog'), and it has no case suffix. In (27) and (29), both the subject and the object are third person. In (29), the object ('women's cunningness') is definite, and it is marked by the accusative case ('cunningness-ACC'). In (27), it is indefinite, and it is marked by the instrumental ('sledge-INS').

5.2.6 Can the Clause of the MMC be used as a sentence by itself?

One of the five properties of the prototype of the MMC as proposed by Tsunoda (this volume-a) (listed in Section 1 above) is the following.

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

As noted in 5.2.4, the predicate of the Clause of the MMC with =*ben* is a -*je* participle or a -*me* participle.

As seen in Section 3, a -*me* participle can have a finite use. It can be employed in transitive sentences with focus on the object, e.g. (51). However, it seems that no focus marker can occur in the Clause of the MMC – neither the MMC with =*ben* nor the MMC with the nominalizer suffix -*jo:n*. (See 5.2.7.) That is, when a -*me* participle is used, the Clause of the MMC cannot be used as a sentence by itself. For example, if =*bed-ek* is deleted from (27) (with a -*me* participle), the resultant form is not a correct, complete sentence. See (35). A finite form needs to be used instead, e.g. (36).

(35) **tudel tuda: mi:d'i:-le xonroʃ-mele*
　　 3SG　before sledge-INS break-PTCP.3SG

(36) *tudel tuda: mi:d'i:-le xonroʃ-u-m*
　　 3SG　before sledge-INS break-EP-T3SG
　　 'He broke a sledge before.'

A -*je* participle does not have any finite use. Therefore, when a -*je* participle is used, the Clause of the MMC with =*ben* cannot be used as a sentence by itself.

To sum up, the Clause of the MMC with =*ben* cannot be used as a sentence by itself. In this respect, too, this MMC differs from the prototype of the MMC.

5.2.7 Sentencehood of the Clause of the MMC

The Clause of the MMC with =*ben* lacks certain properties of independent sentences. In these respects its sentencehood is low. Examples follow. (i) The predicate of the Clause is non-finite. (ii) It seems that focus markers cannot occur in the Clause. Nagasaki (2001), Maslova (2003), the folklore texts in Nikolaeva (1997) and my data have yielded no example in which a focus marker occurs in the Clause of the MMC. Focus markers can occur outside the Clause within the MMC, e.g. (27) to (30), (32), (34). A focus marker follows the enclitic =*ben*. That is, it follows the Noun slot. (iii) The Clause cannot be used as a sentence by itself.

5.2.8 Etymology and grammaticalization of *=ben*

[1] Etymology

Jochelson (1905) and Krejnovič (1979) suggest that *=ben* can be related to an independent word: the noun *pen*. This word is used to express various "impersonal" situations, as follows. It is tentatively glossed as 'thing'.

(37) *pen   emiče:-j.*
     thing become.dark-I3SG
     'It became dark.'

(38) *pen   poĵorxoĵ-i.*
     thing dawn-I3SG
     'It dawned.'

(39) *pen   čelke:-j.*
     thing become.cold-I3SG
     'It became cold.'

Jochelson suggests that the word *pen* basically means 'supernatural thing'. Specifically, he states that "[I]n olden times this word used to indicate the name of a deity embracing all nature, the universe. *Pon* [sic] indicates *something that is unknown*" (italics in the original) (Jochelson 1905: 406).

The verb forms employed in ACs (4.2) and those used in the MMC with *=ben* are almost identical (a *-je* participle (cf. 4.2.2) and a *-me* participle (cf. 4.2.3)), except that a verbal noun (cf. 4.2.4) can be used in ACs, but not in the MMC with *=ben*. This suggests that this MMC may have originated in ACs. In turn, this will lend some support to Jochelson's view that *=ben* was originally a noun.

It is relevant to mention that in Hindi (Imamura (this volume, 5.1.3.1)) the Noun slot of the MMC is occupied by the enclitic *=vaalaa*, and the MMC means (i) 'be about to' (an aspectual meaning), (ii) schedule, intention (a modal meaning), and (iii) the speaker's firm belief about the occurrence/non-occurrence of a situation (a modal meaning). The etymology of *=vaalaa* is suggested to be the Sanskrit noun *paalaka* 'guardian, protector, one who maintains or observes'. (*Paalaka* also means a foster-father; a prince, ruler, sovereign, etc. However, it does not refer to a god.) This suggested etymology is reminiscent of the suggested etymology of *=ben*. Both refer to something more than ordinary humans.

[2] *=ben* as an enclitic, and not a suffix

Maslova (2003: 179–181) regards *=ben* ("Relative Nominal form" in her terminology) as a suffix. In my view, however, it is more appropriate to regard it as an enclitic. The reason is twofold.

First, this element is attached to a *-je* participle, a *-me* participle ("Attributive" in Maslova's term) and to a verbal noun (*-l*) ("Action Nominal" in Maslova's term). An example with a verbal noun is the following. (This is not an instance of the MMC.)

(40) *taŋ uör-pe, titte   emej   ʃoʁuʃe-l=ben-pe*
    that child-PL 3PL.POSS mother lose-VN=*ben*-PL
    'those children, the ones who lost their mother.'

The above shows that the verb to which the form in question is attached inflects for three conjugational categories (i.e. *-je* participle, *-me* participle and verbal noun). This in turn indicates that the form in question should be regarded as an enclitic, and not as a suffix (see Zwicky 1994: 576).

Second, as noted above, the forms of the verbs to which this element is attached are exactly the same as those employed in ACs: a *-je* participle, a *-me* participle and a verbal noun. This suggests that this element occupies the structural position of a noun modified by an AC, that is, it occupies the structural position of the head noun.

To sum up, it is possible to say (although not definitively certain) that here we are dealing with an instance of grammaticalization of the noun (i.e. an independent word) *pen* 'name of a deity embracing all nature, the universe' to the enclitic *=ben*, which is used in a construction that (i) expresses past situations, or (ii) has a modal meaning, such as strong assertion.

5.3 MMC with the suffix *-jo:n*

5.3.1 Overview

Kolyma Yukaghir has a suffix whose allomorphs are *-jo:n*/*-jo:d*, *-d'o:n*/*-d'o:d*, and *-t'o:n*/*-t'o:d* (represented by *-jo:n*). This suffix is added to the stem of a verb. It is a nominalizer, e.g.:

(41) *mere-jo:n*
    fly-NMLZ
    'one who/which flies'

(42) *en-d'o:n*
    live-NMLZ
    'one who/which lives; animal'

This suffix can be used in a variant of the MMC. The structure of this construction can be tentatively shown as follows.

MMC with the suffix *-jo:n* 'NMLZ':

(43) Subject: 1st person or 2nd person
       [(SUBJ)   ...   V(stem)]-*jo:n*   Copula-AGR

(44) Subject: 3rd person:
       [(SUBJ)   ...   V(stem)]-*jo:n*-(PL)-FOC

In (43) and (44), the Noun slot of the MMC (cf. (1)) is occupied by a nominalizer: the nominalizer suffix *-jo:n*. It is not occupied by an independent word (not a clitic) that is a noun. In this respect, this MMC departs from the prototype of the MMC. See the property (b) listed in Section 1. This suffix is added to a verb stem.

    The subtype (25) of the MMC with the enclitic *=ben* (cf. 5.2.1) does not contain the copula verb (although it contains the focus marker *-k/-ek*; this focus marker is the one that is used for nouns that are high in definiteness or referentiality. See 4.1.) In contrast, (43) contains the copula verb. (In this respect, (43) conforms to the prototype of the MMC; see (1).) The copula verb is followed by an agreement suffix, which inflects for person-plus-number and agrees with the subject of the Clause. (44) does not contain the copula verb. (In this respect, (44) departs from the prototype of the MMC.) It contains the focus marker *-k/-ek*, which in effect functions as the copula, as is the case with noun-predicate sentences, e.g. (10-A, -B). Note that the plural marker can occur in (44), e.g. (47), but not in (43).

5.3.2 Examples

Example of (43) are (4) and (45). Examples of (44) are (46) and (47).

(45) [*met samij si:len*]-*d':on   o:-d'e.*
       I   most be.strong-NMLZ be-I1SG   (Nagasaki 2001:65)
       LT: '[I am the strongest] NMLZ am.'
       FT: 'I am the strongest.'

(46) [*tiŋ kni:ge omo*]-*s'o:d-ek.*
       this book   be.good-NMLZ-FOC   (Nagasaki 2001: 63)
       LT: '[This book is good] NMLZ-FOC.'
       FT: 'This book was interesting.'

(47) [*tittel kie*]-*t'o:n-pe-k.*
       3PL   come-NMLZ-PL-FOC   (Nagasaki 2001:62)
       LT: '[They come] NMLZ-PL-FOC.'
       FT: 'They came.'

5.3.3 Meaning

Recall that the MMC with the enclitic *=ben* (i) expresses past situations, and (ii) has a modal meaning, such as strong assertion. The MMC with the nominalizer suffix *-jo:n*, too, describes past situations (a temporal meaning). But it does not seem to have a modal meaning.

5.3.4 Predicate of the Clause

As shown in (43) and (44), the predicate of the Clause is a verb stem.

Maslova (2003) and Nagasaki (2001) note that only intransitive verbs appear in this construction. See (4) ('go'), (45) ('be strong'), (46) ('be good') and (47) ('come'). The subtype (26) of the MMC with the enclitic *=ben* shows similar restriction. Only intransitive verbs appear in this subtype. See (31) ('go'). In contrast, there is no such restriction on the subtype (25) of the MMC with the enclitic *=ben*. The predicate of the Clause can be either transitive, e.g. (27) ('break'), or intransitive, e.g. (28) ('walk').

5.3.5 Case-marking in the Clause

In terms of case marking, the Clause of the MMC with the suffix *-jo:n* behaves like an independent sentence that is intransitive (cf. 4.1). The subject is consistently marked by the nominative (zero).

5.3.6 Can the Clause of the MMC be used as a sentence by itself?

As noted in 5.3.4, the predicate of the Clause of the MMC with the suffix *-jo:n* is a verb stem. Consequently the Clause by itself cannot be used as a sentence. In this respect, too, this MMC differs from the prototype of the MMC. For example, if *-t'o:n-pe-k* is deleted from (47), the resultant form is not a correct, complete sentence. See (48). A finite form needs to be used instead, e.g. (48).

(48) **tittel kie*
      3PL   come

(49) *tittel kel-ŋi*
      3PL   come-I3PL
      'They came.'

5.3.7 Sentencehood of the Clause of the MMC

The Clause of this MMC lacks certain properties of independent sentences. In these respects its sentencehood is low. Examples follow. (i) The predicate of the Clause is a verb stem, i.e. non-finite. (ii) As is the case with the MMC with =*ben*, it seems that focus markers cannot occur in the Clause. Nagasaki (2001), Maslova (2003), the folklore texts in Nikolaeva (1997) and my data have yielded no example in which a focus marker occurs in the Clause of the MMC with -*jo:n*. Focus markers can occur outside the Clause within the MMC, e.g. (46), (47). A focus marker follows the nominalizer suffix -*jo:n*. That is, it follows the Noun slot. (iii) The Clause cannot be used as a sentence by itself.

5.3.8 Etymology of the nominalizer suffix -*jo:n*

As Tsunoda (this volume-a, 4.2.2) notes, there are languages in whose MMC the Noun slot is occupied by a suffix that was etymologically a noun. In this regard, it is worth noting Nagasaki's (2001: 62) suggestion that the nominalizer suffix -*jo:n* was formed through fusion of a -*je* participle and the enclitic =*ben*. Recall that =*ben* may have been etymologically a noun *pen*. That is, when Nagasaki's suggestion is combined with Jochelson's (1905) and Krejnovič's (1979) (5.2.8-[1]), etymologically the suffix -*jo:n* would appear to contain the noun *pen*. Although more phonological data is needed to justify her analysis, this possibility cannot be discounted outright, in the case of languages like Kolyma Yukaghir that have no written tradition.

6 Comparison of the MMC with other constructions

6.1 Introductory notes

We now compare the MMC with other constructions. In particular, we shall examine the following two issues.

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

The structure of the prototype of the MMC is as shown in (1). Superficially at least, it looks as if the prototypical MMC is bi-clausal. In some of the languages reported in the present volume, the Clause of the MMC looks similar to an adnominal clause ("AC") (or a relative clause) of the respective languages and consequently it looks as if the MMC is bi-clausal, with an AC as a subordinate clause. This applies to Kolyma Yukaghir. A -*je* participle and a -*me* participle are used in ACs (4.2.2 and

4.2.3) and in the Clause of the MMC with =*ben* (5.2.4) (though not in the Clause of the MMC with -*jo:n* (5.3.4)). It may look as if the MMC with =*ben* is bi-clausal, with an AC as a subordinate clause.

However, languages such as Modern Standard Japanese (Tsunoda, this volume-b, Section 6) and Korean (Kim, this volume, Section 6) yield evidence that their MMC does not contain an AC and that it is syntactically mono-clausal, not bi-clausal. (See Tsunoda (this volume-a, 3.4.2).) In view of this, it is important to examine the two issues listed above.

For Kolyma Yukaghir, we compare the following constructions.

(i) Mono-clausal verb-predicate independent sentences (cf. 4.1).
(ii) MMC with =*ben* (cf. 5.2).
(iii) MMC with -*jo:n* (cf. 5.3).
(iv) ACs (1): -*je* participle (cf. 4.2.2).
(v) ACs (2): -*me* participle (cf. 4.2.3).
(vi) ACs (3): verbal noun (cf. 4.2.4).

Verb-predicate sentences (cf. 4.1) are chosen as the representative of independent sentences. It is necessary to consider mono-clausal sentences, since one of the aims of this comparison is to examine the issue (b) listed above.

When we look at the MMC, we shall mainly be concerned with the Clause, but we shall also look at the entire MMC.

We shall compare the constructions listed above in terms of morphology and syntax. The result of this comparison is shown in Table 2.

6.2 Form of the verb

(i) Mono-clausal verb-predicate independent sentences.
The predicate verb is finite. It has full inflectional possibilities, and it may inflect for aspect, mood, and number-plus-person of the subject (e.g. (5) to (9)).

(ii) MMC with =*ben*
The predicate verb of the Clause is non-finite. It is a -*je* participle or a -*me* participle.

(iii) MMC with -*jo:n*
The predicate verb of the Clause is non-finite. It is a verb stem.

(iv) ACs (1): -*je* participle
The predicate verb of the AC is non-finite. It is a -*je* participle.

(v) ACs (2): *-me* participle
The predicate verb of the AC is non-finite. It is a *-me* participle.

(vi) ACs (3): verbal noun
The predicate verb of the AC is non-finite. It is a verbal noun.

6.3 Agreement

(i) Mono-clausal verb-predicate independent sentences
The predicate verb agrees with the subject in terms of number-plus-person and transitivity/intransitivity.

(ii) MMC with *=ben*
If the predicate verb of the Clause is a *-me* participle, it agrees with the subject of the Clause in terms of person-plus-number. If the predicate verb of the Clause is a *-je* participle, it shows no agreement in the subtype (25), and the Copula agrees with the subject in terms of person-plus-number in the subtype (26).

(iii) MMC with *-jo:n*
The predicate verb of the Clause is a verb stem, and it shows no agreement. In (43), the Copula agrees with the subject in terms of person-plus-number. In (44), the plural marker may occur after the suffix *-jo:n*, agreeing with the subject.

(iv) ACs (1): *-je* participle
The participle shows no agreement.

(v) ACs (2): *-me* participle
The participle inflects for person-and-number and agrees with the subject of the AC.

(vi) ACs (3): verbal noun
The verbal noun shows no agreement.

6.4 Transitivity/intransitivity

(i) Mono-clausal verb-predicate independent sentences
(iv) ACs (1): *-je* participle
(v) ACs (2): *-me* participle
(vi) ACs (3): verbal noun
The predicate verb can be either transitive or intransitive.

(ii) MMC with =*ben*

The predicate verb can be either transitive or intransitive for the subtype (25). The predicate verb of the Clause is intransitive, not transitive, for the subtype (26).

(iii) MMC with -*jo:n*

The predicate verb of the Clause is intransitive, not transitive.

6.5 Case-marking of the subject and the object

In all of (i) to (vi), the subject is marked by the nominative case (zero). The situation regarding the object is as follows

(i) Mono-clausal verb-predicate independent sentences
(iv) ACs (1): -*je* participle
(v) ACs (2): -*me* participle
(vi) ACs (3): verbal noun

The object is generally marked by the accusative case, which has a non-zero suffix, although it has no case suffix if the subject is the first or second person and the object is the third person. When both the subject and the object are third persons, the object is marked by the accusative case (if it is definite), and by the instrumental case (if it is indefinite). Although this was not mentioned in 4.2 to 4.2.4, ACs (i.e. (iv), (v), (vi)) differ from (i) and also from the subtype (25) of (ii) in that the instrumental marking on the third-person object tends to be dropped.

(ii) MMC with =*ben*

For the subtype (25), the object is case-marked in the way just described. For the subtype (26), the predicate of the Clause is intransitive, and the object is absent.

(iii) MMC with -*jo:n*

The object does not exist. Only intransitive verbs appear in this construction.

6.6 Focus marking

(i) Mono-clausal verb-predicate independent sentences

A focus marker can be attached to the intransitive subject, e.g. (50), and the object, e.g. (51). It can also be attached to the complement, in effect functioning as the copula, e.g. (10-A, B). (That is, the focus marking operates in something similar to the ergative-absolutive pattern: S/O vs. A.)

(50) *čomparna:-k mara:-l'el-u-l.*
　　 raven-FOC　　 fly-EVID-EP-VN
　　 'A raven has flown (there).'

(51) *met ningej anil-ek　 i:de-me　　　　 čumči-t*
　　 1SG　 many　 fish-FOC　 catch-PTCP.1SG　 fish-CONV
　　 'I caught a lot of fish.'

　　 (ii) MMC with =*ben*
　　 (iii) MMC with -*jo:n*
It seems that focus markers cannot occur in the Clause of the MMC.

　　 (iv) ACs (1): -*je* participle
　　 (v) ACs (2): -*me* participle
　　 (vi) ACs (3): verbal noun
No focus marking occurs in ACs.

6.7 Gapping

It is convenient to start with ACs.

　　 (iv) ACs (1): -*je* participle
　　 (v) ACs (2): -*me* participle
　　 (vi) ACs (3): verbal noun
The absence or disappearance of an argument or an adjunct in the formation of ACs is referred to as "gapping" in the present volume. Gapping occurs in the formation of Yukaghir ACs. Examples follows. Regarding (iv), the subject is present in (13). In contrast, the subject is absent in the AC of (14). Concerning (vi), compare (13) with (20) and (21). Both the subject and the object are present in (13). In contrast, the subject is absent in the AC of (20), and the object is absent in the AC of (21). As for (v), compare (13) and (17). The subject is present in (17). In contrast, the subject is absent in the AC in (17). (Although the verb of the AC in (17) has a suffix that indicates the person-and-number of the subject, the subject NP is absent and (17) should be considered an instance of gapping.) Gapping takes place in the formation of ACs that are called "gap-type ACs" (Tsunoda, this volume-b, 4.2.2-[1], 6.6). That is, all of the three types of Kolyma Yukaghir are of the gap type.

　　 (i) Mono-clausal verb-predicate independent sentences
　　 (ii) MMC with =*ben*
　　 (iii) MMC with -*jo:n*
Gapping does not take place.

6.8 One subject or two subjects?

Again, it is convenient to start with ACs.

> (iv) ACs (1): *-je* participle, e.g. (52).
> (v) ACs (2): *-me* participle, e.g. (53).
> (vi) ACs (3): verbal noun, e.g. (54).

A sentence with an AC may have two subjects: the subject of the AC and the subject of the main clause. Consider the following examples.

(52) ?{*Pavel-de: a:-je*}   *ekʃil' omo-če   ekʃil'-ek.*
　　　Pavel-DIM make-PTCP boat be.good-PTCP boat-FOC
　　　'The boat that Pavel made is a good boat.'

(53) {*Pavel-de: a:-mele*}   *ekʃil' omo-če   ekʃil'-ek.*
　　　Pavel-DIM make-PTCP.3SG boat be.good-PTCP boat-FOC
　　　'(as above)'

(54) {*Pavel-de: a:-l*}   *ekʃil' omo-če   ekʃil'-ek.*
　　　Pavel-DIM make-VN boat be.good-PTCP boat-FOC
　　　'(as above)'

Each sentence has two subjects: the subject of the AC ('Pavel') and the subject of the main clause ('boat'). (Note that (52) is marginally acceptable. As noted in 4.2.2, a *-je* participle is marginally acceptable when it modifies the direct object. The participle *omoče* 'be.good.PTCP' is a *-je* participle. As noted in 6.3, a *-me* participle inflects for person-and-number, but a *-je* participle does not.)

> (i) Mono-clausal verb-predicate independent sentences
> (ii) MMC with *=ben*
> (iii) MMC with *-jo:n*

Each sentence has only one subject. Thus, (8) (an instance of (i)) has one subject: 'that person-PL'. (3) (an instance of (ii)) has one subject: 'sun'.

6.9 Discussion

We have compared the MMC with mono-clausal independent sentences and ACs. The result of this comparison is shown in Table 2.

The criterion "Verb form" is morphological. The MMC with *=ben* resembles (iv) ACs (1) and (v) ACs (2). However, the MMC with *-jo:n* differs from both mono-clausal verb-predicate independent sentences and ACs.

Tab. 2: Comparison of the MMC with independent sentences and ACs.

		Verb form	
(i)	Mono-clausal verb-predicate independent sentences	finite, fully inflected	
(ii)	MMC with =*ben*	-*je* participle or -*me* participle	
(iii)	MMC with -*jo:n*	verb stem	
(iv)	ACs (1): -*je* participle	-*je* participle	
(v)	ACs (2): -*me* participle	-*me* participle	
(vi)	ACs (3): verbal noun	verbal noun	

		Agreement: X agrees with the subject in terms of Y.	
		X	**Y**
(i)	Mono-clausal verb-predicate independent sentences	verb of the sentence	number-plus-person
(ii)	MMC with =*ben*		
	-*je* participle		
	subtype (25)	–	–
	subtype (26)	Copula	number-plus-person
	-*me* participle	verb of the Clause	number-plus-person
(iii)	MMC with -*jo:n*		
	Subject: 1st or 2nd person	Copula	number-plus-person
	Subject: 3rd person	Slot after -*jo:n*	plurality
(iv)	ACs (1): -*je* participle	–	–
(v)	ACs (2): -*me* participle	verb of the AC	number-plus-person
(vi)	ACs (3): verbal noun	–	–

		Transitivity/intransitivity	Case-marking: Subject	Object
(i)	Mono-clausal verb-predicate independent sentences	transitive, intransitive	NOM	ACC, INS
(ii)	MMC with =*ben*			
	subtype (25)	transitive, intransitive	NOM	ACC, INS
	subtype (26)	intransitive	NOM	...
(iii)	MMC with -*jo:n*	intransitive	NOM	...
(iv)	ACs (1): -*je* participle	transitive, intransitive	NOM	ACC, INS
(v)	ACs (2): -*me* participle	transitive, intransitive	NOM	ACC, INS
(vi)	ACs (3): verbal noun	transitive, intransitive	NOM	ACC, INS

		Focus marking	Gapping	Two subjects
(i)	Mono-clausal verb-predicate independent sentences	+	–	–
(ii)	MMC with =*ben*	probably –	–	–
(iii)	MMC with -*jo:n*	probably –	–	–
(iv)	ACs (1): -*je* participle	–	+	+
(v)	ACs (2): -*me* participle	–	+	+
(vi)	ACs (3): verbal noun	–	+	+

Legend: +:acceptable or obligatory; –:unacceptable or does not occur.

All the other criteria are syntactic. In terms of "Agreement", at least, regarding number-plus-person, roughly speaking, the MMC resembles both mono-clausal verb-predicate independent sentences and ACs.

As for "Transitivity/intransitivity" and "Case-marking of Object", the subtype (25) of the MMC with *=ben* behaves like both mono-clausal verb-predicate independent sentences and ACs. However, the subtype (26) of the MMC with *=ben* and the MMC with *-jo:n* differ from both mono-clausal verb-predicate independent sentences and ACs.

Concerning "Focus marking", the MMC probably behaves unlike mono-clausal verb-predicate independent sentences and like ACs.

Regarding "Gapping" and "Two subjects", clearly the MMC behaves exactly like mono-clausal verb-predicate independent sentences and unlike ACs.

To sum up, in terms of "Verb form", which is a morphological criterion, the MMC resembles ACs, though not completely. Syntactically, there is clear evidence that the MMC behaves exactly like mono-clausal verb-predicate independent sentences and unlike ACs as far as "Gapping" and "Two subjects" are concerned – although the evidence concerning the other syntactic criteria is not decisive. That is, in terms of the morphology of the predicate of the Clause it may look as if the MMC contains an AC, that is, as if the MMC is bi-clausal. However, syntactically it should be considered mono-clausal, not bi-clausal.

6.10 Compound predicate

We saw in 6.9 that syntactically the MMC of Kolyma Yukaghir should be considered mono-clausal, not bi-clausal. Then, it should have just one predicate, not two predicates. We now investigate what structure the predicate has.

The structure of the subtype (25) of the MMC with the enclitic *=ben* is repeated below.

(25) [(SUBJ)   …   (OBJ)   V(non-finite)]=*ben*-FOC.

The verb of the Clause is a *-je* participle or a *-me* participle (5.2.4, 6.5). The Noun slot of the MMC (cf. (1)) is occupied by an enclitic (=*ben*), which is in turn followed by a suffix (a focus marker). It is clear that the verb of the Clause, this enclitic (Noun) and this suffix form a unit and that this is the predicate of the MMC. It is a compound predicate, and the sentence has a structure similar to that shown in (2). For the MMC with =*ben* this can be shown as in (55).

(2) [… predicate of Clause]   Noun   Copula.
                compound predicate

(55) [(SUBJ) ... (OBJ) <u>V(non-finite)]=*ben*-FOC</u>.
<div style="text-align:center">compound predicate</div>

For example, (3) can be shown as follows.

(56) [*jel'o:ǰe puden* <u>*nutn'e-j*]=**bed**-*ek*</u>.
    sun   upward stay-PTCP=*ben*-FOC
<div style="text-align:center">compound predicate</div>
    LT: '[The sun stays upward] *ben*-FOC.'
    FT: 'The sun stayed high outside.'

The structure of the subtype (26) of the MMC with the enclitic =*ben* is repeated below.

(26) [(SUBJ) ... V(non-finite)]=*ben* Copula-AGR.

It is clear that the verb of the Clause and the enclitic =*ben* (Noun) form a unit. However, at this stage of investigation, there is no evidence to show that the Copula joins this unit. (In the Kolyma Yukaghir texts I have examined so far, there is no example in which a word intervenes between =*ben* and the Copula. But I do not have any clear evidence to show that no word can intervene there.) There is no evidence to show that (31), for example, can be shown as follows. This is despite the fact that semantically at least it seems justifiable to say that (26) has a compound predicate that consists of the predicate of the Clause (a participle), the enclitic =*ben* and the Copula.

(57) *met lejdi:,* [*qodo tet* <u>*ejre-j*]=*ben*</u> *o-ǰek*, <...>
    1SG know:T1SG how   2SG go-PTCP=*ben* be-I2SG
<div style="text-align:center">compound predicate</div>
    LT: 'I know [how you go] *ben* are
    FT: 'I know how you are going <...>'   (cited from the source)

The MMC with the suffix *-jo:n* has two subtypes: (43) and (44).

MMC with the suffix *-jo:n* 'NMLZ':
(43) Subject: 1st person or 2nd person
    [(SUBJ) ... V(stem)]-*jo:n* Copula-AGR

(44) Subject: 3rd person:
    [(SUBJ) ... V(stem)]-*jo:n*-(PL)-FOC

In (44), all of *-jo:n*, the plural marker and the focus marker are suffixes, and it is clear that they and the verb of the Clause form a unit. This is the predicate of

the MMC. (It is a simplex predicate, and not a compound predicate.) This can be shown as follows.

(58) Subject: 3rd person:
    [(SUBJ) ... <u>V(stem)]-*jo:n*-(PL)-FOC</u>
                  predicate

For example, (47) can be shown as follows.

(59) [*tittel* <u>*kie*</u>]-*t'o:n-pe-k*.
    3PL   come-NMLZ-PL-FOC
         predicate
    LT: '[They come] NMLZ-PL-FOC.'
    FT: 'They came.'

In (43), it is clear that the verb stem (the predicate of the Clause) and the suffix *-jo:n* (Noun) form a unit. However, at this stage of investigation, there is no evidence available to show that the Copula joins this unit. That is, there is no evidence to show that (43) can be shown as follows.

(60) Subject: 1st person or 2nd person
    [(SUBJ) ... <u>V(stem)]-*jo:n*   Copula-AGR</u>
              compound predicate

Therefore, there is no evidence to show that (4), for example, can be shown as follows. Again, this is despite the fact that semantically at least it seems justifiable to say that (4) has a compound predicate that consists of a verb stem, the suffix *-jo:n* and the Copula.

(61) [*tet tuda:* <u>*xon*</u>]-***d'o:n*** *o:-d'ek*.
    2SG before go-NMLZ be-I2SG
                compound predicate
    LT: '[You go before] NMLZ are.'
    FT: 'You went (there) before.'

To sum up, in the subtype (25) of the MMC with *=ben*, the verb of the Clause and the Noun (*=ben*) form a compound predicate, together with the focus marker. However, in the subtype (26), it is not known whether the Copula joins the unit of the verb of the Clause and the Noun (*=ben*). In the MMC with the suffix *-jo:n*, when the subject is the third person, i.e. (44), the verb of the Clause and the Noun (*-jo:n*) form a simplex predicate, together with the focus marker and optionally the plural marker. However, when the subject is the first person or the second person, i.e.

(43), it is not known whether the Copula joins the unit of the verb of the Clause and the Noun (the suffix *-jo:n*).

6.11 Diachronic notes on the MMC

As seen in 6.9 regarding the Yukaghir MMC, in terms of the morphology of the predicate of the Clause it may look as if the MMC contains an AC, that is, as if the MMC is bi-clausal. However, syntactically it should be considered mono-clausal.

It is tempting to propose the following hypothesis regarding the development of the Yukaghir MMC. As seen in 5.2.8-[1] it has been suggested that the enclitic *=ben* can be related to an independent word: the noun *pen*. Also, as seen in 5.3.8, it has been suggested that the nominalizer suffix *-jo:n* was formed through fusion of a *-je* participle and the enclitic *=ben*. In view of these suggestions, it is possible – though by no means certain – that what is now the MMC originally contained an AC, that is, it was originally bi-clausal, but that it became mono-clausal by reanalysis. A similar scenario is suggested for the development of the MMC in Hindi (Imamura, this volume, 6.2).

It seems likely that the Yukaghir MMC is at a very advanced stage of its development. First, the Noun slot is not occupied by an independent word. It is occupied by an enclitic (*=ben*) in one type of the MMC and by a suffix (*-jo:n*) in the other type of the MMC. Second, there are suggestions that this enclitic and this suffix are related to the noun *pen*, although this etymology is not certain. Third, this enclitic and this suffix do not have any clear lexical meaning.

7 Summary and concluding remarks

Kolyma Yukaghir has two constructions that may be considered varieties of the mermaid construction ("MMC"), although they are not prototypical MMC. The Noun slot is not occupied by a noun. Both types of the MMC are marginal in the language.

In one type of the MMC, the Noun slot is occupied by the enclitic *=ben*. The verb preceding this enclitic is in either of the two participle forms. This MMC (i) expresses past situations (a temporal meaning), and (ii) has a modal meaning, such as strong assertion. The etymology of this enclitic is not known for certain. Nonetheless, it has been suggested that it is related to the noun *pen* 'thing', or more precisely, 'supernatural thing'. This is reminiscent of the etymology of the enclitic *=vaalaa* used in the MMC in Hindi: the Sanskrit noun *paalaka* 'guardian, protector'. (The Hindi MMC indicates (i) 'just about to', (ii) intention, schedule, and (iii) the speaker's firm belief about the occurrence/non-occurrence of a situation.)

In the other type of the MMC, the Noun slot is occupied by the nominalizer suffix *-jo:n*, which is added to the stem of a verb. This construction describes past situations (a temporal meaning), but it does not seem to have a modal meaning. It is not known for certain if etymologically this suffix derived from a noun.

In terms of the morphology of the predicate of the Clause, it may look as if the MMC contains an adnominal clause, that is, it is bi-clausal. However, syntactically there is clear evidence that it should be considered mono-clausal, not bi-clausal.

It has been suggested that the enclitic *=ben* and the suffix *-jo:n* are related to the noun *pen* (an independent word). If this view is accepted, the Yukaghir MMC is at a very advanced stage of its development.

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

AC = adnominal clause; ACC = accusative; AGR = agreement marker; ALL = allative; ATTR = attributive; CONV = converb; DIM = diminutive, EP = epenthetic vowel, EVID = evidential; FOC = focus; FT = free translation; I = intransitive; IM = intended meaning; INS = instrumental; LT = literal translation; MMC = mermaid construction; NEG = negation; NMLZ = nominalizer; NOM = nominative; OBJ = object; PL = plural; POSS = possessive; PROG = progressive; PROL = prolative; PTCP = participle; N = noun; SG = singular; SUBJ = subject; T = transitive; V = verb; VN = verbal noun; 1 = first person; 2 = second person; 3 = third person.

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Fuyuki Ebata

8 Sakha (Yakut)

1 Introduction

Tsunoda (this volume-a, 2.1) proposes that the prototype of the mermaid construction ("MMC") has all of the following five properties.

(a) The structure is as shown in (1) – superficially at least.
(b) The Noun is an independent word (not a clitic) that is a noun.
(c) The subject of the Clause and the Noun are non-coreferential.
(d) The Clause can be used as a sentence by itself.
(e) The Clause is not the subject of the "Noun + Copula".

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

In the prototypical MMC, the Noun slot is occupied by a noun that is an independent word. In non-prototypical instances, it may be occupied by an enclitic or a suffix which derives from a noun. Nouns, enclitics and suffixes in the Noun slot may also be nominalizers.

Tsunoda (this volume-a, Section 1 and 2.1) notes as follows. Superficially at least, it looks as if the MMC contains a subordinate clause and is bi-clausal. However, languages such as Modern Standard Japanese (Tsunoda, this volume-b, Section 6) and Korean (Kim, this volume, Section 6) provide ample evidence that syntactically their MMC is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal, despite its superficial appearance (shown in (1)). Their MMC has just one predicate, not two predicates, and the predicate is a compound predicate that consists of the predicate of the Clause, the Noun and the Copula, as shown in (2).

(2) [... predicate of Clause]   Noun   Copula.
                 compound predicate

Sakha does not have a prototypical MMC, but it has a construction which resembles the MMC (hereafter, quasi-mermaid construction: "quasi-MMC"). It has the structure shown below.

(3) Quasi-MMC of Sakha:
    (Subject)   (Object)   ...   Participle   Noun-PROP-Copula.

The predicate of what would correspond to the Clause of (1) is a participle (also called a verbal noun). The Copula is a suffix (not an independent word or an enclitic). The crucial difference from the prototype of the MMC is that the Noun in the quasi-MMC of Sakha has the proprietive suffix meaning 'having', as is the case with the quasi-MMC in Khalkha Mongolian (see Umetani (this volume)). This suffix is a derivational suffix (not a case suffix) which derives nominals from nominals. The Noun-PROP and the Copula jointly form a unit. However, there is no evidence that the participle joins this unit. That is, there is no evidence to set up a compound predicate shown in (2). Twenty-eight nouns have been attested in the Noun slot. The meaning of this quasi-MMC is modal, aspectual, temporal or the like.

2 Initial illustration

Two examples of the Sakha quasi-MMC are given below as an illustration. Note that Copula has the zero suffix for 3SG, e.g. (5).

(4) *min tokio-ʁa   bar-ar   bulaan-naax-pɯn*
    1SG Tokyo-DAT go-PTCP.PRS plan-PROP-COP.1SG
    LT: 'I have a plan (that I) go to Tokyo.'
    FT: 'I plan to go to Tokyo.'

(5) *ustuoruja-nɯ ɯtɯktɯɯ-r   noruot sajd-ar*
    history-ACC   respect-PTCP.PRS nation develop-PTCP.PRS
    keskil-leex
    future-PROP:COP.3SG
    LT: 'The nation that respects its history has a future that develops.'
    FT: 'The nation that respects its history will be prosperous.'

3 Profile of the language

Sakha is a member of the Turkic language family. It is spoken mainly in Sakha Republic in eastern Siberia. The number of its speakers is estimated to be approximately 450,000. Almost all the speakers are Sakha-Russian bilinguals. For the name of this language, the present work uses the self-designation name "Sakha", which is actually cognate with another well-known language name, "Yakut".

The inventory of consonants is as follows: /p, b, t, d, č, ž, k, g, s [s~h], x, ʁ, m, n, ň, ŋ, l, r, j/ ([s] and [h] can be regarded as allophones of one phoneme). Sakha has twenty vowel phonemes: eight short vowels /a, e, o, œ, ɯ, i, u, y/, eight long vowels /aa, ee, oo, œœ, ɯɯ, ii, uu, yy/, and four diphthongs /ɯa, ie, uo, yœ/.

Word-stress, which does not have a distinctive function, is consistently placed on the word-final syllable.

There are rich morphophonological alternations, e.g. the vowel harmony rule and assimilation of consonants, especially in suffixation. Often, 16 or more allomorphs of one suffix result from morphophonological alternations.

Sakha is a strongly agglutinating language and uses suffixes extensively. Sakha exhibits both dependent-marking and head-marking. For example, case relations are marked by case suffixes attached to NPs (i.e. dependent-marking). On the other hand, possessive suffixes are attached to the possessed NPs and possessor NPs take no formal marking (i.e. head-marking). The case system is basically of the nominative-accusative type (A/S vs. O). The nominative case has a zero suffix, while the accusative has an overt suffix. Under certain conditions, the object lacks an overt case suffix, and in this respect the case system is of the neutral type (S=A=O). Sakha has postpositions, but not prepositions.

Inflected verbs are of three types: finite verbs, participles and converbs. Finite verbs form a verb-predicate, and they inflect for negation, tense, mood, and person-cum-number of the subject. Participles form nominal clauses and adnominal clauses (or relative clauses). They inflect for negation and tense. The person-cum-number of the subject is indicated by the suffix attached to the head noun unless the head noun itself is the subject of the adnominal clause (see 4.2). Converbs form adverbial clauses, and they inflect for negation. The copula is a suffix, not a free form. It has the zero suffix for 3SG.

The verb-final orders, i.e. AOV and SV, are preferred, but the topic NP can precede the A. A demonstrative, a numeral, an adjective and an adnominal clause precede the noun they modify.

Constituents of a sentence can be omitted if their referent is clear. This is particularly the case with the subject, for the person-cum-number of the subject is indicated in the predicate.

The current orthography, which employs Cyrillic letters, was established in 1939, replacing the previous Latin-alphabetical one. Children can choose the Sakha language as their medium of instruction at school, but some urban schools provide education only in Russian. The data for the present paper are taken from the spoken language of Sakha.

4 Types of sentences and clauses

4.1 Verb-predicate and nominal-predicate sentences

Roughly speaking, sentences in Sakha can be classified as follows:

(a) Verb-predicate sentences. The predicate verb must be a finite verb, e.g. (6).
(b) Nominal-predicate sentences. Nouns, adjectives and a few adverbs can be the predicate with the copula suffix only when the sentence is in the present affirmative, e.g. (7). Elsewhere they occur with an auxiliary verb, and the resultant sentences are verb-predicate sentences, e.g. (8).

(6) *min kuorak-ka bar-a-bun*
1SG city-DAT go-PRS-1SG
'I go to the city.'

(7) *min učuutal-bun*
1SG teacher-COP.1SG
'I am a teacher.'

(8) *min učuutal e-ti-m*
1SG teacher be-PST-1SG
'I was a teacher.'

4.2 Adnominal clauses

4.2.1 Introductory notes

The predicate verb of an adnominal clause ("AC") is a participle. Participles inflect for tense-cum-polarity. The suffixes employed are shown in Table 1. (A suffix form is written with small capital letters when it has several allomorphs.) They are attached to the root or the stem of a verb.

Teramura (1969) divides Japanese ACs into two types. Tsunoda (this volume-b, 4.2.2) proposes to label these two types as "gap type" and "addition type". Sakha has both types of ACs, as shown below.

Tab. 1: Inflectional suffixes of participles.

	tense-neutral	past	present	future
positive	-TEX	-BIt	-r/-Er	-IEX
negative		-BEtEX	-BEt	-(I)mIEX

4.2.2 Adnominal clauses (1): the gap type

The formation of ACs of this type employs the gap strategy. In ACs of this type, the head noun corresponds to an argument or an adjunct of the AC. In terms of Keenan and Comrie's (1977) accessibility hierarchy, the following positions can be relativized on: subject, e.g. (10), direct object, e.g. (11), indirect object, e.g. (12), oblique object, e.g. (13), and the possessor, e.g. (14). However, the object of comparison cannot be relativized on. (In the examples of ACs, the AC is shown with braces.)

As a set of examples, compare the following sentences.

(9) *ol   kihi   oʁo-ʁo   kinige-ni bier-bit-e*
    that man child-DAT book-ACC give-PST-3SG
    'That man gave a book to the child.'

(10) {*oʁo-ʁo   kinige-ni   bier-bit*}   *kihi-ni   bil-e-bin*
     child-DAT book-ACC give-PTCP.PST man-ACC know-PRS-1SG
     'I know the man who gave a book to the child.'

(11) {*ol   kihi   oʁo-ʁo   bier-bit*}   *kinige-ti-n   bil-e-bin*
     that man child-DAT give-PTCP.PST book-3SG-ACC know-PRS-1SG
     'I know the book that that man gave to the child'

(12) {*ol   kihi   kinige-ni bier-bit*}   *oʁo-tu-n   bil-e-bin*
     that man book-ACC give-PTCP.PST child-3SG-ACC know-PRS-1SG
     'I know the child to whom that man gave a book'

An example involving the oblique object is (13), and one involving the possessor is (14).

(13) {*ol   kihi   mah-ɯ   suor-but*}   *syge-te*
     that man tree-ACC cut-PTCP.PST axe-3SG
     'the axe with which that man cut a tree.'

(14) {*ije-te   balɯɯha-ʁa ylelii-r*}   *uol*
     mother-POSS.3SG hospital-DAT work-PTCP.PRS boy
     'a boy whose mother works in a hospital'

The person-cum-number of the subject of the AC is obligatorily indicated by the suffix (a possessive suffix) attached to the head noun when the direct object, e.g. (11), the indirect object, e.g. (12), and the oblique object, e.g. (13), are relativized on. That is, the subject of the AC agrees with the head noun in terms of person-cum-number. The presence of a possessive suffix is obligatory even when the subject of the AC is omitted. The head noun has no marking when the subject, e.g. (10), and the possessor of the subject, e.g. (14), are relativized on.

4.2.3 Adnominal clauses (2): the addition type

In ACs of the addition type, in contrast with ACs of the gap type, the head noun does not correspond to any argument or adjunct in the AC but, so to speak, is added from outside the underlying clause. The person-cum-number of the subject of the AC is indicated by the suffix (a possessive suffix) attached to the head noun. That is, the subject of the AC agrees with the head noun in terms of person-cum-number.

As a pair of examples, compare the following sentences.

(15) *ajta ɯllɯɯ-r*
     Ayta sing-PRS:3SG
     'Ayta sings.'

(16) {*ajta ɯllɯɯ-r*}   *kuolah-a ihill-er*
     Ayta sing-PTCP.PRS voice-3SG be.heard-PRS:3SG
     LT: 'The voice with which Ayta sings is heard.'
     FT: 'I hear the voice of Ayta singing.'

The head noun in (16), i.e. 'voice', is absent in (15). It does not correspond to any argument (or an adjunct) of (15). That is, it is, so to speak, is added from outside the underlying clause. The same applies to (17) and (18).

(17) *ajta as   astɯɯ-r*
     Ayta food cook-PRS:3SG
     'Ayta cooks food.'

(18) {*ajta as   astɯɯ-r*}   *sɯt-a   yčygej*
     Ayta food cook-PTCP.PRS smell-3SG good
     LT: 'The smell with which Ayta cooks food is nice.'
     FT: 'The smell of Ayta cooking food is nice.'

An additional example of ACs of the addition type is in (39).

5 Quasi-MMC

5.1 Introductory notes

As noted in Section 1, Sakha has what may be considered a quasi-MMC. This quasi-MMC possibly has a structure shown in (3), which is repeated below.

(3) Quasi-MMC of Sakha:
    (Subject)   (Object) ...   <u>Participle   Noun-PROP-Copula</u>.
                                compound predicate

The predicate of what would correspond to the Clause of (1) is a participle, i.e. a non-finite form. It inflects for tense-cum-polarity (cf. Table 1). The Copula is a suffix (not an independent word or an enclitic). It inflects for person-cum-number and agrees with the subject of the Clause. The crucial difference from the prototype of the MMC is that the Noun in the quasi-MMC of Sakha has the proprietive suffix -LEEX. Possibly the participle, the Noun-PROP and the Copula jointly form the predicate; it is a compound predicate. This is shown with an underline. (The syntactic structure of the Sakha quasi-MMC will be discussed in 6.6 and 6.7.) Twenty-eight nouns have been attested in the Noun slot. They are all content nouns. The meaning of the quasi-MMC is modal, aspectual, temporal or the like.

We shall first look at the use of the proprietive suffix (5.2), followed by a discussion of various aspects of the quasi-MMC: the use of the proprietive suffix in the quasi-MMC (5.3), and the nouns that are attested in the Noun slot (5.4). From 5.5 to 5.8 we shall look at a few morphosyntactic aspects of the quasi-MMC. There is a "Noun" with the proprietive suffix -LEEX which may not take a copula suffix (5.9). In this case the Noun-PROP is grammaticalized as a particle.

5.2 The proprietive suffix *-LEEX*

In Sakha, predicative possession is expressed with the proprietive suffix -LEEX, which means 'having'. Ebata (2014) provides a detailed discussion of this suffix.

An NP with the suffix -LEEX can be used both attributively, e.g. (19), and predicatively, e.g. (20).

(19) *uhun battax-taax kɯɯs*
    long hair-PROP   girl
    'a girl with long hair'

(20) *min ɣs   oʁo-loox-pun*
    1SG three child-PROP-COP.1SG
    'I have three children.'

A noun followed by the proprietive suffix may be preceded and modified by an AC, e.g.:

(21) {*araj kepset-er*}   *tabaarɯs-taax-pɯn*
    just   talk.with-PTCP.PRS friend-PROP-COP.1SG
    'I have only friends to talk with.'

In (21), *kepset-er* 'talk.with-ptcp.prs' modifies just *tabaarus* 'friend', and not the entire *tabaarus-taax-pun* 'friend-PROP-COP.1SG'.

5.3 Use of the proprietive suffix *-LEEX* in the quasi-MMC

Possibly the structure of the Sakha quasi-MMC is as shown in (3). Although this construction is not an instance of the prototypical MMC in terms of the structure shown in (1) above, semantically it is very similar to the MMC of Modern Standard Japanese; the latter is an instance of the prototypical MMC. Indeed, many of the MMC examples in Modern Standard Japanese can be translated into Sakha by using the quasi-MMC. An example of this quasi-MMC is (4), which is repeated below.

(4) *min tokio-ʁa   bar-ar   buɪaan-naax-pun*
     1SG Tokyo-DAT go-PTCP.PRS plan-PROP-COP.1SG
     LT: 'I have a plan (that I) go to Tokyo.'
     FT: 'I plan to go to Tokyo.'

A Modern Standard Japanese equivalent for (4) is the following.

(22) [*watasi=wa tookyoo=ni   ik-u*]   *yotee=da.*
     1SG=TOP   Tokyo=DAT/LOC go-NPST plan=COP.NPST
     LT: '[I go to Tokyo] a plan is/am.'
     FT: 'I plan to go to Tokyo.'

There is one important difference between the Modern Standard Japanese MMC and the Sakha quasi-MMC. In Sakha, even when *tokio-ʁa bar-ar* 'Tokyo-DAT go-PTCP.PRS' is deleted from (4), the resultant sentence is still acceptable.

(23) *min buɪaan-naax-pun*
     1SG plan-PROP-COP.1SG
     'I have a plan.'

However, in Modern Standard Japanese, if *tookyoo=ni ik-u* 'Tokyo=DAT/LOC go-NPST' is deleted from (22), the resultant sentence makes no sense (see Tsunoda, this volume-b, 6.2).

(24) ?*watasi=wa yotee=da.*
     1SG=TOP   plan=COP.NPST
     LT: 'I am a plan.'

That is, the crucial difference is the presence of the proprietive suffix attached to the Noun in the quasi-MMC of Sakha.

5.4 Nouns in the Noun slot

Sakha has no non-content nouns, such as the Japanese *mono* 'thing' and *koto* 'fact' (cf. Tsunoda, this volume-b, 5.1.3, -[4], -[9]). Also, no nominalizer or the like occurs in the Noun slot (cf. Section 1 above). Twenty-eight nouns have been attested in the Noun slot. All of them are content nouns. They are difficult to classify in a clear-cut way, and they are tentatively classified as follows.

5.4.1 Nouns meaning 'appearance' or the like

This group comprises nouns that have the meaning of 'appearance' or the like: *bɯhɯɯ* 'appearance', *keriŋ* 'appearance', *kœryŋ* 'appearance', *žyhyn* 'shape', and *činči* 'sign'. Their meaning is evidential: inference, e.g. (25), or direct observation, e.g. (26), (43).

(25) *bɯhaʁ-ɯm*   *syp-pyt*   *keriŋ-neex*
    knife-POSS.1SG disappear-PTCP.PST appearance-PROP:COP.3SG
    LT: 'My knife has an appearance (that it) disappeared.'
    FT: 'It seems that my knife has disappeared.'

(26) *žollom-mut*   *žyhyn-neex-xin*
    feel.happy-PTCP.PST shape-PROP-COP.2SG
    LT: 'You have a shape (that you) feel happy.'
    FT: 'You look happy.'

5.4.2 Nouns meaning 'plan', 'idea' or the like

This group consists of nouns that have the meaning of 'plan', 'idea' or the like: *bɯlaan* 'plan', *bɯrajɯak* 'design', *anal* 'aim', *soruk* 'goal', *sɯal* 'goal', *sanaa* 'idea', *tolkuj* 'thought', *baʁa* 'hope', *žykkyœr* 'volition', and *žuluur* 'ambition'. They have a modal meaning. Examples include (4) and:

(27) *yle-ti-n*   *salgɯɯ-r*   *sanaa-laax-pɯn*
    work-POSS.3SG-ACC continue-PTCP.PRS idea-PROP-COP.1SG
    LT: 'I have an idea (that I) take up his work.'
    FT: 'I will take up his work.'

(28) *policija yœreʁ-er* *bar-ar* *baʁa-laax-pɯn*
police study-POSS.3SG:DAT go-PTCP.PRS hope-PROP-COP.1SG
LT: 'I have a hope (that I) go to a police school.'
FT: 'I want to go to a police school.'

5.4.3 Nouns meaning 'fear' or 'anxiety'

The nouns are *kuttal* 'fear' and *kɯhalʁa* 'anxiety'. They have a modal meaning.

(29) *sotoru xotugu* *territorija-lar-bɯt* *kuraanaxsɯj-ar*
soon northern territory-PL-POSS.1PL get.empty-PTCP.PRS
kuttal-laax-tar
fear-PROP-COP.3PL
LT: 'Our northern territories have fear (that they) soon become uninhabited.'
FT: '(We are worried that) our northern territories might become
uninhabited soon.'

5.4.4 Nouns meaning 'future' or 'fate'

The nouns are *keskil* 'future' and *žulʁa* 'fate'. Their meaning may be temporal or
modal. Examples include (5) and:

(30) *nuučča omug-u-n* *kɯtta sɯlž-ar* *žulʁa-laax-pɯt*
Russian nation-POSS.3SG-ACC with be-PTCP.PRS fate-PROP-COP.1PL
LT: 'We have a fate (that we) live with Russian people.'
FT: 'We are destined to live with Russian people.'

5.4.5 Nouns meaning 'power' or 'ability'

The nouns are *kɯax* 'power' and *žoʁur* 'ability'. They have a modal meaning.

(31) *ajmax-tar-a* *œjœœ-tœx-tœryne=ere ɯččat-tar-a*
relative-PL-POSS.3SG support-COND-3PL=CLT youth-PL-POSS.3SG
yœren-er *kɯax-taax-tar*
study-PTCP.PRS power-PROP-COP.3PL
LT: 'The young people have a power (that they) study only when their
relatives support them.'
FT: 'The young people can study only when their relatives support them
(financially).'

(32) *kihi   atun kɯɯɯl-lar-tan   kœmyske-n-er   žoʁur-daax*
person other animal-PL-ABL guard-REFL-PTCP.PRS ability-PROP:COP.3SG
LT: 'A person has an ability (that he/she) protects himself/herself from other animals.'
FT: 'Humans can protect themselves from other animals.'

5.4.6 Nouns meaning 'event', 'time' or 'fuss'

The nouns are *tygen* 'event', *kem* 'time', and *ajdaan* 'fuss'. Their meaning may be temporal or experiential, i.e. a type of aspectual meaning. The quasi-MMC with any of these nouns has an experiential meaning or the like (a type of aspectual meaning). The quasi-MMC with *tygen* 'event' simply denotes 'X has done'. That with *kem* 'time' conveys the meaning 'There was a time when X did'. That with *ajdaan* 'fuss' means 'There was a fuss in which X did'.

(33) *bu   suruksut beje-te   sɯɯh-ar   tygen-neex*
this writer   self-POSS.3SG make.error-PTCP.PST event-PROP:COP.3SG
LT: 'This writer himself has an event (that he) makes an error.'
FT: 'This writer himself has once made an error.'

(34) *er-bi-n   kutta araxs-a   sɯs-pɯt   kem-neex-pin*
husband-POSS.1SG-ACC with   divorce-CVB AUX-PTCP.PST time-PROP-COP.1SG
LT: 'I have a time (that I was) divorced from my husband.'
FT: 'I was once divorced from my husband.' (experiential meaning)

5.4.7 Nouns meaning 'custom' or 'habit'

The nouns are *yges* 'custom' and *kemelži* 'habit'. Their meaning is probably habitual, a type of aspectual meaning.

(35) *tœrœppyt-ter oskuola-ʁa seleennii-r   yges-teex-ter*
parent-PL   school-DAT entrust-PTCP.PRS custom-PROP-COP.3PL
LT: 'Parents have a custom (that they) leave (problems) to the school.'
FT: 'Parents tend to leave (problems) to the school.'

(36) *kurgut-tar uulussa trotuar-ɯ-nan xonnox-toru-ttan*
girl-PL street sidewalk-POSS.3SG-INS underarm-POSS.3PL-ABL
ul-s-an kieŋ kekke-nen ajannɯɯ-r tykteri kemelži-leex-ter
take-COOP-CVB wide row-INS travel-PTCP.PRS rude habit-PROP-COP.3PL
LT: 'Girls have a bad habit (that they) walk in a wide row along sidewalks taking each other's underarms.'
FT: 'Girls tend to walk arm-in-arm in a wide row across sidewalks.'

5.4.8 Nouns meaning 'right' or 'obligation'

The nouns are *buraap* 'right' and *ebeehines* 'obligation'. Their meaning is modal.

(37) *arassɯɯja graždan-nar-a yrdyk yœrex-xe bosxo yœren-er*
Russia citizen-PL-POSS.3SG high study-DAT free study-PTCP.PRS
buraap-taax-tar
right-PROP-COP.3PL
LT: 'Russian citizens have a right (that they) study for free in higher education.'
FT: 'Russian citizens can study for free in higher education'

5.4.9 Summary of the semantics of the quasi-MMC

We have looked at the twenty-eight nouns that can occupy the Noun slot of the Sakha quasi-MMC. They are all content nouns when used outside the quasi-MMC. As seen above, the quasi-MMC has various meanings, such as modal, evidential, aspectual and modal. See Table 2.

Tab. 2: Semantics of the "Noun" and the quasi-MMC.

"Noun"	meaning outside quasi-MMC	meaning of quasi-MMC
bɯhɯɯ	appearance	speaker's inference, direct
keriŋ	appearance	observation
kœryŋ	appearance	(evidential; §5.4.1)
žyhyn	shape	
činči	sign	
bɯlaan	plan	volition, intention
bɯrajɯak	design	(modal; §5.4.2)
anal	aim	
soruk	goal	
sɯal	goal	
sanaa	idea	
tolkuj	thought	
baʁa	hope	
žykkyœr	volition	
žuluur	ambition	
kuttal	fear	apprehension
kɯhalʁa	anxiety	(modal; §5.4.3)
keskil	future	future
žɯlʁa	fate	(temporal/modal; §5.4.4)
kɯax	power	potential
žoʁur	ability	(modal; §5.4.5)
tygen	event	experiential
kem	time	(aspectual; §5.4.6)
ajdaan	fuss	
yges	custom	habitual
kemelži	habit	(aspectual; §5.4.7)
bɯraap	right	right, possibility
ebeehines	obligation	obligation
		(modal; §5.4.8)

5.5 Modification of the Noun

There are languages in whose MMC the nouns in the Noun slot cannot be modified by an adjective, for example (Tsunoda, this volume-a, 3.1.4). In this respect, the nouns in the Noun slot do not have the status of nouns. They are grammaticalized and they have a lower degree of nounhood than when they are used outside the MMC. One example is the MMC of Modern Standard Japanese (Tsunoda, this volume-b, 5.4.3). However, in the quasi-MMC of Sakha, the Noun can be modified by an adjective; see (36), where the noun *kemelži* 'habit' is modified by the adjective *tykteri* 'rude'. At least in this respect, the nouns in the Noun slot of the Sakha quasi-MMC have the status of regular nouns, and they are not grammaticalized.

5.6 Copula

As noted in Section 3, the copula is a suffix, not a free form. It has the zero suffix for 3SG. Also, as seen in 4.1, the copula suffix is used only when the sentence is in the present affirmative. Elsewhere the sentence occurs with an auxiliary verb. In all the examples given above, the sentence is in the present affirmative, and the copula suffix is used. When the sentence is in the past affirmative, it occurs with an auxiliary verb, e.g. (38). Note that (38) is still an instance of the quasi-MMC (which involves the proprietive suffix *-LEEX*).

(38) *nuučča-ttan kiir-bit   tul-lar-ɯ   taba surujuu-ga anɯɯ-r*
     Russian-ABL enter-PTSP.PST word-PL-ACC orthography-DAT set-PTCP-PRS
     baʁa-laax   e-ti-bit
     hope-PROP   be-PST-1PL
     LT: 'We had a hope (that we) entered Russian loanwords into the orthography.'
     FT: 'We wanted to adopt Russian loanwords into the orthography.'

(*taba surujuu* consists of two words: *taba* 'rightly' and *surujuu* 'writing'. Jointly they mean 'orthography'.)

When the sentence is negated, it does not employ the quasi-MMC, and it no longer employs the proprietive suffix *-LEEX*. Instead, it is expressed as in (39), for example. In (39), the word shown with braces constitutes an adnominal clause of the addition type, and the person-cum-number of the subject of the AC is indicated by the possessive suffix attached to the head noun (cf. 4.2.3). The AC-plus-the head noun serves as the subject of the sentence. The sentence is negated by the negative predicate *suox* 'not', which has the zero suffix for 3SG.

(39) {*araxs-ar*}   *sanaa-m   suox*
   get.divorced-PTCP.PRS idea-POSS.1SG not:COP.3SG
   LT: 'The idea that I get divorced is not.'
   FT: 'I will not get divorced.'

5.7 Can the Clause of the MMC be used as a sentence by itself?

One of the five properties of the prototype of the MMC as proposed by Tsunoda (this volume-a) (listed in Section 1 above) is the following.

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

As noted in 5.1, in the Sakha quasi-MMC the predicate verb of what would correspond to the Clause of (1) is a participle. It is non-finite, and consequently the Clause cannot be used by itself as a sentence. For example, if the Clause of (4) is deleted, we obtain (40). But (40) is unacceptable. A finite form has to be used instead. See (41).

(4) *min tokio-ʁa   bar-ar   bulaan-naax-pɯn*
   1SG Tokyo-DAT go-PTCP.PRS plan-PROP-COP.1SG
   LT: 'I have a plan (that I) go to Tokyo.'
   FT: 'I plan to go to Tokyo.'

(40) **min tokio-ʁa   bar-ar*
    1SG   Tokyo-DAT go-PTCP.PRS
    IM: 'I go to Tokyo.'

(41) *min tokio-ʁa   bar-a-bɯn*
    1SG Tokyo-DAT go-PRS-1SG
    'I go to Tokyo.'

5.8 Sentencehood of the Clause of the quasi-MMC

The Clause of the Sakha quasi-MMC lacks certain properties of independent sentences. Examples follow. (i) The predicate of the Clause is a participle. It is non-finite and its inflectional possibilities are limited. (ii) Independent sentences can be followed by a sentence-final particle, such as such as =*yhy* (reported evidence) or =*duo* (question), e.g. (42). In contrast, the Clause of the quasi-MMC cannot be followed by a sentence-final particle. In these respects its sentencehood is low.

(42) *sandal bu kiehe tœnn-œr =yhy*
Sandal this evening return-PRS:3SG=REP
'They say that Sandal is going to come back this evening.'

5.9 Grammaticalization from a nominal to a particle

In all of the examples of the Sakha quasi-MMC we have examined, the Noun is followed by the proprietive suffix. Another example is (43). If the proprietive suffix is deleted from (43), we obtain (44).

(43) *sulaj-but buhuɯ-laax-xun*
be.tired-PTCP.PST appearance-PROP-COP.2SG
LT: 'You have an appearance (that you) are tired.'
FT: 'You look tired.'

(44) *⋆sulaj-but buhuɯ-gun*
be.tired-PTCP.PST appearance-COP.2SG
IM: 'You look tired.'

Example (44) has the structure of the prototype of the MMC, shown in (1); the Noun is no longer followed by the proprietive suffix. However, (44) is not grammatical.

Now, it is interesting to note that (43) can be paraphrased as (45).

(45) *sulaj-buk-kun buhuɯɯlaax*
be.tired-PST-2SG it.appears
'It appears that you are tired.'

In (43), the verb *sulaj-but* 'be.tired-PTCP.PST' is in a participle form, i.e. a non-finite form. However, in (45), it is in a finite form, having the past form with person/number marking. Also, in (43), the noun *buhuɯ* 'appearance' plus the proprietive is followed by the copula (*-xun* 'COP.2SG'). In contrast, it is not followed by the copula in (45). These facts suggest that in (45) *buhuɯ* 'appearance' is no longer a noun, and that *buhuɯɯlaax* 'it.appears' has been grammaticalized and become a particle. It now follows a finite form of a verb, i.e. it follows a sentence.

At this stage of investigation, *buhuɯɯlaax* is the only "Noun-LEEx" that can appear after a finite verb form and has apparently become a particle. Petrov (1978) lists several nouns with the proprietive suffix as particles, such as *buhuɯ-laax* 'appearance-PROP', *bulaan-naax* 'plan-PROP', *keriŋ-neex* 'appearance-PROP', etc. Among these "particles" only *buhuɯ-laax* allows the copula to precede. Since it allows the copula to precede, it can be considered to be grammaticalized.

6 Comparison of the quasi-MMC with other constructions

6.1 Introductory notes

We now compare the quasi-MMC with other constructions. In particular, we shall examine the following two issues.

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

The structure of the prototype of the MMC is as shown in (1). Superficially at least, it looks as if the prototypical MMC is bi-clausal. In some of the languages reported in the present volume, the Clause of the MMC looks similar to an adnominal clause ("AC") (or a relative clause) of the respective languages and consequently it looks as if the MMC is bi-clausal, with an AC as a subordinate clause. A similar situation is observed in Sakha. The verb has to be a participle in both ACs (4.2.1) and in the Clause of the quasi-MMC (5.1) (to be precise, what would correspond to the Clause of the MMC, shown in (1)). It may look as if the quasi-MMC is bi-clausal, with an AC as a subordinate clause.

However, languages such as Modern Standard Japanese (Tsunoda, this volume-b, Section 6) and Korean (Kim, this volume, Section 6) yield evidence that their MMC does not contain an AC and that it is syntactically mono-clausal. (See Tsunoda (this volume-a, 3.4.2).) In view of this, it is important to examine the two issues listed above.

For Sakha, we compare the following constructions.

(i) Mono-clausal verb-predicate independent sentences (cf. 4.1).
(ii) Quasi-MMC (cf. Section 5).
(iii) ACs (1): gap type (cf. 4.2.2).
(iv) ACs (2): addition type (cf. 4.2.3).

Verb-predicate sentences are chosen as the representative of independent sentences. It is necessary to consider mono-clausal sentences, since one of the aims of this comparison is to examine the issue (b) listed above.

When we look at the quasi-MMC, we shall mainly be concerned with the Clause, but we shall look at the entire quasi-MMC as well.

We shall compare the constructions listed above in terms of morphology and syntax. The result of this comparison is shown in Table 3.

6.2 Verb morphology

We shall look at the form of the predicate verb.

(i) Mono-clausal verb-predicate independent sentences.
The verb is finite, and it is fully inflected, i.e. for negation, tense, person-cum-number of the subject, etc.

(ii) Quasi-MMC.
The verb of the Clause is a participle. It is non-finite. It inflects for tense-cum-polarity. (The Copula (a suffix, not an independent word or an enclitic) inflects for person-cum-number and agrees with the subject of the Clause.)

(iii) ACs: gap type.
(iv) ACs: addition type.
The verb is a participle. It is non-finite. It inflects for tense-cum-polarity.

6.3 Agreement

The agreement is in terms of person-cum-number.

(i) Mono-clausal verb-predicate independent sentences.
The subject agrees with the verb. The verb is in a finite form and it is in the sentence-final position.

(ii) Quasi-MMC.
The subject of the Clause agrees not with the verb of the Clause (a participle), but with the Copula (the copula suffix). The copula suffix is in a finite form and it is in the sentence-final position.

(iii) ACs: gap type.
(iv) ACs: addition type.
The subject of an AC agrees with the head noun. The agreement is shown by means of a possessive suffix.

6.4 Gapping

It is convenient to start with ACs of the gap type.

(iii) ACs: gap type.
Gapping occurs in the formation of ACs of the gap type. For example, compare (9) with (10) to (12). All of the subject, the direct object and the indirect object are present in (9). In contrast, the subject is absent in the AC of (10), the direct object in the AC of (11), and the indirect object in the AC of (12).

(iv) ACs: addition type.
Gapping does not take place in the formation of ACs of the addition type. For example, both the subject and the object are present in the AC of (18), as is the case with (17).

(i) Mono-clausal verb-predicate independent sentences.
(ii) Quasi-MMC.
Gapping does not take place in the formation of these constructions.

6.5 One subject or two subjects?

It is convenient to start with ACs.

(iii) ACs: gap type.
(iv) ACs: addition type.
A sentence with an AC may have two subjects: the subject of the AC and the subject of the main clause. For example, in (11) (gap type), the subject of the AC is *ol kihi* 'that man', and the subject of the main clause is 1st person singular (indicated by the suffix on the main clause predicate). As another example, in (16) (addition type), the subject of the AC is *ajta* 'Ayta', and the subject of the main clause is *kuolah-a* 'voice-3SG'.

(i) Mono-clausal verb-predicate independent sentences.
(ii) Quasi-MMC.
Each sentence has only one subject.

6.6 Discussion

The result of the comparison is shown in Table 3.
"Verb morphology" concerns a morphological aspect, while the other three criteria have to do with syntactic aspects.

Tab. 3: Comparison of the quasi-MMC with other constructions.

	Verb morphology	Agreement: The subject agrees with:
Mono-clausal verb-predicate independent sentences	finite, fully inflected	verb (finite, sentence-final)
Quasi-MMC	participle	Copula (finite, sentence-final)
ACs: gap type	participle	head noun (direct object, indirect object, oblique object)
ACs: addition type	participle	head noun

	Gapping	Two subjects
Mono-clausal verb-predicate independent sentences	–	–
Quasi-MMC	–	–
ACs: gap type	+	+
ACs: addition type	–	+

Legend: +: acceptable or obligatory; –: unacceptable

In terms of "Verb morphology", the quasi-MMC (to be precise, the Clause of the quasi-MMC) behaves like ACs and unlike mono-clausal verb-predicate independent sentences.

However, in terms of the syntactic criteria, in the main the quasi-MMC behaves like mono-clausal verb-predicate independent sentences and unlike ACs. In terms of "Agreement", the quasi-MMC and mono-clausal verb-predicate independent sentences behave alike in that the subject agrees with a finite form (the copula and the verb, respectively) and also in that the finite form is in the sentence-final position. (In the quasi-MMC the subject does not agree with the participle, a non-finite form.) In contrast, the subject of ACs agrees with a noun (not with the copula or a verb). In terms of the other two criteria, i.e. "Gapping" and "Two subjects", the quasi-MMC behaves exactly like mono-clausal verb-predicate independent sentences and generally unlike ACs.

That is, morphologically, regarding the predicate, it may look as if the quasi-MMC contains an AC and is bi-clausal. This structure can be shown as in (46). Braces show the putative AC.

(46) {(Subject) (Object) ... Participle} Noun-PROP-Copula.

However, syntactically the quasi-MMC does not contain an AC. It should be considered mono-clausal, not bi-clausal.

6.7 Compound predicate

We saw in 6.6 that syntactically the Sakha quasi-MMC should be considered mono-clausal, not bi-clausal. Then, it should have just one predicate, not two predicates. We now investigate what structure the predicate has.

For Modern Standard Japanese, Tsunoda (this volume-b, 6.2 to 6.9) gives eight pieces of evidence to show that syntactically its MMC is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal. Furthermore, Tsunoda (this volume-b, 6.11) gives two pieces of evidence to show that, in the Modern Standard Japanese MMC, the predicate of the Clause, the Noun and the Copula jointly form a single unit, as shown in (2), which is repeated below.

(2) [... <u>predicate of Clause</u>]   Noun   Copula.
               compound predicate

In the Sakha quasi-MMC, too, at least semantically it seems justifiable to say that the participle and the Noun-PROP-Copula form a single unit and form a compound predicate, as shown in (47). If this is the case, the structure of (4), for example, can be shown as in (48). The putative compound predicate is underlined.

(47) (Subject) (Object) ... <u>Participle Noun-PROP-Copula</u>.
                           compound predicate

(48) *min tokio-ҕa*   <u>*bar-ar*   *bulaan-naax-pun*</u>
      1SG Tokyo-DAT go-PTCP.PRS plan-PROP-COP.1SG
                           compound predicate
      LT: 'I have a plan (that I) go to Tokyo.'
      FT: 'I plan to go to Tokyo.'

However, there is no structural evidence to set up this compound predicate. Taking into account the two pieces of evidence provided by Tsunoda, we shall look at the Sakha quasi-MMC.

Tsunoda (this volume-b, 6.11-[2]) states as follows: "The copula in the Copula slot is an enclitic, and no word can intervene between it and the preceding Noun. That is, the Noun and the Copula form a unit". The Sakha quasi-MMC provides an even stronger piece of evidence than this. That is, the Copula is a suffix, not an enclitic, and a suffix is more tightly connected to the preceding element than is an enclitic. It is clear that the Noun and the Copula form a unit, with the PROP suffix intervening.

However, there is no structural evidence for the unity of the predicate of the Clause (i.e. a participle) and the Noun.

First, Tsunoda (this volume-b, 6.11-[1]) states as follows: "[...] a noun [...] in the Noun slot of the MMC [...] cannot be modified by an adjective, a demonstrative or the like. This shows that syntactically the Noun and the preceding predicate of the

Clause form a unit; they reject the intervention of any word". This argument does not apply to the Sakha quasi-MMC. As seen in 5.5, an adjective may intervene between the participle and the Noun-PROP-Copula; see (36).

Second, as mentioned in Section 5.3, even when *tokio-ʁa bar-ar* 'Tokyo-DAT go-PTCP.PRS' is deleted from (4) (same as (48)), the resultant sentence is still acceptable; see (23). This indicates that the participle and the Noun do not form a unit. (In contrast, in the Modern Standard Japanese MMC, an analogous deletion produces a sentence that makes no sense; see (24). This suggests that the predicate of the Clause and the Noun form a unit.)

To sum up, the Noun and the Copula form a unit, with the PROP suffix intervening. However, there is no evidence that the predicate of the Clause (i.e. a participle) joins this unit. That is, there is no structural evidence to set up the compound predicate shown in (2).

7 Summary and concluding remarks

Sakha has what may be considered a quasi-MMC. Twenty-eight nouns have been attested in the Noun slot. They are all content nouns. The nouns in the Noun slot have the status of regular nouns in that they can be modified by an adjective. At least in this respect, they are not grammaticalized. The Noun has the proprietive suffix 'having', like the quasi-MMC in Khalkha Mongolian. Without the proprietive suffix the sentence is ungrammatical. The Noun with the proprietive suffix is followed by the copula suffix. One of these nouns followed by the proprietive suffix appears to have become a particle.

The meaning of this quasi-MMC is modal, evidential, aspectual, temporal or the like and is summarized in Table 2.

The predicate verb of the Clause is in the participle form, i.e. a non-finite form. The Clause cannot be used by itself as a sentence. The Clause lacks certain properties of independent sentences.

In terms of the morphology of the predicate it looks as if the quasi-MMC is bi-clausal, with an AC as a subordinate clause. However, syntactically it is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal. Therefore, it should have just one predicate, not two predicates. However, structurally there is no evidence available to show that the participle, the Noun and the Copula jointly form a predicate, that is, a compound predicate.

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

A = transitive subject; ABL = ablative; AC = adnominal clause; ACC = accusative; AUX = auxiliary; CLT = clitic; COND = conditional; COOP = cooperative; COP = copula; CVB = converb; DAT = dative; LOC = locative; FT = free translation; INS = instrumental; LT = literal translation; MMC = mermaid construction; NPST = nonpast; O = object; PL = plural; POSS = possessive; PROP = proprietive; PRS = present; PST = past; PTCP = participle; REFL = reflexive; REP = reported evidence; S = intransitive subject; SG = singular; TOP = topic; V = verb; 1 = first person; 2 = second person; 3 = third person.

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Hiroyuki Umetani

9 Khalkha Mongolian

1 Introduction

Tsunoda (this volume-a, 2.1) proposes that the prototype of the mermaid construction ("MMC") has all of the following five properties.

(a) The structure is as shown in (1) – superficially at least.
(b) The Noun is an independent word (not a clitic) that is a noun.
(c) The subject of the Clause and the Noun are non-coreferential.
(d) The Clause can be used as a sentence by itself.
(e) The Clause is not the subject of the "Noun + Copula".

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

In the prototypical MMC, the Noun slot is occupied by a noun that is an independent word. In non-prototypical instances, it may be occupied by an enclitic or a suffix which derives from a noun. Nouns, enclitics and suffixes in the Noun slot may also be nominalizers.

Tsunoda (this volume-a, Section 1 and 2.1) notes as follows. Superficially at least, it looks as if the MMC contains a subordinate clause and is bi-clausal. However, languages such as Modern Standard Japanese (Tsunoda, this volume-b, Section 6) and Korean (Kim, this volume, Section 6) provide ample evidence that syntactically their MMC is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal, despite its superficial appearance (shown in (1)). Their MMC has just one predicate, not two predicates, and the predicate is a compound predicate that consists of the predicate of the Clause, the Noun and the Copula, as shown in (2).

(2) [...   predicate of Clause]   Noun   Copula.
            compound predicate

Khalkha Mongolian does not have the prototypical MMC. Nonetheless, it has a construction that resembles the MMC. It will be referred to as the quasi-MMC. Its structure can be shown as follows.

(3) Quasi-MMC of Khalkha Mongolian:
   (Subject)   (Object)   ...   Verbal nominal   Noun-PROP   (Copula).

The constituents enclosed with parentheses in (3) can be absent. Note in particular that the Copula may be absent. The Clause in (1) corresponds to the portion "(Subject)　(Object)　…　Verbal nominal" in (3).

In the Khalkha Mongolian quasi-MMC, the predicate of what would correspond to the Clause of (1) is in a verbal-nominal form (see Section 3 for verbal nominals).

The crucial difference from the prototypical MMC is that the Noun is combined with the proprietive suffix (PROP). This suffix derives adjectives from nouns. That is, the Noun slot is occupied not by a noun but an adjective. (Note that the Noun slot in (1) corresponds to the Khalkha Mongolian Noun-PROP as a whole (i.e., adjective), and not to the component shown with an underline in the following: <u>Noun</u>-PROP. Hereafter, when this underlined component is referred to, the term "base noun in the Noun-PROP" is used.)

This quasi-MMC construction has modal, evidential, temporal and aspectual meanings, which are similar to those expressed by the MMCs in other languages (e.g., Modern Standard Japanese (Tsunoda, this volume-b, 5.1)).

In terms of the verb morphology, it may look as if this quasi-MMC contains an adnominal clause (or a relative clause) and has a bi-clausal structure. However, syntactically it should be considered mono-clausal, not bi-clausal. Despite this, there is no conclusive evidence that this quasi-MMC has the compound predicate shown in (2).

Sakha (Ebata, this volume) has a quasi-MMC similar to the Khalkha Mongolian quasi-MMC.

2 Initial illustration

Two examples of the quasi-MMC are given. The base noun in the Noun-PROP slot is shown in bold face.

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

(5) *Manaj　　kompani　　　olon törl-ijn　　kinon-uud-yg　bütee-sen*
1PL.GEN company.NOM many kind-GEN movie-PL-ACC produce-VN.PST
***turšlaga**-taj.*
experience-PROP
LT: 'Our company (is) with (the) experience (of) having produced many kinds of movies.'
FT: 'Our company has the experience of producing many kinds of movies.'

3 Profile of the language

Khalkha Mongolian 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.

Khalkha Mongolian (hereafter, simply "Mongolian") exhibits vowel harmony. (For example, the proprietive suffix has three allomorphs whose occurrence is conditioned by vowel harmony: *-taj/-toj/-tej* (5.1).) 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. It employs suffixes rather than prefixes. Also, it uses postpositions, not prepositions. It is dependent-marking and is in general non-configurational. In alignment, 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 (29).

The relative order of the subject, the object and the predicate verb is generally SOV, and a modifier (such as an adjective and an adnominal clause ("AC") (or a relative clause)) 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. Three cases are attested for the subject: nominative, genitive, and accusative. See 4.2.1.

Verbs inflect. Their major categories are the following.

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

Mongolian has three different terminating forms for the past. They are not allomorphs conditioned by vowel harmony but are distinct morphemes.

The functions of these three types of conjugational forms are as follows.

Tab. 1: Verb conjugation.

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

(a) Terminating forms are used as finite verbs and conclude sentences, i.e., they form independent sentences, e.g., *xij-ne* 'do-TV.NPST' in (6), and *jav-na* 'go-TV.NPST' in (8).

(b) Converb forms are used to form adverbial clauses, e.g., *ir-vel* 'come-CVB.COND' in (8) and *teg-vel* 'do.that-CVB.COND' in (14).

(c) Verbal-nominal forms maximally have four functions. (i) They can form adnominal clauses (or relative clauses) (4.2.2), e.g., *ög-sön* 'give-VN.PST' in (9) (the AC is shown with braces). (ii) They can form nominal clauses (4.2.3). (iii) Some – though not all – of verbal-nominal forms can have the same function as terminating forms, namely, they can conclude sentences. For example, the verbal-nominal form for the past (which employs *-san/sen/son/sön*) can conclude sentences, e.g., *gee-sen* 'lose-VN.PST' in (9), and *ög-sön* 'give-VN.PST' in (15). In contrast, the verbal-nominal form for the nonpast (*-x*) cannot conclude sentences. See (7). (iv) Some – though not all – of verbal-nominal forms can also be used to form adverbial clauses.

(6) *Bi   ene ažl-yg   xij-ne.*
    1SG.NOM this work-ACC do-TV.NPST
    'I will do this work.'

(7) *⋆Bi   ene ažl-yg   xij-x.*
    1SG.NOM this work-ACC do-VN.NPST

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

(9) *Bold   {Dorž-ijn ög-sön}   nom-yg   gee-sen.*
    PSN.NOM PSN-GEN give-VN.PST book-ACC lose-VN.PST
    'Bold lost (the) book (that) Dorj gave (him).'

The functions of these forms are summarized in Table 1. (The "(✓)" symbol indicates that some of the verbal-nominal forms do not have the function in question.)

Among these three groups of conjugational forms, verbal-nominal forms can occur in the quasi-MMC as well.

The data employed in the present chapter were obtained from by our language consultant: Amgalan Ayushjav, a female born in Ulaanbaatar in 1979.

4 Types of sentences and clauses

4.1 Sentences

Sentences in Mongolian can be roughly classified as follows.

(a) Verb-predicate sentences, e.g., (6), (8), (9).
(b) Adjective-predicate sentences and noun-predicate sentences.
　(b-1) With a copular verb, e.g., (10), (12), (13), (14).
　(b-2) Without a copular verb, e.g., (11).

In an independent verb-predicate sentence (to be precise, a simple verb-predicate sentence and the main clause of a verb-predicate complex sentence), the verb must be either in a terminating form, e.g., *xij-ne* 'do-TV.NPST' in (6), *jav-na* 'go-TV.NPST' in (8), or in a verbal-nominal form, e.g., *gee-sen* 'lose-VN.PST' in (9), *ög-sön* 'give-VN.PST' in (15). (But see the comment on (7).)

Adjective-predicate and noun-predicate sentences may contain a copular verb. Mongolian has two copular verbs: *baj-* 'to be' and *bol-* 'to become'. (Copular verbs conjugate in the same manner as the other verbs. When they are used in independent sentences, they must be in a terminating form or in a verbal-nominal form. See Table 1.)

When time reference is to the present, the copular verb used is *baj-* 'to be'. It occurs in the terminating nonpast form. As mentioned in previous studies such as Kullmann & Tserenpil (1996: 194–195), when time reference is to the present, *baj-* 'to be' may be present (e.g., (10)) or absent (e.g., (11)).

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

(11) *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' (when time reference is to the present) are not fully clarified. (For some of the factors, see Kullmann & Tserenpil (1996: 194–195).)

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

Copula \ Time	Past	Present	Future
Baj- 'to be'	+	+/−	−
Bol- 'to become'	+	−	+

When time reference is to the past, the copular verb used is *baj-* 'to be' or *bol-* 'to become'. Here, the use of *baj-* or *bol-* is obligatory, e.g. (12) and (13). Each of the copular verbs occurs in one of the past forms (namely, in the vernal-nominal form for the past (*-san/-son/sen/-sön*) or in one of the three terminating forms for the past).

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

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

When time reference is to the future, the copular verb employed is *bol-* 'to become'. Its use is obligatory, e.g. (14). It occurs in the terminating nonpast form.

(14) *Teg-vel   či   sajn emč   bol-no.*
     do.that-CVB.COND 2SG.NOM good doctor.NOM become-TV.NPST
     '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-*).

The subject in independent sentences (to be precise, the subject of simple sentences and of the main clause of complex sentences) appears in the nominative case, e.g., (6), (8) to (13). (In contrast, three cases are attested for the subject of subordinate clauses: nominative, accusative and genitive. See 4.2.1.)

4.2 Adnominal clauses, nominal clauses and adverbial clauses

4.2.1 Three types of subordinate clauses

Mongolian has three types of subordinate clauses: adnominal clauses ("ACs") (or relative clauses) (4.2.2), nominal clauses (4.2.3), and adverbial clauses (4.2.4). The

case marking of the subject in subordinate clauses exhibits an interesting phenomenon. For the subject, the nominative and the genitive can be used in ACs; the nominative, the genitive, and the accusative can be employed in 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. 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. Examples include the following.

(a) Adnominal clauses
    (a-1) Nominative: 'person.NOM' in (17), (18), (21).
    (a-2) Genitive: 'PSN-GEN' in (9), (27), and '1SG.GEN' in (19).
(b) Nominal clauses
    (b-1) Accusative: '3SG-ACC' in (28).
(c) Adverbial clauses
    (c-1) Accusative: '3SG-ACC' in (8) and '2SG.ACC' in (29).

4.2.2 Adnominal clauses

On the basis of previous studies such as Teramura (1969, 1992), Tsunoda (this volume-b, 4.2.2) proposes to classify ACs of Modern Standard Japanese and label them as follows: (i) ACs of the gap type, (ii) ACs of the addition type, and (iii) ACs with an anticipatory pronoun. Mongolian has all of these three types of ACs. (The label "an anticipatory pronoun" was suggested by Syuntaro Tida (p.c.).)

As noted in Section 3, an AC precedes the head noun. The predicate in ACs is a verb in a verbal-nominal form, or an adjective or a noun followed by a copular verb in a verbal-nominal form.

4.2.2.1 Adnominal clauses of the gap type

ACs of this type are formed with the gap strategy. The head noun corresponds to an argument or an adjunct of the AC. All positions but for the possessor and the object of comparison on Keenan & Comrie's (1977) accessibility hierarchy can be relativized on. (See Mukai (2006: 54–60) for a detailed description of Mongolian ACs of the gap type. The possessor can be relativized on employing a method described in 4.2.2.2.) As a set of examples, compare (15) with (16) (subject), (17) (direct object) and (18) (indirect object). The ACs are shown with braces.

(15) *Ter xün   neg xüüxd-e-d   nom   ög-sön.*
     that person.NOM one child-EP-DAT book.NOM give-VN.PST
     'That person gave (a) book to a child.'

(16) *Ene xün=bol* {*ter xüüxd-e-d nom ög-sön*}
this person.NOM=FP that child-EP-DAT book.NOM give-VN.PST
xün.
person.NOM
'This person (is the) person (who) gave (a) book to that child.'

(17) *Ene nom=bol* {*ter xün nögöö xüüxd-e-d ög-sön*}
this book.NOM=FP that person.NOM that child-EP-DAT give-VN.PST
nom.
book.NOM
'This book (is the) book (that) that person gave to that child.'

(18) *Ene xüüxed=bol* {*nögöö xün nom ög-sön*}
this child.NOM=FP that person.NOM book.NOM give-VN.PST
xüüxed.
child.NOM
'This child (is the) child (to whom) that person gave (a) book.'

Another example is (9) (direct object). An additional example:

(19) *Ene=bol* {*minij xij-x*} *ažil.*
this.NOM=FP 1SG.GEN do-VN.NPST work.NOM
'This is (the) work (that) I will do.'

(The subject of the AC in (19) is in the genitive case: '1SG.GEN'.)
Also, compare (20) with (21) (oblique NP).

(20) *Ter xün xutga-ar max züs-sen.*
that person.NOM knife-INS meat.NOM slice-VN.PST
'That person sliced meat with (a) knife.'

(21) *Ene=bol* {*ter xün max züs-sen*} *xutga.*
this.NOM=FP that person.NOM meat.NOM slice-VN.PST knife.NOM
'This (is the) knife (with which) that person sliced meat.'

4.2.2.2 ACs with an anticipatory pronoun

When the possessor is relativized on, the third person possessive particle *=n'* is used
as what may be called "an anticipatory pronoun". In other respects, the formation of
ACs of this type is as described in 4.2.2.1. As a pair of examples, compare (22) and (23).

(22) *Ter camcn-y tovč=n' una-čix-san.*
that shirt-GEN button.NOM=3POSS fall-COMPL-VN.PST
'(A) button of that shirt has come off.'

(23) *Ene=bol* {*tovč=n'* *una-čix-san*} *nögöö camc.*
  this.NOM=FP button.NOM=3POSS fall-COMPL-VN.PST that shirt.NOM
  'This (is) the shirt (whose) button has come off.'

4.2.2.3 Adnominal clauses of the addition type

Presumably on the basis of Teramura's (1992) work on ACs of Modern Standard Japanese, Mukai (2006: 61) classifies Mongolian ACs of the addition type into three subtypes in terms of the structure of the predicate of the AC, and the semantic relationship between the AC and the head noun. For the purpose of the present work, it is sufficient to examine only the subtype that is the most relevant to the present work.

ACs of this subtype describe detailed contents of the head noun, as shown in the examples below. (For further discussions of this type of ACs, see Teramura (1969, 1992: 199–200) on Modern Standard Japanese and Mukai (2006: 60–64) on Mongolian.) Compare (24) and (25).

(24) *Nögöödör* *manaj* *suman-d* *jörönxijlögč* *ir-ne.*
  the.day.after.tomorrow 1PL.GEN village-DAT president.NOM come-TV.NPST
  '(The) president will come to our village the day after tomorrow.'

(25) {*Nögöödör* *manaj* *suman-d* *jörönxijlögč*
  the.day.after.tomorrow 1PL.GEN village-DAT president.NOM
  ir-e-x} *medee-g* *bi* *saja* *zuragt-aar*
  come-EP-VN.NPST news-ACC 1SG.NOM a.little.while.ago television-INS
  xar-laa.
  see-TV.PST
  'A little while age, I saw news on TV (that the) president will come to our village the day after tomorrow.'

Note that the head noun of the AC in (25), i.e. *medee-g* 'news-ACC', does not correspond to any argument or adjunct of (24), in contrast with the head noun of an AC of the gap type. That is, the head noun is, so to speak, added from outside the underlying clause. As an additional pair of examples, compare:

(26) *Bat* *dandaa sogtuu-g-aar* *mašin* *bar'-dag.*
  PSN.NOM always drunk-EP-INS car.NOM drive-VN.HAB
  'Bat always drives (a) car drunk.'

(27) {*Bat-yn* *dandaa sogtuu-g-aar* *mašin* *bar'-dag*} *asuudl-yg*
  PSN-GEN always drunk-EP-INS car.NOM drive-VN.HAB problem-ACC
  bid *šijdverle-je.*
  1PL.NOM settle-TV.VOL
  'We will settle (the) problem (of) Bat always driving (a) car drunk.'

The head noun of the AC in (27), i.e. *asuudl-yg* 'problem-ACC', does not correspond to any argument or adjunct of (26).

4.2.3 Nominal clauses

Nominal clauses are formed with a verbal-nominal form. See *jav-sn-yg* 'go-VN.PST-ACC' in (28). (The nominal clause is indicated with braces.)

(28) {*Tüün-ijg Japon jav-sn-yg*}   *med-e-ž*   *baj-g-aa   juu?*
    3SG-ACC Japan go-VN.PST-ACC 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., *ir-vel* 'come-CVB.COND' in (8) and *teg-vel* 'do.that-CVB.COND' in (14), (ii) those which contain an AC (sometimes followed by a case suffix) + a noun or a postposition, e.g., (29), and (iii) those ending in a verbal-nominal form + a particle such as *bol* 'if' or *č* 'too, even (though)', e.g., (30). (The adverbial clauses are indicated with braces.)

(29) {*Čamajg jav-sn-y   daraa*} *Dulmaa   ir-sen.*
    2SG.ACC go-VN.PST-GEN next   PSN.NOM come-VN.PST
    'After you left, Dulmaa came.'

(30) {*Xij-sen=č*}   *bol-no.*
    do-VN.PST=even.FP be.alright-TV.NPST
    'Even if (you) do that, (it) will be alright.'

5 Quasi-MMC

5.1 Introductory notes

As noted in Section 1, Mongolian has what may be considered a quasi-MMC. Its structure can be shown as in (3), which is repeated below.

(3) Quasi-MMC of Khalkha Mongolian:
    (Subject)   (Object)   ...   Verbal nominal   Noun-PROP   (Copula).

The predicate of what would correspond to the Clause of (1) (Section 1) is in a verbal-nominal form. It inflects for tense/aspect (Section 3). The Copula slot is occupied by a copular verb in some of the instances. (See Table 2 for the presence and absence of the copulas.) The subject is consistently in the nominative case.

The quasi-MMC of Mongolian differs from the prototype of the MMC in that its Noun is followed by the adjective-deriving suffix *-taj/-toj/-tej* 'with/having/possessing ...'. This suffix is referred to as the proprietive suffix ('PROP'). It has three allomorphs whose occurrence is conditioned by vowel harmony. The three allomorphs will sometimes be represented with *-TAJ*.

Since *-TAJ* is an adjective-deriving suffix, the Noun slot of the Mongolian quasi-MMC is occupied not by a noun but by an adjective. The Noun slot in (1) corresponds to Noun-PROP as a whole (i.e., adjective), and not to the component shown with an underline in the following: Noun-PROP. This underlined component is referred to as "base noun in the Noun-PROP".

At least twenty-four nouns are attested as base nouns in the Noun-PROP slot. They are all content nouns (nouns with a full lexical meaning), not non-content nouns (nouns with a less lexical meaning). The meaning of the quasi-MMC is modal, evidential, temporal or aspectual.

In terms of the verb morphology, it may look as if the quasi-MMC contains an adnominal clause (or a relative clause) and has a bi-clausal structure. However, syntactically it should be considered mono-clausal, not bi-clausal.

The quasi-MMC looks similar to the possessive construction; both use the proprietive suffix. But they should be regarded as two different constructions.

The use of Noun-PROP in what I have labelled the quasi-MMC was noted in previous studies such as Bosson (1974: 54) and Kazama (1999: 97). However, these works did not explicitly recognize the quasi-MMC as a distinct construction.

Sakha (Ebata, this volume) has a quasi-MMC similar to the Mongolian quasi-MMC.

We shall first look at the use of the proprietive suffix (5.2). Then, we shall list the nouns that are attested as base nouns in the Noun-PROP slot, and provide example sentences (5.3). From 5.4 to 5.7, we shall investigate morphosyntactic aspects of the quasi-MMC.

5.2 The proprietive suffix *-TAJ* 'with/having/possessing'

Umetani (2014) provides a detailed account of the meanings and uses of the proprietive suffix *-TAJ*, including its use in what is referred to as the quasi-MMC in the present work.

The proprietive suffix is attached to a noun or a noun phrase and forms an adjective or a phrase with the meaning of 'with ...' or 'having/possessing ...'. Adjec-

tives with the proprietive suffix can be used attributively, e.g. (31), (32), and predi-
catively, e.g. (33).

(31) *arxi-taj   šil*
     liquor-PROP bottle
     'a bottle with liquor'

(32) *xöörxön xee+ugalzn-uud-taj gutal*
     pretty   pattern-PL-PROP   shoe
     'shoes with pretty patterns' or 'pretty-patterned shoes'

(33) *Ene gutal   xöörxön xee+ugalzn-uud-taj baj-na.*
     this shoe.NOM pretty   pattern-PL-PROP   be-TV.NPST
     LT: 'These shoes are with pretty patterns.'
     FT: 'These shoes have pretty patterns.'

5.3 Base nouns that appear in the Noun-PROP slot

Twenty-eight nouns have been attested as base nouns in the Noun-PROP slot of
the Sakha quasi-MMC (Ebata, this volume, 5.4). For the Mongolian quasi-MMC, at
least twenty-four nouns have been attested in this slot. They are tentatively classi-
fied as follows, on the basis of their meanings. This classification is largely based
on that in Sakha (Ebata, this volume, 5.4.1 to 5.4.8).

5.3.1 Nouns meaning 'plan', 'thought' or the like

The following nouns are assigned to this group: *tölövlögöö* 'plan', e.g. (4), *sanaa*
'thought', e.g. (34), (54), *xüsel* 'desire', e.g. (35), *sanal* 'proposal', *zorilgo* 'intention',
zorilt 'aim', *gor'dlogo* 'hope', *möröödöl* 'longing', and *üzel* 'view'. The quasi-MMC with
these nouns has modal meanings, such as volition, intention, plan, wish, hope, etc.

(34) *Či   ter sanal-yg   zövšöör-ö-x   **sanaa**-taj   juu?*
     2SG.NOM that proposal-ACC approve-EP-VN.NPST thought-PROP Q
     LT: '(Are) you with (the) thought (that you) accept that proposal?'
     FT: 'Do you intend to accept that proposal?'

(35) *Bi   daraa-g-ijn temceen-d-ee   delxij-n   avrag-yg*
     1SG.NOM next-EP-GEN competition-DAT-REFL world-GEN champion-ACC
     *jal-a-x   **xüsel**-tej   baj-na.*
     defeat-EP-VN.NPST desire-PROP be-TV.NPST
     LT: 'I am with (the) desire (to) defeat (the) world champion in (the) next match.'
     FT: 'I want to defeat the world champion in the next match.'

5.3.2 Nouns meaning 'appearance' or the like

The following nouns are assigned to this group: *janz* 'appearance' and *šinž* 'sign, indication'. The quasi-MMC with these nouns has an evidential meaning: speaker's inference. Examples are (55) and:

(36) *Ted ene asuudl-yg doloon xonog dotor šijdverle-x*
  3PL.NOM this problem-ACC seven day within solve-VN.NPST
  janz-*taj* / **šinž**-*tej*   *baj-na.*
  appearance-PROP / sign-PROP be-TV.NPST
  LT: 'They are with (the) appearance/sign (that they) are going to settle this problem within a week.'
  FT: 'It seems that they are going to settle this problem within a week.'

5.3.3 Noun meaning 'rumor, news'

The following noun is assigned to this group: *surag* 'rumor, news'. The quasi-MMC with this noun has an evidential meaning: reported evidence.

(37) *Japon uls-yn jörönxij+sajd   irex+sar-d Mongol-d*
  Japan country-GEN prime.minister.NOM next.month-DAT Mongolia-DAT
  *ajlčla-x   **surag**-taj.*
  visit-VN.NPST rumor-PROP
  LT: '(The) prime minister of Japan (is) with (a) rumor/news (that he) will visit Mongolia next month.'
  FT: 'There is a rumor/news that the prime minister of Japan will visit Mongolia next month.'

5.3.4 Noun meaning 'possibility'

The following noun is assigned to this group: *magadlal* 'possibility'. The quasi-MMC with this noun has a modal meaning: possibility.

(38) *Ted tus žurm-yg daxin öörčlö-x   **magadlal**-taj.*
  3PL.NOM that rule-ACC again change-VN.NPST possibility-PROP
  LT: 'They (are) with (the) possibility (that they) change that rule again.'
  FT: 'They may change that rule again.'

5.3.5 Nouns meaning 'capability' or 'capacity'

The following nouns are assigned to this group: *čadvar* 'capability', e.g. (39), and *xüčin+čadal* 'capacity', e.g. (40). The quasi-MMC with these nouns has modal meanings: ability, capability, capacity.

(39) *Ted   ene xecüü asuudl-yg   doloon xonog-ijn dotor*
3PL.NOM this difficult problem-ACC seven   day-GEN within
šijdverle-x   čadvar-taj
solve-VN.NPST capability-PROP
LT: 'They (are) with (the) capability (to) settle this difficult problem within a week.'
FT: 'They can settle this difficult problem within a week.

(40) *Ene cengeldex+xüreelen neg+dor xorin   mjangan üzegč-d-ijg*
this stadium.NOM   at.a.time twenty thousand spectator-PL-ACC
xüleen+av-a-x   xüčin+čadal-taj.
receive-EP-VN.NPST capacity-PROP
LT: 'This stadium (is) with (the) capacity (to) accommodate 20,000 people at a time.'
FT: 'This stadium can accommodate 20,000 people at a time.'

5.3.6 Noun meaning 'experience'

The following noun is assigned to this group: *turšlaga* 'experience', e.g. (5). The quasi-MMC with this noun has an aspectual meaning: experience.

5.3.7 Nouns meaning 'time, occasion' or 'case'

The following nouns are assigned to this group: *udaa* 'time, occasion' and *toxioldol* 'case'. The quasi-MMC with these nouns has a temporal meaning or an aspectual meaning: experience.

(41) *Boldbaatar delxij-n   avrag-yg   jal-ž   baj-san*
PSN.NOM   world-GEN champion-ACC defeat-CVB.IPFV be-VN.PST
udaa-taj / toxioldol-toj.
time-PROP / case-PROP
LT: 'Boldbaatar (is) with (the) time/case (where he) defeated (the) world champion.'
FT: 'Boldbaatar once defeated the world champion.'

5.3.8 Noun meaning 'habit'

The following noun is assigned to this group: *zuršil* 'habit'. The quasi-MMC with this noun has an aspectual meaning: habit.

(42) *Manaj   irged   antibiotjek-ijg xetrüülen xeregle-x   **zuršil**-taj.*
    1PL.GEN people.NOM antibiotic-ACC excessively use-VN.NPST habit-PROP
    LT: 'Our citizens (are) with (the) habit (of) using antibiotics excessively.'
    FT: 'Our citizens (e.g. 'we Mongolian') have the habit of using antibiotics excessively.'

5.3.9 Nouns meaning 'right', 'duty' or the like

The following nouns are assigned to this group: *erx* 'right', e.g. (43), *jos* 'reason, principle, rule', e.g. (44), *xereg* 'necessity', e.g. (44), and *üüreg* 'duty', e.g. (47), (53), (57). The quasi-MMC with these nouns has modal meanings: right, duty, obligation.

(43) *Bid   ene xuul'+bus üjldl-ijg   esergüüic-e-x   **erx**-tej.*
    1PL.NOM this illegal   action-ACC resist-EP-VN.NPST right-PROP
    LT: 'We (are) with (the) right (to) oppose this illegal action.'
    FT: 'We have the right to oppose this illegal action.'

(44) *Bid   ene asuudl-yg   doloo xonog dotor zaaval*
    1PL.NOM this problem-ACC seven day   within at.any.cost
    *šijdverle-x   **jos**-toj / **xereg**-tej.*
    solve-VN.NPST rule-PROP / necessity-PROP
    LT: 'We (are) with (the) rule/necessity (to) settle this problem within a week at any cost.'
    FT: 'We have to settle this problem within a week at any cost.'

5.3.10 Noun meaning 'fate'

The following noun is assigned to this group: *xuv'+zajaa* 'fate'. The quasi-MMC with this noun has a modal meaning: fate.

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

5.3.11 Summary of the semantics of the quasi-MMC

Table 3 summarizes what we saw from 5.3.1 to 5.3.10. The quasi-MMC often has a modal meaning, but it may also have an evidential meaning, a temporal meaning, or an aspectual meaning.

Tab. 3: Semantics of the quasi-MMC.

Noun	Meaning outside MMC	Meaning of quasi-MMC
tölövlögöö	plan	modal: volition, intention, plan,
sanaa	thought	wish, hope, etc.
xüsel	desire	
sanal	proposal	
zorilgo	intention	
zorilt	aim	
gor'dlogo	hope	
möröödöl	longing	
üzel	view	
janz	appearance	evidential: speaker's inference
šinž	sign, indication	
surag	rumor, news	evidential: reported evidence
magadlal	possibility	modal: possibility
čadvar	capability	modal: ability, capability,
xüčin+čadal	capacity	capacity
turšlaga	experience	aspectual: experience
udaa	time, occasion	temporal or aspectual
toxioldol	case	(experience)
zuršil	habit	aspectual: habit
erx	right	modal: right, duty, obligation
jos	reason, principle, rule	
xereg	necessity	
üüreg	duty	
xuv'+zajaa	fate	modal: fate

We have thus far examined the semantic aspects of the quasi-MMC. We turn now to its morphosyntactic aspects.

5.4 Comparison of the quasi-MMC with the possessive construction

Mongolian has a possessive construction and this construction employs the proprietive suffix, as is the case with the quasi-MMC. An example of this possessive construction is (33). Another example is (46). An example of the quasi-MMC is (47). Also, (4) (quasi-MMC) is repeated.

Possessive construction:
(46) *Dorž   olon   nom-toj.*
     PSN.NOM many book-PROP
     LT: 'Dorj (is) with many books.'
     FT: 'Dorj has a lot of books.'

Quasi-MMC:
(47) *Ted   ene ažl-yg   büren+güjced duusga-x   **üüreg**-tej.*
     3PL.NOM this work-ACC completely   finish-VN.NPST duty-PROP
     LT: 'They (are) with (the) duty (to) completely finish this work.'
     FT: 'They are obliged to carry out this work.'

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

Obviously, the possessive construction and the quasi-MMC look similar; both involve the proprietive suffix. However, there is one crucial difference between them. Compare (46) with (48).

(48) *Dorž   nom-toj.*
     PSN.NOM book-PROP
     LT: 'Dorj (is) with books.'
     FT: 'Dorj has books.'

As (48) shows, in the possessive construction, the possessor NP (in the nominative case) and the "possessum-PROP" can constitute a well-formed sentence.
     We now turn to the quasi-MMC. Compare (4) with (49). Note that (49) is unacceptable. That is, what may appear to be the possessor (in the nominative case) and the "possessum-PROP" cannot constitute a well-formed sentence. This is in

sharp contrast with (48). To make (49) acceptable, a modifier is needed, e.g., *neg* 'one' in (50).

(49) **Bi   tölövlögöö-tej baj-na*.
     1SG.NOM plan-PROP   be-TV.NPST
     LT: 'I am with (a) plan.'

(50) *Bi   neg tölövlögöö-tej baj-na*.
     1SG.NOM one plan-PROP   be-TV.NPST
     LT: 'I am with one plan.'
     FT: 'I have a plan.'

What was stated above applies to most of the base nouns listed in 5.3.1 to 5.3.10. (They are used in adjectives that have the form of "noun-PROP".) There are, however, two exceptions: *čadvar-taj* 'capability-PROP' (5.3.5) and *turšlaga-taj* 'experience-PROP' (5.3.6). For example, compare (39) and (51). Note that (51) is acceptable despite the absence of any modifier. Similarly, compare (5) with (52). Note that (52) is acceptable despite the absence of any modifier.

(51) *Ted   čadvar-taj*.
     3PL.NOM capability-PROP
     'They are competent.'

(52) *Manaj   kompani   turšlaga-taj*.
     1PL.GEN company.NOM experience-PROP
     'Our company is experienced.'

The above suggests that *čadvar-taj* 'capability-PROP' (i.e. competent') and *turšlaga-taj* 'experience-PROP' (i.e. 'experienced') are more firmly established as adjectives by themselves than the other instances of "noun-PROP" that are used in the quasi-MMC. This in turn suggests that the latter instances of "noun-PROP" are not firmly established as adjectives that can be employed without a modifier.

To conclude, the quasi-MMC may look similar to the possessive construction, but it should be recognized as distinct from the possessive construction.

5.5 Modification of base nouns in the Noun-PROP slot

There are languages in whose MMC the nouns in the Noun slot (cf. (1)) cannot be modified, for example, by an adjective (Tsunoda, this volume-a, 3.1.4). In this respect, the nouns in the Noun slot in these languages do not have the status of nouns in the languages in question. They have a lower degree of nounhood than

when they are used outside the MMC. One example is the MMC of Modern Standard Japanese (Tsunoda, this volume-b, 5.4.3).

Before exploring this issue in Mongolian, it is first necessary to comment on word order. The relative order of the subject, the object and the predicate verb is generally SOV (Section 3), but their order is not rigidly fixed, except that the predicate verb generally occurs sentence-finally. This applies to the quasi-MMC as well. Both the SOV order and the OSV order are acceptable with all the base nouns listed in Table 3. For example, compare (47) (SOV) with (53) (OSV); (34) (SOV) with (54) (OSV); and (36) (SOV) with (55) (OSV).

(53) *Ene ažl-yg   ted   büren+güjced duusga-x   **üüreg**-tej.*
    this work-ACC 3PL.NOM completely   finish-VN.NPST duty-PROP
    LT: 'They (are) with (the) duty (to) completely finish this work.'
    FT: 'They are obliged to carry out this work.'

(54) *Ter sanal-yg   či   zövšöör-ö-x   **sanaa**-taj   juu?*
    that proposal-ACC 2SG.NOM approve-EP-VN.NPST thought-PROP Q
    LT: '(Are) you with (the) thought (that you) accept that proposal?'
    FT: 'Do you intend to accept that proposal?'

(55) *Ene asuudl-yg   ted   doloon xonog dotor šijdverle-x*
    this problem-ACC 3PL.NOM seven   day   within solve-VN.NPST
    ***janz**-taj / **šinž**-tej   baj-na.*
    appearance-PROP / sign-PROP be-TV.NPST
    LT: 'They are with (the) appearance/sign (that they) are going to settle this problem within a week.'
    FT: 'It seems that they are going to settle this problem within a week.'

Now, in the Mongolian quasi-MMC, generally base nouns in the Noun-PROP slot cannot be modified by any word. In (56), for example, the base noun *xereg* 'necessity' cannot be modified by the adjective *jaaraltaj* 'urgent' although *xereg* 'necessity' generally allows this modification when it is used outside the quasi-MMC.

(56) **Bi   odoo ene ažl-yg   duusga-x   jaaraltaj **xereg**-tej*
    1SG.NOM now this work-ACC finish-VN.NPST urgent   necessity-PROP
    baj-na.
    be-TV.NPST
    LT: 'Now I am with (an) urgent necessity (to) finish this work.'
    IM: 'Now I have to finish this work urgently.'

However, examples are also attested where the base noun in the Noun-PROP slot is modified by an adjective. For example, the adjective *tom* 'big' can appear before the Noun-PROP in (47). See (57).

(57) *Ted   ene ažl-yg   büren+güjced duusga-x   tom **üüreg**-tej.*
     3PL.NOM this work-ACC completely   finish-VN.NPST big duty-PROP
     LT: 'They (are) with (the) big duty (to) completely finish this work.'
     FT: 'They have the important task to carry out this work.'

It is not known at this stage of investigation why this modification is acceptable with some base nouns and unacceptable with other base nouns.

However, at least one factor is known that conditions the acceptability of this modification. Namely, this modification is acceptable (though not always) when the order is SOV, as in (57). However, it is unacceptable when the order is OSV. Compare (57) (SOV) with (58) (OSV).

(58) **Ene ažl-yg   ted   büren+güjced duusga-x   tom **üüreg**-tej.*
     this   work-ACC 3PL.NOM completely   finish-VN.NPST big duty-PROP

5.6 Can the Clause of the quasi-MMC be used as a sentence by itself?

One of the five properties of the prototype of the MMC as proposed by Tsunoda (this volume-a) (listed in Section 1 above) is the following.

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

As noted in 5.1, in the Mongolian quasi-MMC the predicate verb of what would correspond to the Clause of (1) (Section 1) is a verbal nominal. As Table 1 shows and also as noted in Section 3, some verbal nominals (e.g., the verbal-nominal form for the past (*-san/-son/sen/-sön*)) can also be used finitely, that is, they can be used as the predicate of independent sentences, e.g. (9), (15). Consequently, in the Mongolian quasi-MMC what would correspond to the Clause of (1) can be used as a sentence by itself. For example, compare (5) with:

(59) *Manaj   kompani   olon törl-ijn   kinon-uud-yg bütee-sen.*
     1PL.GEN company.NOM many kind-GEN movie-PL-ACC produce-VN.PST
     'Our company produced many kinds of films.'

(Note that there is a semantic difference between (5) and (59). Namely, (5) refers to the present time, while (59) refers to the past time.) However, the other verbal

nominals (e.g., the verbal-nominal form for the nonpast (*-x*)) cannot be used finite-ly by themselves; see (7).[1] Compare (4) with:

(60) *Bi   *margaaš xödöö   jav-a-x.*
     1SG.NOM tomorrow countryside go-EP-VN.NPST

5.7 Sentencehood of the Clause of the quasi-MMC

The Clause of the quasi-MMC lacks some properties of independent sentences. In these respects its sentencehood is low. Examples follow. (i) The predicate of independent sentences can be in a terminating form or a verbal-nominal form. However, the predicate of the Clause has to be a verbal nominal. It cannot be in a terminating form. See Table 1. (ii) Mongolian has about fifteen sentence-final modal particles. They can occur in independent sentences, e.g. *juu* (question) in (28). However, in the quasi-MMC they cannot occur in what would correspond to the Clause. For example, in (61) the sentence-final modal particle *jum* (speaker's assertion) appears in what would correspond to the Clause. This sentence is unacceptable.

(61) *Bi   *margaaš ir-e-x   jum sanaa-taj   baj-na.*
     1SG.NOM tomorrow come-EP-VN.NPST MP thought-PROP be-TV.NPST
     LT: 'I am with (the) thought (that) I will certainly come tomorrow.'

Needless to say, a sentence-final modal particle can occur in the quasi-MMC if it occurs sentence-finally, e.g. *juu* (question) in (34) and (54).

6 Comparison of the quasi-MMC with other constructions

6.1 Introductory notes

We now compare the quasi-MMC with other constructions. In particular, we shall examine the following two issues.

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

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1 Strictly speaking, the expression "by themselves" is necessary here. This is because the verbal-nominal form for the nonpast (*-x*) can be used finitely when followed by a sentence-final particle.

The structure of the prototype of the MMC is as shown in (1). Superficially at least, it looks as if the prototypical MMC is bi-clausal. In some of the languages reported in the present volume, the Clause of the MMC looks similar to an adnominal clause ("AC") (or a relative clause) of the respective languages and consequently it looks as if the MMC is bi-clausal, with an AC as a subordinate clause. A similar situation is observed in Mongolian. The verb has to be a verbal-nominal form in both ACs (Table 1 and 4.2.2) and in the Clause of the quasi-MMC (5.1). It may look as if the quasi-MMC is bi-clausal, with an AC as a subordinate clause.

However, languages such as Modern Standard Japanese (Tsunoda, this volume-b, Section 6) and Korean (Kim, this volume, Section 6) yield evidence that their MMC does not contain an AC and that it is syntactically mono-clausal, not bi-clausal. (See Tsunoda (this volume-a, 3.4.2).) In view of this, it is important to examine the two issues listed above.

For Mongolian, we compare the following constructions.

(i)   Mono-clausal verb-predicate independent sentences (4.1).
(ii)   Quasi-MMC (Section 5).
(iii) ACs: gap type (4.2.2.1).
(iv) ACs with an anticipatory pronoun (4.2.2.2).
(v)   ACs: addition type (4.2.2.3).

Verb-predicate sentences are chosen as the representative of independent sentences. It is necessary to consider mono-clausal sentences, since one of the aims of this comparison is to examine the issue (b) listed above.

When we look at the quasi-MMC, we shall mainly be concerned with what would correspond to the Clause in (1), but we shall also look at the entire quasi-MMC.

We shall compare the constructions listed above in terms of morphology and syntax. The result of this comparison is shown in Table 4.

6.2 Verb morphology

We shall look at the form of the predicate verb. See Table 1.

(i) Mono-clausal verb-predicate independent sentences
The predicate verb may be in a terminating form or a verbal-nominal form.

(ii) Quasi-MMC
(iii) ACs: gap type
(iv) ACs with an anticipatory pronoun
(v) ACs: addition type
The predicate is in a verbal-nominal form.

6.3 Case of the subject

(i) Mono-clausal verb-predicate independent sentences
(ii) Quasi-MMC
The subject is in the nominative case.

(iii) ACs: gap type
(iv) ACs with an anticipatory pronoun
(v) ACs: addition type
As noted in 4.2.1, for the subject, the nominative and the genitive can be used in ACs. (However, this does not mean that both cases are possible for the subject in a specific AC. The conditioning factors, if there are any, are not fully understood.)

6.4 Gapping

It is convenient to start with ACs of the gap type.

(iii) ACs: gap type.
Gapping occurs in the formation of ACs of the gap type. For example, compare (15) with (16) to (18). All of the subject ('that person.NOM'), the direct object ('book.NOM') and the indirect object ('one child-EP-DAT') are present in (15). In contrast, the subject is absent in the AC of (16), the direct object is absent in the AC of (17), and the indirect object is absent in the AC of (18).

(iv) ACs with an anticipatory pronoun
Gapping does not take place in the formation of these ACs. Compare (22) and (23). Expressions for the possessor are present in (22): *camcn-y* 'shirt-GEN' and *=n'* '3POSS'. In the AC of (23), too, an expression for the possessor is present: *=n'* '3POSS'.

(v) ACs: addition type
Gapping does not take place in the formation of these ACs. For example, compare (24) and (25). The subject ('president.NOM') is present in (24), and also in the AC of (25). The subject and the object are present in (26): 'PSN.NOM' and 'car.NOM'. They are also present in the AC of (27): 'PSN-GEN' and 'car.NOM'.

(i) Mono-clausal verb-predicate independent sentences
(ii) Quasi-MMC
Gapping does not take place in the formation of these sentences.

6.5 Anticipatory pronoun

It is convenient to start with ACs with an anticipatory pronoun.

(iv) ACs with an anticipatory pronoun
The formation of these ACs involves an anticipatory pronoun.

(iii) ACs: gap type
(v) ACs: addition type
The formation of these ACs does not involve an anticipatory pronoun.

(ii) Quasi-MMC
The formation of the quasi-MMC or that of what would correspond to the Clause in (1) does not involve an anticipatory pronoun.

(i) Mono-clausal verb-predicate independent sentences
The formation of these sentences does not involve an anticipatory pronoun.

6.6 One subject or two subjects?

Again, it is convenient to start with ACs.

(iii) ACs: gap type
A sentence with an AC of the gap type may have two subjects: the subject of the AC and the subject of the main clause. For example, (17) has two subjects: 'that person.NOM' is the subject of the AC, and 'this book.NOM' is the subject of the main clause.

(iv) ACs with an anticipatory pronoun
A sentence with an AC with an anticipatory pronoun has two subjects. For example, in (23), 'button.NOM' is the subject of the AC, and 'this.NOM' is the subject of the main clause.

(v) ACs: addition type
A sentence with an AC of the addition type has two subjects. For example, in (25), 'president.NOM' is the subject of the AC, and '1SG.NOM' is the subject of the main clause.

(i) Mono-clausal verb-predicate independent sentences
Each sentence has only one subject. For example, (15) has just one subject: 'that person.NOM'.

(ii) Quasi-MMC

Each sentence has only one subject. For example, (4) has just one subject: '1SG.NOM'.

6.7 Discussion

The result of the comparison above is shown in Table 4.

The first two criteria – "Verb morphology" and "Case of subject" – look at morphology, while the other three criteria concern syntax.

In terms of the verb morphology, the quasi-MMC behaves exactly like ACs and partially like mono-clausal verb-predicate independent sentences. The verb of the

Tab. 4: Comparison of the quasi-MMC with other constructions.

	Verb morphology	
	Terminating form	Verbal nominal
Mono-clausal verb-predicate independent sentences	+	+
Quasi-MMC	–	+
ACs: gap type	–	+
ACs with an anticipatory pronoun	–	+
ACs: addition type	–	+

	Case of subject		
	NOM	GEN	ACC
Mono-clausal verb-predicate independent sentences	+	–	–
Quasi-MMC	+	–	–
ACs: gap type	+	+	–
ACs with an anticipatory pronoun	+	+	–
ACs: addition type	+	+	–

	Gapping	Anticipatory pronoun
Mono-clausal verb-predicate independent sentences	–	–
Quasi-MMC	–	–
ACs: gap type	+	–
ACs with an anticipatory pronoun	–	+
ACs: addition type	–	–

	Two subjects
Mono-clausal verb-predicate independent sentences	–
Quasi-MMC	–
ACs: gap type	+
ACs with an anticipatory pronoun	+
ACs: addition type	+

Legend: +: acceptable or obligatory; –: unacceptable.

Clause of the quasi-MMC cannot be in a terminating form. However, in terms of the case of the subject, the quasi-MMC behaves exactly like mono-clausal verb-predicate independent sentences and only partially like ACs.

In terms of "Gapping", the quasi-MMC behaves like all the other constructions under comparison, except for ACs of the gap type. Concerning "Anticipatory pronoun", the quasi-MMC behaves like all the other constructions under comparison, except for ACs with an anticipatory pronoun. Regarding "Two subjects", the quasi-MMC behaves like mono-clausal verb-predicate independent sentences and unlike ACs. That is, syntactically the quasi-MMC behaves exactly like mono-clausal verb-predicate independent sentences and only partially like ACs.

To sum up, in terms of the verb morphology, the Clause of the quasi-MMC may look similar to ACs – at least partially. However, regarding the case marking of the subject and also the three syntactic criteria, the quasi-MMC behaves exactly like mono-clausal verb-predicate independent sentences and only partially like ACs. That is, syntactically the quasi-MMC does not contain an AC. In fact, it does not contain any subordinate clause. It should be considered mono-clausal, not bi-clausal.

6.8 Compound predicate

We saw in 6.7 that syntactically the quasi-MMC should be considered mono-clausal, not bi-clausal. Then, it should have just one predicate, not two predicates. We now investigate what structure the predicate has.

As seen in Section 1, the prototype of the MMC has the structure shown in (1) (repeated below) – superficially at least. However, languages such as Modern Standard Japanese (Tsunoda, this volume-b, Section 6) and Korean (Kim, this volume, Section 6) provide ample evidence that syntactically their MMC is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal, despite its superficial appearance, shown in (1). Their MMC has just one predicate, not two predicates, and the predicate is a compound predicate that consists of the predicate of the Clause, the Noun and the Copula, as shown in (2) (repeated below).

(1) Prototype of the mermaid construction ("MMC"):
         [Clause]   Noun   Copula

(2) [...   predicate of Clause]   Noun   Copula.
              compound predicate

The situation in Mongolian is as follows. First, recall that the structure of the quasi-MMC can be shown as in (3), repeated below.

(3) Quasi-MMC of Khalkha Mongolian:
    (Subject) (Object) ... Verbal nominal Noun-PROP (Copula).

Since the quasi-MMC should be considered mono-clausal, it should have just one predicate. It will be expected that Verbal nominal, the Noun-PROP and the Copula – when it is present – form a unit and that this unit is the predicate of the quasi-MMC: a compound predicate. However, syntactically there is no evidence to show the existence of such a compound predicate.

As seen in 5.5, generally base nouns in the Noun-PROP slot cannot be modified by any word. See (56). (The modifier precedes the modified (Section 3).) This suggests that, in these instances, the Verbal nominal and the Noun-PROP form a unit. However, there are instances in which the base noun is modified, e.g. (57). In such instances, the modifier intervenes between the Verbal nominal and the Noun-PROP. This suggests that, in these instances, the Verbal nominal and the Noun-PROP do not form a unit. The existence of these two types of instances indicates that there is no conclusive evidence to show whether or not the Verbal nominal and the Noun-PROP form a unit.

Also, there is no evidence to show whether or not the Noun-PROP and the Copula form a unit. Recall that the Copula may be absent in the quasi-MMC, e.g. (5). When the Copula is absent, there is no way it can form a unit with the Noun-PROP.

To sum up, there is no evidence to show the existence of a compound predicate which consists of the Verbal nominal, the Noun-PROP and the Copula.

7 Comparison of the Mongolian quasi-MMC with the Sakha quasi-MMC and the Modern Standard Japanese MMC

This section compares the Mongolian quasi-MMC with the Sakha quasi-MMC and the Modern Standard Japanese MMC. The Modern Standard Japanese MMC is a prototypical one (cf. Section 1). See Tsunoda (this volume-b) for details of the Modern Standard Japanese MMC.

As mentioned in Section 1, Sakha (Ebata, this volume) has a quasi-MMC that is very similar to the Mongolian quasi-MMC; in both quasi-MMCs the base noun in the Noun slot is followed by the proprietive suffix. As is the case with the Sakha quasi-MMC, many of the examples of the Modern Standard Japanese MMC can be translated into Mongolian by the quasi-MMC. An example of the Mongolian quasi-MMC is (4), repeated below.

Mongolian:

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

A Modern Standard Japanese equivalent for (4) is the following. It is an instance of the MMC. (The portion that corresponds to the Clause in (1) and its literal translation are shown in square brackets.)

Modern Standard Japanese:

(62) [*Watasi=wa asita   inaka=ni   ik-u*]   ***yotee**=da.*
1SG=TOP   tomorrow countryside=DAT/LOC go-NPST plan=COP.NPST
LT: '[I go to the countryside tomorrow] a plan is/am.'
FT: 'I plan to go to the countryside tomorrow.'

(A literal translation of the MMC does not make sense.)

Ebata (this volume, 5.3) points out one difference between the Sakha quasi-MMC and the Modern Standard Japanese MMC. Consider the following two Sakha sentences, cited from Ebata (this volume, 5.3). (63) is an instance of the quasi-MMC.

Sakha:

(63) *Min tokio-ʁa   bar-ar   **bulaan**-naax-ꞁun*
1SG Tokyo-DAT go-PTCP.PRS plan-PROP-COP.1SG
LT: 'I have a plan (that I) go to Tokyo.'
FT: 'I plan to go to Tokyo.' (Ebata, this volume, 5.3)

(64) *Min bulaan-naax-ꞁun*
1SG plan-PROP-COP.1SG
'I have a plan.' (Ebata, this volume, 5.3)

In Sakha, even when *tokio-ʁa bar-ar* 'Tokyo-DAT go-PTCP.PRS' is deleted from (63), the resultant sentence is still acceptable. See (64). However, in Modern Standard Japanese, if *asita inaka=ni ik-u* 'tomorrow countryside=DAT/LOC go-NPST' is deleted from (62), the resultant sentence makes no sense (see Tsunoda, this volume-a, 3.4.2, this volume-b, 6.2). See (65).

Modern Standard Japanese:

(65) ?*Watasi=wa yotee=da.*
1SG=TOP   plan=COP.NPST
LT: 'I a plan is/am.'
FT: 'I am a plan.'

Ebata (this volume, 5.3) points out that the crucial difference between the Sakha quasi-MMC and the Modern Standard Japanese MMC is the presence of the proprietive suffix attached to the Noun in the Sakha quasi-MMC.

The Mongolian quasi-MMC, too, involves the proprietive suffix. However, there is a subtle difference between the Sakha quasi-MMC and the Mongolian quasi-MMC. In Mongolian, if *margaaš xödöö jav-a-x* 'tomorrow countryside go-EP-VN.NPST' is deleted from (4), the resultant sentence is unacceptable. See (49), repeated below. A modifier is needed in place of the deleted words, e.g., *neg* 'one' in (50), repeated below.

Mongolian:
(49) **Bi   tölövlögöö-tej baj-na*.
     1SG.NOM plan-PROP   be-TV.NPST
     LT: 'I am with (a) plan.'

(50) *Bi   neg tölövlögöö-tej baj-na*.
     1SG.NOM one plan-PROP   be-TV.NPST
     LT: 'I am with one plan.'
     FT: 'I have a plan.'

In contrast, no such modifier is necessary in Sakha. See (64).

In Modern Standard Japanese, (65) makes no sense. It is still awkward even if *aru* 'certain, some', which corresponds to the Mongolian word *neg* 'one' in (50), is added.

Modern Standard Japanese:
(66) ?*Watasi=wa aru   yotee=da*.
     1SG=TOP   certain plan=COP.NPST
     LT: 'I am a certain plan.'

8 Summary and concluding remarks

The prototype of the MMC has the structure shown in (1), repeated below.

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

Khalkha Mongolian does not have the prototypical MMC. Nonetheless, it has a construction that resembles the MMC: the quasi-MMC. Its structure can be shown as in (3), repeated below.

(3) Quasi-MMC of Khalkha Mongolian:
    (Subject)   (Object)   ...   Verbal nominal   Noun-PROP   (Copula).

The crucial difference from the prototype of the MMC is that the Noun is combined with the proprietive suffix (PROP). This suffix derives adjectives from nouns. That is, the Noun slot is occupied not by a noun but by an adjective.

The quasi-MMC looks similar to the possessive construction; both use the proprietive suffix. But the quasi-MMC should be recognized as distinct from the possessive construction.

The quasi-MMC construction has modal, evidential, temporal and aspectual meanings, which are similar to those expressed by the MMCs in other languages (e.g., Modern Standard Japanese). Many of the examples of the Modern Standard Japanese MMC can be translated into Mongolian by the quasi-MMC.

The predicate of what would correspond to the Clause of (1) is in a verbal-nominal form.

What would correspond to the Clause can or cannot be used as a sentence by itself depending on the inflection of the verbal nominal. Also, what would correspond to the Clause lacks some properties of independent sentences.

In terms of the verb morphology, it may look as if the quasi-MMC contains an adnominal clause (or a relative clause) and has a bi-clausal structure. However, regarding the case marking of the subject and also syntactically it should be considered mono-clausal, not bi-clausal. Despite this, there is no evidence to show that the Verbal nominal, the Noun-PROP and the Copula form a unit: a compound predicate.

Sakha has a quasi-MMC that involves the proprietive suffix. These two quasi-MMCs are similar; both employ the proprietive suffix. However, there is a subtle difference between them.

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

ABL = ablative; AC = adnominal clause; ACC = accusative; COMPL = completive; COND = conditional; COP = copula; CVB = converb; DAT = dative (for Sakha), dative-locative (for Mongolian); DAT/LOC = dative/locative (for Japanese); 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; NOM = nominative; NPST = nonpast; O = object; PL = plural; POSS = possessive; PROP = proprietive; PRS = present; PSN = personal name; PST = past; PTCP = participle; Q = question particle; REFL = reflexive-possessive; S = subject; SG = singular; TOP = topic; TV = terminating verbal; V = verb; VN = verbal nominal; VOL = voluntative; 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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Shiho Ebihara
10 Amdo Tibetan

1 Introduction

Tsunoda (this volume-a, 2.1) proposes that the prototype of the mermaid construction ("MMC") has all of the following five properties.

(a) The structure is as shown in (1) – superficially at least.
(b) The Noun is an independent word (not a clitic) that is a noun.
(c) The subject of the Clause and the "Noun are non-coreferential.
(d) The Clause can be used as a sentence by itself.
(e) The Clause is not the subject of the "Noun + Copula".

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

In the prototypical MMC, the Noun slot of the MMC is occupied by a noun that is an independent word. In non-prototypical instances, it may be occupied by an enclitic or a suffix which derives from a noun. Nouns, enclitics and suffixes in the Noun slot may also be nominalizers.

Tsunoda (this volume-a, Section 1 and 2.1) notes as follows. Superficially at least, it looks as if the MMC contains a subordinate clause and is bi-clausal. However, languages such as Modern Standard Japanese (Tsunoda, this volume-b, Section 6) and Korean (Kim, this volume, Section 6) provide ample evidence that syntactically their MMC is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal, despite its superficial appearance (shown in (1)). Their MMC has just one predicate, not two predicates, and the predicate is a compound predicate that consists of the predicate of the Clause, the Noun and the Copula, as shown in (2).

(2) [... predicate of "Clause"]   Noun   Copula.
            compound predicate

Amdo Tibetan has two types of the MMC: the word type and the enclitic type. In the word type, the Noun slot is occupied by an independent word that is a noun. 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 of the MMC can be classified as follows: (i) grammatical: modal, evidential, aspectual, temporal, counterfactual, (ii) stylistic: humble, and (iii) discourse-related/informational: explanation and focus.

In terms of the structure of the predicate, the Clause of the MMC is more similar to adnominal clauses (or relative clauses) than to independent sentences. Syntactically, however, the entire MMC is more similar to mono-clausal sentences than to sentences with an AC (which are bi-clausal).

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 word type include (3) and (4). Examples of the enclitic type include (5) and (6). When literally translated, the MMC does not make sense, and examples of the MMC will often be accompanied by a literal translation ("LT") and a free translation ("FT"). The Clause in the MMC and its literal translation are shown square brackets. The free noun or the enclitic in the Noun slot is shown in bold face.

(3) [*aŋa=kə   nor ptsoŋ-ɟu*]   ***ntɕʰarʐə*** *rɛ.*[1]
    father=ERG yak sell.IPFV-NMLZ.GEN plan   COP.B
    LT: '[(My) father sells yaks] a plan is.'
    FT: '(My) father plans to sell yaks.'

(4) [*kʰərgə   mtʰama=a pʰamkʰa ŋo-ɟu*]   ***le***   *rɛ.*
    3SG.ERG last=DAT   defeat   buy.IPFV-NMLZ.GEN karma COP.B
    LT: '[He/she buys (i.e. suffers) a defeat after all] a karma is.'
    FT: 'He/she was destined to suffer a defeat after all.'

(5) [*kʰərgɛ ɬasʰa=a   sʰoŋ=ŋoŋ*]=***kʰa***=*zək   rɛ.*
    3SG   PLN=DAT   go.PFV=AUX=surface=INDF COP.B
    LT: '[He has gone to Lhasa] a surface is.'
    FT: 'It seems that he has been to Lhasa.'

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1 Tsunoda (this volume-a, 2.4-[3]) 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.

In the Lhasa dialect of Central Tibetan, in a sentence that would correspond to (3), 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) *aŋa=a   nor ptsoŋ-ɟu   ntɕʰarʐə jok=kə.*
    father=DAT   yak sell.IPFV-NMLZ.GEN plan   exist=AUX
    LT: 'To (my) father, a plan to sell yaks exists.'
    FT: '(My) father has a plan to sell yaks.'

(6) [ŋə   məkjəl   nɖəp=sʰoŋ]=***kʰawo***   rɛ.
    1SG.GEN purpose accomplish=AUX=mood COP.B
    LT: '[(I) have accomplished my purpose] a mood is.'
    FT: 'I feel that I have accomplished my aim.' (humble expression)

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 and also in India, Nepal, Bhutan and Pakistan.

The Tibetan languages that are spoken in China are traditionally classified into three groups: Central Tibetan (Ü-tsang), 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 chapter 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, 2019).

According to Nanjia Cairang (1997: 65), the number of Amdo Tibetan speakers is estimated to be about 1,130,000, 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. Reference grammars are available: Ebihara (2008, 2019). (Ebihara (2019) is a revision of Ebihara (2008).)

The following phonemes can be set up: /p/ [p], /pʰ/ [pʰ], /b/ [�budb], /t/ [t], /tʰ/ [tʰ], /d/ [ᶠd], /ʈ/ [ʈ], /ʈʰ/ [ʈʰ], /ɖ/ [ᶠɖ], /c/ [c], /cʰ/ [cʰ], /ɟ/ [ᶠɟ], /k/ [k], /kʰ/ [kʰ], /g/ [ᶠg~ɣ], /ts/ [ts], /tsʰ/ [tsʰ], /dz/ [ᶠdz], /tɕ/ [tɕ], /tɕʰ/ [tɕʰ], /dʑ/ [ᶠdʑ], /f/ [f], /ɬ/ [ɬ], /s/ [s], /sʰ/ [sʰ], /z/ [ᶠz], /ʂ/ [ʂ], /ɕ/ [ɕ], /ʐ/ [ᶠʐ], /ç/ [çχ], /x/ [χ], /ʁ/ [ᶠʁ], /h/ [h], /m/ [m], /m̥/ [ᵐm], /n/ [n], /n̥/ [ⁿn], /ɳ/ [ɳ], /ɳ̊/ [ⁿ̥ɳ], /ŋ/ [ŋ], /ŋ̊/ [ⁿ̥ŋ], /l/ [l], /r/ [ˀɹ], /w/ [w], /j/ [j], /i/ [i], /ˀi/ [ˀi], /u/ [ɯβ~ɯu], /e/ [e], /ɛ/ [ɛ], /ə/ [ə], /o/ [o], /a/ [a]. Amdo Tibetan has no tonal opposition, unlike Central Tibetan and Kham Tibetan.

Amdo Tibetan is agglutinative. It employs both suffixes and prefixes. Some enclitics can be recognized, for example, case markers, auxiliary verbs, pragmatic particles, 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 'DAT', and (vi) =tʰəksʰi 'TER'. The case system is of the ergative-absolutive type. (In the examples given below, =Ø 'ABS' will not be indicated.)

Amdo Tibetan has no definite marker, but it has an indefinite marker (=zək). The use of the indefinite marker is not obligatory. In the present chapter, 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: imperfective, perfective, and imperative. In the examples given below, those verbs which inflect have 'IPFV', 'PFV' or 'IMP' in their glosses. Those verbs which do not inflect do not have any such gloss. 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. Some of them are originated from lexical verbs, but most of them do not inflect, unlike active verbs. 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-* or the negative prefix *mə-*. These two forms are not allomorphs of the same morpheme.

Verb-final orders are preferred: AOV, e.g. (8), and SV, e.g. (7). A demonstrative, a numeral and an adjective follow the noun they modify. An adnominal clause (or a relative clause) generally precedes the noun it qualifies.

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 chapter is taken from the spoken language.

4 Types of sentences and clauses

4.1 Verbal, copula and existential sentences

Sentences in Amdo Tibetan can be classified as follows. Generally they contain a verb as the predicate, and there is no "verb-less" sentence. (There are, however, exceptions; see 5.4.1-[1].) The verb may be a copula verb.

a) Verbal sentences:
    (a-1) Intransitive sentences, e.g. (7).
    (a-2) Transitive sentences, e.g. (8).
b) Copula sentences:
    (b-1) Noun-predicate sentences, e.g. (9), (10).
    (b-2) Adjective-predicate sentences, e.g. (11).
c) Existential sentences, e.g. (12), (13).

Existential sentences are used to express existence, e.g. (12), or possession, e.g. (13). Examples of these sentence types follow.

(7) *ŋa ɲʝo=go.*
  1SG go.IPFV=SFP
  'I will go.'

(8) *ŋe   sama sa=gəjo.*
  1SG.ERG food eat.IPFV=AUX.A
  'I am eating food.'

(9) *ŋa hjəmtsʰo jən.*
  1SG PSN   COP.A
  'I am Yumtso.'

(10) *ndə nor rɛ.*
   this yak COP.B
   'This is a yak.'

(11) *nor ndə tɕʰoŋ+tɕʰoŋ rɛ.*
   yak this small   COP.B
   'This yak is small.'

(12) *nor ndə=na jo.*
   yak this=LOC exist
   'There is a yak here.'

(13) *ŋa=a   lək   jo.*
   1SG=DAT sheep exist
   'I have sheep.'

As (1) shows, the MMC contains the structure "Noun + Copula". As a preliminary to a discussion of the MMC, a somewhat more detailed account of noun-predicate sentences is in order. The structure of noun-predicate sentences in Amdo Tibetan is shown in (14). Noun phrases (A, B) appear in the absolutive case and a copula verb is placed in the sentence-final position.

(14) 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 state or the process of the event, regardless of the person of the subject, e.g. (15) to (17). (In (17), the speaker was involved in the process of making-

Tab. 1: Copula verbs.

	Pattern A	**Pattern B**
Positive and non-interrogative	*jən,* e.g. (15)–(17)	*rɛ, rɛt,* e.g. (18)
Negative and non-interrogative	*mən*	*ma-rɛ, ma-rɛt,* e.g. (61), (62)

bread.) Otherwise, Pattern B is chosen, e.g. (18). (In addition to copula verbs, some of the auxiliary verbs exhibit this opposition.)

Again see Table 1. In the "positive and non-interrogative" series, the Pattern A copula verb is *jən,* and the Pattern B copula verb is *rɛ* or *rɛt.* In the "negative and non-interrogative" series, 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.

(15) *ŋəzo   wot   jən*
     1PL.EXCL Tibet COP.A
     'We are Tibetans.'

(16) *nd̪əkmotsʰo ŋə   ɕəmo   jən.*
     PSN   1SG.GEN   daughter COP.A
     'nd̪əkmotsʰo is my daughter.'

(17) *kore   ndə ɕəm-bo   jən.*
     bread this delicious COP.A
     'This bread (that I made) is delicious.'

(18) *kʰərgɛ m̪anba 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 sometimes followed by an auxiliary verb, e.g. (8), (31), or by a sentence-final particle, e.g. (7). Auxiliary verbs have an aspectual, temporal, evidential or modal meaning, e.g. *=taŋ* 'accomplishment', *=sʰoŋ* 'accomplishment', *=ko/=go* 'emphasis', *=gə* 'state', *=gəjo, =go* 'progressive (Pattern A)', *=gokə* 'progressive (Pattern B)', *=zək* 'indirect evidential', *=tʰa* 'direct evidential', *=Ca (=a/=ma/=na/=ŋa/=wa/=ja)* 'ego', *=ɟəjən* 'future (Pattern A)', and *=ɟərɛ* 'future (Pattern B)'. Sentence-final particles have various modal meanings, e.g. *=go* 'emphasis', *=na* 'question', and *=pa* 'inference'.

As just noted, in the sentence-final position, the predicate verb is sometimes followed by an auxiliary verb or a sentence-final particle. Some sentences are not really well-formed without an auxiliary verb and a sentence-final particle, e.g.:

(19) *$k^hərgɛ$ *ɲo*.
     3SG   go.IPFV
     IM: 'He will go.'

(20) **ŋe*   *si*.
     1SG.ERG eat.PFV
     IM: 'I ate.'

There are, however, well-formed sentences that lack both a sentence-final particle and an auxiliary verb. Especially, sentences tend to be well-formed without them when the verb is (i) a copula verb, e.g. (9) to (11), (15) to (18), (ii) an existential verb, e.g. (12), (13), or (iii) the imperfective form of an active verb with the speaker as the subject, e.g. (98).

4.2 Adnominal clauses

4.2.1 Overview

Adnominal clauses ("ACs") (or relative clauses) are formed as follows. Amdo Tibetan has no relative pronoun. A nominalizer is attached to the verb of ACs. There are four such nominalizers. See Table 2. One of them is an enclitic, while the other three are suffixes. =*no* is the unmarked form of, and =*nu* is the genitive form of, the same nominalizer. The same applies to the other nominalizers.

As seen in Section 3, some of the active verbs inflect for imperfective, perfective and imperative. If the verb concerned inflects, the enclitic =*no* (unmarked)/=*nu* (GEN) may be attached to the imperfective form or the perfective form of verbs, while the three suffixes are added only to the imperfective forms, and not to the perfective forms.

Among these nominalizers, the enclitic =*no*/=*nu* is the most widely used. When this nominalizer is used, the AC may precede or follow the noun it modifies. See (21) and (22). (ACs are shown with braces.)

Tab. 2: Nominalizers used for ACs.

Nominalizer	Meaning
IPFV/PFV=*no* (unmarked), =*nu* (GEN)	doing ~, a person to do, a thing to do, e.g. (22), (24)–(27), (29), (30)
IPFV-*ɟo*/-*co* (unmarked), -*ɟu*/-*cu* (GEN)	doing ~, e.g. (31)
IPFV-*hcakko* (unmarked), -*hcakku* (GEN)	instrument to do, way to do
IPFV-*s^ha*, -*s^ho* (unmarked), -*s^hu* (GEN)	place to do

(21) Position of an AC with =*no*/=*nu* and the head noun
    a. AC + Noun: {V=Nominalizer.GEN}   Noun
    b. Noun + AC: Noun   {V=Nominalizer}

(22) a. {*tɕa ntʰoŋ=nu*}   *mɳə*
      tea   drink=NMLZ.GEN person
    b. *mɳə*   {*tɕa ntʰoŋ=no*}
      person tea   drink=NMLZ
      'the person who drinks/drank tea'

In the "Noun + AC" order, the nominalizer appears in the unmarked form, e.g. (22-b) (=*no* 'unmarked'). In the "AC + Noun" order, the nominalizer appears in the genitive form, e.g. (22-a) (=*nu* 'GEN'). The "AC + Noun" order is preferred if the clause is not too heavy.

The three suffix nominalizers allow the "AC + Noun" order only. That is, the AC must precede – and cannot follow – the noun.

In what follows, when a nominalizer is cited, generally its unmarked form (not the genitive form) will be cited. However, both the unmarked form and the genitive form will be cited where this is necessary. Where only the genitive form is relevant, this will be shown to that effect.

Among these four nominalizers, the respective genitive forms of =*no* and -*ɟo*/-*co* – i.e. =*nu* (GEN) and -*ɟu*/-*cu* (GEN) – are used in the MMC; they are attached to the verb of the Clause. This will be discussed in 5.2.1.

Teramura (1969) divides Japanese ACs into two types. Tsunoda (this volume-b, 4.2.2) proposes to label these two types as "gap type" and "addition type". Amdo Tibetan has these two types of ACs, as shown below.

4.2.2 ACs of the gap type

The formation of ACs of this type employs the gap strategy. The head noun corresponds to an argument or an adjunct of the AC. All the positions on Keenan & Comrie's (1977) accessibility hierarchy can be relativized on, except for the object of comparison. Thus, compare the following sentences. (The ACs are shown with braces.)

(23) *mɳə=gə*   *ɕaʑe=a*   *xɛtɕʰa ɸɕən=nə*   *rɛ*.
    person=ERG child=DAT book   give.PFV=NMLZ COP.B
    'The person gave a book to a child.'

---

2 The nominalizer =*nə* can be regarded as a cognate of the nominalizer =*no* (Table 2). It can be used in the Noun slot of the MMC. See 5.3.4.

(24) {ɕaʑe=a   xɛtɕʰa htɛr=nu}   mɲə
     child=DAT book   give.IPFV=NMLZ.GEN person
     'the person who gives/gave a book to a child' (subject)

(25) {kʰərge   ɕaʑe=a   ɸɕən=nu}   xɛtɕʰa
     3SG.ERG child=DAT give.PFV=NMLZ.GEN book
     'the book that he/she gave to a child' (direct object)

(26) {ŋe   xɛtɕʰa ɕən=nu}   ɕaʑe
     1SG.ERG book   give.PFV=NMLZ.GEN child
     'the child to whom I give/gave a book' (indirect object)

In the following example, something similar to the oblique object is relativized on. It indicates an instrument.

(27) {ŋe   jəge ʈi=nu}   n̥əgə
     1SG.ERG letter write.PFV=NMLZ.GEN pen
     'the pen that I wrote a letter with'

4.2.3 ACs of the addition type

In the formation of ACs of this type, the head noun is, so to speak, added from outside the underlying clause. It does not correspond to any argument or any adjunct of the AC. Compare (28) with (29-a, -b). The AC generally precedes the head noun, e.g. (29-a). It may follow the head noun, e.g. (29-b), but this is uncommon.

(28) kʰərge   ça   ʂɛk=nə   rɛ.
     3SG.ERG meat grill.IPFV=NMLZ COP.B
     'He grills meat.'

(29) a. {kʰərge   ça   ʂɛk=nu}   ʈima.
        3SG.ERG meat grill.IPFV=NMLZ.GEN smell
     b. ʈima {kʰərge   ça   ʂɛk=no}.
        smell 3SG.ERG meat grill.IPFV=NMLZ
        LT: 'the smell with which he grills meat'

(ʂɛk can also be used as the perfective form. That is, this verb has the same form for imperfective and perfective.) The head noun of the AC in (30-a, -b) is ʈima 'smell'. Note that this word is absent in (28). That is, the head noun is, so to speak, added from outside the underlying clause. (39) is a full sentence that contains (29-a).

(30) {*kʰərge ça   ʂɛk=nu*}   *ʈima ɕəm=gə.*
     3SG.ERG meat grill.IPFV=NMLZ.GEN smell delicious=AUX
     LT: 'The smell with which he grills meat is delicious.'
     FT: 'The smell of grilling meat by him is delicious.'

An additional example of the addition type is the following.

(31) {*akʰə ɬasʰa=a   nɟo-ɟu*}   *ŋəmtsʰan ŋe   ko=wa.*
     uncle PLN=DAT go.IPFV-NMLZ.GEN reason   1SG.ERG hear=AUX
     'I heard the reason why (my) uncle goes to Lhasa.'

5 Mermaid construction

5.1 Overview

The structure of the prototype of the mermaid construction ("MMC") as proposed by Tsunoda (this volume-a, 2.1) is shown in (1). As noted in Section 1, the MMC in Amdo Tibetan is of two types.

(a) Word type: the Noun slot is occupied by an independent word that is a noun, i.e. 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.
    In the word type, the verb of the Clause is combined with a nominalizer, which is in turn followed by the Noun. (The nominalizer may be an enclitic or a suffix.) See (a)'. In the enclitic type, the verb of the Clause is directly followed by, and combined with, the Noun. See (b)'. (The Noun slot may be occupied by an enclitic that is a nominalizer.)

(a)' Word type:
     [verb+nominalizer] Noun   Copula.
          Clause

(b)' Enclitic type:
     [verb]=Noun   Copula.
          Clause

One of the five properties of the prototype of the MMC as proposed by Tsunoda (this volume-a, 2.1) is the following (see Section 1 above):

(b) The Noun is an independent word (not a clitic) that is a noun.

In this respect, the enclitic type is not a prototypical 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 Word type

5.2.1 Introductory notes

Six free nouns have been attested in the Noun slot of the MMC of the word type. Outside the MMC, all of these nouns are used as content nouns, rather than non-content nouns.

Consider (a)' in 5.1. Part of the structure of the word-type MMC is the same as that of adnominal clauses ("ACs") (4.2.1): a clause is followed by a noun, and the verb of the clause is combined with a nominalizer. However, there are differences between them. In ACs, four nominalizers are used; see Table 2. Both of their un-marked forms and genitive forms are used. In the MMC of the word type, two of these four nominalizers are employed: the enclitic *=nu* 'GEN' (5.2.2 to 5.2.4) and the suffix *-ɟu/-cu* 'GEN' (5.2.5 to 5.2.7). Both of these two nominalizers are used in their respective genitive forms, not in the unmarked forms.

As seen in Section 3, some of the active verbs inflect for imperfective, perfective and imperative. As noted in 4.2.1 regarding ACs (Table 2), when the verb is one that inflects, the enclitic *=no* (unmarked)/*=nu* (GEN) may be attached to the imperfective form or the perfective form, while the three suffixes are added only to the imperfective form, not to the perfective form.

As just noted, the verb of the Clause of the word-type MMC is followed by a nominalizer in the genitive case (not in the unmarked form): *=nu* 'GEN' and *-ɟu/-cu* 'GEN'. Apart from this difference, what was stated on ACs in the preceding para-graph applies to the Clause of the MMC of the word type. Namely, if the verb is one that inflects, the enclitic *=nu* 'GEN' may be attached to the imperfective form or the perfective form, while the suffix *-ɟu/-cu* 'GEN' can only be added to the imperfective form. This can be shown as follows.

(a) IPFV/PFV*=nu* 'GEN'.
(b) IPFV*-ɟu/-cu* 'GEN'.

We shall now look at each of the six free nouns.

5.2.2 IPFV/PFV=*nu tsʰəkka* 'IPFV/PFV=NMLZ.GEN appearance'

The Noun slot is occupied by the noun *tsʰəkka* '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.

(32) [*kʰərgɛ hpo laŋ=go=nu*]   ***tsʰəkka*** *rɛ*.
     3SG   anger rise=AUX.A=NMLZ.GEN appearance COP.B
     LT: '[He is angry] an appearance is.'
     FT: 'He looks angry (but actually he is not that angry).'

(33) [*kʰərgə mə-çi=nu*]   ***tsʰəkka*** *rɛ*.
     3SG.ERG NEG-know=NMLZ.GEN appearance COP.B
     LT: '[He does not know] an appearance is.'
     FT: 'He appears not to know (but actually he knows).'

(34) [*hnam nbak=ko=nu*]   ***tsʰəkka*** *rɛ*.
     sky   fall.IPFV=AUX.A=NMLZ.GEN appearance COP.B
     LT: '[The sky is falling] an appearance is.'
     FT: 'It looks raining (but actually it is not raining that much).'

Other examples include (61), (80) and (99).

5.2.3 IPFV/PFV=*nu ndʑoŋwa* 'IPFV/PFV=NMLZ.GEN character, nature'

The Noun slot is occupied by the noun *ndʑoŋwa* 'character, nature'. This MMC means 'have the nature to do'. This meaning may be considered a habitual meaning – a type of "aspectual".

(35) [*kʰərgɛ rɛmma hpo laŋ=nu*]   ***ndʑoŋwa*** *rɛ*.
     3SG   instantly anger rise=NMLZ.GEN nature   COP.B
     LT: '[He gets angry instantly] a nature is.
     FT: 'He has the nature to get angry instantly.'

(36) [*kʰərgɛ ʈaŋmo jən=nu*]   ***ndʑoŋwa*** *rɛ*.
     3SG   honest COP.A=NMLZ.GEN nature   COP.B
     LT: '[He is honest] a nature is.'
     FT: 'He is honest by nature'.

5.2.4 IPFV/PFV=*nu xwe* 'IPFV/PFV=NMLZ.GEN habit, custom'

The Noun slot is occupied by the noun *xwe* 'habit, custom'. This MMC generally means 'have the habit to do', i.e. a habitual meaning: a type of "aspectual", e.g. (37). It may also have a modal meaning: deontic modality ('need to'), e.g. (38).

(37) [*kʰərgə   lehka mə-le=nu*]   ***xwe***   *rɛ.*
　　 3SG.ERG work NEG-do=NMLZ.GEN habit COP.B
　　 LT: '[He does not do work] a habit is.'
　　 FT: 'It is his habit not to work.'

(38) [*jəkɛ   ɬopʈa=a   ɲo   rgo=nu*]   ***xwe***   *rɛ.*
　　 everyone school=DAT go.IPFV need=NMLZ.GEN custom COP.B
　　 LT: '[Everyone needs to go to school] a custom is.'
　　 FT: 'Everyone needs to go to school (due to the custom of the society).'

5.2.5 IPFV-*ɟu*/*-cu ntɕʰarʐə* 'IPFV-NMLZ.GEN plan'

The Noun slot is occupied by the noun *ntɕʰarʐə* '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. Examples include (3), (39), (40), (62), (90) and (100). One of the consultants, Mr. *rGya ye bKra bho*, commented to the effect that this MMC is a rather recent way of saying, and *-ɟu/-cu bkopa* (5.2.6) is the traditional Amdo Tibetan expression.

(39) [*kʰərgɛ naŋhka   ɲo-ɟu*]   ***ntɕʰarʐə*** *rɛ.*
　　 3SG   tomorrow go.IPFV-NMLZ.GEN plan   COP.B
　　 LT: '[He goes tomorrow] a plan is.'
　　 FT: 'He plans to go tomorrow.'

(40) [*ame   sama hku-ɟu*]   ***ntɕʰarʐə*** *rɛ.*
　　 mother.ERG food cook-NMLZ.GEN plan   COP.B
　　 LT: '[(My) mother cooks food] a plan is.'
　　 FT: '(My) mother plans to cook food.'

5.2.6 IPFV-*ɟu*/*-cu bkopa* 'IPFV-NMLZ.GEN way, manner'

The Noun slot is occupied by the noun *bkopa* '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. Examples include (66) and:

(41) [kʰərgə lək ptsoŋ-ɟu] ***bkopa*** rɛ.
3SG.ERG sheep sell.IPFV-NMLZ.GEN way COP.B
LT: '[He sells sheep] a way is.'
FT: 'He has decided to sell sheep.'

(42) [ŋa kʰɛrndək ɟɛc-cu] ***bkopa*** ɟən.
1SG being.single do.IPFV-NMLZ.GEN way COP.A
LT: '[I am single] a way is.'
FT: 'I have decided to remain single.'

5.2.7 IPFV-*ɟu*/*-cu le* COP 'IPFV-NMLZ.GEN karma, destiny'

The Noun slot is occupied by the noun *le* 'karma, destiny'. This MMC means 'be destined to do'. This meaning may be considered a type of deontic modality. Examples include (4) and:

(43) [ŋa ntʰor-ɟu] ***le*** rɛ.
1SG get.divorced-NMLZ.GEN karma COP.B
LT: '[I get divorced] a karma is.'
FT: 'I am destined to get divorced.'

5.3 Enclitic type

5.3.1 Introductory notes

Four enclitics are attested in the Noun slot of the MMC. Among them, =kʰa 'surface' (5.3.2) and =kʰawo 'mood, appearance' (5.3.3) may be considered nouns. =nə 'doing ~, a person to do, a thing to do' (5.3.4) and =ɟə/=cə 'NMLZ' (5.3.5) 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, 5.1.4)).

As (b)' in 5.1 shows, in the enclitic type the verb of the Clause is directly followed by, and combined with, the Noun (which is occupied by an enclitic).

If the verb is one that inflects, =kʰa 'surface', =kʰawo 'mood, appearance' and =nə 'doing ~, a person to do, a thing to do' may be attached to the imperfective form or the perfective form, while =ɟə/=cə 'NMLZ' can only be added to the imperfective form. This will be shown as, for instance, "IPFV/PFV=kʰa".

We shall now look at each of these four enclitics.

5.3.2 IPFV/PFV=*kʰa=zək* 'IPFV/PFV=surface=INDF'

The enclitic =*kʰa* may be related to the word *kʰa*. The word *kʰa* is polysemic. Its uses/meanings include the following (Hua & Long (eds.) 1993: 37). (The English translations are the present author's.)

The uses/meanings of the word *kʰa*:
(a) 'Mouth, beak'.
(b) (Following a verb) 'just before ~'.
(c) (Following a verb) 'doing ~'.
(d) 'Surface'.
(e) 'Dark color'.
(f) 'A sheet of ~'.
(g) (Following a verb) 'might ~'.

The MMC with =*kʰa* may indicates 'inference from the appearance'. That is, it may have an evidential meaning. See (5) and (44). On the basis of the meaning 'inference from the appearance', it may be hypothesized that =*kʰa* used in the MMC is related to the word *kʰa*, and that its meaning is 'surface'. However, this is not certain. First, the word *kʰa* is rarely used with the meaning 'surface'. Second, one of the consultants, Mr. *rGya ye bKra bho*, stated to the effect that *kʰa* in the MMC derived from *kʰət* which means 'pretense'. The other consultants are not certain about its etymology. In the present work I tentatively gloss =*kʰa* as 'surface'.

When used in the MMC, the enclitic =*kʰa* 'surface' must be followed by the indefinite marker =*zək*, which is the only indefinite marker in Amdo Tibetan. Apart from its use in this MMC, its use is not obligatory. Generally, the indefinite marker =*zək* follows nouns and adds the meanings of 'indefinite' or 'one', sometimes 'humble'. That is, it may have something like a stylistic effect. This may be the case in the MMC, too, e.g. (45). The "humble" effect is observed only when the speaker is talking about himself/herself.

(44) [*kʰərgɛ ma-sʰoŋ*]=***kʰa**=zək* rɛ.
    3SG   NEG-go.PFV=surface=INDF COP.B
    LT: '[He has not gone] a surface is.'
    FT: 'It seems that he has not gone.'

(45) [*ŋe*   *ŋəmtsʰan tə*   *mə-çi*]=***kʰa**=zək*   *jən*.
    1SG.ERG reason   that NEG-know=surface=INDF COP.A
    LT: '[I do not know that reason] a surface is.'
    FT: 'I feel that I don't know the reason.' (humble expression)

5.3.3 IPFV/PFV=k^hawo 'IPFV/PFV=mood, appearance'

There is the noun k^hawo that can be used outside the MMC, but it is rarely used by itself. This word and the enclitic =k^hawo are difficult to gloss, and their gloss 'mood, appearance' is only tentative. The enclitic =k^hawo can occupy the Noun slot of the MMC. Roughly speaking, this MMC may have the same meaning as that of the MMC discussed in 5.2.2 (=$nu\ ts^hakka$ (=NMLZ.GEN appearance)): 'It looks/appears ~ (but actually not that much)', e.g. (46). That is, it may have a counterfactual meaning. It may also be considered a type of "evidential": sensory evidence, reported, and inference.

(46) [$k^harg\varepsilon\ \ w\partial s=s^ho\eta$]=**$k^hawo$** $r\varepsilon$.
     3SG   go.out.PFV=AUX=mood COP.B
     LT: '[He has gone out] an appearance is.'
     FT: 'It looks like he went out (but actually he just pretended to go).'

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. (6).

5.3.4 IPFV/PFV=$n\partial$ 'IPFV/PFV=NMLZ'

The enclitic =$n\partial$ 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.:

(47) $t\varepsilon^ha\eta=ta$ $m\partial$-$nt^ho\eta=n\partial$ $j\varepsilon t$.
     alcohol=PP NEG-drink=NMLZ do.IPFV
     LT: '(I) do not do drinking alcohol.'
     FT: '(I) decided not to drink alcohol.'

(48) $sa=n\partial$ ∂-jo?
     eat.IPFV=NMLZ Q-exist
     'Is there anybody who eats?'

My consultants in effect seem to regard =$n\partial$ as a cognate of the enclitic nominalizer =no 'unmarked' (see Table 2). Indeed, these two enclitics look similar to each other. However, their functions are different. The differences are not fully understood. Nonetheless, the following can be pointed out. (i) Unlike =no, =$n\partial$ cannot be used in ACs; it is not listed in Table 2. (ii) Unlike =$n\partial$, =no cannot be used in the Noun slot of the MMC. (iii) In (47) and (48), the nominalizer =$n\partial$ cannot be substituted by the nominalizer =no.

The enclitic nominalizer *=nə* can be used in the MMC. Here, *=nə* does not have any clear lexical meaning. This MMC has a discourse-related or informational meaning: an "explanatory" meaning. It provides some information to answer someone's enquiry, e.g. (49) to (51). Sometimes, part of the sentence is focused on in this MMC, e.g. (52). Examples follow. (49) and (50) are replies to the question 'Have you ever ridden a horse?'.

(49) [ŋe   hta   tʰok toŋwo ɕon]=**nə**   jən
      1SG.ERG horse first.time   ride=NMLZ COP.A
      'I rode a horse for the first time.' (explanatory meaning)

(50) [ŋe   hta   tʰok toŋwo ɕon]=**ne**
      1SG.ERG horse first.time   ride=NMLZ.COP.A
      'I rode a horse for the first time.' (explanatory meaning)

(51) (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)

(52) [ŋa kʰahtsaŋ joŋ]=**nə**   mən.   tɛraŋ joŋ=nə   jən.
      1SG yesterday come=NMLZ COP.A.NEG today come=NMLZ COP.A
      'I did not come yesterday. I came today.'

In (52), "yesterday" and "today" are focused on.

The MMC with *=nə* is similar to the Japanese MMC that has *=no* in the Noun slot. (See Tsunoda (this volume-b, 5.1.4)). The Japanese *=no* is an enclitic that can be used as a nominalizer. There are a truly large number of works on the Japanese MMC with *=no* (although they do not use the label "mermaid construction"). Among them, Noda (1997) discusses two functions of this construction: (i) scope and (ii) mood. These two functions are parallel to "explanatory" and "focus", respectively, of the Amdo Tibetan MMC with *=nə*.

Recall that copula verbs have the Pattern A form and the Pattern B form (Table 1). The "positive and 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 3. The other two combinations, too, lack a fused form.

Tab. 3: Nominalizer *=nə* and copula verbs.

	Pattern A form	Pattern B form
Affirmative and non-interrogative	*=nə jən*, e.g. (49) *=ne*, e.g. (50)	*=nə rɛ*, e.g. (51)
Negative and non-interrogative	*=nə mən*, e.g. (52)	*=nə ma-rɛ*

Other examples of the enclitic *=nə* used in the MMC include (59) and (68).

5.3.5 IPFV*=ɟə/=cə* 'IPFV=NMLZ'

Amdo Tibetan has the nominalizer suffix *-ɟə/-cə*. It cannot be used as an independent word. It indicates 'thing to do, value for doing ~, feeling of ~', e.g.:

(53) *ŋo-ɟə*
buy.IPFV-NMLZ
'something to buy'

(54) *hta-ɟə*
watch.IPFV-NMLZ
'value to watch'

(55) *hcək-ɟə*
vomit.IPFV-NMLZ
'feeling of nausea'

There is the enclitic *=ɟə/=cə*. It can occupy the Noun slot of the MMC. It is difficult to ascertain a lexical meaning of *=ɟə/=cə*, and it is simply glossed as 'NMLZ'. One of my consultants in effect holds the view that *=ɟə/=cə* can be regarded as a cognate of the nominalizer suffix *-ɟo/-co* 'unmarked' (the genitive form: *-ɟu/-cu*) (cf. Table 2). Indeed, these two pairs – *=ɟo/=co* and *-ɟə/-cə* – look similar. However, their functions are different. The differences are not fully understood, but at least, in (53) to (55), for example, *=ɟə/=cə* cannot be replaced with *=ɟo/=co*.

The MMC with *=ɟə/=cə* can describe a future situation, e.g. (56), (57), (60), (64), (69), (102). That is, it can have a temporal meaning. When the Copula is *rɛ*, i.e. the pattern B form for the affirmative and non-interrogative, this MMC indicates inference in some cases, e.g. (58), (63), (83). That is, it can have an evidential meaning as well.

Tab. 4: *=ɟə/=cə* and the copula.

	Pattern A form	Pattern B form
Affirmative and non-interrogative	*=ɟə/=cə jən*, e.g. (57), (58) *=ɟi/=ci*, e.g. (57)	*=ɟə/=cə rɛ*, e.g. (56), (58), (83)
Negative and non-interrogative	*=ɟə/=cə mən,* e.g. (64), (102)	*=ɟə/=cə ma-rɛ*, e.g. (63)

(56) [kʰənəka rɛmma ɲo]=**ɟə** rɛ.
　　 3DU　　 right.now go.IPFV=NMLZ COP.B
　　 LT: '[They go right now] NMLZ is.'
　　 FT: 'They will go right now.'

(57) [ŋa tɛraŋ ɲo]=**ɟə** jən (or ɲo=**ɟi)**.
　　 1SG today go.IPFV=NMLZ COP.A (　go.IPFV=NMLZ.COP.A)
　　 LT: '[I go today] NMLZ is.'
　　 FT:'I will go today.'

(58) go=o sʰoŋ=na [mn̩ə joc]=**cə** rɛ.
　　 outside=DAT go.PFV=CONJ person exist=NMLZ COP.B
　　 LT: 'If (you) go outside, [there is a person] NMLZ is.'
　　 FT: 'If (you) go outside, there might be a person.' (inference)

The combination of *=ɟə/=cə* and the copula *jən* (Pattern A; affirmative and non-interrogative) has a fused form: *=ɟi/=ci*. See Table 4. Examples include (57). In contrast, other combinations in Table 4 do not have a fused form.

We saw in 5.3.4 (cf. Table 3) that the combination of the nominalizer *=nə* and the copula *jən* (again, Pattern A; affirmative and non-interrogative) has a fused form: *=ne*, e.g. (50). The existence of these two fused forms (*=ne* and *=ɟi/=ci*) indicates that these two types of the MMC (5.3.4 and 5.3.5) have undergone grammaticalization regarding those instances that involve the copula *jən* (Pattern A; affirmative and non-interrogative). Furthermore, as noted above, the lexical meaning of the enclitic *=ɟə/=cə* is vague.

It may not be irrelevant that the copula involved in these two fused forms is a Pattern A form (*jən*). As noted in 4.1, Pattern A forms are used when the speaker is involved in the state or 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 free 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, the MMC with the enclitic nominalizer *=nə* ('doing ~, a person to do, a thing to do') and the MMC with the enclitic nominalizer *=ɟə/=cə* 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, these two types of MMC are more grammaticalized than the others.

5.4 Morphosyntactic properties of the MMC

We examined the forms that occur in the Noun slot of the MMC: free nouns in 5.2 and enclitics in 5.3. We now turn to the morphosyntactic properties of the MMC.

5.4.1 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 MMC with the enclitic nominalizer *=nə* 'doing ~, a person to do, a thing to do' (5.3.4) and the MMC with the enclitic nominalizer *=ɟə/=cə* 'NMLZ' (5.3.5) cannot appear with the Copula if (and only if) they are followed by the interrogative sentence-final particle *=na*, e.g. (59), (60). Thus, the Copula is unacceptable in (59) and (60). The Copula is obligatory in other types of the MMC. The instances of the MMC without the Copula depart from the prototype of the MMC, shown in (1), since they lack the Copula.

(59) [*taŋsʰaŋ nbəʁoŋ   tɕʰəmo   jən*]=***nə**=na?*
     recently insects'.price how.much COP.A=NMLZ=SFP
     LT: '[How much is insects' price recently] NMLZ is?'
     FT: 'How much is the price of plant worms recently?'

(60) [*tsəgezək dʑoŋ*]=***ɟə**=na?*
     a.little   study.IPFV=NMLZ=SFP
     LT: '[(You) study a little] NMLZ is?'
     FT: '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. (61) (free noun *tsʰəkka* 'appearance'), (62) (free noun *ntɕʰarʐə* 'plan'), and (63) (enclitic *=ɟə* 'NMLZ') or (ii) the negative form of the copula concerned, e.g. (64) (=*ɟə*). (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 accept-

able. See (65) (enclitic =k^ha 'surface'). At this stage of research, the factor that may condition the acceptability/unacceptability of this negation is not known.

(61) [*hnam nbak=ko=nu*]   **ts^həkka**   *ma-rɛ.*
    sky   fall.IPFV=AUX.A=NMLZ.GEN appearance NEG-COP.B
    LT: '[The sky is falling] an appearance is not.'
    FT: 'It does not seem to be raining (but actually it is raining).'

(62) [*ame*   *sama hku-ɟu*]   **ntɕ^harʐə** *ma-rɛ.*
    mother.ERG food cook-NMLZ.GEN   plan   NEG-COP.B
    LT: '[(My) mother cooks food] a plan is not.'
    FT: '[My] mother does not plan to cook food.'

(63) [*əze*   *jɛt*   *t^həp*]=**ɟə**   *ma-rɛ.*
    1PL.INCL.ERG do.IPFV can=NMLZ NEG-COP.B
    LT: '[We can do (it)] NMLZ is not.'
    FT: 'We do not seem to be able to do (it).'

(64) [*ŋa ndək*]=**ɟə**   *mən.*
    1SG stay.IPFV=NMLZ COP.A.NEG
    LT: '[I stay] NMLZ is not.'
    FT: 'I will not stay.'

(65) ⋆[*k^hərgɛ s^hoŋ*]=**k^ha**=*zək*   *ma-rɛ.*
    3SG   go.PFV=surface=INDF NEG-COP.B
    LT: '[He has gone] a surface is not.'
    IM: 'It does not seem that he has 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. (66) (free noun *bkopa* 'way'), (67) (enclitic =k^hawo 'appearance'), (68) (enclitic =*nə* 'NMLZ') and (69) (enclitic =*ɟə* 'NMLZ')). However, this combination is not possible in other types of the MMC. See (70) (free noun *xwe* 'habit, custom'). At this stage of research, the factor that may condition the acceptability/unacceptability of this use of the interrogative prefix is not known.

(66) [*k^hərgə lək*   *ptsoŋ-ɟu*]   **bkopa** *ə-rɛ?*
    3SG.ERG sheep sell.IPFV-NMLZ.GEN way   Q-COP.B
    LT: '[He sells sheep] a way is?'
    FT: 'Has he decided to sell sheep?'

(67) [*kʰərgɛ wəs=sʰoŋ*]=**kʰawo**   *ə-rɛ?*
    3SG   go.out.PFV=AUX=appearance Q-COP.B
    LT: '[He has gone out] an appearance is?'
    FT: 'Does it seem that he has gone out?'

(68) [*cʰo kʰahtsaŋ joŋ*]=**nə**   *ə-jən?*
    2SG yesterday come=NMLZ Q-COP.A
    LT: '[You came yesterday] NMLZ is?'
    FT: 'Did you come yesterday?'

(69) [*cʰe   ndə ɲo*]=**ɟə**   *ə-jən?*
    2SG.ERG this buy.IPFV=NMLZ Q-COP.A
    LT: '[You buy this] NMLZ is.'
    FT: 'Will you buy this?'

(70) *[*kʰərgə lehka mə-le=nu*]   *xwe ə-rɛ?*
    3SG.ERG work NEG-do=NMLZ.GEN habit Q-COP.B
    LT: '[He does not do work] a habit is?'
    IM: 'Is it his habit not to work?'

    [4] Fused forms
As seen in Table 3 and Table 4, there are two fused forms that involve the Copula. Both involve *jən*, the Pattern A form for the affirmative and non-interrogative.

(a) Involving the enclitic nominalizer =*nə* 'doing ~, a person to do, a thing to do':
    the fused form =*ne* for the combination =*nə jən*, e.g. (50).
(b) Involving the enclitic nominalizer =*ɟə*/=*cə* 'NMLZ':
    the fused form =*ɟi*/=*ci* for the combination =*ɟə*/=*cə jən*, e.g. (57).

No such fused form exists for any other type of the MMC.

5.4.2 Noun of the MMC: its modification

When used outside the MMC, free 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, (71) is ungrammatical.

(71) *[*ŋa ntʰor-ɟu*]   **le**   *ŋan-ba rɛ.*
    1SG get.divorced-NMLZ.GEN karma bad   COP.B
    LT: '[I get divorced] a bad karma is.'

In the MMC with the enclitic =k^ha 'surface' in the Noun slot (5.3.2), =k^ha is always modified by the indefinite marker =$zək$, e.g. (44), (45). However, in the other types of the MMC, modification of the Noun by the indefinite marker is not possible. See (72) and (73).

(72) *[$k^hərgɛ$ $wəs$=$s^ho\eta$]=**k^hawo**=$zək$ $rɛ$.
    3SG   go.out.PFV=AUX=appearance=INDF COP.B
    LT: '[He has gone out] an appearance is.'

(73) *[$k^hərgə$ $lehka$ $mə$-le=nu]   nature=INDF COP.B
    3SG.ERG work NEG-do=NMLZ.GEN **xwe**=$zək$ $rɛ$.
    LT: '[He does not do work] a nature is.'

The above shows that the free nouns and most of the enclitics that occupy the Noun slot of the MMC lack nounhood in that they cannot be modified. The enclitic =k^ha 'appearance' is an exception; it can be modified by the indefinite marker.

5.4.3 Predicate of the Clause

We shall look at a few morphosyntactic aspects of the predicate of the Clause.

[1] Aspect and mood
As noted in Section 3, some of the active verbs inflect: imperfective, perfective, and imperative. The other active verbs, and also copula verbs, existential verbs, and stative verbs do not inflect.
    The structure of the word-type MMC and that of the enclitic-type MMC are shown in 5.1. In the MMC of the word type (5.2), the verb of the Clause is combined with a nominalizer, which is in turn followed by the Noun. If the verb is one that inflects, the enclitic nominalizer =nu 'GEN' may be attached to the imperfective form or the perfective form, while the suffix nominalizer -$ɟu$/-cu 'GEN' can only be added to the imperfective form.
    In the enclitic type (5.3), the verb of the Clause is directly followed by the Noun. =k^ha=$zək$ ('surface=INDF'), =k^hawo ('mood, appearance') and the nominalizer =$nə$ ('doing ~, a person to do, a thing to do') may be attached to the imperfective form or the perfective form, while the nominalizer =$ɟə$/=$cə$ 'NMLZ' can only be added to the imperfective form.
    The imperative form cannot be used as the predicate of the Clause.

[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 negat-

ed by adding the negative prefix *ma-* or *mə-*. They, too, can be used in the predicate of the Clause, e.g. *ma-* in (44), and *mə-* in (33), (37), (45).

As seen in 5.4.1-[2], negation of the Copula is acceptable in some types of the MMC and unacceptable in other types of MMC. For example, it is unacceptable in (65) (=*kʰa=zək* 'surface=INDF'). In contrast, there is no restriction on the negation of the predicate of the Clause. An example is (44) (again =*kʰa=zək* 'surface=INDF'). Compare the LTs and FTs of (65) and (44).

*(65) LT: '[He has gone] a surface is not.'
     IM: 'It does not seem that he has gone.'

(44) LT: '[He has not gone] a surface is.'
     FT: 'It seems that he has not gone.'

The above suggests – although this is by no means certain – that, in those types of MMC in which the Copula cannot be negated, the predicate of the Clause may be negated, but that the MMC as a whole cannot be negated.

[3] Verb + Auxiliary verb
Independent sentences may contain an auxiliary verb, e.g. (8). Likewise, the Clause of the MMC may contain an auxiliary verb. Examples include the following. The word type: (32), (34), (61), and the enclitic type: (5), (6), (46), (67).

5.4.4 Can the Clause be used as a sentence by itself?

As seen in Section 1, Tsunoda (this volume-a, 2.1) proposes that the prototype of the MMC has five properties, one of which is the following.

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

The situation in the MMC of Amdo Tibetan is as follows.

[1] Word type
As shown in (a)' in 5.1, the verb of the Clause is followed by a nominalizer (which is in turn followed by the Noun). The nominalizer is within the Clause. In Amdo Tibetan, nominalizers cannot conclude a sentence, and consequently the Clause cannot be used by itself as a sentence.

[2] Enclitic type
We shall first consider independent sentences, and then the Clause of the enclitic-type MMC.

[2-1] Independent sentences. As seen in 4.1, in the sentence-final position, the predicate verb is sometimes followed by an auxiliary verb, e.g. (8), or a sentence-final particle, e.g. (7). Some sentences are not really well-formed without an auxiliary verb and a sentence-final particle. See (19) and (20). There are, however, well-formed sentences that lack both a sentence-final particle and an auxiliary verb. Especially, sentences tend to be well-formed even without them if the verb is (i) a copula verb, e.g. (9) to (11), (ii) an existential verb, e.g. (12), (13), or (iii) the imperfective form of an active verb with the speaker as the subject, e.g. (98).

[2-2] Clause of the enclitic-type MMC (see (b)' in 5.1). (The verb may be in the perfective form or in the imperfective form; see 5.4.3-[1]. It is followed by the Noun. The Noun slot may be occupied by an enclitic nominalizer.) The verb cannot be followed by a sentence-final particle, since it is not in the sentence-final position. When the verb is followed by an auxiliary verb, the Clause can be used as a sentence by itself. As an example, compare the Clause of (67) with the following sentence.

(74) *kʰərgɛ wəs=sʰoŋ.*
     3SG   go.out.PFV=AUX
     'He has gone out.'

Where the verb is not followed by an auxiliary verb, data are not available, but probably the following situation obtains. First, the Clause tends to be well-formed as a sentence by itself if the verb is (i) a copula verb, (ii) an existential verb, or (iii) the imperfective form of an active verbs with the speaker as the subject. Second, in other instances the Clause of the MMC of the enclitic type cannot always be used as a sentence by itself.

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.

5.4.5 Sentencehood of the Clause of the MMC

We now compare the degree of sentencehood of the Clause with that of independent sentences. In the following respects, the verb of the Clause of the MMC behaves exactly like that of independent sentences. In these respects, the sentencehood of the Clause of the MMC is not low.

(a) The verb can be negated (5.4.3-[2]).
(b) The verb can be followed by an auxiliary verb (5.4.3-[3]).

However, in the following respects, the Clause of the MMC lacks the properties of independent sentences.

(c) The imperative form cannot be used (5.4.3-[1]).
(d) Depending on the Noun, the verb of the Clause can only be in the imperfective form, not in the perfective form (5.4.3-[1]).
(e) The Clause cannot be followed by a sentence-final particle (5.4.4). (The end of the Clause is not sentence-final.)

That is, in terms of (c), (d) and (e), the Clause of the MMC lacks the illocutionary forces that independent sentences have.

To sum up, as seen in 4.4.4, under limited circumstances the Clause of the MMC can be used as a sentence by itself. Nonetheless, the Clause shows a lower degree of sentencehood than independent sentences.

5.5 Grammaticalization of nouns

5.5.1 Etymology

The free nouns and the enclitics that are attested in the Noun slot of the MMC are listed in Table 5. All of the nouns used in the word type are independent words (i.e. free nouns) and also content nouns: *tsʰəkka* 'appearance', *ndʑoŋwa* 'character, nature', *xwe* 'habit, custom', *ntɕʰarʑə* 'plan', *bkopa* 'way, manner', and *le* 'karma, destiny'. In contrast, in the enclitic type, all the elements that are attested in the Noun slot are enclitics, not independent words. The enclitic *=kʰa* 'surface' 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' 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 free noun *kʰawo* and the enclitic *=kʰawo* are difficult to gloss. Their gloss 'mood, appearance' is highly tentative. At least there is no evidence that the enclitic *=kʰa* 'surface' and the enclitic *=kʰawo* 'mood, appearance' derived from independent nouns. The other two enclitics, i.e. *=nə* 'doing ~, a person to do, a thing to do' and *=ɟə/=cə* 'NMLZ', are nominalizers when they are used outside the MMC (and also inside the MMC). They cannot be used as independent words.

If the enclitics in the Noun slot are to have derived from free nouns at all, the enclitic-type MMC seems to have reached an advanced stage of grammaticalization. First, the etymologies of the enclitics are not known for certain. Second, the forms in question are enclitics, not independent words.

Tab. 5: Semantics of nouns and enclitics in the MMC.

	Meaning outside the MMC	Meaning of the MMC
tsʰəkka	appearance	both evidential (sensory, reported, inference) and counterfactual ('It looks/appears (but actually not that much)')
ndʑoŋwa	character, nature	aspectual (habitual) ('have the nature to do')
xwe	habit, custom	(a) aspectual (habitual) ('have the habit to do') (b) modal (deontic) ('need to')
ntɕʰarʐə	plan	(a) modal ('plan to do') (b) temporal (future)
bkopa	way, manner	(a) modal ('have decided to do, plan to do') (b) temporal (future)
le	karma, destiny	modal (deontic) ('be destined to do')
=kʰa	surface	(a) evidential (inference') ('It seems ~') (b) stylistic (humble; first person only)
=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)
=nə	doing ~, a person to do	discourse-related/informational: explanation and focus
=ɟə/=cə	'NMLZ'	(a) temporal (future) (b) evidential (inference)

5.5.2 Semantics

The free nouns and the enclitics listed in Table 5 are grammaticalized in terms of semantics, to varying degrees. Their meanings can be classified as follows.

(a) Grammatical: modal, evidential, aspectual, temporal, and counterfactual.
(b) Stylistic: humble.
(c) Discourse-related/informational: explanation and focus.

   In the main, the meanings of the free nouns in the word-type 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 enclitic-type MMC. In the case of *=kʰa* 'surface' and *=kʰawo* 'mood, appearance', it is difficult to ascertain the meaning of the nouns they may possibly be related to. Concerning *=nə* 'doing ~, a person to do, a thing to do' and *=ɟə/=cə* 'NMLZ', it is difficult to predict their meaning as used in the MMC on the basis of the meaning that they have outside the MMC.

5.5.3 Morphosyntax

In terms of morphosyntax as well, the free nouns and the enclitics listed in Table 5 are generally grammaticalized.

[1] As seen in 5.4.2, these free nouns and enclitics do not allow modification, with one exception. The enclitic *=kʰa* 'surface' can be modified by the indefinite marker *=zək*.

[2] The enclitics *=nə* 'doing ~, a person to do, a thing to do' and *=ɟə/=cə* 'NMLZ' are more grammaticalized morphologically than other enclitics and also the six nouns in that they have fused forms involving a copula verb; see Table 3 and Table 4. This may be due to the fact that the MMC with *=nə* and the MMC with *=ɟə/=cə* appear in everyday conversation of Amdo Tibetan the most frequently of all the types of the MMC.

6 Comparison of the MMC with other constructions

6.1 Introductory notes

We now compare the MMC with other constructions. In particular, we shall examine the following two issues.

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

The structure of the prototype of the MMC is as shown in (1). Superficially at least, it looks as if the prototypical MMC is bi-clausal. In some of the languages reported in the present volume, the Clause of the MMC looks similar to an adnominal clause ("AC") (or a relative clause) of the respective languages and consequently it looks as if the MMC is bi-clausal, with an AC as a subordinate clause. A similar situation is observed in Amdo Tibetan. In ACs (cf. 4.2.1), a nominalizer is attached to the verb. In the word-type MMC (cf. (a)' in 5.1), too, a nominalizer is attached to the verb of the Clause. (The nominalizer is inside the Clause. The Clause is shown with square brackets.) In the enclitic-type MMC (cf. (b)' in 5.1), the Noun slot may be occupied by a nominalizer, and it is attached to the verb of the Clause. The nominalizer is outside the Clause. Nonetheless, such an enclitic-type MMC looks similar to ACs and the Clause of the word-type MMC in that a nominalizer is attached to the verb. It may look as if the MMC is bi-clausal, with an AC as a subordinate clause.

However, languages such as Modern Standard Japanese (Tsunoda, this volume-b, Section 6) and Korean (Kim, this volume, Section 6) yield evidence that

their MMC does not contain an AC and that it is syntactically mono-clausal. (See Tsunoda (this volume-a, 3.4.2).) In view of this, it is important to examine the two issues listed above.

For Amdo Tibetan, we compare the following constructions.

(i)   Mono-clausal verbal sentences (4.1).

(ii)   MMC, *=nu*, *tsʰəkka* 'appearance' (5.2.2):
MMC with the free noun *tsʰəkka* 'appearance'. The verb is combined with the enclitic nominalizer *=nu* 'GEN', which is in turn followed by the "Noun" *tsʰəkka* 'appearance'.

(iii)   MMC, *-ɟu*/*-cu*, *ntɕʰarʐ̩ə* 'plan' (5.2.5):
MMC with the free noun *ntɕʰarʐ̩ə* 'plan'. The verb is combined with the suffix nominalizer *-ɟu*/*-cu* 'GEN', which is in turn followed by the "Noun" *ntɕʰarʐ̩ə* 'plan'.

(iv)   MMC, *=kʰawo* 'mood' (5.3.3):
MMC with the enclitic *=kʰawo* 'mood, appearance'. The verb is directly followed by the Noun *=kʰawo* 'mood, appearance'.

(v)   MMC, *=ɟə*/*=cə* 'NMLZ' (5.3.5):
MMC with the enclitic *=ɟə*/*=cə* 'NMLZ'. The verb is directly followed by the Noun.

(vi)   AC, *=no* or *=nu*, gap type (4.2.2):
AC of the gap type whose verb is combined with the enclitic nominalizer *=no* 'unmarked' or *=nu* 'GEN'.

(vii)   AC, *-ɟo*/*-co* or *-ɟu*/*-cu*, gap type (4.2.2):
AC of the gap type whose verb is combined with the suffix nominalizer *-ɟo*/*-co* 'unmarked' or *-ɟu*/*-cu* 'GEN'.

(viii)   AC, *=no* or *=nu*, addition type (4.2.3):
AC of the addition type whose verb is combined with the enclitic nominalizer *=no* 'unmarked' or *=nu* 'GEN'.

(ix)   AC, *-ɟo*/*-co* or *-ɟu*/*-cu*, addition type (4.2.3):
AC of the addition type whose verb is combined with the suffix nominalizer *-ɟo*/*-co* 'unmarked' or *-ɟu*/*-cu* 'GEN'.

Verb-predicate sentences are chosen as the representative of independent sentences. It is necessary to consider mono-clausal sentences, since one of the aims of this comparison is to examine the issue (b) listed above.

The four types of MMC listed above are selected as the representatives of the MMC. Regarding the MMC, the following comparison mainly examines the Clause, but it also looks at the entire MMC.

Gap-type ACs and addition-type ACs behave differently depending on which nominalizer is used.

We shall compare the constructions listed above in terms of the structure of the predicate (6.2) mainly concerning morphological aspects, and syntax (6.3). The result of this comparison is shown in Table 6.

6.2 Predicate

We examine the structure of the predicate in terms of seven features.

6.2.1 Imperative

The imperative form of a verb is acceptable in (i) Mono-clausal verbal sentences, e.g. (75). But it is unacceptable in the other constructions. It does not seem worthwhile to give unacceptable sentences.

(75) *xɛtɕʰa ɸtᵊi!*
    book   watch.IMP
    'Read a book!'

6.2.2 Imperfective

    (i) Mono-clausal verbal sentences: (7), (8).
    (ii) MMC with *tsʰəkka* 'appearance': (61).
    (iii) MMC with *ntɕʰarʑə* 'plan': (3), (39).
    (iv) MMC with *=kʰawo* 'mood, appearance': (76).
    (v) MMC with *=ɟə/=cə* 'NMLZ': (56), (57), (63), (64), (69).
    (vi) Gap-type AC with *=no* or *=nu*: (77).
    (vii) Gap-type AC with *-ɟo/-co* or *-ɟu/-cu*: (78).
    (viii) Addition-type AC with *=no* or *=nu*: (29). (For the verb in (29), the imperfective form and the perfective form are identical. That is, *ʂɛk* 'grill' can be used as the perfective form in other contexts.)
    (ix) Addition-type AC with *-ɟo/-co* or *-ɟu/-cu*: (31).
The imperfective form is acceptable in all of the constructions listed in 6.1. Examples are shown.

(76) [*kʰɛrgɛ ɲɟo=ɟəjən*]=**kʰawo**   *rɛ.*
    3SG   go.IPFV=AUX.A=mood COP.B
    'It looks like he will go (but actually, he is just pretending to go).'

(77) {kʰərgɛɛ   xɛtɕʰa htɛr=nu}   mɲə
     3SG.DAT book   give.IPFV=NMLZ.GEN person
     'the person who gives/gave the book to him'

(78) {ŋe   cʰo=o   htɛr-ɟo}   gormo
     1SG.ERG 2SG=DAT give.IPFV-NMLZ money
     'the money I will give you'

6.2.3 Perfective

(i) Mono-clausal verbal sentences: (79).
(ii) MMC with tsʰəkka 'appearance': (80).
(iv) MMC with =kʰawo 'mood, appearance': (46), (67).
(vi) Gap-type AC with =no or =nu: (81).
(viii) Addition-type AC with =no or =nu: (82).

The perfective form is acceptable in the constructions above.

(79) ŋa   sʰoŋ=ŋa.
     1SG go.PFV=AUX
     'I went.'

(80) [kʰərgə   sama si=taŋ=nu]   **tsʰəkka**   rɛ.
     3SG.ERG food   eat.PFV=AUX=NMLZ.GEN appearance COP.B
     'It looks like he has eaten food (but actually he has not).'

(81) {ŋe   xɛtɕʰa ɕən=nu}   mɲə
     1SG.ERG book   give.PFV=NMLZ.GEN person
     'the person whom I give/gave the book to'

(82) {akʰə ɬasʰa=a   sʰoŋ=nu}   ɟəmtsʰan ŋe   ko=wa.
     uncle PLN=DAT go.PFV=NMLZ.GEN reason   1SG.ERG hear=AUX
     'I heard the reason why (my) uncle went to Lhasa.'

(iii) MMC with ntɕʰarʐə 'plan'.
(v) MMC with =ɟə/=cə 'NMLZ'.
(vii) Gap-type AC with -ɟo/-co or -ɟu/-cu.
(ix) Addition-type AC with -ɟo/-co or -ɟu/-cu.

The perfective form is unacceptable in the constructions above. In (iii), (vii) and (ix), the verb concerned is followed by the suffix nominalizer -ɟo/-co or -ɟu/-cu. This suffix can follow an imperfective form only; see Table 2 and 5.4.3-[1]. In (v) MMC with =ɟə/=cə 'NMLZ', no perfective form can be used, for the clitic =ɟə/=cə can follow an imperfective form only (Table 2).

6.2.4 Auxiliary verb

(i) Mono-clausal verbal sentences: (8), (79).
(ii) MMC with *tsʰəkka* 'appearance': (32), (80).
(iv) MMC with *=kʰawo* 'mood, appearance': (6), (46).
(v) MMC with *=ɟə/=cə* 'NMLZ': (83).
(vi) Gap-type AC with *=no* or *=nu*: (84).
(viii) Addition-type AC with *=no* or *=nu*: (85).

The verb can be followed by an auxiliary verb in the constructions above.

(83) [*kʰərgə   lehka le=gəjoc*]=**cə**   *rɛ*.
     3SG.ERG work do=AUX.A=NMLZ COP.B
     LT: '[He is doing work] NMLZ is.'
     FT: 'He might be doing work.'

(84) {*sama sa=gəjo=nu*}   *mɲə*
     food   eat.IPFV=AUX.A=NMLZ.GEN person
     'the person who is eating food'

(85) {*sama hku=gəjo=nu*}   *ʈima ɕəm=gə*.
     food   cook=AUX.A=NMLZ.GEN smell delicious=AUX
     'The smell of cooking food is delicious.'

(iii) MMC with *ntɕʰarʐə* 'plan'. See (86).
(vii) Gap-type AC with *-ɟo/-co* or *-ɟu/-cu*. See (87).
(ix) Addition-type AC with *-ɟo/-co* or *-ɟu/-cu*. See (88).

No auxiliary verb can follow the verb in the constructions above. As the examples below show, all of (iii), (vii) and (ix) involve the suffix nominalizer *-ɟo/-co* (to be precise, its genitive form *-cu* 'NMLZ.GEN'). This suffix at least – and possibly other suffixes, too – seems to disallow an enclitic to intervene between it and the preceding element.

(86) *[*naŋhka kʰərgə   lehka le=gəjok-cu*]   **ntɕʰarʐə** *rɛ*.
     tomorrow 3SG.ERG work do=AUX.A-NMLZ.GEN plan   COP.B
     IM: 'He plans to be working tomorrow.'

(87) *{*htɛr=gəjoc-cu*}   *gormo*
     give.IPFV=AUX.A-NMLZ.GEN money
     IM: 'the money (someone) is giving'

(88) *{*kʰərgə lehka le=gəjoc-cu*}   *ŋəmtsʰan*
     3SG.ERG work do=AUX.A-NMLZ.GEN reason
     IM: 'the reason why he is working'

6.2.5 Negation

(i) Mono-clausal verbal sentences: (89).
(ii) MMC with *tsʰəkka* 'appearance': (33).
(iii) MMC with *ntɕʰarʐə* 'plan': (90).
(vi) Gap-type AC with *=no* or *=nu*: (91).
(vii) Gap-type AC with *-ɟo/-co* or *-ɟu/-cu*: (92).
(viii) Addition-type AC with *=no* or *=nu*: (93).
(ix) Addition-type AC with *-ɟo/-co* or *-ɟu/-cu*: (94).

The verb or the auxiliary verb can be negated in the constructions above.

(89) *kʰərgə*   *mə-ɕi=gə*.
    3SG.ERG NEG-know=AUX
    'He does not know.'

(90) [*kʰərgə*   *lehka mə-le=ɟu*]   **ntɕʰarʐə** *rɛ*.
    3SG.ERG work NEG-do=NMLZ.GEN plan   COP.B
    'He is not planning to work.'

(91) {*lehka mə-le=nu*}   *mɲə*   *ŋe*   *ɕi=gə*.
    work NEG-do=NMLZ person 1SG.ERG know=AUX
    'I know the man who does not work.'

(92) {*naŋhka*   *mə-hta-ɟu*}   *xɛtɕʰa ŋa=a*   *ɕən*.
    tomorrow NEG-read.IPFV-NMLZ.GEN book 1SG=DAT give.IMP
    'Give me a book that you will not read tomorrow.'

(93) {*kʰərgɛ ɬasʰa=a*   *mə-nɟo=nu*}   **rɟəmtsʰan** *ŋe*
    3SG   PLN=DAT NEG-go.IPFV=NMLZ.GEN reason   1SG.ERG
    ɕi=gə.
    know=AUX
    'I know the reason why he does not go to Lhasa.'

(94) {*kʰərgɛ ɬasʰa=a*   *mə-nɟo-ɟu*}   **rɟəmtsʰan** *ŋe*   *ɕi=gə*.
    3SG   PLN=DAT NEG-go.IPFV-NMLZ.GEN reason   1SG.ERG know=AUX
    'I know the reason why he does not go to Lhasa.'

(iv) MMC with *=kʰawo* 'mood, appearance'; see (95).
(v) MMC with *=ɟə/=cə* 'NMLZ'; see (96).

This negation is unacceptable in the constructions above. The reason for this is not known.

(95) *[kʰərgɛ ma-sʰoŋ]=**kʰawo**   *rɛ*.
    3SG   NEG-go.PFV=mood COP.B
    IM: 'It looks like he did not go out.'

(96) *[ŋa mə-ɲʝo]=ʝə   jən
     1SG NEG-go.IPFV=NMLZ COP.A
     IM 'I will not go.'

6.2.6 Nominalizer

Readers are first requested to consult the structure of the word-type MMC and that of the enclitic-type MMC shown in 5.1. In the word type (cf. (a)'), a nominalizer is attached to the verb of the Clause, and the nominalizer is inside the Clause (shown with square brackets). In the enclitic type (cf. (b)'), the Noun slot may be occupied by a nominalizer. The Noun is outside the Clause, that is, the nominalizer is outside the Clause. This shows that the role that the nominalizer plays differs between the two types of the MMC. The following comparison looks at the nominalizers inside the Clause, and it does not consider the nominalizers in the Noun slot. We now look at the individual constructions.

(ii) MMC with *tsʰəkka* 'appearance'. (The nominalizer is *=nu* 'GEN'.)
(iii) MMC with *ntɕʰarʐə* 'plan'. (The nominalizer is *-ʝu/-cu* 'GEN'.)

The verb or the auxiliary verb of the Clause is (obligatorily) followed by a nominalizer in the constructions above.

(vi) Gap-type AC with *=no* or *=nu*.
(vii) Gap-type AC with *-ʝo/-co* or *-ʝu/-cu*.
(viii) Addition-type AC with *=no* or *=nu*.
(ix) Addition-type AC with *-ʝo/-co* or *-ʝu/-cu*.

The verb or the auxiliary verb of ACs is (obligatorily) followed by a nominalizer in the constructions above.

(iv) MMC with *=kʰawo* 'mood, appearance'.
(v) MMC with *=ʝə/=cə* 'NMLZ'. (The enclitic *=ʝə/=cə* is a nominalizer, but it occupies the Noun slot, and it is outside the Clause.)

The verb or the auxiliary verb is directly followed by the Noun in the constructions above.

(i) Mono-clausal verbal sentences.

The verb or the auxiliary verb is followed neither by a nominalizer nor the Noun in the construction above.

6.2.7 Sentence-final particle

(i) Mono-clausal verbal sentences.

A sentence-final particle can appear in the sentence-final position of the construction above, e.g. (7) (=*go* 'emphasis').

(ii) MMC with *tsʰəkka* 'appearance'.
(iii) MMC with *ntɕʰarʐə* 'plan'.
(iv) MMC with =*kʰawo* 'mood, appearance'.
(v) MMC with =*ɟə*/=*cə* 'NMLZ'.

No sentence-final particle can occur in the Clause of the MMC. This position is not sentence-final. See (97), which is intended to be an instance of (ii). The sentence-final particle =*na* indicates a question

(97) *[*kʰərgɛ hpo laŋ=go=nu=na*]   ***tsʰəkka***   *rɛ*.
  3SG   anger rise=AUX.A=NMLZ.GEN=SFP appearance COP.B
  IM: 'Is it the case that he looks angry (but actually he is not that angry)?'

In (97), the sentence-final particle follows the nominalizer. I should add that a sentence-final particle cannot precede the nominalizer either. For example, the sequence *laŋ=go=na=nu* 'rise-AUX.A=SFP=NMLZ.GEN' is unacceptable.

(vi) Gap-type AC with =*no* or =*nu*.
(vii) Gap-type AC with -*ɟo*/-*co* or -*ɟu*/-*cu*.
(viii) Addition-type AC with =*no* or =*nu*.
(ix) Addition-type AC with -*ɟo*/-*co* or -*ɟu*/-*cu*.

No sentence-final particle can occur in ACs.

6.3 Syntactical features

We shall look at the syntax of the nine construction types in terms of four criteria.

6.3.1 *=ta* for contrast

Amdo Tibetan has the enclitic =*ta*. It is a pragmatic particle, and it is used for expressing contrast, emphasis, or 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)). We shall focus on the contrast use of =*ta*.

(i) Mono-clausal verbal sentences: (98).
(ii) MMC with *tsʰəkka* 'appearance': (99).
(iii) MMC with *ntɕʰarʐə* 'plan': (100).
(iv) MMC with *=kʰawo* 'mood, appearance': (101).
(v) MMC with *=ɟə/=cə* 'NMLZ': (102).

The enclitic *=ta* for contrast can occur in the constructions above.

(98) *ŋe=ta*   *xɛtɕʰa mə-ŋo.*
      1SG.ERG=PP book   NEG-buy.IPFV
      '(Other people might buy, but) I will not buy the book.'

(99) [*kʰərge=ta*   *ŋəmtsʰan mə-çi=nu*]   **tsʰəkka** *rɛ.*
      3SG.ERG=PP reason   NEG-know=NMLZ.GEN appearance COP.B
      '(Other people might know, but) he seems not to know the reason.'

(100) [*aɟa=kə=ta*   *nor ptsoŋ-ɟu*]   **ntɕʰarʐə** *rɛ.*
      father=ERG=PP yak sell.IPFV-NMLZ.GEN plan   COP
      '(Other people do not, but my) father plans to sell yaks.'

(101) [*kʰərgɛ=ta wəs=sʰoŋ*]=**kʰawo**   *rɛ.*
      3SG=PP   go.out.PFV=AUX=mood COP
      '(Other people might have stayed, but) it looks like he went out (but actually, he just pretended to go).'

(102) [*ŋe=ta*   *xɛtɕʰa ŋo*]=**ɟə**   *mən.*
      1SG.ERG=PP book   buy.IPFV=NMLZ COP.NEG
      '(Other people might buy, but) I will not buy the book.'

(vi) Gap-type AC with *=no* or *=nu*. See (103).
(vii) Gap-type AC with *-ɟo/-co* or *-ɟu/-cu*. See (104).
(viii) Addition-type AC with *=no* or *=nu*. See (105).
(ix) Addition-type AC with *-ɟo/-co* or *-ɟu/-cu*. See (106).

The enclitic *=ta* for contrast cannot occur in the constructions above.

(103) *{*kʰərgə=ta*   *ŋa=a*   *ɕən=nu*}   *xɛtɕʰa*
      3SG.ERG=PP 1SG=DAT give.PFV=NMLZ.GEN book
      IM: 'the book which he (in contrast with someone else) gave me.'

(104) *{*kʰərgə=ta*   *ŋa=a*   *htɛr-ɟu*}   *xɛtɕʰa*
      3SG.ERG=PP 1SG=DAT give.IPFV-NMLZ.GEN book
      IM: 'the book which he (in contrast with someone else) gives me.'

(105) *{*akʰə=ta ɬasʰa=a   sʰoŋ=nu*}   *ŋəmtsʰan*
      uncle=PP PLN=DAT go.PFV=NMLZ.GEN reason
      IM: 'the reason why (my) uncle (in contrast with someone else) went to
      Lhasa'

(106) *{*akʰə=ta ɬasʰa=a   ɲo-ɉu*}   *ŋəmtsʰan ŋe   ko=wa.*
      uncle=PP PLN=DAT go.IPFV-NMLZ.GEN reason   1SG.ERG hear=AUX
      IM: 'I heard the reason why (my) uncle (in contrast with someone else)
      goes to Lhasa.'

6.3.2 Gapping

It is convenient to start with ACs of the gap type.

    (vi) Gap-type AC with *=no* or *=nu*.
As seen in 4.2.2, the formation of ACs of the gap type involves the gap strategy.
When this strategy is employed, gapping takes place. For example, compare (23)
to (26). The subject, the direct object and the indirect object are present in (23), but
the subject is absent in (24), the direct object in (25), and the indirect object in (26).

    (vii) Gap-type AC with *-ɉo/-co* or *-ɉu/-cu*.
Gapping occurs. For example, compare (107) and (108). The subject and the object
are present in (107), but the object is absent in (108).

(107) *kʰərgə   sama sa=ɉə   rɛ.*
      3SG.ERG food   eat.IPFV=NMLZ COP.B
      'He will eat food.'

(108) {*kʰərgə   sa=ɉu*}   sama
      3SG.ERG eat.IPFV=NMLZ food
      'the food that he will eat'

    (viii) Addition-type AC with *=no* or *=nu*.
    (ix) Addition-type AC with *-ɉo/-co* or *-ɉu/-cu*.
In the formation of ACs of the addition type, gapping does not take place. For
example, compare (28) and (29). The subject and the object are present in (28), and
also in (29).

    (i) Mono-clausal verbal sentences.
    (ii) MMC with *tsʰəkka* 'appearance'.
    (iii) MMC with *ntɕʰarʐə* 'plan'.

(iv) MMC with =*kʰawo* 'mood, appearance'.

(v) MMC with =*ɟə*/=*cə* 'NMLZ'.

Gapping does not occur in the constructions above.

6.3.3 One subject or two subjects?

Again, it is convenient to start with ACs.

(vi) Gap-type AC with =*no* or =*nu*, e.g. (114).

(vii) Gap-type AC with -*ɟo*/-*co* or -*ɟu*/-*cu*.

(viii) Addition-type AC with =*no* or =*nu*, e.g. (30), (82), (85), (93).

(ix) Addition-type AC with -*ɟo*/-*co* or -*ɟu*/-*cu*, e.g. (31), (94).

Sentences with an AC may have two subjects: the subject of the AC and the subject of the main clause. For example, (114) (gap type) has two subjects: *kʰərgə* '3SG.ERG' is the subject of the AC, and *ŋe* '1SG.ERG' is the subject of the main clause. As another example, (30) (addition type) has two subjects: *kʰərge* '3SG.ERG' is the subject of the AC, and *ʈima* 'smell' is the subject of the main clause.

(i) Mono-clausal verbal sentences.

(ii) MMC with *tsʰəkka* 'appearance'.

(iii) MMC with *ntɕʰarʐə* 'plan'.

(iv) MMC with =*kʰawo* 'mood, appearance'.

(v) MMC with =*ɟə*/=*cə* 'NMLZ'.

The constructions above cannot have two subjects. Thus, (8) (an instance of (i)) has just one subject: *ŋe* '1SG.ERG'. (3) (an instance of (iii)) has just one subject: *kʰərge* '3SG.ERG'.

6.3.4 Clefting

In clefting, a sentence is divided into two parts. In Amdo Tibetan, clefted sentences have the structure shown below.

(109) …   Verb=nominalizer (or Verb-nominalizer)   X   Copula.

Cleft sentences of Amdo Tibetan have the form of copula sentences, and the part that immediately precedes the copula verb is focused on. This part is shown with "X" in (109). The non-focused part resembles adnominal clauses (4.2.1) and also the word-type MMC (5.1) in that in all of them the verb is followed by a nominalizer. See Table 2 for a list of nominalizers.

Clefting can be applied to (i) mono-clausal verbal sentences only, and not to other construction types. In the following discussion, the subject will be clefted. For each construction type, a clefted example and the corresponding (non-clefted) example will be given.

(i) Mono-clausal verbal sentences.
Clefting is acceptable. Compare:

(110) *kʰərgə   lehka le=gokə.*
    3SG.ERG work do=AUX.B
    'He is working.'

(111) *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.'

(In (111), the verb in the non-focused part is followed by the nominalizer *=no* 'unmarked'.)

(ii) MMC with *tsʰəkka* 'appearance'.
(iii) MMC with *ntɕʰarʐə* 'plan'. See (112) and (113).
(iv) MMC with *=kʰawo* 'mood, appearance'.
(v) MMC with *=jə/=cə* 'NMLZ'.
(vi) Gap-type AC with *=no* or *=nu*. See (114) and (115).
(vii) Gap-type AC with *-jo/-co* or *-ju/-cu*.
(viii) Addition-type AC with *=no* or *=nu*.
(ix) Addition-type AC with *-jo/-co* or *-ju/-cu*.

Clefting is unacceptable in all the other construction types. Examples of selected constructions follow: (iii) as the representative of the MMC, and (vi) as the representative of ACs.

(iii) MMC with *ntɕʰarʐə* 'plan'

(112) [*kʰərgə   lehka le-ju*]   **ntɕʰarʐə** *rɛ.*
    3SG.ERG work do-NMLZ.GEN plan   COP.B
    'He plans to work.'

(113) **lehka le-ju   ntɕʰarʐə kʰərgɛ rɛ.*
    work   do-NMLZ.GEN plan   3SG   COP.B
    IM: 'The (person) who plans to work is he' or 'It is he who plans to work.'

(vi) Gap-type AC with *=no* or *=nu*

(114) *ŋe* {*kʰərgə* *le=nu*} *sama* *si=taŋ=ŋa*.
1SG.ERG 3SG.ERG make=NMLZ.GEN food eat.PFV=AUX=AUX
'I ate the food that he made.'

(115) **le=nu* *sama* *ŋe* *si=taŋ=no* *kʰərgɛ* *rɛ*.
make=NMLZ.GEN food 1SG.ERG eat.PFV=AUX=NMLZ 3SG COP.B
IM: 'The (person) who made the food that I ate is he.'

In other languages in which clefting was tested, i.e. Modern Standard Japanese (Tsunoda, this volume-b, 6.9), the Mitsukaido dialect of Japanese (Sasaki, this volume, 7.7), Korean (Kim, this volume, 6.8), and Burmese (Kato, this this volume, 6.6), clefting can be applied to the MMC and in this respect the MMC behaves like independent sentences and unlike ACs. Amdo Tibetan is uncommon in that clefting cannot be applied to the MMC and that in this respect the MMC behaves unlike independent sentences and like ACs. (See Tsunoda, this volume-a, 3.4.2.)

6.4 Discussion

The result of the discussion above is shown in Table 6.

In terms of the structure – mainly morphological features – of the predicate, the MMC – to be precise, the Clause of the MMC – shares the following three properties with adnominal clauses ("ACs"), to the exclusion of mono-clausal verbal sentences (which have been selected as the representatives of independent sentences).

(a) Imperative forms are unacceptable.
(b) A nominalizer appears obligatorily – at least in (ii) MMC, *=nu*, *tsʰəkka* 'appearance' and (iii) MMC, *-ɟu/-cu*, *ntɕʰarʑə* 'plan'.
(c) Sentence-final particles are not acceptable.

In contrast, the MMC does not share any properties with mono-clausal verbal sentences to the exclusion of ACs. That is, in terms of the structure – mainly morphological properties – of the predicate, the Clause of the MMC is more similar to ACs than to independent sentences.

We turn now to the syntactic features. In terms of *=ta* 'contrast' and Two subjects, the MMC behaves like mono-clausal verbal sentences, to the exclusion of ACs. In terms of Gapping, the MMC behaves like verbal mono-clausal sentences and also like two types of ACs: (viii) AC, *=no* or *=nu*, addition type, and (ix) AC, *-ɟo/-co* or *-ɟu/-cu*, addition type. In terms of Clefting, the MMC behaves like ACs, to the exclusion of verbal sentences. That is, syntactically the Clause of the MMC is more similar to mono-clausal verbal sentences than to ACs.

Tab. 6: Comparison of the MMC with other constructions.

	Structure of the predicate			
	IMP	IPFV	PFV	AUX
Mono-clausal verbal sentences	+	+	+	+
MMC, =nu, tsʰəkka 'appearance'	–	+	+	+
MMC, -ɟu/-cu, ntɕʰarʑə 'plan'	–	+	–	–
MMC, =kʰawo 'mood'	–	+	+	+
MMC, =ɟə/=cə 'NMLZ'	–	+	–	+
AC, =no or =nu, gap type	–	+	+	+
AC, -ɟo/-co or -ɟu/-cu, gap type	–	+	–	–
AC, =no or =nu, addition type	–	+	+	+
AC, -ɟo/-co or -ɟu/-cu, addition type	–	+	–	–

	NEG	NMLZ	SFP	
Mono-clausal verbal sentences	+	–	+	
MMC, =nu, tsʰəkka 'appearance'	+	+	–	
MMC, -ɟu/-cu, ntɕʰarʑə 'plan'	+	+	–	
MMC, =kʰawo 'mood'	–	–	–	
MMC, =ɟə/=cə 'NMLZ'	–	–	–	
AC, =no or =nu, gap type	+	+	–	
AC, -ɟo/-co or -ɟu/-cu, gap type	+	+	–	
AC, =no or =nu, addition type	+	+	–	
AC, -ɟo/-co or -ɟu/-cu, addition type	+	+	–	

	Syntactic features			
	=ta 'contrast'	Gapping	Two subjects	Clefting
Mono-clausal verbal sentences	+	–	–	+
MMC, =nu, tsʰəkka 'appearance'	+	–	–	–
MMC, -ɟu/-cu, ntɕʰarʑə 'plan'	+	–	–	–
MMC, =kʰawo 'mood'	+	–	–	–
MMC, =ɟə/=cə 'NMLZ'	+	–	–	–
AC, =no or =nu, gap type	–	+	+	–
AC, -ɟo/-co or -ɟu/-cu, gap type	–	+	+	–
AC, =no or =nu, addition type	–	–	+	–
AC, -ɟo/-co or -ɟu/-cu, addition type	–	–	+	–

Legend: +: acceptable or obligatory; –: unacceptable.

To sum up, the MMC is more similar to ACs in terms of the structure of the predicate of the Clause, but syntactically the entire MMC is more similar to mono-clausal verbal sentences. That is, syntactically the entire MMC is not a bi-clausal sentence that contains an AC, and it is close to mono-clausal sentences.

6.5 Compound predicate

As we saw in 6.4, syntactically the entire MMC of Amdo Tibetan is not a bi-clausal sentence that contains an AC, and it is close to mono-clausal sentences.

As seen in Section 1, the prototype of the MMC has the structure shown in (1) – superficially at least. However, languages such as Modern Standard Japanese (Tsunoda, this volume-b, Section 6) and Korean (Kim, this volume, Section 6) provide ample evidence that syntactically their MMC is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal, despite its superficial appearance (shown in (1)). Their MMC has just one predicate, not two predicates, and the predicate is a compound predicate that consists of the predicate of the Clause, the Noun and the Copula, as shown in (2).

(1) Prototype of the mermaid construction ("MMC"):
     [Clause]   Noun   Copula

(2) [... predicate of "Clause"]   Noun   Copula.
                    compound predicate

The situation in the Amdo Tibetan MMC is as follows. See (a)' and (b)' in 5.1.

[1] Enclitic type (cf. (b)' in 5.1)
In the enclitic type, the Noun (an enclitic) is attached to the verb of the Clause, and clearly the Noun and the verb of the Clause form a unit.

I noted the following in 5.4.1-[4]. As seen in Table 3 and Table 4, there are two fused forms that involve the Copula. Both involve *jən*, the Pattern A form for the affirmative and non-interrogative.

(a) Involving the enclitic nominalizer *=nə* 'doing ~, a person to do, a thing to do':
     the fused form *=ne* for the combination *=nə jən,* e.g. (50).
(b) Involving the enclitic nominalizer *=ɟə/=cə* 'NMLZ':
     the fused form *=ɟi/=ci* for the combination *=ɟə/=cə jən*, e.g. (57).

No such fused form exists for any other type of the MMC.

In the type of the MMC discussed in 5.3.4 (IPFV/PFV=*nə* 'IPFV/PFV=NMLZ'), the Noun slot is occupied by the nominalizer *=nə*. This MMC can use the fused form *=ne*. Compare (49) and (50). In the type of the MMC discussed in 5.3.5 (IPFV=*ɟə/=cə* 'IPFV=NMLZ'), the Noun slot is occupied by the nominalizer *=ɟə/=cə*. This MMC can use the fused form *=ɟi/=ci*. See (57). The fact that these two MMCs can use a fused form strongly indicates that in these two MMCs the Noun (a nominalizer) and the Copula form a unit. Furthermore, as noted above, in the enclitic type, clearly the Noun and the verb of the Clause form a unit. That is, there is strong evidence to say that in these two MMCs the verb of the Clause, the Noun and the

Copula form a unit. This unit is the predicate of these MMCs, and it is a compound predicate. Then, (49) can be shown as follows.

(116) [ŋe   hta   tʰok toŋwo c̠on]=***nə***   *jən*.
      1SG.ERG horse first.time   ride=NMLZ COP.A
                                  compound predicate
      'I rode a horse for the first time.' (explanatory meaning)

Elsewhere in the enclitic type, as noted above, there is evidence that the Noun and the verb of the Clause form a unit. However, there is no evidence available to show that the Copula joins this unit.

[2] Word type (cf. (a)' in 5.1)
The Noun slot is occupied by an independent word that is a noun (i.e. a free noun). As seen in 5.4.2, a free noun in the Noun slot cannot be modified by an adjective, a demonstrative or a numeral. These modifiers follow the noun they modify (cf. Section 3). This suggests that the Noun and the Copula form a unit. However, there is no evidence to show that the verb of the Clause joins this unit.

To sum up, for two of the enclitc-type MMCs (that with "IPFV/PFV=*nə* 'IPFV/ PFV=NMLZ'" and that with "IPFV=*jə*/=*cə* 'IPFV=NMLZ'"), there is strong evidence that they have a compound predicate that consists of the verb of the Clause, the Noun and the Copula. However, there is no such evidence for other types of the MMC.

7 Summary and concluding remarks

The Amdo Tibetan MMC is of two types: the word type (six free nouns are attested in the Noun slot) and the enclitic type (four enclitics are attested in the Noun slot).

The meanings of the MMC can be classified as follows: (i) grammatical: modal, evidential, aspectual, temporal, counterfactual, (ii) stylistic: humble, and (iii) discourse-related/informational: explanation and focus. These meanings may be said to be largely predictable in the case of the word type: the free 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.

The Clause of the MMC cannot be used as a sentence by itself under certain circumstances. The sentencehood of the Clause is not so high as that of independent sentences.

In terms of the structure of the predicate, the MMC is more similar to ACs than to mono-clausal verbal sentences. However, syntactically the entire MMC is more similar to mono-clausal verbal sentences. It does not contain an AC, and it should

not be considered a bi-clausal sentence. There is evidence that at least two MMCs with a nominalizer in the Noun slot have a compound predicate that consists of the predicate of the Clause, the Noun and the Copula.

Amdo Tibetan seems to be uncommon in that clefting is inapplicable to the MMC and that in this respect the MMC behaves like ACs and unlike independent sentences.

The free nouns and the enclitics that are attested in the Noun slot are grammaticalized to varying degrees. In terms of semantics, the meanings 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 free nouns and enclitics do not allow modification by an adjective or the like.

If the enclitics in the Noun slot are to have derived from free nouns at all, the enclitic-type MMC seems to have reached an advanced stage of grammaticalization.

Acknowledgments

Abbreviations

A = Pattern A; A = transitive subject; ABL = ablative; ABS = absolutive; AC = adnominal clause; AUX = auxiliary verb; B = Pattern B; CONJ = conjunction; COP = copula; DAT = dative; DU = dual; ERG = ergative; EXCL = exclusive; FT = free translation; GEN = genitive; IM = intended meaning; IMP= imperative; INCL = inclusive; INDF = indefinite; IPFV = imperfective; LOC = locative; LT = literal translation; MMC = mermaid construction; NEG = negation; NMLZ = nominalizer; O = object; PFV = perfective; PL = plural; PLN = place name; PP = pragmatic particle; PSN= personal name; Q = question; S = intransitive subject; SFP = sentence-final particle; SG = singular; TER = terminative; V = verb; 1 = first person; 2 = second person; 3 = third person.

In certain instances (though not always), the plus sign (+) is used to indicate a morpheme boundary in compounds, e.g. (11).

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Satoko Shirai
11 nDrapa

1 Introduction

Tsunoda (this volume-a, 2.1) proposes that the prototype of the mermaid construction ("MMC") has all of the following five properties.

(a) The structure is as shown in (1) – superficially at least.
(b) The Noun is an independent word (not a clitic) that is a noun.
(c) The subject of the Clause and the Noun are non-coreferential.
(d) The Clause can be used as a sentence by itself.
(e) The Clause is not the subject of the "Noun + Copula".

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

In the prototypical MMC, the Noun slot of the MMC is occupied by a noun that is an independent word. In non-prototypical instances, it may be occupied by an enclitic or a suffix which derives from a noun. Nouns, enclitics and suffixes in the Noun slot may also be nominalizers.

Tsunoda (this volume-a, Section 1 and 2.1) notes as follows. Superficially at least, it looks as if the MMC contains a subordinate clause and is bi-clausal. However, languages such as Modern Standard Japanese (Tsunoda, this volume-b, Section 6) and Korean (Kim, this volume, Section 6) provide ample evidence that syntactically their MMC is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal, despite its superficial appearance (shown in (1)). In these languages, the MMC has just one predicate, not two predicates, and the predicate is a compound predicate that consists of the predicate of the Clause, the Noun and the Copula, as shown in (2).

(2) [... predicate of Clause]   Noun   Copula.
               compound predicate

The MMC is found in nDrapa. Four morphemes are attested in the Noun slot of the MMC: *mʌlo3* 'readiness', *nkhei1*/=*nkhei* 'appearance', =*ndei* 'intention' and -*zɨ* 'prospect, strategy'. Among them, *mʌlo3* 'readiness' is an independent noun. *nkhei1*/=*nkhei* 'appearance' can be either an independent word or an enclitic. =*ndei* 'intention' is an enclitic. -*zɨ* 'prospect' is a suffix. (When the morpheme in the Noun slot is not an independent noun, the nDrapa MMC departs from the prototype; see (b) above.)

The MMC is used for the following meanings: (i) the MMC with *mʌlo3* 'readiness' for 'be ready to' (aspectual), (ii) the MMC with *nkhei1*/=*nkhei* 'appearance' for 'It appears' (evidential), (iii) the MMC with =*ndei* 'intention' for 'intend to' (modal), and (iv) the MMC with -*zɨ* 'prospect, strategy' for 'be supposed to, be expected to' (modal).

nDrapa has four copula verbs, and, when they are used in the Copula slot of the MMC, there are certain restrictions or the like on their use.

In many cases the Clause of the nDrapa MMC cannot be used as a sentence by itself. In this respect, too, the nDrapa MMC departs from the prototype; see (d) above. However, there are a considerable number of exceptions: if the predicate of the Clause happens to be in a form appropriate for the predicate of an independent sentence, the Clause can be used as a sentence by itself.

Syntactically the nDrapa MMC should be considered mono-clausal, not bi-clausal.

The four forms attested in the Noun slot of the MMC are rarely used outside the MMC and it is difficult to ascertain their etymologies. Nonetheless, possible etymologies will be suggested. The suggested etymologies show that the Noun slot is filled only by fossilized morphemes. This, in turn, may indicate that the nDrapa MMC has reached a fairly advanced stage of grammaticalization.

2 Initial illustration

An example of each of the four morphemes listed in Section 1 is provided below. When literally translated, the MMC does not make sense, and both a literal translation ("LT") and a free translation ("FT") are often provided for the examples given below. The portion that corresponds to the Clause in (1) and its literal English translation are shown with square brackets. The morpheme in the Noun slot is shown in bold face.

(3) [ŋoro1 ɲjɛ=ʈo1   kɨ-m̥i-a1]   ***mʌlo3***   ʈɛ3.
    3SG   1PL=PLACE INW-sleep-PFV readiness COP_3
    LT: '[He will sleep in our house] readiness is.'
    FT: 'He is ready to sleep in our house.'

(4) [ŋoro1 kaoʈoŋ1   l̥o=ɕi2   ɦdi=ʈi3]   ***nkhei1***   rɛ3.
    3SG   high.school learn=wish think=IPFV appearance COP_4
    LT: '[He wants to learn at a high school] an appearance is.'
    FT: 'He seems to want to go to high school.'

(5) [*somuɳi3 ŋoro1 nchɛncha3 ji*]=**ndei1**   *rɛ3*.
   tomorrow 3SG   shopping   go=intention COP₄
   LT: '[He goes shopping tomorrow] an intention is.'
   FT: 'He intends to go shopping tomorrow.'

(6) [*anʌ3 ɳjɛ=ʈo1   lɛmɛ3 vo*]-**zi3**   *rɛ3*.
   today 1PL=PLACE monk come-prospect COP₄
   LT: '[A monk comes to our place today] a prospect is.'
   FT: 'A monk is scheduled to come to our home today.'

3 Profile of the language

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

The following phonemes can be posited for the Mätro dialect: (i) consonants /ph [pʰ], th [tʰ], ʈh [ʈʰ], ch [cʰ], kh [kʰ]; p, t, ʈ, c, k; b, d, ɖ, ɟ, g; tsh [tsʰ], tɕh, [tɕʰ]; ts, tɕ; dz, dʑ; m, n, ɳ, ŋ; m̥ [m̥m], n̥ [n̥n], ɳ̊ [ɳ̊ɳ], ŋ̊ [ŋ̊ŋ]; fh [fʰ], sh [sʰ], ɕh [ɕʰ]; f, s, ɕ, x, h; v, z, ʑ, ɣ, ɦ; w, j; l, r [ɽ]; l̥ [l̥l], ɽ̊ [ʈ̥]/; (ii) vowels /i, ɨ, ʉ, u, e [ɪ], ɵ, o, ɛ, ʌ, ə, a; ei/; (iii) word tones: 1 (high-level), 2 (high-falling), 3 (low-rising) and 4 (low-rising-falling). Enclitics and suffixes do not carry a specific tone. Their tone varies according to that of the preceding element. In view of this, when they are cited in isolation, they are presented without specification for tone. Enclitics are marked by a preceding equal sign, while suffixes are shown by a preceding hyphen.

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

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

The case system is basically nominative-accusative (A/S vs. O). The nominative case has no overt marker, while the accusative-dative case is marked by the enclitic =*wu* 'ACC' (for the accusative-dative case). However, there are many instances in which the object does not take =*wu* 'ACC' and has no overt case marker. This happens particularly when it is clear from the context which NP is the object, for example, when the actor is animate and the patient is inanimate (Shirai 2010). When the object has no overt case marker, the case system is of the neutral type (A=S=O). Other case postpositions include =*rʌ* 'GEN', =*ji* 'BEN', =*la* 'DAT' (the dative-locative case), =*nʌ* 'COM', =*ntsha* 'ASS', =*kʌtʌ* 'INS', and =*ma* 'CMPR'. Moreover, there are a

number of locative postpositions that provide a more specific description of location or the like: =ta 'ON', =ʐʌ 'UNDER', =kʌ 'IN', and =ʈo 'PLACE' (Shirai 2010).

The genitive postposition =rʌ has the usual genitive function. See the genitive reading of (7). In addition, it has two other uses. First, it occurs after a post-noun modifier/modifiers. In such cases, it is used as something like a NP-final marker, and it does not function as a case marker. See the NP-final marker reading of (7). (Details are given in Shirai (2016).)

(7) ŋoro1 ʈonɖo3 sei=tɕɐ=rʌ1
    3SG   cup   three=CLF=GEN
    Genitive reading: 'of those three cups'
    NP-final marker reading: 'those three cups'

Second, the genitive postposition =rʌ occurs after an adnominal clause (or a relative clause) in two of the four types of adnominal clauses. See 4.2.1. In these two uses, =rʌ occurs after a modifier/modifiers of a noun.

The basic constituent orders are verb-final: AOV and SV. Adjectives and numerals follow the noun they modify. However, demonstratives precede the noun. Adnominal clauses precede the noun they qualify. Moreover, head-internal relative clauses are often found as well. A subordinate clause typically precedes the main clause.

Verb roots are generally monosyllabic. Verbs are inflected for aspect (perfective and imperfective) and mood (plain and imperative). A verb may be followed by an auxiliary verb, in which case the auxiliary verb (and not the main verb) is inflected. Auxiliary verbs include ʈʌ3 'imperfective', ndu3 'iterative', wu2 'perfective', nʌ2 'experiential' and hce3/ɦje3 'past'. Auxiliary verbs tend to be enclitics if the preceding verb is monosyllabic and independent words if the preceding verb is disyllabic or longer.

The plain-mood predicates show the opposition of Pattern A and Pattern B (Shirai 2007a, b).[1] Pattern B (glossed as 'B') is overtly marked by an aspect suffix. Pattern A lacks an aspect suffix. That is, Pattern A is shown by the absence of any overt marker. (However, there are exceptions. For example, nDrapa has four copula verbs (4.1-[2]), and one of them, namely rɛ3 'COP$_4$', can be used in both Patterns A and B.) Pattern A indicates the viewpoint of the pragmatic pivot, where the pragmatic pivot is (i) the speaker of a declarative sentence, (ii) the hearer of an interrog-

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1 A distinction similar to the Pattern A/B opposition is found in Tibetan. Ebihara (this volume) on Amdo Tibetan uses the same terms (Patterns A and B) as those used in the present chapter. The Pattern A/B system may be considered corresponding to the conjunct/disjunct pattern in Newar (Hale 1980; Kiryu, this volume). However, there is a difference between the two: the conjunct/disjunct pattern is a form of person marking, while Pattern A/B in nDrapa concerns modality. Recent studies such as Tournadre (2008) refer to a pattern that is parallel to Pattern A as an egophoric pattern. Accordingly, Pattern B can be termed a non-egophoric pattern.

ative sentence, or (iii) the original speaker of a reported sentence. Pattern B indicates that the sentence does not concern any viewpoint. The following is the main semantic difference between the two patterns. Unintentional predicates use Pattern B in principle, while intentional predicates use either Pattern A or B. Pattern A is typically used for sentences that express an event under the pivot's control (e.g., for a declarative sentence that implies the speaker's intentional action). In contrast, Pattern B is typically used if the event is out of the pivot's control (e.g., third person's action). The main points are summarized below.

a) Plain mood:
    (a-1) Pattern A; zero suffix; viewpoint of the pragmatic pivot.
    (a-2) Pattern B; aspect suffix; no viewpoint.
b) Imperative mood.

Roughly speaking, the distinction between Patterns A and B is neutralized in subordinate clauses and also in the Clause of the MMC (cf. (1)), where Pattern A (i.e. the absence of any overt marker) is generally used without indicating any pragmatic pivot.

A verb root or a verb stem (i.e. with no inflectional suffix) can be used as the predicate of a declarative sentence if Pattern A is appropriate, e.g. (74).

When an adjective root is reduplicated, the resultant stem behaves like a noun, while a non-reduplicated adjective root behaves like a verb.

nDrapa has sentence-final particles ("SFPs"). The SFPs that are frequently used include *pa3* 'inferential', *mo3* 'confirmative', *sa3* 'admirative', *rɛ3* 'factual', *me3/mɛ3* 'polar question', and *tɛ3* 'hearsay'. SFPs are optional, and sentences without an SFP are commonly found.

nDrapa has no written tradition. However, in the areas where nDrapa is spoken, Tibetan is the traditional lingua franca, and nDrapa has been influenced by Tibetan for a long time. More recently, Chinese has become the dominant language. Under these circumstances, "cultured" nDrapa speakers are often familiar with Written Tibetan and Written Chinese. The main consultant for my research has not received formal education. All data in this chapter are taken from the spoken language.

4 Types of sentences and clauses

4.1 Verb-predicate and noun-predicate sentences

Sentences in nDrapa can be classified into two types: verb-predicate sentences and noun-predicate sentences. Each of these types can be further subclassified as shown below. (Details are given in Shirai (2013).)

[1] Verb-predicate sentences

Verb-predicate sentences can be classified into two groups: auxiliary sentences and non-auxiliary sentences. Roughly speaking, their structures are as shown below.

(a) Auxiliary sentences:
   (DIR-) VS   (NEG-) AUX (-B)   (SFP).

(b) Non-auxiliary sentences:
   (DIR-) (NEG-) VS (-B)   (SFP).

(DIR: directional prefix. VS: verb stem. NEG: negation. AUX: Auxiliary verb. B: Pattern B suffix. SFP: sentence-final particle)

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

   Auxiliary sentences contain an auxiliary verb. For example, (8) contains the auxiliary verb *nʌ2* 'experiential' (realized as *-n-* in (8)). Non-auxiliary sentences contain no auxiliary verb. See (9).

(8) *tshonba1   no=ʈo1   tɕəti1 to-htɕu1   mɵ-n-a2.*
   shopkeeper 2SG=PLACE letter NTL-send NEG.PFV-EXP-B.PFV
   'The shopkeeper has never sent you a letter.'

(9) *jenʌ3   ŋorɛ=rə1 je3   a-hpe-a3.*
   yesterday 3PL=GEN house DWN-burn-B.PFV
   'Their house burned (in a fire) yesterday.'

[2] Noun-predicate sentences

These sentences can be classified into two groups: copula sentences, e.g. (10), and copula-less sentences, e.g. (11). Copula-less sentences generally require a sentence-final particle. The structure of each pattern is shown below.

(a) Copula sentences: NP$_1$ NP$_2$ COP (-B)   (SFP).
(b) Copula-less sentences: NP$_1$ NP$_2$ SFP.

(10) *no1 nɖapi3   tɕj-ɛ3   mo3.*
    2SG nDrapa.person COP$_2$-B.IPFV CFM
    'You are a nDrapa person, aren't you?'

(11) *tɨrə=ne3 miwo=i3   sa3.*
    REF=TOP old.woman=CLF ADM
    'It is an old woman.' (folk tale)

("Folk tale" indicates that this example is cited from a folk tale).

There are four copula verbs: *wa3* 'COP$_1$', *tɕe3/tɕj3* 'COP$_2$', *ʈɛ3* 'COP$_3$', and *rɛ3* 'COP$_4$'. Among them, *wa3* 'COP$_1$' is used only for Pattern A. *tɕe3/tɕj3* 'COP$_2$' is typically used in polar questions and answers to them and it can be used either for Patten A (*tɕe3*; without a suffix) or Pattern B (*tɕj-ɛ3*; accompanied by the imperfective Pattern B suffix *-ɛ*). *ʈɛ3* 'COP$_3$' is used for generic propositions. *rɛ3* 'COP$_4$' is the unmarked copula, and it is most widely used. It can be used in both Patterns A and B. (Details are given in Shirai (2013).)

[3] As noted in Section 3, when an adjective root is reduplicated, the resultant stem behaves like a noun, while a non-reduplicated adjective root behaves like a verb. Now, if the predicate is an adjective, the sentence is either of the verb-predicate type (the adjective root is not reduplicated), e.g. (12), or of the noun-predicate type (the adjective root is reduplicated), e.g. (13). Sentence (12) lacks an auxiliary verb, and the adjective is inflected (cf. (b) of [1] above and (9) (a verb-predicate sentence)); the imperfective B suffix *-ɛ* is attached to the adjective stem *ɦdəzj3* (*ɦdəzi3*) 'beautiful.' In contrast, (13) contains a copula verb (cf. (a) of [2] above and (10) (a noun-predicate sentence)); *ɦdəzi3* 'beautiful' is nominalized through reduplication and appears as *ɦdəzi~zi3* 'beautiful~NMLZ', namely, 'a beautiful one' in (13) (Shirai 2014).

Verb-predicate type:
(12) ŋoro1 tɕhəku3 ɦdəzj-ɛ3.
     3SG   very   beautiful-B.IPFV
     'She is very beautiful.'

Noun-predicate type:
(13) ŋoro1 ɦdəzi~zi3   rɛ3.
     3SG   beautiful~NMLZ COP$_4$
     'She is beautiful.' (LT: She is a beautiful one.)

We have seen that sentences can be classified into two types. Similarly, clauses can be classified into two types: verb-predicate clauses and noun-predicate clauses. Sentences and clauses differ in terms of morphological restrictions on the predicate. For example, subordinate clauses cannot contain a Pattern B suffix; see Section 3. Also, as noted in Section 3, a subordinate clause typically precedes the main clause. Therefore, in a typical situation a sentence-final particle cannot occur in a subordinate clause.

4.2 Adnominal clauses

4.2.1 Introductory notes

nDrapa has four types of adnominal clauses ("ACs") (or relative clauses). Moreover, (a) consists of two subtypes.

(a) Head-external AC: AC + noun (4.2.2).
    (a-1) ACs of the gap type (4.2.2.1)
    (a-2) ACs of the addition type (4.2.2.2)
(b) Head-internal AC: the head noun is inside the AC (4.2.3).
(c) Compounding AC: Verb-noun (4.2.4).
(d) Headless AC (4.2.5).

The predicate of an AC is a verb root or a verb stem, and it is combined with a nominalizer – typically, a verbal suffix. (Compounding ACs are exceptional; a noun functions as the nominalizer.) Nominalizer suffixes ("NMLZs") include *-pi*, *-mʌ*, and *-hti*. Roughly speaking, *-pi* is used for subject human head nouns, *-mʌ* is used for non-subject human head nouns and nonhuman head nouns (both subject and non-subject), and *-hti* is used for spatial head nouns (goal, location, etc.). nDrapa ACs do not employ a relative pronoun or a resumptive pronoun. In the case of head-external ACs and head-internal ACs, the nominalizer is followed by the genitive postposition *=rʌ*. A brief overview of each type of nDrapa ACs follows.

4.2.2 Head-external ACs

In this type, the head occurs outside the AC, and it follows the AC. Head-external ACs can be classified into two subtypes. Modern Standard Japanese has head-external ACs, and Teramura (1969) divides them into two types. Tsunoda (this volume-b, 4.2.2) proposes to label these two types as "gap type" and "addition type". Head-external ACs of nDrapa can be classified in the same way.

4.2.2.1 ACs of the gap type
The formation of ACs of this type employs the gap strategy. The head noun corresponds to an argument or an adjunct of the AC. The following positions on Keenan and Comrie's (1977) accessibility hierarchy can be relativized on: subject, direct object, indirect object, and oblique object or something similar to an oblique object. Thus, compare the following sentences. The position relativized on is the subject in (15) and the direct object in (16). (In the examples of ACs, the AC is shown with braces.)

(14) *ŋoro1 zei3   lei3 a-mɵ3   hce-a3.*
　　 that   woman bun DWN-make PST-B.PFV
　　 'That woman made/cooked buns.'

(15) {*lei3 a-mɵ-pi*}=*rʌ3*   *zei3*
　　 bun DWN-make-NMLZ=GEN woman
　　 'the woman who made/cooked buns' (subject)

(16) {*ŋoro1 zei3   a-mɵ-mʌ*}=*rʌ3*   *lei3*
　　 that   woman DWN-make-NMLZ=GEN bun
　　 'the buns that that woman made/cooked' (direct object)

In the following example, something similar to the oblique object is relativized on. It indicates an instrument.

(17) {*ŋoro1 vɛ3   kɨ-ttsɨ-mʌ*}=*rʌ1*   *nkhazi3 koro1 rɛ3.*
　　 3SG   tsampa INW-eat-NMLZ=GEN spoon   this   COP$_4$
　　 'This is the spoon with which (he) ate tsampa (parched barley powder).'

4.2.2.2 ACs of the addition type

In the formation of ACs of this type, the head noun is, so to speak, added from outside the underlying clause. It does not correspond to any argument or any adjunct of the AC. Compare (18) and (19).

(18) *ŋoro1 lʌ1   ko=ţ-ɛ1.*
　　 3SG   song sing=IPFV-B.IPFV
　　 'He sings a song.'

(19) {*ŋoro1 lʌ1   ko-mʌ*}=*rʌ2*   *hkɛ1*
　　 3SG   song sing-NMLZ=GEN voice
　　 'the voice with which he sings a song'

Note that the head noun in (19), i.e. *hkɛ1* 'voice', is absent in (18). That is, the head noun is, so to speak, added from outside the underlying clause. As another pair of example, compare (20) and (21).

(20) *zipʌĥjʌ3 tʌ-ɕʌ-a1   rɛ3.*
　　 son   NTL-die-PFV FAC
　　 'The son died.'

(21) {*zipʌĥjʌ3 tʌ-ɕʌ-pi*}=*rʌ1*   *ɕʌţţhe3*
　　 son   NTL-die-NMLZ=GEN ghost
　　 LT: 'the ghost who the son died' (folk tale)

The context for (21) is as follows: the son died and he became a ghost. The following translation may sound unnatural but it probably conveys what (21) expresses: 'the ghost who the son died and became' or perhaps 'the ghost who the son became after dying'. Again, the head noun in (21), i.e. *ɕʌtʂheɜ* 'ghost', is absent in (20). Sentence (21) shows that an interpretation of ACs of the addition type can heavily rely on pragmatic factors, rather than syntactic factors. Another example of the addition type is (95).

4.2.3 Head-internal ACs

In this type, the head occurs within the AC. Head-internal ACs are used the most frequently among the four types of ACs in nDrapa. Moreover, they are strongly preferred when the direct object is relativized on. An example is (22), in which the head of the AC is *lei3* 'bun'.

(22) {ŋa1 ŋoro=wu1 lei3 tʌ-htsɨ-mʌ}=rʌ2   tɕjutshɛlei3 rɛ3.
    1SG 3SG=ACC bun NTL-feed-NMLZ=GEN chive.bun COP$_4$
    'The bun that I have gave him was a chive bun.'

4.2.4 ACs of the compounding type

In this type, the head noun directly follows the AC and it functions as a nominalizer. An example is (23), in which the head noun *ȵʌ3* 'day' follows the AC *ŋoronɛ1 hteiməɜ mə1* 'they do a wedding' and loses its original tone (i.e. Tone 3) to form one phonological word with the verb *mə1* 'make'. The entire *mə+ȵʌ1* has the tone of *mə1* (i.e. Tone 1). (A plus sign between morphemes indicates compounding.)

(23) {ŋoronɛ1 hteiməɵ mə}+ȵʌ1   a-ɦdɯɦdɯ3   hce-a4   rɛ3.
    3DU   wedding make+day DWN-quarrel PST-PFV FAC
    'They quarreled on the day when they had their wedding.'

Other examples of the compounding type are (25) and (64).

4.2.5 Headless ACs

In this type, the head noun is not expressed overtly. The verb of the AC is followed by a nominalizer suffix. Nominalizers can specifically indicate a category, such as person (*-pi*), e.g. (24), thing (*-mʌ*), and place (*-hti*).

(24) {*lei3 kɨ-ttsɨ-pi2*}   *ŋoro1 rɛ3.*
    bun INW-eat-NMLZ 3SG   COP₄

    'The person who ate the buns was he.'

5 Mermaid construction

5.1 Overview

In the MMC of nDrapa, four morphemes are attested in the Noun slot (cf. (1)): (i) *mʌlo3* 'readiness', (ii) *nkhei1/=nkhei* 'appearance', (iii) *=ndei* 'intention', and (iv) *-zɨ* 'prospect, strategy'. Among them, *mʌlo3* 'readiness' is consistently used as an independent noun. *nkhei1/=nkhei* 'appearance' is used both as an independent noun and an enclitic. *=ndei* 'intention' is an enclitic (although it is used as an independent noun (*ndei3*) outside the MMC). *-zɨ* 'prospect, strategy' is a suffix. When the morpheme in the Noun slot is not an independent noun, the nDrapa MMC departs from the MMC prototype; see (b) in Section 1. Outside the MMC, *nkhei1/=nkhei* 'appearance' is not attested, and the other three forms are rarely used.

The etymologies of these four morphemes are difficult to ascertain. Nonetheless, it is possible to suggest their etymologies on the basis of fossilized compound words in nDrapa and relevant forms in Proto-Tibeto-Burman (PTB). In 5.2, we shall look at each of these four morphemes, paying attention to their etymologies as well. My discussion of Proto-Tibeto-Burman is based on Matisoff (2003, 2015).

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

5.2 Noun slot of the MMC

5.2.1 *mʌlo3* 'readiness'

5.2.1.1 Introductory notes
There is no example of the morpheme *mʌlo3* 'readiness' used as an independent noun by itself. However, *mʌlo3* can be used as an independent noun when it is modified by some other word(s). For example, see (25). *zama3 kɨ-ttsɨ-a1* 'meal INW-eat-PFV' is an AC of the compounding type (cf. 4.2.4), and it modifies *mʌlo3* 'readiness'. The entire *zama3 kɨ-ttsɨ-a1 mʌlo3* functions as the direct object of the transitive verb *a-mɵ3* 'make'. *mʌlo3* has its own tone, and this indicates that it is neither an enclitic nor a suffix, that is, it is an independent noun (cf. Section 3).

(25) {*zama3 kɨ-ttsɨ-a1*}+*mʌlo3*   *a-mɵ3*   *hce-a3*   *rɛ3.*
    meal   INW-eat-PFV+readiness DWN-make PST-PFV FAC
    LT: '(Someone) made the readiness of a meal to eat.'
    FT: '(Someone) made all necessary preparations for a meal.'

In the MMC, too, *mʌlo3* 'readiness' occurs as an independent word. This MMC has an aspectual meaning: 'be ready to'. This MMC is rather uncommon; only a few examples have been found in my field research.

5.2.1.2 Clause

The Clause of the MMC with *mʌlo3* 'readiness' has to be a verb-predicate clause. It cannot be an adjective-predicate or a noun-predicate clause. The verb of the Clause is in the plain mood, and it is always followed by the perfective suffix -*a*, whose time reference is to the non-present time (i.e. either to the past or to the future) when it is used in subordinate clauses or in the Clause of the MMC (cf. 5.2.1.4). In literal translations (LT), it is translated either as the future or the past dependent on the context. See (3) ('will sleep'; future), (26) ('will hold'; future) and (27) ('ate'; past). The verb of the Clause may be either intransitive, e.g. (3) ('sleep'), or transitive, e.g. (26) ('hold') and (27) ('eat').

(26) [*nguttɕhɨ-rɛ2 anʌ3 khɛxui1 ntsho-a4*] ***mʌlo3***   *ʈɛ3.*
    leader-PL   today meeting hold-PFV readiness COP_3
    LT: '[The leaders will hold a meeting today] readiness is.'
    FT: 'The leaders are ready to hold a meeting today.'

(27) [*ŋoro1 vo-ta3,*   *zama3 kɨ-ttsɨ-a1*]   ***mʌlo3***   *ʈɛ3.*
    3SG   come-when meal INW-eat-PFV readiness COP_3 (folk tale)
    LT: '[He, when (he) came, ate] readiness was.'
    FT: 'When he came back, he was ready to have a meal.'

5.2.1.3 Copula

nDrapa has four copula verbs (4.1-[2]). In the MMC with *mʌlo3* 'readiness', generally the Copula employed is *ʈɛ3* 'COP_3', e.g. (3), (26), (27). However, *wa3* 'COP_1' is used if the sentence describes an intentional action by the pragmatic pivot. Compare (26) (*ʈɛ3* 'COP_3') with (28) (*wa3* 'COP_1'). In (28), the meeting has been prepared by the speaker(s).

(28) [*nguttɕhɨ-rɛ2 anʌ3 khɛxui1 ntsho-a4*] ***mʌlo3***   *wa3.*
    leader-PL   today meeting hold-PFV readiness COP_1
    LT: '[The leaders will hold a meeting today] readiness is.'
    FT: 'The leaders are ready to hold a meeting today. I/We have prepared for it.'

A parallel contrast is found between (3) (*ʈɛ3* 'COP$_3$') and (29) (*wa3* 'COP$_1$'). Example (3) has no implication regarding who did the preparation, while (29) implies that "we" did.

(29) [*ŋoro1 ɲjɛ=ʈo1   ki-m̥i-a1*]   **mʌlo3**   *wa3*.
      3SG   1PL=PLACE INW-sleep-PFV readiness COP$_1$
      LT: '[He will sleep in our house] readiness is.'
      FT: 'He is ready to sleep in our house. We have prepared for it.'

The MMC with *mʌlo3* 'readiness' is unacceptable if the subject prepares for the event described by the Clause and brings about the state of readiness on his/her own initiative; see (30). On the contrary, the one who creates the state of readiness is other than the subject in the accepted examples (someone other than the subject in (3), (26) and (27), and people involving the speaker in (28) and (29)).

(30) *[*ŋoro1 ʨhʉ=ji2*]   **mʌlo3**   *ʈɛ3*.
      3SG   harvest.crops=go readiness COP$_3$
      IM: 'He is ready to go for harvesting the crops.'

5.2.1.4 Can the Clause be used as a sentence by itself?

As seen in Section 1, Tsunoda (this volume-a, 2.1) proposes that the prototypical mermaid construction (MMC) has five properties, one of which is the following:

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

We now examine this issue regarding the MMC with *mʌlo3* 'readiness'.
    As mentioned in Section 3, roughly speaking, the distinction between Patterns A and B is neutralized in subordinate clauses and in the Clause of the MMC. It is also useful to mention the two functions of the combination of a directional prefix and the verbal suffix *-a*.

(a) Perfective ('PFV'). Non-present (i.e. past or future). Used in the Clause of the MMC and in a subordinate clause. Example: (31).
(b) Perfective Pattern B ('B.PFV'). Past only, not future. Used in the main clause and in a mono-clausal independent sentence. Example: (32).

Note that (a) and (b) exhibit a complementary distribution in terms of the environments in which they occur. (It is also possible to say that there are two suffixes that have the same form: *-a*.) When this suffix is used in the Clause of the MMC and also in a subordinate clause, the opposition between Patterns A and B is neutralized. However, when it is used in the main clause and also in a mono-clausal independent sentence, it functions as a Pattern B suffix.

Now, as noted in 5.2.1.2, the verb of the Clause of the MMC with *mʌlo3* 'readiness' is always followed by the perfective suffix *-a*. See (31). (Here, the opposition between Patterns A and B is neutralized.) The Clause of this MMC can be used as a sentence by itself. See (32). (Here, the verbal suffix *-a* functions as a Pattern B suffix.)

(31) [*ŋoro1 zama3 kɨ-ttsɨ-a1*]   **mʌlo3**   *ʈɛ3*.
     3SG   meal   INW-eat-PFV readiness COP₃
     'He was/is ready to have a meal.'

(32) *ŋoro1 zama3 kɨ-ttsɨ-a1.*
     3SG   meal   INW-eat-B.PFV
     'He had a meal.'

As another pair of examples, compare (3) (MMC: 'He is ready to sleep in our house') and (33), in which the Clause of (3) is used as a sentence.

(33) *ŋoro1 ɲjɛ=ʈo1   kɨ-m̥i-a1.*
     3SG   1PL=PLACE INW-sleep-B.PFV
     'He slept in our house.'

As noted in 5.2.1.2 and as seen above, in subordinate clauses and in the Clause of the MMC, the time reference of the perfective suffix *-a* 'PFV' is to the non-present time, that is, either to the past, e.g. (27), (31), or to the future, e.g. (3), (26), (28), (29), (31). In contrast, when used in the main clause of a complex sentence and in a mono-clausal sentence, it is used only for a past event, e.g. (32), (33). Moreover, the event described in the Clause of MMC with *mʌlo3* 'readiness' is yet to happen (i.e. a future event) in many cases. Therefore, the suffix *-a* may exhibit a discrepancy in terms of time reference between the MMC on the one hand and the main clause and a mono-clausal independent sentence on the other.

5.2.1.5 Sentencehood of the Clause of the MMC

As seen in 5.2.1.4, the Clause of the MMC with *mʌlo3* 'readiness' can be used as a sentence by itself. Nonetheless, the Clause itself lacks certain properties of independent sentences. Examples follow. (i) The verb of the Clause is in the plain mood, and it cannot occur in the imperative mood. Furthermore, it is always followed by the perfective suffix *-a*. (ii) The opposition between Patterns A and B is neutralized, and Pattern B cannot be used in the Clause. (iii) Sentence-final particles cannot occur in the Clause; the Clause does not occur sentence-finally. Thus, compare (31) and (34). The latter has the sentence-final particle *mo3* 'confirmative'. It is unacceptable.

(34) *[*ŋoro1 zama3 kɨ-ttsɨ-a1   mo3*] **mʌlo3**   *ʈɛ3*.
     3SG   meal   INW-eat-PFV CFM readiness COP₃

5.2.1.6 Etymology

The etymology of *mʌlo3* 'readiness' is difficult to ascertain. It is probably a compound of *mʌ* and *lo*. The morpheme *mʌ* has the similar form as those of the negative prefix *mɵ-* (found in (8), (42), etc.), the meteorological prefix *mʌ-* (e.g., *mokkuɜ* 'rain'; the vowel assimilates with the following syllable) and the nominalizer suffix *-mʌ* (mentioned in 4.2.1). The morpheme *lo* has the same form as the roots of adjectives *lo3* 'old (of humans)' and *lo1* 'slow'. However, semantically they are quite remote from *mʌlo3* 'readiness.' This issue awaits further research.

5.2.2 *nkhei1*/*=nkhei* 'appearance'

5.2.2.1 Introductory notes

The morpheme under discussion here is tentatively translated as 'appearance'. Though it is not used as an independent word outside the MMC, it occurs in some compound words, e.g., *konkhei3* 'this appearance' in (90), (96), and *ŋonkhei3* 'that appearance' in (97). Within the MMC, it tends to be:

(a) an enclitic (*=nkhei*), combined with the preceding word, if the final phonological word of the preceding clause is monosyllabic, e.g. (38), (41), and;

(b) an independent word (*nkhei1*), if the final word of the preceding clause is disyllabic or longer, e.g. (4), (35) to (37), (39), (40), (42), (43), (46).

In other words, the enclitic form tends to be used if the predicate of the Clause is a root, while the independent word form is preferred if the predicate is inflected. As noted in Section 3, verb roots are generally monosyllabic. (Recall that enclitics do not carry any specific tone and that they are presented with no tonal specification (Section 3).)

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

5.2.2.2 Clause types in the Clause slot

The Clause slot may be occupied by any one of the following.

(i)   A verb-predicate clause, e.g. (4), (35) to (37), (43), (46).

(ii)   A noun-predicate clause, e.g. (38), (39).

(iii) An adjective-predicate clause, e.g. (40) to (42).

Examples of each type of clause in the Clause slot follow.

[1] Verb-predicate clauses

The verb of the clause may be either an intransitive verb, e.g. (35) ('come down'), (36) ('die'), and (46) ('be ill') or a transitive verb, e.g. (37) ('eat').

(35) [*ami3   mokku3 a-tɛ-a3*]   **nkhei1**   *rɛ3.*
    evening rain   DWN-come-PFV appearance COP$_4$
    LT: '[Rain will come down in the evening] an appearance is.'
    FT: 'It appears that it will rain this evening.'

(36) [*ŋa1 aɕhi3   ɕʌ-a2*] **nkhei1**   *rɛ3.*
    1SG tonight die-PFV appearance COP$_4$ (folk tale)
    LT: '[I will die tonight] an appearance is.'
    FT: 'It appears that I will die tonight.'

(37) [*ŋoro3 lei3 kɨ-ttsɨ-a1*]   **nkhei1**   *rɛ3 / tɕj-ɛ3.*
    3SG   bun INW-eat-PFV appearance COP$_4$ / COP$_2$-B.IPFV
    LT: '[He ate the buns] an appearance is.'
    FT: 'He appears to have eaten the buns.'

The verb of the Clause is in the plain mood. It may be in the perfective, e.g. (35) to (37), (43), or in the imperfective, e.g. (46).

[2] Noun-predicate clauses

(38) [*koro3 ŋa=rə3   mi*]=**nkhei3**   *rɛ3.*
    this   1SG=GEN mother=appearance COP$_4$
    'It appears that this woman is my mother.'

(39) [*ŋoro1 ɦgeɦgɛ3*] **nkhei1**   *rɛ3.*
    3SG   teacher   appearance COP$_4$
    'It appears that he is a teacher.'

Sentence (38) means the following: 'I do not know who my mother is. But my observation indicates that this woman is my mother'. Similarly, (39) means the following: 'I do not know what his job is. But my observation indicates that he is a teacher'.

The Clause in (38) and that in (39) do not contain a copula verb. There is no example at hand in which the Clause contains a copula verb.

[3] Adjective-predicate clauses

As seen in 4.1-[3], if the predicate is an adjective, the sentence is either of the verb-predicate type (the adjective root is not reduplicated) or the noun-predicate type (the adjective root is reduplicated). For the Clause of the MMC with *nkhei1/=nkhei* 'appearance', I have found only the verb-predicate type for adjective-predicate

clauses, e.g. (40) to (42). As noted in Section 3, when an adjective root is reduplicated, the resultant stem behaves like a noun, while a non-reduplicated adjective root behaves like a verb. The adjective in the Clause in each of (40) to (42) is non-reduplicated. Therefore, it behaves like a verb. Moreover, in (42), the negative prefix *mə-* is added to *ndʑa3* 'good'. This prefix can be added to verbs, but it cannot be added to nouns. These facts show that the Clause in each of (40) to (42) is of the verb-predicate type.

(40) [*koro3 chemo3 koto3 tɕi=ʈi2*]   ***nkhei1***   *rɛ3.*
     this   clothes price big=IPFV appearance COP$_4$
     LT: '[These clothes price is big] an appearance is.'
     FT: 'These clothes look expensive.'

(41) [*koro3 chemo3 koto3 tɕi*]=***nkhei1***   *rɛ3.*
     this   clothes price big=appearance COP$_4$
     These clothes look expensive.'

(42) [*ŋoro1 mɛm̥ɛ-mʌ3   mə-ndʑa3*]   ***nkhei1***   *rɛ3.*
     3SG   think-NMLZ NEG.PFV-good appearance COP$_4$
     LT: '[The thing he thought about/of was not good] an appearance is.'
     FT: 'It seems that what he thought about/of was not good.'

(*ŋoro1 mɛm̥ɛ-mʌ3* 'the thing he thought about/of' in (42) is a headless AC (4.2.5).)

5.2.2.3 Copula

Out of the four copula verbs (4.1-[2]), the following can occur in the Copula slot of the MMC with *nkhei1*/=*nkhei* 'appearance': *tɕj3* 'COP$_2$', e.g. (37), and *rɛ3* 'COP$_4$', e.g. (4), (35) to (42). *rɛ3* 'COP$_4$' is used far more frequently than *tɕj3* 'COP$_2$'. The sentence-final particle *pa3* 'inferential' ("IFR") is also attested in place of a copula, e.g.:

(43) [*ŋoro3 lei3 kɨ-ttsɨ-a1*]   ***nkhei1***   *pa3.*
     3SG   bun INW-eat-PFV appearance IFR
     LT: '[He ate the buns] an appearance I guess.'
     FT: 'He appears to have eaten the buns.'

5.2.2.4 Can the Clause be used as a sentence by itself?

We shall now examine whether the Clause of the MMC with *nkhei1*/=*nkhei* 'appearance' can be used by itself as a sentence. To put forward the conclusion in advance, generally the Clause of this MMC cannot be used as a sentence by itself, but there are two exceptional cases. We shall look at noun-predicate clauses first, followed by verb-predicate clauses and adjective-predicate clauses.

[1] Noun-predicate clauses

As noted in 5.2.2.2-[2], there is no example at hand in which the Clause contains a copula verb. We shall consider sentences such as (38) and (39), in which the Clause does not contain a copula. If the Clause of (39) is to be used as a sentence, we will obtain (44).

(44) *ŋoro1 ɦgeɦgɛ3.
     3SG   teacher

As seen in 4.1-[2], copula-less sentences generally require a sentence-final particle. Therefore, (44) cannot be used as a sentence by itself. Sentences such as (44) become acceptable if they contain a suitable sentence-final particle. Consider (45), which has the sentence-final particle *sa3* 'ADM' (admirative).

(45) ŋoro1 ɦgeɦgɛ3 sa3.
     3SG   teacher ADM
     'He is a teacher!'

[2] Verb-predicate clauses and adjective-predicate clauses

As seen in 4.1-[3] and 5.2.2.2-[3], if the predicate is an adjective, the sentence is either of the verb-predicate type (the adjective root is not reduplicated) or the noun-predicate type (the adjective root is reduplicated). As mentioned in 5.2.2.2-[3], for the MMC with *nkhei1/=nkhei* 'appearance', I have found only the verb-predicate type for adjective-predicate clauses, and I examine verb-predicate clauses and adjective-predicate clauses together.

The verbal inflectional morphology is summarized in Section 3. See (a) and (b), in particular.

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

As noted in Section 3, roughly speaking, the distinction between Patterns A and B is neutralized in subordinate clauses and in the Clause of the MMC, where Pattern A (i.e. the absence of any overt marker) is generally used without indicating any pragmatic pivot.

When the Clause is a verb-predicate clause or an adjective-predicate clause of the verb-predicate type, generally the Clause cannot be used as a sentence by itself (with one exceptional case noted below). As an example, consider (46). The Clause of the MMC does not contain an aspect suffix. That is, in terms of form at least, its predicate is in Pattern A. (=ʨɨ 'IPFV' is an auxiliary verb, and it is the weakened form of ʨʌ3 'IPFV'). If the Clause of (46) is to be used as an independent sentence, we will obtain (47). However, it is unacceptable.

(46) [ŋoro1 tɕhi2 ɲi=ʈi3] **nkhei1** rɛ3.
    3SG condition be.ill=IPFV appearance COP$_4$
    LT: '[He is ill (due to) something] an appearance is.'
    FT: 'It appears that he is suffering from some kind of illness.'

(47) *ŋoro1 tɕhi2 ɲi=ʈi3.
    3SG condition be.ill=IPFV
    IM: 'He is suffering from some kind of illness.'

The fact that a third person is ill is out of the pragmatic pivot's control and therefore Pattern B has to be used. However, as just noted, ɲi=ʈi3 is in Pattern A. It is for this reason that (47) is unacceptable. The same applies to other analogous examples, e.g. (40). The Clause of these sentences describes a situation that is out of the pragmatic pivot's control, but the predicate of the Clause is in Pattern A, and consequently the Clause cannot be used by itself as a sentence. That is, due to the meaning of this MMC – i.e. superficial observation: 'It appears/looks ...' – the Clause of these sentences denotes a situation that is out of the pragmatic pivot's control. However, the predicate of the Clause is in Pattern A (in terms of form, at least). Absence of the pragmatic pivot's control and use of Pattern A are incompatible with each other. Consequently the Clause of these sentences cannot be used as a sentence by itself.

    Sentence (47) becomes acceptable if it contains the imperfective Pattern B suffix -ɛ, which is attached to the auxiliary verb. See (48).

(48) ŋoro1 tɕhi2 ɲi=ʈ-ɛ3.
    3SG condition be.ill=IPFV-B.IPFV
    'He is suffering from some kind of illness.'

    I note in passing that, if the speaker wishes to mention such an event from his/her viewpoint, a sentence-final particle must be used to clarify his/her viewpoint. For example, the inferential particle pa3 is used in (49).

(49) ŋoro1 tɕhi2 ɲi=ʈi3 pa3.
    3SG condition be.ill=IPFV IFR
    'I guess he is suffering from some kind of illness.'

    We have seen that in the case of the MMC with nkhei1/=nkhei 'appearance' generally the Clause cannot be used as a sentence by itself. However, there is an exceptional case to this.

    [3] Exception: Perfective
Recall that the verbal suffix -a has two functions shown in (a) and (b) in 5.2.1.4. Now, the Clause in the MMC with nkhei1 (word) 'appearance' may involve the per-

fective suffix *-a* 'PFV', e.g. (35) to (37), (43). (=*nkhei* (enclitic) 'appearance' cannot occur with this suffix. It is attached to a verb root.)

In nDrapa, generally, a clause whose predicate is in Pattern B can be used as a sentence by itself – provided that Pattern B is pragmatically suitable. However, in the case of the verbal suffix *-a*, whether the Clause can be used as a sentence by itself depends on the time reference that the resultant sentence has.

When the resultant sentence describes a past situation, it is acceptable. For example, the Clause of (37) can be used as a sentence by itself. See (50). The same applies to the Clause of (43).

(50) *ŋoro3 lei3 kɨ-ttsɨ-a1.*
      3SG   bun INW-eat-B.PFV
      'He has eaten the buns.'[2]

However, when the resultant sentence is intended to refer to a future situation, it is unacceptable. For example, if the Clause of (36) is to be used by itself, we obtain (51). It is unacceptable.

(51) **ŋa1 aɕhi3   ɕʌ-a2.*
      1SG   tonight die-B.PFV
      IM: 'I will die tonight.'

To make (51) acceptable, a suitable sentence-final particle must be used. The inferential particle *pa3* 'IFR' needs to be used to express the intended meaning: 'I will die tonight'. See (52). The same applies to the Clause of (35): 'It will rain this evening'.

(52) *ŋa1 aɕhi3   ɕʌ-a2   pa3.*
      1SG tonight die-PFV IFR
      'I will die tonight.'

To sum up what we have seen in 5.2.2.4, as a general rule, the Clause of the MMC with *nkhei1*/=*nkhei* 'appearance' cannot be used as a sentence by itself. However, there is an exceptional case, in which Pattern B is suitable and the predicate of the Clause can be used in Pattern B. In addition, time reference must be to the past.

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2 In (50), the verbal suffix *-a* is attached to the verb and no sentence-final particle is present. Such sentences (i.e. those with *-a* and without a sentence-final particle) have a "resultative" meaning. For example, (50) means the following: He has eaten the buns and now there is no bun left.

5.2.2.5 Sentencehood of the Clause of the MMC

The Clause of the MMC with *nkhei1*/*=nkhei* 'appearance' lacks certain properties of independent sentences. Examples follow. (i) The verb of the Clause is in the plain mood, and it cannot occur in the imperative mood. (ii) The opposition between Patterns A and B is neutralized, and Pattern B cannot be used in the Clause, with an exception discussed in 5.2.2.4-[3]. (iii) As seen in 5.2.2.4, as a general rule, the Clause of the MMC with *nkhei1*/*=nkhei* 'appearance' cannot be used as a sentence by itself – with one exceptional case. (iv) Sentence-final particles cannot occur in the Clause; the Clause does not occur sentence-finally. Thus, compare (46) and (53). The latter has the sentence-final particle *mo3* 'confirmative'. It is unacceptable.

(53) *[ŋoro1 tɕhi2 ȵi=ʈi3 mo3] **nkhei1** rɛ3.
 3SG condition be.ill=IPFV CFM appearance COP$_4$

5.2.2.6 Etymology of *nkhei1*/*=nkhei* 'appearance'

The etymology of *nkhei1*/*=nkhei* 'appearance' is difficult to ascertain. This morpheme is not used as an independent noun outside the MMC. Nonetheless, there is an adjective that has a similar form: *nkhjɛ1* 'similar'. This adjective may be related to *nkhei1*/*=nkhei* 'appearance', possibly contracted from *nkhjɛ~nkhjɛ1* 'similar one (similar~NMLZ)' + *=ji* 'CLF', namely, 'a similar one' or the like. (Reduplication of an adjective produces a nominalized form; cf. Section 3).

A possible proto-form of *nkhei1*/*=nkhei* 'appearance' is PTB **m/s-k(w)a-y* 'mouth, opening, spread, door, face, jaw' (Matisoff 2015: 125). The open vowel in PTB is realized as a close vowel in nDrapa, and therefore the form *nkhei1*/*=nkhei* conforms to this correspondence. The meaning ('face', etc.) also seems to be sufficiently close to 'appearance'.

On the basis of the above, I tentatively suggest that the etymology of *nkhei1*/*=nkhei* 'appearance' is possibly *nkhjɛnkhjɛ1* 'similar one' + *=ji* 'CLF', namely, 'a similar one', and also that this form is derived from the PTB **m/s-k(w)a-y* 'mouth, opening, spread, door, face, jaw'.

5.2.3 MMC with *=ndei* 'intention'

The enclitic *=ndei* 'intention' can be used in the MMC. Furthermore, there is just one example involving the independent noun *ndei3* 'intention' that is used in a construction that looks similar to, but is different from, the MMC: a structure in which a complement clause is the subject.

5.2.3.1 Phonological status of *=ndei*

=ndei forms one phonological word with the word that immediately precedes it. The resultant phonological word has the tone of the word preceding *=ndei*. For example, in (5), *ji1* 'go' has Tone 1. Therefore, the combined phonological word *ji=ndei1* has Tone 1. As another example, in (56), *a-tɛ3* has Tone 3. Therefore, the phonological word *a-tɛ=ndei3* has Tone 3.

5.2.3.2 Semantics

The MMC with *=ndei* 'intention' has a modal meaning 'intend to'. It is unacceptable if the event described is unintentional.

(54) *[*ami3   mokkɯ3   tɛ*]=**ndei1**   *rɛ3*.
　　　evening rain   come=intention COP$_4$
　　　IM: 'It is expected to rain this evening.'

The MMC with *=ndei* 'intention' is not used frequently.

5.2.3.3 Clause

The Clause of the MMC with *=ndei* 'intention' has to be a verb-predicate clause. The predicate of the Clause is a verb root or a verb stem. That is, it is not in a finite form. The verb can be either intransitive, e.g. (5) ('go'), or transitive, e.g. (55) ('make').

(55) [*somuɲi3 no1 tɕhei3 mɵ*]=**ndei1**   *wa3*.
　　　tomorrow 2SG what   make=intention COP$_1$
　　　LT: '[You make what tomorrow?] an intention is.'
　　　FT: 'What do you intend to do tomorrow?'

5.2.3.4 Copula

All of the four copulas are acceptable in the Copula slot of the MMC with *=ndei* 'intention'. *rɛ3* 'COP$_4$' is the unmarked choice. Examples include (5) and (57). An example of *tɕe3/tɕj3* 'COP$_2$' and *tɕ3* 'COP$_3$' is (57). The copula *wa3* 'COP$_1$' can be used if the sentence implies the pragmatic pivot's intention, e.g. (55), (58), or the pragmatic pivot's participation or involvement in the situation concerned, e.g. (56). (The pragmatic pivot may refer to the speaker of a declarative sentence, e.g. (58), or the hearer of an interrogative sentence, e.g. (55). See Section 3.)

(56) [*ami3   ŋoro1 ko3 a-tɛ*]=**ndei3**   *wa3*.
　　　evening 3SG   here DWN-come=intention COP$_1$
　　　LT: '[He comes down here this evening] an intention is.'
　　　FT: 'He intends to come down here in the evening'.

(57) [*somuɳi3 ŋoro1 nchɛncha3 ji*]=**ndei1**   *tɕj-ɛ3 / ʈɛ3 / rɛ3.*
    tomorrow 3SG shopping go=intention COP_2-B.IPFV / COP_3 / COP_4
    LT: '[He goes shopping tomorrow] an intention is.'
    FT: 'He intends to go shopping tomorrow.'

(58) [*somuɳi3 ŋa1 nchara3 ji*]=**ndei1**   *wa3.*
    tomorrow 1SG have.fun go=intention COP_1
    LT: '[I go out to have fun tomorrow] an intention is.'
    FT: 'I intend to go out for fun tomorrow.'

5.2.3.5 Can the Clause be used as a sentence by itself?

As noted in 5.2.3.3, the predicate of the Clause of the MMC with =*ndei* 'intention' is a verb root or a verb stem. That is, it is not in a finite form. Therefore, the Clause cannot be used as a sentence by itself. For example, if the Clause of (5) is to be used by itself, we will obtain (59). However, (59) is unacceptable. To make (59) acceptable, the predicate must be inflected or followed by an auxiliary verb. For example, see (60). In (60), the imperfective auxiliary verb, with the Pattern B suffix (=*ʈ-ɛ* 'IPFV-B.IPFV'), is added to the verb root, and consequently (60) can stand on its own as a sentence.

(59) **somuɳi3 ŋoro1 nchɛncha3 ji1.*
    tomorrow 3SG shopping go

(60) *somuɳi3 ŋoro1 nchɛncha3 ji=ʈ-ɛ1.*
    tomorrow 3SG shopping go=IPFV-B.IPFV
    'He will go shopping tomorrow.'

As another example, if the Clause of (55) is to be used by itself, we will obtain (61). However, (61) is unacceptable. In contrast, (62) is acceptable. The verb root is followed by the imperfective auxiliary verb with the interrogative suffix (=*ʈ-a* 'IPFV-Q').

(61) **somuɳi3 no1 tɕhei3 mɵ1.*
    tomorrow 2SG what   make

(62) *somuɳi3   no1 tɕhei3 mɵ=ʈ-a1.*
    tomorrow 2SG what   make=IPFV-Q
    'What will you do tomorrow?'

I stated above that the Clause of the MMC with =*ndei* 'intention' cannot be used as a sentence by itself. However, there are possibly exceptions. For the reason stated in 5.2.4.5, it is possible that the Clause of this MMC can be used as a sentence by itself, although there is no example at hand.

5.2.3.6 Sentencehood of the Clause

The Clause of the MMC with =*ndei* 'intention' lacks certain properties of independent sentences. Examples follow. (i) The predicate of the Clause is a verb root or a verb stem, and it is not inflected. It is not in a finite form. (ii) The Clause cannot be used as a sentence by itself – with possible exceptions noted in the last paragraph of 5.2.3.5. (iii) Sentence-final particles cannot occur in the Clause; the Clause does not occur sentence-finally.

5.2.3.7 Independent noun *ndei3* 'intention'

The morpheme under discussion here is rarely used as an independent noun outside the MMC. In this use, it has the low-rising tone (indicated by "3"). It can be translated as 'intention'.

There is just one example of *ndei3* 'intention' that is used in a construction that looks similar to, but is different from, the MMC: a structure in which a complement clause is the subject. Consider (63), which was uttered by the consultant during my attempt to elicit a topicalized version of (5). The nominalizer suffix -*m*ʌ (cf. 4.2.1) is attached to the verb root *ji1* 'go', and the entire clause *somuɲi3 ŋoro1 nchɛncha1 ji1* is topicalized (by means of the topic enclitic =*ne*). The noun *ndei3* is focused on. (63) implies that the plan of his going shopping is more definite than in (5). This is probably because *ndei3* 'intention' is focused on.

(63) *somuɲi3   ŋoro1 nchɛncha1 ji-m*ʌ=*r*ʌ=*ne1*   *ndei3   r*ɛ*3.*
    tomorrow 3SG   shopping   go-NMLZ=GEN=TOP intention COP_4
    LT: 'That he goes shopping tomorrow is an intention.'
    FT: 'He definitely intends to go shopping tomorrow.'

Sentence (63) has the structure shown in (1), and it may look as if (63) is an instance of the MMC. However, consider the property (e) of the prototype of the MMC, given in Section 1.

(e) The Clause is not the subject of the "Noun + Copula".

In (63), what may appear to be the Clause (i.e. 'That he goes shopping tomorrow') should be considered the subject of "Noun + Copula" (i.e. 'is an intention'). That is, (63) has a structure in which a complement clause is the subject. This view is supported by the presence of the topic marker at the end of what may appear to be the Clause. A constituent of a sentence can be topicalized by adding the topic enclitic =*ne* 'TOP' to it and moving it to the sentence-initial position. (Additional examples of topicalization are given in 6.4.) This shows that the portion 'That he goes shopping tomorrow' forms one constituent. This in turn shows that (63) has a structure in which a complement clause is the subject. Therefore, (63) lacks the property (e) and it should not be considered an instance of the MMC, at least not

an instance of the prototypical MMC. It should also be added that – apart from (63) – there is no example of any type of the nDrapa MMC in which the Clause is followed by the topic marker.

It is possible, though by no means certain, that sentences such as (63) may become a source of the MMC – in nDrapa or some other language.

I note in passing that the property (e) is useful for distinguishing these two constructions that may look similar: the MMC and a construction in which a complement clause is the subject.

5.2.3.8 Etymology

The etymology of =*ndei*/*ndei3* 'intention' is difficult to ascertain. The same form is found in the noun *jandei3* 'hand, arm'. However, its meaning is quite remote from 'intention'. Yasuhiko Nagano (p.c.) suggests that =*ndei*/*ndei3* 'intention' may be related to the Written Tibetan word *'dod(-pa)* 'desire, wish' (cf. Jäschke 1881: 280– 281). There are two pieces of evidence that support this view. First, in many modern Tibetan dialects, the initial letter "'" before an obstruent in Written Tibetan is realized as a nasal. (nDrapa has been influenced by Tibetan for a long time (Section 3).) Second, in nDrapa no consonant is allowed in the syllable-final position. Moreover, Proto-Lolo-Burmese *$\star$m-daŋ$^{1/2}$* 'think, feel an emotion' (Matisoff 2003: 266; the superscript numbers indicate tones) may be another related/cognate word. A PTB vowel *$\star$a* tends to have changed into a high vowel in nDrapa (as well as in other Qiangic languages, see Matisoff 2004), but tends to be retained as *$\star$a* in Lolo-Burmese. In view of this, I tentatively conclude that =*ndei*/*ndei3* 'intention' is related to the Written Tibetan *'dod* 'desire, wish' and Proto-Lolo-Burmese *$\star$m-daŋ$^{1/2}$* 'think, feel an emotion'.

5.2.4 *-zɨ* 'prospect, strategy'

5.2.4.1 *-zɨ* 'prospect, strategy' outside the MMC

There is no example of the morpheme *zɨ* 'prospect, strategy' used independently as a noun, without modifying word(s). Consider (64), where *zɨ* 'prospect' is the head noun that is modified by an AC (to be precise, a compounding type AC), and it functions as the argument of the verb *po3* 'exist.' This indicates that, in (64), the morpheme *zɨ* 'prospect, strategy' has status as a noun (although it may not be an independent word).

(64) {*alɛ3 alɛ=ne3   nonɛ=pɛrə3 tɛtɛ1   to-m̥o=ne1*
    sometime=TOP 2DU=CNT   each.other NTL-forget=then
    mo-ɕo}+zi3   po3.
    NEG.PFV-recognize+prospect exist (folk tale)
    LT: 'There is a prospect such that sometime you two forget each other and
    cannot recognize each other.'
    FT: 'Some day you two may forget each other and may not recognize each
    other.'

5.2.4.2 *-zɨ* 'prospect, strategy' in the MMC

When used in the Noun slot of the MMC, the morpheme in question is a suffix (*-zɨ*), not an independent word. The Clause has to be a verb-predicate clause. The verb is a root or a stem (not a finite form), and it is followed by this suffix. The verb root/stem and this suffix form one phonological word.

This suffix may be translated as 'prospect' or 'strategy'. It also has the "generic" or "habitual" implication.

The MMC containing *-zɨ* 'prospect, strategy' mainly has a modal meaning, such as 'be supposed to do', 'be scheduled to do', or 'be expected to do'. This MMC is used frequently, in contrast with the MMC containing *=ndei* 'intention' (5.2.3).

Examples of the MMC with *-zɨ* 'prospect, strategy' include the following.

(65) (An example cited from a folk tale. A millionaire said:)
    [*tʉrʌ3 tɛtshi=rə1   thʉɛ=ʈʌ1   mə*]-***zi3***   *rɛ3.*
    REF   whole.life=GEN LOG.PL=PLACE live.in-prospect COP$_4$ (folk tale)
    LT: '[(She) lives in our house for the whole life] a prospect is.'
    FT: 'She is supposed to live in our house (and work) all her life.'

(66) (An example obtained by elicitation)
    [*ŋa1 l̥oʈʈa=kə3 a-l̥o3   wʉ3   tshʌpi1 ɦgeɦgɛ1 mə*]-***zi1***   *rɛ3.*
    1SG school=IN DWN-read finish after   teacher make-prospect COP$_4$
    LT: '[I become a teacher after finishing reading at school] a prospect is.'
    FT: 'I am supposed to become a teacher after graduating from school.'

We now look at the MMC with *-zɨ* 'prospect, strategy' in some detail.

5.2.4.3 Copula

In the examples given thus far, the copula used is *rɛ3* 'COP$_4$'. The other three copulas, too, can be used; see (67).

(67) [anʌ3 ɲjɛ=ʈo1 lɛmɛ3 vo]-**zi3** wa3 / ʈɕj-ɛ3 / ʈɛ3 / rɛ3.
today 1PL=PLACE monk come-prospect COP$_1$ / COP$_2$-B.IPFV / COP$_3$ / COP$_4$
LT: '[A monk comes to our place today] a prospect is.'
FT: 'A monk is supposed to come to our home today.'

5.2.4.4 Semantics

As noted in 5.2.4.2, the MMC with -*zi* 'prospect, strategy' mainly has a modal meaning, such as 'be supposed to do', 'be scheduled to', or 'be expected to do'. The act described is generally intentional. Furthermore, the MMC with -*zi* may express a strategy, e.g. (68) to (70).

(68) [ŋwɛ=rʌ1 hkɛtɕha3 kɛcʌ3 a-ɦji]-**zi3** ra3.
2PL=GEN word how DWN-talk-strategy COP$_4$.Q
LT: '[How does your language say?] a strategy is.'
FT: 'How do you say this in your language?'

(69) (An example cited from a folk tale. A group of mice are asked as follows.)
[ŋwɛ1 kɛcʌ3 ʌ-ttɕhu]-**zi3** ra3.
2PL how UP-carry-strategy COP$_4$.Q (folk tale)
LT: '[How do you carry (that big box)?] a strategy is.'
FT: 'How do you carry (that big box)?'

(70) (In the same folk tale, as an answer to (69):)
[nphei=ta1 nɖole3 tʌ-rɛrɛ]-**zi3** rɛ3.
ice=ON horse.dropping NTL-scatter-strategy COP$_4$ (folk tale)
LT: '[(We) scatter horse droppings on ice] a strategy is.'
FT: 'We will scatter horse droppings on ice (and slide the box on them).'

In the examples given thus far, the MMC with -*zi* describes intentional events. Where unintentional events are concerned, this MMC is acceptable if it expresses common knowledge, e.g. (71).

(71) zɣi3 kʌ-ɕjɛ=ta1, [tazi3 mɛto3 ŋo-ɦbo]-**zi1** rɛ3.
hot.season INW-come=PCL immediately flower OUT-bloom-prospect COP$_4$
LT: 'When the hot season comes, [flowers bloom immediately] a prospect is.'
FT: 'When the hot season comes, flowers are supposed to bloom immediately.'

5.2.4.5 Can the Clause be used as a sentence by itself?

As noted in 5.2.4.2, the predicate of the Clause of the MMC with -*zi* 'prospect, strategy' is a verb root or a verb stem, and it is not in a finite form. Therefore, the Clause cannot be used as a sentence by itself, with exceptions noted below. For the Clause

to be used as an independent sentence, the predicate needs to be inflected or be followed by an auxiliary verb. For example, the Clause of (71) is not fully acceptable as a sentence. See (72). If the verb of (72) is inflected or followed by an auxiliary verb, the sentence becomes fully acceptable, e.g. (73).

(72) ?*tazi3* *mɛto3 ŋo-ħbo1.*
immediately flower OUT-bloom
'Flowers will bloom immediately.'

(73) *tazi3* *mɛto3 ŋo-ħbo1 ʈ-ɛ3.*
immediately flower OUT-bloom IPFV-B.IPFV
'Flowers will bloom immediately.'

The exceptions noted above are the following. Verbs inflect for mood (plain and imperative) and the plain mood exhibits the opposition between Pattern A (with no aspect suffix) and Pattern B (with an overt aspect suffix) (cf. Section 3). As noted in 5.2.4.2, the predicate of the Clause of the MMC with *-zɨ* 'prospect, strategy' is a verb root or a verb stem. Verb roots and verb stems have no inflectional suffix, such as a Pattern B suffix. Nonetheless, as noted in Section 3, they can be used as the predicate of a declarative sentence if Pattern A is appropriate. An example is (74). If the Clause of (67) is used by itself, we obtain (74). In (74), the verb has no aspect suffix, and therefore it has to be considered to be in Pattern A. In (74), Pattern A is suitable for the sentence is a declarative sentence and describes the viewpoint of the speaker (cf. Section 3): 'to our home'.

(74) *anʌ3* *ɲjɛ=ʈo1* *lɛmɛ3 vo3.*
today 1PL=PLACE monk come
'A monk comes to our home today.'

To sum up, generally the Clause of the MMC with *-zɨ* 'prospect, strategy' cannot be used as a sentence by itself. But it can be used as a sentence if Pattern A is suitable.

5.2.4.6 Sentencehood of the Clause

The Clause of the MMC with *-zɨ* 'prospect, strategy' lacks certain properties of independent sentences. Examples follow. (i) The predicate of the Clause is a verb root or a verb stem. That is, it is not in a finite form. (ii) Generally the Clause cannot be used as a sentence by itself (although there are exceptions). (iii) Sentence-final particles cannot occur in the Clause; the Clause does not occur sentence-finally.

5.2.4.7 Etymology

Regarding the etymology of *-zɨ* 'prospect, strategy', there is another morpheme *zɨ* 'child, son', which is used in nominal compounds such as *mizɨ3* 'mother and child'. This morpheme is possibly derived from PTB **za-n* 'child' (Matisoff 2015: 744). However, semantically the two morphemes are quite remote. Other possible etymologies are PTB **(t)saːy* ⋇ **(d)zaːy* 'temperament, heart, talent, resources' (Matisoff 2015: 374) and PTB **r-tsyəy* 'count' (Matisoff 2015: 811). ("A ⋇ B" indicates that A and B are co-allofams of a single etymon (Matisoff 2003: xxxi).) An open vowel in PTB is realized as a close vowel in nDrapa, and **(t)saːy* ⋇ **(d)zaːy* seems to be a more likely etymology than **r-tsyəy* 'count' in terms of form. However, its meaning is rather remote from 'prospect, strategy'. On the other hand, although the form of **r-tsyəy* 'count' is remote from *-zɨ*, the initial consonant may have been vocalized and fricativized through grammaticaliztion. Moreover, its reflex in Written Tibetan, i.e. *rtsis*, means 'counting, account, estimation' (Jäschke 1881: 439), and this meaning is comparatively close to that of *-zɨ* 'prospect, strategy' (Yasuhiko Nagano p.c.). Thus, I conclude that PTB **r-tsyəy* 'count' is a possible etymology. However, at this stage of research it is difficult to decide whether the nDrapa *-zɨ* is derived from PTB **r-tsyəy* 'count' or is related to the nDrapa noun *zɨ* 'child'.

5.2.5 Summary of the Noun

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

Tab. 1: Morphemes in the Noun slot.

	Possible original meaning	**Meaning in MMC**
mʌlo3 (word) 'readiness'	(unknown)	aspectual ('be ready to')
nkhei1 (word) / *=nkhei* (enclitic) 'appearance'	'a similar one' or 'mouth, face'	evidential ('It appears')
=ndei (enclitic) 'intention'	'desire, wish' or 'think, feel an emotion'	modal ('intend to do')
-zɨ (suffix) 'prospect, strategy'	'count' or 'child'	modal ('be supposed to do', 'be expected to do')

5.3 Morphosyntax of the MMC: negation

In 5.2.1 to 5.2.4, we looked at morphosyntactic aspects of the MMC such as the following.

(a) Type of the Clause (1): a verb-predicate clause, a noun-predicate clause and an adjective-predicate clause.
(b) Type of the Clause (2): an intransitive clause and a transitive clause.
(c) Morphology of the predicate of the Clause, e.g. (i) a root/stem, (ii) the perfective suffix -*a*, and (iii) Pattern A, Pattern B.
(d) Copula: COP$_1$, COP$_2$, COP$_3$, COP$_4$, and the sentence-final particle for inference.
(e) Can the Clause be used as a sentence by itself?
(f) Sentencehood of the Clause.

We now examine an additional morphosyntactic aspect: negation.

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

Verb-predicate sentences are negated by the addition of the negative prefix to the main verb or the negative auxiliary verb, e.g. (8). Regarding noun-predicate sentences, copula-less sentences (e.g. (11)) cannot be negated. However, copula sentences are negated by the addition of *ma-* to the copula. For example, compare (75) and (76).

(75) *ʈaɕi3 nɖapi3   rɛ3.*
     PSN   nDrapa.person COP$_4$
     'Tashi is a nDrapa person.'

(76) *ʈaɕi3 nɖapi3   ma-rɛ3.*
     PSN   nDrapa.person NEG.IPFV-COP$_4$
     'Tashi is not a nDrapa person.'

The MMC contains two words that can possibly be negated: (i) the predicate of the Clause and (ii) the Copula. Generally the Copula is negated – irrespective of which morphemes fill the Noun slot and Copula slot, respectively. Examples of the four types of the MMC follow. Compare (3) and (77); (37) and (78); (5) and (79); and (67) and (80).

(77) [*ŋoro1 ɲjɛ=ʈo1   ki-m̥i-a1*]   ***mʌlo3   ma-jʌ3.***
     3SG   1PL=PLACE INW-sleep-PFV readiness NEG.IPFV-COP$_1$
     LT: '[He will sleep in our house] readiness is not.'
     FT: 'It's not ready for him to sleep in our house. We haven't prepared for that.'

(78) [*ŋoro3 lei3 kɨ-ttsɨ-a1*]   ***nkhei1***   *ma-rɛ3.*
     3SG   bun INW-eat-PFV appearance NEG.IPFV-COP$_4$
     LT: '[He ate the buns] an appearance is not.'
     FT: 'He does not appear to have eaten the buns.'

(79) [*somuɲi3 ŋoro1 nchɛncha3 ji*]=***ndei1***   *ma-rɛ3.*
     tomorrow 3SG   shopping   go=intention NEG.IPFV-COP$_4$
     LT: '[He goes shopping tomorrow] an intention is not.'
     FT: 'He does not intend to go shopping tomorrow.'

(80) [*anʌ3 ɲjɛ=ʈo1   lɛmɛ3 vo*]-***zi3***   *ma-rɛ3.*
     today 1PL=PLACE monk come-prospect NEG.IPFV-COP$_4$
     LT: '[The monk comes to our home today] a prospect is not.'
     FT: 'The monk is not supposed to come to our home today.'

The predicate of the Clause can be negated, although this is less common than the negation of the Copula. An example is (42) (*mə-ndʑa3* 'NEG.PFV-good') (LT: '[The thing he thought was not good] an appearance is').

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

6 Comparison of the MMC with other constructions

6.1 Introductory notes

We now compare the MMC with other constructions. In particular, we shall examine the following two issues.

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

The structure of the prototype of the MMC is as shown in (1). Superficially at least, it looks as if the prototypical MMC is bi-clausal. In some of the languages reported in the present volume, the Clause of the MMC looks similar to an adnominal clause ("AC") (or a relative clause) of the respective languages and consequently it looks as if the MMC is bi-clausal, with an AC as a subordinate clause. This applies to nDrapa to some extent. The verb in ACs is a root or a stem (4.2.1). Similarly, the verb in the Clause is a root or a stem in the MMC with *=ndei* (enclitic) 'intention' (5.2.3.3) and the MMC with *-zi* (suffix) 'prospect, strategy' (5.2.4.2), and it is a root in the MMC with *=nkhei* (enclitic) 'appearance' (5.2.2.1).

However, languages such as Modern Standard Japanese (Tsunoda, this volume-b, Section 6) and Korean (Kim, this volume, Section 6) yield evidence that

their MMC does not contain an AC and that it is syntactically mono-clausal. (See Tsunoda (this volume-a, 3.4.2).) In view of this, it is important to examine the two issues listed above.

For nDrapa, we compare the following constructions.

(i)   Mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences (cf. 4.1-[1]).
(ii)   MMC with *mʌlo3* (word) 'readiness' (cf. 5.2.1).
(iii)   MMC with *nkhei1* (word) 'appearance' (cf. 5.2.2).
(iv)   MMC with *=nkhei* (enclitic) 'appearance' (cf. 5.2.2).
(v)   MMC with *=ndei* (enclitic) 'intention' (cf. 5.2.3).
(vi)   MMC with *-zɨ* (suffix) 'prospect, strategy' (cf. 5.2.4).
(vii)   Head-internal ACs (4.2.3).
(viii) Head-external ACs (4.2.2).

Verb-predicate sentences are chosen as the representative of independent sentences. It is necessary to consider mono-clausal sentences, since one of the aims of this comparison is to examine the issue (b) listed above. Head-internal ACs and head-external ACs are chosen as the representatives of ACs.

Regarding the MMC, the following comparison mainly considers the Clause, but it also looks at the entire MMC. It will examine verb-predicate clauses as the representative of clauses in the Clause slot where noun-predicate clauses and adjective-predicate clauses are acceptable. The same applies to ACs.

This comparison will concern the structure of the predicate (6.2), the genitive postposition *=rʌ* (6.3), topicalization (6.4), gapping (6.5), one subject or two subjects (6.6), and the "Clause + Noun" as the object of a verb (6.7). The comparison in 6.2 in the main concerns morphology, those in 6.3 to 6.6 deal with syntax, and that in 6.7 concerns the nounhood of the Noun. The result of this comparison is shown in Table 2.

6.2 Predicate

We shall look at the structure of the predicate – the predicate of the Clause in the case of MMC. This mainly concerns its morphological structure.

As noted in Section 3, verbs are inflected for mood (plain and imperative) and aspect (perfective and imperfective). The plain mood exhibits the opposition between Pattern A and Pattern B. As a general rule, the distinction between Patterns A and B is neutralized in subordinate clauses and in the Clause of the MMC, where Pattern A (i.e. the absence of any overt marker) is generally used without indicating any pragmatic pivot. Also, as seen in 5.2.1.4, the combination of a directional prefix and the verbal suffix *-a* has two functions.

(a) Perfective ('PFV'). Non-present (i.e. past or future). Used in the Clause of the MMC and in a subordinate clause. Example: (31).

(b) Perfective Pattern B ('B.PFV'). Past only, not future. Used in the main clause and in a mono-clausal independent sentence. Example: (32).

To be precise, however, the perfective suffix *-a* 'PFV' does not occur in the Clause of every type of the MMC. In view of this, it is important to examine the acceptability of the suffix *-a* 'PFV'/'B.PFV' in this comparison. We now look at each construction.

(i) Verb-predicate sentences

The verb is fully inflected. It can be inflected for the two moods. It can take the suffix *-a* (which functions as the Pattern B perfective: 'B.PFV'). It can be followed by a sentence-final particle ("SFP").

(ii) MMC with *mʌlo3* 'readiness'

The Clause has to be a verb-predicate clause. The verb is inflected and it is in the plain mood. It always takes the suffix *-a* (which functions as the perfective 'PFV'). It cannot be followed by an SFP; see (34).

(iii) MMC with *nkhei1* (word) 'appearance'

The Clause may be a verb-predicate clause. The verb is inflected and it is in the plain mood. It may be in the perfective or the imperfective. It can take the suffix *-a* 'PFV' (which functions as the perfective 'PFV'). It cannot be followed by an SFP; see (53).

(iv) MMC with *=nkhei* (enclitic) 'appearance'

The Clause may be a verb-predicate clause. The verb is a root. It cannot take the suffix *-a* 'PFV'. It cannot be followed by an SFP.

(v) MMC with *=ndei* 'intention'
(vi) MMC with *-zɨ* 'prospect, strategy'

The Clause has to be a verb-predicate clause. The verb is a root or a stem. It cannot take the suffix *-a* 'PFV'. It cannot be followed by an SFP.

(vii) Head-internal ACs
(viii) Head-external ACs

An AC may be a verb-predicate clause. The verb is a root or a stem. (It is combined with a nominalizer suffix.) It cannot take the suffix *-a* 'PFV'. It cannot be followed by an SFP.

6.3 The genitive postposition *=rʌ*

As seen in Section 3, the genitive postposition *=rʌ* has three uses. In its third use, it occurs after an adnominal clause (or a relative clause) in two of the four types of adnominal clauses: head-external ACs and head-internal ACs (cf. 4.2.1). We shall look at the third use of the genitive postposition. This concerns syntax. It is convenient to start with ACs.

(vii) Head-internal ACs
The genitive postposition may occur after the AC, e.g. (22).

(viii) Head-external ACs
The genitive postposition generally occurs after the AC, e.g. (15) to (17), (19), (21).

(ii) MMC with *mʌlo3* (word) 'readiness'
(iii) MMC with *nkhei1* (word) 'appearance'
(iv) MMC with *=nkhei* (enclitic) 'appearance'
(v) MMC with *=ndei* (enclitic) 'intention'
(vi) MMC with *-zɨ* (suffix) 'prospect, strategy'
The genitive postposition *=rʌ* postposition cannot occur after the Clause of any type of the MMC. For example, compare (3) (an example of (ii)) and (81).

(81) *[ŋoro1 ɲjɛ=ʈo1   kɨ-m̥i-a1]=rʌ1   **mʌlo3**   ʈɛ3.
       3SG   1PL=PLACE INW-sleep-PFV=GEN readiness COP₃

(i) Mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences
This issue is irrelevant.

6.4 Topicalization

A constituent of a sentence can be topicalized by adding the topic enclitic *=ne* 'TOP' to it and moving it to the sentence-initial position (cf. 5.2.3.7). This test is designed to examine the syntactic structure of the Clause of the MMC.

(i) Verb-predicate sentences
Topicalization is possible. Compare (8) with:

(82) *tshonba=ne1   no=ʈo1   tɕəti1 to-htɕu1   mɵ-n-a2.*
     shopkeeper=TOP 2SG=PLACE letter NTL-send NEG.PFV-EXP-B.PFV
     'As for the shopkeeper, he has never sent you a letter.'

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

(ii) MMC with *mʌlo3* 'readiness'
Compare (3) with:

(83) [*ŋoro=ne1 ɲjɛ=ʈo1   ki-m̥i-a1*]   ***mʌlo3***   *ʈɛ3.*
     3SG=TOP 1PL=PLACE INW-sleep-PFV readiness COP$_3$
     'As for him, he is ready to sleep in our house.'

   (iii) MMC with *nkhei1* (word) 'appearance'
Compare (37) with:

(84) [*ŋoro=ne1 lei3 ki-ttsi-a1*]   ***nkhei1***   *rɛ3.*
     3SG=TOP bun INW-eat-PFV appearance COP$_4$
     'As for him, he appears to have eaten the buns.'

   (iv) MMC with *=nkhei* (enclitic) 'appearance'
Compare (41) with:

(85) [*koro3 chemo=ne3   koto3 tɕi*]=***nkhei1***   *rɛ3.*
     this   clothes=TOP price big=appearance COP$_4$
     'As for these clothes, they look expensive.'

   (v) MMC with *=ndei* 'intention'
Compare (5) with:

(86) [*ŋoro=ne1 somuɲi3   nchɛncha3 ji*]=***ndei1***   *rɛ3.*
     3SG=TOP tomorrow shopping   go=intention COP$_4$
     'As for him, he intends to go shopping tomorrow.'

   (vi) MMC with *-zi* 'prospect, strategy'
Compare (67) with the following sentences: (87) (the subject *lɛmɛ3* 'monk' is topicalized), (88) (the goal noun *ɲjɛ=ʈo1* '1PL=PLACE' is topicalized), and (89) (the time noun *anʌ3* 'today' is topicalized).

(87) [*lɛmɛ=ne3 anʌ3 ɲjɛ=ʈo1   vo*]-***zi3***   *rɛ3.*
     monk=TOP today 1PL=PLACE come-prospect COP$_4$
     'As for the monk, he is supposed to come to our home today.'

(88) [*ɲjɛ=ʈo=ne1   anʌ3 lɛmɛ3 vo*]-***zi3***   *rɛ3.*
     1PL=PLACE=TOP today monk come-prospect COP$_4$
     'To our home, a monk is supposed to come today.'

(89) [*anʌ=ne3 ɲjɛ=ʈo1 lɛmɛ3 vo*]-**zi3** *rɛ3*.
today=TOP 1PL=PLACE monk come-prospect COP₄
'Today, a monk is supposed to come to our home.'

As an additional pair of examples, compare (68) with:

(90) [*ɲjɛ=rʌ1 hkɛtɕha=ne1 konkhei3 a-ɦʝiɦʝi*]-**zi3** *rɛ3*.
1PL=GEN word=TOP this.appearance DWN-talk-prospect COP₄
'In our language, (we) say like this.'

(vii) Head-internal ACs
Topicalization is possible. Compare (91) and (92). The AC is shown with braces.

(91) {*tsheri1 lei3 a-mɵ-mʌ*}=*rʌ3* *ʈaɕi3 kɨ-ttsɨ1 hce-a3*.
PSN bun DWN-make-NMLZ=GEN PSN INW-eat PST-B.PFV
'Tashi ate the buns that Tseri made.'

(92) {*tsheri=ne1 lei3 a-mɵ-mʌ*}=*rʌ3* *ʈaɕi3 kɨ-ttsɨ1 hce-a3*.
PSN=TOP bun DWN-make-NMLZ=GEN PSN INW-eat PST-B.PFV
Tentative translation: 'As for Tseri$_i$, Tashi ate the buns that she$_i$ made.'

(viii) Head-external ACs
Topicalization is not possible. Compare:

(93) {*tsheri1 a-mɵ-mʌ*}=*rʌ3* *lei3 ʈaɕi3 kɨ-ttsɨ1 hce-a3*.
PSN DWN-make-NMLZ=GEN bun PSN INW-eat PST-B.PFV
'Tashi ate the buns that Tseri made.'

(94) *{*tsheri=ne1 a-mɵ-mʌ*}=*rʌ3* *lei3 ʈaɕi3 kɨ-ttsɨ1 hce-a3*.
PSN=TOP DWN-make-NMLZ=GEN bun PSN INW-eat PST-B.PFV
IM: 'As for Tseri$_i$, Tashi ate the buns that she$_i$ made.'

6.5 Gapping

This test, too, is designed to examine the syntactic structure of the Clause of the MMC. It is convenient to start with head-external ACs.

(viii) Head-external ACs
Head-external ACs are of two types: the gap type and the addition type. In the formation of head-external ACs of the gap type, gapping takes place. For example, compare (14) with the AC in (15) and the AC in (16). Both the subject and the object

are present in (14). In contrast, the subject is absent in the AC of (15), and the object is absent in the AC of (16).

However, gapping does not take place in the formation of head-external ACs of the addition type. For example, compare (18) and (19). The subject is present in the AC of (19), as is the case with (18).

(vii) Head-internal ACs

Gapping does not take place in the formation of head-internal ACs. For example, all of the subject, the direct object and the indirect object are present in the AC of (22), as is the case with the corresponding sentence 'I gave him the bun' (which was not exemplified in 4.2.3).

(i) Mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences

Gapping does not take place.

(ii) MMC with *mʌlo3* (word) 'readiness'
(iii) MMC with *nkhei1* (word) 'appearance'
(iv) MMC with *=nkhei* (enclitic) 'appearance'
(v) MMC with *=ndei* (enclitic) 'intention'
(vi) MMC with *-zɨ* (suffix) 'prospect, strategy'

Gapping does not take place in the formation of the Clause.

6.6 One subject or two subjects?

This test, too, is designed to examine the syntactic structure of the Clause of the MMC. It is convenient to start with ACs.

(vii) Head-internal ACs

A sentence that contains a head-internal AC may have two subjects: the subject of the AC and the subject of the main clause. An example is (91): the subject of the AC is *tsheri1* 'PSN' and the subject of the main clause is *ʈaɕi3* 'PSN'.

(viii) Head-external ACs

A sentence with a head-external AC, too, may have two subjects. An example of the gap-type is (93): the subject of the AC is *tsheri1* 'PSN' and the subject of the main clause is *ʈaɕi3* 'PSN'. An example of the addition type is the following: the subject of the AC is *ŋoro1* '3SG' and the subject of the main clause is *hkɛ1* 'voice'.

(95) {ŋoro1 lʌ1   ko-mʌ}=rʌ2   hkɛ1   ɦdʌʑi~ʑi3   ŋʌ-tɛ3   rɛ3.
    3SG   song sing-NMLZ=GEN voice beautiful~NMLZ OUT-come FAC
    LT: 'The voice with which he sings a song comes beautiful.'
    FT: 'His singing voice sounds beautiful.'

    (i) Mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences
    (ii) MMC with *mʌlo3* (word) 'readiness'
    (iii) MMC with *nkhei1* (word) 'appearance'
    (iv) MMC with *=nkhei* (enclitic) 'appearance'
    (v) MMC with *=ndei* (enclitic) 'intention'
    (vi) MMC with *-ʑɨ* (suffix) 'prospect, strategy'
These sentences cannot contain two subjects. They have only one subject.

6.7 "Clause + Noun" as the object of a verb

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

    (vii) Head-internal ACs
    (viii) Head-external ACs
An NP modified by an AC can be used as the object of verbs such as *hsɨ2* 'know', as in (96) (head-internal) and (97) (head-external), *ʈo2* 'see', and *re2* 'achieve'. (In (96), the internal head is *hkɛtɕha1* 'word'.)

(96) {konkhei3   hkɛtɕha1 a-ɦʝiɦʝi-mʌ}=rʌ3   no1 hsɨ=mɛ2.
    this.appearance word   DWN-talk-NMLZ=GEN 2SG know=Q
    'Do you know the words that (you) say like this?'

(97) {ŋonkhei3   a-ɦʝiɦʝi-mʌ}=rʌ3   hkɛtɕha1 no1 hsɨ=mɛ2.
    that.appearance DWN-talk-NMLZ=GEN word   2SG know=Q
    'Do you know the words that (you) say like that?'

In the MMC, the "Clause + Noun" part cannot be used as the object of verbs such as *hsɨ2* 'know', *ʈo2* 'see' or *re2* 'achieve'. This applies even when the Noun is an independent word, not an enclitic or suffix; see (98) to (100).

    (ii) MMC with *mʌlo3* (word) 'readiness'
Compare (29) with:

(98) *ŋa1 [ŋoro3 ɲjɛ=ʈo1 kɨ-m̥i-a1] **mʌlo3** hsɨ2.
　　1SG　3SG　1PL=PLACE INW-sleep-PFV readiness know
　　IM: 'I know that he is ready to sleep in our house.'

　　(iii) MMC with *nkhei1* (word) 'appearance'
Compare (37) with:

(99) *ŋa1 [ŋoro3 lei3 kɨ-ttsɨ-a1] **nkhei1** hsɨ2.
　　1SG　3SG　bun INW-eat-PFV appearance know
　　IM: 'I know that he appears to have eaten the buns.'

(100) *ŋa1 [ŋoro3 lei3 kɨ-ttsɨ-a1] **nkhei1** ʈo2.
　　1SG　3SG　bun INW-eat-PFV appearance see
　　IM: 'I saw that he appears to have eaten the buns.'

　　(v) MMC with *=ndei* (enclitic) 'intention'
Compare (5) with:

(101) *ŋa1 [ŋoro3 somuɲi3 nchɛncha3 ji]=**ndei1** hsɨ2.
　　1SG　3SG　tomorrow shopping　go=intention know
　　IM: 'I know that he intends to go shopping tomorrow.'

　　(vi) MMC with *-zɨ* (suffix) 'prospect, strategy'
Compare (67) with:

(102) *[anʌ3 ɲjɛ=ʈo1 lɛmɛ3 vo]-**zɨ3** re-a2 rɛ3.
　　today　1PL=PLACE monk come-prospect achieve-PFV FAC
　　IM: 'We obtained the prospect that a monk will come to our home today.'
　　That is, 'we successfully arranged for a monk to come to our home today.'

　　(i) Mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences
This test is irrelevant to these sentences, for they do not contain "Clause + Noun".

　　We have seen that a combination of an AC and the head noun – both a head-internal AC and a head-external AC – can be the object of certain verbs, while "Clause + Noun" of the MMC cannot. This applies even when the Noun is an independent word, not an enclitic or a suffix. (There are two independent words that can occur in the Noun slot of the MMC: *mʌlo3* 'readiness' and *nkhei1* 'appearance'.) The result shows that, at least in this respect, the Noun of the MMC does not have the status of a regular noun.

6.8 Discussion

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

The first three criteria – Verb form, Suffix -*a* and SFP – concern the structure of the predicate. In terms of "Verb form" and "Suffix -*a*", it is difficult to say whether the Clause of the MMC is more similar to mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences or to ACs. In terms of "SFP", the Clause behaves like ACs and unlike mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences. That is, in terms of the structure of the predicate, the

Tab. 2: Comparison of the MMC with other constructions.

	Verb form	Suffix -*a* 'PFV'/ 'B.PFV'	SFP	GEN
Mono-clausal verb-predicate sentence	fully inflected	+	+	…
MMC: *mʌlo3* 'readiness'	plain mood	+	–	–
MMC: *nkhei1* 'appearance'	plain mood	+	–	–
MMC: =*nkhei* 'appearance'	root	–	–	–
MMC: =*ndei* 'intention'	root or stem	–	–	–
MMC: -*zi* 'prospect'	root or stem	–	–	–
Head-internal AC	root or stem	–	–	+
Head-external AC	root or stem	–	–	+

	Topicalization		Gapping	
Mono-clausal verb-predicate sentence	+		–	
MMC: *mʌlo3* 'readiness'	+		–	
MMC: *nkhei1* 'appearance'	+		–	
MMC: =*nkhei* 'appearance'	+		–	
MMC: =*ndei* 'intention'	+		–	
MMC: -*zi* 'prospect'	+		–	
Head-internal AC	+		–	
Head-external AC	–		+[1)]	

	Two subjects		"Clause + Noun" as object	
Mono-clausal verb-predicate sentence	–		…	
MMC: *mʌlo3* 'readiness'	–		–	
MMC: *nkhei1* 'appearance'	–		–	
MMC: =*nkhei* 'appearance'	–		–	
MMC: =*ndei* 'intention'	–		–	
MMC: -*zi* 'prospect'	–		–	
Head-internal AC	+		+	
Head-external AC	+		+	

Legend: +: possible or obligatory; –: impossible; …: irrelevant.
[1)] Gapping occurs in the gap type only and it does not occur in the addition type.

Clause of the MMC is only slightly more similar to ACs than to mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences.

We turn to the criteria that concern the syntactic aspects of the MMC.

The criteria "GEN", "Topicalization" and "Gapping" concern the syntactic behavior of the Clause of the MMC. In terms of "GEN", the Clause behaves differently from ACs. In terms of "Topicalization", the Clause behaves like mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences and unlike ACs – except that topicalization is acceptable in head-internal ACs. In terms of "Gapping", the Clause behaves like mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences and also like head-internal ACs of both types and head-external ACs of the addition type, but unlike head-external ACs of the gap type.

The criterion "Two subjects" concerns the entire MMC. The entire MMC behaves like mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences and unlike ACs.

The above shows that in terms of the syntactic criteria, in the main the MMC behaves like mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences and unlike sentences that contain an AC.

To sum up, syntactically the MMC does not contain an AC. It does not behave like bi-clausal sentences that contain an AC. The MMC should be considered mono-clausal, not bi-clausal.

The last criterion, which concerns the nounhood of the Noun, is irrelevant to mono-clausal independent sentences. Nonetheless, it is important to emphasize that in terms of this criterion the MMC (to be precise, "Clause"-plus-"Noun") behaves differently from a combination of an AC and its head nouns.

6.9 Compound predicate

We saw in 6.8 that syntactically the nDrapa MMC should be considered mono-clausal, not bi-clausal. Then, it should have just one predicate, not two predicates. We now investigate what structure the predicate has.

As seen in Section 1, the prototype of the MMC has the structure shown in (1) – superficially at least. However, languages such as Modern Standard Japanese (Tsunoda, this volume-b, Section 6) and Korean (Kim, this volume, Section 6) provide ample evidence that syntactically their MMC is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal, despite its superficial appearance (shown in (1)). The MMC of these languages has just one predicate, not two predicates, and the predicate is a compound predicate that consists of the predicate of the Clause, the Noun and the Copula, as shown in (2).

(1)   Prototype of the mermaid construction ("MMC"):
         [Clause]   Noun   Copula

(2) [...   predicate of Clause]   Noun   Copula.
                  compound predicate

The situation in the nDrapa MMC is as follows. It is convenient to start with the MMC with MMC with *-zɨ* 'prospect, strategy'.

(vi) MMC with *-zɨ* (suffix) 'prospect, strategy'

The Noun slot is occupied by a suffix, and clearly the Noun forms a unit with the preceding verb of the Clause. However, there is no evidence to show that the Copula joins this unit.

(iv) MMC with *=nkhei* (enclitic) 'appearance'
(v) MMC with *=ndei* (enclitic) 'intention'

The Noun slot is occupied by an enclitic, and clearly the Noun forms a unit with the preceding verb of the Clause. However, there is no evidence to show that the Copula joins this unit.

(ii) MMC with *mʌlo3* (word) 'readiness'
(iii) MMC with *nkhei1* (word) 'appearance'

The Noun slot is occupied by an independent noun. There is no evidence to show that the Noun forms a unit the preceding verb of the Clause. Nor is there any evidence to show that the Noun and the Copula form a unit.

To sum up, at this stage of investigation, there is no evidence to show that the nDrapa MMC has a compound predicate as shown in (2).

7 Summary and concluding remarks

It is useful first to recapitulate the relevant points of the opposition of Pattern A and Pattern B. Pattern B is overtly marked by an aspect suffix, while Pattern A is shown by the absence of any overt marker. Pattern A indicates the viewpoint of the pragmatic pivot: (i) the speaker of a declarative sentence, (ii) the hearer of an interrogative sentence, or (iii) the original speaker of a reported sentence. Pattern B indicates that the sentence does not concern any viewpoint. This opposition is neutralized in subordinate clauses and in the Clause of the MMC, where Pattern A is generally used without indicating any pragmatic pivot.

Now, nDrapa has the MMC. Four morphemes are attested in the Noun slot of the MMC: *mʌlo3* 'readiness', *nkhei1*/*=nkhei* 'appearance', *=ndei* 'intention', and *-zɨ* 'prospect, strategy'. Among them, *mʌlo3* 'readiness' is an independent noun. *nkhei1*/*=nkhei* 'appearance' can be either an independent word or an enclitic. *=ndei* 'intention' is an enclitic (although it is also used as an independent noun (*ndei3*) outside the MMC). *-zɨ* 'prospect, strategy' is a suffix.

The MMC is used for the following meanings: (i) the MMC with *mʌlo3* 'readiness' for 'be ready to' (aspectual), (ii) the MMC with *nkhei1*/*=nkhei* 'appearance'

for 'it appears' (evidential), (iii) the MMC with *=ndei* 'intention' for 'intend to' (modal), and (iv) the MMC with *-zi* 'prospect, strategy' for 'be supposed to, be expected to' (modal).

nDrapa has four copula verbs, and, when they are used in the Copula slot of the MMC, there are three restrictions or the like on their use. (i) MMC with *mʌlo3* 'readiness': generally *tɛ3* 'COP$_3$' is used, but *wa3* 'COP$_1$' is used if the sentence describes an intentional action by the pragmatic pivot. (ii) MMC with *nkhei1*/*=nkhei* 'appearance': only *tɕj3* 'COP$_2$' and *rɛ3* 'COP$_4$' can be used. (iii) MMC with *=ndei* 'intention': all of the four copulas are acceptable. *wa3* 'COP$_1$' can be used if the sentence implies the pivot's intention or participation. Note the close association between *wa3* 'COP$_1$' and the pragmatic pivot's action or participation.

The Clause of the MMC is generally unacceptable as an independent sentence, but it may be acceptable as such under certain conditions. Its acceptability may be influenced by factors such as the following.

(a) Whether the Clause ends with a noun or a verb. If the Clause ends with a noun, it cannot be used as an independent sentence.

(b) When the Clause ends with a verb: whether the verb is a root/stem or is inflected.

(b-1) If the verb is a root/stem the acceptability may be sensitive to the opposition of Pattern A and Pattern B. The Clause can be used as an independent sentence if Pattern A is suitable.

(b-2) Where the verb is inflected, that is, with an aspect suffix, the acceptability may be sensitive to the time reference and the opposition of Pattern A and Pattern B. If the time reference is appropriate (e.g., the perfective suffix for the past) and Pattern B is suitable, the Clause can be used as an independent sentence.

Syntactically the MMC should be considered mono-clausal, not bi-clausal.

The four forms attested in the Noun slot of the MMC are rarely used outside the MMC and it is difficult to ascertain their etymologies. Nonetheless, possible etymologies have been suggested. The suggested etymologies show that the Noun slot is filled only by fossilized morphemes. This, in turn, may indicate that the nDrapa MMC has reached a fairly advanced stage of grammaticalization.

Acknowledgments

Abbreviations

A = transitive subject; AC = adnominal clause; ACC = accusative-dative; ADM = admirative; ASS = associative; AUX = auxiliary; B = Pattern B (non-egophoric); BEN = benefactive; CFM = confirmative; CLF = classifier; CNT = content (case); CMPR = comparative (case); COM = comitative; COP = copula; DAT = dative-locative; DIR = directional prefix; DU = dual; DWN = downward directional prefix; EXP = experiential; FAC = factual; FT = free translation; GEN = genitive; IFR = inferential; IM = intended meaning; INS = instrumental; INW = inward directional prefix; IPFV = imperfective; LOG = logophoric pronoun; LT = literal translation; MMC = mermaid construction; NEG = negative; NMLZ = nominalizer; NP = noun phrase; NTL = neutral directional prefix; O = object; OUT = outward directional prefix; PCL = polysemic clause linkage marker; PFV = perfective; PL = plural; PSN = personal name; PST = past; PTB = Proto-Tibeto-Burman; Q = question; REF = referential pronoun; S = intransitive subject; SFP = sentence-final particle; SG = singular; TOP = topic; UP = upward directional prefix; VS = verb stem; 1 = first person; 2 = second person; 3 = third person.

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Kazuyuki Kiryu
12 Kathmandu Newar

1 Introduction

Tsunoda (this volume-a, 2.1) proposes that the prototype of the mermaid construction ("MMC") has all of the following five properties.

(a) The structure is as shown in (1) – superficially at least.
(b) The Noun is an independent word (not a clitic) that is a noun.
(c) The subject of the Clause and the Noun are non-coreferential.
(d) The Clause can be used as a sentence by itself.
(e) The Clause is not the subject of the "Noun + Copula".

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

In the prototypical MMC, the Noun slot is occupied by a noun that is an independent word. In non-prototypical instances, it may be occupied by an enclitic or a suffix which derives from a noun. Nouns, enclitics and suffixes in the Noun slot may also be nominalizers.

Tsunoda (this volume-a, Section 1 and 2.1) notes as follows. Superficially at least, it looks as if the MMC contains a subordinate clause and is bi-clausal. However, languages such as Modern Standard Japanese (Tsunoda, this volume-b, Section 6) and Korean (Kim, this volume, Section 6) provide ample evidence that syntactically their MMC is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal, despite its superficial appearance (shown in (1)). Their MMC has just one predicate, not two predicates, and the predicate is a compound predicate that consists of the predicate of the Clause, the Noun and the Copula, as shown in (2).

(2) [... predicate of Clause]   Noun   Copula.
                compound predicate

Newar has one type of MMC in which the Noun slot is occupied by an enclitic that is a nominalizer: *=gu*. This MMC is not a prototypical MMC. It has three discourse functions: (i) to make a strong assertion, and (ii) to state a presupposed fact. (iii) In interrogative sentences, this MMC has a tone of interrogation or keen interest.

Generally the Clause of the MMC can be used as a sentence by itself. However, there may be a semantic or a syntactic difference between the Clause and the corresponding independent sentence.

Syntactically, this MMC should be considered mono-clausal, not bi-clausal.

Furthermore, Newar has a construction that resembles the MMC. It will be illustrated, for a construction like this may possibly become a source of the MMC – in Newar or some other language.

2 Initial illustration

An example of the Newar MMC is (3). When literally translated, the MMC does not make any sense. In view of this, both a literal translation ("LT") and a free translation ("FT") are sometimes provided. The enclitic *=gu* 'nominalizer' in the Noun slot is shown in bold face. The portion that corresponds to the Clause of (1) and its literal English translation are shown with square brackets.

(3) [*mhiga: jĩ: ma:ma: nay-ā*]=**gu**   *kha:.*
    yesterday 1SG.ERG dumpling eat-NFC=NMLZ COP.NFND
    LT: '[I ate some dumplings yesterday] NMLZ is.'
    FT: 'I ate some dumplings yesterday.'

3 Profile of the language

The Newar language is a member of the Tibeto-Burman branch of the Sino-Tibetan language family. It is spoken mainly in the Kathmandu Valley of Nepal and also sporadically in other towns and villages all over the country.

According to the National Census 2011, the total population of Newars is about 1,320,000 and the number of Newar speakers is 846,511.

The Newar language discussed in this chapter is the dialect spoken in the metropolitan areas of Kathmandu and Patan cities.[1] In what follows I simply use the term "Newar" to refer to this variety. Previous works on Newar include Genetti (1994), Hale (1980, 1986), Hale & Shresta (2006), Kiryu (2007, 2009, 2011), Kölver (1977), Malla (1985), and O'Rourke (2000), among others.

The following phonemes can be set up: vowels /*a* [ə], *a:, ã, ã:, ā* [a], *ā:, ẫ, ẫ:, i, i:, ĩ, ĩ:, u, u:, ũ, ũ:, e, ae* [ɛ:], *ãĕ, āe* [æ:], *ẫ̃ĕ, ai, āi, aĩ, āĩ, au, āu, aũ, āũ*/ and consonants /*k, kh, g, gh, c* [ts], *ch* [tsʰ], *j* [dz/ʤ], *jh, t, th, d, dh, n, nh, p, ph, b, bh, m, mh, y, hy, r, l, lh, w, hw, s, h*/. Tone, pitch and stress are not distinctive.

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1 Often "Newar", or "Nepal Bhasa", refers to the dialects spoken in Kathmandu and Patan Cities; these two dialects are almost identical linguistically. In the literature, the term "Kathmandu Newar" is also often used to distinguish Kathmandu/Patan dialects from other dialects, such as Bhaktapur dialect and Dolakha dialect.

Tab. 1: Classes and conjugation of verbs.

	Class I	Class II	Class III	Class IV	Class V
	'get.up'	**'do'**	**'eat'**	**'turn'**	**'play'**
Dictionary forms	*dane*	*yāye*	*naye*	*hile*	*mhite*
Finite Forms					
future/irrealis conjunct (FC)	*dan-e*	*yā-e*	*na-e*	*hil-e*	*mhit-e*
future/irrealis disjunct (FD)	*dan-i:*	*yā-i*	*na-i*	*hil-i:*	*mhit-i:*
nonfuture/realis conjunct (NFC)	*dan-ā*	*yān-ā*	*nay-ā*	*hil-ā*	*mhit-ā*
nonfuture/realis perfective disjunct (NFPD)	*dan-a*	*yāt-a*	*nal-a*	*hil-a*	*mhit-ala*
nonfuture neutral disjunct (NFND)	*dā:*	*yā:*	*na:*	*hyu:*	*mhit-u:*
imperative (IMP)	*dā*	*yā*	*na*	*hyu*	*mhit-u*
Nonfinite Forms					
infinitive (INF)	*dan-e*	*yā-e*	*na-e*	*hil-e*	*mhit-e*
concatenative (CM)	*dan-ā*	*yān-ā*	*nay-ā*	*hil-ā*	*mhit-ā*
conjunctive (CP)	*dan-ā:*	*yān-ā:*	*nay-ā:*	*hil-ā:*	*mhit-ā:*
purposive (PURP)	*dā:*	*yā:*	*na:*	*hyu:*	*mhit-a:*

Newar is agglutinating in most cases, except the case forms other than the absolutive of pronouns and the verb conjugation (see Table 1, where fusion is often used). There is only one prefix, the negation marker *ma-*, and other bound morphemes are suffixes or enclitics.

Newar has the following cases: absolutive, ergative, genitive, dative, locative, comitative, allative and ablative. The ergative may indicate an agent in transitive clauses/sentences (i.e. "A"), an instrument, or a source/starting point. The absolutive case marker is zero, while other cases are generally shown by enclitics. The absolutive case is not glossed in the examples given below.

Newar has a rich system of numeral classifiers.

Verbs conjugate for tense, aspect, modality and person. There are five classes of verbs (Hale 1986; Hale & Shrestha 2006). See Table 1.[2]

Person marking system in Newar is different from that commonly found in European languages; it is called the "conjunct/disjunct" system (Hale 1980; Hargreaves 2005). For example, in matrix clauses, conjunct forms are used when the subject is first person in affirmative or is second person in interrogative, as long as it reserves controllability and has recognition of the event happening. Elsewhere in matrix clauses, disjunct forms are used.

Verbs are negated in two ways. With the nonfuture/realis forms, negation mainly employs the negative prefix *ma-*, e.g. (7). With future forms, the negative particle *makhu* follows the verb, e.g. (5).

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2 The dictionary forms are literal transliteration of the devanāgarī exponents and only appear as entry forms in dictionaries. Dictionary forms are used to cite uninflected forms of verbs in this work.

Newar has two copula verbs: *khaye* 'equational' and *juye* 'inchoative'. Basically, *juye* has an inchoative meaning ('become'), but it can have an equation meaning ('be') under limited circumstances (4.1-[2], -[3]). It may also be translated as 'happen', e.g. (32).

Basically Newar is a head-final language. Thus, a genitive NP, an adjective, a demonstrative and an adnominal clause (or a relative clause) precede the head noun.

The basic word order of an intransitive clause is SV, and that of a transitive clause is AOV. However, the order of S, A, O and other elements is rather free, while the predicate almost always comes after the arguments and adjuncts.

Newar is one of the Tibeto-Burman languages that have a long history of written tradition, and the third oldest next to Tibetan and Burmese. The written and spoken languages are not much different from each other, although phonological reduction often takes place in speech. An example related to this chapter is the reduction of =*gu* in fast speech. For example, *nay-ā=gu* in (3) can lose the velar consonant /g/ in a fast speech, turning into *nayāu*. The data employed in the present work are from both speech and written sources.

Some of the examples presented below were elicited and the others were taken from written sources such as magazines, textbooks, newspapers, and weblogs.[3]

4 Types of sentences and clauses

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

Sentences in Newar can be classified into three types, as follows.

[1] Verb-predicate sentences
Examples include (4) (intransitive) and (5) (transitive).

(4) *gitā wal-a.*
    Gita come-NFPD
    'Gita came.'

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3 I elicited data from Mr. Manik Ratna Shakya, Ms. Latā Shakya, both from Patan, and Mr. Arun Shrestha, from Kathmandu. The source written materials are represented in parentheses with examples. They are: *Elohan*, a monthly Newar magazine; *Newar Textbook*, an official school textbook of Newar Reader; *Newar Conversation*, a Newar conversation textbook written by Tej Ratna Kansakar, Tokyo: Research Institute of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, 2002; *Original Asti*, a Newar story book; *Sweet Grapes*, a Newar story book; *My Memory*, a Newar essay book; *An Interview with Sham Dangol*: a recorded interview with Mr. Sham Dangol.

(5) *jĩː   jā   na-e   (makhu).*
    1SG.ERG cooked.rice eat-FC NEG
    'I will (not) eat rice.'

[2] Adjective-predicate sentences
As noted in Section 3, Newar has two copula verbs: *khaye* 'equational' and *juye* 'inchoative'. In adjective-predicate sentences, *khaye* is not used, and only *juye* is used.

When *juye* 'inchoative' occurs in the nonfuture neutral disjunct form *juː*, it functions as an equational copula, e.g. (6). This copula is not obligatory, but when it is used, it implies (i) 'in comparison to others' or (ii) 'judged by the speaker's experience'; see (6). However, for negation, it is obligatory, as in (7).

(6) *thwa jyā thāku   (juː).*
    this   job difficult (COP.NFND)
    'This job is difficult (compared to others or from experience).'

(7) *thwa jyā thāku   ma-juː.*
    this   job difficult NEG-COP.NFND
    'This job is not difficult.'

When *juye* occurs in other forms, it signals a change of state, i.e. 'inchoative', e.g. (8). In the inchoative sense, its omission is not possible.

(8) *thwa jyā thāku   jul-a.*
    this   job difficult COP-NFPD
    'This job has become/became difficult.'

[3] Noun-predicate sentences
Both *khaye* 'equational' and *juye* 'inchoative' can be used.
    (a) *khaye* 'equational'. Generally *khaye* is not obligatory; see (9). However, for negation, it is obligatory; see (10).

(9) *gitā dāktar (khaː).*
    Gita doctor (COP.NFND)
    'Gita is a doctor (indeed).'

(10) *gitā dāktar ma-khu.*
     Gita doctor NEG-COP.NFND
     'Gita is not a doctor.'

In an affirmative clause/sentence, the copula verb *khaye* is assertive. In fact, *khaye* is also used as a lexical verb meaning 'be true'. The strong assertive nuance

comes from this fact. When *khaye* is not omitted, (9) may be literally translated as 'It is true that Gita is a doctor' or 'It is the case that Gita is a doctor'.

(b) *juye* 'inchoative'. With a noun predicate, *juye* may occur, except that its nonfuture neutral disjunct form cannot occur here.

(11) *gitā dāktar jul-a/*juː.*
     Gita doctor COP-NFPD/COP.NFND
     'Gita became a doctor.'

There is a special use of *juye* as an equational copula in noun predicate sentences: *juye* may be used instead of *kha:* when the sentence signals a surprising fact or background information introduced into the discourse. In this function, it occurs in the expression *juy-ā cwan-a* 'COP-CM CONT-NFPD', as in (12). The copula is followed by the continuous auxiliary verb.

(12) *wa lā taskã: sā:=gu nasā juy-ā cwan-a.*
     that EMPH very be.tasty.NFND=NMLZ food COP-CM CONT-NFPD
     LT: 'That one has become very tasty food.'
     FT: 'To his surprise, that was very tasty food.'

4.2 Adnominal clauses and complement clauses

4.2.1 Introductory notes

As seen in Sections 1 and 2, the Noun slot of the MMC is occupied by the enclitic nominalizer *=gu*. The use of *=gu* in the MMC will be examined in Section 5. Furthermore, *=gu* has other functions. Thus, it can be used to form adnominal phrases and adnominal clauses ("ACs") (or relative clauses); these uses will be discussed in 4.2.2 and 4.2.3, respectively. The enclitic *=gu* can also be used as a complementizer; this will be looked at 4.2.4. A survey of these uses of *=gu* will help to locate the MMC in the context of Newar grammar.

Newar has three nominalizers. They are all enclitics, and they are attached to a finite form of a verb. They are employed in the formation of ACs. They agree with the head noun with respect to animacy and number (Malla 1985; Hale & Shrestha 2006).

(a) *=mha* animate singular ('ANIM SG')
(b) *=pĩ:* animate plural ('ANIM PL')
(c) *=gu* inanimate ('INAN')

=*mha* and =*pĩ:* are only used to head adnominal phrases or clauses, while =*gu* can function as a complementizer as well as an adnominal marker. =*mha* is cognate with the noun *mha* 'body'. It is also used as a numerical classifier that denotes animate beings. Although the origins of the other two enclitic nominalizers are not clear, = *pĩ:* is cognate with the plural suffix -*pĩ:* (e.g. (47)), and =*gu* seems to be cognate with the generic inanimate numerical classifier =*gu:*, for their case declensions in ergative and locative are identical.

4.2.2 Adnominal phrases

When a noun, adjective or verb modifies a noun, the modifier must be followed by one of the nominalizers listed in 4.2.1. (The nominalizer agrees with the head noun with respect to animacy and number.) I will briefly illustrate this point.

When a noun modifies another noun, the modifying noun is obligatorily followed by the genitive =*yā*. The genitive-marked noun may further take a nominalizer to its right, as in (13)–(14). The nominalizer is optional, and this is shown by means of parentheses.[4]

(13) *rām=yā(=gu)   kipā*
     Ram=GEN(=NMLZ) picture
     'Ram's photo'

(14) *asã:-twā:=yā(=mha)   pāsā*
     Asan-locality=GEN(=NMLZ) friend
     'a friend in Asan'

In contrast, when an adjective modifies a noun, a nominalizer is obligatory.

(15) *thāku=gu   jyā*
     difficult=NMLZ job
     'a difficult job'

(16) *ci:dhika:=mha khicā*
     small=NMLZ   dog
     'a small dog'

---

4 The genitive noun phrases may differ in meaning depending on the absence/presence of a nominalizer. In (13), for instance, the genitive noun phrase without the nominalizer may mean either the possessor (i.e. a picture that Ram possesses) or the content of the picture, (i.e., a picture of Ram) (Kölver 1977:17). With the nominalizer the latter interpretation does not hold; furthermore, the possessor sense bears more "contrastive-identificational force" (Hale and Shrestha 2006: 87). The difference in such a force is also applicable to (14).

(17) *ci:dhika:=pĩ: masta*
    small=NMLZ children
    'small children'

4.2.3 Three types of adnominal clauses

Teramura (1969) divides adnominal clauses ("ACs") (or relative clauses) in Modern Standard Japanese into two types. Tsunoda (this volume-b, 4.2.2) proposes to label these two types as "gap type" and "addition type".

    The three nominalizers discussed in 4.2.1 are also used to form ACs. ACs in Newar can be classified as follows: (i) ACs of the gap type (4.2.3.1), (ii) ACs of the addition type (4.2.3.2), and (iii) headless ACs (4.2.3.3).

4.2.3.1 ACs of the gap type

The formation of ACs of this type employs the gap strategy. The head noun corresponds to an argument or an adjunct of the AC. All the positions on Keenan & Comrie's (1977) accessibility hierarchy can be relativized on, except the object of comparison. For example, compare (18) to (20). (In the examples below, the AC is shown with braces.)

(18) *sar=ã: masta=e=ta khã kan-a.*
    teacher=ERG children=GEN=DAT story narrate-NFPD
    'The teacher narrated a story to the children.'

(19) {*masta=e=ta khã kã:=mha*} *sar*
    children=GEN=DAT story narrate.NFND=NMLZ male.teacher
    'the teacher who narrated a story to the children'   (subject)

(20) {*sar=ã: masta=e=ta kã:=gu*} *khã*
    male.teacher=ERG children=GEN=DAT narrate.NFND=NMLZ story
    'the story that the teacher narrated to the children'   (direct object)

    The verb in nominalized clauses – e.g. ACs and the Clause of the MMC – is in a finite form. However, it cannot occur in the nonfuture perfective disjunct form ('NFPD'). As noted in Section 3, there are two nonfuture disjunct forms: perfective and neutral (Table 1). In nominalized clauses, the nonfuture neutral disjunct form ('NFND') can appear, but the NFPD form cannot occur. In this context, the NFND form has the meaning of the NFPD (except for intransitive verbs of change of state). See (21). What is stated in this paragraph is discussed in 5.3.5.2-[1-1] and summarized in Table 2.

(21) {*rām=ã: nyā:=gu / *nyāt-a=gu*}   *saphu:*
     Ram=ERG buy.NFND=NMLZ/*buy-NFPD=NMLZ book
     'the book that Ram bought'

4.2.3.2 ACs of the addition type

In ACs of the addition type, the head noun is, so to speak, added from outside the underlying clause. It does not correspond to any argument or any adjunct of the AC. Newar allows ACs of this type to some extent.[5] Thus, compare:

(22) *macā khway-ā cwan-a.*
     child cry-CM   CONT-NFPD
     'A child is crying.'

(23) {*macā khway-ā cwã:=gu*}   *sa:*
     child   cry-CM   CONT.NFND=NMLZ voice
     LT: 'the voice with which a child is crying'

Note that the head noun in (23), i.e. *sa:* 'voice', is absent in (22).

4.2.3.3 Headless ACs

ACs may occur without the head noun. The nominalizer in a headless AC bears a case marker like a regular noun. For example, in (24) the nominalizer is followed by the ergative case marker. The head is inferred from the context.

(24) {*khwapa=e   cwã:=pĩ:*}=*sã:*   *la:=yā=ta   nā: dhā=i.*
     Bhaktapur=LOC live.NFND=NMLZ=ERG water=GEN=DAT sewage say=FD
     'People living in Bhaktapur say *nā:* for water.' (*An interview with Sham Dangol*)

(The word *nā:* means 'sewage', not 'water', in the Patan dialect.) The headless AC in (24) may be said to correspond to a sentence such as the first sentence in (25). Note that the subject ('Newar-PL') is present in the first sentence of (25), but that no such NP is present in (24).

(25) *newā:-ta khwapa=e   nã: cwan-i:. imi=sã: la:=yā=ta*
     Newar-PL Bhaktapur=LOC too live-FD 3PL.GEN=ERG water=GEN=DAT
     nā: dhā=i.
     sewage say=FD
     'Newars live in Bhaktapur, too. They say *nā:* for water.'

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5 Hale & Shrestha (2006) and O'Rourke (2000) extensively discuss Newar ACs, but they do not recognize ACs of the addition type.

4.2.4 Complement clauses with the nominalizer *=gu*

The inanimate nominalizer *=gu* also functions like a complementizer to head a complement clause. For example, verbs of cognition (*khane* 'see', *swaye* 'look, watch') and verbs of mental process (*lumane* 'remember', *lwa:mane* 'forget') can take a *=gu* nominalized clause in the "complement" slot, e.g.:

(26) *tara kāe=yā=ta   kwathā=e kun-ā   ta:=gu*
    but   son=GEN=DAT room=LOC lock.up-CM keep.NFND=NMLZ
    lwa:-he-man-e   dhũk-ala.[6]   (*Original Asti*)
    forget-EMPH-STEM-INF PRF-NFPD
    'But (he) had even forgotten that he had locked up his son in the room.'

5 Mermaid construction

5.1 Introductory notes

Newar has three enclitic nominalizers: *=mha* (ANIM SG), *=pĩ:* (ANIM PL), and *=gu* (INAN) (cf. 4.2.1). The two animate nominalizers are only used to head adnominal phrases (cf. 4.2.2) or adnominal clauses (cf. 4.2.3), while the inanimate nominalizer can function as a complementizer (cf. 4.2.4) as well as an adnominal marker. They are attached to a finite verb. They agree with the head noun with respect to animacy and number; see (15) to (17).

    The nominalizer *=gu* (INAN) can occupy the Noun slot of the MMC (cf. (1)). In this use, it does not agree with any noun. In fact, it lacks any head noun that it can agree with. *=mha* (ANIM SG) and *=pĩ:* (ANIM PL) cannot occur in the Noun slot of the MMC.

    As just noted, in this MMC, the Noun slot is occupied by the enclitic nominalizer *=gu*. That is, this MMC has the structure shown in (27).

(27) [... Verb]=**gu**   Copula.

In (27), the Noun slot is occupied by an enclitic, not an independent word, and in this respect the Newar MMC is not a prototypical MMC. See the property (b) of the

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6 When a compound verb, like *lwa:mane* in (25), is negated by the negative prefix *ma-* or emphasized by the emphatic particle *he*, *ma-* or *he* occurs between the two constituents of the compound verb. In the glosses, the first constituent is given the sense of the entire compound verb, and the second constituent (the stem verb) is labeled as 'STEM'.

prototype of the MMC, listed in Section 1. Examples of this MMC include (3) and the following.

(28) *ae pāsā, thana jhāsã:,   thana jhāsã:.*   [*jĩ: chi=ta:*
    hey friend here   come.HON.IMP here   come.HON.IMP 1SG.ERG 2SG=DAT
    sa:t=ā]=***gu***   *kha:*   (*Elohan*)
    call-NFC=NMLZ   COP.NFND
    'Hi, my friend! Come here please, come here please. I called you.'

When literally translated, the MMC does not make sense (as is the case with the MMC in many (or all?) other languages; see Tsunoda (this volume-a, 2.2-[2]). For example, a literal translation of the MMC in (28) is the following: '[I called you] NMLZ is'. However, the Newar MMC has discourse functions. (They will be discussed in 5.4.)

The Newar MMC, which involves the enclitic nominalizer *=gu*, is very similar to the variety of the Japanese MMC that has the enclitic *=no* in the Noun slot. *=no* may be considered a nominalizer, although it may also be regarded as the genitive case marker, a non-content noun or a complementizer. The Modern Standard Japanese MMC with *=no*, too, has discourse functions (Tsunoda, this volume-b, 5.1.4).

In the previous studies of Newar cited in Section 3, the structure shown in (27) is not recognized as an independent construction. Malla (1985) cites this structure as one of 27 examples of "complex verb phrases," which consist of "an obligatory principal verb preceded and/or followed by non-finite verb forms such as Gerundives, Participles, Infinitives, Quotatives, Auxiliaries and Modal Auxiliaries which are often finite in form" (p.71), in contrast to "simple verb phrase," which consists of one finite verb alone. His treatment of the structure shown in (27) may look similar to our compound predicate analysis (see 6.11 for details). However, what he calls "complex verb phrases" are just anything other than "simple verb phrase," hence they are not descriptively robust or semantically coherent at all.

Genetti (1994) is a comparative study of Dolakha and Kathmandu Newar. She analyzes this structure in Dolakha Newar as "emphatic construction with copula", but does not take up the Kathmandu Newar counterpart at all.

O'Rourke (2000) and Hale & Shrestha (2006) consider this structure as an embedded nominalized clause, where the Clause is the subject of the Copula. They also mention a pattern in which the Copula in (27) is omitted, considering it as an independent finite construction (O'Rourke 2000: 63; Hale & Shrestha 2006: 195, where the pattern is called "unembedded nominal" and they illustrate it in detail. See footnote 8.).

Although the previous studies have already recognized the structure as something worth mentioning, their discussion of the structure is superficial, except the discussion on some functions of "unembedded nominals" by Hale & Shrestha (2006). The present work, therefore, is the first detailed holistic analysis of the structure shown in (27).

We now look at the Newar MMC in some detail: the Copula in 5.2, the Clause in 5.3, and the discourse functions in 5.4.

5.2 Copula

As seen in Section 3, Newar has two copula verbs: *khaye* 'equational' and *juye* 'inchoative'. Basically, *juye* has an inchoative meaning ('become'), but it can have an equation meaning ('be') under limited circumstances. It may also be translated as 'happen', e.g. (32). Both *khaye* 'equational' and *juye* 'inchoative' can occur in the Copula slot of the MMC. In Newar generally, when used as a finite verb, *khaye* does not occur in any conjunct form, which requires an intentional subject, for equation is not volitional. The inchoative *juye* may be in a conjunct form if the event is controlled by a first person subject. However, in the Copula slot of the MMC, only disjunct forms are acceptable, and conjunct forms are unacceptable.

[1] *khaye* 'equational'
In the Copula slot, more often than not, *khaye* occurs in the nonfuture neutral disjunct ('NFND') form *kha:*, e.g. (28). Other forms of *khaye*, except conjunct forms, are also possible, for instance, the nonfuture perfective disjunct ('NFPD') form, *khat-a*, as in (29). (This is an intransitive sentence. The ergative case indicates not an agent in a transitive sentence but a source (to be precise, the source of information).)

(29) [*sãkhyā=yā   hisāb=ã: thwa lakhaŭ: bidyārthi*
      statistics=GEN calculation=ERG this hundreds.of.thousands student
      *phel ju:]=**gu**   khat-a.*   (www.nepalmandal.com)
      fail COP.NFND=NMLZ COP-NFPD
      'According to the statistics, it turned out to be the case that these hundreds of thousands of students had failed.'

The copula *khaye* may be omitted. I refer to this type of the MMC as "copula-less MMC". (Hale & Shrestha (2006: 195) refer to it as "unembedded nominal".)

[2] *juye* 'inchoative'
The inchoative copula *juye* can be used in noun-predicate clauses/sentences. In this use, it has an inchoative meaning ('become'), not an equational meaning ('be'), e.g. (11), except for the exceptional use noted shortly.

When *juye* is used in the MMC, the sentence implies that the situation is decided. Hence it can carry a sense of strong promise, as in (30), where a mother, seeing her son reluctant to say what he wants, is urging him to say what it is, and is making a promise.

(30) [*jĩ   nhyā=gu   dhāːsã   biː*]=**gu**   *jul-a.*
    1SG.ERG any=NMLZ say.NFND=though give.FC=NMLZ COP-NFPD
    'I will never fail to give you whatever you ask.'

When *juye* is in the NFPD form, i.e. *jul-a*, the MMC indicates that the event depicted in the Clause is a newly established situation due to other factors.

(31) [*cāːhyuːwan-e=ta dhyabā māliː*]=**gu**   *jul-a.*
    travel-INF=DAT   money need.FD=NMLZ COP-NFPD
    '(I) eventually needed some money for traveling.'

The exceptional use of *juye* 'inchoative' mentioned above is the following. As noted in 4.1-[3], the copula *juye* 'inchoative' may function as an equational copula ('be') when it occurs in the periphrastic form *juy-ā cwan-a* 'COP-CM CONT-NFPD'. This form often stands in the Copula slot of the MMC. The main function is to introduce background information.

(32) [*cha-guː des=ae   rāmanāgār nã̄ː=gu   gã̄ː   du*]=**gu**
    one-CLF country=LOC Ramanagar name=NMLZ village exist.NFND=NMLZ
    juy-ā   cwan-a.   (Elohan)
    COP-CM CONT-NFPD
    'It so happened that a village named Ramanagar existed in a country.'

[3] Negation
All of the examples of the MMC given above are affirmative sentences. The Copula of the MMC can be negated only when the equational copula *khaye* is employed. This negation employs the negation prefix *ma-*. Examples include (33) and (34). It is not possible to negate the inchoative copula *juye* in the MMC.

(33) [*bā=yā=ke   nã̄ː dhyabā du*]=**gu**   *ma-khu.*
    father=GEN=LOC too money exist.NFND=NMLZ NEG-COP.NFND
    'It was not the case that his father had any money.'

(34) *āː* [*jimi=ke   pasaː wan-e=gu   iː   nã̄ː du*]=**gu**
    now 1PL.EXCL.GEN=LOC shop go-INF=NMLZ time too exist.NFND=NMLZ
    ma-khut-a.
    NEG-COP-NFPD
    'Now it is not the case anymore that we have time to go shopping.'

[4] Use in adverbial clauses
The MMC may occur in some adverbial clauses. However, there are some cases in which, for the Copula slot of the MMC, the copula *khaye* 'equational' is disfavored or rejected. In such cases, the copula verb *juye* 'inchoative' is in turn preferred. For

example, in causal clauses, both *khaye* and *juye* are possible, but when there is no assertive tone, the copula *juye* is preferred. See the causal clause in (35). It is an instance of the MMC, whose Copula slot is occupied by * juː*. (The matrix clause, too, is an instance of the MMC, whose Copula slot is occupied by *khaː*.)

(35) [*gũːlā=yā   punhi   kunhu han-iː*]=**gu**   *juː=gulĩː*
     Gunla.month=GEN full.moon day   respect-FD=NMLZ COP.NFND=because
     *thuki=yā=ta   gũːpunhi   dhāː=**gu**   khaː.*   (*Elohan*)
     this=GEN=DAT Gunpunhi say.NFND=NMLZ COP.NFND
     'Because they respect the day of the full moon in Gunla (August–
     September), they call this day "Gunpunhi".'

5.3 Clause of the MMC

5.3.1 Types of the Clause of the MMC

The most frequent type of the Clause in the MMC is a verb-predicate clause. Nonetheless, it may be an adjective-predicate clause or a noun-predicate clause. These three types of clauses will be discussed in 5.3.5.2 to 5.3.5.4.

5.3.2 Predicate of the Clause of the MMC

The predicate of the Clause of the MMC is followed by the inanimate nominalizer =*gu*, like one of the three types of the predicate of ACs (cf. 4.2.1). The same restriction imposed on the predicate of ACs (cf. 4.2.3.1) applies to the predicate of the Clause of the MMC. The restriction is the following. The verb is in a finite form. However, it cannot occur in the nonfuture perfective disjunct form ('NFPD'). It can be in the nonfuture neutral disjunct form.)

    The predicate of the Clause can be negated, e.g.:

(36) [*mhigaː   jimi=sãː   aelāː   ma-twan-āː*]=**gu**   *khaː.*
     yesterday 1PL.GEN=ERG liquor NEG-drink-NFC=NMLZ COP.NFND
     'We didn't drink any liquor yesterday.'

    As illustrated in 5.2-[3], the Copula of the MMC can be negated when it is the equational copula *khaye*. It is possible to negate both the predicate of the Clause and the Copula, e.g.:

(37) [*chan=ta jĭ: biswās ma-yān-ā*]=***gu*** *ma-khu.* (*Elohan*)
2SG=DAT 1SG.ERG belief NEG-do-NFC=NMLZ NEG-COP.NFND
'It is not the case that I don't believe you.'

5.3.3 Subject properties

Thus far I have often used the term "subject" without characterizing it. Here I propose to characterize the subject in Newar on syntactic grounds. Namely, the prototypical subject in Newar has the following properties:

(38) Prototypical subject in Newar
    a. The reflexive pronoun *tha:* is controlled by the closest subject.
    b. The subject agrees with an honorific auxiliary verb.

Each of the "transitive subject" in the ergative case and the "intransitive subject" in the absolute case possesses these two properties. That is, they are prototypical subject in terms of (38).

[1] Reflexive pronoun
Consider the following examples.

(39) *rām=ã: gitā=yā=ta tha:=gu chẽ: khan-a.*
Ram=ERG Gita=GEN=DAT REFL=NMLZ house.LOC see-NFPD
'Ram$_i$ saw Gita$_j$ in his$_i$/*her$_j$ house.'

(49) *rām=ã: gitā=yā=ta tha:=gu ghari syan-a dhakā:*
Ram=ERG Gita=GEN=DAT REFL=NMLZ watch be.broken-NFPD QUOT
dhāl-a.
say-NFPD
'Ram$_i$ told Gita$_j$ that his$_i$/*her$_j$ watch got broken.'

(41) *rām=ã: gitā=yā=ta wa tha:=gu chẽ: thyan-a*
Ram=ERG Gita=GEN=DAT 3SG REFL=NMLZ house.LOC arrive-NFPD
dhakā: dhāl-a.
QUOT say-NFPD
a. 'Ram$_i$ told Gita$_j$ that he$_i$ arrived at his$_{i/*j}$ own house.'
b. 'Ram$_i$ told Gita that he$_j$ arrived at his$_{*i/j}$ own house.'
c. 'Ram told Gita$_i$ that she$_i$ arrived at her$_i$ own house.'
d. 'Ram told Gita$_i$ that she$_j$ arrived at her$_{*i/j}$ own house.'

In (41), there are two subjects: one in the matrix clause and the other in the quoted clause. The reflexive pronoun can only be controlled by the closest subject in the

sentence. (The closest subject may be the subject of the quoted clause or that of the matrix clause.)

This is also the case with the subject of the predicate of Clause of the MMC. Compare the following sentences. The entire sentence (not just the matrix clause or the quoted clause) constitutes an instance of the MMC.

(42) [*rām=ã: gitā=yā=ta tha:=gu chẽ: khã:*]=***gu***
Ram=ERG Gita=GEN=DAT REFL=NMLZ house.LOC see.NFND=NMLZ
kha:.
COP.NFND
'Ram$_i$ saw Gita$_j$ at his$_i$/*her$_j$ own house.'

(43) [*rām=ã: gitā=yā=ta tha:=gu ghari syan-a dhakā:*
Ram=ERG Gita=GEN=DAT REFL=NMLZ watch break-NFND=NMLZ QUOT
dhā:]=***gu*** *kha:.*
say.NFND=NMLZ COP.NFND
'Ram$_i$ told Gita$_j$ that his$_i$/*her$_j$ watch got broken.'

(44) [*rām=ã: gitā=yā=ta wa tha:=gu chẽ: thyan-a*
Ram=ERG Gita=GEN=DAT 3SG REFL=NMLZ house.LOC arrive-NFPD
dhakā: dhā:]=***gu*** *kha:.*
QUOT say.NFND=NMLZ COP.NFND
a. 'Ram$_i$ told Gita$_j$ that he$_i$ arrived at his$_{i/*j}$ own house.'
b. 'Ram$_i$ told Gita that he$_j$ arrived at his$_{*i/j}$ own house.'
c. 'Ram told Gita$_i$ that she$_i$ arrived at her$_i$ own house.'
d. 'Ram told Gita$_i$ that she$_j$ arrived at her$_{*i/j}$ own house.'

[2] Honorific auxiliary verb

Newar has three intransitive verbs that are used for honorification: *diye* 'stay.HON', e.g. (45), *bijyāye* 'stay/go/come.HON', (46), and *jhāye* 'go/come.HON'. The subject agrees with an honorific verb when it is a human or a god.

(45) *sar khwathā=e di:.*
teacher room=LOC stay.HON.NFND
'The teacher is in the room.'

(46) *bhagabān bijyāt-a.*
God stay/go/come.HON-NFPD
'God has stayed/gone/come.'

The three honorific verbs can be used as honorific auxiliary verbs. A non-honorific verb may be followed by an honorific auxiliary verb, and the auxiliary verb agrees with the subject. An example is (47). It involves the honorific auxiliary verb *diye* 'stay.HON'. The honorific verbs are intransitive, but, when used as auxiliary

verbs, they can accompany a transitive verb as well. In (47), the main verb is the transitive verb *dhāye* 'say'. Non-subject participants do not agree with the honorific auxiliary verb; see (48).

(47) *sar=ã:*   *bidyārthi-pĩ:=ta*   *dhay-ā* *dil-a.*
     teacher=ERG student-PL=DAT say-CM HON-NFPD
     'The teacher told (it to) the students.'

(48) **bidyārti-pĩ:=sã: sar=yā=ta*   *dhay-ā* *dil-a.*
     student-PL=ERG teacher=GEN=DAT say-CM HON-NFPD
     'The students told (it) to the teacher.'

Honorific auxiliary verbs are attested more widely than honorific verbs, and they are more useful than honorific verbs for identifying the subject in wider contexts (see Hale & Shrestha 2006 for details).

The honorific agreement observed in independent sentences above applies to the subject of the Clause of the MMC.

(49) [*sar=ã:*   *bidyārti-pĩ:=ta*   *dhay-ā* *dyu:*]=**gu**   *kha:.*
     teacher=ERG student=PL=DAT say-CM HON.NFND=NMLZ COP.NFND
     'The teacher told (it) to the students.'

(50) **[bidyārti-pĩ:=sã: sar=yā=ta*   *dhay-ā* *dyu:*]=**gu**   *kha:.*
     student-PL=ERG teacher=GEN=DAT say-CM HON.NFND=NMLZ COP.NFND
     'The students told (it) to the teacher.'

The above shows that the subject of the Clause of the MMC has both properties of the prototypical subject in Newar.

5.3.4 Can the Clause be used as a sentence by itself?

As seen in Section 1, Tsunoda (this volume-a, 2.1) proposes that the prototype of the MMC has five properties, one of which is the following:

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

As noted in 5.1, the verb of the Clause of the MMC is in a finite form. Generally the Clause can stand on its own as a sentence. (There is, however, an exceptional case; see 5.3.5.4-[2].) For example, compare the Clause of (3) (MMC) with (51) (an independent sentence), and also the third sentence in (28) (MMC) with (52) (an independent sentence).

(51) *mhiga: jĩ: ma:ma: nay-ā.*
    yesterday 1SG.ERG dumpling eat-NFC
    'Yesterday I ate some dumplings.'

(52) *jĩ: chi=ta: sa:t=ā.*
    1SG.ERG 2SG=DAT call-NFC
    'I called you.'

5.3.5 Sentencehood of the Clause of the MMC

5.3.5.1 Overview

As seen in 5.3.4, generally the Clause of the MMC can be used as a sentence by itself. Indeed, the propositional meaning of, e.g., the Clause of (3) and that of the corresponding independent sentence, i.e. (51), do not differ. However, the Clause of the MMC shows a lower degree of sentencehood than independent sentences in the following respects.

[1] The verb of the Clause is in a finite form, as is the case with that of independent sentences. However, the verb of the Clause differs in the following respect. The nonfuture perfective disjunct form ('NFPD') is acceptable in independent sentences (e.g. (4), (8), (11)). In contrast, as noted in 4.2.3.1, it is unacceptable in clauses with the nominalizer *=gu*, e.g. ACs (see (21)) and also in the Clause of the MMC:

(53) [*rām=ã: saphu: nyā:*]=***gu*** / **nyāt-a*]=***gu***   *kha:.*
    Ram=ERG book   buy.NFND=NMLZ/*buy-NFPD=NMLZ COP.NFND
    'Ram bought a book.'

(The verb can be in the nonfuture neutral disjunct form ('NFND') both in independent sentences and in clauses with the nominalizer *=gu*.)

[2] Independent sentences may be declarative, imperative or interrogative. Examples of imperative sentences include the first and the second sentences in (28) (which involve the imperative form of a verb; cf. Table 1) and (54) (which involves the prohibition particle *mate*). Examples of interrogative sentences include (55) (which involves the question marker *lā*).

(54) *pihã: wan-e mate.*
    outward go-INF PROH
    'Don't go out.'

(55) *chã: yān-ā   lā?*
       2SG.HON.ERG do-NFC Q
       'Did you do that?'

However, the Clause of the MMC cannot contain the imperative form of a verb, the prohibition marker or the question marker.

[3] Sentence-final particles, such as *mate* (prohibition), e.g. (54), *lā* (question), e.g. (55), *kā* (informative assertion) and *nhi* (confirmation), can occur in independent sentences, but they cannot occur in the Clause. The Clause does not occupy the sentence-final position.

That is, the Clause lacks illocutionary forces in terms of [2] and [3]. (However, an interrogative word can occur in the Clause of the MMC; see (106) and (107). In this respect, the Clause has an illocutionary force.)

Furthermore, even when the Clause of the MMC can be used as a sentence by itself, there may be a semantic or a syntactic difference between the Clause and the corresponding independent sentence. These differences will be discussed in the following: regarding verb-predicate clauses in 5.3.5.2, adjective-predicate clauses in 5.3.5.3, and noun-predicate clauses in 5.3.5.4.

5.3.5.2 Verb-predicate clauses

There are semantic differences between the Clause of the MMC and independent sentences both in the conjunct series and the disjunct series. Selected examples follow.

[1] Disjunct series
[1-1] Nonfuture perfective disjunct ('NFPD') and nonfuture neutral disjunct ('NFND')
As shown in Table 1, there are two nonfuture disjunct forms with respect to aspect: perfective and neutral. NFPD and NFND have different meanings when they are used in ACs and in the Clause of the MMC than when they are used in independent sentences. See Table 2. As Table 2 shows, in terms of the use and the aspectual interpretation of NFPD and NFND, the Clause of the MMC behaves exactly like ACs and unlike independent sentences.

In independent sentences, NFPD expresses a perfective situation. Taken out of context, it expresses a past perfective situation. Examples:

(56) *rām=ã: saphu: nyāt-a.*
       Ram=ERG book   buy-NFPD
       'Ram bought a book.'

Tab. 2: Nonfuture perfective disjunct and nonfuture neutral disjunct.

	Independent sentences	ACs	Clause of MMC
NFPD	perfective, e.g. (56), (57), (58)	–, cf. (61), (62)	–, cf. (53)
NFND	with dynamic verbs		
	habitual, e.g. (59)	perfective, e.g. (63), *habitual	perfective, e.g. (53), (65), *habitual
	with state verbs		
	stative, e.g. (60)	stative or perfective, e.g. (64)	stative or perfective, e.g. (66)

Legend: –, *: unacceptable

(57) *wã: aelā: twan-a.*
   3SG.ERG liquor drink.NFPD
   'He drank some liquor.'

(58) *ghari   syan-a.*
   watch be.broken-NFPD
   'The watch broke.'

In independent sentences, NFND mainly expresses a habitual situation with dynamic verbs, e.g. (59), and a stative situation with state verbs, e.g. (60). Taken out of context, NFND with a dynamic verb is interpreted as present habitual, and NFND with a state verb as present stative.

(59) *wã: aelā twã̃:.*
   3SG.ERG liquor drink.NFND
   'He drinks liquor.'

(60) *ghari   syã̃:.*
   watch be.broken.NFND
   'The watch is broken.'

In nominalized clauses, such as ACs, NFPD is unacceptable. See:

(61) **rām=ã̃:   nyāt-a=gu   saphu:*
   Ram=ERG buy-NFPD=NMLZ book
   'the book Ram bought'

(62) **syan-a=gu   ghari*
   be.broken-NFPD=NMLZ watch
   'the watch that broke'

In ACs, NFND can be used. The interpretation of NFND varies depending on the type of the verb. When it is a dynamic verb, only a perfective reading is possible, and a habitual meaning is not obtained, e.g. (63). When it is a state verb, the meaning is either perfective or stative, e.g. (64).

(63) *rām=ã: nyā:=gu   saphu:*
    Ram=ERG buy.NFND=NMLZ book
    'the book Ram bought'

(64) *syã:=gu   ghari*
    be.broken.NFND=NMLZ watch
    'the watch that broke/is broken'

What was stated about ACs applies to the Clause of the MMC. That is, NFPD may not occur at all. See (53). NFND can be used, and when the verb is a dynamic verb, NFND cannot be habitual but only perfective. See (53) and (65). When the verb is a state verb, NFND can be stative or perfective, e.g. (66).

(65) [*wã: aelā: twã:*]=***gu***   *kha:.*
    3SG.ERG liquor drink.NFND=NMLZ COP.NFND
    'He drank some liquor.'

(66) [*ghari syã:*]=***gu***   *kha:.*
    watch be.broken.NFND=NMLZ COP.NFND
    'The watch broke/is broken.'

To sum up the main points, NFPD is unacceptable in ACs and in the Clause of the MMC. Instead, when used in ACs and in the Clause of the MMC, NFND can have a perfective meaning not only when a dynamic verb is used, but also even when a state verb is used.

[1-2] Future disjunct form ('FD')
When used in independent sentences, FD is generally interpreted as future, although a habitual interpretation is possible. See (67). When used in the Clause of the MMC, it describes a present habitual situation. See (68).

(67) *wã: aelā: twan-i:.*
    3SG.ERG liquor drink-FD
    'He will drink/drinks liquor.'

(68) [*wã: aelā: twan-i:*]=***gu***   *kha:.*
    3SG.ERG liquor drink-FD=NMLZ COP.NFND
    'He drinks liquor.'

The independent sentences (59) (NFND) and (67) (FD) both have a present habitual meaning. However, they differ in that FD (cf. (67)) implies higher frequency than NFND (cf. (59)). This holds true in independent sentences. However, in the Clause of the MMC (and in nominalized clauses generally, including ACs), the NFND of an activity verb is exclusively interpreted as indexing a past situation, as in (65).

[2] Conjunct series
[2-1] Future conjunct ('FC')

In independent sentences, a future conjunct verb is interpreted only as modal (e.g. intention), e.g. (69). When it occurs with *=gu*, e.g. in the Clause of the MMC and in ACs, it is interpreted either as a future plan or as a habitual action. An example is (70), which is an instance of the MMC.

(69) *ji   sutha=e   cha bajae   dan-e.*
    1SG morning=LOC six o'clock get.up-FC
    'I will get up at six in the morning.'

(70) [*ji   sutha=e   cha bajae   dan-e*]=***gu***   (*kha:*).
    1SG morning=LOC six o'clock get.up-FC=NMLZ COP.NFND
    'I get up/am going to get up at six in the morning.'

[2-2] Nonfuture conjunct ('NFC')

In independent sentences, a nonfuture conjunct verb is interpreted, if taken out of context, as past perfective, e.g. (71), but it can be interpreted as nonfuture habitual if there is a frequency adverb, e.g. (72).

(71) *ji   sutha=e   cha bajae   dan-ā.*
    1SG morning=LOC six o'clock get.up-NFC
    'I got up at six in the morning.'

(72) *ji   gabalẽːgablẽː sutha=e   cha bajae   dan-ā.*
    1SG sometimes   morning=LOC six o'clock get.up-NFC
    'I sometimes get/got up at six in the morning.'

However, in nominalized clauses, e.g. in the Clause of the MMC and in ACs, a nonfuture conjunct verb is only interpreted as past perfective, not as habitual, even when there is a frequency adverb.

(73) [*ji   (gabalẽːgablẽː) sutha=e   cha bajae   dan-ā*]=***gu***.
    1SG sometimes   morning=LOC six o'clock get.up-NFC=NMLZ
    'I sometimes got up at six in the morning.'

In nominalized clauses, the habitual meaning is expressed only by the future conjunct form, e.g. (70).

To sum up 5.3.5.2, a verb-predicate clause used as the Clause of the MMC can be used as a sentence by itself. However, there may be a semantic difference between the Clause and the corresponding sentence with respect to the interpretation of tense and aspect.

5.3.5.3 Adjective-predicate clauses

As noted in 4.1-[2], adjective-predicate sentences may contain the copula *juye* 'inchoative', but not the copula *khaye* 'equational'. Adjective-predicate clauses used in the Clause slot of the MMC have the same properties as those that they have in independent sentences (cf. 4.1-[2]), except for the following two respects, which concern the copula *juye* 'inchoative'.

[1] Non-omissibility
In independent adjective-predicate sentences, the copula *juye* may be omitted, e.g. (6). However, in the Clause of the MMC, the copula *juye* may not be omitted. This can be shown as follows.

First, as seen in 4.2.1, Newar has three nominalizer enclitics.

(a) *=mha* animate singular ('ANIM SG')
(b) *=pĩː*   animate plural ('ANIM PL')
(c) *=gu*   inanimate ('INAN')

These nominalizers can be used to form ACs, including headless ACs (cf. 4.2.3.3). The nominalizer agrees with the head noun in terms of animacy and number. In the case of headless ACs, the head noun is not expressed overtly. Examples of headless ACs include (24) (=*pĩː*), (74) (=*mha*), and (75) (=*gu*). If the nominalizer does not agree with the head noun, the sentence is unacceptable. See (76); the covert head is 'woman', i.e. animate singular, and yet the nominalizer is the one for inanimates: *=gu*.

(74) *thwa misā   taskã̄ː dayālu=mha khaːː.*
     this   woman very   kind=NMLZ COP.NFND
     'This woman is a very kind one.'

(75) *thwa jyā taskã̄ː thāku=gu   khaːː.*
     this   job very   difficult=NMLZ COP.NFND
     'This job is a very difficult one.'

(76) **thwa misā   taskā: dayālu=gu   kha:.*
　　 this   woman very   kind=NMLZ COP.NFND
　　 IM: 'This woman is a very kind one.'

Sentences (74) and (75) are noun-predicate sentences (cf. 4.1-[3]) whose predicate involves a headless AC.
　　 Now, consider (77), an instance of the MMC. If the copula in the Clause of (77) is deleted, we will obtain (78).

(77) [*thwa jyā taskā: thāku   ju:*]=***gu***　　　　*kha:.*
　　 this   job very   difficult COP.NFND=NMLZ COP.NFND
　　 'It is the case that this job has become very difficult.'

(78) *thwa jyā taskā: thāku=gu   kha:.*
　　 this   job very   difficult=NMLZ COP.NFND
　　 'This job is a very difficult one.'

Note that (78) is the same as (75). It is a noun-predicate sentence whose predicate involves a headless AC. It is not an instance of the MMC. This shows that adjective-predicate clauses may be used in the Clause of the MMC only when they take the inchoative copula *ju:*; the copula in the Clause *juye* may not be omitted. (See 5.3.6 for a further discussion.)
　　 I note in this connection that the Clause of (77) can be used as a sentence by itself. See (79). This is an adjective-predicate sentence, like (6).

(79) *thwa jyā taskā: thāku   ju:*
　　 this   job very   difficult COP.NFND
　　 'This job is very difficult.'

　　 There is a difference in the interpretation of the inchoative copula *ju:*. In (6) and (79) (both adjective-predicate sentences), *ju:* is interpreted as stative and functions like the equational copular *kha:* for noun-predicate sentences (cf. (9), (74), (75), (78)). On the other hand, *ju:* in (77) (MMC) is construed as dynamic, 'became', as the translation shows.

　　 [2] The inchoative *ju:* 'nonfuture neutral disjunct' ('NFND') for an inchoative meaning only
In independent adjective-predicate sentences, the NFND of the inchoative copula *ju:* is interpreted as equational, e.g. (6). However, when used in the Clause of the MMC (and in nominalized clauses generally, e.g. ACs), it is not interpreted as equational. It is interpreted as inchoative. This is shown in the English translation 'become', e.g. (81).

This is true not only with affirmative clauses/sentences but also with negative clauses/sentences. An adjective-predicate is negated by attaching the negation prefix *ma-* to the copula, e.g. (7), (80), (81). A negated adjective predicate has an equational meaning ('be') in adjective-predicate sentences, e.g. (80). However, it has an inchoative meaning in the Clause of the MMC, e.g. (81).

(80) *thwa misā   dayālu ma-juː.*
    this   woman kind   NEG-COP.NFND
    'This woman is not kind.'

(81) [*thwa misā   dayālu ma-juː*]=**gu**   *khaː.*
    this   woman kind   NEG-COP.NFND=NMLZ COP.NFND
    'This woman once became unkind (but now is kind again).'[7]

The above shows that an adjective-clause used in the Clause of the MMC can be used by itself as a sentence, but that there is an aspectual difference between the two uses.

5.3.5.4 Noun-predicate clauses

As noted in 4.1-[3], a noun-predicate sentence may have no copula verb (when it is an affirmative sentence), e.g. (9). In contrast, a noun-predicate sentence with no copula verb cannot occur in the Clause of the MMC. See:

(82) *[rām dāktar]=**gu**   khaː.*
    Ram   doctor=NMLZ COP.NFND
    IM: '(It is the case that) Ram is a doctor.'

We shall comment on the uses of the two copula verbs in the Clause.

[1] *khaye* 'equational'
The copula *kha:* 'equational' can occur in a noun-predicate sentence. Its presence makes the sentence more assertive. (This is because, as noted in 4.1-[3], *kha:* can also be used as a lexical verb meaning 'to be true'.) See (9) and (83).

(83) *rām dāktar (khaː).*
    Ram doctor (COP.NFND)
    'Ram is a doctor (indeed).'

---

7 Note that the translation of (81) contains the following expression: (but now is kind again). According to my consultants' intuition, *=gu kha:* implies that the content of the Clause does not hold anymore at the moment of speech. Therefore, (81) implies that this woman is no longer unkind.

Noun-predicate clauses with *kha:* cannot appear in the Clause of the MMC; see (84).

(84) *[*rām dāktar kha:*]=**gu**   *kha:*.
    Ram   doctor COP.NFND=NMLZ COP.NFND
    IM: '(It is the case that) Ram is a doctor.'

[2] *juye* 'inchoative'

In noun-predicate sentences, *juye* can occur e.g. (11), (85). It has an inchoative meaning. (However, as noted in 4.1-[3], its nonfuture perfective disjunct ('NFPD') form cannot occur here.) It can occur in the Clause of the MMC. Here, too, it has an inchoative meaning, not an equational meaning. See (86). Its NFND form can occur.

(85) *rām dāktar jul-a*.
    Ram doctor COP-NFPD
    'Ram has become/became a doctor.'

(86) [*rām dāktar ju:*]=**gu**   *kha:*.
    Ram doctor COP.NFND=NMLZ COP.NFND
    '(It is the case that) Ram has become/became a doctor.'

Note that, when used in the Clause of the MMC, noun-predicate clauses and adjective-predicate clauses share the same property: they must have the inchoative copula; and the copula has an inchoative meaning only, and does not have an equational meaning.

Now, if the Clause of (86) were to be used as a sentence, we would obtain:

(87) *[*rām dāktar ju:*].
    Ram doctor COP.NFND
    IM: 'Ram has become/became a doctor.'

However, (87) is unacceptable. Recall that, as noted above, the NFND form of *juye* 'inchoative' cannot be used in noun-predicate sentences. That is, when the NFND form of *juye* 'inchoative' is used as the predicate of the Clause, the Clause cannot be used as a sentence by itself. This is an exception to the general tendency stated in 5.3.4: Generally the Clause of the MMC can stand on its own as a sentence.

There is a way to make (87) acceptable. If *ju:* 'COP.NFND' is replaced with *jul-a* 'COP-NFPD', the sentence becomes acceptable. See (85); it has the intended meaning of (87).

I now summarize what we have seen regarding adjective-predicate clauses and noun-predicate clauses. To be used in the Clause of the MMC, they must have the inchoative copula *ju:*. (The equational copula *kha:* cannot be used in the Clause of

the MMC.) If an adjective-clause in the Clause slot lacks *juː*, the sentence is not an instance of the MMC. It is a noun-predicate sentence whose predicate involves a headless AC. See (78). If a noun-predicate clause in the Clause slot lacks *juː*, the sentence is unacceptable. See (82). (In contrast, independent noun-predicate sentences and adjective-predicate sentences do not necessarily need a copula. See (6) and (9).)

5.3.6 Further comparison of the MMC with noun-predicate sentences

Consider (77) and (78), which are repeated below.

(88) [*thwa jyā taskãː thāku   juː*]=**gu**   *khaː*.
     this job very   difficult COP.NFND=NMLZ COP.NFND
     'It is the case that this job has become very difficult.'

(89) *thwa jyā taskãː thāku=gu   khaː*.
     this job very   difficult=NMLZ COP.NFND
     'This job is a very difficult one.'

Sentence (88) is an instance of the MMC. If the copula in its Clause is deleted, we will obtain (89). As noted in 5.3.5.3, (89) is a noun-predicate sentence whose predicate involves a headless AC. It is not an instance of the MMC. Sentences (88) and (89) look similar; both end with *=gu khaː* 'NMLZ COP.NFND'. It might be thought that (89) is an instance of the MMC. However, it is a noun-predicate sentence whose predicate involves a headless AC. This can be shown as follows.

   Consider (90), an instance of the MMC. If the copula *juː* in its Clause is omitted, we obtain (91).

(90) [*thwa misā   taskãː dayālu juː*]=**gu**   *khaː*.
     this woman very   kind   COP.NFND=NMLZ COP.NFND
     'This woman became very kind.'

(91) **thwa misā   taskãː dayālu=gu khaː*.
     this   woman very   kind=NMLZ COP.NFND
     IM: 'This woman is a very kind one.'

Note that (91) is the same as (76), which was intended to be a noun-predicate sentence whose predicate involves a headless AC. It is not an instance of the MMC. Note also that (91) is ungrammatical, like (76); the nominalizer *=gu* 'inanimate' does not agree with the covert head noun: 'woman'. It becomes acceptable if the inanimate nominalizer *=gu* is replaced with the animate singular nominalizer *=mha*, as in (74).

Comparison of (88) to (91) shows that (89) and (91) have a structure that is different from that of (88) and (90). They are not instances of the MMC, but they are noun-predicate sentences whose predicate involves a headless AC.

This difference can also be shown in the following pair of sentences.

(92) [*rām=ã: saphu: nyā:*]=**gu** /*=mha kha:.*
    Ram=ERG book   buy.NFND=NMLZ COP.NFND
    'Ram bought a book.'

(93) *rām   saphu: nyā:**=gu* /=mha   kha:.*
    Ram book   buy.NFND=NMLZ COP.NFND
    'Ram is the one who bought a book.'

Sentence (92) is an instance of the MMC. As noted in 5.1, in the MMC the nominalizer =*gu* is consistently used, irrespective of the gender or number of the subject of the Clause. In (92), the subject is human singular, but =*mha* 'ANIM SG' is unacceptable. Sentence (93) is a noun-predicate sentence whose predicate involves a headless AC. As noted in 4.2.1, the nominalizer must agree with the covert head noun. In (93), the covert head noun is human singular, and =*mha* 'ANIM SG' is acceptable, but =*gu* 'INAN' is unacceptable.

To sum up, there is clear evidence to distinguish between the MMC and noun-predicate sentences whose predicate involves a headless AC.

5.4 Discourse functions of the MMC

5.4.1 Introductory notes

The Newar MMC signals various functional purports in discourse. There are two fundamental functions of the MMC, irrespective of whether it occurs with or without the Copula: (i) to make a strong assertion (5.4.2); and (ii) to state a presupposed fact that is related to a topic in discourse (5.4.3). The MMC signals that the speaker presupposes that the situation stated in it is true. When it is used in an interrogative sentence, it bears a tone of interrogation whether what is stated is true or not, or the questioner's keen interest (5.4.4).

5.4.2 Making a strong assertion as a concluding remark

The MMC is often used to put forward a strong assertion, especially when the speaker gives a concluding remark based on the preceding context. In this function, the Copula of the MMC may not be omitted.

The utterance in (94) was made after another speaker said that, as they had not learned Japanese since coming to Japan, they had found life more difficult. By using the MMC, the speaker asserts in a strong tone that what he thinks is no less than an indisputable fact.

(94) *wa lā kha:, ukī: [chikipi=sã: jāpāni: bhāe*
that EMPH be.true.NFND therefore 2PL.HON=ERG Japanese language
bhacā sã: saek-e=gu kuta: yān-ā di-i mā:]=gu
a.little though learn-INF=NMLZ effort do-CM HON-INF need.NFND=NMLZ
kha:.   (*Newar Conversation*)
COP.NFND
'That's indeed right. Therefore, you must make at least some effort to learn Japanese.'

Now consider the following example. In this story, Dārā, who used to be a sheep herdsman and has become a high-ranking official, is suspected of embezzling tax money, carrying the money in a trunk. One day the king orders him to open the trunk, only to find his old clothes in it. Then Dārā explains why he always carries his old clothes in his trunk, uttering (95c). In this case, too, the speaker makes a strong assertion as a concluding remark.

(95) a. *ji ā: nhyā=mha he ju:=sã̃: nhāpã̃: ji cha-mha*
1SG now any=NMLZ EMPH COP.NFND=though first 1SG one-CLF
phaijwā: kha:.
sheep.herdsman COP.NFND
'Whatever I am now, I am primarily a sheep herdsman.'

   b. *thwa khã lwa:man-a=ki ji gabalẽ: he nyāya nisāph*
this story forget-NFPD=if 1SG anytime EMPH justice judgment
bi: pha-i-makhu.
give.INF can-FD-NEG
'If I forgot this fact, I would not be able to make a logical judgment at any time.'

   c. *ukī: [jĩ: tha:=yā=ta thamhã̃: lumãk-ā ta-e=ta*
so 1SG.ERG REFL=GEN=DAT REFL.ERG remember-CM put-INF=DAT
he thwa wasa: nāpã̃: tay-ā juy-ā]=gu kha:.
EMPH this clothes nearby put-CM travel-NFC=NMLZ COP.NFND
'So I carry these clothes with me intentionally to remind me.'

A statement involving the MMC must refer to an established fact. It is possible to question whether a certain proposition is true or not by using the MMC, e.g. (96).

However, it is not possible to use the MMC in the assertive to express the speaker's recognition of a fact; see (97).

(96) *lã   pyān-ā   cwan-a.   [cānhae wā wa:]=**gu**   kha:*
    road be.wet-CM CONT-NFPD at.night rain come.NFND=NMLZ COP.NFND
    lā?
    Q
    LT: 'The road is wet. Is it true that it rained during the night?'
    FT: 'The road is wet. Did it rain during the night?'

(97) *lã   pyān-ā   cwan-a.   *[cānhae wā wa:]=**gu**   kha:.*
    road be.wet-CM CONT-NFPD at.night   rain come.NFND=NMLZ COP.NFND
    'The road is wet. It was the case that it rained during the night.'

The MMC in the above sentence is a concluding remark that is drawn by a conjecture based on the fact that the road is wet. The proposition "It rained during the night" is not guaranteed as a fact, so it is not natural to use the MMC here. However, adding the modal auxiliary verb *mā:*, which marks conjecture, will save the sentence, as follows.

(98) *lã   pyān-ā cwan-a.   [cān=ae   wā wa:]=**gu**   kha-e*
    road wet-CM CONT-NFPD night=LOC rain come.NFND=NMLZ COP-INF
    mā:.
    should.NFND
    LT: 'The road is wet. It must have been the case that it rained during the night.'
    FT: 'The road is wet. It must have rained during the night.'

5.4.3 Background information

The MMC is often used to supply background information: [1] introducing a statement that leads to the main theme of a narrative, [2] providing additional explanatory information such as reason, evidence, etc., or [3] elaborating on a topic in detail.

When the background information consists of more than one sentence, the MMC may be used sequentially, indicating that the sequence of MMCs constitutes a set of background information. The MMCs may have the Copula (full-fledged MMCs) or omit it (copula-less MMCs), but the presence of the copula *kha:* delivers a more assertive tone.

[1] Introducing a statement for the main theme
In narratives, the first line of a story is usually a lead sentence, either a topic sentence or a sentence that supplies background information that is relevant to the

topic. The MMC can be used to introduce background information at the beginning of a story when the statement concerns a previous situation that no longer holds true at the time of the main story but that is relevant to it. The following example, which is taken from a story about the development of clothes, is the first line of the passage. The MMC provides a piece of background information relevant to the main theme of the passage about the development of clothes.

(99) [*nhāpā nhāpā dhũ*, *bhālu*, *sala*, *kisi* *thẽ: manu: nã: gũ=ĩ*
before before fox bear horse elephant like man too forest=LOC
he cwan-i:]=***gu*** *kha:.* (*Elohan*)
EMPH live-FD=NMLZ COP.NFND
'A long, long time ago, men used to live in forests like foxes, bears, horses and elephants.

In this function, regardless of the tense in the Clause, the MMC implies that the situation presented in it no longer holds at the moment of speech. The verb is interpreted as past habitual in (99). The following example is an elicited sentence. The consultant says that the MMC signals that the proposition presented is no longer true and the sentence that follows may start with *tara* 'but'.

(100) [*jĩ: yakwa khānji ākha: lumã:k-ā*]=***gu*** *kha:.*
1SG.ERG many kanji character memorize-NFC=NMLZ COP.NFND
'(It is true that) I remembered a lot of *kanji* characters.'

The above sentence implies that now the speaker does not remember all of the *kanji* characters that he learned. On the other hand, if the =*gu kha:* portion is removed to make an independent sentence, this implication is canceled.

A copula-less MMC may also be used in this function, though such cases are not common. The following sentence is the first line of a story, which presents a background setting for what follows. This function is the same as that of the full-fledged MMC: to introduce a new topic into discourse.

(101) [*jã:gal=yā sitha=e cha-mha manu: nhi=yā nhithã: si*
jungle=GEN border=LOC one-CLF man day=GEN day.ERG garment
miy-ā: ji:ban han-ā cwan-i:]=***gu***. (*Elohan*)
sell-CP life join-CM CONT-FD=NMLZ
'On the edge of a jungle, a man was earning a living by selling garments from sunrise to sunset.'

[2] Stating a reason as background information
Another use of the MMC is to state a reason as background information. The MMC in (102b) is stated as a reason for the event described in (102a).

(102) a. *juju, lāni wa me=pĩ: sakalẽ: bhacā lipā jaka*
king queen and other=NMLZ.PL all a.little later only
bijyā-e dhaigu āggyā ju:=gu du.
come.HON-INF QUOT instruction happen.NFND=NMLZ exist.NFND
'Due to the king's instruction, the king, the queen and the others will
all come a little later.'

b. [*yuwarāj hajur=yā rājkumāri nāpa khãlhābalhā yā-e=ta awasar*
prince Sir=GEN princess with talk do-INF=DAT chance
byu:]=***gu*** *kha:.*
give.NFND=NMLZ COP.NFND
'(The king) gave Your Majesty the Crown Prince a chance to talk with
the princess.'

[3] Topic elaboration

In elaborating on a topic in discourse, a sequence of MMCs may be used (cf. Hale &
Shrestha 2006). In such cases, they are often copula-less. In elaborating on a topic,
specific events and states related to it are presented in a sequence of MMCs.[8] The
following example, which is taken from Hale & Shrestha (2006: 195), illustrates a
case of elaboration of a topic.[9]

(103) a. *cihrimā̃:=mesyā punakhū: maĩ:cā mikhā bā-galā: he*
stepmother=ERG Punakhun Mainca eye half-CLF.ERG EMPH
swa-e ma-ya:.
look.at-INF NEG-like.NFND
'The stepmother couldn't stand the sight of Punakhun Mainca.'

b. *akĩ:* [*wã: nhesumhyāe=yā=ta na-kẽ:*
so that.ERG stepdaughter=GEN=DAT eat-CAUS.INF.ERG
syā-i]=***gu.***
kill-FD=NMLZ
'So she would feed her stepdaughter very little.'[10]

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8 Hale & Shrestha (2006: 195 ff.) discuss copula-less MMCs, which they call "finite nominal
clauses". I do not make a full reference to their discussion, but they also describe the function of
the copula-less MMC as marking background materials, illustrating examples of elaboration of a
theme, laying plans and summarization of previous events. In such cases as well, the events and
states expressed in the nominalized clauses are presupposed facts, as I discussed.
9 The original glosses are changed to mine.
10 This sentence literally means 'So she would kill her stepdaughter by feeding'.

c. *tha: mhyāe=yā=ta   dhā:sā* [*ghya: duru lā   tay-ā: jā*
   oneself daughter=GEN=DAT FOC   ghee   milk meat put-CP rice
   nak-i]=***gu***.
   feed-FD=NMLZ
   'As for her own daughter, she would feed her rice together with ghee,
   milk and meat.'

d. [*sā:~sā:*[11]   *bhĩ:~bhĩ: dhā-kwa nak-i:*]=***gu***.
   be.tasty.NFND~PL good.NFND~PL say-much feed-FD=NMLZ
   'She would feed her as much good tasty food as she would ask for.'

According to Hale & Shrestha, the sentence in (103a) states the stepmother's antipathy for Punakhun Mainca in a verb-predicate clause. Then the series of copula-less MMCs follow it to develop the antipathy theme.

The MMC in the example above is copula-less. The MMC with the copula *khaye* is stronger in assertion (cf. 4.1-[3]). In the following examples, the MMC has the copula *kha:*, giving rise to a strong assertive tone.

(104) a. *"bābu chã:!* [*kāsi: he   bwã:-wan-e   dhay-ā*]=***gu***
        my.boy 2SG Kasi EMPH study.PURP-go-FC say-FC=NMLZ
        kha: lā?"
        COP.NFND Q
        'My boy, did you say that you will go to Kasi to study?

   b. *cha-nhu cirimā-mhã: nyan-ā dil-a.*
      one-day stepmother-AD ask-CM HON-NFPD
      'One day his stepmother asked him.'

   c. *"kha:, cirimã̃:!*   [*ji kāsi: he   wan-e dhay-ā*]=***gu***
      yes   stepmother 1SG Kasi.LOC EMPH go-FC say-NFC=NMLZ
      kha:.
      COP.NFND
      'Yes, Mom! It is true that I said that I would go to Kasi.'

   d. *thana he   bwan-e dhā:=sā   [bwanekhuthi du]=***gu***
      here   EMPH study-FC say.NFND=if school   exist.NFND=NMLZ
      ma-khu.
      NEG-COP.NFND
      LT: 'If I decide to study, it is not the case that there is a school here.'
      FT: 'Even if I decide to study, there is no school here.'

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[11] The tilde represents a boundary of reduplication. In the gloss, the lexical meaning is indicated to the left of it, while the grammatical function added by reduplication is indicated to the right of it.

e. *chu   yā-e? lã   kharcā jaka du=sā*   [*gāː*]=***gu***
   what do-FC road   expense only exist.NFND=if suffice.NFND=NMLZ
   khaː."
   COP.NFND
   LT: 'What do I do? It is sufficient if I have only travel expense.'
   FT: 'What should I do? I only need travel expenses.'

f. *wã: cirimãː=yā   khwā: pulukka   sway-ā:*
   3SG.ERG stepmother=GEN face   in.a.glance look-CP
   dhāl-a.   (Elohan)
   say-NFPD
   'He said, glancing at his stepmother's face.'

Asked by his stepmother in (104a), the child answers her by using the MMCs in (104c–e). In the sequence of the MMCs with the copula *khaː*, his answer is more assertive, implying his strong will to go to Kasi to study.

5.4.4 MMC in interrogative sentences

The MMC may be used in interrogative sentences. Asking a question employing the MMC gives rise to a tone of interrogation, or the questioner's keen interest. Compare:

(105) *chu   yān-ā?*
      what do-NFC
      'What did you do?'

(106) [*chu   yān-ā*]=***gu?***
      what do-NFC=NMLZ
      'What did you do?'

(107) [*chu   yān-ā*]=***gu***   *khaː?*
      what do-NFC=NMLZ COP.NFND
      'What on earth did you do?'

All of the three patterns are possible: (105) independent sentence, (106) copula-less MMC and (107) full-fledged MMC. According to my consultants, (105) is the unmarked question. It is often used. (106), too, is often used, but it has a more intimate tone, and sometimes it is less polite. (107) has a strong tone of interrogation.

There is another semantic difference between the one without the nominalizer, i.e., (105) and those with the nominalizer, i.e. (106) and (107), and this concerns presupposition. In the latter, the speaker presupposes that it is taken as a matter of fact that the listener did something, and is trying to elaborate what he or she did.

On the other hand, the former does not have such a presupposition and the speaker simply asks the question because he or she believes the listener did something.

6 Comparison of the MMC with other constructions

6.1 Introductory notes

We now compare the MMC with other constructions. In particular, we shall examine the following two issues.

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

The structure of the prototype of the MMC is as shown in (1). Superficially at least, it looks as if the prototypical MMC is bi-clausal. In some of the languages reported in the present volume, the Clause of the MMC looks similar to an adnominal clause ("AC") (or a relative clause) of the respective languages and consequently it looks as if the MMC is bi-clausal, with an AC as a subordinate clause. This applies to Newar. The three nominalizers (cf. 4.2.1) are used in ACs (4.2.2) and one of the nominalizers (=*gu*) is used in the MMC. It may look as if the MMC is bi-clausal, with an AC as a subordinate clause. Furthermore, in terms of the use and the aspectual interpretation of the nonfuture perfective disjunct and the nonfuture neutral disjunct, the Clause of the MMC behaves exactly like ACs and unlike independent sentences (Table 2).

However, languages such as Modern Standard Japanese (Tsunoda, this volume-b, Section 6) and Korean (Kim, this volume, Section 6) yield evidence that their MMC does not contain an AC and that it is syntactically mono-clausal. (See Tsunoda (this volume-a, 3.4.2).) In view of this, it is important to examine the two issues listed above.

For Newar, we shall compare the following constructions.

(i) Mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences (cf. 4.1-[1]).
(ii) Mono-clausal adjective-predicate sentences (cf. 4.1-[2]).
(iii) Mono-clausal noun-predicate sentences (cf. 4.1-[3]).
(iv) MMC (cf. Section 5).
(v) ACs: gap type (cf. 4.2.3.1).
(vi) ACs: addition type (cf. 4.2.3.2).
(vii) ACs: headless (cf. 4.2.3.3).

It is necessary to consider mono-clausal sentences, since one of the aims of this comparison is to examine the issue (b) listed above.

When we look at the MMC, we shall mainly be concerned with the Clause, but we also look at the entire MMC.

We shall compare the constructions listed above regarding their morphological and syntactic aspects. The result of this comparison is shown in Table 3.

6.2 Predicate

(i) Mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences
The verb is in a finite form.

(ii) Mono-clausal adjective-predicate sentences
(iii) Mono-clausal noun-predicate sentences
The copula is in a finite form.

(iv) MMC
The verb or the copula in the Clause is in a finite form.

(v) ACs: gap type
(vi) ACs: addition type
(vii) ACs: headless
The verb or the copula in ACs is in a finite form.

6.3 Nonfuture perfect disjunct: 'NFPD'

(i) Mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences
(ii) Mono-clausal adjective-predicate sentences
(iii) Mono-clausal noun-predicate sentences
NFPD is acceptable.

(iv) MMC
NFPD is unacceptable in the Clause of the MMC.

(v) ACs: gap type
(vi) ACs: addition type
(vii) ACs: headless
NFPD is unacceptable in ACs.

6.4 Copula verbs

(i) Mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences
This criterion is irrelevant.

(ii) Mono-clausal adjective-predicate sentences
Khaye 'equational' is not used, and only *juye* 'inchoative' is used. The use of *juye* is not always obligatory.

(iii) Mono-clausal noun-predicate sentences
Both *khaye* 'equational' and *juye* 'inchoative' are used. Their use is not always obligatory.

(iv) MMC
In the Clause of the MMC, when a verb-predicate clause is used, this criterion is irrelevant. In an adjective-predicate clause and a noun-predicate clause, *khaye* 'equational' is not used, and only *juye* 'inchoative' is used. The use of *juye* is obligatory.

(v) ACs: gap type
(vi) ACs: addition type
(vii) ACs: headless
What was stated regarding the Clause of the MMC applies to ACs. An example is the following (an example of (v)).

(108) {*bāsi juː=gu*}   *laː*
     stale become.NFND=NMLZ water
     'water that has become stale'

6.5 Nominalizers

It is convenient to start with ACs.

(v) ACs: gap type
(vi) ACs: addition type
(vii) ACs: headless
The predicate of an AC is followed by a nominalizer (=*mha* 'ANIM SG', =*pĩː* 'ANIM PL', or =*gu* 'INAN'), and the nominalizer agrees with the head noun of the AC. The nominalizer occurs inside the AC; see (19) and (20), for example.

(iv) MMC

The predicate of the Clause is consistently followed by the nominalizer =*gu*, irrespective of the gender or number of the subject of the Clause. That is, the nominalizer does not agree with the subject of the Clause. The nominalizer does not occur inside the Clause (in contrast with (v), (vi) and (vii)). It occupies the Noun slot of the MMC, and it occurs outside the Clause; see (3), for example.

(i) Mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences
(ii) Mono-clausal adjective-predicate sentences
(iii) Mono-clausal noun-predicate sentences

The predicate is not followed by any nominalizer.

6.6 Topicalization

The focus/topic marker *dhā:sā* 'as for' is used to indicate that the focused participant is mentioned in contrast to someone or something else mentioned in the discourse.

(i) Mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences
(ii) Mono-clausal adjective-predicate sentences
(iii) Mono-clausal noun-predicate sentences

The focus/topic marker *dhā:sā* 'as for' can occur. Compare (56) with:

(109) *rām=ã: dhā:sā saphu: nyāt-a.*
  Ram=ERG FOC book buy-NFPD
  'As for Ram, he bought a book.'

(iv) MMC

The focus/topic marker *dhā:sā* 'as for' can occur in the Clause of the MMC.

(110) [*rām=ã: dhā:sā saphu: nyā:*]=***gu***   *kha:*
  Ram=ERG FOC book buy.NFND=NMLZ COP.NFND
  'As for Ram, he bought a book.'

(v) ACs: gap type
(vi) ACs: addition type
(vii) ACs: headless

The focus/topic marker *dhā:sā* 'as for' may not occur in ACs. See (111) (an example of (v)).

(111) *{*rām=ã: dhā:sā nyā:=gu*}   *saphu:*
      Ram=ERG FOC   buy.NFND=NMLZ book
      'the book that as for Ram he bought'

6.7 Gapping

It is convenient to start with ACs of the gap type.

   (v) ACs: gap type
Gapping takes place in the formation of ACs of the gap type. For example, compare
(18) with the AC of (19) and the AC of (20). All of the subject, the direct object and
the indirect object are present in (18). In contrast, the subject is absent in the AC
of (19), and the direct object is absent in the AC of (20).

   (vi) ACs: addition type
Gapping does not take place in the formation of ACs of the addition type. For exam-
ple, compare (22) and (23). The subject is present in the AC of (23), as is the case
with (22).

   (vii) ACs: headless
Headless ACs are not of the gap type. Nonetheless, a phenomenon parallel to gap-
ping occurs in their formation. Compare (25) and (24). The subject is present in
(25). In contrast, the subject is absent in the AC of (24).

   (i) Mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences
   (ii) Mono-clausal adjective-predicate sentences
   (iii) Mono-clausal noun-predicate sentences
   (iv) MMC
Gapping does not take place in the formation of these constructions.

6.8 Case marking of the subject

Regarding this criterion, the seven construction types under discussion show no
difference. The transitive subject ("A") is consistently in the ergative case, while
the intransitive subject ("S") is consistently in the absolutive case. (The absolutive
case is not glossed in the examples (cf. Section 3).)

6.9 One subject or two subjects?

It is convenient to start with ACs.

> (v) ACs: gap type
> (vi) ACs: addition type
> (vii) ACs: headless

When the subject is relativized on, a sentence with an AC has just one subject. Consider (112). ((112) contains an AC of (v).)

(112) {*phyetuy-ā cwã:=mha*}　　*macā dan-a.*
　　　sit-CM　　CONT.NFND=NMLZ child　get.up-NFPD
　　　'The child who had been sitting got up.'

When a non-subject is relativized on, a sentence with an AC has two subjects: the subject of the AC and the subject of the matrix clause. Thus, in (113) (an example of (v)) the subject of the AC is *thamã:* 'self.ERG', and the subject of the matrix clause is *jĩ:* '1SG.ERG'. In (113), the AC is split up into two parts, with the subject of the matrix clause intervening.

(113) {*kapilavastu=i*}　　*jĩ:*　　　　{*thamã: khan-ā=gu*}　　*khã*　　*bayān*
　　　Kapilavastu=LOC 1SG.ERG self.ERG see-NFC=NMLZ thing description
　　　yā-e.　　　(*Yasodhara*)
　　　do-FC
　　　LT: 'I will describe the things I saw in Kapilavastu.'
　　　FT: 'I will describe what I saw in Kapilavastu.'

> (i) Mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences
> (ii) Mono-clausal adjective-predicate sentences
> (iii) Mono-clausal noun-predicate sentences
> (iv) MMC

These constructions have just one subject. For example, (3) (MMC) has just one subject: *jĩ:* '1SG.ERG'.

6.10 Discussion

The result of the comparison conducted above can be summarized as in Table 3.

　　The category "not always obligatory" concerns the use of the copula verbs. Logically, this category can be included in the category "acceptable or obligatory". Nonetheless, it is set up as a separate category, for the non-obligatory nature of their use is deemed important enough to be shown explicitly.

Tab. 3: Comparison of the MMC with other constructions.

	Predicate: finite	NFPD
Verb-predicate sentences	+	+
Adjective-predicate sentences	+	+
Noun-predicate sentences	+	+
MMC	+	−
ACs: gap type	+	−
ACs: addition type	+	−
ACs: headless	+	−
	Copula verbs:	
	khaye	*juye*
Verb-predicate sentences	…	…
Adjective-predicate sentences	−	(+)
Noun-predicate sentences	(+)	(+)
MMC		
verb-predicate clause	…	…
adjective-predicate clause	−	+
noun-predicate clause	−	+
ACs: gap type	−	+
ACs: addition type	−	+
ACs: headless	−	+
	Nominalizers	
Verb-predicate sentences	−	
Adjective-predicate sentences	−	
Noun-predicate sentences	−	
MMC	*=gu*	
ACs: gap type	*=mha*, *=pĩː*, *=gu*	
ACs: addition type	*=mha*, *=pĩː*, *=gu*	
ACs: headless	*=mha*, *=pĩː*, *=gu*	
	Topicalization	**Gapping**
Verb-predicate sentences	+	−
Adjective-predicate sentences	+	−
Noun-predicate sentences	+	−
MMC	+	−
ACs: gap type	−	+
ACs: addition type	−	−
ACs: headless	−	+
	Case marking: A: ERG, S: ABS	**Two subjects**
Verb-predicate sentences	+	−
Adjective-predicate sentences	+	−
Noun-predicate sentences	+	−
MMC	+	−
ACs: gap type	+	+
ACs: addition type	+	+
ACs: headless	+	+

Legend: +: acceptable or obligatory; (+): not always obligatory; −: unacceptable; …: irrelevant.

Regarding the MMC, the eight criteria listed in Table 3 can be roughly classified as follows.

(a) The criteria that concern the Clause of the MMC
    (a-1) Predicate: finite.
    (a-2) NFPD.
    (a-3) Copula verbs.
    (a-4) Topicalization.
    (a-5) Gapping.
    (a-6) Case marking: A: ERG, S: ABS.
(b) The criteria that concern the entire MMC
    (b-1) Two subjects.
    (b-2) Nominalizers.

The criterion "Nominalizers" is difficult to classify. As mentioned in 6.5, nominalizers occur inside ACs. This suggests that this criterion has to do with the structure of the predicate of ACs. However, nominalizers do not occur inside the Clause of the MMC; they occupy the Noun slot and occur outside the Clause. This indicates that this criterion does not deal with the structure of the Clause. It is tentatively assigned to the (b) group.

The criteria (a-1), (a-2) and (a-6) deal with morphological aspects, while other criteria may be said to look at syntactic aspects. In particular, (a-1) and (a-2) concern the morphological aspects of the predicate. We shall look at each of these eight criteria.

In terms of "Predicate: finite" and "Case marking", the Clause of the MMC behaves exactly like both mono-clausal independent sentences and ACs.

Concerning "NFPD", the Clause of the MMC behaves exactly like ACs and differs from mono-clausal independent sentences.

Regarding "Copula verbs", the MMC is slightly more similar to ACs than to mono-clausal independent sentences.

In terms of "Topicalization", the Clause of the MMC behaves exactly like mono-clausal independent sentences and unlike ACs.

As for "Gapping", the Clause of the MMC behaves exactly like mono-clausal independent sentences and differs from ACs on the whole.

Regarding "Two subjects", the entire MMC behaves exactly mono-clausal independent sentences and unlike sentences with an AC.

As regards "Nominalizers", the MMC is similar to ACs and behaves exactly unlike mono-clausal independent sentences.

To sum up, in terms of "NFPD" (a morphological criterion), the Clause of the MMC behaves exactly like ACs and differs from mono-clausal independent sentences. It may look as if the MMC contains an AC, that is, it may look as if the MMC is bi-clausal. However, in terms of the syntactic criteria in the main the Clause of

the MMC differs from ACs and the entire MMC differs from sentences that contain an AC. The MMC on the whole behaves like mono-clausal independent sentences. That is, syntactically the MMC does not contain an AC. It does not contain any subordinate clause. Syntactically it should be considered mono-clausal, not bi-clausal.

6.11 Compound predicate

We saw in 6.10 that syntactically the Newar MMC should be considered mono-clausal, not bi-clausal. Then, it should have just one predicate, not two predicates. We now investigate what structure the predicate has.

As seen in Section 1, the prototype of the MMC has the structure shown in (1) – superficially at least. However, languages such as Modern Standard Japanese (Tsunoda, this volume-b, Section 6) and Korean (Kim, this volume, Section 6) provide ample evidence that syntactically their MMC is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal, despite its superficial appearance (shown in (1)). Their MMC has just one predicate, not two predicates, and the predicate is a compound predicate that consists of the predicate of the Clause, the Noun and the Copula, as shown in (2).

(1) Prototype of the mermaid construction ("MMC"):
    [Clause]   Noun   Copula

(2) [... predicate of Clause]   Noun   Copula.
                compound predicate

The situation in the Newar MMC is as follows. The Noun slot is occupied by an enclitic (=*gu*), and therefore it is clear that the predicate of the Clause and the Noun form a unit. However, at this stage of investigation, there is no evidence to show that the Copula joins this unit. That is, there is no evidence to show that the Newar MMC has the compound predicate shown in (2).

7 A construction that resembles the MMC

As noted in Section 1, Newar has a construction that resembles the MMC. This construction always involves the noun *bhāgya* 'fate, destiny, lot, luck' (a loan word from Sanskrit). My database yields just a few examples of this construction. Also, it has been difficult to elicit examples thereof. An example is:

(114) *rām=ã:*   *ta:mi=mha*   *manu:=yā*   *chẽ:*   *jyā*   *yā-e*
      Ram=ERG   rich=NMLZ   man=GEN   house.LOC   work   do-INF
      da-i=gu   *bhāgya*   *kha:.*
      get.to-FD=NMLZ   luck   COP.NFND
      LT: '(That) Ram gets to do the work at a rich person's house is a luck.'
      FT: 'It is lucky that Ram will get to work at a rich person's house.'

As seen in Section 1, one of the five properties of the prototype of the MMC as proposed by Tsunoda (this volume-a, 2.1) is the following.

(e) The Clause is not the subject of the "Noun + Copula".

Sentences such as (114) are noun-predicate sentences whose subject is a complement clause. In view of (e), they are not instances of the MMC. At least, they are not instances of the prototype of the MMC. Nonetheless, their structure is the same as that of the Newar MMC (cf. (27)) except that the noun *bhāgya* 'fate, destiny, lot, luck' intervenes between the verb and the copula. It is possible, though by no means certain, that a construction like this may become a source of the MMC – in Newar or some other languages.

8 Summary and concluding remarks

Newar has a type of MMC in which the Noun slot is occupied by the enclitic nominalizer *=gu*. This MMC is not a prototypical one. It has three discourse functions: (i) to make a strong assertion, and (ii) to state a presupposed fact. (iii) In interrogative sentences, the MMC has a tone of interrogation or keen interest.

Generally the Clause of the MMC can be used as a sentence by itself, but there may be a semantic difference in terms of an aspectual or temporal interpretation. In terms of this aspectual or temporal interpretation, the MMC is more similar to ACs than to verb-predicate sentences. Also, mainly morphologically it may look as if the MMC contains an adnominal clause and as if it is bi-clausal. However, syntactically the MMC does not contain an AC, and it should be considered mono-clausal, not bi-clausal.

The enclitic nominalizer *=gu* 'INAN' seems to be cognate with the generic inanimate numerical classifier *=gu:*. Now, Tsunoda (this volume-a, 4.2.2) reports that there are instances in which a form in the Noun slot of the MMC underwent the changes – or a part of the changes – shown in (115).

(115) Independent word → enclitic → suffix

There is no evidence for this at this stage of investigation, but it is possible that the enclitic =*gu* (and also =*guː*) derives from an independent word, possibly a Sanskrit word, *guḍi* 'globe'. If this turns out to be the case, the Newar MMC has reached a somewhat advanced stage of its development in that the Noun slot is occupied not by an independent word but by an enclitic.

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

A = transitive subject; AC = adnominal clause; AD = anti-deictic; ANIM = animate; CAUS = causative; CLF = classifier; CM = concatenative marker; CONT = continuous; COP = copula; CP = conjunctive participle; DAT = dative; EMPH = emphatic; ERG = ergative; EXCL = exclusive; FC = future conjunct; FD = future disjunct; FOC = focus; FT = free translation; GEN = genitive; HON = honorific; IM = intended meaning; IMP = imperative; INAN = inanimate; INF = infinitive; LOC = locative; LT = literal translation; MMC = mermaid construction; NEG = negation; NFC = nonfuture conjunct; NFND = nonfuture neutral disjunct; NFPD = nonfuture perfective disjunct; NMLZ = nominalizer; O = object; PL = plural; PROH = prohibition; PURP = purposive; Q = question; QUOT = quotative; REFL = reflexive; S = intransitive subject; SG = singular; V = verb; 1 = first person; 2 = second person; 3 = third person.

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Atsuhiko Kato
13 Burmese

1 Introduction

Tsunoda (this volume-a, 2.1) proposes that the prototype of the mermaid construction ("MMC") has all of the following five properties.

(a) The structure is as shown in (1) – superficially at least.
(b) The Noun is an independent word (not a clitic) that is a noun.
(c) The subject of the Clause and the Noun are non-coreferential.
(d) The Clause can be used as a sentence by itself.
(e) The Clause is not the subject of the "Noun + Copula".

(1) Prototype of the mermaid construction ("MMC"):
     [Clause]   Noun   Copula

In the prototypical MMC, the Noun slot is occupied by a noun that is an independent word. In non-prototypical instances, it may be occupied by an enclitic or a suffix which derives from a noun. Nouns, enclitics and suffixes in the Noun slot may also be nominalizers.

Tsunoda (this volume-a, Section 1 and 2.1) notes as follows. Superficially at least, it looks as if the MMC contains a subordinate clause and is bi-clausal. However, languages such as Modern Standard Japanese (Tsunoda, this volume-b, Section 6) and Korean (Kim, this volume, Section 6) provide ample evidence that syntactically their MMC is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal, despite its superficial appearance (shown in (1)). Their MMC has just one predicate, not two predicates, and the predicate is a compound predicate that consists of the predicate of the Clause, the Noun and the Copula, as shown in (2).

(2) [... predicate of Clause]   Noun   Copula.
              compound predicate

Burmese has the MMC, and so far nineteen forms have been attested in the Noun slot of the MMC. The Burmese MMC can be classified into four types in terms of the category of the nineteen forms. (i) Type 1: four "full nouns" (they are fully independent words). (ii) Type 2: three "subordinate-nouns" (they can function like enclitics). (iii) Type 3: two nominalizers (they are enclitics placed after verbs). (iv) Type 4: ten "special heads" (they are attached to verbs and form compound nouns; some of them may be regarded as enclitics or suffixes). The semantic/functional categories of the MMC concern modality, evidentiality, aspect, discourse, degree,

and limit/extent. Burmese does not have a copula verb. Nonetheless, the MMC may have an "assisting verb" in place of a copula verb. Syntactically the MMC behaves like independent mono-clausal sentences, and it does not contain a subordinate clause. It should be regarded as mono-clausal, not bi-clausal.

2 Initial illustration

See (3) as an initial illustration of the MMC of Burmese. It is an instance of Type 1; *pòuɴ* 'shape' is a full noun. It has an evidential meaning: 'It seems'. The form in the Noun slot is shown in bold face. When literally translated, the MMC does not make sense, and examples of the MMC will often be accompanied by a literal translation ("LT") and a free translation ("FT"). The Clause of the MMC and its literal translation are embraced by square brackets.

(3) [mănêgâ t̪ù yăthá=nɛ̂ cáuɴ t̪wá=dɛ̂] **pòuɴ**(=bɛ́)
    yesterday 3SG train=with school go=AN shape(=EMP)
    LT: '[He went to school by train yesterday] a shape.'
    FT: 'It seems that he went to school by train yesterday.'

(For the particle *=bɛ́* 'emphasis', see 4.1-[1].) Only Type 1 is illustrated here. The other three types require some explanatory comments, and it is not convenient to illustrate them here.

3 Profile of the language

[1] Location, genetic affiliation, and number of speakers
Burmese belongs to the Lolo-Burmese branch of the Tibeto-Burman family of the Sino-Tibetan linguistic stock. It is mainly spoken in Myanmar. I estimate the number of its native speakers to be somewhere between 45 to 50 million. The present chapter examines the Yangon-Mandalay dialect, which is generally recognized as the standard language in Myanmar. In English, this language has come to be called Myanmar because this word is close to the indigenous name of the Myanmar people: /myămà/. However, the present chapter uses "Burmese" in order to avoid confusion in terminology.

[2] Phonology
The syllable structure of Burmese is C1(C2)V1(V2)(C3)/T, where "C" and "V" stand for a consonant and a vowel, respectively, and "T" indicates the tone of the whole syllable. The part -V1(V2)(C3) is called "rhyme". Consonant phonemes are: /p, t̪, t,

c [tɕ], k, ʔ, ph [pʰ], th [tʰ], ch [tɕʰ], kh [kʰ], b, ḍ, d, j [dʑ], g, (f), s, ɕ, h, sh [sʰ], z, m, n, ɲ, ŋ, ɴ, hm [m̥m], hn [n̥n], hɲ [ɲ̊ɲ], hŋ [ŋ̊ŋ], w, y [j], hw [w̥w], l, hl [l̥l], (r)/ . There are twenty-two rhymes: /i, e, ɛ, a, ɔ, o, u, iɴ, eiɴ, aiɴ, aɴ, auɴ, ouɴ, uɴ, iʔ, eiʔ, aiʔ, ɛʔ, aʔ, auʔ, ouʔ, uʔ/. There are three tones: /à/ (low level), /á/ (high level), and /â/ (falling). In addition, there is an atonic syllable: *Cǎ*.

The voiceless initial consonant phoneme of many bound morphemes, i.e. particles and affixes placed after nouns or verbs, alternates with its voiced counterpart unless it is preceded by a glottal stop. The same alternation occurs in compounding. In what follows, when a bound morpheme is cited, both voiceless and voiced forms are shown, e.g. *=kâ/=gâ* 'agent; source'.

[3] Word classes

In my view, four word classes can be set up for Burmese: nouns, verbs, particles, and interjections. There is no need to set up adjectives or adverbs because words that denote a state are a subcategory of verbs and many words that can modify a verb are a subcategory of nouns. Verbs can be defined as words that can be followed by a verb sentence marker (see [4] below).

Nouns in Burmese are not easy to define in a clear-cut way. A typical noun has the following characteristics.

(4) A typical noun in Burmese:
    (a) cannot be followed by a verb sentence marker;
    (b) can be followed by a case particle, and;
    (c) can be preceded by a demonstrative.

An example of a typical noun is *ʔèiɴ* 'house'. It cannot be followed by a verb sentence marker; see (5), which is ungrammatical and also untranslatable. It can be followed by a case particle, e.g. (6), and it can be preceded by a demonstrative, e.g. (7).

(5) **ʔèiɴ=dɛ̀*
    house=RLS
    '(untranslatable)'

(6) *ʔèiɴ=hmà ɕî=dɛ̀*
    house=at exist=RLS
    '(He) is at the house.'

(7) *dì   ʔèiɴ*
    this house
    'this house'

These criteria, however, are not fulfilled by all nouns. For example, nouns that are formed by reduplicating a stative verb meet criteria (a) and (b) only. Let us take ʔéʔé 'coldness' as an example. It is formed by reduplicating the verb ʔé 'cold'. First, it cannot be followed by a verb sentence marker; see (8). Second, it can be followed by a case particle, e.g. (9). However, it cannot be modified by a demonstrative; see (10).

(8) *ʔéʔé=dɛ̀
      coldness=RLS
      '(untranslatable)'

(9) ŋà   kɔ̀fì   shò=yìɴ   ʔéʔé**=**gò   caiʔ=tɛ̀
      1SG coffee say=if   coldness=KO like=RLS
      'When it comes to coffee, I like cold one.'

(10) *dì   ʔéʔé
       this coldness
       IM: 'this coldness'

In the present chapter, the criterion (a) is considered a necessary condition for a word to be classified as a noun. If a word matches (a) and also matches either of the criteria (b) and (c), it is regarded as a noun. Thus, ʔéʔé 'coldness' is a noun.

[4] Morphosyntax

Burmese has both prefixes and suffixes, although their number is small. To this extent, Burmese is an agglutinative language. However, the affixes are used for derivation only. There is no inflection.

Burmese is non-configurational and dependent-marking. The basic order is SOV. Modifiers of a noun, e.g. a demonstrative and an adnominal clause (or a relative clause), precede the noun.

Burmese uses postpositions, if the so-called particles are considered enclitics, rather than suffixes. Admittedly it is not always easy to distinguish enclitics from suffixes and also from independent words.

Grammatical relations, semantic roles, and the like are generally indicated by case particles (tentatively presented as enclitics, preceded by an equal symbol), such as =kâ/=gâ 'agent (subject); source', =kò/=gò 'patient; recipient; goal', =nɛ̂ 'instrument; accompanier; enumeration', =hmà 'location', =yɛ̂ 'possession', =câuɴ/ =jâuɴ 'cause'. Examples include (11), an intransitive sentence, and (12), a transitive sentence.

(11) t̪ù(=gâ)   pyé=dɛ̀
       3SG(=KA) run=RLS
       'He ran.'

(12) ṭù(=gâ)   ʔăphè=nɛ̂   ʔèiɴ=hmà ŋá(=gò)   sá=dɛ̀
     3SG(=KA) father=with house=at fish(=KO) eat=RLS
     'He ate a fish with (his) father at home.'

The case particles *=kâ/=gâ* 'agent (subject); source', *=kò/=gò* 'patient; recipient; goal', and *=yɛ̂* 'possession' can be absent as far as the syntactic/semantic structure of the clause is parsable.

The case system is of the nominative-accusative type: *=kâ/=gâ* for the A/S, and *=kò/=gò* for the O.

The verb (in a mono-clausal sentence or in the main clause of a bi-clausal sentence) has to be followed by one of the particles that are called verb sentence markers by Okell (1969: 118–119). They mainly indicate modality. The verb sentence markers that are important for the discussion in the present work are shown in Table 1.

Sentences with *=tɛ̀/=dɛ̀* 'realis' basically concern a present event or a past event, e.g. (13). Those with *=mɛ̀* 'irrealis modality' basically concern a future event, e.g. (14).

(13) ṭù   ʔèiɴ=hmà kâ=dɛ̀
     3SG house=at   dance=RLS
     'He dances at home. / He danced at home.'

(14) ṭù   ʔèiɴ=hmà kâ=mɛ̀
     3SG house=at   dance=IRR
     'He will dance at home.'

The verb sentence marker *=phú/=bú* 'negation' is used in negative sentences. A negative sentence is formed by putting the negative prefix *mă-* before the verb and putting the particle *=phú/=bú* 'negation' after the verb, e.g. (15). In a negative sentence, the opposition between realis and irrealis modality is neutralized. Thus, (15) may mean 'He did not dance …' (past), 'He does not dance …' (present), or 'He will not dance …' (future).

Tab. 1: Verb sentence markers.

Verb sentence marker	Meaning	Example
=tɛ̀/=dɛ̀	realis modality	(13)
=mɛ̀	irrealis modality	(14)
=phú/=bú	negation	(15)

(15) t̪ù   ʔèiɴ=hmà mǎ-kâ=bú
    3SG house=at   not-dance=NEG
    'He did not dance at home. / He does not dance at home. / He will not
    dance at home.'

[5] Literacy and styles

Burmese has a long history of the written language dating back to the 12th century, and the literacy of Burmese-speaking people has been relatively high.

Modern Burmese has two styles: the literary style and the colloquial style. The present work deals with the colloquial style.

4 Types of sentences and clauses

4.1 Verb predicate sentences and non-verb predicate sentences

Sentences in Burmese can be grouped into (i) verb predicate sentences and (ii) non-verb predicate sentences (including noun predicate sentences).

Verb predicate sentences must contain a verb sentence marker (see Table 1) encliticized to the head verb, e.g. (13) to (15). They can also contain an auxiliary, e.g. *=hnàiɴ* 'can' in (22). Auxiliaries are elements that can appear between the verb and the verb sentence marker.

In non-verb predicate sentences, the predicate may be a noun phrase, e.g. (16), or a noun and a case particle, i.e., a postpositional phrase, e.g. (17).

(16) t̪ù   myǎmà(=bɛ́)
    3SG Myanmar(=EMP)
    'He is a Myanmar (i.e. a Burman).'

(17) t̪ù   yàɴgòuɴ=gâ(=bɛ́)
    3SG Yangon=from(=EMP)
    'He is from Yangon.'

Sentences whose predicate consists of a noun phrase, e.g. (16), are called noun predicate sentences in the present work. There are four points to note about non-verb predicate sentences.

[1] Absence of a verb sentence marker

In contrast with verb predicate sentences, non-verb predicate sentences cannot have a verb sentence marker in the predicate. Instead, some other particle, such as *=pɛ́/=bɛ́* 'emphasis', e.g. (16), (17), or *=pà/=bà* 'politeness', often appears in the predicate-final position, probably in order to indicate a sentence boundary. The

use of such particles, however, is not obligatory. In the relevant examples, they are shown in parentheses, as in (16) and (17).

[2] Absence of an auxiliary

In contrast with verb predicate sentences, non-verb predicate sentences cannot have an auxiliary in the predicate.

[3] Absence of a copula verb

In my opinion, Burmese does not have any verb that can be unequivocally regarded as a copula verb. In this connection, it is important to make a note on "assisting verbs".

[4] Assisting verbs

There are verbs that may occur after the predicate of non-verb predicate sentences without changing the propositional meaning of the sentences. In the present work they will be referred to as "assisting verbs" – a term suggested by Timothy J. Vance (p.c.) (They are called "dummy verbs" by Sawada (1998: 31) and Jenny & San San Hnin Tun (2016: 253).) Assisting verbs include *louʔ* 'to do', e.g. (18), *ɕî* 'to exist', e.g. (19), and *phyiʔ* 'to become, to happen, to be'. Compare (16) with (20), and (17) with (21).

(18) t̪ù=gâ   yídíyádá   (louʔ=tɛ̀)
     3SG=KA ambiguousness (do=RLS)
     'He behaves shilly-shally.'

(19) dì   ʔèiɴ=gâ   hlâhlâpâbâ (ɕî=dɛ̀)
     this house=KA beautifulness (exist=RLS)
     'This house is beautiful.'

(20) t̪ù   myămà   (phyiʔ=tɛ̀)
     3SG Myanmar (be=RLS)
     'He is a Myanmar (i.e. a Burman).'

(21) t̪ù   yàɴgòuɴ=gâ (phyiʔ=tɛ̀)
     3SG Yangon=from (be=RLS)
     'He is from Yangon.'

These three verbs – *louʔ* 'to do', *ɕî* 'to exist', and *phyiʔ* 'to become, to happen, to be' – are frequently used as assisting verbs, and they can also be used as the "main verb". Although *phyiʔ* 'to become, to happen, to be' is glossed as 'be' for convenience, it is not really a copula verb; it is one of the assisting verbs. Selection of an assisting verb for a given non-verb predicate sentence is determined mainly by semantic features of the predicate. However, an assisting verb is sometimes collocationally fixed with the predicate. Details of this selection are still unknown.

In the MMC, some more verbs can be used as assisting verbs, as we shall see in 5.2 to 5.5.

The addition of an assisting verb to non-verb predicate sentences has two functions.

First, this addition turns a non-verb predicate sentence into a verb predicate sentence, and the resultant verb predicate sentence can now have a verb sentence marker (see Table 1), e.g. *=tὲ/=dὲ* 'realis' in (22), and auxiliaries, e.g. *=hnàiɴ* 'can' in (22) – in contrast with non-verb predicate sentences. Consequently the sentence can now be modified with various elements denoting modality, aspect, and so on.

(22) ṭù   myǎmà   phyiʔ=hnàiɴ=dὲ
      3SG Myanmar be=can=RLS
      'He may be a Myanmar (i.e. a Burman).'

Second, an assisting verb is necessary for negating non-verb predicate sentences. Compare (16), (20), (23), and also (17), (21), (24). The verb *houʔ* 'to be so' is used for the negation of *phyiʔ* 'to be', because the negated form of *phyiʔ*, i.e. *mǎ-phyiʔ*, means 'not to become (something)', rather than 'not be (something)'.

(23) ṭù   myǎmà   mǎ-houʔ=phú
      3SG Myanmar not-be.so=NEG
      'He is not a Myanmar (i.e. a Burman).'

(24) ṭù   yàɴgòuɴ=gâ   mǎ-houʔ=phú
      3SG Yangon=from not-be.so=NEG
      'He is not from Yangon.'

As noted in [4] of Section 3, negation requires the addition of the prefix *mǎ-* 'not' and the enclitic *=phú/=bú* 'NEG' to the verb. In other words, negation cannot occur without a verb. Non-verb predicate sentences do not contain a verb, and as they stand they cannot be negated.

In terms of style, the use of an assisting verb makes the sentence somewhat more formal.

Note that assisting verbs are not auxiliaries. Assisting verbs are independent words. Auxiliaries are enclitics, and they can occur between a verb and a verb sentence marker. See (22), for example. The assisting verb *phyiʔ* 'to be' is followed by the auxiliary *=hnàiɴ* 'can'.

4.2 Adnominal clauses

4.2.1 Introductory notes

Adnominal clauses ("ACs") (or relative clauses) in Burmese are formed by means of one of the two adnominalizing markers (or simply adnominalizers) shown in Table 2. The adnominalizing markers =*tê*/=*dê* and =*mê* are enclitics. They differ from the verb sentence markers =*tὲ*/=*dὲ* 'realis' and =*mὲ* 'irrealis' (cf. Table 1) regarding tone only. Each of these adnominalizing markers has a weakened form, and the weakened forms are shown in parentheses. The weakened forms are discussed in 5.3.

Tab. 2: Adnominalizing markers (or adnominalizers).

Adnominalizing marker	Modality	Example
=*tê*/=*dê* (=*t̮ă*/=*d̮ă*)	realis	(25)
=*mê* (=*mă*)	irrealis	(26)

An AC always precedes the noun it modifies. Examples follow. The ACs are shown with braces.

(25) {ŋà sá=dê} hín
    1SG eat=AN curry
    'the curry that I ate'

(26) {ŋà sá=mê} hín
    1SG eat=AN curry
    'the curry that I will eat'

Teramura (1969) divides ACs of Modern Standard Japanese into two types. Tsunoda (this volume-b, 4.2.2) proposes to label these two types as "gap type" and "addition type". Burmese has these two types of ACs, as shown below.

4.2.2 ACs of the gap type

The formation of ACs of this type employs the gap strategy. The head noun corresponds to an argument or an adjunct of the AC. All the positions on Keenan & Comrie's (1977) accessibility hierarchy can be relativized on, except for the object of comparison. Thus, compare the following sentences.

(27) shǎyà=gâ   khǎlé=gò hín   pé=dɛ̀
     teacher=KA child=KO curry give=RLS
     'The teacher gave curry to the child.'

(28) {khǎlé=gò hín   pé=dɛ̂}   shǎyà
     child=KO   curry give=AN teacher
     'the teacher who gave curry to the child'   (subject)

(29) {shǎyà=gâ   khǎlé=gò pé=dɛ̂}   hín
     teacher=KA child=KO give=AN curry
     'the curry that the teacher gave to the child'   (direct object)

(30) {shǎyà=gâ   hín   pé=dɛ̂}   khǎlé
     teacher=KA curry give=AN child
     'the child to whom the teacher gave curry'   (indirect object)

In the following example, something similar to the oblique object is relativized on. It indicates an instrument.

(31) {ŋà hín   sá=dɛ̂} zún
     1SG curry eat=AN spoon
     'the spoon with which I ate the curry'

4.2.3 ACs of the addition type

In ACs of this type, the head noun is, so to speak, added from outside the underlying clause. It does not correspond to any argument or any adjunct of the AC. Thus, compare:

(32) t̪ù   ŋá   kìɴ=dɛ̀
     3SG fish grill=RLS
     'He is grilling a fish.'

(33) {t̪ù   ŋá   kìɴ=dɛ̂} ʔǎnâɴ
     3SG fish grill=AN smell
     LT: 'the smell with which he is grilling a fish'
     FT: 'the smell of him grilling a fish'

The head noun in (33) is *ʔǎnâɴ* 'smell'. Note that it is absent in (32). That is, the head noun is, so to speak, added from outside the underlying clause. Consider:

(34) *ʈù ʔănâɴ=nɛ̂ ŋá kìɴ=dɛ̀
    3SG smell=with fish grill=RLS
    IM: 'He is grilling a fish with a smell.'

Sentence (34) is unacceptable. That is, the head noun in (33), i.e. *ʔănâɴ* 'smell', cannot occur (as an adjunct) in (32). For the AC in (33), there is no literally corresponding sentence. As another set of examples, consider:

(35) ʈù ŋá khouʔ=tɛ̀
    3SG fish cut=RLS
    'He is cutting a fish.'

(36) {ʈù ŋá khouʔ=tɛ̂} ʔăʈàɴ
    3SG fish cut=AN   sound
    LT: 'the sound with which he is cutting a fish'
    FT: 'the sound of him cutting a fish'

(37) *ʈù ʔăʈàɴ=nɛ̂   ŋá khouʔ=tɛ̀
    3SG sound=with fish cut=RLS
    LT: 'He is cutting a fish with a sound.'

5 Mermaid construction

5.1 Introductory notes

As noted in Section 1, Tsunoda (this volume-a) proposes the structure of the prototype of the mermaid construction ("MMC") shown in (1).

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

As mentioned in 4.1, Burmese does not have a verb which can be unequivocally considered a copula verb. That is, it does not have the prototype of the MMC. Nonetheless, as is the case with non-verb predicate sentences, including noun predicate sentences, an assisting verb may appear in the MMC. Therefore, the Burmese MMC can be represented as follows.

(38) Mermaid construction in Burmese:
    [Clause]   Noun   (Assisting verb).

Tab. 3: Nominalizers.

Nominalizer	Modality
=tà/=dà	realis
=hmà	irrealis

The adnominalizing markers ("ANs") shown in Table 2 may be employed in the MMC. They are enclitics. The essential constituents of the Burmese MMC are as follows.

(39) [… V + (=AN)] + Noun.

Non-verb predicate clauses do not occur in the Clause slot of the Burmese MMC.

Nineteen forms have been so far attested in the Noun slot. The Burmese MMC can be classified into four types in terms of the category of these nineteen forms.

(a) Type 1: Four "full nouns" (fully independent words).
(b) Type 2: Three "subordinate-nouns" (they can function like enclitics).
(c) Type 3: Two nominalizers: *=tà/=dà* and *=hmà* (they are enclitics placed after verbs).
(d) Type 4: Ten "special heads" (they are attached to the preceding verb and form compound nouns; some of them may be regarded as enclitics or suffixes).

That is, independent nouns, enclitics, and possibly suffixes can occur in the Noun slot.

Also, in terms of (39), the four types of the MMC can be represented as in (40). The underlined parts correspond to "Noun" of (39). In Type 3 and Type 4, "AN" (adnominalizer) does not appear. It is for this reason that "AN" in (39) is placed in parentheses.

(40) Four types of the MMC
    (a) Type 1: [… V + =AN] + <u>Full noun</u>   (5.2)
    (b) Type 2: [… V + =AN] + <u>Subordinate-noun</u>   (5.3)
    (c) Type 3: [… V] + <u>*=tà/=dà*</u> or <u>*=hmà*</u>   (5.4)
    (d) Type 4: [… V] + <u>Special head</u>   (5.5)

Type 3 involves nominalizers. They are shown in Table 3.

As (40) shows, in Type 1 and Type 2, the verb is followed by an adnominalizer, which is in turn followed by the Noun (a full noun in Type 1 and a subordinate-noun in Type 2). In Type 3, the verb is immediately followed by the Noun (the

nominalizer *=tà/=dà* or *=hmà*). In Type 4, the verb is immediately followed by the Noun (a special head), and they form a compound noun.

As seen in Section 1, Tsunoda (this volume-a) proposes that the prototype of the MMC has five properties, one of which is the following:

(b) The Noun is an independent word (not a clitic) that is a noun.

In terms of this criterion, Type 1 conforms to the prototype, but the other three types depart from it.

It should be mentioned that sentences such as (41) are not instances of the MMC. The example (41) may look similar to the MMC in that it has "V + (=AN) + Noun". However, it is a noun predicate sentence ('This is the fish') whose predicate noun happens to be modified by an adnominal clause ('that he ate').[1]

(41) dà=gâ   {ṭù sá=dɛ̂} ŋá(=bɛ́)
      this=KA 3SG eat=AN fish(=EMP)
      'This is the fish that he ate.'

We shall now look at each of the four types of the Burmese MMC.

5.2 Type 1: V + =AN + Full noun

This type of MMC involves a full noun preceded by an adnominalizing marker (cf. Table 2 and (40)–(a)). The four full nouns shown below can be used in the Noun slot of the MMC.

(a) *pòuɴ*   'shape, form, manner, scenery'
(b) *hàɴ*   'appearance, gesture'
(c) *ḍăbɔ́*   'nature, characteristic, concept'
(d) *shêzɛ̂*   'moment just before something'

---

1 I have had discussions with several specialists in Burmese about the Burmese MMC and some of them inquired if sentences such as (i) below were instances of the MMC. In fact, like (41), (i) is a noun predicate sentence, and not an instance of the MMC. Its predicate is the noun *cauʔ-săyà* 'a thing to be scared of'. The morpheme *-săyà* is a nominalizing suffix that forms a noun that means 'thing which is to be V-ed'.

(i) ṭù=gâ   cauʔ-săyà(=bɛ́)
     3SG=KA scared.of-to.be.V.ed(=EMP)
     LT: 'He is a thing to be scared of.'
     FT: 'He is a scary man.'

"Full nouns" are nouns that can constitute a noun phrase on their own, e.g. *pòuɴ* 'shape' in (42).

(42) pòuɴ mǎ-hlâ=bú
     shape not-beautiful=NEG
     'The shape is not beautiful.'

To be precise, *shɛ̂zɛ̂* 'moment just before something' cannot constitute a noun phrase on its own. Nonetheless, it is included here because it can constitute a noun phrase as long as it is modified by a demonstrative, e.g. *ʔɛ́dì shɛ̂zɛ̂* 'moment just before that' (*ʔɛ́dì* 'that').

These four forms are evidently nouns. First, they cannot be followed by any verb sentence marker. Second, they can be followed by a case particle. Third, they can be preceded by a demonstrative. Examples follow. *=kâ/=gâ* 'agent (subject); source', *=kò/=gò* 'patient; recipient; goal' and *=hmà* 'location' are case particles.

(43) dì   pòuɴ=gâ káuɴ=dɛ̀
     this shape=KA good=RLS
     'This shape is good.'

(44) ʔɛ́dì hàɴ=gò   myìɴ=dɛ̀
     that gesture=KO see=RLS
     '(I) saw that gesture (of his).'

(45) ʔɛ́dì ḍǎbɔ́=gò   ná lɛ̀=dɛ̀
     that nature=KO understand=RLS
     '(I) understood that concept.'

(46) ʔɛ́dì shɛ́zɛ́=hmà   ṭù là=dɛ̀
     that just.before=at 3SG come=RLS
     'Just before that, he came.'

When these nouns are used in the MMC, the MMC denotes the meanings shown in Table 4. The MMC with *pòuɴ* 'shape' and the MMC with *hàɴ* 'appearance' have an evidential meaning; both express the speaker's inference based on his/her direct observation. The difference between them is that *hàɴ* is somewhat more formal than *pòuɴ*. The meaning of the MMC with *shɛ̂zɛ̂* is aspectual, or possibly temporal. The function of the MMC with *ḍǎbɔ́* is considerably difficult to understand, but we can say with certainty that it has some sort of discourse function.

Tab. 4: Meanings of the MMC of Type 1.

'Noun'		Meaning of MMC	Example
pòuɴ	'shape'	'it seems that'	(47)
hàɴ	'appearance'	'it seems that'	(48)
ḍăbɔ́	'nature'	'it is that, it is as if'	(49)
shɛ́zɛ́	'moment just before'	'be about to'	(50)

Examples follow.

(47) [ʈù dì híɴ=gò sá=dɛ̂] **pòuɴ**(=bɛ́)
3SG this curry=KO eat=AN shape(=EMP)
LT: '[He ate this curry] a shape.'
FT: 'It seems that he ate this curry.'

(48) [ʈù dì híɴ=gò sá=dɛ̂] **hàɴ**(=bɛ́)
3SG this curry=KO eat=AN appearance(=EMP)
LT: '[He ate this curry] an appearance.'
FT: 'It seems that he ate this curry.'

(49) [ʈù dì híɴ=gò mămhlwɛ́ḍàlô sá=dɛ̂] **ḍăbɔ́**(=bɛ́)
3SG this curry=KO against.one's.will eat=AN nature(=EMP)
LT: '[He ate this curry unwillingly] a nature.'
FT: 'It is that he unwillingly ate this curry.'

(50) [ʈù dì híɴ=gò sá=mɛ̂] **shɛ́zɛ́**(=bɛ́)
3SG this curry=KO eat=AN just.before(=EMP)
LT: '[He will eat this curry] just before.'
FT: 'He is about to eat this curry.'

In the case of *pòuɴ* 'shape', *hàɴ* 'appearance', and *ḍăbɔ́* 'nature', both *=tɛ̂/=dɛ̂* (realis) and *=mɛ̂* (irrealis) can occur as the AN. For example, if we replace *=tɛ̂/=dɛ̂* in (47) with *=mɛ̂*, we obtain a grammatical sentence shown in (51), with a difference in meaning. The action of eating is generally interpreted to have occurred before the utterance time in (47) (realis), while in (51) (irrealis) the action is generally interpreted not to have occurred yet.

(51) [ʈù dì híɴ=gò sá=mɛ̂] **pòuɴ**(=bɛ́)
3SG this curry=KO eat=AN shape(=EMP)
LT: '[He will eat this curry] a shape.'
FT: 'It seems that he will eat this curry.'

Tab. 5: Assisting verbs for the MMC of Type 1.

"Noun"		Assisting verb	Example
pòuɴ	'shape'	*yâ* 'to get', *pɔ̀* 'to appear'	(52)
hàɴ	'appearance'	*tù* 'to resemble'	(53)
ḍăbɔ́	'nature'	*ɕî* 'to exist', *phyiʔ* 'to be'	(54)
shɛ́zɛ́	'moment just before'	*ɕî* 'to exist', *phyiʔ* 'to be'	(55)

In the case of *shɛ́zɛ́* 'moment just before', only *=mɛ̂* 'irrealis' can occur as the AN.

Only the verbs shown in Table 5 can be used as an assisting verb in the MMC of Type 1; other verbs cannot. In the case of *hàɴ* 'appearance', only *tù* 'to resemble' can be used. For each of the other three nouns, two verbs are possible. The difference in meaning brought by using different assisting verbs is so subtle that it is not understood.

Examples follow.

(52) [t̪ù dì híɴ=gò sá=dɛ̂] **pòuɴ** yâ=dɛ̀ / pɔ̀=dɛ̀
3SG this curry=KO eat=AN shape get=RLS / appear=RLS
'It seems that he ate this curry.'

(53) [t̪ù dì híɴ=gò sá=dɛ̂] **hàɴ** tù=dɛ̀
3SG this curry=KO eat=AN shape resemble=RLS
'It seems that he ate this curry.'

(54) [t̪ù dì híɴ=gò măhlwɛ́ḍàlô sá=dɛ̂] **ḍăbɔ́** ɕî=dɛ̀ / phyiʔ=tɛ̀
3SG this curry=KO against.one's.will eat=AN nature exist=RLS / be=RLS
'It is that he unwillingly ate this curry.'

(55) [t̪ù dì híɴ=gò sá=mɛ̂] **shɛ́zɛ́** ɕî=dɛ̀ / phyiʔ=tɛ̀
3SG this curry=KO eat=AN just.before exist=RLS / be-RLS
'He is about to eat this curry.'

Both verb sentence markers *=tɛ̀/=dɛ̀* 'realis' and *=mɛ̀* 'irrealis' (Table 1), encliticized to the assisting verb, can occur with either the adnominalizing marker *=tɛ̂/=dɛ̂* 'realis' or *=mɛ̂* 'irrealis' (Table 2). That is, there are four combinations in all. See (56) to (59). In these examples, the verb sentence marker *=tɛ̀/=dɛ̀* 'realis' (RLS) basically denotes that the judgment of the observer (mainly the speaker) occurs in the present/past time; see (56) and (58) ('It seems / It seemed'). The verb sentence marker *=mɛ̀* 'irrealis' (IRR) indicates that the judgment will occur in the future time; see (57) and (59) ('It will seem'). On the other hand, the adnominalizing marker *=tɛ̂/=dɛ̂* 'realis' (AN(rls)) denotes that the action of eating is anterior to the judgment; see (56) ('he ate', 'he had eaten') and (57) ('he will have eaten'). The

adnominalizer =*mɛ̂* 'irrealis' (AN(irr)) indicates that the action of eating is posterior to the judgment; see (58) ('he will eat', 'he would eat') and (59) ('he will eat').

(56) [sá=dɛ̂]   **pòuɴ** yâ=dɛ̀
     eat=AN(rls) shape get=RLS
     'It seems that (he) ate / It seemed that (he) had eaten.'

(57) [sá=dɛ̂]   **pòuɴ** yâ=mɛ̀
     eat=AN(irr) shape get=IR
     '(Tomorrow when I see him), it will seem that (he) will have eaten.'

(58) [sá=mɛ̂]   **pòuɴ** yâ=dɛ̀
     eat=AN(rls) shape get=RLS
     'It seems that (he) will eat / It seemed that (he) would eat.'

(59) [sá=mɛ̂]   **pòuɴ** yâ=mɛ̀
     eat=AN(irr) shape get=IRR
     '(Tomorrow when I see him), it will seem that (he) will eat.'

If an assisting verb does not appear, the judgment is usually the one that is made by the speaker at the time of the utterance.

It should also be added that out of these four nouns discussed above, *pòuɴ* 'shape' and *hàɴ* 'appearance' may form a compound with the verb when the action denoted by the verb is anterior to the judgment. Thus, sentences (60) and (61), which involve such compounding, can be used in place of (47) and (48), respectively.

(60) [t̪ù dì híɴ=gò   sá]-**bòuɴ**(=bɛ́)
     3SG this curry=KO eat-shape(=EMP)
     'It seems that he ate this curry.'

(61) [t̪ù dì híɴ=gò   sá]-**hàɴ**(=bɛ́)
     3SG this curry=KO eat-appearance(=EMP)
     'It seems that he ate this curry.'

Burmese has a type of MMC in which the verb of the Clause and the Noun form a compound, i.e. the MMC of Type 4; see 5.5.

It is possible, though by no means certain, that the Noun in the compound word in sentences such as (60) and (61) has become an enclitic or a suffix, that is, the Noun in such sentences has undergone the following change:

(62) Independent word → enclitic or suffix

Languages such as nDrapa (Shirai, this volume, 5.2.2), Modern Standard Japanese (Tsunoda, this volume-b, 7.6) and Irabu Ryukyuan (Shimoji, this volume, 5.5) provide instances where a noun (an independent word) became an enclitic and/or a suffix, and both (i.e. a noun and an enclitic, or a noun and a suffix) or all of the three (a noun, an enclitic and a suffix) can occupy the Noun slot of the MMC. See Tsunoda (this volume-a, 4.2.2).

5.3 Type 2: V + AN + Subordinate-noun

Burmese has a number of nominal morphemes that can also function like postpositions. Many of these have corresponding full nouns. When they are used as full nouns, they are independent words. When they are used like postpositions, they are tentatively considered enclitics, shown with a preceding equal symbol. They seem to have undergone the following change: independent word → enclitic. See (62). Some of the subordinate nouns do not have corresponding full nouns, but historically, they also seem to have changed from full nouns. (However, recall that, as noted in [4] in Section 3, it is not always easy to distinguish enclitics from suffixes and also from independent words.)

When used like postpositions, these nominal morphemes are called "subordinate-nouns" by Okell (1969: 142–144) (see also Wheatley 1982: 142). They are referred to as *kakumeisi* ('case nouns') by Sawada (1998), and this label is adopted by Okano (2007). Myint Soe (1999: 72–93), however, classifies them among "propositional semantic role markers", which include what are referred to as case particles in the present work. Okell enumerates eighteen subordinate-nouns. Those that are used frequently in my observation are shown in Table 6, with the meaning as a full noun and the meaning as a subordinate-noun. English glosses are taken from Okell (1969).

Tab. 6: Subordinate-nouns of frequent use.

Subordinate-noun	Meaning as a full noun	Meaning as a subordinate-noun
ʔăsá	'substitute'	'instead of'
ʔătáiɴ	'measuring'	'in accordance with'
ʔătwɛʔ	'calculation'	'for'
ʔăthî	'reaching'	'as far as'
ʔăphyiʔ	'being, status'	'as'
ʔăhmyâ	'equal share'	'as much as'
ʔăyâ	'acquisition'	'in accordance with'
lò	'requirement'	'like, as'
lòlò	'spontaneously'	'rather like, as if'
lauʔ	'sufficiency (?)'	'as much as'

These nouns contain the nominalizing prefix *ʔǎ-*, except for the last three nouns: *lò*, *lòlò*, and *lauʔ*. However, two of these, i.e. *lò* and *lòlò*, are required to be attached with the prefix *ʔǎ-* when they are used as full nouns: *ʔǎlò* and *ʔǎlòlò*. The subordinate-nouns listed in Table 6 can be used as full nouns, except for the last one: *lauʔ*. Sentence (63) is an example where *ʔǎtwɛʔ* 'calculation' is used as a full noun.

(63) t̥ù ʔǎtwɛʔ   káuɴ=dὲ
    3SG calculation good=RLS
    'He is good at calculation.'

Subordinate-nouns can function like case particles. They introduce adjuncts, rather than arguments. Below is an example of *=ʔǎtwɛʔ* 'for'.

(64) ŋà myaʔthúɴ=ʔǎtwɛʔ   hín chɛʔ=tὲ
    1SG (personal.name)=for curry cook=RLS
    'I cooked the curry for Myat Htun.'

Furthermore, subordinate-nouns can be generally modified by an adnominal clause (cf. 4.2). The resultant structure, i.e. an adnominal clause plus the subordinate-noun, can function as an adverbial clause. An example is the following, which contains the subordinate-noun *=ʔǎtwɛʔ* 'for'.

(65) t̥ù   pyɔ́=dɛ̂=ʔǎtwɛʔ ʔǎchèiɴ hmì t̥wá=dὲ
    3SG tell=AN=for   time   reach go=RLS
    'Because he told me, (I) arrived on time.'

When four of the subordinate-nouns, i.e., *=ʔǎhmyâ* 'as much as', *=lò* 'like, as', *=lòlò* 'rather like, as if', and *=lauʔ* 'as much as', are modified by an adnominal clause, the adnominalizing markers *=tɛ̂/=dɛ̂* (realis) and *=mɛ̂* (irrealis) have to be in the weakened forms *=t̥ǎ/=d̥ǎ* and *=mǎ* (cf. Table 2). Examples include (72) (*=lò* 'like, as'), (73) (*=lòlò* 'rather like, as if'), and (74) (*=lauʔ* 'as much as'). The reason for the use of the weakened forms is unknown.

Three of the subordinate-nouns shown in Table 6 can be used in the MMC. They are:

(a) *=lò*   'like, as'
(b) *=lòlò*   'rather like, as if'
(c) *=lauʔ*   'as much as'

Etymologically, the subordinate-noun *=lauʔ* 'as much as' originated in the verb *lauʔ* 'to be sufficient', and both *=lò* 'like, as' and *=lòlò* 'rather like, as if' originated

in the verb *lò* 'to require'. In Modern Burmese, the verb *lauʔ* 'to be sufficient' and *lò* 'to require' are still used as verbs, but the subordinate-nouns *=lò*, *=lòlò*, and *=lauʔ* are all evidently nouns. First, they do not co-occur with any verb sentence marker. Second, they can be followed by a case particle. Third, they can be preceded by a demonstrative. Examples:

(66) dì=lò=gâ   pò   káuɴ=dɛ̀
     this=like=KA more good=RLS
     'This way is the better.'

(67) dì=lòlò=nɛ̂   pí   ṱwá=dɛ̀
     this=rather.like=with finish go=RLS
     'It has been all finished rather in this way.'

(68) dì=lauʔ=kâ   keiʔsâ   mă-ɕî=bú
     this=as.much.as=KA problem not-exist=NEG
     'This amount is no problem.'

Like other subordinate-nouns, these subordinate-nouns can be used to introduce adjuncts, e.g. (69) to (71), and they can be modified by an adnominal clause, resulting in an adverbial clause, e.g. (72) to (74).

(69) myaʔthúɴ=lò   louʔ=tɛ̀
     (personal.name)=like do=RLS
     '(He) did just as Myat Htun did.'

(70) myaʔthúɴ=lòlò   louʔ=tɛ̀
     (personal.name)=rather.like do=RLS
     '(He) did just as Myat Htun would have done.'

(71) myaʔthúɴ=lauʔ   mă-sá=bú
     (personal.name)=as.much.as not-eat=NEG
     '(He) did not eat as much as Myat Htun.'

(72) ṱù   myaʔthúɴ   louʔ=ṱă=lò louʔ=tɛ̀
     3SG (personal.name) do=AN=like do=RLS
     'He did just as Myat Htun did.'

(73) ṱù   myaʔthúɴ   louʔ=ṱă=lòlò   louʔ=tɛ̀
     3SG (personal.name) do=AN=rather.like do=RLS
     'He did just as Myat Htun would have done.'

(74) ṱù   myaʔthúɴ   sá=ḓă=lauʔ   mă-sá=bú
     3SG (personal.name) eat=AN=as.much.as not-eat=NEG
     'He did not eat as much as Myat Htun ate.'

Tab. 7: Meanings of the MMC of Type 2.

Noun		Meaning of MMC	Example
=lò	'like, as'	'it seems that'	(75)
=lòlò	'rather like, as if'	'it looks as if' (counterfactual)	(76)
=lauʔ	'as much as'	'hardly, scarcely'	(77)

The adjuncts and adverbial clauses involving *=lòlò* 'rather like, as if' have a counterfactual meaning, e.g. (70) and (73).

When these subordinate-nouns are used in the MMC, the MMC has the meanings shown in Table 7. The MMC with *=lò* 'like' has an evidential meaning: the speaker's inference based on a direct observation, like *pòuɴ* 'shape' and *hàɴ* 'appearance' in Type 1 (5.2), but the speaker is less sure about the judgment when *=lò* is used. Like adjuncts and adverbial clauses involving *=lòlò* 'rather like, as if', the MMC with *=lòlò* has a counterfactual meaning. The MMC with *=lauʔ* 'as much as' indicates degree.

Examples of the MMC follow. Recall that the adnominalizing marker has to be in the weakened form (cf. Table 2) when *=lò* 'like, as', *=lòlò* 'rather like, as if' and *=lauʔ* 'as much as' are modified by an adnominal clause. This applies to the MMC.

(75) [ʈù dì híɴ=gò sá=ḍǎ]=**lò**(=bɛ́)
    3SG this curry=KO eat=AN=like(=EMP)
    LT: '[He ate this curry] like.'
    FT: 'It seems that he ate this curry.'

(76) [ʈù dì híɴ=gò sá=ḍǎ]=**lòlò**(=bɛ́)
    3SG this curry=KO eat=AN=rather.like(=EMP)
    LT: '[He ate this curry] rather like.'
    FT: 'It looks as if he had eaten this curry (but in fact he did not).'

(77) [ʈù dì híɴ=gò mǎ-sá=ḍǎ]=**lauʔ**(=pɛ́)
    3SG this curry=KO not-eat=AN=as.much.as(=EMP)
    LT: '[He did not eat this curry] as much as.'
    FT: 'He hardly ate any of this curry.'

The subordinate-noun *=lauʔ* 'as much as' only co-occurs with a negated verb in the MMC; see (77). It cannot be used unless the verb is negated; see:

(78) *[ʈù dì híɴ=gò sá=ḍǎ]=**lauʔ**(=pɛ́)
    3SG this curry=KO eat=AN=as.much.as(=EMP)
    LT: '[He ate this curry] as much as.'
    IM: 'He ate almost all of this curry.'

In (75) (=*lò*), (76) (=*lòlò*) and (77) (=*lauʔ*), the adnominalizer employed is the realis =*tê*/=*dê*, to be precise, its weakened form =*ṱǎ*/=*ḓǎ* (cf. Table 2). In (79) (=*lò*) and (80) (=*lòlò*), the adnominalizer is the irrealis adnominalizer =*mê*, to be precise, its weakened form =*mǎ*. (No example of =*lauʔ* 'as much as' is given here. As just noted, =*lauʔ* only co-occurs with a negated verb in the MMC. Also, negation generally does not occur in an irrealis clause. Therefore, =*mǎ* 'irrealis' never co-occurs with =*lauʔ*.)

(79) [ṱù dì hín=gò   sá=mǎ]=**lò**(=bɛ́)
    3SG this curry=KO eat=AN=like(=EMP)
    LT: '[He will eat this curry] like.'
    FT: 'It seems that he will eat this curry.'

(80) [ṱù dì hín=gò   sá=mǎ]=**lòlò**(=bɛ́)
    3SG this curry=KO eat=AN=rather.like(=EMP)
    LT: '[He will eat this curry] rather like.'
    FT: 'It seems almost like he will eat this curry.'

Only the verbs shown in Table 8 can be used as an assisting verb in the MMC of Type 2; other verbs cannot.

Tab. 8: Assisting verbs for the MMC of Type 2.

Noun		Assisting verb	Example
=*lò*	'like, as'	ɕî 'to exist', *phyiʔ* 'to be'	(81)
=*lòlò*	'rather like, as if'	ɕî 'to exist', *phyiʔ* 'to be'	(82)
=*lauʔ*	'as much as'	*phyiʔ* 'to be'	(83)

Examples follow.

(81) [ṱù dì hín=gò   sá=ḓǎ]=**lò**   ɕî=dɛ̀ / phyiʔ=tɛ̀
    3SG this curry=KO eat=AN=like exist=RL/ be=RLS
    'It seems that he ate this curry.'

(82) [ṱù dì hín=gò   sá=ḓǎ]=**lòlò**   ɕî=dɛ̀ / phyiʔ=tɛ̀
    3SG this curry=KO eat=AN=rather.like exist=RL/be=RLS
    'It looks as if he had eaten this curry (but in fact he did not).'

(83) [ṱù dì hín=gò   ma-sá=ḓǎ]=**lauʔ**   phyiʔ=tɛ̀
    3SG this curry=KO not-eat=AN=as.much.as be=RLS
    'He hardly ate any of this curry.'

As noted above, the subordinate-nouns seem to have undergone the following change: independent word → enclitic. (See (62).) It is interesting to note that it is the enclitic forms, not the independent words, that are used in the MMC.

5.4 Type 3: V + *=tà/=dà* or *=hmà*

The particles *=tà/=dà* and *=hmà* are nominalizers; see Table 3. The nominalizer *=tà/=dà* indicates realis, while *=hmà* indicates irrealis. Out of the forms that have the function of nominalizing clauses, these two are the most widely used in colloquial Burmese. Clauses nominalized by *=tà/=dà* or *=hmà* denote either an entity, e.g. (84), or an event, e.g. (85).

(84) t̪ù   chɛʔ=tà=gò   ŋà   ywé=dɛ̀
     3SG cook=TA=KO 1SG select=RLS
     'I selected what he cooked.'

(85) t̪ù   yàŋgòuɴ là=dà=gò   ŋà   t̪ í=dɛ̀
     3SG Yangon   come=TA=KO 1SG know=RLS
     'I know that he came to Yangon.'

These particles cannot be followed by any verb sentence marker, while they can be followed by a case particle, e.g. (84), (85). In these respects, V=*tà/=dà* and V=*hmà* are nouns. However, unlike typical nouns, they cannot be modified by a demonstrative; see (86).

(86) *dì   chɛʔ=tà
     this cook=TA
     IM: 'this food, which (someone) cooked'

The nominalizers *=tà/=dà* and *=hmà* can occupy the Noun slot of the MMC. However, it is considerably difficult to precisely describe the meaning or function of *=tà/=dà* and *=hmà* in the MMC. They seem to have some sort of discourse function. Regarding the function of *=tà/=dà* used in what the present work calls the MMC, Okell and Allot (2001: 94–95) state that *=tà/=dà* is used "for emphasis, or when correcting the hearer's mistaken view", and also that it is used "when the information conveyed by the verb is already known to the listener and the new information in the sentence is in one of the noun phrases preceding the verb; compare English sentences of the form: It was because X that Y".

Kato (1998: 88–89), in a Burmese primer, points out that the "meaning" of *=tà/=dà* and *=hmà* resembles that of the *=no=da* construction of Japanese. This is the Modern Standard Japanese MMC with the nominalizer *=no*; see Tsunoda (this volume-b, 5.1.4). Very roughly speaking, the Modern Standard Japanese *=no=da*

Tab. 9: Meanings of the MMC of Type 3.

Noun		Meaning of MMC	Example
=*tà*/=*dà*	'nominalizer (RLS)'	'it is the case that'	(87)
=*hmà*	'nominalizer (IRR)'	'it is the case that'	(88)

construction provides explanation or reason, among others. I gloss these Burmese nominalizers as 'it is the case that', as is shown in Table 9. Matisoff (1972) points out that the Lahu nominalizer *ve* appears frequently in the sentence-final position. This Lahu nominalizer seems to have a function similar to that of the Burmese =*tà*/=*dà* and =*hmà*.

Examples follow.

(87) [ʈù dì híɴ=gò sá]=**dà**
3SG this curry=KO eat=TA
LT: '[He ate this curry] TA (nominalizer).'
FT: 'It is the case that he ate this curry.'

(88) [ʈù dì híɴ=gò sá]=**hmà**
3SG this curry=KO eat=HMA
LT: '[He will eat this curry] HMA (nominalizer).'
FT: 'It is the case that he will eat this curry.'

Sentences in (89) are cited from a conversation in a Burmese radio drama, and sentences in (90) from a conversation in another scene of the same drama (both slightly modified for simplicity). The second sentence of each of (89-B) and (90-B) is an instance of the MMC. These sentences will give some indication of how this type of the MMC is used in actual discourse.

(89) A. nwèmókhàiɴɖăzìɴ mă-houʔ=phú=lá
(personal.name) not-be.so=NEG=Q
'Aren't (you) Nwe Moe Khine Thazin?'

B. mă-houʔ=pà=bú.
not-be.so=POL=NEG
'(I) am not.'

[ɕìɴ=dô lù hmá=jâ]=**dà**=bà
2=PL person mistake=PL=TA=POL
'You are mistaking me for another person.'

(90) A. bà   phyiʔ=nè=d̥ă=dóuɴ
what happen=PROG=RLS=Q
'What's happening?'

B. [baiʔ=kâ   tăʔá   nà=nè]=**dà**
stomach=KA severely ache=PROG=TA
'I have a severe stomachache.'

Only the verb *phyiʔ* 'to be' may occur as the assisting verb in the MMC with =*tà*/=*dà* or =*hmà*, e.g.:

(91) [t̪ù   dì   híɴ=gò   sá]=**dà** phyiʔ=tɛ̀
3SG this curry=KO eat=TA be=RLS
'It is the case that he ate this curry.'

(92) [t̪ù   dì   híɴ=gò   sá]=**hmà** phyiʔ=tɛ̀
3SG this curry=KO eat=HMA be=RLS
'It is the case that he will eat this curry.'

5.5 Type 4: V + Special head

There are over twenty nominal morphemes that Okell (1969: 65) calls "special heads". Some of special heads can be used as a full noun, while others cannot. All the special heads can combine directly with a verb to yield a compound noun (see also Wheatley 1982: 109–111, Yabu 1992: 581, Myint Soe 1999: 34). For example, in (93), the special head *ʔăt̪àɴ* 'sound' and the verb *pyɔ́* 'speak' form a compound noun. In compounding, the first syllable of *ʔăt̪àɴ* is dropped and the initial consonant of its second syllable, i.e. *t̪*, alternates with *d̥* unless it is preceded by a glottal stop. The compound noun *pyɔ́-d̥àɴ* means 'speaking noise'. A verb compounded with a special head can take its own arguments. In (93), *t̪ù* '3SG' and *zăgá* 'language' are the arguments of the verb *pyɔ́* 'speak'. In other words, the verb compounded with a special head can be the head verb of a subordinate clause. In (93), the subordinate clause is shown with a broken line.

(93) ŋà   t̪ù   zăgá   pyɔ́-d̥àɴ=gò   cá=dɛ̀
        - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -
1SG 3SG language speak-sound=KO hear=RLS
'I heard his voice speaking a language.'

In contrast, in an ordinary "verb + noun" compound (in which the noun is just an ordinary noun, and not a special head), the verb cannot take its own arguments. See (94). The compound *sá-zăyeiʔ* is a noun that means 'food expenses'. The noun

Tab. 10: Special heads of frequent use.

Special head	Meaning	Example
ʔăcáuɴ	'fact; fact of V-ing'	
ʔăkhà	'time; time when one V-s'	
ʔăchèɪɴ	'time; time when one V-s'	
ʔăchín	'happening, event; act of V-ing'	
ʔăkhwîn	'permission; opportunity to V'	
ʔăhmû	'problem; act of V-ing'	
ʔăyé	'matter, affair; matter of V-ing'	
ʔăṯàɴ	'sound; sound of V-ing'	
ní	'method; way of V-ing'	
ṯù	'3SG pronoun; person who V-s'	
ʔăphô	'share, portion; to V'	(95)
ʔăshóuɴ	'end; thing that is the most V'	(96)
ʔăsâ	'beginning; time when one has just started V-ing'	(97)
-khàzâ/-gàzâ	'time when one has just started V-ing' < ʔăkhà 'time' + ʔăsâ 'beginning'	(98)
-yòuɴ	'only thing to V'	(99)
-tóuɴ/-dóuɴ	'process of V-ing'	(100)
-shɛ́/-zɛ̂	'process of V-ing'	(101)
-píḍá	'thing that has already V-ed' < pí 'to end' + ṯá 'emphatic nominalizer'	(102)
-nèjâ	'thing that one habitually V-s' < nè 'to stay' + ʔăcâ 'fall, drop (n)'	(103)
-lɛʔsâ	'thing that is halfway through V-ing' < lɛʔ 'hand' + ʔăsâ 'beginning'	(104)

zǎyeiʔ 'expenses' is an ordinary noun, and not a special head. Therefore, unlike the verb *pyɔ́* 'speak' in (93), the verb *sá* 'eat' in (94) cannot take any argument, and (94) is ungrammatical, unlike (93). This is a crucial difference between the "V + Special head" and "verb + noun" compounds.

(94) *ŋà ṯù ɲâzà sá-zǎyeiʔ=kò pé=dè
1SG 3SG dinner eat-expenses=KO give=RLS
‐ ‐ ‐ ‐ ‐ ‐ ‐ ‐ ‐ ‐ ‐
IM: 'I paid for his eating dinner.'

Table 10 shows special heads of frequent use, together with their meaning. Those above the single line, i.e., from *ʔăcáuɴ* 'fact' to *ʔăsâ* 'beginning', can be used as a full noun, while the others, i.e., from *-khàzâ* 'time when one has just started V-ing' to *-lɛʔsâ* 'thing that is halfway through V-ing', cannot be used as a full noun. The latter are represented with a hyphen in order to show this fact. The forms with a hyphen can be considered particles (i.e. enclitics) or suffixes. For four of the special heads, their formation is shown.

For the special heads that can be used as a full noun, the meanings that they have when they are used as a full noun are shown before the semicolon, while

those that they have when they are combined with a verb are shown after the semicolon.

When the forms with the first syllable ʔǎ- are compounded with a verb, this syllable is dropped; e.g. (93) (cf. ʔǎt̪àɴ and -d̪àɴ). This is for an etymological reason that is not directly relevant to the theme of the present paper. (ʔǎ- is a nominalizing prefix. Compare the noun ʔǎshóuɴ 'end' and the verb shóuɴ 'to end'.)

The form ʔǎshóuɴ 'be the most V' has a particular characteristic in that the nominalizing prefix ʔǎ- is attached before the verb when it is compounded with a verb. See (96).

Compounds consisting of a verb and a special head are nouns in two respects. First, they cannot be followed by any verb sentence marker. Second, they can be followed by a case particle. However, they are not typical nouns. Namely, they cannot be modified by a demonstrative.

Examples follow. The following examples show that special heads can be followed by a case particle.[2]

(95) t̪ù   phaʔ-phô=gò yù   là=dɛ̀
     3SG read-to=KO   take come=RLS
     'He brought what he had to read.'

(96) t̪ù   ʔǎ-caiʔ-shóuɴ=gò yù   là=dɛ̀
     3SG A-like-most=KO   take come=RLS
     'He brought what he liked best.'

(97) t̪ù   yàɴgòuɴ=gò yauʔ-sâ=hmà   ŋà=nɛ̂   twê=dɛ̀
     3SG Yangon=KO arrive-beginning=at 1SG=with meet=RLS
     'He met me soon after he came to Yangon.'

(98) t̪ù   yàɴgòuɴ=gò yauʔ-khàzâ=hmà   ŋà=nɛ̂   twê=dɛ̀
     3SG Yangon=KO arrive-beginning=at 1SG=with meet=RLS
     'He met me soon after he came to Yangon.'

(99) ŋà   pyɔ́-yòuɴ=nɛ̂ t̪ù   ná lɛ̀=dɛ̀
     1SG tell-only=with 3SG understand=RLS
     'He understood it when I merely told it.'

(100) ŋà   ʔeiʔ=nè-dóuɴ=hmà   t̪ù   là=dɛ̀
      1SG sleep=PROG-process=at 3SG come=RLS
      'He came while I was sleeping.'

---

2 Table 11 shows the special heads that can occupy the Noun slot of the MMC. Among these special heads, -yòuɴ can only be followed by the case particle =nɛ̂ "with", and not by other case particles, whereas the other special heads can be followed by any case particle. In this respect, the nounhood of V-yòuɴ can be said to be lower than that of the other special heads (listed in Table 11).

(101) ŋà ʔeiʔ=nè-zɛ́=hmà   t̪ù là=dɛ̀
     1SG sleep=PROG-process=at 3SG come=RLS
     'He came while I was sleeping.'

(102) t̪ù louʔ-píd̪á=gò   yù là=dɛ̀
     3SG do-already=KO take come=RLS
     'He brought what he had finished.'

(103) t̪ù phaʔ-nèjâ=gò   yù là=dɛ̀
     3SG read-habitually=KO take come=RLS
     'He brought what he was habitually reading.'

(104) t̪ù phaʔ-lɛʔsâ=gò   yù là=dɛ̀
     3SG read-halfway=KO take come=RLS
     'He brought what he hadn't finished reading.'

Consider Table 10. The last three entries among the special heads that can be used as a full noun and also all of the special heads that cannot be used as a full noun can occupy the Noun slot of the MMC. (Their use outside the MMC was exemplified above.) Table 11 shows the meanings that the MMC has when these special heads are used. The MMC generally has an aspectual (or possibly temporal) meaning. In addition, the MMC with *ʔăshóuɴ* 'be the most V' indicates degree, e.g. (106), and *-yòuɴ* 'only do V-ing; have only to V' indicates limit or extent: 'only', e.g. (109).

Tab. 11: Meanings of the MMC of Type 4.

Noun		Meaning	Example
ʔăphô	'share; to V'	'be about to V'	(105)
ʔăshóuɴ	'end'	'be the most V'	(106)
ʔăsâ	'beginning'	'have just V-ed'	(107)
-khàzâ/-gàzâ	'beginning'	'have just V-ed'	(108)
-yòuɴ	'only thing to V'	'only do V-ing; have only to V'	(109)
-tóuɴ/-dóuɴ	'process of V-ing'	'be in the middle of V-ing'	(110)
-shɛ́/-zɛ́	'process of V-ing'	'be in the middle of V-ing' (more formal than *-tóuɴ*)	(111)
-píd̪á	'thing that has already V-ed'	'have finished V-ing'	(112)
-nèjâ	'thing that one habitually V-s'	'habitually V'	(113)
-lɛʔsâ	'thing that is halfway through V-ing'	'have started V-ing, but have not finished it'	(114)

Examples of special heads used in the MMC follow.

(105) [ʈ̥ù dì híɴ=gò sá]-**bô**(=bɛ́)
3SG this curry=KO eat-about.to(=EMP)
'He is about to eat this curry.'

(106) [ʈ̥ù dì híɴ=gò ʔă-caiʔ]-**shóuɴ**(=bɛ́)
3SG this curry=KO A-like-most(=EMP)
'He likes this curry the best of all.'

(107) [ʈ̥ù yàɴgòuɴ=gò yauʔ]-**sâ**(=bɛ́)
3SG Yangon=KO arrive-beginning(=EMP)
'He has just arrived in Yangon.'

(108) [ʈ̥ù yàɴgòuɴ=gò yauʔ]-**khàzâ**(=bɛ́)
3SG Yangon=KO arrive-beginning(=EMP)
'He has just arrived in Yangon.'

(109) [ʈ̥ù dì híɴ=gò sá]-**yòuɴ**(=bɛ́)
3SG this curry=KO eat-only(=EMP)
'He only ate this curry; He has only to eat this curry.'

(110) [ʈ̥ù dì híɴ=gò sá=nè]-**dóuɴ**(=bɛ́)
3SG this curry=KO eat=PROG-process(=EMP)
'He is in the middle of eating this curry.'

(111) [ʈ̥ù dì híɴ=gò sá=nè]-**zɛ́**(=bɛ́)
3SG this curry=KO eat=PROG-process(=EMP)
'He is in the middle of eating this curry.'

(112) [ʈ̥ù dì híɴ=gò sá]-**píḍá**(=bɛ́)
3SG this curry=KO eat-already(=EMP)
'He has already finished eating this curry.'

(113) [ʈ̥ù dì híɴ=gò sá]-**nèjâ**(=bɛ́)
3SG this curry=KO eat-habitually(=EMP)
'He is habitually eating this curry.'

(114) [ʈ̥ù dì híɴ=gò sá]-**lɛʔsâ**(=bɛ́)
3SG this curry=KO eat-halfway(=EMP)
'He started eating this curry, but hasn't finished yet.'

Only the verbs shown in Table 12 can be used as an assisting verb in the MMC of Type 4; other verbs cannot.

Tab. 12: Assisting verbs for the MMC of Type 4.

Noun		Assisting verb	Example
ʔăphô	'be about to V'	*louʔ* 'to do'	(115)
ʔăshóuɴ	'be the most V'	*phyiʔ* 'to be'	(116)
ʔăsâ	'have just V-ed'	*ɕî* 'to exist', *phyiʔ* 'to be'	(117)
-khàzâ/gàzâ	'have just V-ed'	*ɕî* 'to exist', *phyiʔ* 'to be'	(118)
-yòuɴ	'only do V-ing; have only to V'	*ɕî* 'to exist', *phyiʔ* 'to be'	(119)
-tóuɴ/-dóuɴ	'be in the middle of V-ing'	*ɕî* 'to exist', *phyiʔ* 'to be'	(120)
-shɛ̂/-zɛ̂	'be in the middle of V-ing'	*ɕî* 'to exist', *phyiʔ* 'to be'	(121)
-píɖá	'have finished V-ing'	*phyiʔ* 'to be'	(122)
-nèjâ	'habitually V'	*ɕî* 'to exist', *phyiʔ* 'to be'	(123)
-lɛʔsâ	'have started V-ing, but have not finished V-ing'	*ɕî* 'to exist', *phyiʔ* 'to be'	(124)

Examples follow.

(115) [t̪ù dì hín=gò sá]-**bô** louʔ=nè=dὲ
   3SG this curry=KO eat-about.to do=PROG=RLS
   'He is about to eat this curry.'

(116) [t̪ù dì hín=gò ʔă-caiʔ]-**shóuɴ** phyiʔ=tὲ
   3SG this curry=KO A-like-most be=RLS
   'He likes this curry the best of all.'

(117) [t̪ù yàɴgòuɴ=gò yauʔ]-**sâ** ɕî=dὲ / phyiʔ=tὲ
   3SG Yangon=KO arrive-beginning exist=RLS / be=RLS
   'He has just arrived in Yangon.'

(118) [t̪ù yàɴgòuɴ=gò yauʔ]-**khàzâ** ɕî=dὲ / phyiʔ=tὲ
   3SG Yangon=KO arrive-beginning exist=RLS / be=RLS
   'He has just arrived in Yangon.'

(119) [t̪ù dì hín=gò sá]-**yòuɴ** ɕî=dὲ / phyiʔ=tὲ
   3SG this curry=KO eat-only exist=RLS / be=RLS
   'He only ate this curry; He has only to eat this curry.'

(120) [t̪ù dì hín=gò sá=nè]-**dóuɴ** ɕî=dὲ / phyiʔ=tὲ
   3SG this curry=KO eat=PROG-process exist=RLS / be=RLS
   'He is in the middle of eating this curry.'

(121) [t̪ù dì hín=gò sá=nè]-**zɛ̂** ɕî=dὲ / phyiʔ=tὲ
   3SG this curry=KO eat=PROG-process exist=RLS / be=RLS
   'He is in the middle of eating this curry.'

(122) [ʈù dì híɴ=gò sá]-**píɖá** phyiʔ=tὲ
3SG this curry=KO eat-already be=RLS
'He has already finished eating this curry.'

(123) [ʈù dì híɴ=gò sá]-**nèjâ** ɕî=dὲ / phyiʔ=tὲ
3SG this curry=KO eat-habitually exist=RLS / be=RLS
'He is habitually eating this curry.'

(124) [ʈù dì híɴ=gò sá]-**lɛʔsâ** ɕî=dὲ / phyiʔ=tὲ
3SG this curry=KO eat-halfway exist=RLS / be=RLS
'He started eating this curry, but hasn't finished yet.'

5.6 Summary of the Noun

Table 13 provides an exhaustive list of the forms that are attested in the Noun slot of the MMC. Nineteen forms have been found so far. Their use can be grouped into

Tab. 13: Exhaustive list of the forms used in the Noun slot.

Noun		Semantic/functional category
Type 1: V + =AN + Full noun		
pòuɴ	'it seems that'	evidentiality
hàɴ	'it seems that'	evidentiality
ɖ̃ăbɔ́	'it is that'	discourse
shɛ́zɛ̂	'be about to'	aspect
Type 2: V + =AN + Subordinate-noun		
lò	'it seems that'	evidentiality
lòlò	'it looks as if'	evidentiality (to be precise, counterfactuality)
lauʔ	'hardly V, scarcely V'	degree
Type 3: V + =tà/=dà or =hmà (nominalizer)		
=tà/=dà	'it is the case that'	discourse
=hmà	'it is the case that'	discourse
Type 4: V + Special head		
ʔăphô	'be about to V'	aspect
ʔăshóuɴ	'be the most V'	degree
ʔăsâ	'have just V-ed'	aspect
-khàzâ/-gàzâ	'have just V-ed'	aspect
-yòuɴ	'only do V-ing, have only to V'	limit/extent
-tóuɴ/-dóuɴ	'be in the middle of V-ing'	aspect
-shɛ̂/-zɛ̂	'be in the middle of V-ing'	aspect
-píɖá	'have finished V-ing'	aspect
-nèjâ	'habitually V'	aspect
-lɛʔsâ	'have started V-ing, but have not finished it'	aspect

five semantic/functional categories: evidentiality, aspect, discourse, degree, and limit/extent (cf. Vittrant 2005 for the semantic categories of the Burmese predicates). The table also shows these categories.

It is worth pointing out that the forms that have an aspectual meaning do not show a realis/irrealis opposition in the "=AN" of "V + (=AN) + Noun" (see (39)). In *shɛ́zɛ̂* 'be about to' of Type 1, only the irrealis adnominalizing marker *=mɛ̂* can occur as the AN. All of the other forms that have an aspectual meaning belong to Type 4, in which no adnominalizing marker occurs; see (40)–(d).

5.7 Morphosyntactic properties of the MMC

In Section 5 thus far, we have examined the forms that can occupy the Noun slot of the MMC. We also considered certain morphosyntactic aspects of the MMC. The structure of each of the four types of the MMC is presented in (40). We shall recapitulate a few of these morphosyntactic aspects. We shall also consider a few other morphosyntactic aspects.

5.7.1 Copula of the MMC

As noted 4.1-[3] and -[4], in my opinion, Burmese does not have any verb that can be unequivocally regarded as a copula verb. But an "assisting verb" may occur after the predicate of a non-verb predicate sentence without changing the propositional meaning of the sentence. In the MMC, too, an assisting verb may occur in the Copula slot. Many examples have already been given.

5.7.2 Noun of the MMC

5.7.2.1 Morphological status of the Noun
The forms in the Noun slot are independent nouns in Type 1 (5.2). However, they are subordinate-nouns and (tentatively considered) enclitics in Type 2 (5.3), enclitics (and nominalizers) in Type 3 (5.4), and they may be considered enclitics or suffixes in Type 4 (5.5).

In view of the putative change shown in (62), it will be possible to say that Type 1 (which employs full nouns) is less grammaticalized, and that Types 2, 3 and 4 (which use enclitics or suffixes) are more grammaticalized. Regarding the morphological status of the forms in the Noun slot (i.e. full nouns vs. enclitics/suffixes), the latter three types of the Burmese MMC are grammaticalized to a considerable degree.

5.7.2.2 Modification of the Noun

We now examine the noun-hood of the Noun. For this purpose, we examine wheth-
er the Noun can be modified by a demonstrative. As (4)–(c) shows, typical nouns
in Burmese can be modified by a demonstrative, e.g. (124) (*dì hín* 'this curry'). In
contrast, the Noun can in no way be modified by a demonstrative. See (125) to
(128). Note in particular that even a full noun (e.g. *pòuɴ* 'shape' in (125)) cannot be
modified. In this respect, the forms in the Noun slot do not have a full status as
nouns.

MMC of Type 1
(125) *[ṭù dì   hín=gò   sá=dɛ̂] ʔɛ́dì **pòuɴ**=bɛ́
     3SG this curry=KO eat=AN that shape=EMP
     '(untranslatable)'

MMC of Type 2
(126) *[ṭù dì   hín=gò   ʔɛ́dì sá=jìɴ=ḓǎ]=**lò**=bɛ́
     3SG this curry=KO that eat=want.to=AN=like=EMP
     '(untranslatable)'

MMC of Type 3
(127) *[ṭù jǎpàɴ=gò măhlwɛ́ḓàlô   ʔɛ́dì là=yâ]=**dà**=bɛ́
     3SG Japan=KO against.one's.will that come=must=TA=EMP
     '(untranslatable)'

MMC of Type 4
(128) *[ṭù dì   hín=gò   ʔɛ́dì sá]-**nèjâ**=bɛ́
     3SG this curry=KO that eat-habitually=EMP
     '(untranslatable)'

5.7.3 Predicate of the Clause of the MMC

As (40) shows, in Type 1 and Type 2, the verb of the Clause is followed by, and
combined with, an enclitic adnominalizer, which is in turn followed by the Noun
(a full noun in Type 1, and a subordinate-noun in Type 2). In Type 3, the verb is
followed by, and combined with, the Noun (an enclitic nominalizer). In Type 4, the
verb is compounded with the Noun. As seen in 4.1, verb predicate sentences must
contain a verb sentence marker. In contrast, the Clause of the MMC cannot contain
a verb sentence marker.

5.7.4 Can the Clause be used as a sentence by itself?

As seen in Section 1, Tsunoda (this volume-a) proposes that the prototype of the MMC has five properties, one of which is the following:

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

The Clause of the Burmese MMC cannot stand as a sentence on its own. As noted in 5.7.3, the Clause cannot contain a verb sentence marker.

5.7.5 Sentencehood of the Clause of the MMC

The Clause of the MMC does not have a full status as a sentence and it shows a lower degree of sentencehood than independent sentences. This is clearly shown by the fact that the Clause cannot be used as a sentence by itself. Specifically, the lower degree of the sentence-hood of the Clause is seen in facts such as the following.

[1] As noted in 4.1 and 5.7.3, verb predicate sentences must contain a verb sentence marker. However, as just seen, the Clause of the MMC does not, and cannot, contain a verb sentence marker.

[2] Sentences allow a sentence-final particle to occur at their end. For example, (129) has the sentence-final particle *nɔ̀* in the sentence-final position. This sentence-final particle indicates the speaker's request for the hearer's agreement. It is glossed as 'TAG'. In contrast, the Clause of the MMC cannot be followed by a sentence-final particle. See (40). The Clause (shown with square brackets) cannot be followed by a sentence-final particle in any of the four type of the MMC. As an example, see (130) (an instance of Type 1 in (40)–(a)). The Clause is followed by the sentence-final particle *nɔ̀*, and the sentence is ungrammatical (and also untranslatable).

(129) tṳ̀ dì híɴ=gò sá=dɛ̀ **nɔ̀**
      3SG this curry=KO eat=RLS TAG
      'He ate this curry, didn't he?'

(130) *[tṳ̀ dì híɴ=gò sá=dɛ̂] **nɔ̀** pòuɴ(=bɛ́)
      3SG this curry=KO eat=AN TAG shape(=EMP)
      '(untranslatable)'

6 Comparison of the MMC with other constructions

6.1 Introductory notes

We now compare the MMC with other constructions. In particular, we shall examine the following two issues.

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

The structure of the prototype of the MMC is as shown in (1). Superficially at least, it looks as if the prototypical MMC is bi-clausal. In some of the languages reported in the present volume, the Clause of the MMC looks similar to an adnominal clause ("AC") (or a relative clause) of the respective languages and consequently it looks as if the MMC is bi-clausal, with an AC as a subordinate clause. This applies to Burmese. The adnominalizers (cf. Table 2) are used in ACs (4.2.1) and in the MMC of Type 1 and Type 2 (see (40)). It may look as if these two types of the MMC are bi-clausal, with an AC as a subordinate clause.

However, languages such as Modern Standard Japanese (Tsunoda, this volume-b, Section 6) and Korean (Kim, this volume, Section 6) yield evidence that their MMC does not contain an AC and that it is syntactically mono-clausal. (See Tsunoda (this volume-a, 3.4.2).) In view of this, it is important to examine the two issues listed above.

For Burmese, we shall compare the following constructions.

(i)   Mono-clausal verb predicate sentences (cf. 4.1).
(ii)   MMC of Type 1 (cf. 5.2).
(iii) MMC of Type 2 (cf. 5.3).
(iv)   MMC of Type 3 (cf. 5.4).
(v)   MMC of Type 4 (cf. 5.5).
(vi)   AC of the gap type (cf. 4.2.2).
(vii) AC of the addition type (cf. 4.2.3).

Verb-predicate sentences are chosen as the representative of independent sentences. It is necessary to consider mono-clausal sentences, since one of the aims of this comparison is to examine the issue (b) listed above.

When we look at the MMC, we shall mainly be concerned with the Clause, but we also look at the entire MMC.

We shall compare the constructions listed above in terms of the structure of the predicate (6.2) and syntax (6.3 to 6.6). The result of this comparison is shown in Table 14.

6.2 Predicate

(i) Mono-clausal verb predicate sentences
The verb must be followed by a verb sentence marker (cf. Table 1), e.g. (11) to (15).

(ii) MMC of Type 1
(iii) MMC of Type 2
The verb of the Clause is followed by an adnominalizer (cf. Table 2) (which is in turn followed by the Noun). See (40)–(a), -(b).

(iv) MMC of Type 3
(v) MMC of Type 4
The verb occurs by itself within the Clause. See (40)–(c), -(d). (It is directly followed by the Noun.)

(vi) AC of the gap type
(vii) AC of the addition type
The verb is followed by an adnominalizer; see 4.2.2 and 4.2.3.

6.3 Topicalization

Burmese has the enclitic *=kâdɔ̂/=gâdɔ̂*, which I consider to be a contrastive topic marker. This form is a compound of the case particle *=kâ/=gâ* 'agent' and the particle *=tɔ̂/=dɔ̂* which indicates contrastiveness. The case particle *=kâ/=gâ* can only follow the subject, e.g. (11), (12), but *=kâdɔ̂/=gâdɔ̂* can follow non-subjects, e.g. (131). For this reason I consider *=kâdɔ̂/=gâdɔ̂* a different word from *=kâ/=gâ*.

(131) ŋà dì   sàʔouʔ=kâdɔ̂ mǎ-phaʔ=phú=bú
     1SG this book=CON   not-read=experience=NEG
     'I have never read this book (in contrast with other books).'

(i) Mono-clausal verb predicate sentences
The contrastive topic marker *=kâdɔ̂/=gâdɔ̂* 'CON' can occur, e.g. (131), (132).

(132) t̪ù=gâdɔ̂ dì   hín=gò   sá=dɛ̀
     3SG=CON this curry=KO eat=RLS
     'He (in contrast with other people) ate this curry.'

(ii) MMC of Type 1
(iii) MMC of Type 2
(iv) MMC of Type 3

(v) MMC of Type 4

The contrastive topic marker =*kâdɔ̂/*=*gâdɔ̂* 'CON' can occur in the Clause of every type of the MMC. Examples are as follows. (ii) MMC of Type 1: (133). (iii) MMC of Type 2: (134). (iv) MMC of Type 3: (135). (v) MMC of Type 4: (136).

(133) [t̪ù=gâdɔ̂ dì hín=gò sá=dɛ̂] **pòuɴ**=bɛ́
    3SG=CON this curry=KO eat=AN shape=EMP
    'It seems that he (in contrast with other people) ate this curry.'

(134) [t̪ù=gâdɔ̂ dì hín=gò sá=jìɴ=d̪ǎ]=**lò**=bɛ́
    3SG=CON this curry=KO eat=want.to=AN=like=EMP
    'It seems that he (in contrast with other people) wants to eat this curry.'

(135) [t̪ù=gâdɔ̂ jăpàɴ=gò mǎhlwɛ́d̪àlô là=yâ]=**dà**=bɛ́
    3SG=CON Japan=KO against.one's.will come=must=TA=EMP
    'It is the case that he (in contrast with other people) unwillingly came to Japan.'

(136) [t̪ù=gâdɔ̂ dì hín=gò sá]-**nèjâ**=bɛ́
    3SG=CON this curry=KO eat-habitually=EMP
    'He (in contrast with other people) habitually eats this curry.'

    (vi) AC of the gap type
    (vii) AC of the addition type

The contrastive topic marker =*kâdɔ̂/*=*gâdɔ̂* 'CON' cannot occur in (vi) ACs of the gap type (see (137)) or (vii) ACs of the addition type (see (138)).

(137) *t̪ù**=**gâdɔ̂ chɛʔ=tɛ̂ hín=gò ŋà sá=dɛ̀
    3SG=CON cook=AN curry=KO 1SG eat=RLS
    IM: 'I ate the curry that he (in contrast with other people) cooked.'

(138) *t̪ù**=**gâdɔ̂ ŋá kìɴ=dɛ̂ ʔănâɴ=gò ŋà yâ=dɛ̀
    3SG=CON fish grill=AN smell=KO 1SG get=RLS
    IM: 'I smelled the smell of him (in contrast with other people) grilling a fish.'

6.4 Gapping

It is convenient to start with ACs.

    (vi) AC of the gap type

Gapping takes place in the formation of ACs of the gap type. For example, compare (27) with (28) to (30). All of the subject, the direct object and the indirect object are

present in (27). In contrast, the subject is absent in the AC of (28), the direct object is absent in the AC of (29), and the indirect object is absent in the AC of (30).

(vii) AC of the addition type

Gapping does not take place in the formation of ACs of the addition type. For example, compare (32) with (33). The subject and the object are present in the AC of (33), as is the case with (32).

(i) Mono-clausal verb predicate sentences
(ii) MMC of Type 1
(iii) MMC of Type 2
(iv) MMC of Type 3
(v) MMC of Type 4

Gapping does not take place in the formation of these constructions.

6.5 One subject or two subjects?

Again, it is convenient to start with ACs.

(vi) AC of the gap type
(vii) AC of the addition type

Sentences with an AC may have two subjects: the subject of the AC and the subject of the main clause. This applies to both types of ACs. For example, in (139) ((vi) ACs of the gap type) and (140) ((vii) ACs of the addition type), *ṱù* '3SG' is the subject of the AC, and *ŋà* '1SG' is the subject of the main clause.

(139) {ṱù chɛʔ=tê} híɴ=gò ŋà sá=dɛ̀
  3SG cook=AN curry=KO 1SG eat=RLS
  'I ate the curry which he cooked.'

(140) {ṱù ŋá kìɴ=dɛ̂} ʔănâɴ=gò ŋà yâ=dɛ̀
  3SG fish grill=AN smell=KO 1SG get=RLS
  'I smelled the smell of him grilling a fish.'

(i) Mono-clausal verb predicate sentences
(ii) MMC of Type 1
(iii) MMC of Type 2
(iv) MMC of Type 3
(v) MMC of Type 4

These constructions cannot have two subjects. They have just one subject. For example, (3) (the MMC) and (11) (a mono-clausal verb predicate sentence) each have just one subject: *ṱù* '3SG'.

6.6 Clefting

Clefting in Burmese involves the nominalizer *=tà/=dà* 'RLS' (realis) or *=hmà* (IRR) (irrealis) (cf. Table 9) and yields a construction which can be represented as follows. "X" represents the focus.

(141) ... V + *=tà/=dà* or *=hmà* X.

The subject will be focused on in the examples given below. In the case of ACs, it is the subject of an AC, not the subject of the main clause, that will be focused on.

    (i) Mono-clausal verb predicate sentences
Clefting is possible. Compare:

(142) t̥ù   dì   hín=gò   sá=dɛ̀
     3SG this curry=KO eat=RLS
     'He ate this curry.'

(143) dì   hín=gò   sá=dà   t̥ù=bɛ́
     this curry=KO eat=TA 3SG=EMP
     'It is he who ate this curry.'

    (ii) MMC of Type 1
Clefting is possible. Compare:

(144) [t̥ù   dì   hín=gò   sá=dɛ̂] **pòuɴ**=bɛ́
     3SG this curry=KO eat=AN shape=EMP
     'It seems that he ate this curry.'

(145) dì   hín=gò   sá=dɛ̂ **pòuɴ** yâ=dà t̥ù=bɛ́
     this curry=KO eat=AN shape get=TA 3SG=EMP
     'It is he who seems to have eaten this curry.'

Note that (145) contains the assisting verb *yâ* 'to get'. Roughly speaking, a cleft version of the MMC must contain an adequate assisting verb. Thus, (145) contains *yâ* 'to get', which is one of the two assisting verbs used with *pòuɴ* 'shape' (see Table 5). (147) contains *ɕî* 'exist', which is one of the two assisting verbs used with *=lò* 'like, as' (see Table 8). (149) contains *phyiʔ* 'be', which is the only assisting verb for the MMC of Type 3 (see 5.4). (152) contains *ɕî* 'exist', which is one of the two assisting verbs used with *-nèjâ* 'habitually' (see Table 12).

(iii) MMC of Type 2

Clefting is possible. Compare:

(146) [t̥ù dì hín=gò sá=jìN=d̥ă]=**lò**=bɛ́
3SG this curry=KO eat=want.to=AN=like=EMP
'It seems that he wants to eat this curry.'

(147) dì hín=gò sá=jìN=d̥ă=**lò** ɕî=dà t̥ù=bɛ́
this curry=KO eat=want=AN=like exist=TA 3SG=EMP
'It is he who seems to want to eat this curry.'

(iv) MMC of Type 3

Clefting is possible. Compare:

(148) [t̥ù jăpàN=gò măhlwɛ́d̥àlô là=yâ]=**dà**=bɛ́
3SG Japan=KO against.one's.will come=must=TA=EMP
'It is the case that he unwillingly came to Japan.'

(149) jăpàN=gò măhlwɛ́d̥àlô là=yâ=**dà** phyiʔ=hmà t̥ù=bɛ́
Japan=KO against.one's.will come=must=TA be=HMA 3SG=EMP
Intended and literal meaning: 'It is he who, it must have been the case
that, unwillingly came to Japan.'

(149) is grammatical. It has the structure of cleft sentences shown in (141). (For the nominalizer slot, it employs the nominalizer =*hmà* 'IRR' (irrealis).) However, it sounds somewhat unnatural. This is probably because it sounds extremely formal. (As noted in 4.1, the use of an assisting verb makes the sentence somewhat more formal.) In daily conversation, (150), which does not employ the MMC, is used instead.

(150) jăpàN=gò măhlwɛ́d̥àlô là=yâ=dà t̥ù=bɛ́
Japan=KO against.one's.will come=must=TA 3SG=EMP
'It is he who unwillingly came to Japan.'

(v) MMC of Type 4

Clefting is possible. Compare:

(151) [t̥ù dì hín=gò sá]-**nèjâ**=bɛ́
3SG this curry=KO eat-habitually=EMP
'He habitually eats this curry.'

(152) dì hín=gò sá-**nèjâ** ɕî=dà t̥ù=bɛ́
this curry=KO eat-habitually exist=TA 3SG=EMP
'It is he who habitually eats this curry.'

(vi) AC of the gap type

Clefting is impossible. (Recall that it is the subject of an AC, not the subject of the main clause, that is focused on.) Compare:

(153) {t̪ù chɛʔ=tê} hín=gò ŋà sá=dɛ̀
3SG cook=AN curry=KO 1SG eat=RLS
'I ate the curry which he cooked.'

(154) *chɛʔ=tê hín=gò ŋà sá=dà t̪ù=bɛ́
cook=AN curry=KO 1SG eat=TA 3SG=EMP
IM: 'It is he whose curry I ate.'

(vii) AC of the addition type

Clefting is impossible. Compare:

(155) {t̪ù ŋá kìn=dɛ̂} ʔănân=gò ŋà yâ=dɛ̀
3SG fish grill=AN smell=KO 1SG get=RLS
'I smelled the smell of him grilling a fish.'

(156) *ŋá kìn=dɛ̂ ʔănân=gò ŋà yâ=dà t̪ù=bɛ́
fish grill=AN smell=KO 1SG get=TA 3SG=EMP
'(untranslatable)'

6.7 Relativization

This test is similar to the test of clefting. The subject will be relativized on in the examples given below. In the case of ACs, it is the subject of an AC, not the subject of the main clause, that will be relativized on.

(i) Mono-clausal verb predicate sentences

Relativization is possible. Compare (142) and:

(157) dì hín=gò sá=dɛ̂ lù
this curry=KO eat=AN person
'the person who ate this curry.'

(ii) MMC of Type 1

Relativization is possible. Compare (144) and:

(158) dì hín=gò sá=dɛ̂ **pòuɴ** yâ=dɛ̂ lù
this curry=KO eat=AN shape get=AN person
'the person who seems to have eaten this curry'

Note that (158) contains the assisting verb *yâ* 'to get' (cf. Table 5). Like cleft versions of the MMC, ACs that correspond to the MMC require an adequate assisting verb. This applies to (159), (160), (161) and (163) as well.

Sentence (158) is grammatical, but it sounds somewhat unnatural because =*tê*/=*dê* occurs twice. In order to avoid this, the verb and the noun *pòuɴ* are compounded, as in (159). See (60) for compounding involving *pòuɴ*.

(159) dì   híɴ=gò   sá-**bòuɴ** yâ=dê   lù
    this curry=KO eat-shape get=AN person
    'the person who seems to have eaten this curry'

    (iii) MMC of Type 2
Relativization is possible. Compare (146) and:

(160) dì   híɴ=gò   sá=jìɴ=d̥ă=**lò**   ɕî=dê   lù
    this curry=KO eat=want.to=AN=like exist=AN person
    'the person who looks like he wants to eat this curry'

    (iv) MMC of Type 3
Relativization is possible. Compare (148) and:

(161) jăpàɴ=gò   măhlwɛ́d̥àlô   là=yâ=**dà**   phyiʔ=mɛ̂ lù
    Japan=KO against.one's.will come=must=TA be=AN   person
    Intended and literal meaning: 'the person who, it must have been the case
    that, unwillingly came to Japan'

Sentence (161) is grammatical, but somewhat unnatural. This is probably because it sounds extremely formal. In order to express the intended meaning in daily conversation, the sentence below without the MMC is used.

(162) jăpàɴ=gò   măhlwɛ́d̥àlô   là=yâ=dê   lù
    Japan=KO against.one's.will come=must=AN person
    'the person who unwillingly had to come to Japan'

    (v) MMC of Type 4
Relativization is possible. Compare (151) and:

(163) dì   híɴ=gò   sá-**nèjâ**   ɕî=dê   lù
    this curry=KO eat-habitually exist=AN person
    'the person who habitually eats this curry'

(vi) AC of the gap type

Relativization is impossible. Compare (153) and:

(164) *chɛʔ=tɛ̂ hín=gò ŋà sá=dɛ̂ lù
cook=AN curry=KO 1SG eat=AN person
IM: 'the person who cooked the curry that I ate'

(vii) AC of the addition type

Relativization is impossible. Compare (155) and:

(165) *ŋá kìɴ=dɛ̂ ʔănâɴ=gò ŋà yâ=dɛ̂ lù
fish grill=AN smell=KO 1SG get=AN person
IM: 'the person who grilled a fish whose smell I smelled'

6.8 Discussion

The result of the comparison above is shown in Table 14.

The first criterion "Predicate" concerns a morphological aspect, while the other five criteria have to do with syntactic aspects.

In terms of the structure of the predicate of the Clause, the MMC of Type 1 and the MMC of Type 2 behave like ACs and unlike mono-clausal verb predicate senten-

Tab. 14: Comparison of the MMC with other constructions.

	Predicate	Topicalization	Gapping
Mono-clausal verb predicate sentences	Verb=VSM	+	−
MMC of Type 1	Verb=AN	+	−
MMC of Type 2	Verb=AN	+	−
MMC of Type 3	Verb	+	−
MMC of Type 4	Verb	+	−
AC of gap type	Verb=AN	−	+
AC of addition type	Verb=AN	−	−
	Two subjects	Clefting	Relativization
Mono-clausal verb predicate sentences	−	+	+
MMC of Type 1	−	+	+
MMC of Type 2	−	+	+
MMC of Type 3	−	+	+
MMC of Type 4	−	+	+
AC of gap type	+	−	−
AC of addition type	+	−	−

Legend: +: possible or obligatory; −: impossible.

ces. The MMC of Type 3 and the MMC of Type 4 behave unlike both mono-clausal verb predicate sentences and ACs.

In terms of the five syntactic criteria the four types of the MMC behave exactly like mono-clausal independent sentences, to the exclusion of ACs – except that ACs of the addition type behave like the MMC and mono-clausal independent sentences in that they do not involve gapping.

To sum up, in terms of the structure of the predicate, at least the MMC of Type 1 and the MMC of Type 2 behave like ACs and unlike mono-clausal independent sentences. As far as these two types are concerned, it may look as if the MMC contains an AC, that is, it may look as if the MMC is bi-clausal. However, syntactically the MMC – including Type 1 and Type 2 – behaves like mono-clausal independent sentences, almost entirely to the exclusion of ACs. That is, syntactically the MMC should not be regarded as a bi-clausal sentence, with an AC as a subordinate clause. It should be considered mono-clausal.

6.9 Compound predicate

We saw in 6.8 that syntactically the Burmese MMC should be considered mono-clausal, not bi-clausal. Then, it should have just one predicate, not two predicates. We now investigate what structure the predicate has.

As seen in Section 1, the prototype of the MMC has the structure shown in (1) – superficially at least. However, languages such as Modern Standard Japanese (Tsunoda, this volume-b, Section 6) and Korean (Kim, this volume, Section 6) provide ample evidence that syntactically their MMC is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal, despite its superficial appearance (shown in (1)). Their MMC has just one predicate, not two predicates, and the predicate is a compound predicate that consists of the predicate of the Clause, the Noun and the Copula, as shown in (2).

(1) Prototype of the mermaid construction ("MMC"):
    [Clause]   Noun   Copula

(2) [... predicate of Clause]   Noun   Copula.
                 compound predicate

The situation in the Burmese MMC is as follows. See (40). Burmese does not have a copula verb (4.1-[3]), and we shall exclude the Copula from the following discussion. It is convenient to start with Type 4.

(d) Type 4. The verb of the Clause and the Noun (a special head) form a compound word, and this is the predicate of this MMC.

(c) Type 3. The Noun slot is occupied by a nominalizer. The nominalizer is an enclitic, and it is clear that the verb of the Clause and the Noun form a unit. This is the predicate of this MMC.

(b) Type 2. The verb of the Clause is followed by an adnominalizer (an enclitic), which is in turn followed by a subordinate noun (an enclitic). It is clear that the verb and these two enclitics form a unit. This is the predicate of this MMC.

(a) Type 1. The verb of the Clause is followed by an adnominalizer (an enclitic). The Noun slot is occupied by a full noun, which is an independent word, not a clitic or affix. There is one piece of syntactic evidence to show that "V + =AN" and the Noun form a unit. As seen in 5.7.2.2, a full noun in the Noun slot cannot be modified by any word. This shows that "V + =AN" and the Noun form a unit. This is the predicate of this MMC, and it is a compound predicate. As an example, the structure of (3) can be shown as follows. The compound predicate is shown with an underline. (The emphatic particle =*bɛ́* should be regarded as a member of this compound predicate. We shall return to this issue shortly.)

(166) [mănêgâ ṭù   yăthá=nɛ̂ cáuɴ   ṯwá=dɛ̂] **pòuɴ**(=bɛ́)
      yesterday 3SG train=with school go=AN   shape(=EMP)
                                              compound predicate
      LT: '[He went to school by train yesterday] a shape.'
      FT: 'It seems that he went to school by train yesterday.'

(The unacceptability of the modification of a noun in the Noun slot is one of the two pieces of evidence that Tsunoda (this volume-b, 6.11) provides to show that in the Japanese MMC the predicate of the Clause, the Noun and the Copula form a unit.)

Now, recall that the Noun of the MMC may be followed by an assisting verb. Examples include (52) to (55), (167) (Type 1), (81) to (83) (Type 2), (91), (92) (Type 3) and (115) to (124) (Type 4).

(167) [mănêgâ ṭù   yăthá=nɛ̂ cáuɴ   ṯwá=dɛ̂] **pòuɴ** yâ=dɛ̀
      yesterday 3SG train=with school go=AN   shape get=RLS
                                              compound predicate
      'It seems that he went to school by train yesterday.'

There is evidence to show that an assisting verb – together with a verb sentence marker – is a member of the compound predicate of the MMC, as shown in (167). An independent word cannot intervene between the Noun and an assisting verb, although a type of enclitic can. Details are as follows.

Burmese has a group of particles that Okell (1969: 196) calls "sentence-medial postpositions" and Wheatley (1982: 97) calls "general postpositions", e.g. =*lɛ́* 'also, too', e.g. (168), =*tàuɴ* 'even', =*ṭà* 'only', and =*tɔ̂* 'at least'. They are enclitics.

(168) shăyà=lɛ́   khălé=gò híɴ   pé=dɛ̀
      teacher=also child=KO curry give=RLS
      'The teacher, too, gave curry to the child.'

(The particle =*lɛ́* 'also, too' is attached, for example, to nouns, verbs, and subordinate clauses. It appears to be attached to nouns most frequently. It does not occur in the sentence-final position.)

These particles can follow the Noun of the MMC, e.g.:

(169) [mănêgâ ʈù   yăthá=nɛ̂ cáuɴ   ʈwá=dɛ̂] pòuɴ=**lɛ́**   yâ=dɛ̀
  yesterday 3SG train=with school go=AN   shape=also get=RLS
             compound predicate
  'It also seems that he went to school by train yesterday.'

In contrast with these particles (they are enclitics), independent words (and other enclitics) cannot intervene between the Noun and an assisting verb. This provides evidence that the Noun and the assisting verb form a unit.

(In (169), the enclitic =*lɛ́* 'also, too' is a member of this compound predicate. In view of this, in (166), the enclitic =*bɛ́* 'EMP' might be considered a member of this compound predicate.)

7 Summary and concluding remarks

The MMC in Burmese can be grouped into four types in terms of the category of the Noun: (i) Type 1: "full nouns", (ii) Type 2: "subordinate-nouns" (i.e., nouns that can function like enclitics), (iii) Type 3: nominalizers (i.e., nominalizing clitics), and (iv) Type 4: "special heads" (they compound with the preceding verb; they are independent nouns, clitics, or possibly suffixes). Burmese may be somewhat uncommon in that it has as many as four types of MMC.

Semantic/functional categories of the MMC are evidentiality, aspect, discourse, degree, and also limit/extent.

Burmese does not have a copula verb. Nonetheless, the MMC may have an "assisting verb" in place of a copula verb.

Within the Clause, the verb is followed by an adnominalizer in Type 1 and Type 2, and it is immediately followed by the Noun in Type 3 and Type 4. That is, the Clause cannot contain a verb sentence marker. Consequently the Clause has a low degree of sentence-hood in this respect, and also the Clause cannot stand as a sentence on its own.

As far as Type 1 and Type 2 are concerned, the Clause behaves like ACs in that the verb is followed by an adnominalizer. It may look as if these two types of MMC are bi-clausal sentences with an AC in them. Syntactically, however, all the four types of MMC – including Type 1 and Type 2 – behave like mono-clausal verb predicate sentences, almost entirely to the exclusion of ACs. That is, syntactically the MMC should be considered mono-clausal, not bi-clausal.

There are nouns that have undergone (or seem to have undergone) the following change: independent word → enclitic or suffix. In the case of the three subordinate-nouns of Type 2, it is the enclitics, not the free nouns, that are used in the MMC.

It is probably possible to say that, regarding the morphological status of the forms in the Noun slot (i.e. full nouns vs. enclitics/suffixes), Type 1 (which uses full nouns) is not grammaticalized, but that Types 2, 3 and 4 (which employs enclitics or suffixes) are grammaticalized to a considerable degree.

To the best of my knowledge, there is no previous study that has clearly pointed out that Burmese has what is termed the MMC in the present volume. Probably, many of the previous studies have simply considered it a noun-predicate sentence. Nonetheless, some of the previous studies including Okell and Allot (2001: 128) and Ohno (1983) suggested, in effect, that this construction is mono-clausal. Okell and Allot (2001: 128) state that the noun *pòuɴ* 'shape', which is one of the nouns that form the MMC of Type 1 (see Table 4), is "perhaps in process of becoming a sentence final phrase particle". Ohno (1983: 253) classifies the expression *pòuɴ yâ* (the noun meaning 'shape' + the verb meaning 'to get'; see Table 5) among auxiliaries. Their views imply that the construction in question is becoming mono-clausal.

What remains to be done in future research is to investigate how the MMC has developed in Burmese. In order to do this, we need research on old documents and comparative studies of various dialects.

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

A = transitive subject; A = nominalizing prefix *ʔă-*; AC = adnominal clause; AN = adnominalizer or adnominalizing marker; AN(irr) = irrealis adnominalizer; AN(rls) = realis adnominalizer; C = consonant; CON = contrasted topic; EMP = emphasis; FT = free translation; HMA = nominalizer =*hmà*; IM = intended meaning; IRR = irrealis modality; KA = case particle =*kâ*/=*gâ* 'agent (subject); source'; KO =

case particle =*kò*/=*gò* 'patient; recipient; goal'; LT = literal translation; MMC = mermaid construction; NEG = negation; O = object; PL = plural; POL = politeness; PROG = progressive; Q = question; RLS = realis modality; S = subject; S = intransitive subject; SG = singular; T = tone; TA = nominalizer =*tà*/=*dà*; TAG = tag question; V = vowel; V = verb; VSM = verb sentence marker; 1 = first person; 2 = second person; 3 = third person.

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Masato Kobayashi in collaboration with Tasaku Tsunoda
14 Kurux

1 Introduction

Tsunoda (this volume-a, 2.1) proposes that the prototype of the mermaid construction (henceforth, "MMC") has all of the following five properties.

(a) The structure is as shown in (1) – superficially at least.
(b) The Noun is an independent word (not a clitic) that is a noun.
(c) The subject of the Clause and the Noun are non-coreferential.
(d) The Clause can be used as a sentence by itself.
(e) The Clause is not the subject of the "Noun + Copula".

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

In the prototypical MMC, the Noun slot of the MMC is occupied by a noun that is an independent word. In non-prototypical instances, it may be occupied by an enclitic or a suffix which derives from a noun. Nouns, enclitics and suffixes in the Noun slot may also be nominalizers. In exceptional instances, the Noun slot may be empty. (See Tsunoda (this volume-a, 2.3-[1]).)
　　Tsunoda (this volume-a, Section 1 and 2.1) notes as follows. Superficially at least, it looks as if the MMC contains a subordinate clause and is bi-clausal. However, languages such as Modern Standard Japanese (Tsunoda, this volume-b, Section 6) and Korean (Kim, this volume, Section 6) provide ample evidence that syntactically their MMC is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal, despite its superficial appearance (shown in (1)). Their MMC has just one predicate, not two predicates, and the predicate is a compound predicate that consists of the predicate of the Clause, the Noun and the Copula, as shown in (2).

(2) [... predicate of Clause]   Noun   Copula.
              compound predicate

　　Kurux (a Dravidian language of east India) has the MMC, unlike other Dravidian languages. Specifically, it has three varieties of the MMC. One noun (*caḍḍe:* 'necessity') and two enclitics (*=mad^he:* and *=bese:*) are attested in the Noun slot of the MMC. The MMC with *caḍḍe:* 'necessity' indicates cause/reason. The enclitic *=mad^he:* serves as a nominalizer or an adjectivizer. The MMC with *=mad^he:* has a modal or an aspectual meaning: 'X has the property of ...ing', 'X plans to ...', 'X is supposed to', 'X is

scheduled to ...', 'X is going to ...'. The MMC with *=bese:* has an evidential meaning: 'X looks/appears/seems ...', 'It looks as if' or 'X is like'.

The enclitic *=madʰe:* in the Noun slot may be absent under a certain condition. That is, the Noun slot of the Kurux MMC may be occupied by an independent noun or an enclitic, and it may also be empty. It is crosslinguistically uncommon for the Noun slot to be empty.

The Copula slot is generally occupied by a copula verb. In addition, in the MMC with *=bese:*, it may also be filled with an intransitive verb of perception such as 'look', 'sound' or 'feel'. The use of such a verb in the Copula slot is not reported from any other language investigated in the present volume.

The MMC with the noun *caḍḍe:* 'necessity' may have originated in a sentence that contains an adnominal clause (or a relative clause).

The enclitics *=madʰe:* and *=bese:* are likely to have derived from nouns that were borrowed from Indo-Aryan languages: *mádʰya* 'middle' and *vēṣa* 'dress', respectively. Furthermore, Hindi has the MMC whose Noun slot is occupied by an enclitic and whose meanings include 'be about to' and 'schedule, intention'. This suggests that the MMC – to be precise, the MMC with *=madʰe:* – may have diffused, crossing a genetic border. The existence of the MMC is uncommon among Dravidian languages, and it is possible that the Kurux MMC developed after its split from Malto, the language that is genetically the closest to Kurux.

The MMC with *caḍḍe:* 'necessity' is attested in only one example, and it is possibly at its incipient stage, like that in Old Japanese (cf. Miyachi, this volume). In contrast, *=madʰe:* and *=bese:* appear to have been grammaticalized in terms of both morphology and meaning, and the MMC with *=madʰe:* and the MMC with *=bese:* appear to have reached an advanced stage of grammaticalization.

The Kurux data may shed light on how the MMC comes into existence. They may also shed light on how it diffuses (due to language contact).

2 Initial illustration

Examples of the MMC in Kurux include (3) (*caḍḍe:*), (4) (*=madʰe:*) and (5) (*=bese:*). In the examples of the MMC given below, *=madʰe:* is glossed as 'ADJ' (adjectivizer), and *=bese:* as 'like'. When literally translated, the MMC does not make sense. For each example, both a literal translation ("LT") and a free translation ("FT") are provided. The noun or the enclitic in the Noun slot is in bold face, and the Clause and its literal translation are shown with square brackets.

(3) (He ran away.)

    [*aːs-hiː*   *tamba-s-in*   *ilc-kaː*]   ***caḍḍeː***

    3SG.M-GEN own.father-M-ACC fear.PS-PST.VADJ necessity

    rahc-a:

    COP.PS-PST.3SG.NM

    LT: '[He feared his own father] a necessity was.'

    FT: 'It was because he was scared of his father.'

(4) [*iː*   *reːlgaːɽiː*   *koːḍarmaː* *kaːl-uː*]=***madʰe(-d)***[1]   *hike*

    this train.NM.NOM Koderma go-PRS.VADJ=ADJ(-NM) COP.PRS.3SG.NM

    LT: '[This train goes (to) Koderma] ADJ is.'

    FT: 'This train is scheduled to go to Koderma.'

(5) [*aːs*   *cĩːx-naː*]=***beseː*** *rahc-as*

    3SG.M.NOM cry-VBN=like   COP.PS-PST.3SG.M

    LT: '[He cries] like is.'

    FT: 'It was as if he would cry' or 'He was about to cry'.

3 Profile of the language

Kurux is a member of the Dravidian language family. It is spoken by people called Oraons, who mainly live in the states of Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, West Bengal and Odisha in eastern India. (See Map 1.) Languages from three language families are spoken in this area: Dravidian, Indo-European (to which Indo-Aryan languages belong), and Austro-Asiatic. The lingua franca of this multi-ethnic area is an Indo-Aryan language that is called Sadri, Sadani, or Nagpuri. According to the Census of India 2001, there are 1,751,489 ethnic Oraons, but in my guess the number of Kurux speakers is probably less than half of that figure. The language that is linguistically the closest to Kurux is Malto, which is also spoken in Jharkhand. Kurux used to be a non-literary language, and literacy in Kurux is still limited. A detailed description of Kurux is given in Kobayashi & Tirkey (2017), which is based on the spoken language and from which some of the data for the present work is cited.

    Kurux has ten vowels, /a, aː, i, iː, u, uː, e, eː, o, oː/, and their nasalized counterparts, that is, twenty vowels in all. It has thirty-five consonants, /ʔ, k, kʰ, g, gʰ, c, cʰ, j, jʰ, ʈ, ʈʰ, ḍ, ḍʰ, t, tʰ, d, dʰ, p, pʰ, b, bʰ, r, ɽ, ɽʰ, l, ŋ, ɲ, ɳ, n, m, y, w, s, h, x/. There is no pair of words that contrast in pitch or stress alone.

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1 *kaːl-* 'go' is an intransitive verb, but the noun that indicates the destination does not take a case marker for 'to'.

Map 1: Approximate locations of languages referred to.

Kurux is largely agglutinating, and it is partly fusional. It employs suffixes and postpositions, but has neither prefixes nor prepositions. Verbs are marked for tense, aspect, and modality while nouns take case suffixes and postpositions. Both verbs and nouns show person-number-gender concord with the subject when they are predicates. The same set of person-number-gender suffixes is used for both verbs and nouns.

There are three tenses: past, present, and future. There are aspectual forms, such as progressive and perfect.

Table 1 presents a partial paradigm of conjugation, with the verb 'to dance' as an example. The third-person singular masculine ('3SG.M') and the third-person singular non-masculine ('3SG.NM') forms are given for each category. The present perfect and the past perfect involve the copula verb *raʔ-*. Non-finite categories each have just one form for 3SG.M and 3SG.NM. Verbal adjectives have three different categories: past, present and future. Verbal nouns do not have such a distinction; they have just one form. Imperative forms are the following: *nal-a:* 'dance-IMP.M' and *nal-ay* 'dance-IMP.NM'.

Kurux has two copula verbs: *tal-* is used to describe permanent properties (e.g. (8)), and *raʔ-* is used for temporary properties and states (e.g. (3), (5)). Also, the copula *hik-*, which is the Sadri equivalent of *tal-* (permanent properties), is used (e.g. (4)). To be precise, *raʔ-* is a copula verb and also an existential verb. But it is glossed simply as 'COP' in sentential examples.

Tab. 1: Verb Conjugation.

Verbal base *nal-*, Past stem[2] (PS) *naly-* 'to dance'		
	3SG.M	**3SG.NM**
Finite		
simple present	*nal-das*	*nal-i:*
progressive present	*nal-a:lagdas*	*nal-a:lagi:*
simple past	*naly-as*	*naly-a:*
present perfect	*nal-ka: raʔ-das*	*nal-ki: raʔ-i:*
past perfect	*nal-ka: rahc-as*	*nal-ki: rahc-a:*
future	*nal-os*	*nal-o:*
Non-finite		
past verbal adjective	*nal-ka:*	
present verbal adjective	*nal-u:*	
future verbal adjective	*nal-o:*	
verbal noun	*nal-na:*	

Kurux pronouns have two numbers (singular and plural), three persons, and also an inclusive-exclusive distinction in the first person plural. Kurux nouns make a gender distinction between human masculine and other referents (i.e. non-masculine). Human masculine nouns contrast in number (singular vs. plural), but other nouns do not.

Kurux has a nominative-accusative alignment system (A/S vs. O). The nominative case involves no overt suffix. For nouns that are not human masculine, the accusative suffix may be absent under certain conditions. Kurux has both dependent-marking and head-marking. It is, in the main, configurational. The gender and the nominative case of nouns and the number of human masculine nouns are not always shown in their glosses.

Kurux has AOV and SV as the unmarked word orders. A noun is preceded by its modifiers, such as a deictic (or a demonstrative), a numeral, and an adjective. (The position of adnominal clauses (or relative clauses) will be discussed in 4.2.1.) Complement clauses are postposed, as in other Dravidian languages and many Indo-Aryan languages. When a phrase or a subordinate clause is heavy or receives focus, it can be placed after the finite verb or the main clause, at the end of the sentence.

The distinction between nouns and adjectives is not clear-cut. Nonetheless, there is one notable difference. That is, when used predicatively, nouns agree with the subject in terms of person-number-gender, but adjectives do not. (This is con-

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2 What is referred to as "Past stem" (PS) is an allomorph of the verbal root. It was originally a past stem but has lost its tense function. The past suffix *-k-* (or the zero suffix in the third person) is attached to it.

trary to what would be expected on the basis of the agreement hierarchy proposed by Comrie (1975), according to which adjectives are more likely to exhibit agreement with the subject than nouns are.)

4 Types of sentences and clauses

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

In terms of the type of the predicate, sentences in Kurux can be – roughly speaking – classified into three groups: verb-predicate sentences, e.g. (6), adjective-predicate sentences, e.g. (7), and noun-predicate sentences, e.g. (8) (although the distinction between nouns and adjectives is not clear; cf. Section 3). Adjective-predicate sentences and noun-predicate sentences obligatorily contain a copula verb.

(6) *a: kukko-s   dʰanhu-n hocc-as*
    that boy-M.SG.NOM bow-ACC take.PS-PST.3SG.M
    'That boy took the bow.'

(7) *a: kukko-s   sanni: raʔ-das*
    that boy-M.SG.NOM small COP-PRS.3SG.M
    'That boy is small.'[3]

(8) *ni:n   daw a:l-ay   tal-day*
    2SG.NOM good man-2SG.M COP-PRS.2SG.M
    'You are a good man.'

4.2 Subordinate clauses

We shall look at adnominal clauses (or relative clauses) (4.2.1) and adverbial clauses (4.2.2). Many previous studies of Modern Standard Japanese regard its MMC as a structure containing an adnominal clause. (However, Tsunoda (this volume-b, Section 6) shows that the MMC of Modern Standard Japanese does not contain an adnominal clause. See 6.1 below.) In view of this, it is important to look at adnominal clauses in Kurux. Also it is useful to consider adverbial clauses in Kurux. First,

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3 Recall that the distinction between nouns and adjectives is not clear-cut, and also that, when used predicatively, nouns agree with the subject in terms of person-number-gender, but adjectives do not. In (7), *sanni:* can agree with the subject and, when it does, it has a nominal meaning: *a: kukko-s sanni-s raʔ-das* 'that boy-M youngest.one-3SG.M be-3SG.M' 'That boy is the youngest one.'

superficially at least, it looks as if adverbial clauses contain an adnominal clause. Second, the word *caḍḍeː*, which can be used as a noun ('necessity') and can be used in the MMC, can also be used as a subordinating conjunction ('because').

4.2.1 Adnominal clauses

4.2.1.1 Introductory notes

For the purpose of the present chapter, particularly, for the comparison conducted in Section 6, it is convenient to classify adnominal clauses ("ACs") (or relative clauses) of Kurux as follows.

(a) ACs of the correlative type (4.2.1.2).
(b) ACs of the gap type
    (b-1) Involving a finite verb and a deictic (or a demonstrative) (4.2.1.3).
    (b-2) Involving a verbal noun or a verbal adjective (4.2.1.4).
(c) ACs of the addition type (4.2.1.5).

Teramura (1969) divides ACs of Modern Standard Japanese into two types. Tsunoda (this volume-b, 4.2.2) proposes to label these two types as "gap type" and "addition type". Kurux has both of these two types of ACs.

4.2.1.2 ACs of the correlative type

See Keenan (1985: 163–168) for a characterization of the correlative strategy. In Kurux, this strategy involves an interrogative pronoun and the distal deictic ('that') (Kobayashi & Tirkey 2017: 194–196). The latter functions as a resumptive pronoun. These ACs are head-internal. The verbs employed are in a finite form. Examples follow. The literal translations are based on the literal translation of a Hindi sentence given by Keenan (1985: 164). Compare (9) with (10) and (11). The subject is relativized in (10), and the direct object is relativized in (11).

(9) *aː*   *kukko-s*   *put^{h}i-n*   *bac-das*
     that   boy-M.SG.NOM   book-ACC   read-PRS.3SG.M
     'That boy reads a book.'

(10) *ekaː*   *kukko-s*   *put^{h}i-n*   *bac'c-as*   *aːs*
      which   boy-M.SG.NOM   book-ACC   read.PS-PST.3SG.M   that.M.NOM
      LT: 'which boy read a book, that'
      FT: 'the boy who read a book'.

(11) *eka: putʰi: i: kukko-s bac'c-as a:d*
which book this boy-M.SG.NOM read.PS-PST.3SG.M that.NM.NOM
LT: 'which book this boy read, that'
FT: 'the book that this boy read'

Another example of correlative-type ACs:

(12) *e:n eka: orto-s-gane kacʰnakʰrʔ-a:lagkan a:s ne:la:*
1SG.NOM which one-M-with talk-PST.PROG.1SG that.M.NOM tomorrow
pa:kuɽ ka:l-os
Pakur go-FUT.3SG.M
LT: 'I was talking to which one, that will go to Pakur tomorrow.'
FT: 'The man I was talking to will go to Pakur tomorrow.'

4.2.1.3 ACs of the gap type (1), involving a finite verb and the distal deictic ('that')

The formation of ACs of the gap type employs the gap strategy. The head noun corresponds to an argument or an adjunct of the AC. Gap-type ACs precede the noun they modify. That is, they are head-external. Gap-type ACs can be divided into two subtypes. One of these two subtypes involves a finite verb and the distal deictic ('that') (Kobayashi & Tirkey 2017: 196). Compare (13) with (14) and (15). The subject is relativized in (14), and the direct object is relativized in (15).

(13) *a: kukko-s putʰi-n bacʔ-a:lgyas*
that boy-M.SG.NOM book-ACC read-PST.PROG.3SG.M.
'The boy was reading a book.'

(14) *e:n putʰi-n bacʔ-a:lgyas a: kukko-sin*
1SG.NOM book-ACC read-PST.PROG.3SG.M that boy-M.SG.ACC
i:r-kan
see.PS-PST.1SG
'I saw the boy who was reading a book.'

(15) *e:n a: kukko-s bacʔ-a:lgyas a: putʰi-n*
1SG.NOM that boy-M.SG.NOM read-PST.PROG.3SG.M that book-ACC
i:r-kan
see.PS-PST.1SG
'I saw the book that the boy was reading.'

4.2.1.4 ACs of the gap type (2), involving a verbal noun or a verbal adjective

These are ACs of the other subtype of the gap type. As is the case with the first subtype of the gap type, ACs of this subtype precede the noun they modify, that is,

they are head-external. The predicate of the ACs of this subtype may be either a verbal noun, e.g. (16), or a verbal adjective, e.g. (17), (18) and (19) (Kobayashi & Tirkey 2017: 192–194). Of the three types of verbal adjectives (cf. Table 1), the past verbal adjective (-*ka:*), e.g. (17) and (18), and the present verbal adjective (-*u:*), e.g. (19), can modify a noun. The past verbal adjective refers to completed actions, e.g. (17) and (18), while the present verbal adjectives describe uncompleted actions, e.g. (19). In (16), (17) and (19), the subject is relativized, and in (18) the direct object is relativized. When a verbal noun is used as the predicate of ACs of any type, it does not concern the completion/non-completion of the action described. See (16) and (21).

(16) *ko:ḍarma: ka:-na: re:lga:ɽi:*
Koderma go-VBN train
'a train which goes to Koderma'   (Kobayashi & Tirkey 2017: 193)

(17) *e:n putʰi(-n) bacac-ka: a: kukko-sin i:r-kan*
1SG.NOM book(-ACC) read.PS-PST.VADJ that boy-M.SG.ACC see.PS-PST.1SG
'I saw the boy who had read a book.'

(18) *e:n a: kukko-s bacac-ka: putʰi-n i:r-kan*
1SG.NOM that boy-M.SG.NOM read.PS-PST.VADJ book-ACC see.PS-PST.1SG
'I saw the book that the boy had read.'

(19) *e:n putʰi(-n) bacʔ-u: a: kukko-sin i:r-kan*
1SG.NOM book(-ACC) read-PRS.VADJ that boy-M.SG.ACC see.PS-PST.1SG
'I saw the boy who {read/was reading/was going to read} a book.'

4.2.1.5 ACs of the addition type

ACs of the addition type are head-external, like ACs of the gap type. The verb of addition-type ACs may be a verbal noun, e.g. (21), a verbal adjective, or a finite form. In ACs of the gap type, the head noun is (or corresponds to) an argument or an adjunct of the AC. For example, in each of (17) and (19), the head noun 'the boy' corresponds to the subject of the AC. In contrast, in ACs of the addition type, the head noun is not an argument or an adjunct of the AC and the AC is appositional to the head noun. Compare (20) and (21). In (21), the head noun of the AC is *kattha:* 'story, rumor'. Note that *kattha:* 'story, rumor' is absent in (20); it is not an argument or an adjunct of 'the man is buying a house'.

(20) *a: a:l-as eɽpa-n xe:nd-a:lagdas*
that man-M house-ACC buy-PRS.PROG.3SG.M
'The man is buying a house.'

(21) e:n a: a:l-as-gahi eṛpa-n xe:nd-na: kattha: meŋj-kan
  1SG.NOM that man-M-GEN house-ACC buy-VBN story hear.PS-PST.1SG
  'I heard a story/rumor that the man is buying (or bought) a house.'
  (Kobayashi & Tirkey 2017: 159)

In the AC of (21), *a:l-as-gahi* 'man-M-GEN' is the subject of *xe:nd-na:* 'buy-VBN'. That is, the subject of the AC in (21) is in the genitive case. The data available are limited, but it appears that, in ACs of the addition type, at least when the verb of the AC is a verbal noun, the subject of the AC is in the genitive case if it is human (e.g. (21); the consultant indicated to the effect that the nominative case is unacceptable), but that it is either in the nominative or in the genitive if it is nonhuman.

Most of the languages that have the MMC have ACs of the addition type (Tsunoda, this volume-a, 5.4). This applies to Kurux as well.

4.2.2 Adverbial clauses

The structure of adverbial clauses resembles that of an AC plus a noun. Roughly speaking, adverbial clauses can be divided into two types.

In one type of adverbial clauses, what may appear to be an AC precedes and modifies a noun. As is the case with the type of ACs discussed in 4.2.1.4, the predicate of the clause may be a verbal adjective, e.g. (22), (24), or a verbal noun, e.g. (23). The noun is often in the locative case, e.g. (22), (23). In (24), the word *caḍḍe:* functions as a subordinate conjunction and indicates cause/reason 'because'. It does not have any case suffix. (This word can be used as a noun (5.2.1-[2]) and in the MMC (5.2.2).)

(22) cando: arg-ka: bi:ri:-nu-m a:s cailker-as
  moon rise-PST.VADJ time-LOC-EMPH 3SG.M.NOM set.out.PS-PST.3SG.M
  LT: 'At the time the moon had risen, he set out.'
  FT: 'When the moon had risen, he set out.'

(23) bi:ṛi: putt-na: be:ṛa:-nu: cando-d argy-a: ker-a:
  sun set-VBN time-LOC moon-NM rise.PS-PST.3SG.NM PFV-PST.3SG.NM
  LT: 'At the time the sun had set, the moon rose.'
  FT: 'When the sun had set, the moon rose.'

(24) a:s-ge lu:r mal-ka: caḍḍe: a:s amm-an
  3SG.M-DAT wisdom be.not-PST.VADJ because 3SG.M.NOM water-ACC
  e:r-das ki ka:-das
  look-PRS.3SG.M and go-PRS.3SG.M
  LT: 'Because to him wisdom is not, he looks at water and goes.'
  FT: 'Because he has no intelligence, he sees water and goes away.'
  (Kobayashi & Tirkey 2017: 183)

In the other type of adverbial clauses, what appears to be an AC involves the correlative strategy (cf. 4.2.1.2). The adverbial clause precedes the main clause. The predicate of the adverbial clause is in a finite form.

(25) *ekʔam-biːri-m*   *iːdi xacr-oː:*   *aː-biːri-m*
whichever-time-EMPH this go.off-FUT.3SG.NM that-time-EMPH
kʰeʔ-oy   *kaːl-oy*
die-FUT.2SG go-FUT.2SG
LT: 'Whichever time this will go off, that time you will die (and) will go.'
FT: 'When this (string) goes off, you are going to die.'

(26) *ekanneː:*   *aːs*   *ukky-as*   *anne-m*   *xandr-as*
which.way 3SG.M.NOM sit.PS-PST.3SG.M that.way-EMPH sleep-PST.3SG.M
ker-as
PFV-PST.3SG.M
LT: 'Which way he sat, that way he slept.'
FT: 'As soon as he sat down, he fell asleep.'

5 Mermaid Construction

5.1 Introductory notes

As mentioned in Section 1, one noun (*caɖɖeː:* 'necessity') and two enclitics (=*madʰe* 'ADJ' (adjectivizer) and =*bese* 'like') are attested in the Noun slot of the Kurux MMC. It seems likely that the two enclitics were originally nouns and that they were borrowed into Kurux, which is a Dravidian language, from an Indo-Aryan language. We shall consider the MMC with *caɖɖeː:* 'necessity' in 5.2, the MMC with =*madʰe* in 5.3, and the MMC with =*bese* in 5.4. We shall compare these three types of the MMC in 5.5.

5.2 MMC involving the noun *caɖɖeː:* 'necessity'

The word *caɖɖeː:* can be used outside the MMC (5.2.1) and in the MMC (5.2.2).

5.2.1 *Caɖɖeː:* used outside the MMC

Outside the MMC, *caɖɖeː:* can be used as the noun 'necessity' and as the subordinating conjunction 'because'. It is convenient to look at its use as a conjunction first, followed by its use as a noun.

[1] *Caḍḍe:* used as the subordinating conjunction 'because'
The word *caḍḍe:* can function as a subordinating conjunction, indicating cause/ reason 'because' (Grignard 1924a: 121, 1924b, s. v.). The clause concerned is an adverbial clause. Its predicate is a verbal adjective. Examples include (24) and:

(27) *a:s   tamba-s-in   ilc-ka: caḍḍe:*
3SG.M.NOM own.father-M-ACC fear.PS-PST.VADJ because
boŋg-as   ker-as
run.away-PST.3SG.M PFV-PST.3SG.M
'Because he was scared of his father, he ran away.'   (Kobayashi & Tirkey 2017: 183)

As mentioned in Section 3, a phrase or a subordinate clause can be placed after the finite verb or the main clause when it is heavy or is in focus. Thus, the *caḍḍe:* clause in (27) can also occur after the main clause, as in:

(28) *a:s   boŋg-as   ker-as   tamba-s-in*
3SG.M.NOM run.away-PST.3SG.M PFV-PST.3SG.M own.father-M-ACC
ilc-ka: caḍḍe:
fear.PS-PST.VADJ because
'He ran away because he was scared of his father.'

[2] *Caḍḍe:* used as the noun 'necessity'
As mentioned 4.2.2, *caḍḍe:* can be used as a noun with the meaning of 'necessity', e.g.:

(29) *parab-nu: nam-a: caḍḍe: man-o:.   abṛa-n*
festival-LOC 1PL.INCL-DAT necessity.NM.NOM be-FUT.3SG.NM 3PL-ACC
xe:nd-a:
buy-IMP
LT: 'At the festival, to us necessity will be. Buy them.'
FT: 'Buy what we shall require for the feast.'

(The sentence above and the FT were provided by Grignard (1924b: 116).)

In (28) the word *caḍḍe:* is used as the subordinating conjunction 'because'. Now, when focus is placed on the *caḍḍe:* clause more explicitly, this clause can take the copula verb *raʔ-* (but not *tal-*), resulting in an independent sentence; see the second sentence of (30). Another example is the first sentence of (31). In (30) (the second sentence) and (31) (the first sentence), *caḍḍe:* is used as a noun; it is modified by an AC. It is glossed as 'because/necessity' in these two examples. (The ACs are shown with braces.)

(30) *a:s*   *boŋ-as*   *ker-as*
3SG.M.NOM run.away-PST.3SG.M PFV-PST.3SG.M
'He ran away.'

a:d   {*tamba-s-in*   *ilc-ka:*}   *caḍḍe:*
that.NM.NOM own.father-M-ACC fear.PS-PST.VADJ because/necessity
rahc-a:
COP.PS-PST.3SG.NM
Tentative LT: 'That was a necessity {such that (he) feared his father}.'
Tentative FT: 'That was because he was scared of his father.'

(31) *a:*   {*re:lga:ṛi:*   *bigṛa:r-ka:*}   *caḍḍe:*
that train.NM.NOM be.broken-PST.VADJ because/necessity
rahc-a:
COP.PS-PST.3SG.NM
Tentative LT: 'That was a necessity {such that the train was broken}.'
Tentative FT: 'It was because the train had a technical problem.'

aoŋge   *di:ri*   *maŋj-a:*
therefore delay become.PS-PST.3SG.NM
'Therefore, it became delayed.'

Each of the second sentence of (30) and the first sentence of (31) contains an AC of the addition type (cf. 4.2.1.5). That is, they are noun-predicate sentences whose predicate noun is modified by an AC.

[3] We have seen that *caḍḍe:* can be used as a subordinating conjunction with the meaning of 'because' and as a noun with the meaning of 'necessity'. It is interesting to note that there are usages that appear to bridge these two meanings of *caḍḍe:*, e.g.:

(32) *ender caḍḍe:*
what necessity
LT: 'What necessity?'
FT: 'Why?', 'For what?'

In (32), *caḍḍe:* appears to be used as a noun. Also, its meaning is similar to the meaning that it has when it is used as the subordinating conjunction 'because'.

5.2.2 *Caḍḍe:* 'necessity' used in the MMC

5.2.2.1 Example
The MMC with *caḍḍe:* 'necessity' indicates cause/reason. The predicate of the Clause of this MMC is a verbal adjective. At this stage of investigation, only one example has been found, i.e. (3), which is repeated below.

(3) (He ran away.)
   [*a:s-hi:*   *tamba-s-in*   *ilc-ka:*]   ***caḍḍe:***
   3SG.M-GEN own.father-M-ACC fear.PS-PST.VADJ necessity
   rahc-a:
   COP.PS-PST.3SG.NM
   LT: '[He feared his own father] a necessity was.'
   FT: 'It was because he was scared of his father.'

5.2.2.2 Comparison with other sentences
The MMC with *caḍḍe:* 'necessity' exhibits similarities to, and also differences from, some of the sentences examined above.

   (3) may look similar to the second sentence of (30) and the first sentence of (31). Note in particular that in all of them the word *caḍḍe:* is followed by a copula verb (*raʔ-*). However, there is an important difference. (3) is an instance of the MMC. It has the structure shown in (1), superficially at least.

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

In contrast, the second sentence of (30) and the first sentence of (31) do not have the structure shown in (1). As noted in 5.2.1-[2], they are noun-predicate sentences whose predicate noun is modified by an AC, to be precise, an AC of the addition type (cf. 4.2.1.5). In each of them, the AC is preceded by the subject of the entire sentence: *a:d* 'that.NM.NOM' in the second sentence of (30), and *a:* 'that' in the first sentence of (31).

   In (3), the subject of the Clause is in the genitive case ('3SG.M-GEN'). Likewise, in (21), in the AC of the addition type, the subject is in the genitive case ('man-M-GEN').

   In (3), the predicate of the Clause is a verbal adjective. In ACs of the addition type, the predicate may a verbal adjective, a verbal noun or a finite verb. (In the AC of (21), the verb is a verbal noun.)

   The Clause of (3) may look similar to the subordinate clause in (27) and that in (28) – minus *caḍḍe:* 'because'. However, there is an important difference. The subject in the Clause of (3) is in the genitive case ('3SG.M-GEN'), but the subject in the subordinate clause in (27) and that in (28) is in the nominative case ('3SG.M.NOM').

The four facts given above suggest that the MMC with *caḍḍe:* 'necessity' may have originated in a sentence that contains an AC of the addition type. Tsunoda (this volume (5.5-[1])) states that four other chapters in the present volume regard sentences with an AC as a likely source of the MMC in the respective languages. In particular, Shimoji (this volume, 4.2-[2], 5.2.6) on Irabu Ryukyuan suggests that the source structure is sentences with an AC of the addition type.

The data on the MMC with *caḍḍe:* 'necessity' are severely limited; there is only one example available. It seems that this MMC is not well established yet. If it is to become well established at all, it is at an incipient stage of its development as the MMC.

5.2.2.3 Status as independent sentences

It may be thought that (3), and also the second sentence of (30) and the first sentence of (31), are not independent sentences, but subordinate clauses whose main clause is elided. However, they are independent sentences. There are two pieces of evidence for this.

First, in these three sentences, *caḍḍe:* 'because' is followed by a copula verb. In contrast, subordinating conjunctions or the like are not followed by a copula verb; see 4.2.2. This applies even when *caḍḍe:* is used as a subordinating conjunction; see (24), (27) and (28).

Second, in these three sentences, the copula is in the past tense, that is, it is in a finite form. Finite forms can conclude a sentence. (In contrast, non-finite forms, such as verbal adjectives and verbal nouns (cf. Table 1), cannot.)

These two pieces of evidence show that these three sentences are independent sentences, not subordinate clauses whose main clause is elided.

I note in passing that the copula employed in these three sentences is *raʔ-*. (As noted in Section 3, *tal-* is used to describe permanent properties, and *raʔ-* is used for temporary properties and states.)

The MMC shown in (3) has close parallels in Modern Standard Japanese. The MMC of Modern Standard Japanese whose Noun slot is occupied by the noun *wake* 'cause, reason' or the enclitic nominalizer *=no* may indicate cause/reason or provide an explanation (cf. Tsunoda, this volume-b, 5.1.3-[3], 5.1.4).

Modern Standard Japanese:
(33) *Hanako=wa   issyokenmee benkyoo-si-te i-ru*
　　　Hanako=TOP very.hard　　study-do-GNF be-NPST
　　　'Hanako is studying very hard.'

　　　[*Gookaku-si-ta-i*]　　　　　**wake**=*da*
　　　passing-do-DESID-NPST reason=COP.NPST
　　　LT: '[(She) wants to pass (an examination)] a reason is.'
　　　FT: 'This is because (she) wants to pass (an examination).'

(or [*Gookaku-si-ta-i*]=**no**=*da*
passing-do-DESID-NPST=NMLZ=COP.NPST
LT: '[(She) wants to pass (an examination)] NMLZ is.'
FT: 'This is because (she) wants to pass (an examination).'

The second sentence of (33) – of either version – is an independent sentence, not a subordinate clause whose main clause is elided. It is an instance of the MMC.

5.2.2.4 Modification of the Noun

It seems that the noun in the Noun slot of this MMC, i.e. *caḍḍe:* 'necessity', cannot be modified. Compare (3) with (34). In (34), *caḍḍe:* 'necessity' is intended to be modified by *endraʔam* 'some'. (It is difficult to provide a free translation of (34).) ("MK" indicates that this sentence was composed by me (Masato Kobayashi) and that it has not been checked with a Kurux speaker.)

(34) (He ran away.)
*[*a:s-hi: tamba-s-in   ilc-ka:*]   *endraʔam* **caḍḍe:**
3SG.M-GEN own.father-M-ACC fear.PS-PST.VADJ some   necessity
rahc-a:
COP.PS-PST.3SG.NM (MK)
LT: '[He feared his own father] some necessity was.'

5.2.2.5 Can the Clause of the MMC be used as a sentence by itself?

One of the five properties of the prototype of the MMC as proposed by Tsunoda (this volume-a) (listed in Section 1 above) is the following.

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

The Clause of the MMC with *caḍḍe:* 'necessity' cannot be used as a sentence by itself. There are two reasons for this. First, as noted in 5.2.2.1, the verb in the Clause of the MMC with *caḍḍe:* 'necessity' is a verbal adjective. Verbal adjectives are non-finite forms, not finite forms (Table 1). Consequently, the Clause of this MMC cannot be used as a sentence by itself. Second, in independent sentences the subject is in the nominative case, e.g. (6) to (8). However, the subject of the Clause of the MMC with *caḍḍe:* 'necessity' is in the genitive case. Compare (3) with:

(35) **a:s-hi: tamba-s-in   ilc-ka:*
3SG.M-GEN own.father-M-ACC fear.PS-PST.VADJ (MK)
IM: 'He was scared of his father.'

5.2.2.6 Sentencehood of the Clause of the MMC

The Clause of the MMC with *caḍḍe:* 'necessity' lacks certain properties of independent sentences. For example, its verb is a verbal adjective, and it is a non-finite form, not a finite form. As another example, its subject is in the genitive form, not in the nominative form. For these reasons, the Clause of the MMC with *caḍḍe:* 'necessity' cannot be used as a sentence by itself. As an additional example, sentence-final particles, such as *hot?an* 'it seems', can occur at the end of independent sentences, e.g. (36). However, they cannot occur in the Clause of the MMC with *caḍḍe:*; see (37).

(36) *a:s   boŋ-as   ki   eṛpa: cailker-as   hot?an*
     3SG.M.NOM run-PST.3SG and house go.away.PS-PST.3SG it.seems
     'He seems to have run away and gone home.'

(37) **[a:s-hi: tamba-s-in   ilc-ka: hot?an]* **caḍḍe:**
     3SG.M-GEN own.father-M-ACC fear.PS-PST.VADJ it.seems necessity
     rahc-a:
     COP.PS-PST.3SG.NM (MK)
     IM: 'It was because he seems to have been scared of his father.'

5.2.3 Etymology of *caḍḍe:* 'necessity'

The etymology of *caḍḍe:* is not transparent. On the one hand, *caḍḍe:* looks like a borrowing of the Sadri postposition *ca:ḍe* 'because of' (Jordan-Horstmann 1969: 150). (Recall that Sadri is an Indo-Aryan language, not a Dravidian language; see Section 3.) However, *caḍḍe:* also seems to be related to the Kurux and Sadri noun *ca:ɣ*, which means 'necessity' in Kurux and 'longing' in Sadri.

5.3 MMC involving the enclitic *=madʰe:* 'nominalizer/adjectivizer'

5.3.1 Introductory notes

The enclitic *=madʰe:* (Grignard 1924a: 119, 1924b, s. v., Kobayashi & Tirkey 2017: 109) serves as a nominalizer and also an adjectivizer. (It is glossed as 'NMLZ' (nominalizer) or as 'ADJ' (adjectivizer).) It is attached to nouns and NPs, deictics (or demonstratives), adjectives, genitive forms of pronouns, verbal nouns, and verbal adjectives, and it forms adjectives, adjectival phrases, nouns and NPs. These uses will be examined in 5.3.2. When it is attached to a verbal adjective or a verbal noun, the resulting construction can be considered the MMC. This use will be considered in 5.3.3.

In (39), =*mad^he:* is added to not just a word but to an NP (*ṭu:pi: ar casma:* 'cap and glasses'). The resultant form (*ṭu:pi: ar casma:=mad^he:* 'wearing a cap and glasses') is not just an adjective but an adjectival phrase.

Since =*mad^he:* can be attached to a coordinate structure, e.g. (39), we analyze =*mad^he:* not as a suffix but as an enclitic.

5.3.2 =*mad^he:* used outside the MMC

Outside the MMC, =*mad^he:* can be used as follows.

[1] =*mad^he* attached to nouns and NPs
When combined with nouns/NPs, =*mad^he:* forms adjectives or adjectival phrases meaning 'having ..., characterized by ...', e.g. (38), (39), (40), or nouns or NPs meaning '... thing/people' or '... and the like', e.g. (41).

(38) *a: ṭu:pi:=mad^he: kukko-s   eŋgda-s   hik-das*
       that cap=ADJ   boy-M.NOM my.son-M.NOM COP-PRS.3SG.M
       'That boy wearing a cap is my son.'   (Kobayashi & Tirkey 2017: 197)

(39) *a: ṭu:pi: ar   casma:=mad^he: kukko-s*
       that cap   and glasses=ADJ   boy-M.NOM
       'that boy wearing a cap and glasses'

(40) *i:d   casma:=mad^he: duka:n hike*
       this.NM.NOM glasses=ADJ   shop   COP.PRS.3SG.NM
       'This is an optician's shop.'

(41) *xadd=mad^he-r   be:c-a:lagnar*
       child=NMLZ-PL.NOM play-PRS.PROG.3PL
       'Children are playing.'

[2] =*mad^he* attached to deictics (or demonstratives)
With deictics, such as *a:* 'that' or *i:* 'this', =*mad^he:* means 'that one, this one'.

(42) *nam-hay   ṭre:n bar?-a:lagi: i:=mad^he: hike*
       1PL.INCL-GEN train come-PRS.PROG.3SG.NM this=NMLZ COP.PRS.3SG.NM
       'Our train is this coming one.'

[3] =*mad^he* attached to adjectives
When combined with adjectives, =*mad^he:* forms nouns/NPs meaning 'a ... one' and adjectives/adjectival phrases meaning 'somewhat ...'.

(43) *seya:n=mad^he: baʔ-a:lagi:*
    young=NMLZ   say-PRS.PROG.3SG.NM
    '(Among the birds,) the younger ones speak (as follows).'[4]

(44) *mu:li:-tara mo:ʈ=mad^he: ɖa:ɽa-n   k^haɳɖ-a: helr-as*
    root-side   thick=ADJ   bough-ACC cut-INF start-PST.3SG.M
    'He started cutting a somewhat big bough at its root.'

    [4] *=mad^he* attached to genitive forms of pronouns
When *=mad^he:* is placed after genitive forms of pronouns, it produces possessive pronouns.

(45) *i: casma: eŋ-hay=mad^he-d   hike*
    this glasses 1SG-GEN=NMLZ-NM.NOM COP.PRS.3SG.NM
    'These glasses are mine (lit. my ones).'

    [5] *=mad^he* attached to verbal nouns (*-na:*)
When combined with verbal nouns (*-na:*) (cf. Table 1), *=mad^he:* forms adjectives or adjectival phrases meaning 'for ...ing'. They can also be used as nouns.

(46) (Pointing to powder creamer:)
    i: dudhi: ca:h-nu: saj-na:=mad^he: hike
    this milk.NM.NOM tea-LOC put-VBN=ADJ   COP.PRS.3SG.NM
    'This milk is for putting in tea.'

    [6] *=mad^he* attached to verbal adjectives
When combined with verbal adjectives (cf. Table 1), *=mad^he:* forms nouns or NPs meaning 'that which ..., one who ...' and adjectives or adjectival phrases that function like an adnominal clause.

(47) *eɽpa: mal-ka:=mad^he-r   bagge: raʔ-nar*
    house be.not-PST.VADJ=NMLZ-PL many COP-PRS.3PL
    LT: 'Those for whom a house is non-existent are many.'
    FT: 'Homeless people are numerous' or 'There are many homeless people.'

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4 Non-human referents are referred to by the singular form regardless of their actual number.

5.3.3 *=madʰeː* used in the MMC

5.3.3.1 Introductory notes and examples

Some (though not all) of the sentences that contain a verbal adjective or a verbal noun combined *=madʰeː* may be regarded as instances of the MMC, e.g. (4) (verbal adjective), (48) (verbal noun), (49) (verbal noun) and (52) (verbal adjective). *=madʰe* is tentatively glossed as 'ADJ' (adjectivizer). This MMC expresses 'something/some-one has the property of …ing', 'is scheduled to …', 'is supposed to …', 'plans to', or 'is going to …'. The meaning is aspectual or modal. (The meaning 'has the property of …ing' is similar to that of habitual, and it may be considered a type of aspectual meaning.)

(48) [*iː reːlgaːɽiː   koːḍarmaː kaː-naː*]=***madʰeː*** *hike*
    this train.NM.NOM Koderma go-VBN=ADJ   COP.PRS.3SG.NM
    LT: '[This train goes (to) Koderma] ADJ is'.
    FT: 'This train is scheduled to go to Koderma' or 'This train is a Koderma-bound one.'

(49) [*iː pocgoː   kaŋk   moːx-naː*]=***madʰeː*** *hike*
    this weevil.NM.NOM wood.NM.ACC eat-VBN=ADJ   COP.PRS.3SG.NM
    LT: '[This weevil eats wood] ADJ is.'
    FT: 'This weevil is a wood eater.'

5.3.3.2 Status as the MMC

Note that *=madʰeː* is attached to a word or a phrase in (38) to (46). In contrast, in (4), (47), (48), (49) and (52) it is not just attached to a word or a phrase. It is attached to a clause. That is, *=madʰeː* is attached to the following clauses: (4) 'this train goes (to) Koderma', (47) 'a house is non-existent', (48) 'this train goes (to) Koderma', (49) 'this weevil eats wood', and (52) 'I go'.

    Sentences (4), (47), (48), (49) and (52) may appear to have the same structure. However, (47) on one hand and (4), (48), (49) and (52) on the other have different structures, as shown below.

(a) (47):   Clause=*madʰeː*   Adjective   Copula.
(b) (4), (48), (49), (52): Clause=*madʰeː*   Copula.

In (a), *=madʰeː* is followed by an adjective, which in turn is followed by a copula verb. That is, (a) is an instance of adjective-predicate sentences, like (7). In contrast, in (b) *=madʰeː* is immediately followed by a copula verb, without any adjective. It is not an instance of adjective-predicate sentences. Nor is it an instance of verb-predicate sentences (cf. (6)) or noun-predicate sentences (cf. (8)). The structure shown in (b) needs to be recognized as a separate sentence type.

As seen in Section 1, in the prototype of the MMC, the Noun slot (cf. (1)) is occupied by a noun that is an independent word (not a clitic). See the property (b): "The Noun is an independent word (not a clitic) that is a noun". In non-prototypical instances of the MMC, the Noun slot may be occupied by an enclitic or a suffix which derives from a noun. As we shall see in 5.3.4, the enclitic =*mad^he:* probably derives from a noun. Because this enclitic probably derives from a noun and because (4), (48), (49) and (52) contain a copula verb, the enclitic =*mad^he:* may be regarded as occupying the Noun slot of the MMC. In view of this, these sentences may be considered instances of the MMC, although they are not prototypical. The Noun slot is occupied not by an independent noun, but by an enclitic.

The above shows that there is evidence to regard the MMC with =*mad^he:* as a construction separate from verb-predicate sentences, adjective-predicate sentences, and noun-predicate sentences.

The copula verb (cf. Section 3) employed here may be *tal-* (used for permanent properties) or *ra?-* (used for temporary properties or states), e.g. (52). It may also be *hik-*, e.g. (4), (48), (49). (The copula *hik-* is the Sadri equivalent of the Kurux *tal-* (used for permanent properties). (Sadri is an Indo-Aryan language, which is the lingua franca of the region. See Section 3.)

Sentences such as (4), (48), (49) and (52) resemble the type of the Modern Standard Japanese MMC that contains the enclitic =*no* in the Noun slot. This enclitic may be considered a nominalizer (although it may be regarded as the genitive case marker, a non-content noun, or a complementizer). See Tsunoda (this volume-b, 5.1.4). Note that =*mad^he* functions as a nominalizer (and also as an adjectivizer). An example of the Modern Standard Japanese MMC with the enclitic =*no* is in (33) above. (As noted in 5.2.2.3, the Modern Standard Japanese MMC with the enclitic nominalizer =*no* (or the noun *wake* 'cause, reason') may indicate cause/reason or provide an explanation.)

5.3.3.3 Can the Clause of the MMC be used as a sentence by itself?

As noted in 5.3.3.1, the verb of the Clause of the MMC with =*mad^he:* is a verbal adjective or a verbal noun. Verbal adjectives and verbal nouns are non-finite forms, not finite forms (Table 1). Consequently, the Clause of this MMC cannot be used as a sentence by itself. As an example, compare (48) with:

(50) **i: re:lga:ɽi: ko:ɖarma: ka:-na:*
       this train   Koderma   go-VBN
       IM: 'This train goes (to) Koderma.'

5.3.3.4 Sentencehood of the Clause of the MMC

The Clause of the MMC with =*mad^he:* lacks certain properties of independent sentences. For example, as noted in 5.3.3.3, the verb of the Clause of the MMC with

=*madʰeː* is a verbal adjective or a verbal noun. It is a non-finite form, not a finite form. Consequently, the Clause cannot be used as a sentence by itself. As another example, sentence-final particles, such as *hotʔan* 'it seems', can occur at the end of independent sentences, e.g. (36). However, they cannot occur in the Clause of the MMC with =*madʰeː*. See (51).

(51) *[*ìː reːlgaːɽìː   koːɖarmaː kaː-naː   hotʔan*]=**madʰeː***
     this train.NM.NOM Koderma   go-VBN it seems =ADJ
     hike
     COP.PRS.3SG.NM (MK)
     IM: 'This train seems to be scheduled to go to Koderma.'

5.3.3.5 Comparison with the Hindi enclitic *=vaalaa*

Hindi, which is an Indo-Aryan language, has the enclitic =*vaalaa*. (It is relevant to note that both Kurux and Hindi are SOV languages.) Imamura (this volume, Section 1 and 5.1.3.1) notes that =*vaalaa* has two uses. In one use, it forms noun phrases and adjective phrases that mean 'the one who/which does/is …'. In the other use, it occupies the Noun slot of the MMC; that is, it is used in the MMC. This MMC indicates (i) 'be about to' (an aspectual meaning), (ii) schedule, intention (a modal meaning) or (iii) the speaker's firm belief about the occurrence/non-occurrence of a situation (a modal meaning). The verb that precedes =*vaalaa* occurs in the infinitive form. (See Imamura (this volume) for further discussion. He considers =*vaalaa* an enclitic, and not a suffix, and I have tentatively adopted his view. (Like the Kurux enclitic =*madʰeː*, the Hindi enclitic =*vaalaa* can be attached to a coordinate structure like that in (39).) According to Imamura (this volume) =*vaalaa* is said to derive from the Sanskrit noun *paalaka* 'guardian, protector; one who maintains or observes'.)

As can be seen, the uses of the Kurux =*madʰeː* largely overlap those of the Hindi =*vaalaa*. However, there is one important difference. In the MMC, the Kurux =*madʰeː* may be omitted when referring to a planned future action (Kobayashi & Tirkey 2017: 197). (This is probably because there is an old usage of the present verbal adjective (-*uː*) denoting planned future action by itself.) Compare (52) and (53). In contrast, the Hindi =*vaalaa* is mandatory in the MMC; see (54).

(52) Kurux
     [*eːn   kaːl-uː*]=**madʰeː**   *rahac-kan*
     1SG.NOM go-PRS.VADJ-ADJ COP.PS-PST.1SG
     LT: '[I go] ADJ was.'
     FT: 'I was going to go/planning to go.'

(53) Kurux

    [eːn   kaːl-uː]   rahac-kan

    1SG.NOM go-PRS.VADJ COP.PS-PST.1SG

    LT: '[I go] was.'

    FT: 'I was going to go/planning to go.'

(54) Hindi

    [mɛ̃   jaa-ne]=**vaalaa**   tʰaa

    1SG.NOM go-INF=ADJ.SG.M COP.PST.SG.M

    FT: 'I was going to go/planning to go.'

The example (53) is an instance of an uncommon type of the MMC in which the Noun slot (cf. Section 1) is empty. Among the languages investigated in the present volume, apart from Kurux, this phenomenon is reported from Old and Early Middle Japanese (Miyachi, this volume, 7.4) only; Miyachi sets up the zero-type MMC. To show clearly that (53) is an instance of the zero-type MMC, it may be shown as follows.

(55) [eːn   kaːl-uː]=**Ø**   rahac-kan

    1SG.NOM go-PRS.VADJ=ZERO COP.PS-PST.1SG

    LT: '[I go] ZERO was.'

    FT: 'I was going to go/planning to go.'

5.3.4 Etymology of *=madʰeː*

A Dravidian etymological dictionary by Burrow & Emeneau (1984) does not suggest any Dravidian etymology for *=madʰeː*. There is no cognate of *=madʰeː* in Malto, which is genetically the closet to Kurux. However, the following Kurux example, which I have found in a narrative, gives a clue as to its original meaning:

(56) *aː   madʰeː-nuː   oɳʈaː kõhaː luːrgar   rahc-aː*

    that middle-LOC one big   intelligent COP.PS-PST.3SG.NM

    'Among them, there was one big, intelligent (bird).'

Grignard's (1924b: 470) Kurux dictionary gives 'from among' as the meanings of *=madʰeː*. If the original meaning of *=madʰeː* is 'middle', it agrees with the Sanskrit *mádʰya-* 'middle', the entry 9804 in Turner's *A comparative dictionary of Indo-Aryan languages* (Turner 1962–1966: 563). Sadri has a postposition *madʰe* 'in the middle of, near' aside from *majʰe* 'id.' (Jordan-Horstmann 1969: 167), and this is

the likeliest source of Kurux =*madʰe*.[5] These facts suggest that =*madʰe:* is probably a loan from an Indo-Aryan language and also that it was introduced into Kurux after the divergence of Kurux and Malto.

Recall also that the uses of the Kurux =*madʰe:* largely overlap those of the Hindi =*vaalaa* and that Hindi has the MMC with =*vaalaa* (cf. 5.3.3.5). Furthermore, both are enclitics. These facts suggest that the MMC diffused into Kurux – by structural borrowing.

5.4 MMC involving the enclitic *=bese:* 'like'

5.4.1 Introductory notes

The enclitic =*bese:* can follow (i) adjectives and adjectival phrases, (ii) nouns and NPs, and (iii) verbs: verbal adjectives, verbal nouns, and finite forms. Like =*madʰe:*, =*bese:* can be attached to coordinate structures, and we analyze it as an enclitic.

The enclitic =*bese:* can be used in the MMC. This MMC has an evidential meaning – generally, evidence based on direct observation. It can be translated as 'X looks/appears/seems …', 'It looks as if' or 'X is like'. The enclitic =*bese:* is glossed as 'like' in the following examples.

The predicate of the Clause of this MMC may be a verbal adjective (a non-finite form), e.g. (58), or a verbal noun (a non-finite form), e.g. (5), (59), (69) to (72). It may also be a finite verb, e.g. (57) (past), (60) (past), (63) (past), (67) (future), (68) (present).

The enclitic =*bese:* can be used with the copula verb *raʔ-* (the copula used for temporary properties; cf. Section 3), e.g. (5) and (57). But it is commonly used with an intransitive verb of perception, such as *e:tʰrʔ-* 'to look', e.g. (58) to (60), (63), (67), (70), *mendrʔ-* 'to sound', e.g. (68), (71), (72), or *lag-* 'to feel', e.g. (69). That is, it can be used in the following two structures.

(a) Clause=*bese:*   copula.
(b) Clause=*bese:*   look/sound/feel.

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5 As the Middle and New Indo-Aryan forms cited by Turner show, the Old Indo-Aryan cluster *-dʰy-* usually develops into *-(j)jʰ-* in most Indo-Aryan languages after Middle Indo-Aryan. The native lexicon of New Indo-Aryan languages consists of words that have undergone sound changes, but also words directly borrowed from older languages, typically Sanskrit (Beames 1872–1879: 11). Thus Bengali has *mājʰe*, which has undergone the phonological change in question, is now obsolete, and *madʰye* [moddʰe], which is a borrowing from Sanskrit, is commonly used in the sense of 'middle' (though not as a nominalizer or an adjectivizer). This Sadri doublet might reflect similar borrowing inside Indo-Aryan.

(a) is an instance of the MMC. See (1) in Section 1. (b), too, can be regarded as an instance of the MMC. It is a non-prototypical instance in that the Copula slot is occupied not by a copula but by some other word. Tsunoda (this volume-a, 3.2.2) notes that, in non-prototypical instances of the MMC, the Copula slot may be occupied by a word which is similar to a copula, e.g. the verb for 'become' in Modern Standard Japanese (Tsunoda, this volume-b, 5.2), and an adjective (e.g. 'same') in Korean (Kim, this volume, 5.1). The Kurux examples involving an intransitive perception verb are additional instances.

Both (a) and (b) are non-prototypical MMCs in that the Noun slot is occupied by an enclitic, not an independent noun. See the property (b) of the prototype of the MMC, shown in Section 1.

5.4.2 Examples

Examples of (a) in 5.4.1 include (5) and:

(57) [*a:s*   *urmi-n*   *mo:d^{h}r-as*]=***bese:***   *raʔ-das*
      3SG.M.NOM everything-ACC forget-PST.3SG.M=like COP-PRS.3SG.M
      LT: '[He forgot everything] like is.'
      FT: 'It looks like/as if he has forgotten everything.'

The copula that is used in the MMC with =*bese:* is *raʔ-*, e.g. (5) and (57). This copula describes temporary properties. The copula used is not *tal-* or *hik-*, both of which denote permanent properties. That is, this MMC concerns temporary properties, not permanent properties.

Examples of (b) in 5.4.1 include (58) to (60).

(58) [*cẽ:p*   *poss-ka:*]=***bese:***   *e:t^{h}rʔ-a:lagi:*
      rain.NM.NOM fall.PS-PST.VADJ=like look-PRS.PROG.3SG.NM
      LT: '[Rain fell] like looks.'
      FT: 'It looks like it rained.'

(59) [*cẽ:p*   *poy-na:*]=***bese:*** *e:t^{h}rʔ-a:lagi:*
      rain.NM.NOM fall-VBN=like   look-PRS.PROG.3SG.NM
      LT: '[Rain falls] like looks.'
      FT: 'It looks like it is going to rain.'

(60) [*cẽ:p*   *poss-a:*]=***bese:***   *e:t^{h}rʔ-a:lagi:*
      rain.NM.NOM fall.PS-PST.3SG.NM=like look-PRS.PROG.3SG.NM
      LT: '[Rain fell] like looks.'
      FT: 'It looks like it rained.'

5.4.3 Can the Clause of the MMC be used as a sentence by itself?

As noted in 5.4.1, the predicate of the Clause of the MMC with =*bese:* can be a verbal adjective, a verbal noun or a finite verb. When the predicate of the Clause is a finite verb, the Clause can be used as a sentence by itself. For example, compare (57) (past) with (61) (past). Otherwise, the Clause cannot be used as a sentence by itself. For example, compare (59) (a verbal noun) with (62) (a verbal noun).

(61) *a:s*   *urmi-n*   *mo:dʰr-as*
  3SG.M.NOM everything-ACC forget-PST.3SG.M
  'He forgot everything.'

(62) **cẽːp poy-na:*
  rain fall-VBN
  IM: 'It rains.'

5.4.4 Sentencehood of the Clause of the MMC

The Clause of the MMC with =*bese:* 'like' has a larger number of properties of independent sentences than that of the MMC with *caḍḍe:* 'necessity' and that of the MMC with =*madʰe:* 'ADJ'.

  Thus, in the MMC with *caḍḍe:*, the predicate of the Clause is a verbal adjective (a non-finite form) (5.2.2.1) and the Clause cannot be used as a sentence by itself (5.2.2.5). In the MMC with =*madʰe:*, the predicate of the Clause is a verbal adjective or a verbal noun (a non-finite form) (5.3.3.1), and the Clause cannot be used as a sentence by itself (5.3.3.3). In contrast, in the MMC with =*bese:*, the predicate of the Clause may be a verbal adjective or a verbal noun, but it may also be a finite verb. When the predicate is a finite verb, the Clause can be used as a sentence by itself, with no restriction at all. Compare (57) (past) and (61) (past).

  As another example, in the MMC with *caḍḍe:* (5.2.2.6) and in the MMC with =*madʰe:* (5.3.3.4), sentence-final particles may not occur in the Clause. In contrast, in the MMC with =*bese:*, sentence-final particles may occur in the Clause, e.g. (63).

(63) [*a:s*   *urmi-n*   *mo:dʰr-as*   *hotʔan*]=***bese:***
  3SG.M.NOM everything-ACC forget-PST.3SG.M it.seems=like
  e:tʰer-das
  look-PRS.3SG.M
  'He looks like/as if he seems to have forgotten everything.'

We have seen that the Clause of the MMC with *=bese:* has a higher degree of sentencehood than that of the MMC with *caḍḍe:* and that of the MMC with *=madʰe:*. Nonetheless, the Clause of the MMC with *=bese:* does not have a full status of an independent sentence. For example, the predicate can be in the imperative form in independent sentences, e.g. (64). In contrast, the imperative form is unacceptable in the Clause of the MMC with *=bese:*. See (65). (For that matter, the imperative form is unacceptable in the Clause of every type of the MMC.)

(64) *ḍaṇḍi: pa:ɽ-a:*
     song.NM.ACC[6] sing-IMP.M
     'Sing a song!'

(65) *[ḍaṇḍi: pa:ɽ-a:]=bese*
     song.NM.ACC sing-IMP.M=like
     (Untranslatable)

5.4.5 Other examples of *=bese:* 'like'

Recall that the prototype of the MMC has the structure shown in (1) (Section 1) – superficially at least.

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

Recall also that (5.4.1) the MMC with *=bese:* is of two types:

(a) Clause=*bese:*   copula.
(b) Clause=*bese:*   look/sound/feel.

Now, there are examples of *=bese:* 'like' that have a structure similar to (b):

(66) NP   Clause=*bese:*   look/sound/feel.

Note that (66) has an NP in addition to (b). In the attested examples, the NP is in the nominative case or the dative case. (66) differs from the prototype of the MMC in three respects. First, there is an NP preceding the Clause. Second, the Noun slot is occupied by an enclitic, not a free noun. Third, the Copula slot is occupied by

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6 As noted in Section 3, for nouns that are not human masculine, the accusative suffix may be absent. In (64) and (65), the accusative suffix is absent. Nonetheless, they should be considered to be in the accusative case.

an intransitive verb of perception, not a copula. (66) can be regarded as a variety of the MMC, although it is far from the prototype. Examples follow. They are tentatively regarded as instances of the MMC, and the Clause and its translation are shown with square brackets.

(67) *ad-ige*   [*xadd-ar*   *man-or*]=**bese:**   *e:tʰrʔ-a:lagi:*
     3SG.NM-DAT child-PL.NOM be.born-FUT.3PL=like look-PRS.PROG.3SG.NM
     LT: 'To her [children will be born] like looks.'
     FT: 'She looks pregnant.'

(68) *a:s-gahi*   *ɖaɳɖi:*   [*berxa:*   *cĩ:x-i:*]=**bese:**
     3SG.M-GEN song.NM.NOM cat.NM.NOM cry-PRS.3SG.NM=like
     mindrʔ-i:
     sound-PRS.3SG.NM
     Tentative LT: 'His song [cat cries] like sounds.'
     FT: 'His song sounds as if a cat is crying.'   (Kobayashi & Tirkey 2017: 184)

(69) *eŋg-a:ge* [*ku:l-nu:*   *coʈʈo:*   *boŋ-na:*]=**bese:**
     1SG-DAT stomach-LOC mouse.NM.NOM run-VBN=like
     lagg-a:lagi:
     feel-PRS.PROG.3SG.NM
     Tentative LT: 'To me [a mouse running in stomach] like feels.'
     FT: 'I feel very hungry.'

As mentioned in 5.4.1, the predicate of the Clause of the MMC with =*bese:* can be a verbal adjective, a verbal noun or a finite verb. Depending on the sentence, an alternative category is acceptable. For example, in (67), *man-or=bese:* 'be.born-FUT.3PL=like' (a finite verb) can be replaced with *man-na:=bese:* 'be.born-VBN=like' (a verbal noun); see (70). Similarly, in (68), *cĩ:x-i:=bese:* 'cry-PRS.3SG.NM=like' (a finite verb) can be replaced with *cĩ:x-na:=bese:* 'cry-VBN=like' (a verbal noun); see (71).

(70) *ad-ige*   [*xadd-ar*   *man-na:*]=**bese:**   *e:tʰrʔ-a:lagi:*
     3SG.NM-DAT child-PL.NOM be.born-VBN=like look-PRS.PROG.3SG.NM
     LT: 'To her [children are born] like looks.'
     FT: 'She looks pregnant.'

(71) *a:s-gahi*   *ɖaɳɖi:*   [*berxa:*   *cĩ:x-na:*]=**bese:**
     3SG.M-GEN song.NM.NOM cat.NM.NOM cry-VBN=like
     mindrʔ-i:
     sound-PRS.3SG.NM
     Tentative LT: 'His song [cat cries] like sounds.'
     FT: 'His song sounds as if a cat is crying.'

The subject of the Clause is generally in the nominative case, e.g. (67) (a finite verb) ('child-PL.NOM'), (68) (a finite verb) ('cat.NM.NOM') and (69) (a verbal noun) ('mouse.NM.NOM'). When the verb is a verbal noun, the subject of the Clause is in the nominative case, e.g. (69) or in the genitive case, e.g.:

(72) *a:s-gahi*   *ɖaɳɖi:*   [*berxa:-gahi*   *cĩ:x-na:*]=***bese:*** *mindrʔ-i:*
     3SG.M-GEN song.NM.NOM   cat.NM-GEN cry-VBN=like   sound-PRS.3SG.NM
     'His song sounds like a cat's crying.'

As noted above, sentences such as (67) to (72) can be considered instances of the MMC, although they are far from the prototype. Note in particular that they have an NP preceding the Clause. It is possible, though by no means certain, that with the addition of an NP these sentences developed from the MMC. If this scenario is correct, these sentences may suggest one the of changes the MMC may undergo.

5.4.6 Etymology of *=bese*:

No likely cognate of *=bese:* has been found in Malto, the language that is genetically the closest to Kurux. Furthermore, no Dravidian etymology has been proposed for it. One possible origin is the Indo-Aryan etymon represented by Sanskrit *vēṣa-* meaning 'dress, assumed appearance', given in Turner (1962–1966: 702) under the entry 12129. It has New Indo-Aryan reflexes such as Hindi *besā* 'dress, guise', Old Maithili *besa* 'dress, ornaments', and Bengali *beśa* 'garment, guise'. The development *vēṣa* > *bēṣ* → *bese:* is perfectly plausible in terms of phonology. This is because the Old Indo-Aryan *ē* often becomes short in Eastern or Eastern Midland New Indo-Aryan languages, and Kurux (and Malto) often adds *-e/e:* to the end of a loanword, as in *dʰa:re:* 'blade' from the Hindi *dʰa:r* 'edge (of blade)' and *na:me:* 'name' from the Hindi *na:m* 'name'.[7]

The above suggests that *=bese:* may have an Indo-Aryan (and not Dravidian) origin: a noun with the meaning of 'dress'. If this is the case, this is an additional instance of diffusion.

5.5 Comparison of the three types of the MMC

Table 2 compares the three types of the MMC discussed above in terms of (i) the possible etymology of the morpheme that occupies the Noun slot, (ii) its use and

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7 The Kurux word *be:s* 'good, well, very much' from Hindi *beśa* 'good, more' or Bengali *beśa* 'nice, too much' is probably a different etymon.

Tab. 2: Comparison of the three types of the MMC.

Etymology	Outside MMC	In MMC: Noun slot	MMC: meaning
Sadri *caḍe* 'because of'	noun *caḍḍe:* 'necessity'	word *caḍḍe:*	cause/reason: 'It is because'
IA *mádʰya* 'middle'	noun *madʰe:* 'middle', enclitic *=madʰe:* 'nominalizer, adjectivizer'	enclitic *=madʰe:*	aspectual or modal: 'has the property of …ing', 'is supposed to', 'is scheduled to …', 'is going to …', 'plans to …'
IA *vēṣa* 'dress'	enclitic *=bese:* 'like'	enclitic *=bese:*	evidential: 'looks/appears/seems', 'It looks as if …', 'is like …'

meaning used outside the MMC in the present-day Kurux, (iii) its morphological status (i.e. word vs. enclitic), and (iv) the meaning that the MMC in question has.

If the proposed etymologies are correct, *=madʰe:* and *=bese:* used in the MMC have been grammaticalized considerably – in terms of morphology and meaning. In terms of morphology, the following change is observed.

(a) word > clitic

This change is widely reported in many studies of grammaticalization. In terms of meaning, the following changes are observed.

(b) 'necessity' > cause, reason.
(c) 'middle' > aspectual or modal:
     'has the property of …ing', 'is supposed to', 'is scheduled to …', 'is going to …', 'plans to …'
(d) 'dress' > evidential:
     'looks/appears/seems', 'It looks as if …', 'is like …'

That is, if the proposed etymologies are correct, the MMC with *=madʰe:* and the MMC with *=bese:* have reached an advanced stage of grammaticalization – in terms of morphology and meaning.

Chapters in the present volume report numerous instances of the grammaticalization of nouns that occupy the Noun slot of the MMC. However, the changes shown in (b), (c) and (d) are not reported in any other chapter. Furthermore, a cursory examination of relevant literature, such as Heine, Claudi & Hünnemeyer (1991), Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca (1994), Lehmann (1995), Hopper & Traugott (2003), and Heine & Kuteva (2007), indicates that these changes are uncommon in

the grammaticalization of nouns in general. They do not seem to be reported in any of these works.[8]

6 Comparison of the MMC with other constructions

6.1 Introductory notes

We now compare the MMC with other constructions. In particular, we shall examine the following two issues.

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

The structure of the prototype of the MMC is as shown in (1). Superficially at least, it looks as if the prototypical MMC is bi-clausal. In some of the languages reported in the present volume, the Clause of the MMC looks similar to an adnominal clause ("AC") (or a relative clause) of the respective languages and consequently it looks as if the MMC is bi-clausal, with an AC as a subordinate clause. This applies to Kurux. The predicate of ACs is a finite verb (4.2.1.2, 4.2.1.3), a verbal noun or a verbal adjective (4.2.1.4), and a verbal noun, a verbal adjective or a finite verb (4.2.1.5). The predicate of the Clause of the MMC is a verbal adjective (5.2.2.1, MMC with *caḍḍe:* 'necessity'), a verbal adjective or a verbal noun (5.3.3.1, MMC with =*mad^he:* 'ADJ'), and a verbal adjective, a verbal noun or a finite verb (5.4.1, MMC with =*bese:* 'like'). It may look as if the MMC contains an AC, that is, as if it is bi-clausal.

However, languages such as Modern Standard Japanese (Tsunoda, this volume-b, Section 6) and Korean (Kim, this volume, Section 6) yield evidence that their MMC does not contain an AC and that it is syntactically mono-clausal. (See Tsunoda (this volume-a, 3.4.2).) In view of this, it is important to examine the two issues listed above.

For Kurux, we shall compare the following constructions.

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8 Each of Modern Standard Japanese (Tsunoda, this volume-b, 5.1.2-[11]) and Korean (Kim, this volume, 5.3.2-[11]) has a noun that means 'in the middle of' and the MMC with this noun means 'in the middle of doing …'. There are two points to note. First, even when they are used outside the MMC, these Modern Standard Japanese and Korean words mean 'in the middle of doing …', not just 'middle'. Second, the MMC with this word does not have the meaning of the Kurux MMC with =*mad^he:* 'Something/someone has the property of …ing', 'is scheduled to …', 'is supposed to …', 'plans to', or 'is going to …'.

(i)   Mono-clausal verb predicate sentences (4.1).
(ii)   MMC with *caḍḍe:* 'necessity' (5.2.2).
(iii)   MMC with *=madʰe:* 'ADJ' (5.3.3).
(iv)   MMC with *=bese:* 'like' (5.4). (The sentences discussed in 5.4.5 are excluded from this comparison.)
(v)   AC, correlative type (4.2.1.2).
(vi)   AC, gap type (1), involving a finite verb and the deictic distal ('that') (4.2.1.3).
(vii)   AC, gap type (2), involving a verbal noun or a verbal adjective (4.2.1.4).
(viii) AC, addition type (4.2.1.5).

Verb-predicate sentences are chosen as the representative of independent sentences. It is necessary to consider mono-clausal sentences, since one of the aims of this comparison is to examine the issue (b) listed above.

When we look at the MMC, we shall mainly be concerned with the Clause, but we also look at the entire MMC.

We shall compare the constructions listed above in terms of morphology (6.2 and 6.3) and syntax (6.3 to 6.6). The result of this comparison is shown in Table 3.

6.2 Predicate morphology

This criterion concerns a morphological aspect. Finite verbs fully inflect, verbal adjectives inflect partially, and verbal nouns do not inflect at all (Section 3).

(i) Mono-clausal verb predicate sentences
The predicate is a finite verb.

(ii) MMC with *caḍḍe:* 'necessity'
The predicate of the Clause is a verbal adjective.

(iii) MMC with *=madʰe:* 'ADJ'
The predicate of the Clause is a verbal adjective or a verbal noun.

(iv) MMC with *=bese:* 'like'
The predicate of the Clause is a verbal adjective, a verbal noun or a finite verb.

(v) AC, correlative type
(vi) AC, gap type (1), involving a finite verb and the deictic distal ('that')
The predicate of the AC is a finite verb.

(vii) AC, gap type (2), involving a verbal noun or a verbal adjective
The predicate of the AC is a verbal noun or a verbal adjective.

(viii) AC, addition type
The predicate of the AC is a verbal noun, a verbal adjective or a finite verb.

6.3 Case of the subject

This criterion is a morphological one. But it is also a syntactic one, for the case of the subject is – to a limited degree – conditioned by the type of the predicate (i.e. a finite form, a verbal adjective or a verbal noun). That is, it is conditioned by another constituent of the sentence or the clause.

The subject is case-marked as follows.

(i) Mono-clausal verb predicate sentences
The predicate is a finite verb. The subject is in the nominative case, e.g. 'boy-M.SG.NOM' in (6).

(ii) MMC with *caḍḍe:* 'necessity'
The predicate of the Clause is a verbal adjective. In (3), the subject of the Clause is in the genitive case ('3SG.M-GEN'). It may be relevant that this subject is human; see (viii) below.

(iii) MMC with *=mad^he:* 'ADJ'
The predicate of the Clause is a verbal adjective or a verbal noun. The subject of the Clause is in the nominative case both when the verb is a verbal adjective, e.g. (4) ('train.NM.NOM'), and when the verb is a verbal noun, e.g. (48) ('train.NM.NOM') and (49) ('weevil.NM.NOM').

(iv) MMC with *=bese:* 'like'
The predicate of the Clause is a verbal adjective, a verbal noun or a finite verb. The subject of the Clause is in the nominative case, e.g. (5) (a verbal noun; '3SG.M.NOM'), (57) (a finite verb, past; '3SG.M.NOM'), (58) (a verbal adjective; 'rain.NM.NOM'), (59) (a verbal noun; 'rain.NM.NOM'), and (60) (a finite verb, past; 'rain.NM.NOM'). The data are not complete, but at least the genitive case is unacceptable when the predicate of the Clause is a verbal noun:

(73) *[*cẽːp-hiː   poy-naː*]=**bese:** *eːt^hrʔ-aːlagiː*
      rain.NM.GEN fall-VBN=like   look-PRS.PROG.3SG.NM
      LT: '[Rain falls] like looks.'
      FT: 'It looks like it is going to rain.'

(v) AC, correlative type

The predicate of the AC is a finite verb. The subject of an AC is in the nominative case. An example is 'boy-M.SG.NOM' in (11). Another example is '1SG.NOM' in (12).

(vi) AC, gap type (1), involving a finite verb and the deictic distal ('that')

The predicate of the AC is a finite verb. The subject of an AC is in the nominative case, e.g. 'boy-M.SG.NOM' in (15).

(vii) AC, gap type (2), involving a verbal noun or a verbal adjective

The predicate of the AC is a verbal noun or a verbal adjective. When the verb is a verbal adjective, the subject of the AC is in the nominative case e.g. (18) ('boy-M.SG.NOM'), or in the genitive case, as in (74) ('boy-M.SG-GEN'). When the verb is a verbal noun, the subject of the AC is in the genitive case, e.g. (75) ('boy-M.SG-GEN').

(74) *e:n   a: kukko-s-gahi   bacac-ka: put^hi-n   i:r-kan*
     1SG.NOM that boy-M.SG-GEN read.PS-PST.VADJ book-ACC see.PS-PST.1SG
     'I saw the book that the boy had read.'

(75) *e:n   a: kukko-s-gahi   bac-na: put^hi-n   i:r-kan*
     1SG.NOM that boy-M.SG-GEN read-VBN book-ACC see.PS-PST.1SG
     'I saw the book that the boy reads.'

(viii) AC, addition type

The predicate of the AC is a verbal noun, a verbal adjective or a finite verb. The data available are limited, but it appears that, in ACs of the addition type, at least when the verb of the AC is a verbal noun, the subject of the AC is in the genitive case if it is human (e.g. (21) ('man-M-GEN'); the consultant indicated to the effect that the nominative case is unacceptable), but that it is either in the nominative or in the genitive if it is nonhuman.

6.4 One subject or two subjects?

To discuss whether a given sentence has one subject or two subjects, it is convenient to start with ACs.

(v) AC, correlative type

A sentence with an AC of the correlative type has two subjects: the subject of the AC and the subject of the main clause. For example, in (12), the subject of the first clause (the AC) is '1SG.NOM' and the subject of the second clause (the main clause) is 'that.M.NOM'.

(viii) AC, addition type

A sentence with an AC of the addition type, too, has two subjects: the subject of the AC and the subject of the main clause. For example, in (21), the subject of the AC is 'that man-M-GEN', and the subject of the main clause is '1SG.NOM'.

(vi) AC, gap type (1), involving a finite verb and the deictic distal ('that')
(vii) AC, gap type (2), involving a verbal noun or a verbal adjective

A sentence with an AC of the gap type has just one subject when the subject is relativized. That is, it has only the subject of the main clause. For example, (14) (an example of (vi)) has just one subject: '1SG.NOM'. When what is relativized is not the subject, the sentence has two subjects: the subject of the AC and the subject of the main clause. For example, in (15), the subject of the AC is 'that boy-M.SG' and the subject of the main clause is '1SG.NOM'.

(i) Mono-clausal verb predicate sentences
(ii) MMC with *caḍḍe:* 'necessity'
(iii) MMC with *=madʰe:* 'ADJ'
(iv) MMC with *=bese:* 'like'

These sentences have just one subject. Thus, (6) (an example of (i)) has one subject; 'that boy-3SG.M'. (3) (an example of (ii)) has one subject: '3SG.M-GEN'. (4) (an example of (iii)) has one subject: 'this train.NM.NOM'. (5) (an example of (iv)) has one subject: '3SG.M.NOM'.

6.5 Agreement

The agreement is in terms of person, number and/or gender. Finite verbs show agreement, but verbal adjectives and verbal nouns do not (Table 1). As noted in Section 3, Kurux nouns make a gender distinction between human masculine ('M') and other ('NM'). Human masculine nouns contrast in number (singular vs. plural), but other nouns do not make a number distinction.

(i) Mono-clausal verb predicate sentences

The predicate is a finite verb. The verb agrees with the subject, e.g. (6): the verb is 'take.PS-PST.3SG.M' and the subject is 'boy-3SG.M'; they agree in terms of '3SG.M'.

(ii) MMC with *caḍḍe:* 'necessity'

The predicate of the Clause is a verbal adjective, and it does not agree with any constituent of the sentence. In (3), the predicate of the Clause is 'fear.PS-PST.ADJ', and it does not agree with any constituent of the sentence. Also, the Copula does not agree with any constituent of the sentence. In (3), the Copula is 'be.PS-PST.3SG.NM', and it does not agree with any constituent of the sentence. The sub-

ject of the Clause is '3SG.M-GEN' and the object of the Clause is 'own.father-M-ACC'; both involve 'M', not 'NM'. This indicates that the use of 'NM' for the Copula in (3) is by default. That is, there is no agreement in the MMC with *caḍḍe:* 'necessity'.

(iii) MMC with =*mad^{h}e:* 'ADJ'

The predicate of the Clause is a verbal adjective, e.g. (4), (49), (52), or a verbal noun, e.g. (48), and it does not agree with any constituent of the sentence. However, the Copula agrees with the subject of the Clause. (This is in contrast with (ii) above.) In (4), the Copula is 'COP.PRS.3SG.NM' and the subject of the Clause is 'train.NM.NOM'. Both involve 'NM', and it is difficult to decide whether the Copula agrees with the subject of the Clause (in terms of 'NM') or the use of 'NM' for the Copula is by default. The same applies to (48) and (49). However, in (52), the Copula is 'COP.PS-PST.1SG' and the subject of the Clause is '1SG.NOM'; both involve '1SG'. This clearly shows that the Copula agrees with the subject of the Clause. That is, it is the Copula, not the predicate of the Clause, that agrees with the subject of the Clause.

(iv) MMC with =*bese:* 'like'

The predicate of the Clause is a verbal adjective, a verbal noun or a finite verb. The data available are limited, but they suggest the following: (iv-1) Pattern 1, and (iv-2) Pattern 2.

(iv-1) Pattern 1: the predicate of the Clause is a verbal adjective, e.g. (58), or a verbal noun, e.g. (5), (59).

The predicate of the Clause is a verbal adjective or a verbal noun, and it does not – and cannot – agree with any constituent of the Clause. Regarding the Copula (or a perception verb in the Copula slot), see (58), for example. The Copula slot has 'look-PRS.PROG.3SG.NM' and the subject of the Clause is 'rain.NM.NOM'. Both involve 'NM', but it is difficult to decide whether the Copula slot agrees with the subject of the Clause or the use of 'NM' in the Copula slot is by default. The same applies to (59). However, consider (5). The Copula is 'COP.PS-PST.3SG.M' and the subject of the Clause is '3SG.M.NOM'; both involve '3SG.M'. This shows that, when the predicate of the Clause is a verbal adjective or a verbal noun, the Copula (or a perception verb in the Copula slot) agrees with the subject of the Clause.

(iv-2) Pattern 2: the predicate of the Clause is a finite verb, e.g. (57), (60), (63). The predicate of the Clause agrees with the subject of the Clause. Thus, (57) has 'forget-PST.3SG.M' and '3SG.M.NOM'; both involve '3SG.M'. The same applies to (63). (60) has 'fall.PS-PST.3SG.NM' and 'rain.NM.NOM'; both involve 'NM'. Regarding the Copula, see (60). The Copula slot has 'look-PRS.PROG.3SG.NM' and the subject of the Clause is 'rain.NM.NOM'. Both involve 'NM', but it is difficult to decide whether the Copula slot agrees with the subject of the Clause or the use of 'NM' in the Copula slot is by default. However, in (57) the Copula is 'COP-PRS.3SG.M'

and the subject of the Clause is '3SG.M.NOM'; both involve '3SG.NOM'. Similarly, (63) has 'look-PRS.3SG.M' and '3SG.M.NOM'; both involve '3SG.M'. This shows that, when the predicate of the Clause is a finite verb, the Copula (or a perception verb in the Copula slot) agrees with the subject of the Clause.

To sum up, in Pattern 1, where the predicate of the Clause is a verbal adjective or a verbal noun, the Copula (or a perception verb in the Copula slot) agrees with the subject of the Clause. In Pattern 2, where the predicate of the Clause is a finite verb, both the predicate of the Clause and the Copula (or a perception verb in the Copula slot) agree with the subject of the Clause.

Pattern 2 exhibits two sets of agreement within one sentence. In contrast, Pattern 1 shows only one set of agreement within one sentence, as is the case with (i) and (iii) above.

(v) AC, correlative type
(vi) AC, gap type (1), involving a finite verb and the deictic distal ('that')
In a sentence that contains an AC of (v) or an AC of (vi), the predicate of the AC agrees with the subject of the AC, and the predicate of the main clause agrees with the subject of the main clause. For example, in (12) (an example of (v)), 'talk-PST.PROG.1SG' agrees with '1SG.NOM' (in terms of '1SG'), and 'go-FUT.3SG.M' agrees with 'that.M.NOM' (in terms of 'M'). As another example, in (15) (an example of (vi)), 'read-PST.PROG.3SG.M' agrees with 'boy-M.SG' (in terms of 'SG' and 'M'), and 'see.PS-PST.1SG' agrees with '1SG.NOM' (in terms of '1SG'). A sentence that contains an AC of (v) or an AC of (vi) shows two sets of agreement within one sentence.

(vii) AC, gap type (2), involving a verbal noun or a verbal adjective
Verbal nouns and verbal adjectives do not show agreement. In a sentence that contains an AC of (vii), the predicate of the AC does not show agreement. The predicate of the main clause agrees with the subject of the main clause. For example, in (17), 'see.PS-PST.1SG' agrees with '1SG.NOM' (in terms of '1SG'). A sentence that contains an AC of (vii) shows only one set of agreement within one sentence.

(viii) AC, addition type
The predicate of the AC is a verbal noun, a verbal adjective or a finite verb. There are two patterns. Pattern 1: when a verbal noun or a verbal adjective is involved, the situation is the same as that observed in (vii) above. Pattern 2: when a finite verb is employed, the situation is the same that observed in (vi) above.

6.6 Gapping

It is convenient to start with ACs of the gap type.

> (vi) AC, gap type (1), involving a finite verb and the deictic distal ('that')
> (vii) AC, gap type (2), involving a verbal noun or a verbal adjective

Gapping takes place in the formation of ACs of the gap type. For example, compare (13), (14) and (15). Both the subject and the object are present in (13). In contrast, the subject is absent in the AC of (14), and the object is absent in the AC of (15). (Although the verb of the AC in (14) has a suffix that indicates the person-number-gender of the subject, the subject NP is absent and (14) should be considered an instance of gapping.)

> (v) AC, correlative type

Gapping does not take place in the formation of ACs of the correlative type. Compare (9), (10) and (11). Both the subject and the object are present in (10) (LT: 'which boy read a book, that') and (11) ('LT: 'which book this boy read, that'), as is the case with (9).

> (viii) AC, addition type

Gapping does not take place in the formation of ACs of the addition type. Compare (20) and (21). Both the subject and the object are present in the AC in (21), as is the case with (20).

> (i) Mono-clausal verb predicate sentences
> (ii) MMC with *caḍḍe:* 'necessity'
> (iii) MMC with *=madʰe:* 'ADJ'
> (iv) MMC with *=bese:* 'like'

Gapping does not take place in the formation of these sentences.

6.7 Discussion

The result of the comparison above can be summarized as in Table 3. The data are not complete. Also, they are not always definitive.

The first criterion ("Predicate morphology") concerns a morphological aspect (6.2). The second criterion ("Case of the subject") is both morphological and syntactic (6.3). The other criteria have to do with syntactic aspects.

Tab. 3: Comparison of the MMC with other constructions.

| | Predicate morphology: | | |
	finite verb	verbal adjective	verbal noun
Mono-clausal verb predicate sentences	+	−	−
MMC, *caⱷⱷe:* 'necessity'	−	+	−
MMC, *=madʰe:* 'ADJ'	−	+	+
MMC, *=bese:* 'like'	+	+	+
AC, correlative type	+	−	−
AC, gap type (1)	+	−	−
AC, gap type (2)	−	+	+
AC, addition type	+	+	+

| | Case of the subject: | | |
	finite verb	verbal adjective	verbal noun
Mono-clausal verb predicate sentences	NOM	…	…
MMC, *caⱷⱷe:* 'necessity'	…	human: GEN	…
MMC, *=madʰe:* 'ADJ'	…	NOM	NOM
MMC, *=bese:* 'like'	NOM	NOM	NOM, *GEN
AC, correlative type	NOM	…	…
AC, gap type (1)	NOM	…	…
AC, gap type (2)	…	NOM, GEN	GEN
AC, addition type	n. d.	n. d.	human: GEN, *NOM nonhuman: NOM, GEN

	Two subjects
Mono-clausal verb predicate sentences	−
MMC, *caⱷⱷe:* 'necessity'	−
MMC, *=madʰe:* 'ADJ'	−
MMC, *=bese:* 'like'	−
AC, correlative type	+
AC, gap type (1)	+
AC, gap type (2)	+
AC, addition type	+

| | Agreement (1): X agrees with Y. | |
	X	Y
Mono-clausal verb predicate sentences	verb	subject
MMC, *caⱷⱷe:* 'necessity'	no agreement	
MMC, *=madʰe:* 'ADJ'	Copula	subject of Clause
MMC, *=bese:* 'like'		
Pattern 1	Copula	subject of Clause
Pattern 2	Copula and verb of Clause	subject of Clause
AC, correlative type	verb of AC	subject of AC
	verb of main clause	subject of main clause

AC, gap type (1)	verb of AC verb of main clause	subject of AC subject of main clause
AC, gap type (2)	verb of main clause	subject of main clause

AC, addition type
  Pattern 1
  Pattern 2
	
	verb of main clause
	verb of AC
	verb of main clause
		
		subject of main clause
		subject of AC
		subject of main clause

	Agreement (2): two sets of agreement in one sentence	Gapping
Mono-clausal verb predicate sentences	–	–
MMC, *caḍḍe:* 'necessity'	–	–
MMC, *=madʰe:* 'ADJ'	–	–
MMC, *=bese:* 'like'		
Pattern 1	–	–
Pattern 2	+	–
AC, correlative type	+	–
AC, gap type (1)	+	+
AC, gap type (2)	–	+
AC, addition type		
Pattern 1	–	–
Pattern 2	+	–

Legend: +: acceptable or obligatory; –: unacceptable; …: irrelevant; n. d.: no data available.
Pattern 1: The verb of the Clause or the AC is a verbal adjective or a verbal noun.
Pattern 2: The verb of the Clause or the AC is a finite verb.

On the whole, the MMC is more similar to ACs than to mono-clausal verb predicate sentences in the following two respects.

(a) Predicate morphology. Note that verbal adjectives and verbal nouns are used in the MMC and ACs, but not in mono-clausal verb predicate sentences.

(b) Case of the subject. With the MMC with *=bese:* 'like', when a verbal noun is employed, the genitive subject is unacceptable; see (73). In this respect, the MMC with *=bese:* 'like' behaves like mono-clausal verb predicate sentences. However, the MMC with *caḍḍe:* 'necessity' is similar to gap-type ACs (2) and addition-type ACs in that the genitive case is used. Regarding gap-type ACs (2), this applies both when a verbal adjective is employed and when a verbal noun is employed.

On the whole, the MMC is more similar to mono-clausal verb predicate sentences than to ACs (or sentences that contain an AC) in the following three respects.

(c) Two subjects. The MMC behaves exactly like mono-clausal verb predicate sentences and unlike sentences that contain an AC.

(d) Agreement (2). The MMC on the whole behaves like mono-clausal verb predicate sentences and unlike sentences that contain an AC – except that Pattern 2 of the MMC with *=bese:* 'like' behaves like correlative-type ACs, gap-type ACs (1) and Pattern 2 of addition-type ACs, and also except that gap-type ACs (2) and

Pattern 1 of addition-type ACs behave like mono-clausal verb predicate sentences and the MMC on the whole.

(e) Gapping. The MMC is only slightly more similar to mono-clausal verb predicate sentences than to ACs. Note that, like the MMC and mono-clausal verb predicate sentences, the following types of ACs do not involve gapping: the correlative type and the addition type.

The MMC differs from both mono-clausal verb predicate sentences and ACs (or sentences with an AC) in the following respect.

(f) Agreement (1). The MMC with *caḍḍe:* 'necessity' shows no agreement. In this respect, it differs from mono-clausal verb predicate sentences, from ACs, from sentences with an AC – and also from the other two types of the MMC.

To sum up, in terms of (f) Agreement (a syntactic criterion), the MMC with *caḍḍe:* 'necessity' differs from both mono-clausal verb predicate sentences, from ACs, from sentences with an AC – and also from the other two types of the MMC. Regarding (a) Predicate morphology (a morphological criterion) and (b) Case of the subject (a morphological and syntactic criterion), on the whole, the MMC is more similar to ACs than to mono-clausal verb predicate sentences. In contrast, on the whole, the MMC is more similar to mono-clausal verb predicate sentences than to ACs (or sentences that contain an AC) concerning the following three syntactic criteria: (c) Two subjects, (d) Agreement (2), and (e) Gapping. That is, syntactically the MMC can be considered mono-clausal, rather than bi-clausal. It does not contain an AC (or any subordinate clause for that matter). However, the evidence for this conclusion is not robust, since there are several departures from the general tendencies listed above.

6.8 Compound predicate

We saw in 6.7 that syntactically the MMC can be considered mono-clausal, not bi-clausal (although the evidence for this is not robust). Then, it will have just one predicate, not two predicates. We now investigate what structure the predicate has.

As seen in Section 1, the prototype of the MMC has the structure shown in (1) – superficially at least. However, languages such as Modern Standard Japanese (Tsunoda, this volume-b, Section 6) and Korean (Kim, this volume, Section 6) provide ample evidence that syntactically their MMC is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal, despite its superficial appearance (shown in (1)). Their MMC has just one predicate, not two predicates, and the predicate is a compound predicate that consists of the predicate of the Clause, the Noun and the Copula, as shown in (2).

(1) Prototype of the mermaid construction ("MMC"):
    [Clause]   Noun   Copula

(2) [...   predicate of Clause]   Noun   Copula.
              compound predicate

The situation in the Kurux MMC is as follows.

In the MMC with =mad^{h}e: 'ADJ' and in the MMC with =bese: 'like', the Noun slot is occupied by an enclitic, and this enclitic is attached to the preceding verb. Clearly the predicate of the Clause and the Noun form a unit. However, at this stage of investigation there is no evidence to show that the Copula (or a perception verb in the Copula slot) joins this unit.

We turn to the MMC with caḍḍe: 'necessity'. As seen in 5.2.2.4, it seems that the noun in the Noun slot of this MMC, i.e. caḍḍe: 'necessity', cannot be modified by any word; see (34). This in turn suggests that possibly no word can intervene between the predicate of the Clause and the Noun and that consequently they form a unit. However, at this stage of investigation there is no evidence to show that the Copula joins this unit.

To sum up, semantically it seems plausible that the predicate of the Clause, the Noun and the Copula (or the verb in the Copula slot) form a unit and that they constitute a compound predicate. However, there is no evidence available to show this.

In this connection, it should be mentioned that there are two intriguing facts about the enclitic =bese: 'like'. First, as seen in 5.4.4, a sentence-final particle can intervene between =bese: and the verb that precedes it; see (63). In contrast, this is unacceptable in the case of the noun caḍḍe: 'necessity' (see (37)) and the enclitic =mad^{h}e: 'ADJ' (see (51)). This indicates that the bondage between the enclitic =bese: and the verb that precedes it is weaker than is the case with the noun caḍḍe: and with the enclitic =mad^{h}e:. This is intriguing, for a clitic will be expected to exhibit a stronger bondage than a noun (to be precise, an independent noun). Second, as we saw in 5.4.4, the Clause of the MMC with the enclitic =bese: has a higher degree of sentencehood than the Clause in the MMC with the noun caḍḍe: and that in the MMC with the enclitic =mad^{h}e:, regarding the acceptability of a finite verb and a sentence-final particle, for example. Again, this is intriguing.

7 Summary and concluding remarks

Kurux has three varieties of the MMC; one noun and two enclitics are attested in the Noun slot of the MMC. The MMC with the noun caḍḍe: 'necessity' indicates cause/reason. The MMC with =mad^{h}e: 'ADJ' has a modal or an aspectual meaning: 'X has the property of ...ing', 'X is supposed to ...', 'X is scheduled to ...', 'X is going to ...', and 'X plans to ...'. The MMC with the enclitic =bese: 'like' has an evidential meaning: 'It looks/appears/seems', 'It looks as if', and 'X is like ...'.

The enclitic =*mad^{h}e:* in the Noun slot may be absent under a certain condition, and the Noun slot may be empty. It is crosslinguistically uncommon for the Noun slot to be empty. Apart from Kurux, this phenomenon is reported only from Old and Early Middle Japanese (Miyachi, this volume, 7.4). Miyachi sets up the zero-type MMC for such instances of the MMC.

The Copula slot is generally filled with a copula verb. In addition, for the MMC with =*bese:*, the Copula slot may be occupied by an intransitive verb of perception such as 'look', 'sound' or 'feel'. No such instance has been reported from any other language.

Except for when =*bese:* occurs with a finite form, the predicate of the Clause is in a non-finite form and the Clause cannot be used as a sentence by itself. The Clause lacks a property of sentencehood in this respect, among others.

There is some evidence to set up the MMC as a construction separate from verb-predicate sentences, adjective-predicate sentences and noun-predicate sentences.

Syntactically the MMC can be considered mono-clausal, not bi-clausal, although the evidence for this is not robust. However, there is no evidence that the predicate of the Clause, the Noun and the Copula (or a perception verb in the Copula slot) constitute a compound predicate.

The MMC with the noun *caḍḍe:* 'necessity' may have originated in a sentence that contains an AC – to be precise, an AC of the addition type. It is attested in only one example, and it is possibly at its incipient stage, like that in Old Japanese (cf. Miyachi, this volume).

The enclitic =*mad^{h}e:* possibly derives from the Indo-Aryan noun *mád^{h}ya* 'middle', while the enclitic =*bese:* may be a reflex of the Indo-Aryan noun *vēṣa* 'dress'. If the proposed etymologies are correct, =*mad^{h}e:* and =*bese:* are loans that have an Indo-Aryan (not Dravidian) origin and that have crossed the language family border.

Hindi has the MMC whose Noun slot is occupied by an enclitic and whose meanings (e.g. 'be about to' and 'schedule, intention') overlap those of the Kurux MMC with =*mad^{h}e:*. This suggests that the Kurux MMC with =*mad^{h}e:* may have diffused, crossing a genetic border, through structural borrowing.

The existence of the MMC is uncommon among Dravidian languages, and it is possible that the Kurux MMC developed after its split from Malto, the language that is genetically the closest to Kurux.

If the proposed etymologies are correct, =*mad^{h}e:* and =*bese:* have been grammaticalized in terms of both morphology and meaning, and the MMC with =*mad^{h}e:* and the MMC with =*bese:* have reached an advanced stage of grammaticalization.

=*bese:* yielded instances in which the Clause of the MMC is preceded by an NP in the nominative case or the dative case. They may suggest one of the changes the MMC may undergo.

As can be seen, the Kurux data may shed light on how the MMC comes into existence and how it changes. They may also shed light on how it diffuses (due to language contact).

Acknowledgments

Abbreviations and symbols

A = transitive subject; AC = adnominal clause; ACC = accusative; ADJ = adjectivizer; COP = copula; DAT = dative; DESID = desiderative; EMPH = emphatic; FT = free translation; FUT = future; GEN = genitive; GNF = general nonfinite; IA = Indo-Aryan; IM = intended meaning; IMP = imperative; INCL = inclusive; INF = infinitive; LOC = locative; LT = literal translation; M = masculine; MK = a sentence that was composed by Masato Kobayashi and that has not been checked with a Kurux speaker; MMC = mermaid construction; NM = non-masculine; NMLZ = nominalizer; NOM = nominative; NPST = non-past; O = object; PFV = perfective; PL = plural; PROG = progressive; PRS = present; PS = past stem; PST = past; S = subject; S = intransitive subject; SG = singular; TOP = topic; VADJ = verbal adjective; VBN = verbal noun; 1 = first person; 2 = second person; 3 = third person.

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Yasunari Imamura
15 Hindi

1 Introduction

Tsunoda (this volume-a) proposes that the prototype of the mermaid construction ("MMC") has all of the following five properties.

(a) The structure is as shown in (1) – superficially at least.
(b) The Noun is an independent word (not a clitic) that is a noun.
(c) The subject of the Clause and the Noun are non-coreferential.
(d) The Clause can be used as a sentence by itself.
(e) The Clause is not the subject of the "Noun + Copula".

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

In the prototypical MMC, the Noun slot of the MMC is occupied by a noun that is an independent word. In non-prototypical instances, it may be occupied by an enclitic or a suffix which derives from a noun. Nouns, enclitics and suffixes in the Noun slot may also be nominalizers.

Tsunoda (this volume-a, Section 1 and 2.1) notes as follows. Superficially at least, it looks as if the MMC contains a subordinate clause and is bi-clausal. However, languages such as Modern Standard Japanese (Tsunoda, this volume-b, Section 6) and Korean (Kim, this volume, Section 6) provide ample evidence that syntactically their MMC is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal, despite its superficial appearance (shown in (1)). Their MMC has just one predicate, not two predicates, and the predicate is a compound predicate that consists of the predicate of the Clause, the Noun and the Copula, as shown in (2).

(2) [... predicate of Clause]   Noun   Copula.
              compound predicate

Hindi has a variant of the MMC, in which the Noun slot is occupied not by an independent noun, but by an enclitic: =*vaalaa*. This enclitic has two uses. In one use, it forms noun phrases and adjective phrases that mean 'the one who/which does/is ...'. In the other use, it is used as a nominalizer in what I have termed "the =*vaalaa* construction".

(3) The =*vaalaa* construction:
   [Clause]=*vaalaa*   Copula.

The =*vaalaa* construction is a variant of the MMC. The predicate of the Clause is a verb in an infinitive form, not a finite form. It occurs in the oblique case. The Noun slot is occupied by the enclitic =*vaalaa*, which is in turn followed by the copula verb.

This MMC expresses (i) 'be about to' (an aspectual meaning), (ii) schedule, intention (a modal meaning), or (iii) the speaker's firm belief about the occurrence/ non-occurrence of a situation (a modal meaning).

This MMC does not contain an adnominal clause (a type of a subordinate clause). Nor does it have two predicates. Syntactic evidence shows that it is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal.

Etymologically, the enclitic =*vaalaa* is said to derive from the Sanskrit noun *paalaka* 'guardian, protector; one who maintains or observes'. If this etymology is correct, =*vaalaa* has undergone grammaticalization: (i) from an independent noun to an enclitic, and (ii) from a lexical meaning to grammatical meanings. If this proposed scenario is correct, this MMC has reached an advanced stage of grammaticalization.

2 Initial illustration

As an initial illustration of the MMC in Hindi, one example each of its three meanings listed in Section 1 is given below. (In the examples of the MMC given below, the enclitic in the Noun slot is in bold face, and the Clause and its translation are shown with square brackets. When literally translated, the MMC does not make sense, and for (4) to (6), both a literal translation ("LT") and a free translation ("FT") are provided.)

(4) [*mã͠i yuunivarsiTii   jaa-ne*]=***vaalaa***   *hũ͠ũ*.
   1SG   university.F.SG go-INF.OBL=NMLZ.M.SG COP.PRS.1SG
   LT: '[I go to the university] NMLZ am.'
   FT: 'I am about to go to the university.'   (McGregor 1995: 171)

(5) [*Diskavarii   śanivaar=ko   floriDaa pahuñc-ne*]=***vaalaa***
   Discovery.M.SG Saturday=on Florida   arrive-INF.OBL=NMLZ.M.SG
   hai.
   COP.PRS.3SG
   LT: '[(Space Shuttle) Discovery arrives (in) Florida on Saturday] NMLZ is.'
   FT: 'Discovery is due to arrive in Florida on Saturday.'
   (http://khabar.ibnlive.in.com/news/10760/2 (20 March 2011))

(6) [*vah aaj kal mar-ne*]=***vaalaa*** *hai.*
    3SG today tomorrow die-INF.OBL=NMLZ.M.SG COP.PRS.3SG
    (Platts 1878: 330)
    LT: '[He dies today (or) tomorrow] NMLZ is.'
    FT: 'He will die in a day or so.'

3 Profile of the language

Hindi belongs to the Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European family. It is widely spoken in northern India, and also in Trinidad, Guyana, Fiji, Mauritius, South Africa, and many other countries by people of Indian descent (Kachru 2009: 399).

Hindi is closely related to Urdu, the national language of Pakistan. Hindi and Urdu share the same grammar and core vocabulary. The main differences between them are that Hindi is written in the Devanagari script and contains a large vocabulary from Sanskrit, whereas Urdu is written in the Perso-Arabic script and contains a large vocabulary from Persian and Arabic. At the colloquial level, there is little difference between them, and they can be considered varieties of the same language. Therefore, it is frequently referred to as Hindi-Urdu in linguistic literature.

Hindi has the following phonemes. Vowels: /a, aa, i, ii, u, uu, ŕ, e, ai, o, au, ã, ãã, ĩ, ĩĩ, ũ, ũũ, ẽ, ãĩ, õ, ãũ/. (Letters with a tilde are nasal vowels.) Consonants: /k, kh, g, gh, ṅ, c, ch, j, jh, ñ, T, Th, D, Dh, N, t, th, d, dh, n, p, ph, b, bh, m, y, r, l, v, ś, S, s, h, R, Rh, (z), (f), (q), (x), (ɣ)/. (Capital letters represent retroflex consonants. Loan phonemes are given in parentheses.)

Stress (Kachru 2009: 401) and pitch are not distinctive in Hindi.

Morphologically, Hindi has both fusional and agglutinating characteristics. Hindi employs both prefixes and suffixes. It is dependent-marking and configurational.

Verbs occur in the following forms: root, imperfective stem, perfective stem, and infinitive (cf. Kachru 2009: 480). The basic aspectual distinction is between perfective and imperfective. Three tenses are distinguished: past, present, and future (cf. Kachru 2009: 480–481).

Hindi often uses compound verbs (Kachru 2009: 480), e.g. *jaag gayaa* 'wake go.PFV.M.SG', i.e. 'woke up' in (13).

Nouns distinguish two genders (masculine and feminine), two numbers (singular and plural), and three cases (direct (=Ø), oblique, and vocative). (In the examples given in the present work, the direct case is left unglossed.) In addition, it has seven postpositions: =*ne* 'ERG', =*ko* 'ACC/DAT', =*se* 'INS/ABL', =*kaa* 'GEN', =*mẽ* 'in', =*par* 'on, at', and =*tak* 'till, up to'. Nouns and infinitives (also called verbal nouns) take the oblique case form when they are followed, for example, by a postposition or the enclitic =*vaalaa*. Pronouns inflect for person (1st, 2nd and 3rd) and number (singular and plural), but not for gender.

Hindi is a split-ergative language. It exhibits the ergative pattern (A vs. S/O) when the aspect is perfective and the O is neither animate nor definite. The case marking of the A, the S, and the O is summarized in Table 1. The postposition =*ne* indicates the ergative case.

Tab. 1: Case-marking of the A, the S and the O.

	A	S	O
Perfective	=*ne*	=Ø	=*ko* (O: animate* or definite)
	=*ne*	=Ø	=Ø (O: otherwise)
Imperfective	=Ø	=Ø	=*ko* (O: animate* or definite)
	=Ø	=Ø	=Ø (O: otherwise)

*especially human

Examples of the ergative pattern include the following. The A: *mãĩ=ne* '1SG=ERG' in (7). The S: *mãĩ* '1SG' in (8). The O: *caay* 'tea. F.SG' in (7).

The basic word orders are SV and AOV. Adjectives precede the noun they modify, but adnominal clauses (or relative clauses) are of two types: those that precede the head noun and those that follow the head noun. (See 4.2.)

Hindi has two types of agreement patterns: modifier-head agreement and noun-verb agreement. To put it simply, modifiers agree with their head noun in gender, number, and case, and the finite verb agrees with an unmarked NP (i.e. an NP in the direct case), if any, in the sentence in gender, number, and person. For details, see Kachru (2006: 161–166).

Hindi is written with the Devanagari script, which is also used to write Sanskrit, Marathi, and Nepali. The data in this paper are taken from written language sources.

4 Types of sentences and clauses

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

The following three types of sentences can be recognized.

(a) Verb-predicate sentences, e.g., (7), (8).
((7) (transitive) and (8) (intransitive) are in the perfective aspect; cf. Table 1.)
(b) Adjective-predicate sentences, e.g., (9).
(c) Noun-predicate sentences, e.g., (10).

(7) *aaj   subah   mãĩ=ne   caay   pii.*
today morning 1SG=ERG tea.F.SG drink.PFV.F.SG
'I drank tea this morning.'

(8) *aaj   subah   mãĩ saat   baje   uTh-aa.*
today morning 1SG seven o'clock get.up-PFV.M.SG
'I got up at seven o'clock this morning.'

(9) *raam   siitaa=se   lambaa   hai.*
Ram.M Sita.F=than tall.M.SG COP.PRS.3SG
'Ram is taller than Sita.'

(10) *bhaarat=kii   raajdhaanii naii dillii   hai.*
India=GEN.F capital.F.SG New Delhi COP.PRS.3SG
'The capital of India is New Delhi.'

The predicate in adjective-predicate and noun-predicate sentences, e.g., (9), (10), involves the copula verb *honaa* 'be'. The same verb is also very frequently used in verb-predicate sentences as an auxiliary verb, e.g., (11) (progressive aspect), and as the existential verb, e.g., (12).

(11) *vah kitaab   paRh rahaa   hai.*
3SG book.F.SG read PROG.M.SG AUX.PRS.3SG
'He is reading a book.'

(12) *mez=par   do kitaabẽ   hãĩ.*
table.F.SG=on two book.F.PL exist.PRS.3PL
'There are two books on the table.'

4.2 Adnominal clauses

Hindi has three types of adnominal clauses ("ACs") (or relative clauses): correlative ACs (4.2.1), ACs of the gap type (4.2.2) and ACs of the addition type (4.2.3).

4.2.1 Adnominal clauses (1): correlative ACs

The formation of ACs of this type employs the correlative strategy. See Keenan (1985: 163–168) for a characterization of this strategy. A Hindi correlative AC is introduced by the relative pronoun *jo* (or one of its inflected variants), and it is followed by the main clause. A pronoun which I call "correlative" occurs in the main clause. It is an "anaphoric NP" (Keenan 1985: 164). Part of an AC may precede the head noun; see *mãĩ=ne* '1SG=ERG' in (14). The verbs employed are finite verbs,

and they are fully inflected. Correlative ACs can be formed on all the positions on the accessibility hierarchy of Keenan & Comrie (1977), except for the object of comparison, e.g. (13) (subject), and (14) (indirect object). Examples follow. The literal translations are based on the literal translation of a Hindi sentence given by Keenan (1985: 164). (The AC in (13) is intransitive, and that in (14) is transitive.)

(13) *jo   laRkaa   so   rahaa   thaa   vah śor=se   jaag*
     REL boy.M.SG sleep PROG.M.SG AUX.PST.M.SG COR noise=INS wake
     gayaa.
     go.PFV.M.SG   (Kachru 1980: 30)
     LT: 'Which boy was sleeping, that woke up because of the noise.'
     FT: 'The boy who was asleep woke up because of the noise.'

(14) *mã̃=ne   jis   laRkii=ko   gaa-naa sikhaa-yaa   vah ab*
     1SG=ERG REL.OBL girl.F.SG.OBL=DAT sing-INF teach-PFV.M.SG COR now
     reDiyo=par gaa-tii   hai.
     radio.M=on sing-IMPF.F AUX.PRS.3SG   (Kachru 1980: 31)
     LT: 'I taught singing to which girl, that sings on the radio now.'
     FT: 'The girl whom I taught singing sings on the radio now.'

4.2.2 Adnominal clauses (2): the gap type

Teramura (1969) divides Japanese ACs into two types. Tsunoda (this volume-b, 4.2.2) proposes to label these two types as "gap type" and "addition type". Hindi has these two types of ACs, as shown below.

The formation of ACs of one of these two types employs the gap strategy. The head noun corresponds to an argument or an adjunct of the AC. Compare (15) (transitive) with (16), and (17) (intransitive) with (18). The AC precedes the noun it modifies. The predicate of the AC is an imperfective participle or perfective participle. It is often followed by an auxiliary verb: the perfective participle of the verb *honaa* 'to be', e.g., *huii* 'AUX.F' in (16) and *huaa* 'AUX.M.SG' in (18). In this type of ACs, the subject NP is marked with the genitive postposition, e.g., *dost=kii* 'friend.M.SG.OBL= GEN.F' (the A) in (16).

(15) *us=ne   saṅgiit=par ek   pustak   likh-ii*.
     3SG.OBL=ERG music=on   one book.F.SG write-PFV.F.SG
     'He wrote a book on music.'

(16) *yah mere   dost=kii   likh-ii   huii*
      this 1SG.GEN.M.SG.OBL friend.M.SG.OBL=GEN.F write-PFV.F AUX.F
      pustak   hai.
      book.F.SG COP.PRS.3SG
      'This is a book that my friend wrote.'   (Tanaka & Machida 1986: 120)

(17) *vah kursii=par baiTh-aa.*
      3SG chair=on   sit-PFV.M.SG
      'He sat on the chair.'

(18) *khaaT=par baiTh-aa   huaa   aadmii koii upanyaas paRh*
      cot=on   sit-PFV.M.SG AUX.M.SG man   some novel   read
      rahaa   thaa.
      PROG.M.SG AUX.PST.M.SG
      'The man sitting on the cot was reading some novel.'   (Kachru 2006: 137)

In (16), in which the AC is transitive, the subject of the AC (the A) occurs in the genitive case. When the AC is intransitive, the subject of the AC is "gapped", and it is absent; see (18). Therefore, the issue of the case marking of the subject (the S) is irrelevant.

4.2.3 ACs of the addition type

As seen in 4.2.2, in the ACs of the gap type, the head noun corresponds to an argument or an adjunct of the AC. In contrast, in ACs of the addition type, the head noun is, so to speak, added from "outside the underlying clause". It does not correspond to any argument or any adjunct of the AC. There are two kinds of ACs of the addition type: infinitival clause + noun (4.2.3.1) and apposition of noun and clause (4.2.3.2).

4.2.3.1 Infinitival clause + noun
In this structure, the predicate of the AC is in an infinitive form: a verbal root + -*naa*. An infinitive cannot modify the head noun directly and the genitive case marker =*kaa* (or one of its inflected variants) must be inserted between the infinitive and the head noun. The AC precedes the head noun. In this type of ACs, the subject NP (the A or the S) is marked with the genitive postposition. As a pair of examples, compare (19) (transitive) and (20).

(19) *koii   darvaazaa khaTkhaTaa rahaa   hai.*
      someone door.M.SG knock   PROG.M.SG AUX.PRS.3SG
      'Someone is knocking on the door.'   (Koga 1996: 485)

(20) *raat=ke   12 baje   mãĩ=ne   kisii=ke   darvaazaa*
    night=GEN.M 12 o'clock 1SG=ERG someone.OBL=GEN.M door.M.SG
    khaTkhaTaa-ne=kii   aavaaz   sun-ii.
    knock-INF.OBL=GEN.F sound.F.SG hear-PFV.F.SG
    '12 o'clock at night, I heard the sound of someone knocking on the door.'
    (http://navbharattimes.indiatimes.com (25 August 2017))

Note that the head noun in (20), i.e. *aavaaz* 'sound.F.SG', is absent in (19). It is, so to speak, added from "outside the underlying clause". It does not correspond to any argument or any adjunct of the AC. Another example of ACs of the addition type is (22). Compare it with (21) (intransitive).

(21) *eśiyaa=mẽ Dẽguu   buxaar   phail-taa   hai.*
    Asia=in   dengue fever.M.SG spread-IMPF.M.SG AUX.PRS.3SG
    'Dengue fever spreads in Asia.'
    (http://www.news-medical.net/news/20101008/74/Hindi.aspx (15 August
    2016))

(22) *buxaar=ke   phail-ne=kii   vajhõ=kii*
    fever.M=GEN.M spread-INF.OBL=GEN.F reason.F.PL.OBL=GEN.F
    jããc
    investigation.F.SG
    'an investigation of the reasons why (dengue) fever spreads'
    (BBC061002_delhi_dengue (4 Oct 2006))

4.2.3.2 Apposition of noun and clause

ACs of this type involve the apposition of the head noun and a modifying clause. The clause is introduced with the conjunction *ki* 'that'. Roughly speaking, this conjunction is equivalent to the complementizer *that* of English. The verb of the AC is finite, and it is fully inflected. In contrast with the ACs examined in 4.2.3.1, the AC follows the head noun. Examples include (23) (the AC is intransitive) and (24) (the AC is transitive).

(23) *raajan=ko aaśaa   hai   ki   use   naukrii mil*
    Rajan=DAT hope.F.SG exist.PRS.3SG CONJ 3SG.DAT job.F.SG accrue
    jaa-egii.
    go-FUT.3.F.SG
    LT: 'To Rajan exists the hope that to him the job accrues.'
    FT: 'Rajan hopes that he will get the job.'   (Kachru 1980: 38)

(24) us=kaa   yah daavaa   ki   muniiś ghuus
     3SG.OBL=GEN.M.SG this claim.M.SG CONJ Munish bribe.F.SG
     le-taa   hai   bilkul sahii   hai.
     take-IMPF.M.SG AUX.PRS.3SG quite correct COP.PRS.3SG
     'His claim that Munish takes bribe is quite correct.'   (Kachru 1980: 28)

In (23), the clause *use naukrii mil jaaegii* 'He will get the job' is in apposition with the noun *aaśaa* 'hope', and in (24), the clause *muniiś ghuus letaa hai* 'Munish takes bribe' is in apposition with the noun *daavaa* 'claim'.

5 Mermaid construction and a similar construction

To the best of my knowledge, Hindi does not have a construction that conforms to the prototype of the MMC (see Section 1). However, it has a construction that is a variant of the MMC: the *=vaalaa construction* (5.1). In addition, it has a construction that looks similar to the MMC. It involves the existential verb (5.2).

5.1 *=vaalaa* construction

5.1.1 Introductory notes

The enclitic *=vaalaa* is used very productively and frequently. It may inflect for gender, number, and case. It has two uses. In one use, it forms noun phrases and adjective phrases that mean 'the one who/which does/is …' (5.1.2). In the other use, it is used as a nominalizer in what I have termed "the *=vaalaa* construction" (5.1.3). The *=vaalaa* construction is a variant of the MMC. We shall look at these two uses. In both uses, *=vaalaa* is glossed as 'NMLZ' expediently.

5.1.2 *=vaalaa* used for forming noun phrases and adjective phrases

=vaalaa can be used for forming noun phrases and adjective phrases that mean 'the one who/which does/is …'. The noun phrases denote agents, possessors, or the like. In this use, *=vaalaa* inflects for gender, number, and case. It can be added to diverse categories of words: nouns, e.g., (25), (26), adjectives, e.g., (27), demonstratives, e.g., (28-B), adverbs, e.g. (29), and infinitives of verbs, e.g., (30), (31).

(25) *ganne=vaalaa*
     sugarcane.M.SG.OBL=NMLZ.M.SG
     'sugarcane seller'

(26) *lambe   baalõ=vaalii   laRkii*
long.M.PL hair.M.PL.OBL=NMLZ.F girl.F.SG
'a girl who has long hair'   (Montaut 2004: 153)

(27) *choTe=vaale   kamre=mẽ   Tiivii*
small.M.SG.OBL=NMLZ.M.SG.OBL room.M.SG.OBL=in television.M.SG
hai.
exist.PRS.3SG
'The television is in the small room (not the big room).'   (Bhatt 2007: 210)

(28) A: *aap   kaunsii saaRii   lẽgii?*
2HON which.F sari.F.SG take.FUT.2HON.F
'Which sari will you take?'

   B: *yah=vaalii.*
this=NMLZ.F.SG
'This one.'   (Montaut 2004: 154)

(29) *us=kii   hameśaa=vaalii miiThii aavaaz*
3SG.OBL=GEN always=NMLZ.F sweet   voice.F.SG
'her usual sweet voice'   (Abhimanyu Anat, *Ek Ummid Aur*)

(30) *mar-ne   aur ghaayal ho-ne=vaalõ=kii   taadaad*
die-INF.OBL and be.injured-INF.OBL=NMLZ.M.PL.OBL=GEN.F number.F.SG
'the number of dead and injured'
(BBC060310_kashinath_varanasi (12 March 2006))

(31) *dillii   jaa-ne=vaalii   gaaRii*
Delhi go-INF.OBL=NMLZ.F vehicle.F.SG
'a train bound for Delhi'

5.1.3 *=vaalaa* construction: a variant of the MMC

5.1.3.1 Overview
In this use, *=vaalaa* occurs in the construction shown in (3). More specifically, its structure is shown in (33).

(32)=(3) The *=vaalaa* construction: a variant of the MMC:
   [Clause]=*vaalaa*   Copula

(33)   [X V-*ne*]=*vaalaa*   *honaa*.

This construction is formed by attaching the enclitic *=vaalaa* to an infinitive form of a verb. The enclitic *=vaalaa* is followed by the copula verb *honaa*. (The copula

verb inflects for person and number in the present tense, and for gender and number in the past tense.)

An overall characterization of the MMC in Hindi is the following.

(a) The Noun slot of the MMC is occupied not by an independent noun, but by an enclitic: *=vaalaa*. It is used as a nominalizer. *=vaalaa* inflects for gender and number. (When used in the MMC, it does not inflect for case.) It agrees with the subject of the Clause: "X" in (33).

(b) The predicate of the Clause is in an infinitive form. It is not a finite form. The infinitive suffix *-naa* occurs in the oblique case form V-*ne*.

(c) The subject of the Clause is consistently in the direct case – irrespective of whether it is the A or the S.

(d) The MMC indicates: (i) 'be about to' (an aspectual meaning), (ii) schedule, intention (a modal meaning), or (iii) the speaker's firm belief about the occurrence/non-occurrence of a situation (a modal meaning, to be precise, epistemic).

(e) The etymology of *=vaalaa* is said to be the Sanskrit noun *paalaka* 'guardian, protector; one who maintains or observes'. This word refers to a human, not a deity. (*Paalaka* also means a foster-father; a prince, ruler, sovereign, etc. See 7.1.)

5.1.3.2 Examples

Examples of 'be about to' (an aspectual meaning) include (4), (34), and (35). This use may provide an evidential meaning, as in (35).

(34) *baiTh-ie,* [*mãĩ aap=ko bulaa-ne*]=***vaalii*** *thii.*
     sit-IMP.HON 1SG 2HON=ACC call-INF.OBL=NMLZ.F COP.PST.F.SG
     'Sit down, please. I was about to call you.'   (Nirmal Verma, *Antim Aranya*)

(35) [*paanii baras-ne=hii*]=***vaalaa*** *hai.*
     rain.M fall-INF.OBL=EMPH=NMLZ.M.SG COP.PRS.3SG
     'It looks like it is just about to rain.'   (Jagannāthan 1981: 321)

Examples of 'schedule, intention' (a modal meaning) include (5), and (36) to (39). According to previous studies (e.g., Platts (1878: 330), Montaut (2004: 112)), the *=vaalaa* construction concerns a situation in the proximate/near future. However, my own examination of relevant examples has revealed that this construction can also refer to a situation in the remote future provided that the situation is highly likely to occur, e.g., (38) and (39).

(36) *do   tiin   mahiine   baad,* [*mãĩ yah kaam choR*
two three month.M.PL after   1SG this job.M quit
de-ne]=***vaalaa***   *hũũ.*
give-INF.OBL=NMLZ.M.SG COP.PRS.1SG
'I intend to quit this job after two or three months.'
(Tsuchida 1985: 613)

(37) [*mãĩ tapaścaryaa=mẽ   rat rah-ne   aur uttam*
1SG ascetic.practice=in devote-INF.OBL and supreme
dharm=kaa   paalan   kar-ne]=***vaalaa***
religion/law=GEN.M.SG keeping.M.SG do-INF.OBL=NMLZ.M.SG
hũũ.
COP.PRS.1SG
'I intend to devote myself to ascetic practices and keep the supreme law.'
(http://www.ganeshgaatha.com/ganesh_leela_detail.php?id=31 (5 March
2012))

(38) [*haridvaar=kaa aglaa kumbh 2021=mẽ=hii   ho-ne*]=***vaalaa***
Haridwar=GEN next   *Kumbh* 2021=in=EMPH be.held-INF.OBL=NMLZ.M.SG
hai.
COP.PRS.3SG
'The next *Kumbh* (a grand Hindu religious fair) at Haridwar is scheduled to
be held in 2021.'
(http://in.jagran.yahoo.com/news/local/bihar/4_4_6436984_1.html
(23 September 2011))

(39) [*ek kSudragrah epofis   2029=mẽ pŕthvii=ke   bahut paas*
a   asteroid   Apophis 2029=in   earth=GEN.M very   near
aa-ne]=***vaalaa***   *hai.*
come-INF.OBL=NMLZ.M.SG COP.PRS.3SG
'An asteroid called Apophis is scheduled to come very close to earth in
2029.' (http://www.dw-world.de/dw/article/0,,5261769,00.html (1 August
2011))

Examples of the speaker's firm belief about the occurrence/non-occurrence of
a situation (a modal meaning: epistemic) include (6) and the following.

(40) *hamẽ   pataa   thaa   ki   [Tokyo=mẽ ek baRaa*
1PL.DAT information.M.SG exist.PST.M.SG CONJ Tokyo=in   a big
bhuukamp   aa-ne]=***vaalaa***   *hai.*
earthquake.M.SG come-INF.OBL=NMLZ.M.SG COP.PRS.3SG
'We knew that a big earthquake would certainly occur in Tokyo.'
(http://www.amarujala.com/vichaar/VichaarDetail.aspx?nid=897&tp=
b&Secid=4&SubSecid=9 (5 March 2012))

As these examples indicate, the =*vaalaa* construction is used to describe situations that have high probability of occurrence, but are not realized yet (or the situations that were not realized if the copula verb is in the past form, as in (34)).

5.1.3.3 Can the Clause of the MMC be used as a sentence by itself?

One of the five properties of the prototype of the MMC as proposed by Tsunoda (this volume-a) (listed in Section 1 above) is the following.

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

As noted in 5.1.3.1, the predicate of the Clause of the =*vaalaa* construction is in an infinitive form of a verb. That is, it is not finite. Therefore, the Clause cannot be used as a sentence by itself. Compare (41) (same as (4)) (an instance of the =*vaalaa* construction) and (42) (the Clause of (41)).

(41)=(4) [*mãĩ yuunivarsiTii jaa-ne*]=***vaalaa*** *hũũ.*
      1SG   university.F.SG go-INF.OBL=*vaalaa*.M.SG COP.PRS.1SG
      LT: '[I go to the university] NMLZ am.'
      FT: 'I am about to go to the university.'   (McGregor 1995: 171)

(42) **mãĩ yuunivarsiTii jaa-ne.*
     1SG   university   go-INF.OBL
     IM: 'I go to the university.'

5.1.3.4 Sentencehood of the Clause of the MMC

The Clause of the =*vaalaa* construction lacks some properties of independent sentences. For example, as noted in 5.1.3.1 and 5.1.3.3, its verb is in an infinitive form. It is a non-finite form, not a finite form.

5.1.4 Status of *=vaalaa* as an enclitic

Almost all of the previous studies (e.g., Shukla (2001: 97), Montaut (2004: 153), Kachru (2009: 413)) treat =*vaalaa* as a suffix. (Butt (1995: 72–74) identifies two types of *vaalaa*: a suffix -*vaalaa* and an enclitic =*vaalaa*.) In my view, however, it has a more independent status than suffixes and I regard it as an enclitic. The reasons for this are the following.

    (a) =*vaalaa* inflects for gender, number, and case, like independent words. (Suffixes may be used for inflection. However, suffixes themselves do not inflect.)
    (b) Diverse categories of words can be the host for =*vaalaa*: nouns, adjectives, demonstratives, adverbs, and infinitives of verbs. See 5.1.2.

(c) When =*vaalaa* is attached, the host is placed in its oblique form (if it is a noun or an infinitive of a verb, e.g., (25) to (26), (30) and (31)). That is, =*vaalaa* governs the case of its host. (Suffixes do not govern the case of the preceding element.)

(d) According to Butt & King (2004: 173), "One classic test for clitic status is the interaction with coordinate structures. Inflectional affixes do not scope over a coordinate structure". In contrast, =*vaalaa* has scope over coordinate structures. In (37), two clauses are coordinated by the conjunction *aur* 'and'. =*vaalaa* is attached to the second infinitive (*karnaa* 'to do'), and the infinitive is in the oblique case form (-*ne*). Note that the first infinitive (*rat rahnaa* 'to devote'), too, is in the oblique case form. This indicates that =*vaalaa* has scope over this coordinate structure. Another example in which =*vaalaa* has scope over a coordinate structure is (30).

(e) The emphatic clitic =*hii* may be placed between the infinitive and =*vaalaa*, as in (35).

For the differences between clitics and affixes, see Zwicky & Pullum (1983), Aikhenvald (2002), Hopper & Traugott (2003: 4–6, 142–143), and Anderson (2005: 33–36), among others.

5.2 A construction that looks similar to the MMC

Hindi has a construction that looks similar to the MMC. Examples follow.

(43) *rohit=kaa   fiziks   paRh-ne=kaa   iraadaa*
Rohit=GEN.M.SG physics study-INF.OBL=GEN.M.SG intention.M
hai.
exist.PRS.3SG
LT: 'Rohit's intention to study physics exists.'
FT: 'Rohit intends to study physics.'   (Kachru 1990: 65)

(44) *hemaa=par saaraa ghar   samhaal-ne=kii   zimmevaarii*
Hema=on   entire   home manage-INF.OBL=GEN.F responsibility.F
hai.
exist.PRS.3SG   (Kachru 1990: 65)
LT: 'On Hema the responsibility of managing the entire house exists.'
FT: 'Hema has the responsibility of managing the entire house.'

(45) *raat   so-ne=se   pahle śibu=ko   paan khaa-ne=kii*
    night sleep-INF.OBL=than before Shibu=DAT betel eat-INF.OBL=GEN.F
    aadat   hai.
    habit.F exist.PRS.3SG
    LT: 'At night before sleeping, to Shibu a habit of chewing betel exists.'
    FT: 'Shibu has a habit of chewing betel at night before sleeping.'   (Vikesh
    Nijhavani, *Bhukh*)

These sentences may look similar to the prototype of the MMC, whose five properties are shown in Section 1. Regarding the property (a), superficially, they may appear to have the structure of "Clause + Noun + Copula". The verb *honaa* may be used as the existential verb ('exist'), e.g., (12), (43) to (45), and also as the copula verb ('be'), e.g., (9), (10). Concerning the property (b), the form in what may appear to be the Noun slot is an independent word (not a clitic) that is a noun: *iraadaa* 'intention.M' in (43), *zimmevaarii* 'responsibility.F' in (44), and *aadat* 'habit.F' in (45). With respect to the property (c), what may be considered the subject of the Clause and the Noun are not co-referential. For example, in (43), 'Rohit' and the 'intention.M' are not co-referential.

However, these sentences differ from the prototype of the MMC in terms of the other two properties. As for the property (d), in contrast with the prototype of the MMC, what may appear to be the Clause cannot be used by itself as a sentence; the verb is in an infinitive form. For example, compare (43) and (46). (46) is not acceptable.

(46) **rohit=kaa   fiziks   paRh-ne.*
    Rohit=GEN.M.SG physics study-INF.OBL
    IM: 'Rohit studies physics.'

Regarding (e), too, these sentences depart from the prototype of the MMC. For example, in (43), what may appear to be the Clause ('Rohit's intention to study physics') is indeed the subject of what may appear to be the Copula ('exists').

To sum up, these sentences may look similar to the prototype of the MMC, but they depart from it in terms of two of its five properties.

These sentences resemble the MMC with *=vaalaa* in that the predicate of what may appear to be the Clause contains a verb in an infinitive form in the oblique case. However, they differ from the latter in the following respects. (i) The verb in an infinitive form in the oblique case is followed by *=vaalaa* in the MMC, but by the genitive case postposition in (43) to (45). (ii) What may be considered the subject is consistently in the direct case in the MMC, but it is in the genitive case in (43) (*rohit=kaa* 'Rohit=GEN.M.SG'), the locative case 'on' in (44) (*hemaa=par* 'Hema= on'), and the dative case in (45) (*śibu=ko* 'Shibu=DAT').

Hindi has no possessive verb corresponding to the English *have*, and predicative possession (X has/owns Y) is expressed periphrastically by a postposition and the existential verb *honaa*. (Recall that this verb can also be used as the copula verb.) Different postpositions are used for different possessees. In view of the above, examples such as (43) to (45) are best considered instances of existential/possessive expression. This is reflected in the English translations of these sentences. Imamura (2017) provides a detailed account of this existential/possessive construction.

6 Comparison of the MMC with other constructions

6.1 Introductory notes

We now compare the MMC with other constructions. In particular, we shall examine the following two issues.

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

The structure of the prototype of the MMC is as shown in (1). Superficially at least, it looks as if the prototypical MMC is bi-clausal. In some of the languages reported in the present volume, the Clause of the MMC looks similar to an adnominal clause ("AC") (or a relative clause) of the respective languages and consequently it looks as if the MMC is bi-clausal, with an AC as a subordinate clause. However, languages such as Modern Standard Japanese (Tsunoda, this volume-b, Section 6) and Korean (Kim, this volume, Section 6) yield evidence that their MMC does not contain an AC and that it is syntactically mono-clausal. (See Tsunoda (this volume-a, 3.4).) In view of this, it is important to examine the two issues listed above.

We shall compare the following constructions.

(i) Mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences (cf. 4.1).
(ii) MMC (the *=vaalaa* construction) (cf. Section 5).
(iii) ACs (1): correlative (cf. 4.2.1).
(iv) ACs (2): the gap type (cf. 4.2.2).
(v) ACs (3): the addition type (1): infinitive (cf. 4.2.3.1).
(vi) ACs (4): the addition type (2): apposition (cf. 4.2.3.2).

Verb-predicate sentences are chosen as the representative of independent sentences. It is necessary to consider mono-clausal sentences, since one of the aims of this comparison is to examine the issue (b) listed above.

When we look at the MMC, we shall mainly be concerned with the Clause.

We now compare the constructions listed above in terms of morphology and syntax. The result of this comparison is shown in Table 2.

6.2 Morphology (1): the predicate

(i) Mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences
The predicate is in a finite form, and it is fully inflected.

(ii) MMC
The predicate of the Clause of the MMC is in an infinitive form in the oblique case, and it is non-finite.

(iii) ACs (1): correlative
The predicate of the AC is in a finite form, and it is fully inflected.

(iv) ACs (2): the gap type
The predicate involves a participle (either an imperfective participle or a perfective participle). And it is often followed by an auxiliary verb: the perfective participle of the verb *honaa* 'to be', e.g., *huii* 'AUX.F' in (16) and *huaa* 'AUX.M.SG' in (18). Participles are non-finite.

(v) ACs (3): the addition type (1): infinitive
The predicate is in an infinitive form in the oblique case and it is obligatorily followed by the genitive case marker. That is, it is non-finite.

(vi) ACs (4): the addition type (2): apposition
The predicate is in a finite form, and it is fully inflected.

6.3 Morphology (2): case of the subject

(i) Mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences
The A takes the case marker *=ne* 'ERG' when the aspect is perfective, e.g. (7) ('1SG= ERG'), but it is in the direct case when the aspect is imperfective, e.g. (47) ('1SG'). The S is consistently in the direct case, irrespective of whether the aspect is perfective, e.g. (8) ('1SG'), or imperfective, e.g. (48) ('1SG').

(47) *har   subah   mãĩ kaafii pii-taa   hũũ.*
     every morning 1SG coffee drink-IMPF AUX.PRS.1SG
     'I drink coffee every morning.'

(48) *hameśaa mãĩ chah baje   uTh-taa   hũũ.*
    always   1SG six   o'clock get up-IMPF.M.SG AUX.PRS.1SG
    'I always get up at six o'clock.'

    (ii) MMC
The subject of the Clause is consistently in the direct case, irrespective of whether it is the A, e.g., (34), (36), (37) ('1SG'), or the S, e.g., (35) ('rain.M'), (38) ('Kumbh'), (39) ('Apophis'), (40) ('earthquake.M.SG').

    (iii) ACs (1): correlative
The A takes the case marker *=ne* 'ERG' when the aspect is perfective, e.g. (14) ('1SG=ERG'), but it is in the direct case when the aspect is imperfective, e.g. (49) ('team.F.SG'). The S is consistently in the direct case, irrespective of whether the aspect is perfective, e.g. (50) ('man.M.PL'), or imperfective, e.g. (51) ('thing.F.SG').

(49) *jo   Tiim   zyaadaa gol   kar le-tii   hai   vahii*
    REL team.F.SG more   goal do take-IMPF.F AUX.PRS.3SG COR.EMPH
    jiit-tii   hai.
    win-IMPF.F AUX.PRS.3SG
    'The team which scores more goals wins the game.'   (Koga & Takahashi 2006: 506)

(50) *jo   aadmii   kal   yahãã aa-e   the,   ve*
    REL man.M.PL yesterday here   come-PFV.M.PL AUX.PST.M.PL COR.PL
    mere   dost   hãĩ.
    1SG.GEN.M.PL friend.M.PL COP.PRS.3PL
    'The men who came here yesterday are my friends.'   (McGregor 1995: 237)

(51) *jo   ciiz   camak-tii   hai   vah hameśaa sonaa nahĩĩ*
    REL thing.F.SG shine-IMPF.F AUX.PRS.3SG COR always   gold   NEG
    ho-tii.
    be-IMPF.F
    'That which shines is not always gold.'   (Bhatt 2007: 191)

    (iv) ACs (2): the gap type
The A occurs in the genitive case, e.g., (16) ('friend.M.SG.OBL=GEN.F'). The S of the AC is "gapped", and it is absent. Therefore, the issue of its case marking is irrelevant (4.2.2.)

    (v) ACs (3): the addition type (1): infinitive
The subject consistently takes the genitive case marker, irrespective of whether it is the A, e.g., (20) ('someone.OBL=GEN.M'), or the S, e.g., (22) ('fever.M=GEN.M').

(vi) ACs (4): the addition type (2): apposition

The A takes the case marker =*ne* 'ERG' when the aspect is perfective, e.g. (52) ('elephant.PL.OBL=ERG'), but it is in the direct case when the aspect is imperfective, e.g., (24) ('Munish'). The S is consistently in the direct case, irrespective of whether the aspect is perfective, e.g. (53) ('powerful people.M.PL'), or imperfective, e.g. (54) ('Republican party.F.SG').

(52) *ek   anumaan hai   ki   pichle 15 varSõ=mẽ*
      one   estimation exist.PRS.3SG CONJ   past   15 years=in
      haathiyõ=ne   vahãã 600=se   adhik logõ=kii   jaan   le
      elephant.PL.OBL=ERG there 600=than more people=GEN.F life.F.SG take
      lii   hai.
      take.PFV.F.SG AUX.PRS.3SG
      '(In Assam) there is an estimation that (wild) elephants have killed more than 600 people in the past 15 years.'
      (BBC050608_elephants_chillibomb (20 December 2010))

(53) *mere man=mẽ ek aaśaa   jag-tii   hai   ki   is*
      my   mind=in one hope.F.SG arise-IMPF.F AUX.PRS.3SG CONJ this
      deś=mẽ   samaaj=ke   bhiitar=se=hii   taaqatvar log
      country=in community=GEN.M inside=from=EMPH powerful people.M.PL
      nikal-te   hãĩ.
      emerge-IMPF.M.PL AUX.PRS.3PL
      'In my mind the hope arises that powerful people will emerge from inside the community in this country.'
      (http://pib.nic.in/newsite/PrintRelease.aspx?relid=161399 (26 August 2017))

(54) *qariib raat das baje   xabar   aa-ii   ki   ripablikan*
      around night ten o'clock news.F.SG come-PFV.F.SG CONJ Republican
      paarTii   pensilveniyaa=mẽ=bhii jiit gaii   hai.
      party.F.SG Pennsylvania=in=too win go-PFV.F AUX.PRS.3SG
      'Around ten o'clock in the night the news came that the Republican party won in Pennsylvania, too.'   (Pradeep Pandit, *Abraham Lincoln*)

6.4 Syntax (1): gapping

It is convenient to start with ACs of the gap type.

(iv) ACs (2): the gap type

Gapping takes place in the formation of ACs of the gap type ACs. For example, compare (15) and (16). Both the subject ('he') and the direct object ('a book') are

present in (15). In contrast, the object is absent in the AC of (16). Also, compare (17) and (18). The subject ('he') is present in (17). But it is absent in the AC of (18).

    (iii) ACs (1): correlative
    (v) ACs (3): the addition type (1): infinitive
    (vi) ACs (4): the addition type (2): apposition

In contrast with ACs of the gap type, gapping does not take place in the formation of ACs of the other types. For example, compare (21) and (22). The subject ('dengue fever') is present in (21). It is also present in the AC (the addition type) of (22).

    (i) Mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences
    (ii) MMC

Gapping does not occur in the formation of these constructions.

6.5 One subject or two subjects?

It is convenient to start with ACs.

    (iv) ACs (2): the gap type

A sentence that contains an AC of the gap type may have two subjects: the subject of the AC and the subject of the main clause. For example, (16) has two subjects: the subject of the AC is 'my friend' and the subject of the main clause is 'this'.

    (v) ACs (3): the addition type (1): infinitive
    (vi) ACs (4): the addition type (2): apposition

A sentence that contains an AC of the addition type has two subjects (unless the sentence is elliptical). For example, in (24), the subject of the AC is 'Munish' and the subject of the main clause is 'his claim'.

    (iii) ACs (1): correlative

A sentence that contains a correlative AC always contains two subjects. For example, in (13), the subject of the AC is 'which boy' and the subject of the main clause is 'that'.

    (i) Mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences
    (ii) MMC

These constructions have only one subject and they cannot have two subjects. For example, (7) (an example of (i)) has just one subject: 'I'. As another example, (34) (an example of (ii)) has just one subject: 'I'.

6.6 Discussion

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

In terms of the predicate (a morphological criterion), the Clause of the MMC resembles (v) ACs (3): the addition type (1): infinitive. Both involve an infinitive form of a verb in the oblique case. However, they differ in that the predicate of the Clause of the MMC is not followed by the genitive marker.

Regarding the case-marking of the subject (a morphological criterion), the subject of the Clause behaves like neither mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences nor any type of ACs.

Concerning gapping (a syntactic criterion), the MMC behaves like mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences and also like ACs, except for ACs of the gap type.

In terms of the number of the subjects (a syntactic criterion), the MMC behaves like mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences but unlike ACs.

Tab. 2: Comparison of the MMC and other constructions.

	Predicate	
Mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences	Finite (fully inflected)	
MMC	Infinitive (non-finite) in the oblique case	
ACs (1): correlative	Finite (fully inflected)	
ACs (2): gap type	Participle (non-finite)	
ACs (3): infinitive	Infinitive (non-finite) in the oblique case obligatorily followed by the genitive marker	
ACs (4): apposition	Finite (fully inflected)	

	Case of the subject	
	A	S
Mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences	Ergative or direct	Direct
MMC	Direct	Direct
ACs (1): correlative	Ergative or direct	Direct
ACs (2): gap type	Genitive	…
ACs (3): infinitive	Genitive	Genitive
ACs (4): apposition	Ergative or direct	Direct

	Gapping	Two subjects
Mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences	–	–
MMC	–	–
ACs (1): correlative	–	+
ACs (2): gap type	+	+
ACs (3): infinitive	–	+
ACs (4): apposition	–	+

Legend: +: possible or obligatory; –: impossible; …: irrelevant.

On the basis of the above, we shall consider the two questions posited at the beginning of 6.1.

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

The two pieces of morphological evidence show that the MMC does not contain an AC. The two pieces of syntactic evidence show that the MMC behaves exactly like mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences – although the MMC also behaves like ACs, except for ACs of the gap type, in terms of gapping.

That is, syntactically there is evidence – though not very strong – that the MMC is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal.

Additional evidence for the mono-clausal status of the MMC will be given in 7.2-[4]. This evidence is stronger than that given above.

7 Historical change

7.1 Etymology of *=vaalaa*

Only limited information is available on the etymology of *=vaalaa*. Beames (1879: 238–239) and Kellogg (1893: 342) state that *=vaalaa* derives from the Sanskrit noun *paalaka* 'guardian, protector; one who maintains or observes'. This word refers to a human, not a deity. (*Paalak(a)* is still used as a noun 'guardian, protector' and an adjective 'protecting, supporting' in Hindi. The word-final *a* is dropped by a regular phonological rule of Hindi.) They point out the correspondence between the Sanskrit *gopaalaka* 'cowherd' and the Hindi *gvaalaa* 'cowherd'. In a recent study, Montaut (2004: 146, 153) gives the same etymology for *=vaalaa*. However, it should be noted that, to the best of my knowledge, no construction such as "[Clause] *paalaka* Copula" has been found in Sanskrit.

7.2 Grammaticalization of *=vaalaa*

In this section, I shall examine the grammaticalization of *=vaalaa*, assuming that its etymology proposed by Beames (1879), Kellogg (1893), and Montaut (2004) is correct.

[1] An independent noun (*paalaka* 'guardian, protector' in Sanskrit) changed to an enclitic (*=vaalaa* in Hindi).

[2] The meaning changed from "lexical" to "grammatical", namely, from 'guardian, protector; one who maintains or observes' to (i) 'be about to' (an aspectual meaning), (ii) schedule, intention (a modal meaning), and (iii) the speaker's firm belief about the occurrence/non-occurrence of a situation (a modal meaning). Beames (1879: 240) states as follows: "this [i.e. =*vaalaa* construction – YI] is not perhaps a classical phrase, but it is one which one hears a dozen times a day from the mouths of people of all classes".

[3] The Sanskrit *paalaka* 'guardian, protector; one who maintains or observes' was used as an independent word or as the second member of a compound (e.g., *lokapaalaka* 'a world protector'). On the other hand, the Hindi =*vaalaa* is a dependent element, and in the =*vaalaa* construction, =*vaalaa* is used as a part of the predicate. This will be shown in [4] below.

[4] Sentences involving =*vaalaa* (hereafter, =*vaalaa* sentences) are occasionally ambiguous and two (or more) readings are possible, e.g., (55) and (56).

(55) *laRkaa   paRh-ne=vaalaa   hai.*
     boy.M.SG study-INF.OBL=NMLZ.M.SG COP.PRS.3SG
     (i)   'The boy is of the studious type.'
     (ii) 'The boy is about to start studying.'   (Verma 1971: 104)

(56) *śer   aadmii khaa-ne=vaalaa   hai.*
     tiger.M.SG man.M eat-INF.OBL=NMLZ.M.SG COP.PRS.3SG
     (i)   'The tiger is of the man-eating type.'
     (ii) 'The tiger is about to eat a man.'   (Verma 1971: 104)

The two readings in each of (55) and (56) differ in the type of predication. When the sentence has the reading of (i), =*vaalaa* is used for forming noun phrases and adjective phrases (5.1.2). Also, it is an instance of "property predication", which describes a particular characteristic of a person or thing. When the sentence has the reading of (ii), it is a variant of MMC. Also, it is an instance of "event predication", which describes a specific event. The meaning of the sentence depends, for example, on the context or the presence of a certain type of adverb of time. (If the sentence includes 'today', as against 'always', it is interpreted as an instance of event predication.) (See Kageyama (2006) for a discussion of property predication and event predication.)

These two types of =*vaalaa* sentences have different syntactic structures; see Table 3. (Note: -*ne* 'INF.OBL' and *honaa* 'be'.)

The difference between the two syntactic structures is illustrated by the position of a negation word in the sentence. Hindi has three negation words. A negation word generally comes immediately before the predicate verb.

Tab. 3: Two types of =*vaalaa* sentences.

	Syntactic structure	Meaning
Property predication	[X [V-*ne*=*vaalaa*] *honaa*]	'X is the one that V' (property)

Event predication	[X [V-*ne*=*vaalaa honaa*]]	'X is about to V' (aspectual)
		'X is due to V' (schedule)
		'X intends to V' (intention)
		'X will V' (speaker's firm belief about
		    the occurrence/non-occurrence
		    of an event/situation)

(57) *suśmaa   abhii skuul   **nahĩĩ** pahŭc-ii.*
  Sushma.F yet   school NEG   arrive-PFV.F.SG
  'Sushma has not arrived at school yet.'   (Kachru 2006: 180)

(58) *mãĩ amiir   ghar=kii   laRkii   **nahĩĩ** hũũ.*
  1SG wealthy home=GEN.F daughter.F.SG NEG   COP.PRS.1SG
  'I am not a daughter of a wealthy family.'   (Okaguchi & Okaguchi 2015: 38)

(59) is an instance of property predication, and the negation word *nahĩĩ* occurs before the copula verb. This shows that, in (59), *the* 'COP.PST.M.PL' is the predicate, and that (59) has the structure of "Property predication" shown in Table 3.

(59) *minisTar saahab cup   baiTh-ne=vaale   nahĩĩ the.*
  minister HON   silent sit-INF.OBL=*vaalaa*.M.PL NEG   COP.PST.M.PL
  (Rahi Masoom Raza, *Neem ka Ped*)
  'The minister was not a type of person to sit silent.'

(60) and (61) are instances of event predication. (Also, as shown below, they are instances of the MMC. =*vaalaa* is shown in bold face.) The negation word does not occur before the copula, but it comes before V-*ne*=*vaalaa honaa*. (In (61), we are concerned with the second occurrence of *nahĩĩ*, not its first occurrence.) This shows the following. (i) The predicate is *kar-ne*=*vaalaa hũũ* in (60), and *aa-ne*=*vaalaa hai* in (61). (ii) Consequently (60) and (61) have the structure of "Event predication" shown in Table 3. These in turn show the following. (iii) (60) and (61) each have just one predicate (which is a compound predicate), not two predicates. (iv) Consequently (60) and (61) are mono-clausal, not bi-clausal.

(60) *lekin mã̃i koii   taariix tay   nahĩ̃ kar-ne=**vaalaa***
      but   1SG certain date   deciding NEG do-INF.OBL=*vaalaa*.M.SG
      hũ̃.
      COP.PRS.1SG
      'But I am not going to set a precise (retirement) date now.'
      (BBC060907_blair_party_leave (8 September 2006))

(61) *jab tak   aap   apnii   soc=ko   nahĩ̃ badl-ēge,*
      by the time 2HON REFL.GEN thought=ACC NEG change-FUT.2HON.M
      *tab tak badlaav   nahĩ̃ aa-ne=**vaalaa**   hai.*
      by then change.M.SG NEG come-INF.OBL=*vaalaa*.M.SG COP.PRS.3SG
      'Unless you change your thoughts, change will not come.'
      (ZEE111115 (16 December 2011))

As noted in Section 1 and 6.1, languages such as Modern Standard Japanese and Korean provide ample evidence that syntactically their MMC is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal, despite its superficial appearance (shown in (1), repeated below). Also as noted in Section 1, the MMC in these languages has just one predicate, not two predicates, and the predicate is a compound predicate that consists of the predicate of the Clause, the Noun and the Copula, as shown in (2), repeated below.

(62)=(1) Prototype of the mermaid construction ("MMC"):
          [Clause]   Noun   Copula.

(63)=(2) [...   predicate of Clause]   Noun   Copula.
                    compound predicate

The evidence presented above shows that (60) and (61) – though not (59) – have a compound predicate that consists of the predicate of the Clause, the enclitic =*vaalaa* and the Copula, like that in (63)=(2). This in turn shows that (60) and (61) each have just one predicate. That is, (60) and (61) are mono-clausal, not bi-clausal. In these respects, they resemble the MMC in languages such as Modern Standard Japanese and Korean. It is justifiable to regard such sentences as instances of the MMC.

In contrast, (59) does not have such a compound predicate. In the present work, I have tentatively decided not to regard sentences like (59) as instances of the MMC.

The development of =*vaalaa* can be suggested in terms of grammaticalization as in Table 4.

The change from the Sanskrit noun *paalaka* to the Hindi enclitic =*vaalaa* is a typical case of grammaticalization in that an independent lexical item has become a dependent form and acquired grammatical functions (cf. Hopper & Traugott

Tab. 4: The development of =*vaalaa*.

Stage I	Sanskrit noun *paalaka*	'guardian, protector'
Stage II	Hindi grammatical element =*vaalaa* (from lexical item to grammatical item)	used for forming noun phrases and adjective phrases
Stage III	[X [V-*ne*=*vaalaa*] *honaa*]	property predication
Stage IV	[X [V-*ne*=*vaalaa honaa*]] (by reanalysis)	event predication

2003: xv). As already stated, =*vaalaa* sentences exhibit two types of predication: property predication and event predication. It can be speculated that the change from property predication to event predication is the result of reanalysis. In event predication, the concrete meaning of =*vaalaa*; 'the one who/which does/is …' has been lost (i.e., semantic bleaching), and syntactically, =*vaalaa* has become a part of the predicate (to be precise, a compound predicate). If this proposed scenario is correct, this MMC has reached an advanced stage of grammaticalization.

8 Summary and concluding remarks

Hindi has a variant of the MMC in which the predicate of the Clause is a verb in an infinitive form in the oblique case and the Noun slot is occupied by the enclitic =*vaalaa*, which is in turn followed by the copula verb.

The meanings of this MMC are aspectual and modal: (i) 'be about to' (an aspectual meaning), (ii) schedule, intention (a modal meaning), and (iii) the speaker's firm belief about the occurrence/non-occurrence of a situation (a modal meaning).

This MMC does not contain an adnominal clause ("AC"). Three pieces of syntactic evidence show that it is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal. There is strong evidence that this MMC has a compound predicate that consists of the predicate of the Clause, the enclitic =*vaalaa* and the Copula.

Etymologically, the enclitic =*vaalaa* may have been the Sanskrit noun *paalaka* 'guardian, protector; one who maintains or observes'. If this etymology is correct, =*vaalaa* has undergone grammaticalization: (i) from a noun (an independent word) to an enclitic, and (ii) from a lexical meaning to grammatical meanings. This MMC is possibly an instance of the MMC that has reached an advanced stage of grammaticalization.

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

A = transitive subject; ABL = ablative; AC = adnominal clause; ACC = accusative; AUX = auxiliary verb; CONJ = conjunction; COP = copula; COR = correlative; DAT = dative; EMPH = emphatic; ERG = ergative; F = feminine; FT = free translation; FUT = future; GEN = genitive; HON = honorific; IM = intended meaning; IMP = imperative; IMPF = imperfective; INF = infinitive; INS = instrumental; LT = literal translation; M = masculine; MMC = mermaid construction; NEG = negative; NMLZ = nominalizer; O = object; OBL = oblique; PFV = perfective; PL = plural; PROG = progressive; PRS = present; PST = past; REFL = reflexive; REL = relative pronoun; S = intransitive subject; SG = singular; V = verb; 1 = first person; 2 = second person; 3 = third person

Enclitics are preceded by the equal symbol, while affixes are indicated with a hyphen.

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16 Sidaama

1 Introduction

Tsunoda (this volume-a, 2.1) proposes that the prototype of the mermaid construction ("MMC") has all of the following five properties.

(a) It has the structure shown in (1) – superficially at least.
(b) The Noun is an independent word (not a clitic) that is a noun.
(c) The subject of the Clause and the Noun are non-coreferential.
(d) The Clause can be used as a sentence by itself.
(e) The Clause is not the subject of the "Noun + Copula".

(1) Prototypical structure of the mermaid construction ('MMC'):
    [Clause]   Noun   Copula.

In the prototypical MMC, the Noun slot of the MMC is occupied by a noun that is an independent word. In non-prototypical instances, it may be occupied by an enclitic or suffix that derives from a noun. Nouns, enclitics, and suffixes in the Noun slot may also be nominalizers.

Tsunoda (this volume-a, Sections 1 and 2.1) notes as follows. Superficially at least, it looks as if the MMC contained a subordinate clause and were bi-clausal. However, languages such as Modern Standard Japanese (Tsunoda, this volume-b, Section 6) and Korean (Kim, this volume, Section 6) provide ample evidence that syntactically their MMCs are mono-clausal, not bi-clausal, despite their superficial appearances (shown in (1)). In these languages, the MMC has just one predicate, not two predicates, and the predicate is a compound predicate that consists of the predicate of the Clause, the Noun, and the Copula, as shown in (2).

(2) ... predicate of Clause   Noun   Copula.
                    compound predicate

The present chapter reports on the existence of MMCs outside Asia – in Sidaama of Ethiopia. Contrary to the hypothesis previously suggested in the literature (Tsunoda 1996) that MMCs are peculiar to some Asian languages, Sidaama does have MMCs – in fact, as many as three types.

The Noun slot is occupied by the noun *gara* 'manner, way' in one type (the *gara* MMC), and by the enclitic *=gede* 'like, as if, so that, that (complementizer)' in another (the *=gede* MMC). Both types have an evidential meaning. Specifically, they express the speaker's conjecture on the truthfulness of the proposition expressed

by the Clause based on (i) his/her own observation of the action or state of the referent of the subject noun phrase or (ii) what s/he has heard about it from someone else: 'It seems like …' or 'It appears that …'.

In the third type (the DATLOC MMC), the Noun slot is occupied by one of the allomorphs of the dative-locative suffix *-ra* 'to, at, in, etc.', and this suffix follows the verb of the Clause, which is an infinitive inflected for person, number, and gender. This type has the meaning of what Heine (1994) (also, Heine & Kuteva 2002: 78, 207, 214–215, 311–313) calls "proximative aspect", namely 'be about to do …'.

The Clause of the *gara* MMC and that of the *=gede* MMC can each be used as a sentence by itself, but that of the DATLOC MMC cannot.

The *gara* MMC conforms to the prototype of the MMC, and the *=gede* MMC does fairly closely, though the DATLOC MMC does not.

The present study also speculates how the Sidaama MMCs came to be used.

2 Initial illustration

Examples of the three types of the Sidaama MMCs follow. When literally translated, the MMCs do not make sense, and examples of the *gara* MMC and the *=gede* MMC will be accompanied by a literal translation ("LT") and a free translation ("FT"). (It does not seem worthwhile to give an LT for the DATLOC MMC.) The Clause of the MMCs and its literal translation are shown with square brackets. The form in the Noun slot is in bold face.

gara MMC
(3) [íse   dod-d-annó]   **gara-a**=ti.
    3SG.F.NOM run-3SG.F-IPFV.3 manner-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
    LT: '[She runs (habitually)] the manner is.'
    FT: 'It seems like she runs (habitually).'[1]

=gede MMC
(4) [íse   dod-d-annó]=**gede-e**=ti.
    3SG.F.NOM run-3SG.F-IPFV.3=like-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
    LT: '[She will run] like is.'
    FT: 'It seems like she will run.'

---

1 This sentence can be regarded as a noun-predicate sentence (cf. 4.1), not the MMC, and it can be translated as '(It) is the way she runs/will run'. See 5.2.2.5.

DATLOC MMC
(5) [íse   dod-d-á]-**ra-a**=ti.
    3SG.F.NOM run-3SG.F-INF-DATLOC.MOD-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
    'She is about to run.'

Sidaama does not have a copula verb, and an enclitic, which the present study calls a noun-phrase enclitic, performs the function of a copula, e.g. =*ti* 'NPC.PRED.MOD' in (3) to (5). In this respect, the Sidaama MMCs depart from the prototype of the MMC; see (1). Noun-phrase enclitics are outlined in Section 3.

3 Profile of the language

Sidaama belongs to the Highland-East branch of the Cushitic language family of the Afro-Asiatic language phylum (Kawachi, 2007, in press a, b). It is spoken in the Sidaama Zone of South-Central Ethiopia. According to the 2007 Ethiopian Census, the population of the Sidaama people as of 2005 was 2,966,377.

Sidaama has five short vowel phonemes (/i, e, a, o, u/) and their long counterparts (/ii, ee, aa, oo, uu/). It has the following consonant phonemes: /b, t, d, k, g, ', p', t', k', ɗ, č, ǰ, č', f, s, š, h, m, n, ñ, r, l, w, y/. Sidaama is a pitch-accent language, which indicates prominence with high pitch.

Sidaama sentences normally follow the SOV order, though other orders are also possible in some discourse contexts. Adnominal demonstratives and adjectives have to precede the noun that they modify. Genitive noun phrases and adnominal clauses (or relative clauses) generally precede the noun that they modify.

Sidaama nouns inflect for case, gender, and also for the "Unmodified/Modified" distinction (see below), and use a suprafix (employing high pitch) in addition to suffixes. Sidaama has a nominative-accusative case system (Kawachi, 2017). Sidaama uses suffixes for the nominative, dative-locative, allative, and ablative-instrumental cases, a suprafix for the accusative-oblique case, and both for the genitive case. Nouns take different allomorphs of the nominative, genitive, and dative-locative case suffixes depending on gender and on whether they are accompanied by any modifier, the possessive pronominal suffix, or both (Modified, henceforth), or not at all (Unmodified, henceforth) (Kawachi & Tekleselassie, 2012). See Table 1.

Tab. 1: Nominative, Genitive, and Dative-locative Case Suffixes.

case gender Modification	nominative		genitive		dative-locative	
	FEM	MASC	FEM	MASC	FEM	MASC
Unmodified	-ø	-u	-te	-ú	-te	-ho
Modified		-i	-ø	-í	-ra	

"Modified" and "Unmodified" (and their related terms "Modification" and "Modifier") are capitalized because these terms are used here to refer to the morphosyntactic distinction specific to nouns in Sidaama.

Inflected forms of verbs may indicate – though not always – the following. (i) Aspect: imperfective, distant perfect, recent perfect, continuous, or progressive. (ii) Mood: indicative, imperative, or optative. (The indicative mood has no morphological marking, and it is not shown in the glosses for the examples.) (iii) Person, number, and gender of the subject (and optionally those of the object). The gender marking may be absent under certain conditions. Inflected verbs can be classified as follows.

(a) Finite verbs. They are marked for both (i) person-number-gender of the subject and (ii) aspect or mood.
(b) Non-finite verbs: converbs and infinitives.

Both the aspectual and the mood suffixes have different forms depending on the person and number of the subject.

The imperfective has both habitual and future interpretations. The distant perfect and the recent perfect express different kinds of meaning, depending on the type of the verb. With state-change verbs, they each describe the occurrence of a state change in the past or a present state that is the result of a state change in the past. With action verbs, roughly speaking, they describe the occurrence of an action in the past.

Converbs consist of a verb root, a subject person/number/gender suffix, and the converb suffix. Infinitives consist of a verb root and the infinitive suffix when they form an argument. When they do not, they are marked with a subject person/number/gender suffix. They can be marked for case. (Converbs and infinitives are treated as non-finite because they normally cannot be the only verb of a sentence.)

The continuous aspect and the progressive aspect each employ a periphrastic expression. Specifically, the continuous aspect uses a converb and the verb of existence/locatedness *no-*, e.g. (54). The progressive aspect involves an infinitive with the ablative-instrumental suffix and the verb of existence/locatedness *no-*, e.g. (52), (55).

In a verb-predicate sentence (cf. 4.1), the verb root has to be accompanied either by one of the mood suffixes, e.g. (6) (imperative), or by the subject suffix and one of the aspectual suffixes, e.g. (7) (distant perfect).

(6) faraššó   usúr-i.
    horse.ACCOBL fasten-IMP.2SG
    '(to the second person singular) Fasten the horse!'

(7) íse   faraššó   usur-t-inó.
    3SG.F.NOM   horse.ACCOBL   fasten-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
    'She fastened the horse.'

Sidaama has enclitics that may be called noun-phrase enclitics. They are used to form noun phrases. One of them takes the forms *=ta* (FEM)/*=ha* (MASC) for the singular and the form *=re* for the plural. The singular forms *=ta* and *=ha* are highly relevant to the present study. They attach to (i) a genitive noun phrase or an adnominal clause (a relative clause) to form (part of) an argument noun phrase, (ii) an adjective, a noun phrase, a genitive noun phrase, or an adnominal clause to form a predicate, or (iii) a clause to form a clausal complement (Kawachi, 2011). The singular noun phrase enclitic changes its form, depending on the gender and case of the noun phrase. See Table 2. (The plural form *=re* is limited to the use (i). It is not relevant to the main theme of the present chapter.)

Tab. 2: Singular Noun-Phrase Enclitic *=ta/=ha*.

use	case		gender	FEM	MASC
(i)	ACCOBL			*=ta*	*=ha*
	NOM			*=ti*	*=hu*
	GEN			*=te*	*=hu*
(ii)	PRED	Unmodified common nouns, genitive Modified common nouns, genitive proper nouns, genitive pronouns, adjectives, adnominal clauses		*=te*	*=ho*
		Modified common nouns, proper nouns, or pronouns that are not in the genitive case		*=ti*	
(iii)	COMP			*=ta*	*=ha*

The present study mainly concerns the use (ii): the predicative use of the singular noun-phrase enclitic. Sidaama does not have a copula verb, and the noun-phrase enclitic *=ta/=ha* performs the function of a copula. In this use, when directly preceded by a genitive common or proper noun, a genitive pronoun, an adjective, or an adnominal clause, the noun-phrase enclitic is *=te* (FEM)/*=ho* (MASC), e.g. (8), (9). When immediately preceded by a predicative proper noun or pronoun that is not in the genitive case, it takes the form of *=ti* regardless of the gender of its referent. (Formally, *=ti* is feminine; its initial consonant is *t*, not *h*.) When immediately preceded by a predicative common noun (that is not in the genitive case), it changes its form depending on whether the noun is Unmodified (*=te* (FEM)/*=ho* (MASC)), e.g. (10), or Modified (*=ti* regardless of the gender of the subject noun), e.g. (11) to (14). The noun *farašsho* 'horse' is Modified by the adjective *dúnka* 'slow' in (11), by the genitive third-person singular feminine pronoun *isé* in (12), by the adnominal clause *íse usur-t-inó* 'she fastened' in (13), and the third-person possessive pronominal suffix *-se* in (14). (An adnominal clause is shown with braces, as

in (9) and (13), for example.) Thus, the predicative noun-phrase clitic *=te* (FEM)/*=ho* (MASC) agrees with the subject noun phrase in gender, whereas the predicative noun-phrase clitic *=ti*, which is formally feminine, shows no such gender agreement, and is used for both feminine and masculine nouns.

(8) farášš-u   dúnka=ho.
     horse-NOM.M slow=NPC.M.PRED
     'The horse is slow.'

(9) kúni   farašš-i   {íse
     this.M.NOM horse-NOM.M.MOD 3SG.F.NOM
     usur-t-inó}=ho.
     fasten-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=NPC.M.PRED
     'This horse is the one (MASC) that she fastened.'

(10) kú'u   farášo=ho.
     that.M.NOM horse=NPC.M.PRED
     'That (MASC) is a horse.'

(11) kú'u   dúnka farašó-o=ti.
     that.M.NOM slow   horse-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
     'That (MASC) is a slow horse.'

(12) kú'u   isé   farašó-o=ti.
     that.M.NOM 3SG.F.GEN horse-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
     'That (MASC) is her horse.'

(13) kú'u   {íse   usur-t-inó}   farašó-o=ti.
     that.M.NOM 3SG.F.NOM fasten-3SG.F-D.PRF.3 horse-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
     'That (MASC) is the horse that she fastened.'

(14) kú'u   farášo-se-e=ti.
     that.M.NOM horse-3SG.F.POSS-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
     'That (MASC) is her horse.'

Constituents of sentences that are not explicitly expressed are often understood by addressees as long as their referents are clear from the context. The subject noun phrase may be omitted especially because its number/person/gender information is on the subject suffix on the verb or its gender information is on the predicative noun-phrase enclitic, *=te* (FEM)/*=ho* (MASC).

Sidaama was primarily a spoken language until recently, but increasingly, Sidaama speakers have come to use a writing system (based on the Latin alphabet). All the examples in this chapter were collected from my consultants by means of oral elicitation, except that (71), (79), and (85) were taken from orally narrated folk tales that I transcribed.

4 Types of sentences and clauses

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

Roughly speaking, sentences are of three types: (i) verb-predicate sentences, e.g. (6), (7), (ii) adjective-predicate sentences, e.g. (8), and (iii) noun-predicate sentences, e.g. (9) to (14). The verb predicate is accompanied by verbal suffixes, whereas the adjective predicate and the noun predicate are followed by a predicative noun-phrase enclitic.

4.2 Adnominal clauses

4.2.1 Introductory notes

An adnominal clause ("AC") (namely, a relative clause) of Sidaama uses no relative pronoun. The verb in an AC is in one of its aspectual forms (cf. Section 3): imperfective, distant perfect, recent perfect, continuous, or progressive aspect. ACs of Sidaama can be classified in terms of (i) pronominal type vs. gap type, and (ii) pre-nominal ACs (headed ACs) vs. headless ACs. This classification can be shown as follows.

(a) Pronominal type
    (a-1) Pre-nominal ACs
    (a-2) Headless ACs
(b) Gap type
    (b-1) Pre-nominal ACs
    (b-2) Headless ACs

In the pronominal type, what may be called an anticipatory pronominal occurs in ACs. It refers to the head noun, which occurs later in the sentence. (Anticipatory pronouns in ACs are also found in languages such as Modern Standard Japanese (Tsunoda, this volume-b, 4.2.2-[3]) and Korean (Kim, this volume, 4.2.4). The term "anticipatory pronoun" is due to Syuntaro Tida (p.c.).) In contrast, no such pronominal occurs in ACs of the gap type. Headless ACs lack a head noun, but they involve a noun-phrase enclitic (cf. Table 2). Pre-nominal ACs occur with a head noun, and the head noun follows the AC. In headless ACs, a high pitch occurs on the vowel of the noun-phrase enclitic, and the verb of the AC has no high pitch, whereas pre-nominal ACs usually have the same pitch pattern as when they are used as an independent sentence. In the examples given below, the AC is shown with braces.

4.2.2 Pronominal type

In the pronominal type, an anticipatory pronominal occurs in the AC. It refers to the head noun. It is generally the pronominal possessive suffix or the pronominal object suffix, though it can be a genitive pronoun in some cases.

[1] Pre-nominal ACs
Examples include the following. Note that the possessive suffix *-si* '3SG.M.POSS' occurs in the AC in each of (15) and (16). It functions as an anticipatory pronominal, and it refers to the head noun 'person'.

(15) áni   {íse   mat'aafá-si   hun-t-inó}
　　 1SG.NOM 3SG.F.NOM book.ACCOBL-3SG.M.POSS lose-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
　　 mančo   la'-oó-mm-o.
　　 person(ACCOBL.mod) see-D.PRF.1-1SG-M
　　 'I (MASC) saw the man whose book she lost.'

[2] Headless ACs
The head noun in (15) (*mančo* 'person (ACCOBL.mod)') can be replaced with the noun-phrase enclitic *=ha* 'NPC.M.ACCOBL', and we obtain a headless AC in (16).

(16) {íse   mat'aafá-si   hun-t-ino}=há
　　 3SG.F.NOM book.ACCOBL-3SG.M.POSS lose-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=NPC.M.ACCOBL
　　 'the one (MASC) whose book she lost'

In terms of Keenan & Comrie's (1977) Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy, the pronominal type is generally used for the possessor, e.g. (15), (16), or the object (usually, the primary object). The noun phrase formed with the pronominal possessor and a possessed noun may be a core argument of the verb of the relative clause, e.g. (15), or an oblique NP.

4.2.3 Gap type

In contrast with the pronominal type, no pronominal suffix occurs in the ACs of the gap type.

[1] Pre-nominal ACs
Compare (17) with (18) and (19), which contain pre-nominal ACs.

(17) mánčo   mat'aafá   hatté   beetto-ra
     person.NOM.F book.ACCOBL that.F.GEN child.GEN.F.MOD-DATLOC.MOD
     u-i-t-inó.
     give-EP-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
     'The woman gave the book to that girl.'

(18) áni   {mat'aafá   hatté   beettó-ra
     1SG.NOM book.ACCOBL that.F.GEN child.GEN.F.MOD-DATLOC.MOD
     u-i-t-inó}   mančo   la'-oó-mm-o.
     give-EP-3SG.F-D.PRF.3 person(ACCOBL.mod) see-D.PRF.1-1SG-M
     'I (MASC) saw the woman who gave the book to that girl.'

(19) áni   {íse   mat'aafá   u-i-t-inó}
     1SG.NOM 3SG.F.NOM book.ACCOBL give-EP-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
     mančo   la'-oó-mm-o.
     person(ACCOBL.mod) see-D.PRF.1-1SG-M
     'I (MASC) saw the person who she gave the book to.'

    Other examples of pre-nominal ACs of the gap type are (13) and:

(20) ísi   {íse   hakk'iččó   mur-t-annó}   meesane
     3SG.M.NOM 3SG.F.NOM tree.ACCOBL cut-3SG.F-IPFV.3 ax(ACCOBL.mod)
     hiikk'-ø-inó.
     break-3SG.M-D.PRF.3
     'He broke the ax with which she cuts a tree.'

    [2] Headless ACs
The head noun in (18) (*mančo* 'person(ACCOBL.mod)') can be replaced with the
noun-phrase enclitic =*tá* 'NPC.F.ACCOBL', and we obtain a headless AC in (21). The
same or an analogous remark applies to (19) and (22); and (20) and (23).

(21) {mat'aafá   hatté   beettó-ra
     book.ACCOBL that.F.GEN child.GEN.F.MOD-DATLOC.MOD
     u-i-t-ino}=tá
     give-EP-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=NPC.F.ACCOBL
     'the one (FEM) who gave the book to that girl'

(22) {íse   mat'aafá   u-i-t-ino}=há
     3SG.F.NOM book.ACCOBL give-EP-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=NPC.M.ACCOBL
     'the one (MASC) who she gave the book to'

(23) {íse   hakk'iččó   mur-t-anno}=tá
     3SG.F.NOM tree.ACCOBL cut-3SG.F-IPFV.3=NPC.F.ACCOBL
     'the one (FEM) with which she cuts a tree'

Another example of a headless AC of the gap type is (9).

Furthermore, both a head noun and the enclitic may be used, e.g. (24). The enclitic has to attach to the end of a pre-nominal AC when any other noun modifier intervenes between the AC and the head noun.

(24) áni   {íse   mat'aafá   u-i-t-ino}=há
     1SG.NOM 3SG.F.NOM book.ACCOBL give-EP-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=NPC.M.ACCOBL
     hakkonné   mančo   la'-oó-mm-o.
     that.M.ACCOBL person(ACCOBL.mod) see-D.PRF.1-1SG-M
     'I (MASC) saw that man who she gave the book to.'

The gap type is acceptable not only with argument noun phrases, but also with adjunct noun phrases. It is possible to relativize a noun phrase on any position in Keenan & Comrie's (1977) Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy, except for the possessor (cf. 4.2.2 Pronominal type). Examples include the following. Subject: (18), (21), direct object: (9), (13), indirect object: (19), (22), (24), and major oblique case NP: (20), (23).

A note on adnominal clauses is in order. Teramura (1969) divides ACs of Modern Standard Japanese into two types. Tsunoda (this volume-b, 4.2.2) proposes to label them as "gap type" and "addition" type, respectively. This gap type occurs in Sidaama, too. See pre-nominal ACs of the gap type, in 4.2.3-[1]. However, Sidaama does not have ACs of the addition type. As noted by Tsunoda (this volume-a, 5.4), almost all the languages that have MMCs have ACs of the addition type in addition to ACs of the Modern Standard Japanese gap type. Sidaama is uncommon in that it has MMCs despite the absence of ACs of the addition type.

5 Mermaid constructions ("MMCs")

5.1 Introductory notes

As noted in Section 1, Sidaama has three types of MMCs. The *gara* MMC is discussed in 5.2, and the *=gede* MMC in 5.3. The *gara* MMC and the *=gede* MMC are compared in 5.4, and the noun *gara* and the enclitic *=gede* are compared in 5.5. The DATLOC MMC is described in 5.6.

The five properties of the prototype of the MMC as proposed by Tsunoda (this volume-a) are listed in Section 1 above. The structure of the prototype is as shown in (1).

As noted in Section 3, Sidaama does not have a copula verb, and the noun-phrase enclitic *=ta/=ha/=ti* (cf. Table 2) performs the function of a copula (cf. also 4.1). That is, the MMCs of Sidaama do not have a (verbal) copula in the Copula

slot. In this respect, all of the Sidaama MMCs depart from the prototype of the MMC. Also, they resemble the construction whose predicate is a noun or adjective phrase in that they are followed by a noun-phrase enclitic in the predicate position. In any of the Sidaama MMCs, the Clause has to be a verb-predicate clause, and cannot be an adjective-predicate or noun-predicate clause.

5.2 *gara* MMC

5.2.1 Introductory notes

The *gara* MMC has two subtypes: (25a) and (25b).

(25)   *gara* MMC: MMC with the noun *gara* 'manner, way'
   (a)   *gara-a=ti* MMC:
         Clause gara-a=ti.
   (b)   *gar-í=te/gar-í=ho* MMC:
         Clause gar-í=te. (for a feminine subject)
         Clause gar-í=ho. (for a masculine subject)

According to my consultants, both subtypes are common, though the young generation rarely uses (25b).

The Noun slot (cf. (1)) is occupied by the noun *gara* 'manner, way'. In (25a), the final vowel of *gara* is lengthened, and in (25b), *gara* is in its genitive form, and its final vowel is replaced by *-i*, the genitive suffix for Modified masculine nouns (cf. Table 1).

The *gara* MMC has an evidential meaning, specifically the speaker's conjecture on the truthfulness of the proposition expressed by the Clause based on (i) his/her own observation of the action or state of the referent of the subject noun phrase or (ii) what the speaker has heard about it from someone else: 'It seems like …' or 'It appears that …'.

The person of the subject of the Clause is restricted to the third person, and cannot be the first person or second person. This restriction is no doubt due to the meaning that this MMC expresses.

The *gara* MMC (both (25a) and (25b)) – like the other types – departs from the prototype of the MMC in that it cannot have a copula in the Copula slot. In other respects, the *gara* MMC conforms to the prototype of the MMC.

We look at the *gara* MMC of (25a) in 5.2.2, and that of (25b) in 5.2.3.

5.2.2 *gara* MMC (1): (25a) *gara-a=ti* MMC

5.2.2.1 Introductory notes
In this subtype, *gara* is followed by *=ti*, the form of the predicative noun-phrase enclitic for Modified nouns (cf. Table 2). Like any other type of constituent preceding the predicate noun-phrase enclitic *=ti*, the final vowel of *gara* is lengthened to form *gara-a=ti*.

=ti is formally feminine, but is consistently used irrespective of the gender of the subject of the Clause. It does not agree with any constituent of the sentence.

As noted in Section 3, the imperfective has both habitual and future interpretations. The aspectual category of the verb in the Clause of the *gara-a=ti* MMC is restricted to the habitual interpretation of the imperfective aspect, and is incompatible with any other aspectual category including the imperfective with the future interpretation.

5.2.2.2 Examples
Examples include (3) and:

(26) [íse   faraššó   guluf-f-annó]   **gara-a**=ti.
     3SG.F.NOM horse.ACCOBL ride-3SG.F-IPFV.3 manner-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
     LT: '[She (habitually) rides a horse] the manner is.'
     FT: 'It seems like she rides a horse (habitually).'

(27) [kawiíččo górd-u   t'eená   gan-ø-annó]
     here   sky-NOM.M rain.ACCOBL   hit-3SG.M-IPFV.3
     gara-a=ti.
     manner-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
     LT: '[The sky hits rain here (regularly)] the manner is.'
     FT: 'It seems like it rains (regularly) here.'

(28) [íse   hank'-i-t-annó]   **gara-a**=ti.
     3SG.F.NOM get.angry-EP-3SG.F-IPFV.3   manner-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
     LT: '[She gets angry (habitually)] the manner is.'
     FT: 'It seems like she gets angry (habitually).'

5.2.2.3 Can the Clause of the MMC be used as a sentence by itself?
One of the five properties of the prototype of the MMC proposed by Tsunoda (this volume-a) (listed in Section 1 above) is the following.

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

In terms of (d), the *gara-a=ti* MMC conforms to the prototype of the MMC. As noted in 5.2.2.1, the verb in the Clause of the *gara-a=ti* MMC is restricted to the habitual interpretation of the imperfective aspect. A verb in the imperfective aspect is a finite verb, and the Clause can be used as a sentence by itself. When the Clause of the *gara-a=ti* MMC is used as a sentence, the imperfective can have either the habitual interpretation or the future interpretation. The Clause has the same pitch pattern when it appears in an MMC sentence as when used as an independent sentence. Thus, compare (26) with (29); and (27) with (30).

(29) íse   faraššó   guluf-f-annó.
    3SG.F.NOM horse.ACCOBL ride-3SG.F-IPFV.3
    'She rides a horse (habitually)' or 'She will ride a horse.'

(30) kawiíččo górd-u   t'eená   gan-ø-annó.
    here   sky-NOM.M rain.ACCOBL hit-3SG.M-IPFV.3
    'It rains (regularly) here' or 'It will rain here.'

5.2.2.4 Sentencehood of the Clause of the MMC

As seen in 5.2.2.3, the Clause of the *gara-a=ti* MMC can be used as a sentence by itself. Nevertheless, it does not possess all the properties of independent sentences. As mentioned in 5.2.1, the person of the subject of the Clause is limited to the third person. Moreover, as noted in 5.2.2.1, the aspectual category of the verb of the Clause is restricted to the habitual interpretation of the imperfective aspect, and this MMC is incompatible with any other aspectual category including the imperfective with the future interpretation.

5.2.2.5 *gara-a=ti* MMC and noun predicate sentences with *gara* 'manner'

The *gara-a=ti* MMC may look like a subjectless construction with *gara* in its literal sense ('manner, way') as a predicate noun modified by an adnominal clause (a relative clause). In fact, this is a possible interpretation of a sentence ending in *gara-a=ti*. Consider (13), which is repeated below.

(13) kú'u   {íse   usur-t-inó}   faraššó-o=ti.
    that.M.NOM 3SG.F.NOM fasten-3SG.F-D.PRF.3 horse-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
    'That (MASC) is the horse that she fastened.'

The example (13) is a noun predicate sentence, whose predicate is modified by an adnominal clause. Now, recall that the subject can be omitted when its referent is clear from the context (Section 3), and that an adnominal/relative clause can relativize adjuncts, e.g. (20), (23). In a sentence ending in *gara-a=ti*, because the predicative noun-phrase enclitic is in the form for Modified nouns (5.2.2.1), *gara* may be analyzed as being treated as a Modified noun. Thus, it may be thought that senten-

ces like (26) to (28) are in fact noun-predicate sentences whose predicate is modified by an adnominal clause (like (13)), but whose subject has been omitted (unlike (13)). That is, it might be thought that in (26) to (28), the noun *gara* is used in its literal sense 'way, manner', is modified by an adnominal clause (which is prenominal), and serves as the predicate of a noun predicate sentence. According to this view, (26), for example, may appear to be able to be translated as '(It) is the manner in which she rides a horse', and (28) as '(It) is the manner in which she gets angry'. In fact, any sentence that is an instance of the *gara-a=ti* MMC could also be interpreted as an instance of such a construction as long as the omission of the subject is obvious from the context.

We provide examples of *gara* used in its literal sense modified by an adnominal clause: (31) and (32). These sentences are not instances of the *gara-a=ti* MMC; in both sentences, *kúni* is the subject, and *gara* modified by an adnominal clause and *=ti* jointly form the predicate. (Adnominal clauses (or relative clauses) are shown with braces.)

(31) kúni   {íse   faraššó   guluf-f-annó}
     this.M.NOM 3SG.F.NOM horse.ACCOBL ride-3SG.F-IPFV.3
     gara-a=ti.
     manner-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
     'This is the manner in which she rides a horse (habitually)/will ride a horse.'

(32) kúni   {íse   hank'-i-t-annó}
     this.M.NOM 3SG.F.NOM get.angry-EP-3SG.F-IPFV.3
     gara-a=ti.
     manner-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
     'This is the manner in which she gets angry (habitually)/will get angry.'

In (31) and (32), the subject could be omitted, as in (33) and (34), which are identical with (26) and (28), respectively. Thus, in fact, these sentences are ambiguous between the two interpretations; they are pronounced the same way regardless of the interpretation selected.

(33) íse   faraššó   guluf-f-annó   gara-a=ti.
     3SG.F.NOM horse.ACCOBL ride-3SG.F-IPFV.3 manner-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
     (a) *gara* modified by an adnominal clause, with subject omission:
         '(It) is the manner in which she rides a horse (habitually)/will ride a horse.'
     (b) MMC:
         'It seems like she rides a horse (habitually).'

(34) íse   hank'-i-t-annó   gara-a=ti.
 3SG.F.NOM get.angry-EP-3SG.F-IPFV.3 manner-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
   (a) *gara* modified by an adnominal clause, with subject omission:
       '(It) is the manner in which she gets angry (habitually)/will get angry.'
   (b) MMC:
       'It seems like she gets angry (habitually).'

However, these two constructions have three differences.

[1] Conjugational categories

As mentioned in 5.2.2.1, in the *gara-a=ti* MMC, the verb of the Clause is in the imperfective aspect, and it has only the habitual interpretation. Thus, when (33) and (34) are used as MMC sentences, they have only the habitual readings, but no future readings, e.g. (33b) and (34b). In contrast, with *gara* modified by an adnominal clause whose verb is in the imperfective, it has both habitual and future interpretations, e.g. (33a) and (34a) (and also (31) and (32)). In fact, in adnominal clauses, the verb can be in any aspect, e.g. the distant perfect in (35). Sentence (35) cannot have the MMC interpretation.

(35) {íse   hank'-i-t-inó}   gara-a=ti.
 3SG.F.NOM get.angry-EP-3SG.F-D.PRF.3 manner-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
   '(It) is the manner in which she got/is angry.'

Therefore, sentences like (33) and (34) are ambiguous partly because the verb is in the imperfective aspect.

[2] Person of the subject

As mentioned in 5.2.1, the *gara* MMC limits the person of the subject of the Clause to the third person. In contrast, adnominal clauses have no person restriction on the subject. Thus, if the first or second person is used, as in (36), the sentence has no MMC interpretation and is unambiguously interpreted as containing an adnominal clause.

(36) {áti   hank'-a-tt-ó}   gara-a=ti.
 2SG.F.NOM get.angry-IPFV.2-2SG-M manner-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
   '(It) is the manner in which you (SG.M) get angry/will get angry.'

[3] Negation

Verbs are negated with the negative proclitic *di=*. When this proclitic attaches to a verb immediately preceding *gara*, the following difference is observed.

(a) In a sentence with the predicate noun *gara* used in its literal sense modified by an adnominal clause, the negation applies to the predicate noun phrase, e.g. (37a).

(b) In a *gara-a=ti* MMC sentence, the negation applies to the verb, e.g. (37b).

(37) íse   dí=hank'-i-t-anno   gara-a=ti.
       3SG.F.NOM NEG=get.angry-EP-3SG.F-IPFV.3 manner-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
   (a) *gara* modified by an adnominal clause, with subject omission:
        '(It) is not the manner in which she gets angry (habitually)/will get
        angry.'
   (b) MMC:
        'It seems like she does not get angry (habitually).'

To sum up, we have presented three pieces of evidence to show that the *gara-a=ti* MMC is different from a noun predicate sentence with the noun *gara* 'manner, way' that involves an adnominal clause.

5.2.3 *gara* MMC (2): (25b) *gar-í=te*/*gar-í=ho* MMC

5.2.3.1 Introductory notes
In this subtype, *gar-í* (the Modified genitive form of *gara*) is followed by the enclitic *=te* (FEM) or *=ho* (MASC), the forms of the predicative noun-phrase clitic for Unmodified nouns, genitive nouns, adjectives, and adnominal clauses (Table 2).

This enclitic agrees with the subject of the Clause. For example, in (38), the subject is *íse* '3SG.F.NOM', and the enclitic is *=te* 'NPC.F.PRED'. Both are in the feminine forms. A similar thing can be said about *górd-u* 'sky-NOM.M' and *=ho* 'NPC.M.PRED' in (39). Both are in the masculine forms.

The behavior of *gara* in this MMC is unusual in two respects. Firstly, although it is in the genitive case, it does not seem to involve possession. Moreover, it is the Modified genitive *gar-í* (rather than the Unmodified genitive *gar-ú*), but the enclitic that attaches to it is in one of the forms for Unmodified nouns: *=te* (FEM) or *=ho* (MASC).

The aspect of the verb of the Clause in this MMC is limited to the future interpretation of the imperfective (e.g. (38) and (39)) and the distant perfect (e.g. (40)). (As noted in Section 3, the distant perfect of a state-change verb describes either the occurrence of a state change in the past or a present state that is the result of a state change in the past.)

5.2.3.2 Examples

(38) [íse   faraššó   guluf-f-annó]
     3SG.F.NOM   horse.ACCOBL   ride-3SG.F-IPFV.3
     gar-í=te.
     manner-GEN.M.MOD=NPC.F.PRED
     LT: '[She will ride a horse] the manner's is.'
     FT: 'It seems like she will ride a horse.'

(39) [kawiíččo górd-u   t'eená   gan-ø-annó]
     here   sky-NOM.M   rain.ACCOBL   hit-3SG.M-IPFV.3
     gar-í=ho.
     manner-GEN.M.MOD=NPC.M.PRED
     LT: '[The sky will rain here] the manner's is.'
     FT: 'It seems like it will rain here.'

(40) [íse   hank'-i-t-inó]   **gar-í**=te.
     3SG.F.NOM   get.angry-EP-3SG.F-D.PRF.3   manner-GEN.M.MOD=NPC.F.PRED
     LT: '[She got angry] the manner's is.'
     FT: 'It seems like she got/is angry.'

This MMC (the *gar-í=te/gar-í=ho* MMC) seems to be usually used for events whose occurrences are considered important enough to be conjectured about. It is normally not used for events like "fastening a horse" or "eating cabbage".

5.2.3.3 Can the Clause of the MMC be used as a sentence by itself?

The *gar-í=te/gar-í=ho* MMC conforms to the prototype of the MMC in that the Clause can be used as a sentence by itself (cf. (d) in Section 1). As noted in 5.2.3.1, the aspect of the verb of the Clause in this MMC is limited to the future interpretation of the imperfective and the distant perfect. Both the imperfective and the distant perfect are finite categories, and the Clause can be used as a sentence by itself. The Clause has the same pitch pattern when it appears in an MMC sentence as when used as an independent sentence. As a pair of examples, compare (38) and (41) (imperfective). (When used in independent sentences, the imperfective can have either the habitual interpretation or the future interpretation.) Also, compare (40) and (42) (distant perfect).

(41) íse   faraššó   guluf-f-annó.
     3SG.F.NOM   horse.ACCOBL   ride-3SG.F-IPFV.3
     'She (habitually) rides a horse' or 'She will ride a horse.'

(42) íse   hank'-i-t-inó.
     3SG.F.NOM   get.angry-EP-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
     'She got/is angry.'

5.2.3.4 Sentencehood of the Clause of the MMC

As seen in 5.2.3.3, the Clause of the *gar-í=te/gar-í=ho* MMC can be used as a sentence by itself. Nevertheless, it does not possess all the properties of independent sentence. As mentioned in 5.2.1, the person of the subject of the Clause is limited to the third person. Moreover, as noted in 5.2.3.1, the aspect of the verb of the Clause in this MMC is limited to the future interpretation of the imperfective and the distant perfect. Furthermore, as will be shown in 5.4.4, when the verb is not in the imperfective, the subject normally has to be human, and cannot be non-human, though there is no such restriction on the subject when the verb is in the imperfective.

5.3 *=gede* MMC

5.3.1 Introductory notes

The *=gede* MMC has two subtypes: (43a) and (43b).

(43) *=gede* MMC: MMC with the enclitic *=gede* 'like, as if, so that, that
      (complementizer)'
      (a) *=gede-e=ti* MMC:
           Clause=gede-e=ti.
      (b) *=gede-e=te/=gede-e=ho* MMC:
           Clause=gede-e=te. (for a feminine subject)
           Clause=gede-e=ho. (for a masculine subject)

According to my consultants, both subtypes are common, though the young generation rarely uses (43b).

The Noun slot (cf. (1)) is occupied by the enclitic *=gede* 'like, as if, so that, that (complementizer)', which is phonologically bound to various types of constituents, and the final vowel of *=gede* is lengthened.

As is the case with the *gara* MMC, the *=gede* MMC has an evidential meaning, specifically the speaker's conjecture on the truthfulness of the proposition expressed by the Clause based on (i) his/her own observation of the action or state of the referent of the subject noun phrase or (ii) what the speaker has heard about it from someone else: 'It seems like …' or 'It appears that …'.

Also, as is the case with the *gara* MMC, the person of the subject of the Clause of the *=gede* MMC is restricted to the third person, and cannot be the first person or second person. This restriction is no doubt due to the meaning that this MMC expresses.

The *=gede* MMC – like the other types of MMCs – departs from the prototype of the MMC (cf. Section 1) in that it cannot have a copula in the Copula slot. Also, it departs from the prototype in that the Noun slot is occupied not by an independ-

ent noun, but an enclitic. In other respects, the =*gede* MMC conforms to the proto-type of the MMC.

As will be noted in 5.5.2, =*gede* seems to have been grammaticalized from a noun, although its etymology is not clear.

We look at the =*gede* MMC of (43a) in 5.3.2, and that of (43b) in 5.3.3.

5.3.2 =*gede* MMC (1): (43a) =*gede-e=ti* MMC

5.3.2.1 Introductory notes
In this subtype, =*gede* is followed by =*ti*, the form of the singular predicative noun-phrase enclitic for Modified nouns (cf. Table 2). =*ti* is formally feminine, but is consistently used irrespective of the gender of the subject of the Clause. It does not agree with any constituent of the sentence.

The verb in the Clause of this subtype can be in the imperfective (the future interpretation only), e.g. (4), (44), (45), the distant perfect, the progressive, or the recent perfect, e.g. (46).

5.3.2.2 Examples
Examples include (4), and (44) to (46).

(44) [íse   faraššó   guluf-f-annó]=**gede-e**=ti.
     3SG.F.NOM horse.ACCOBL ride-3SG.F-IPFV.3=like-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
     LT: '[She will ride a horse] like is.'
     FT: 'It seems like she will ride a horse.'

(45) [kawiíččo górd-u   t'eená
     here   sky-NOM.M rain.ACCOBL
     gan-ø-annó]=**gede-e**=ti.
     hit-3SG.M-IPFV.3=like-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
     LT: '[The sky will hit rain here] like is.'
     FT: 'It seems like it will rain here.'

(46) [íse   hank'-i-t-ú]=**gede-e**=ti.
     3SG.F.NOM get.angry-EP-3SG.F-R.PRF.3=like-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
     LT: '[She got/is angry] like is.'
     FT: 'It seems like she got/is angry.'

5.3.2.3 Can the Clause of the MMC be used as a sentence by itself?
The =*gede-e=ti* MMC conforms to the prototype of the MMC in that the Clause can be used as a sentence by itself (cf. (d) in Section 1). As noted in 5.3.2.1, the verb in the Clause of this MMC can be in the imperfective (the future interpretation

only), the distant perfect, the progressive, or the recent perfect. These categories are all finite categories, and the Clause can stand by itself as an independent sentence. (When the Clause is used as a complete sentence, the verb in the imperfective aspect can have either the habitual or the future interpretation.) The Clause has the same pitch pattern when it appears in an MMC sentence as when used as an independent sentence. Compare (45) with (47) (imperfective); and (46) with (48) (recent perfect).

(47) kawííččo górd-u   t'eená   gan-ø-annó.
    here   sky-NOM.M rain.ACCOBL hit-3SG.M-IPFV.3
    'It regularly rains here' or 'It will rain here.'

(48) íse   hank'-i-t-ú.
    3SG.F.NOM get.angry-EP-3SG.F-R.PRF.3
    'She got/is angry.'

5.3.2.4 Sentencehood of the Clause of the MMC

As seen in 5.3.2.3, the Clause of the *=gede-e=ti* MMC can be used as a sentence by itself. Nevertheless, it does not possess all the properties of an independent sentence. As mentioned in 5.3.1, the person of the subject of the Clause has to be in the third person. Moreover, as noted in 5.3.2.1, the aspect of the verb of the Clause in this MMC is limited to the imperfective (the future interpretation only), the distant perfect, the progressive, and the recent perfect. It is unacceptable with the habitual interpretation of the imperfective and with the continuous.

5.3.3 *=gede* MMC (2): (43b) *=gede-e=te*/*=gede-e=ho* MMC

5.3.3.1 Introductory notes

In this subtype, *=gede* is followed by the enclitic *=te* (FEM) or *=ho* (MASC), the forms of the singular predicative noun-phrase enclitic for Unmodified nouns and adjectives (Table 2). This enclitic agrees with the subject of the Clause. For example, in (49), the subject is *íse* '3SG.F.NOM', and the enclitic is *=te* 'NPC.F.PRED'. Both are in the feminine forms. Similarly, in (50), *=ho* 'NPC.M.PRED' agrees in gender with *górd-u* 'sky-NOM.M'. Both are in the masculine forms.

The verb of the Clause may be in the imperfective (the future interpretation only), e.g. (49), (50), the distant perfect, the continuous, e.g. (51), or the progressive, e.g. (52).

5.3.3.2 Examples

(49) [íse   faraššó   guluf-f-annó]=**gede-e**=te.
     3SG.F.NOM horse.ACCOBL ride-3SG.F-IPFV.3=like-LV=NPC.F.PRED
     LT: '[She will ride a horse] like is.'
     FT: 'It seems like she will ride a horse.'

(50) [kawiíččo górd-u   t'eená   gan-ø-annó]=**gede-e**=ho.
     here   sky-NOM.M rain.ACCOBL hit-3SG.M-IPFV.3=like-LV=NPC.M.PRED
     LT: '[The sky will hit rain here] like is.'
     FT: 'It seems like it will rain here.'

(51) [íse   hank'-i-t-é   no]=**gede-e**=te.
     3SG.F.NOM get.angry-EP-3SG.F-CVB come.to.exist.3=like-LV=NPC.F.PRED
     LT: '[She has been angry] like is.' (continuous aspect)
     FT: 'It seems like she has been angry.'

(52) [íse   hank'-i-t-á-nni
     3SG.F.NOM get.angry-EP-3SG.F-INF-ABLINS
     no]=**gede-e**=te.
     come.to.exist.3=like-LV=NPC.F.PRED
     LT: '[She is in the process of getting angry] like is.' (progressive aspect)
     FT: 'It seems like is in the process of getting angry.'

5.3.3.3 Can the Clause of the MMC be used as a sentence by itself?

The *=gede-e=te/=gede-e=ho* MMC conforms to the prototype of the MMC in that the Clause can be used as a sentence by itself (cf. (d) in Section 1). As noted in 5.3.3.1, the verb in the Clause of this MMC can be in the imperfective (the future interpretation only), the distant perfect, the continuous, or the progressive. These categories are all finite categories, and the Clause can stand by itself as an independent sentence. (When the Clause is used as a complete sentence, the verb in the imperfective aspect can have the habitual and the future interpretations.) The Clause has the same pitch pattern when it appears in an MMC sentence as when used as an independent sentence. Compare (49) with (53) (imperfective), (51) with (54) (continuous), and (52) with (55) (progressive).

(53) íse   faraššó   guluf-f-annó.
     3SG.F.NOM horse.ACCOBL ride-3SG.F-IPFV.3
     'She rides a horse (habitually)' or 'she will ride a horse.'

(54) íse   hank'-i-t-e   no.
     3SG.F.NOM get.angry-EP-3SG.F-CVB come.to.exist.3
     'She has been angry.' (continuous aspect)

(55) íse   hank'-i-t-á-nni   no.
     3SG.F.NOM get.angry-EP-3SG.F-INF-ABLINS come.to.exist.3
     'She is in the process of getting angry.' (progressive aspect)

5.3.3.4 Sentencehood of the Clause of the MMC

As seen in 5.3.3.3, the Clause of the *=gede-e=te/=gede-e=ho* MMC can be used as a sentence by itself. Nevertheless, it does not possess all the properties of an independent sentence. As mentioned in 5.3.1, the person of the subject of the Clause has to be in the third person. Moreover, as noted in 5.3.3.1, the aspect of the verb of the Clause in this MMC is limited to the imperfective (the future interpretation only), the distant perfect, the continuous, and the progressive. Furthermore, as will be shown in 5.4.4, when the verb is not in the imperfective, the subject of the Clause usually has to be an animate or animate-like inanimate entity, and cannot be entirely inanimate, though there is no such restriction when the verb is in the imperfective.

5.4 Comparison of the *gara* MMC and the *=gede* MMC

5.4.1 Introductory notes

As seen in 5.2.1, the *gara* MMC has two subtypes.

(25) *gara* MMC: MMC with the noun *gara* 'manner, way'
    (a) *gara-a=ti* MMC (5.2.2):
        Clause gara-a=ti.
    (b) *gar-í=te/gar-í=ho* MMC (5.2.3):
        Clause gar-í=te. (for a feminine subject)
        Clause gar-í=ho. (for a masculine subject)

Also, as seen in 5.3.1, the *=gede* MMC has two subtypes.

(43) *=gede* MMC: MMC with the enclitic *=gede* 'like, as if, so that, that (complementizer)'
    (a) *=gede-e=ti* MMC (5.3.2):
        Clause=gede-e=ti.
    (b) *=gede-e=te/=gede-e=ho* MMC (5.3.3):
        Clause=gede-e=te. (for a feminine subject)
        Clause=gede-e=ho. (for a masculine subject)

These four subtypes are similar to each other. Nevertheless, they exhibit the differences shown in 5.4.2, 5.4.3, and 5.4.4.

5.4.2 Aspect

The *gara-a=ti* MMC is restricted to the habitual interpretation of the imperfective aspect. The *gar-í=te/gar-í=ho* MMC is limited to the future interpretation of the imperfective and the distant perfect. The *=gede-e=ti* MMC can have the imperfective (the future interpretation only), the distant perfect, the recent perfect, or the progressive. The *=gede-e=te/=gede-e=ho* MMC can have the imperfective (the future interpretation only), the distant perfect, the progressive, or the continuous. That is, when the imperfective is employed, only the *gara-a=ti* MMC is compatible with the habitual reading, while the other three subtypes yield the future reading.

5.4.3 Degree of confidence

This concerns the degree of the speaker's confidence in his/her conjecture on the truthfulness of the content of the Clause. The speaker has more information about the probability of the content of the Clause, and is more confident, with the *=gede-e=ti* MMC than with the *gar-í=te/gar-í=ho* MMC and the *=gede-e=te/ =gede-e=ho* MMC. Thus, (45) (an example of the *=gede-e=ti* MMC) is not compatible with a temporal adverb like *ga'a* 'tomorrow', and goes much better with a temporal adverb like *teččo* 'today'. On the other hand, the examples of the other two MMC subtypes – (39) (an example of the *gar-í=te/gar-í=ho* MMC) and (50) (an example of the *=gede-e=te/=gede-e=ho* MMC) – can contain either adverb. (As just seen, the *gara-a=ti* MMC is restricted to the habitual interpretation of the imperfective aspect, and the issue of the degree of confidence is largely irrelevant.)

5.4.4 Subject of the Clause: animacy and aspect

Roughly speaking, the acceptability of the subject of the Clause is influenced by two factors: (i) whether the subject is animate (or human) or not, and (ii) whether the verb is in the imperfective or not. The imperfective tends to allow an inanimate subject, whereas other aspectual categories disallow an inanimate subject. Not every detail is known, but the data obtained exhibit the following situation.

In the *=gede-e=te/=gede-e=ho* MMC, when the verb is not in the imperfective, the subject of the Clause cannot be inanimate (see (56) (distant perfect; 'cell phone')), and it has to be an animate entity (e.g. (51) (continuous; 'she'), (57) (distant perfect; 'dog')) or a natural entity that can act like animate ones (e.g. 'sky', 'earth', 'wind') (e.g. (58) (distant perfect; 'sky')). However, when the verb is in the imperfective, the subject can be either animate (e.g. (49) ('she')) or inanimate (e.g. (50) ('sky'), (59) ('cell phone')).

(56) *[mobaíle   k'arris-s-inó]=**gede-e**=te.
     cell.phone.NOM.F cause.a.problem-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=like-LV=NPC.F.PRED
     IM: 'It seems like the cell phone went out of order.'

(57) [wošíčč-u   dot-ø-inó]=**gede-e**=ho.
     dog-NOM.M bark-3SG.M-D.PRF.3=like-LV=NPC.M.PRED
     LT: '[The dog barked] like is.'
     FT: 'It seems like the dog barked.'

(58) [kawiíččo górd-u   t'eená
     here   sky-NOM.M rain.ACCOBL
     gan-ø-inó]=**gede-e**=ho.
     hit-3SG.M-D.PRF.3=like-LV=NPC.M.PRED
     LT: '[The sky hit rain here] like is.'
     FT: 'It seems like it rained here.'

(59) [mobaíle   k'arris-s-annó]=**gede-e**=te.
     cell.phone.NOM.F cause.a.problem-3SG.F-IPFV.3=like-LV=NPC.F.PRED
     LT: '[The cell phone will cause a problem] like is.'
     FT: 'It seems like the cell phone will go out of order.'

In the *=gede-e=ti* MMC, the subject can be either animate or inanimate, irrespective of whether the verb is in the imperfective or not. Examples include the following.

Not imperfective:
    Animate: (46) (recent perfect; 'she'), (61) (distant perfect; 'dog').
    Inanimate: (60) (distant perfect; 'cell phone'), (62) (distant perfect; 'sky').
Imperfective:
    Animate: (44) ('she').
    Inanimate: (45) ('sky'), (63) ('cell phone').

(60) [mobaíle   k'arris-s-inó]=**gede-e**=ti.
     cell.phone.NOM.F cause.a.problem-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=like-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
     LT: '[The cell phone caused a problem] like is.'
     FT: 'It seems like the cell phone went out of order.'

(61) [wošíčč-u   dot-ø-inó]=**gede-e**=ti.
     dog-NOM.M bark-3SG.M-D.PRF.3=like-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
     LT: '[The dog barked] like is.'
     FT: 'It seems like the dog barked.'

(62) [kawiíččo górd-u   t'eená
here   sky-NOM.M rain.ACCOBL
gan-ø-inó]=**gede-e**=ti.
bark-3SG.M-D.PRF.3=like-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
LT: '[The sky hit rain here] like is.'
FT: 'It seems like it rained here.'

(63) [mobaíle   k'arris-s-annó]=**gede-e**=ti.
cell.phone.NOM.F cause.a.problem-3SG.F-IPFV.3=like-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
LT: '[The cell phone will cause a problem] like is.'
FT: 'It seems like the cell phone will go out of order.'

In the *gar-í=te*/*gar-í=ho* MMC, when the verb is not in the imperfective, the subject normally cannot be non-human (see (64) (distant perfect; 'cell phone')), (65) (distant perfect; 'dog'), (66) (distant perfect; 'sky')), and it has to be human (e.g. (40) (distant perfect; 'she')). However, when the verb is in the imperfective, the subject can be either animate (e.g. (38) ('she')) or inanimate (e.g. (39) ('sky'), (67) ('cell phone')).

(64) *[mobaíle   k'arris-s-inó]
cell.phone.NOM.F cause.a.problem-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
gar-í=te.
manner-GEN.M.MOD=NPC.F.PRED
IM: 'It seems like the cell phone went out of order.'

(65) *[wošíčč-u   dot-ø-inó]   **gar-í**=ho.
dog-NOM.M bark-3SG.M-D.PRF.3 manner-GEN.M.MOD=NPC.M.PRED
IM: 'It seems like the dog barked.'

(66) ?[kawiíččo górd-u   t'eená   gan-ø-inó]
here   sky-NOM.M rain.ACCOBL hit-3SG.M-D.PRF.3
gar-í=ho.
manner-GEN.M.MOD=NPC.M.PRED
IM: 'It seems like it rained here.'

(67) [mobaíle   k'arris-s-annó]
cell.phone.NOM.F cause.a.problem-3SG.F-IPFV.3
gar-í=te.
manner-GEN.M.MOD=NPC.F.PRED
LT: '[The cell phone will cause a problem] the manner's is.'
FT: 'It seems like the cell phone will go out of order.'

The *gara-a=ti* MMC is restricted to the habitual interpretation of the imperfective aspect. The subject can be either animate (e.g. (3) ('she'), (26) ('she'), (28) ('she')) or inanimate (e.g. (27) ('sky')).

5.5 Comparison of the noun *gara* and the enclitic *=gede*

5.5.1 Introductory notes

In 5.4, we compared the four subtypes of Sidaama MMCs. We now compare the noun *gara* and the enclitic *=gede*. They have uses other than their use for the MMCs, and a survey of their uses outside the MMCs will help locate them in a broader context of Sidaama grammar and appreciate the roles that they play in the MMCs. In 5.5.2, we examine the degree of their nounhood. In 5.5.3, we provide a survey of their uses in adverbial clauses and adverbial phrases. In 5.5.4, we look at the use of *=gede* in what appears to be a mono-clausal independent sentence.

5.5.2 Nounhood

The noun *gara* 'manner, way' and the enclitic *=gede* 'like, etc.' are semantically somewhat similar to each other, but the etymological relationship between them is not clear. Nevertheless, *=gede* seems to have been grammaticalized from a noun, and it is certain that *=gede* is more grammaticalized than *gara*. The noun *gara* 'manner, way' has properties that other nouns have, whereas the enclitic *=gede* lacks most of them.

[1] Lexical gender
gara has its own lexical gender, but *=gede* does not. *gara* is a masculine noun, and shows morphosyntactic properties of masculine nouns. For example, in (68), the subject noun *gara* is Modified by the possessive pronominal suffix. (It could also be Modified by a genitive pronoun.) Consequently, it is marked with *-i*, the nominative suffix for Modified masculine nouns (cf. Table 1). Also, in (68), the subject noun phrase *gar-í-se* is treated as masculine, as indicated on the pronominal suffix for the third-person masculine subject: *-ø*.

(68) gar-í-se   ané-ra
     manner-NOM.M.MOD-3SG.F.POSS 1SG.GEN-DATLOC.PRON
     dí=law-ø-ino-'e.
     NEG-become.clear-3SG.M-D.PRF.3–1SG
     'I don't understand/don't feel comfortable with her manner.'
     (*lit*. 'Her manner did not become clear to me.')

[2] Modification by Modifiers
gara can be Modified by nominal Modifiers, such as an adnominal demonstrative, e.g. (69) ('this'), an adjective, a genitive pronoun, the possessive pronominal suf-

fix, e.g. (68) (-*se* '3SG.F.POSS'), and an adnominal clause, e.g. (70) ('in which she behaves').

(69) konní   gar-í-nni   hee'r-ø-e-e=nna   ...
     this.GEN.M.NOM manner-GEN.M.MOD-ABLINS live-3SG.M-CVB-LV=and
     'They lived like this (*lit.* using this manner), and ...'

(70) áni   {íse   ikk-i-t-annó}   gara
     1SG.NOM 3SG.F.NOM behave-EP-3SG.F-IPFV.3 manner(ACCOBL.mod)
     dí=bat'-ee-mm-o.
     NEG=like-IPFV.1–1SG-M
     'I (MASC) don't like the way in which she behaves.'

In contrast, *=gede* cannot be Modified in any such way.

[3] Use as an adjective

In Sidaama, nouns share many properties with adjectives, and there are cases where nouns are used as adjectives (and vice versa). The noun *gara* can be used (often, in the negative) as an adjective that means 'true', 'appropriate', or 'well-mannered'.

(71) loós-i-kki   dí=gara=ho=ná,
     job-NOM.M.MOD-2SG.POSS NEG-appropriate=NPC.M.PRED=so
     la'inkí=ta   tógo   ikk-í-tooti.
     second=NPC.F.ACCOBL like.this behave-EP-NEG.IMP.2SG
     'The things you have done (*lit.* your job) are not appropriate, so do not behave like this anymore.' (Taken from the folk tale *Dammak'a raartooti. T'ara hasaabbooti* 'Do not cry without checking. Do not talk without knowing the truth.')

On the other hand, *=gede* has no such use.

[4] Constituting an argument

gara can constitute an argument, and when it does, it normally occupies the phrase-final position, e.g. (70) (object) and (72) (object). In (68) (subject), *gar-í-se* happens to be the only word of the noun phrase, and it can be said to occupy the phrase-final position.

(72) ísi   manná   ass-i-n-e   š-i-n-á-nni
     3SG.M.NOM people.ACCOBL do-EP-1PL-CVB kill-EP-1PL-INF-ABLINS
     gara   egenn-ø-inó.
     way(ACCOBL.mod) come.to.know-3SG.M-D.PRF.3
     'He came to know/knows how to kill people.'
     (*lit.* 'He came to know the way we do and kill people.')

On the other hand, *=gede* does not seem to be able to constitute an argument. Although complement clauses formed with *=gede* (5.5.3.2-[3]) could be treated as arguments, it is not obvious whether or not such clauses (noun clauses; Dryer 2007: 203–204) can be considered an object of the main verb.

[5] Case suffixes
gara can be followed by any case suffix, while *=gede* is acceptable with the ablative-instrumental suffix *-nni* and one of the allomorphs of the dative-locative suffix *-ra* only. Examples include the following. (Due to space considerations, not every possible case is exemplified.)

gara: (68) (nominative), (69) (genitive, ablative-instrumental).
=gede: (76) (ablative-instrumental), (84) (dative-locative).

[6] To sum up, the noun *gara* 'manner, way' has properties that other nouns have. In contrast, the enclitic *=gede* lacks most of them. The only property that it shares with other nouns is its compatibility with the ablative-instrumental suffix and the dative-locative suffix. It has a very low degree of nounhood.[2]

5.5.3 Uses in adverbial clauses and adverbial phrases

gara and *=gede* can be used in adverbial clauses and adverbial phrases. Some of these uses are shared by *gara* and *=gede* (5.5.3.1), while others are confined to *=gede* (5.5.3.2).

5.5.3.1 Uses shared by *gara* and *=gede*
The following uses are shared by *gara* and *=gede*.

[1] Adverbial clauses 'as if …' (counterfactual)
Both *gara* and *=gede* can form an adverbial clause 'as if …' (counterfactual), where *gara* immediately follows, and *=gede* directly attaches to, the verb of the subordinate clause in the distant perfect, e.g. (73) and (74), respectively. In this construction, *gara* and *=gede* can be optionally followed by a converb form of the verb *ikk-* 'behave'.

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2 According to Yvonne Treis (2017, 2018, and p.c.), Kambaata, another Highland East Cushitic language, does not have a noun for 'manner' (any longer), but it has the enclitic *=g*, which can be used not only like the Sidaama *=gede*, but also like the Sidaama *gara*. It behaves like a masculine noun, has almost the same case inflection paradigm as a type of masculine noun, can constitute an argument, and can attach to a noun modifier such as a genitive noun phrase or a relative clause to form a noun phrase.

(73) íse   lowó=re   af-f-inó   gara
     3SG.F.NOM many=things(ACCOBL.mod) get.to.know-3SG.F-D.PRF.3 manner
     (ikk-i-t-e)   c'oiɗ-ɗ-annó.
     (behave-EP-3SG.F-CVB) talk-3SG.F-IPFV.3
     'She talks as if she knew many things.'

(74) íse   lowó=re   af-f-inó=gede
     3SG.F.NOM many=things(ACCOBL.mod) get.to.know-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=like
     (ikk-i-t-e)   c'oiɗ-ɗ-annó.
     (behave-EP-3SG.F-CVB) talk-3SG.F-IPFV.3
     'She talks as if she knew many things.'

[2] Manner continuation/repetition constructions

Forms of *gara* and *=gede* with the ablative-instrumental suffix *-nni* can follow a manner of motion verb to emphasize the continuation or repetition of the manner before the occurrence of the motion component expressed by the main verb, e.g. (75) and (76). (Without the suffix *-nni*, neither *gara* nor *=gede* can be used this way.)

(75) íse   kubb-i-t-inó   gar-i-nni
     3SG.F.NOM jump-EP-3SG.F-D.PRF.3 manner-GEN.M.MOD-ABLINS
     waá   e'-'-ú.
     water.ACCOBL enter-3SG.F-R.PRF.3
     'Continuously jumping, she entered the water.'

(76) íse   kubb-i-t-inó=gede-e-nni   waá
     3SG.F.NOM jump-EP-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=like-LV-ABLINS water.ACCOBL
     e'-'-ú.
     enter-3SG.F-R.PRF.3
     'Continuously jumping, she entered the water.'

[3] Similative or accord phrases and clauses 'like/as …'

Both *gara* and *=gede* (and also their forms with the ablative-instrumental suffix *-nni* or one of the allomorphs of the dative-locative suffix *-ra*) can constitute an adverbial expression for a similative or accord notion, 'like/as …'. (i) This expression forms a similative or accord phrase when it follows a genitive noun phrase, e.g. (77), (78). (ii) It forms a similative or accord clause when it follows a clause, e.g. (79), (80). The meaning that the construction conveys is 'in a manner similar to that of the referent of the preceding genitive noun phrase' or 'in the manner specified by the preceding clause'.

(77) beétt-u   ann-ú   gara   c'oi'r-ø-annó.
     child-NOM.M father-GEN.M manner talk-3SG.M-IPFV.3
     'The boy talks like his father.'

(78) beétt-u   ann-ú=gede   c'oi'r-ø-annó.
child-NOM.M father-GEN.M=like talk-3SG.M-IPFV.3
'The boy talks like his father.'

(79) y-ø-inó   gara   roduuwá-si   baalánkanni
say-3SG.M-D.PRF manner brother.PL.ACCOBL-3SG.M.POSS all
wošš-ø-e   gámba ass-ø-e   abb-ø-í.
call-3SG.M-CVB *gamba* do-3SG.M-CVB bring-3SG.M-R.PRF.3
'As he said, he called all his brothers, got them together (*lit.* did *gamba*),
and brought them.' (Taken from the folk tale *Sammi yinohu lowore afanno*
'A person who is silent gets a lot')

(80) y-ø-inó=gede   roduuwá-si   baalánkanni
say-3SG.M-D.PRF=like brother.PL.ACCOBL-3SG.M.POSS all
wošš-ø-e   gámba ass-ø-e   abb-ø-í.
call-3SG.M-CVB *gamba* do-3SG.M-CVB bring-3SG.M-R.PRF.3
'As he said, he called all his brothers, got them together (*lit.* did *gamba*),
and brought them.'

Both *gara* and *=gede* can also follow a verb to form an adverbial clause ('in
accordance with/in proportion to (the degree of the event of the subordinate
clause)'). They often take the following forms.

gar-í-nni 'manner-GEN.M.MOD-ABLINS', e.g. (81).
=gede-nni '=like-ABLINS', e.g. (82).

(81) t'eená   gan-ø-inó   gar-í-nni
rain.ACCOBL hit-3SG.M-D.PRF.3 manner-GEN.M.MOD-ABLINS
baátto   k'uf-f-inó.
ground.NOM.F become.wet-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
'In accordance with the amount of rain that we have had, the ground
became/is wet.'
 (*lit.* 'With the manner (impersonal 3SG.M subject) hit rain, ...')

(82) t'eená   gan-ø-inó=gede-nni   baátto
rain.ACCOBL hit-3SG.M-D.PRF.3=like-ABLINS ground.NOM.F
k'uf-f-inó.
become.wet-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
'In accordance with the amount of rain that we have had, the ground
became/is wet.'
 (*lit.* 'With like (impersonal 3SG.M subject) hit rain, ...')

When the main clause expresses an event that contradicts the speaker's expectation, the adverbial clause expresses the meaning of 'despite the degree of the event of the subordinate clause'.

[4] Concessive clauses

Both *gara* and *=gede* can follow a verb to form a concessive clause ('despite (the degree of the event of the subordinate clause)'). They often take the following forms.

gar-í-ra 'manner-GEN.M.MOD-DATLOC.MOD', e.g. (83).
=gede-ra '=like-DATLOC.MOD', e.g. (84).

(83) t'eená gan-ø-inó   gar-i-ra
     rain   hit-3SG.M-D.PRF.3 manner-GEN.M.MOD-DATLOC.MOD
     baátto   dí=k'uf-f-ino.
     ground.NOM.F   NEG=become.wet-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
     'Despite the amount of rain that we have had, the ground has not become/is not wet.'
     (*lit.* 'To the manner (impersonal 3SG.M subject) hit rain, ...')

(84) t'eená gan-ø-inó=gede-ra   baátto
     rain   hit-3SG.M-D.PRF.3=like-DATLOC.MOD   ground.NOM.F
     dí=k'uf-f-ino.
     NEG=become.wet-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
     'Despite the amount of rain that we have had, the ground has not become/ is not wet.'
     (*lit.* 'To like (impersonal 3SG.M subject) hit rain, ...')

5.5.3.2 Uses confined to *=gede*

The following uses are confined to *=gede*, and they are not shared by *gara*.

[1] Purpose clause 'so that ...'

The enclitic *=gede* occupies the final position of a subordinate clause that expresses a purpose, e.g. (85). The verb preceding *=gede* has to be in the imperfective aspect.

(85) lubbóo-nke=nna   gangootá   č'allá
life.NOM.F-1PL.POSS=and mule.PL.NOM.F only
gati-n-s-ee-mmo=gedé   waá   wido-ó-nni
save-1PL-save-IPFV.1–1PL=so.that water.ACCOBL other.side-LV-LOC
ǰawaa-n-t-é   fúl-lo.
hurry-1PL-hurry-CVB cross-IMP.1PL
'Let us cross the river to the other side quickly so that we will save only our lives and mules.' (Taken from the folk tale *But'iččʼu mančʼinna t'uma galtesi* 'Poor man and his beautiful wife')

[2] Periphrastic causative construction

=gede can occur in the periphrastic causative construction, e.g. (86). *ass-* 'do' is the main verb, and the *=gede* clause preceding it expresses the result of causation. (Nevertheless, this construction does not entail but only implicates the realization of the resulting event.) The verb in the *=gede* clause has to be in the imperfective aspect, and *=gede* is optional. This construction could be regarded as one type of "so that" construction.

(86) ísi   haariim-ø-annó=woité   mánn-u
3SG.M.NOM make.a.joke-3SG.M-IPFV.3=when people-NOM.M
bat'-ø-í-kki-nni   muúšši
come.to.like-3SG.M-R.PRF.3-NEG-ABLINS *muúšši*
ya-ø-annó(=gede)   ass-ø-annó.
say-3SG.M-IPFV.3(=so.that) do-3SG.M-IPFV.3
'When he makes a joke, he makes people show their teeth (*lit.* say *muušši*) unconsciously (*lit.* without coming to like it).'

[3] Complementizer

=gede can occur at the end of a clause to form a clausal complement.

(87) ísi   gá'a   isé=wa   ha'r-ø-annó=gede
3SG.M.NOM tomorrow 3SG.F.GEN=place go-3SG.M-IPFV.3=COMP
kul-ø-inó-se.
tell-3SG.M-D.PRF.3–3SG.F
'He told her that he would go to her place tomorrow.'

[4] Marker of comparison in a type of equative construction

There are two types of equative constructions, and one of them involves *=gede*. The enclitic *=gede* attaches to the end of the genitive noun phrase that refers to the standard of comparison, e.g. (88). The final vowel of *=gede* can be optionally lengthened as *=gede-e*.

(88) íse   isí=gede   hojĵameétte=te.
     3SG.F.NOM 3SG.M.GEN=like tall.F=NPC.F.PRED
     'She is as tall as him.'

5.5.4 The construction 'adj-GEN … =NPC.PRED'

In this construction, =*gede* is not used to form an adverbial clause; it can be used in a mono-clausal independent sentence. Also, unlike its use in (78) and (88), it is not used to form an adverbial phrase.

In this construction, =*gede* follows the genitive case form of an adjective, and is followed by the predicate noun-phrase enclitic for Unmodified nouns (=*te* (FEM)/=*ho* (MASC)), e.g. (89), as in the *gar-í=te*/*gar-í=ho* MMC and the =*gede-e=te*/=*gede-e=ho* MMC. Also like the *gara* MMC and the =*gede* MMC, this construction expresses an evidential meaning: 'the speaker's conjecture on the referent of the subject noun phrase's possession of the property expressed by the adjective, based on the speaker's own perception or the information s/he obtained from someone else'. This construction shares another property with the =*gede* MMC, namely, the use of =*gede*.[3]

(89) íse   bušá-te=gede-é=te.
     3SG.F.NOM bad-GEN.F=like-LV=NPC.F.PRED
     'It seems like she is bad.'

We now summarize what we saw in 5.5.2 to 5.5.4. The noun *gara* and the enclitic =*gede* can be used outside the MMC. *gara* has all the properties of nouns, but =*gede* lacks most of them and it shows a very low degree of nounhood. In contrast, =*gede* has all the other uses listed above (mainly its use at the end of adverbial clauses), but *gara* has only in some of them. The etymological relationship between them is not clear. Nevertheless, it is certain that =*gede* is more grammaticalized than *gara*.

It is interesting to note that one of the uses of =*gede* (5.5.4) shares two features with the =*gede* MMC: (i) the use of =*gede* itself, and (ii) meaning: the speaker's conjecture.

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3 In fact, this construction could be regarded as a type of MMC, though it is not a prototypical instance of the MMC; like the DATLOC MMC (5.6), although it has the other two properties (c) and (e) in (1), it lacks the properties, (a), (b), and (d). (In (89), -*te* has the same form as the feminine predicative noun-phrase clitic =*te*, and *íse bušá=te* can be an independent sentence for 'She is bad'. Nevertheless, the masculine form of the predicate in (89) is *buš-ú=gede-é=ho*. 'bad-GEN.M=like-LV= NPC.M.PRED', and *buš-ú* cannot form a sentence with the subject *ísi* '3SG.M.NOM'.)

5.6 DATLOC MMC

5.6.1 Introductory notes

The structure of this type of MMC is shown in (90).

(90) DATLOC MMC: MMC with an infinitive followed by one of the allomorphs of the dative-locative suffix
    1SG, 2SG: Subj. V-INF-PERS.NUM-GENDER-*ra-a=ti*.
    1PL: Subj. V-PERS.NUM-INF-PERS.NUM-*ra-a=ti*.
    2PL: Subj. V-PERS.NUM-INF-*ra-a=ti*.
    3SG: Subj. V-PERS.NUM.GENDER-INF-*ra-a=ti*.
    3PL: Subj. V-PERS.NUM-INF-*ra-a=ti*.

A verb with the infinitive suffix *-a* and the agreement suffix(es) is followed by one of the allomorphs of the dative-locative suffix *-ra*, the lengthened vowel *-a*, and the predicative noun-phrase clitic for Modified nouns *=ti*. That is, the Noun slot (cf. (1)) is occupied by the dative-locative suffix *-ra* 'to, at, in, etc.'.

=ti is formally feminine (Table 2), but is consistently used irrespective of the gender of the subject of the Clause. It does not agree with any constituent of the sentence.

The agreement suffixes are as follows.

(a) For 1SG and 2SG: the person/number suffix and the gender suffix.
(b) For 1PL and 2PL: the person/number suffix.
(c) For 3SG: the person/number/gender suffix.
(d) For 3PL: the person/number suffix.

The verb of the Clause agrees with the subject in the ways shown above.

The verb is in the infinitive form, and it does not inflect for aspect. It is not in any of its finite forms. (To be precise, the verb is in one of its two agreement-inflected infinitive forms. The other inflected infinitive is irrelevant to the present study and is not dealt with here.)

The subject of the Clause can be of any person, e.g. (91) ('baby': third person) and (93) ('we': first person). (In the *gara* MMC (5.2.1) and the *=gede* MMC (5.3.1), the person of the subject of the Clause is restricted to the third person, and cannot be the first person or second person.)

The five properties of the prototype of the MMC proposed by Tsunoda (this volume-a) are listed in Section 1 above. The DATLOC MMC does not conform to the prototype of the MMC in terms of three properties. First, regarding the property (a), the DATLOC MMC lacks the Copula – as is the case with the *gara* MMC and the *=gede* MMC. Sidaama does not have a copula verb, and a noun-phrase enclitic is

used in its place (Section 3). Second, concerning the property (b), the Noun slot is occupied not by an independent noun, but by a suffix.[4] Third, with respect to the property (d), the Clause cannot be used as a sentence by itself (see 5.6.3). The verb is in an infinitive form, not a finite form. Consequently, the Clause cannot be used as a sentence by itself. (The DATLOC MMC conforms to the prototype of the MMC in terms of the other two properties: (c) and (e).)

The DATLOC MMC has the meaning of what Heine (1994) (also, Heine & Kuteva 2002: 78, 207, 214–215, 311–313) calls "the proximative aspect": 'be about to do …'.

5.6.2 Examples

Examples include (5) and:

(91) [k'aákk'-u   wi'l-ø-á]-**ra-a**=ti.
    baby-NOM.M cry-3SG.M-INF-DATLOC.MOD-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
    'The baby boy is about to cry.'

(92) [hamášš-u   balé-si   giddo-ra
    snake-NOM.M hole.GEN.F.MOD-3SG.POSS inside-ALL
    e'-ø-á]-**ra-a**=ti.
    enter-3SG.M-INF-DATLOC.MOD-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
    'The snake is about to enter its hole.'

(93) [nínke   go-n-t'-á-mmo]-**ra-a**=ti.
    1PL.NOM sleep-1PL-sleep-INF-1PL-DATLOC.MOD-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
    'We are about to sleep.'

This MMC generally describes future events, e.g. (91) to (93). It may also concern future events viewed from the past: 'was/were about to do …'. In order to express this specifically, the MMC is followed by the past tense marker =*nka*, e.g. (94), or the third-person, singular, recent perfect form of the verb *heed-* 'live' (*hee'r-ø-i* 'live-3SG.M-R.PRF.3'), e.g. (95). In this use, the form of this verb is invariable regardless of the person, number, and gender of the subject.

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4 This suffix is a case marker. It is relevant to note in this connection that, in one type of MMC in Japanese, the Noun slot is occupied by what may be considered a case marker: the enclitic =*no* 'genitive'. (=*no* may also be regarded as a complementizer or a non-content noun. See Tsunoda (this volume-b, 5.1.4).)

(94) [hamášš-u   balé-si   giddo-ra
     snake-NOM.M hole.GEN.F.MOD-3SG.POSS inside-ALL
     e'-ø-á]-**ra-a**=ti=nka.
     enter-3SG.M-INF-DATLOC.MOD-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD=PST
     'The snake was about to enter its hole.'

(95) [nínke   go-n-t'-á-mmo]-**ra-a**=ti
     1PL.NOM sleep-1PL-sleep-INF-1PL-DATLOC.MOD-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
     hee'r-ø-í.
     live-3SG.M-R.PRF.3
     'We were about to sleep.'

It is interesting to compare the DATLOC MMC with the Modern Standard Japanese MMC, whose Noun slot contains the noun *tokoro* 'place'. The latter predominantly has aspectual meanings (Tsunoda, this volume-b, Section 2, 5.1.3-[8]). Examples slightly modified from Tsunoda (this volume-b) are shown below.

Modern Standard Japanese
(96) [*Hanako=ga   dekake-ta*] **tokoro**=*da*.
     Hanako=NOM go.out-PST place=COP.NPST
     'Hanako has just gone out.'

(97) [*Hanako=ga   dekake-ru*]   **tokoro**=*da*.
     Hanako=NOM go.out-NPST place=COP.NPST
     'Hanako is about to go out.'

The copula can be in the past form: =*dat-ta* '=COP-PST', in which case (96) means 'Hanako had just gone out', and (97) means 'Hanako was about to go out'.

Note the parallelism between (91)–(95) of Sidaama and (97) of Modern Standard Japanese. They all mean 'be about to'. The Noun slot is occupied by the dative-locative suffix 'to, at, in, etc.' in the Sidaama examples, and it is occupied by a noun that means 'place' in the Modern Standard Japanese example. The dative-locative suffix and a noun that means 'place' are semantically very similar.

It is not known at this stage of investigation whether the Sidaama dative-locative suffix -*ra* 'to, at, in, etc.' derives from a noun, though such a derivation might be possible in view of the genitive marking of a noun immediately preceding this suffix. At least, it seems to be difficult to hypothesize that the DATLOC MMC has developed through the grammaticalization of a noun.

5.6.3 Can the Clause of the MMC be used as a sentence by itself?

The DATLOC MMC does not conform to the prototype of the MMC in that, as noted in 5.6.1, the Clause cannot be used as a sentence by itself (cf. (d) in Section 1). For example, the Clause of (91) is unacceptable as a sentence.

(98) *k'aákk'-u   wi'l-ø-á.
     baby-NOM.M cry-3SG.M-INF
     LT: 'The baby cry (infinitive).'

5.6.4 Sentencehood of the Clause of the MMC

The Clause of the DATLOC MMC lacks certain properties of an independent sentence. For example, the verb is in an infinitive form, not in a finite form, and it cannot be used as a sentence by itself.

6 Comparison of the MMCs with other constructions

6.1 Introductory notes

We now compare the MMCs with other constructions. In particular, we examine the following two issues.

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

The structure of the prototype of the MMC is shown in (1). Superficially at least, it looks as if the prototypical MMC were bi-clausal. In some of the languages reported in the present volume, the Clause of the MMC looks similar to an adnominal clause ("AC") (a relative clause) of the respective languages, and consequently it looks as if the MMC were bi-clausal, with an AC as a subordinate clause. However, languages such as Modern Standard Japanese (Tsunoda, this volume-b, Section 6) and Korean (Kim, this volume, Section 6) yield evidence that their MMCs do not contain an AC and that they are syntactically mono-clausal. (See Tsunoda (this volume-a, 3.4.2).) In view of this, it is important to examine the two issues listed above.

For Sidaama, we compare the following constructions.

(i)   Mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences (4.1).
(ii)   Mono-clausal adjective-predicate sentences (4.1).
(iii)   Mono-clausal noun-predicate sentences (4.1).
(iv)   *gara-a=ti* MMC (5.2.2).
(v)   *gar-í=te/gar-í=ho* MMC (5.2.3).
(vi)   *=gede-e=ti* MMC (5.3.2).
(vii)   *=gede-e=te/=gede-e=ho* MMC (5.3.3).
(viii) DATLOC MMC (5.6).
(ix)   ACs: Pronominal type (4.2.2).
(x)   ACs: Gap type (4.2.3).
(xi)   Pre-nominal ACs (4.2.2-[1], 4.2.3-[1]).
(xii)   Headless ACs (4.2.2-[2], 4.2.3-[2]).

It is necessary to consider mono-clausal sentences, since one of the aims of this comparison is to examine the issue (b) listed above.

Regarding the MMCs, mainly the Clause is examined, but the entire MMCs are also looked at.

The AC itself is mainly examined, but sometimes the entire sentence that contains an AC is considered. This is indicated explicitly.

This comparison concerns semantics, morphology, and syntax. The results of this comparison are shown in Table 3 in 6.5.

6.2 Predicate

6.2.1 Aspectual categories

(i) Mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences

Although this was not mentioned in 4.1, the verb of a verb-predicate sentence can be in any of the five aspects listed in Section 3: imperfective, e.g. (29), distant perfect, e.g. (7), recent perfect, e.g. (48), continuous, e.g. (54), or progressive, e.g. (55).

(ii) Mono-clausal adjective-predicate sentences
(iii) Mono-clausal noun-predicate sentences

This issue is irrelevant to adjective-predicate and noun-predicate sentences; they lack a predicate verb.

As seen in 5.4.2, the verb in the Clause of any of the MMCs is restricted as to aspectual categories.

(iv) *gara-a=ti* MMC

The verb in the Clause is restricted to the habitual interpretation of the imperfective.

(v) *gar-í=te*/*gar-í=ho* MMC

The verb in the Clause is limited to the future interpretation of the imperfective and the distant perfect.

(vi) *=gede-e=ti* MMC

The verb in the Clause can be in the imperfective (the future interpretation only), the distant perfect, the recent perfect, or the progressive.

(vii) *=gede-e=te*/*=gede-e=ho* MMC

The verb in the Clause can be in the imperfective (the future interpretation only), the distant perfect, the continuous, or the progressive.

(viii) DATLOC MMC

The verb in the Clause is in an infinitive form, and cannot have any aspect form.

(ix) ACs: Pronominal type
(x) ACs: Gap type
(xi) Pre-nominal ACs
(xii) Headless ACs

Although this was not mentioned in 4.2, all the types of ACs are acceptable with all of the five aspects: imperfective, e.g. (20), distant perfect, e.g. (15), recent perfect, continuous, and progressive.

6.2.2 Noun-phrase enclitics ("NPC")

See Table 2 for noun-phrase enclitics ("NPC").

(i) Mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences
In verb-predicate sentences, the verb cannot be followed by an NPC.

(ii) Mono-clausal adjective-predicate sentences
(iii) Mono-clausal noun-predicate sentences
The predicate is obligatorily followed by an NPC, e.g. (8) and (10).

(iv) *gara-a=ti* MMC
(v) *gar-í=te*/*gar-í=ho* MMC
The verb is followed by an NPC with the noun *gara* 'manner, way' intervening.

(vi) *=gede-e=ti* MMC
(vii) *=gede-e=te*/*=gede-e=ho* MMC
The verb is followed by an NPC with the enclitic *=gede* 'like, etc.' intervening.

(viii) DATLOC MMC

The verb (in its infinitive form) is followed by an NPC with an agreement suffix intervening.

With ACs, their classification into pre-nominal ACs and headless ACs is relevant.

(xi) Pre-nominal ACs
(xii) Headless ACs

The verb of a headless AC (both the pronominal type and the gap type) is followed by an NPC, but the verb of a pre-nominal AC (both the pronominal type and the gap type) may or may not be, e.g. (24) and (18), respectively.

(ix) ACs: Pronominal type
(x) ACs: Gap type

This issue is independent of the classification of ACs into the pronominal type and the gap type.

6.3 Subject

6.3.1 Person of the subject

(i) Mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences
(ii) Mono-clausal adjective-predicate sentences
(iii) Mono-clausal noun-predicate sentences

Although this was not mentioned in 4.1, there is no restriction on the person of the subject. The subject can be in the first person, in the second person, e.g. (6), or the third person, e.g. (7).

(iv) *gara-a=ti* MMC
(v) *gar-í=te/gar-í=ho* MMC
(vi) *=gede-e=ti* MMC
(vii) *=gede-e=te/=gede-e=ho* MMC

The subject of the Clause has to be the third person, and cannot be the first person or the second person.

(viii) DATLOC MMC

There is no restriction on the person of the subject of the Clause. The subject can be in any person.

(ix) ACs: Pronominal type

(x) ACs: Gap type

(xi) Pre-nominal ACs

(xii) Headless ACs

As mentioned in 5.2.2.5-[2], there is no restriction on the person of the subject of ACs. The subject can be in the first person, the second person, e.g. (36), or the third person, e.g. (15).

6.3.2 Animacy of the subject

(i) Mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences

(ii) Mono-clausal adjective-predicate sentences

(iii) Mono-clausal noun-predicate sentences

Although this was not mentioned in 4.1, there is no restriction on the animacy of the subject. The subject can be animate (or human), e.g. (6) ('you'), (7) ('she'), (8) ('horse'), or inanimate, (30) ('sky').

For the *gara* MMC and the *=gede* MMC, as mentioned in 5.4.4, roughly speaking, the acceptability of the subject of the Clause depends on two factors: (i) whether the subject is animate (or human) or not, and (ii) whether the verb of the Clause is in the imperfective or not. The imperfective tends to allow an inanimate subject, unlike other aspectual categories, which disallow an inanimate subject. (The aspectual restrictions on the verb of the Clause were summarized in 6.2.1.)

(iv) *gara-a=ti* MMC

The verb of the Clause is restricted to the habitual interpretation of the imperfective aspect. The subject of the Clause can be either animate or inanimate.

(v) *gar-í=te/gar-í=ho* MMC

When the verb of the Clause is in the imperfective, the subject of the Clause can be either animate or inanimate. On the other hand, when the verb is not in the imperfective, the subject normally cannot be non-human, but has to be human.

(vi) *=gede-e=ti* MMC

The subject of the Clause can be either animate or inanimate, irrespective of whether the verb is in the imperfective or not.

(vii) *=gede-e=te/=gede-e=ho* MMC

When the verb of the Clause is in the imperfective, the subject of the Clause can be either animate or inanimate. However, when the verb is not in the imperfective,

the subject cannot be inanimate, but has to be an animate entity or a natural entity that can act like an animate one.

(viii) DATLOC MMC

Although this was not mentioned in 5.6.1, there is no restriction on the animacy of the subject of the Clause. The subject can be either animate (e.g. (91) ('baby'), (92) ('snake'), (93) ('we')) or inanimate.

(ix) ACs: Pronominal type
(x) ACs: Gap type
(xi) Pre-nominal ACs
(xii) Headless ACs

Although this was not mentioned in 4.2, there is no restriction on the animacy of the subject of ACs. The subject can be animate, e.g. (15) ('she'), or inanimate.

6.4 Syntax

6.4.1 Gapping

The classification of ACs in terms of the pronominal type vs. the gap type is relevant. It is convenient to start with ACs of the gap type.

(x) ACs: Gap type (pre-nominal ACs and headless ACs)

Gapping occurs in the formation of ACs of the gap type. Compare (17) with (18) and (19) (pre-nominal ACs). All of the subject, the direct object, and the indirect object are present in (17). In contrast, the subject is absent in the AC of (18) and the indirect object is absent in the AC of (19). (In the AC of (18), the verb contains two suffixes that agree with the subject: *-t-inó* '3SG.F-D.PRF.3'. Nevertheless, the subject NP is absent, and the AC of (18) should be considered an instance of the gap type.) Also compare (17) with (21) and (22) (headless ACs). The subject NP is absent in the AC of (21) and the indirect object is absent in the AC of (22).

(ix) ACs: Pronominal type (pre-nominal ACs and headless ACs)

Gapping does not occur in the formation of ACs of the pronominal type. Consider the AC of (15) (a pre-nominal AC). It contains an anticipatory pronominal (*-si* '3G.M.POSS'), which refers to the head noun 'person'. That is, gapping does not take place in the formation of the AC of (15). Similarly, gapping does not occur in the formation of the AC of (16) (a headless AC).

(xi) Pre-nominal ACs

(xii) Headless ACs

The classification of ACs into pre-nominal ACs and headless ACs is irrelevant to the issue of gapping.

(i) Mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences

(ii) Mono-clausal adjective-predicate sentences

(iii) Mono-clausal noun-predicate sentences

Gapping does not occur in the formation of these constructions.

(iv) *gara-a=ti* MMC

(v) *gar-í=te/gar-í=ho* MMC

(vi) *=gede-e=ti* MMC

(vii) *=gede-e=te/=gede-e=ho* MMC

(viii) DATLOC MMC

Gapping does not occur in the formation of the Clause of the MMCs.

6.4.2 One subject or two subjects?

It is convenient to start with ACs.

(ix) ACs: Pronominal type

(x) ACs: Gap type

(xi) Pre-nominal ACs

(xii) Headless ACs

A sentence that contains an AC may have two subjects: the subject of the AC and the subject of the matrix clause. This applies irrespective of whether the AC is of the pronominal type or of the gap type and whether the AC is pre-nominal or headless. For example, (19) contains two subjects: the subject of the AC is *íse* '3SG.F.NOM' and the subject of the matrix clause is *áni* '1SG.NOM'.

(i) Mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences

(ii) Mono-clausal adjective-predicate sentences

(iii) Mono-clausal noun-predicate sentences

(iv) *gara-a=ti* MMC

(v) *gar-í=te/gar-í=ho* MMC

(vi) *=gede-e=ti* MMC

(vii) *=gede-e=te/=gede-e=ho* MMC

(viii) DATLOC MMC

These constructions can have only one subject.

6.5 Discussion

The results of the comparison above are shown in Table 3.

Tab. 3: Comparison of the MMCs with other constructions.

	Aspect	Noun-phrase enclitic
Verb-predicate	All the five aspects	–
Adjective predicate	...	+
Noun-predicate	...	+
gara-a=ti MMC	Imperfective (habitual)	+
gar-í=te/gar-í=ho MMC	Imperfective (future), distant perfect	+
=gede-e=ti MMC	Imperfective (future), distant perfect, recent perfect, progressive	+
=gede-e=te/=gede-e=ho MMC	Imperfective (future), distant perfect, continuous, progressive	+
DATLOC MMC	... (Infinitive verb)	+
AC: Pronominal type	All the five aspects	...
AC: Gap type	All the five aspects	...
AC: Pre-nominal	All the five aspects	–
AC: Headless	All the five aspects	+

	Subject: person	Subject: animacy
Verb-predicate	1st, 2nd, 3rd	Animate, inanimate
Adjective predicate	1st, 2nd, 3rd	Animate, inanimate
Noun-predicate	1st, 2nd, 3rd	Animate, inanimate
gara-a=ti MMC	3rd only	Imperfective (habitual) only: animate, inanimate
gar-í=te/gar-í=ho MMC	3rd only	Imperfective (future): animate, inanimate
		Not imperfective: human only
=gede-e=ti MMC	3rd only	Animate, inanimate
=gede-e=te/=gede-e=ho MMC	3rd only	Imperfective: animate, inanimate
		Not imperfective: animate or animate-like inanimate
DATLOC MMC	1st, 2nd, 3rd	Animate, inanimate
AC: Pronominal type	1st, 2nd, 3rd	Animate, inanimate
AC: Gap type	1st, 2nd, 3rd	Animate, inanimate
AC: Pre-nominal	1st, 2nd, 3rd	Animate, inanimate
AC: Headless	1st, 2nd, 3rd	Animate, inanimate

	Gapping	Two subjects
Verb-predicate	–	–
Adjective predicate	–	–
Noun-predicate	–	–
gara-a=ti MMC	–	–
gar-í=te/*gar-í=ho* MMC	–	–
=gede-e=ti MMC	–	–
=gede-e=te/*=gede-e=ho* MMC	–	–
DATLOC MMC	–	–
AC: Pronominal type	–	+
AC: Gap type	+	+
AC: Pre-nominal	…	+
AC: Headless	…	+

Legend: +: obligatory or possible; –: impossible; …: irrelevant.

We now examine the results of the comparison above.

[1] Predicate

In terms of the aspectual categories, mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences and all the types of ACs behave alike. All the subtypes of MMCs differ from them. (This issue is irrelevant to adjective-predicate and noun-predicate sentences.) Regarding the noun-phrase enclitic, the MMCs behave like mono-clausal adjective-predicate and noun-predicate sentences and also like headless ACs, but unlike the other constructions. That is, concerning the predicate, in the main, it is difficult to say whether the MMCs resemble mono-clausal independent sentences or ACs.

[2] Subject

The two factors that we looked at regarding the subject concern its semantics: person and animacy. As far as these factors are concerned, the DATLOC MMC behaves just like independent mono-clausal sentences and ACs, which allow all the three persons and both animate and inanimate subjects. On the other hand, all the subtypes of *gara* MMCs and *=gede* MMCs differ from them. Thus, in terms of the semantics of the subject, the *gara* MMC and the *=gede* MMC resemble neither independent sentences nor ACs.

[3] Syntax

Gapping occurs in ACs of the gap type only, and it is absent in ACs of the pronominal type, all the subtypes of the MMCs, and all independent mono-clausal sentences. A sentence that contains an AC may have two subjects, but the MMCs and independent mono-clausal sentences have just one subject. That is, in syntax, in the main, the MMCs behave like independent mono-clausal sentences, and unlike ACs and sentences with an AC.

[4] Summary

In terms of the subject and the predicate, the MMCs resemble neither independent mono-clausal sentences nor ACs. However, in terms of syntax, in the main, the MMCs behave like independent mono-clausal sentences, and unlike ACs and sentences with an AC. Thus, syntactically, the MMCs should be considered mono-clausal, not bi-clausal. They do not contain any subordinate clause, such as an AC. This resembles the situation in some of the languages reported in the present volume. See Tsunoda (this volume-a, 3.4.2) for a further discussion of this issue.

6.6 Compound predicate

We saw in 6.5 that syntactically the Sidaama MMCs should be considered mono-clausal, not bi-clausal, and that they have just one predicate, not two predicates. We now investigate what structure the predicate has.

As seen in Section 1, the prototype of the MMC has the structure shown in (1) – superficially at least. However, languages such as Japanese (Tsunoda, this volume-b, Section 6) and Korean (Kim, this volume, Section 6) provide ample evidence that syntactically their MMCs are mono-clausal, not bi-clausal, despite their superficial appearances (shown in (1)). The MMCs of these languages have just one predicate, not two predicates, and the predicate is a compound predicate that consists of the predicate of the Clause, the Noun, and the Copula, as shown in (2).

(1) Prototype of the mermaid construction ("MMC"):
    Clause   Noun   Copula

(2) ...   <u>predicate of Clause   Noun   Copula</u>.
                   compound predicate

The situation in the Sidaama MMCs is as follows. They have the structures shown in (25), (43), and (90), respectively.

(25) *gara* MMC: MMC with the noun *gara* 'manner, way'
     (a) Verb *gara-a=ti*.
     (b) Verb *gar-í=te*.
         Verb *gar-í=ho*.

(43) *=gede* MMC: MMC with the enclitic *=gede* 'like, as if, so that, that
     (complementizer)'
     (a) Verb*=gede-e=ti*.
     (b) Verb*=gede-e=te*.
         Verb*=gede-e=ho*.

(90) DATLOC MMC: MMC with an infinitive followed by one of the allomorphs of
      the dative-locative suffix
      Verb-*ra-a=ti*.

As noted in Section 3, Sidaama does not have a copula verb, and the noun-phrase enclitic =*ta*/=*ha*/=*ti* (cf. Table 2) performs the function of a copula (cf. also 4.1).

In (25), the Copula slot is occupied by an enclitic (the noun-phrase enclitic), and clearly the Noun and the Copula form a unit. Furthermore, no morpheme can occur between the verb of the Clause and the Noun. Therefore, clearly the verb of the Clause, the Noun, and the Copula form a unit. They constitute a compound predicate.

In (43), the Noun slot is occupied by an enclitic (=*gede*), and the Copula slot by another enclitic (the noun-phrase enclitic). Moreover, no morpheme can intervene between the verb of the Clause and the Noun. Therefore, clearly the verb of the Clause, the Noun, and the Copula form a unit. They constitute a compound predicate.

In (90), the Noun slot is occupied by a suffix (-*ra*), and the Copula slot by an enclitic (the noun-phrase enclitic). Moreover, no morpheme can intervene between the verb of the Clause and the Noun. Therefore, clearly the verb of the Clause, the Noun, and the Copula form a unit. They constitute a compound predicate. The bond between the verb and the Noun in (90) is stronger than that in (43), for the Noun in (90) is a suffix, not an enclitic.

To sum up, in each type of MMCs, the verb of the Clause, the Noun, and the Copula form a unit, and constitute the predicate of the MMC: a compound predicate.

7 Why Sidaama has the mermaid constructions

As noted in Section 1, MMCs have been mainly reported from languages in Asia, and the present chapter found the existence of MMCs outside Asia. It is important to inquire why Sidaama – a language outside Asia – has MMCs. The present section attempts to address this question. No definite answer is as yet forthcoming, and only speculative notes will be given. The following discussion looks at three possibilities. (Possible sources of the MMCs in Sidaama and other languages are discussed in Tsunoda, this volume-a, 5.5.)

7.1 Why Sidaama has the *gara* MMC and the *=gede* MMC

Recall that these two types of MMCs have an evidential meaning: 'It seems like …' (5.2.1, 5.3.1). Now, Sidaama has a noun whose meaning is similar to that of these

two types of MMCs: *ordo* 'appearance'. This noun itself is not used as part of either MMC. Nevertheless, it can be added to the *gara* MMC and the *=gede* MMC. Examples of *ordo* added to the *=gede* MMC are shown in (99) and (100), where *ordo* occurs in the nominative case and in the accusative-oblique case, respectively. (The accusative-oblique case is marked with a suprafix consisting of a high pitch on the final vowel segment. It can be translated as 'with respect to' (Kawachi, 2012).)

(99) órd-u   íse
      appearance-NOM.M 3SG.F.NOM
      hank'-i-t-annó=gede-e=ti.
      get.angry-EP-3SG.F-IPFV.3=like-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
      LT: 'The appearance is she will get angry is like.'
      FT: 'It seems like she will get angry.'

(100) íse   ordó
      3SG.F.NOM appearance.ACCOBL
      hank'-i-t-annó=gede-e=ti.
      get.angry-EP-3SG.F-IPFV.3=like-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
      LT: 'With respect to appearance she will get angry is like.'
      FT: 'It seems like she will get angry.'

What was stated about the *=gede-e=ti* MMC applies to the *gara* MMC and the *=gede-e=te*/*=gede-e=ho* MMC as well.

Importantly, *ordo* is the only noun whose nominative or accusative-oblique form can be added to the MMCs, as in (99) and (100). Furthermore, the set of requirements on the animacy and person of the subject and aspectual categories for each MMC subtype (cf. Table 3) applies to constructions like (99) and (100).

As noted above, *ordo* 'appearance' itself does not appear in either MMC. Nevertheless, it is possible, though by no means certain, that either the *gara* MMC or the *=gede* MMC, or both originated in sentences that contain a noun such as *ordo* 'appearance'. (As shown in Tsunoda (this volume-a, 3.1.3.2) and other chapters in the present volume, many nouns that occupy the Noun slot in MMCs have the meaning of 'appearance', 'shape', 'sight', or the like, and such an MMC has an evidential meaning: 'It appears/looks/seems'.)

7.2 Why Sidaama has the DATLOC MMC

Again, it is difficult to figure out why this type of MMC exists in Sidaama. Nevertheless, there are two constructions that may be relevant: the cleft construction and the purposive construction that contains an infinitive and one of the allomorphs of the dative-locative suffix *-ra*.

The Sidaama cleft construction takes either of the following two forms.

(101) (a) <u>Clause=*hu*</u> ... X=*ti*.
(b) ... X=*ti* <u>Clause=*hu*</u>.

The subject of the cleft construction consists of a clause and the nominative singular masculine noun-phrase enclitic =*hu*, and the predicate is a focused constituent followed by the predicative noun-phrase enclitic =*ti*. These forms are used regardless of the gender of the referent of the focused constituent when it is a noun phrase. In (101), the focused constituent is shown with "X". In (101) and the examples of the cleft construction, the subject is underlined. This construction can extract any type of constituent other than the subject of the clause.[5] Compare (102) with (103) and (104); they concern the indirect object.

(102) búne wot'é laattó-ra
Bune(NOM.F) money.ACCOBL Laatto.GEN.F-DATLOC.PROP
u-i-t-inó.
give-EP-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
'Bune gave money to Laatto.'

(103) <u>búne wot'é u-i-t-ino=hú</u>
Bune(NOM.F) money.ACCOBL give-EP-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=NPC.M.NOM
laatto-ó=ti.
Laatto-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
'It is Laatto who Bune gave money to.'

(104) <u>búne wot'é u-i-t-ino=hú</u>
Bune(NOM.F) money.ACCOBL give-EP-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=NPC.M.NOM
laattó-ra-a=ti.
Laatto.GEN.F-DATLOC.PROP-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
'It is Laatto who Bune gave money to.'

Note that the predicate (i.e. the focused element) in (104) contains -*ra-a* 'DATLOC. PROP-LV'. The dative-locative suffix explicitly indicates that the focused element in (104) corresponds to the indirect object of (102).

Adverbial clauses, such as cause clauses and purpose clauses, can also be extracted. Compare (105) and (106); they concern a purpose clause.

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5 When the extracted constituent is the subject of the clause, the noun-phrase enclitic immediately following the clause has to agree with the extracted constituent in gender and number, as in "Clause=*ti* ... =*ti*" (feminine, singular), "Clause=*hu* ... =*ti*" (masculine, singular), and "Clause=*ri* ... =*ti*" (plural), depending on the gender and the number of the extracted constituent. This construction can be regarded as a type of pseudo-cleft construction. The young generation seems to also use this construction rather than the cleft construction even when the extracted constituent is the direct object of the clause or the indirect object as expressed without the dative-locative suffix.

(105) sagalé   hiɗ-ɗ-i-t-a-rá
food.ACCOBL buy-MID-EP-3SG.F-INF-DATLOC
beettó-si-ra   wot'é
child.GEN.F-3SG.M.POSS-DATLOC.MOD money.ACCOBL
u-ø-inó.
give-3SG.M-D.PRF.3
'He gave money to his daughter so that she could buy food.'

(106) beettó-si-ra   wot'é
child.GEN.F-3SG.M.POSS-DATLOC.MOD money.ACCOBL
u-ø-ino=hú   (íse)   sagalé
give-3SG.M-D.PRF.3=NPC.M.NOM (3SG.F.NOM) food.ACCOBL
hiɗ-ɗ-i-t-á-ra-a=ti.
buy-MID-EP-3SG.F-INF-DATLOC-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
'It is in order for his daughter to buy food that he gave money to her.'

In (105), the verb in the purpose clause ('buy-MID-EP-3SG.F-INF-DATLOC') has the structure of the DATLOC MMC for the third-person singular feminine subject in (90) minus the lengthened vowel -*a* and the predicative noun-phrase clitic =*ti*. In (106), the focused element has exactly the same structure as that of the verb of the DATLOC MMC. Specifically, -*t-á-ra-a=ti* '3SG.F-INF-DATLOC-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD' has the structure for the third-person singular subject shown in (90) in 5.6.1; it contains the lengthened vowel -*a* and the predicative noun-phrase clitic =*ti* as well. We will return to this shortly.

As mentioned in Section 3, in Sidaama, the subject is often omitted when its referent is clear from the context. Hence, if the subject of (106) (the underlined portion) is omitted, the resultant sentence is (107). It can be translated as in (107a).

(107) (íse)   sagalé
(3SG.F.NOM) food.ACCOBL
hiɗ-ɗ-i-t-á-ra-a=ti.
buy-MID-EP-3SG.F-INF-DATLOC-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
(a) Clefting: '(It) is in order for her to buy food.'
(b) MMC: 'She is about to buy food.'

As noted above, the predicate part of the cleft construction extracting a purpose clause, e.g. (106), has exactly the same structure as that of the DATLOC MMC. Therefore, (107) can also be interpreted as an MMC sentence, as shown in (107b).

It is possible, though not certain, that the DATLOC MMC and elliptical cleft sentences such as (107) (containing a purpose clause) are diachronically related. In this connection, it is useful to mention the following. It has been reported that it is very common for a purpose marker to become an infinitive verb form (Haspel-

math 1989), which has a nuance of incompleteness and is often used for an event that has not been realized.

7.3 Another possible origin of the *gara* MMC and the *=gede* MMC

There is another possible origin of the *gara* MMC and the *=gede* MMC. This also involves the cleft construction. The verb *lab-* 'appear' takes a clausal complement ending with the noun-phrase enclitic *=ha* as the complementizer, e.g. (108). When the clausal complement is clefted, the complementizer is *=gede*, e.g. (109). In fact, this sentence has the same meaning as its predicate part alone, namely (110). Sentence (110) can be interpreted either as an omission of the subject from (109), or as an instance of the *=gede-e=ti* MMC (cf. 5.3.2).

(108) Non-cleft sentence
ané-ra   íse
1SG.GEN-DATLOC.PRON 3SG.F.NOM
hank'-i-t-annó=ha   law-ø-inó-'e.
get.angry-EP-3SG.F-IPFV.3=NPC.M.COMP appear-3SG.M-D.PRF.3–1SG
'It appears to me that she will get angry.'

(109) Cleft sentence
ané-ra   law-ø-ino-'e=hú
1SG.GEN-DATLOC.PRON appear-3SG.M-D.PRF.3–1SG=NPC.M.NOM
íse   hank'-i-t-annó=gede-e=ti.
3SG.F.NOM get.angry-EP-3SG.F-IPFV.3=like-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
LT: 'What appeared to me is that she will get angry is like.'
FT: 'What appears to me is that it seems like she will get angry.'

(110) *=gede-e=ti* MMC
[íse   hank'-i-t-annó]=**gede-e**=ti.
3SG.F.NOM get.angry-EP-3SG.F-IPFV.3=like-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
(a) Omission of the subject from (109):
'(What appears to me is that) it seems like she will get angry.'
(b) *=gede-e=ti* MMC:
'It seems like she will get angry.'

Also, *=gede-e=ti* in (109) can be replaced with *gara-a=ti*, as in (111). In fact, (111) has the same meaning as its predicate part alone, namely (112). Sentence (112) can be interpreted either as an omission of the subject from (111), or as an instance of the *gara-a=ti* MMC (cf. 5.2.2). Both (111) and (112) have a habitual meaning.

(111) Cleft sentence

<u>ané-ra</u>   law-ø-ino-'e=hú

1SG.GEN-DATLOC.PRON   appear-3SG.M-D.PRF.3–1SG=NPC.M.NOM

íse   hank'-i-t-annó   gara-a=ti.

3SG.F.NOM   get.angry-EP-3SG.F-IPFV.3   manner-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD

LT: 'What appeared to me is that she (habitually) gets angry is the manner.'

FT: 'What appears to me is that it seems like she (habitually) gets angry.'

(112) *gara-a=ti* MMC

[íse   hank'-i-t-annó]   **gara-a**=ti.

3SG.F.NOM   get.angry-EP-3SG.F-IPFV.3   manner-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD

(a) Omission of the subject from (111):

'(What appears to me is that) it seems like she (habitually) gets angry.'

(b) *gara-a=ti* MMC:

'It seems like she (habitually) gets angry.'

In sentences such as (109) and (111), the verb *lab-* 'appear' can be replaced with, for example, *hed-* 'think', accompanied by its subject (in the nominative case). An example involving *hed-* 'think' clefting is (113). Again, (113) has the same meaning as its predicate part alone, namely (114). Sentence (114) can be interpreted either as an omission of the subject from (113), or as an instance of the *=gede-e=ti* MMC (cf. 5.3.2). The same structural ambiguity occurs if *hank'-i-t-annó* is followed by *gara-a=ti*, instead of *=gede-e=ti* in (114).

(113) Cleft sentence

<u>áni</u>   <u>hed-ee-mm-o=hú</u>   íse

1SG.NOM   think-IPFV.1–1SG-M=NPC.M.NOM   3SG.F.NOM

hank'-i-t-annó=gede-e=ti.

get.angry-EP-3SG.F-IPFV.3=like-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD

LT: 'What I (MASC) think is that she will get angry is like.'

FT: 'What I (MASC) think is that it seems like she will get angry.'

(114) *=gede-e=ti* MMC

[íse   hank'-i-t-annó]=**gede-e**=ti.

3SG.F.NOM   get.angry-EP-3SG.F-IPFV.3=like-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD

(a) Omission of the subject from (113):

'(What I (MASC) think is that) it seems like she will get angry.'

(b) *=gede-e=ti* MMC:

'It seems like she will get angry.'

Whichever of the MMC subtypes occurs as a predicate in the cleft construction, the same requirements on the animacy and person of the subject and the aspectual

categories for each MMC subtype (see Table 3) apply, and the meaning of the sentence as a whole is the same as that of the MMC subtype.

To sum up, the omission of the subject (the underlined portion) from cleft sentences such as (109), (111), and (113) may also be a possible source for these MMCs.

8 Summary and concluding remarks

The present chapter has shown that MMCs exist outside Asia, i.e. in Sidaama of Ethiopia. Sidaama is an SOV language, like most of the languages that have MMCs (Tsunoda, this volume-a, 5.2). Sidaama has three types of MMCs.

In the *gara* MMC, the Noun slot is occupied by the noun *gara* 'manner, way'. In the *=gede* MMC, the Noun slot is occupied by the enclitic *=gede* 'like, as if, so that, that (complementizer)'. Both types have an evidential meaning: the speaker's conjecture on the truthfulness of the proposition expressed by the Clause based on his/her own observation of the subject's action or state or on the information on it that s/he has obtained from someone else.

In the DATLOC MMC, the Noun slot is occupied by one of the allomorphs of the dative-locative suffix *-ra*. The verb of the Clause is an infinitive inflected for person, number, and gender, followed by one of the allomorphs of the dative-locative suffix. This type has the meaning of the proximative aspect: 'be about to'.

The *gara* MMC conforms to the prototype of the MMC, and the *=gede* MMC does fairly closely, but the DATLOC MMC does not. For example, the Clause of the *gara* MMC and that of the *=gede* MMC can each be used as a sentence by itself, but that of the DATLOC MMC cannot.

In terms of the semantics of the subject and the structure of the predicate, the MMCs differ from both independent sentences and adnominal clauses ("ACs") (or relative clauses). However, in terms of syntax, the MMCs behave like mono-clausal independent sentences and unlike ACs and sentences with an AC, and they should be considered not bi-clausal but mono-clausal, as is the case in some of the languages reported in the present volume.

Nevertheless, Sidaama may be uncommon in that it has MMCs despite the absence of ACs of the addition type.

In terms of morphosyntax and semantics, the *gara* MMC and the *=gede* MMC are very similar. Although the etymological connection between *gara* and *=gede* is not known, *=gede* may have been grammaticalized from a noun. In contrast, it seems to be difficult to hypothesize that the DATLOC MMC has developed through the grammaticalization of a noun.

The present study also speculated how the Sidaama MMCs came to be used.

Acknowledgments

Abbreviations

ABLINS = ablative-instrumental; AC = adnominal clause; ACCOBL = accusative-oblique; ALL = allative; COMP = complementizer; COP = copula; CVB = converb; DATLOC = dative-locative; D.PRF = distant perfect; EP = epenthesis; F = feminine; FEM = feminine; FT = free translation; GEN = genitive; IM = intended meaning; IMP = imperative; INF = infinitive; IPFV = imperfective; LOC = locative (for locational nouns); LT = literal translation; LV = lengthened vowel; M = masculine; MASC = masculine; MID = middle; MMC = mermaid construction; MOD = Modified (accompanied by a modifier/modifiers, by the possessive pronominal suffix, or both); mod = modified (accompanied by a modifier/modifiers); NEG = negation; NOM = nominative; NPC = noun-phrase enclitic; NPST = nonpast; PL = plural; PRON = pronoun; POSS = possessive; PRED = predicative; PROP = proper noun; PST = past; R.PRF = recent perfect; SG = singular; TOP = topic; 1 = first person; 2 = second person: 3 = third person.

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II SVO languages

Kiyoko Takahashi
17 Thai

1 Introduction

Tsunoda (this volume-a, 2.1) proposes that the prototype of the mermaid construction (hereafter, "MMC") has all of the following five properties.

(a) The structure is as shown in (1) – superficially at least.
(b) The Noun is an independent word (not a clitic) that is a noun.
(c) The subject of the Clause and the Noun are non-coreferential.
(d) The Clause can be used as a sentence by itself.
(e) The Clause is not the subject of the "Noun + Copula".

(1) Prototype of the mermaid construction ("MMC"):
    Clause   Noun   Copula.

In the prototypical MMC, the Noun slot of the MMC is occupied by a noun that is an independent word. In non-prototypical instances, it may be occupied by an enclitic or a suffix which derives from a noun. The forms in the Noun slot – particularly independent nouns – generally have a contentful meaning. However, they may also be nominalizers. (The nominalizers may be independent words, clitics or affixes (T. Tsunoda, this volume-a, 2.3-[1]).) That is, the MMC may have the structure shown below.

(2) Clause   NMLZ   Copula.

Tsunoda (this volume-a, Section 1 and 2.1) notes as follows. Superficially at least, it looks as if the MMC contains a subordinate clause and is bi-clausal. However, languages such as Modern Standard Japanese (Tsunoda, this volume-b, Section 6) and Korean (Kim, this volume, Section 6) provide ample evidence to show that syntactically their MMC is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal, despite its superficial appearance (shown in (1)). The MMC of these languages has just one predicate, not two predicates, and the predicate is a compound predicate that consists of the predicate of the Clause, the Noun and the Copula, as shown below.

(3) ... <u>predicate of Clause   Noun   Copula</u>.
                    compound predicate

The prototype of the MMC is based on the MMC of Modern Standard Japanese, an AOV language (cf. Tsunoda, this volume-a, 2.1). Most instances of the MMC reported in the present volume are found in AOV languages.

Thai is an AVO language. Unlike Mandarin Chinese, an AVO language with variants of the MMC (cf. Ono (2013) and Tsunoda (this volume-a, 2.3-[2])), Thai does not have a structure that would be unequivocally called the MMC. Nonetheless, Thai has a structure that may be considered a peripheral type of the MMC. It will be referred to as quasi-MMC. It is of three types.

(4) Quasi-MMC of Thain
   a. Psych-verb type:
      (Target-N)   Copula-V   [NMLZ Psych-V]   (Obl-P Experiencer-N).

   b. Speech-verb type:
      (Target-N)   Copula-V   [NMLZ Speech-V]   (Obl-P Speaker-N).

   c. Quotative-complementation type:
      Copula-V   [NMLZ Psych-V/Speech-V][1]   [COMP Clause].

(COMP: complementizer. N: noun. NMLZ: nominalizer. Obl-P: oblique preposition. V: verb.)

"Target" stands for a noun phrase designating the target, goal or the like of the psychological or verbal activity (see 5.6). "Obl-P Experiencer-N/Speaker-N" stands for a prepositional phrase composed of an oblique preposition and a noun phrase representing the experiencer/speaker who is engaged in an activity denoted by a psych/speech verb (see 5.5). In (4), the constituents shown with parentheses are optional.

All of the three types of the quasi-MMC contain (i) the copula verb (Copula-V), (ii) a nominalizer (NMLZ), and (ii) a psych-verb (Psych-V) or a speech verb (Speech-V). That is, they contain the following.

(5) Copula-V   [NMLZ Psych-V/Speech-V].

The combination of the nominalizer and the psych/speech verb ([NMLZ Psych-V] or [NMLZ Speech-V]) and that of the quotative complementizer and the complement clause ([COMP Clause]) are indicated by means of square brackets.[2]

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1 In the present chapter I sometimes use a slash "/" in place of the word "or" to save space. For example, the schematic representation of the syntactic structure "Copula-V NMLZ Psych-V/Speech-V" is read as "Copula-V NMLZ Psych-V" or "Copula-V NMLZ Speech-V".

2 In the present chapter, square brackets are used in this way. However, in other chapters, square brackets are used to indicate the Clause of the MMC and its English translation.

The reason for this marking is as follows. The nominalizer and the psych/speech verb form a unit, to the exclusion of the prepositional phrase ("Obl-P Experiencer-N" or "Obl-P Speaker-N") (see 5.10-[2]). Similarly, the complementizer and the complement clause are inseparable.

The quotative-complementation type (i.e. (4c)) differs from the other two types in three respects. First, it lacks "Obl-P Experiencer-N/Speaker-N" and "Target-N". Second, it obligatorily contains [COMP Clause], i.e., a clausal complement consisting of the quotative complementizer and a complement clause (see 5.7). Third, it has an epistemic modal flavor. Specifically, it expresses the speaker's view or belief that the general public must feel or think such and such (see 5.7 and 5.8).

The quasi-MMC of Thai resembles those instances of the MMC of other languages that contain a nominalizer (cf. (2)). An example from Modern Standard Japanese is the second sentence in (68).

To sum up, the structures shown in (4a) to (4c) can be considered variants of the MMC – albeit non-prototypical and peripheral ones; they are the farthest away from the MMC prototype among all the varieties of the MMC investigated in the present volume (cf. Tsunoda, this volume-a, 2.3).

2 Initial illustration

Examples (6) to (8), respectively, illustrate the three types of the Thai quasi-MMC (4a) to (4c).

(4a) Psych-verb type
(6) *kháw yɔ̂ɔm   pen* [*thîi   chûa mân*]   *khɔ̌ɔŋ phûu tây baŋkháp banchaa*
    PRON inevitably COP NMLZ be.confident GEN   subordinates
    LT: 'He is inevitably that/what (they) are confident (of), of the subordinates.'
    FT: 'He is inevitably trusted by (his) subordinates.'

(4b) Speech-verb type
(7) *nawaníyaay rûaŋ níi pen* [*thîi   klàaw thǔŋ yàaŋ phrɛ̂ɛ lǎay*]
    novel   CLF   this COP NMLZ say   reach widely
    LT: 'This novel is that/what (they) mention widely.'
    FT: 'This novel is widely mentioned.'

(4c) Quotative-complementation type

(8) *pen* [*thîi   yɔɔm ráp kan   thûa pay*] [*wâa wannakam lɛ́ʔ phâaphayon*
     COP NMLZ admit   RECP in.general COMP literary.work and movie
     mii   ʔìtthíphon tɔ̀ɔ   kan lɛ́ʔ kan yàaŋ mâak]
     have influence upon each.other very.much
     LT: '(It) is that/what (they) generally admit that literary works and movies
     influence each other very much.'
     FT: 'It is generally admitted that literary works and movies influence each
     other very much.'

When glossing pronouns, the gloss 'PRON' is used, rather than specific glosses,
such as '1SG', '2SG', '3SG.M', '3SG.F' and so forth. See (6). The pronoun system in
Thai, unlike that in Indo-European languages, has not been entrenched as a fixed
paradigm, and it is sometimes difficult to provide such a specific gloss. It should
be mentioned in this connection that a pronoun used as an argument or comple-
ment is often absent if the preceding clause contains a coreferential pronoun or
noun phrase.

(Thai constructions with the reciprocal marker *kan* 'RECP' following a verb
phrase, such as (8), may express '(do something) together'.)

The psych-verb type describes a situation where a certain entity, i.e., person or
matter, is the target of a group of people's or the general public's psychological
activity such as perception, emotion and cognition. The speech-verb type describes
a situation where a certain entity is the target of a group of people's or the general
public's verbal activity such as criticizing and rumoring. The quotative-comple-
mentation type expresses the utterer's view or belief regarding the general public's
feeling or opinion.

A reviewer points out that the psych-verb and the speech-verb types of the
quasi-MMC in Thai (e.g. (6) and (7)) are similar to the middle construction (MC)
in English (e.g., *the pen writes well* and *the book sells well*) in that they alike derive
from transitive-verb constructions, and that they alike tend to receive a non-
eventive, generic or habitual interpretation. However, there are crucial differences
between the two constructions, as follows. First, the quasi-MMC requires a clausal
nominalizer and a copula verb (cf. Sections 5.2 and 5.4), whereas the MC does
not. Second, the degree of transitivity of verbs that occur in the MC is relatively
high, while that of verbs that occur in the quasi-MMC is relatively low. The situa-
tion denoted by the MC involves a covert agent doing an activity with a relatively
high transitivity (e.g. the writer and the seller for the examples above) which can-
not be named (e.g. **the pen writes well by the writer* and **the book sells well by
the seller*). The situation denoted by the quasi-MMC involves an experiencer or
speaker doing an activity with a relatively low transitivity, which may or may not
be named by an oblique prepositional phrase (e.g. *khɔ̌ɔŋ phûu tây baŋkháp ban-
chaa* 'of the subordinates' in (6)) (cf. Sections 5.3 and 5.5). Third, the referent of

the forefront noun phrase of the MC (e.g. the pen and the book in the examples above) corresponds to an instrument or a patient connected with the covert agent. On the other hand, the forefront noun phrase of the quasi-MMC represents an entity conceived as emotional or cognitive target (cf. Section 5.6).

3 Profile of the language

Thai belongs to the Tai group of the Tai-Kadai family. It is the official language of Thailand. According to *Ethnologue* (online version 2017; see Simons & Fennig (eds.) 2017), the number of Thai L1 speakers is 20,548,550 and that of Thai L2 users is 40,000,000.

The inventory of Thai phonemes is as follows: (a) consonants: /p, t, c, k, ʔ, ph, th, ch, kh, b, d, f, s, h, m, n, ŋ, l, r, w, y/; (b) vowels: /i, ɯ, u, e, ə, o, ɛ, a, ɔ, ii, ɯɯ, uu, ee, əə, oo, ɛɛ, aa, ɔɔ/; (c) diphthongs: /ia, ɯa, ua/; and (d) tones: Mid, Low, Falling, High, Rising (e.g., maa, màa, mâa, máa, mǎa). (For the phonological structure of Thai, see Iwasaki & Ingkaphirom (2005: 3–6).)

Thai is a typical isolating language. It employs virtually no affixation. Verbs do not inflect. Thai is neither dependent-marking nor head-marking. It may be regarded as configurational, for the verb tends to be tightly connected with the object (rather than the subject).

Thai has prepositions. However, like other functional words, they tend to be not used, especially in oral discourse. The basic orders of clausal constituents are AVO and SV. The A, the S, and the O are not marked for case. That is, Thai has the neutral case system: A=S=O. Modifiers of a noun, e.g., demonstrative, classifier phrase and adnominal clause, follow the noun.

Thai abounds with the serial verb construction, which is composed of more than one verb phrase serialized without any linker (see 4.1). To be accurate, it is really a "serial verb-phrase construction", but it is conventionally and briefly called "serial verb construction".

The Thai writing system was created in the thirteenth century. The present work is based on data gathered from the written language.[3] The examples of the quasi-MMC cited in this chapter were collected mainly from the Thai National Cor-

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3 This restriction on the type of research data, i.e., using only data from a corpus of written texts, does not come from a belief that the quasi-MMC tends to be used in the written language rather than the oral language. The Thai National Corpus, which is based on data from the written language, is available, and this makes it convenient to work on the written language.

The Thai National Corpus is a general corpus of written texts of various genres, e.g., academic, administration, commerce, religion, law, letters, blogs, newspapers, etc., in the standard Thai language, which is designed to be comparable to the British National Corpus in terms of its domain and medium proportion (Aroonmanakun 2007).

pus, which is the largest electronic Thai corpus available on the Internet, and in part from two previous studies: Kitsombat (1981) and Prasithrathsint (1985). The English glosses and translations are mostly the present author's. Some of the examples were slightly modified owing to space limitation and other stylistic reasons.

4 Types of sentences and clauses

4.1 Verb-predicate sentences and noun-predicate sentences

In terms of the type of the predicate, sentences of Thai are divided into two main types: (i) verb-predicate sentences and (ii) noun-predicate sentences. Thai morphemes with meanings that correspond to the meanings of adjectives of, say, English and Japanese are categorized as verbs, e.g., (11).[4]

Verb-predicate sentences are classified into four types: (i) one-place sentences; (ii) two-place sentences; (iii) three-place sentences; and, (iv) serial verb constructions. Verbs occurring in verb-predicate sentences may be modified by modal and/ or aspectual markers. For example, in (9) and (19), the verb (*mii* 'exist', *pen* 'COP') is preceded by an epistemic modal marker (*ʔàat* 'maybe' and *khoŋ* 'probably', respectively). In (10), the verb and its argument (*kɔ̀ət panhǎa* 'a problem occurs') are followed by the inchoative aspect marker (*khŵn* 'INC').

One-place sentences are of two types: those with the VS order and those with the SV order. The VS-order sentences report an event of existence, e.g., (9) (*mii* 'exist'), or of emergence/extinction, e.g., (10) (*kɔ̀ət* 'occur'). The SV-order sentences describe other situations than those of existence and emergence/extinction, e.g., (11) (*yaaw* 'be.long') and (12) (*tɛ̀ɛk* 'break').

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4 A clarification is in order here. In this study I follow Prasithrathsint's (2000) and Enfield's (2004) view that Thai and Lao morphemes that are semantically equivalent to adjectives in languages that have the class of adjectives form a verbal subclass. Post (2008: 376) states that "contrary to claims made by at least some previous analysts [that there "is not" a class of adjectives in Thai – KT], there "is" a class of terms in Thai which closely resembles the adjective classes of many other languages in terms of semantic contents, internal structures, and distribution relative to other lexical classes". At the same time, however, he concurs with Prasithrathsint's and Enfield's idea that there is not a class of adjectives in Thai and Lao in the sense that adjectives are grouped together with verbs at a "higher taxonomic level" than that at which adjectival class-defining criteria are construed as applying. In passing, Prasithrathsint (2010) provides a view that is different from that in Prasithrathsint (2000), and she sets up the class of adjectives in Thai (e.g., *sùan tua* 'private', *sùt thɔ́ɔŋ* 'last born', *nán* 'that', *ʔɯ̀ɯn* 'other', *nǎy* 'which', *day* 'which', *dii dii* 'good', *tàaŋ tàaŋ* 'different'). She provides the syntactic definition of Thai adjectives as follows. Adjectives are morphemes that (i) always occur after noun, (ii) do not co-occur with the negative *mây*, and (iii) do not co-occur with the demonstrative *níi* 'this', either (ibid., 49–52).

(9) *ʔàat   mii   panhǎa*
    maybe exist problem
    'There may be a problem.'

(10) *kɔ̀ət   panhǎa   khûn*
     occur problem INC
     'A problem occurs.'

(11) *phǒm   yaaw*
     hair   be.long
     'The hair was long.'

(12) *kɛ̂ɛw   tɛ̀ɛk*
     glass   break
     'The glass broke.'

Two-place sentences have the AVO order. Examples include:

(13) *mîit   bàat   níw*
     knife cut   finger
     'The knife cut the finger.'

The word order of three-place sentences is: AVO_1O_2, in which "O_1" stands for a noun phrase representing the theme, gift or the like, and "O_2" stands for a noun phrase indicating the goal, recipient or the like. The O_2 consistently follows the O_1, if there is O_1. See (14), where the theme/gift noun phrase *ʔaahǎan* 'food' (O_1) precedes the goal/recipient noun phrase *mǎa* 'dog' (O_2).

(14) *kháw   hây   ʔaahǎan   mǎa*
     PRON transfer/give food   dog
     'He transferred some food to the dog' or 'He gave the dog some food.'

The O_2 may be replaced by a prepositional phrase (viz., a combination of a preposition and a nominal), which may contain the dative preposition *kɛ̀ɛ* 'to', the comitative/dative preposition *kàp* 'with, to', or the benefactive preposition *hây* 'for, to'. Prepositional phrases are not arguments but adverbial elements.

In addition, the serial verb construction is very common in Thai, as illustrated in (15) and (16).

(15) *cɛɛkan   tòk   tɛ̀ɛk*
     vase   fall.off   break
     'The vase fell and broke.'

(16) *lom   phát bâan   phaŋ*
     wind blow house tumble.down
     'The wind blew the house, which tumbled down.'

In (15), two one-place verbs (*tòk* 'fall.off' and *tɛ̀ɛk* 'break') are serialized. They share the same subject noun phrase (*cɛɛkan* 'vase'). In (16), a two-place verb (*phát* 'blow') and a one-place verb (*phaŋ* 'tumble.down') are combined. The object noun phrase of the former verb and the subject noun phrase of the latter verb are identical (*bâan* 'house'). See Takahashi (2009) for a comprehensive classification of basic serial verb constructions of Thai, which are composed of two verb phrases.

Thai has two copulas: the copula verb *pen* and the copula particle *khɯɯ*. As *khɯɯ* is not a verb, it cannot be negated; see (22). The copula verb *pen*, which may function as an emergence/change verb meaning 'become, come to be' that presumably is an erstwhile one-place verb, forms a verb-predicate sentence, e.g., (17), and the copula particle *khɯɯ* takes part in a noun-predicate sentence, e.g., (18).

(17) *kháw   pen   khruu*
     PRON COP teacher
     'He is a teacher; He becomes a teacher.' (verb-predicate sentence)

(18) *nân   khɯɯ   náŋsɯ̌ɯ kháw*
     that COP   book   PRON
     'That is his book.' (noun-predicate sentence)

The two copulas, *pen* and *khɯɯ*, have been contrastively characterized as "characterizational" vs. "identificational" (Kuno & Wongkhomthong 1981) and "thought-like, slow/analytic processing" vs. "sensation-like, fast/holistic processing" (Takahashi & Shinzato 2003). For instance, *pen* in (17) portrays a characteristic of the referent of the subject (categorization), whereas *khɯɯ* in (18) presents the entity with which the referent of the subject is identified (definition). These dichotomic meanings of the two copulas are presumably ascribable to the different modes of information processing that the speaker executes. Specifically, the use of *pen* reflects slow/analytic processing of information (thought-like processing), while the use of *khɯɯ* is associated with fast/holistic processing of information (sensation-like processing). Accordingly, the thought-implying copula *pen* is compatible with modal modification indicative of the speaker's deliberation, reasoning, inference, judgment, reckoning, etc., e.g., (19), but the sensation-implying copula *khɯɯ* is not; see (20).

(19) *nân   khoŋ   pen náŋsɯ̌ɯ kháw*
     that probably COP book   PRON
     'That is probably his book.'

(20) **nân khoŋ   khɯɯ náŋsɯ̌ɯ kháw*
    that probably COP   book   PRON
    IM: 'That is probably his book.'

Related to this is the fact that *pen* may be used for expressions of negative evaluation, e.g., (21), while *khɯɯ* cannot; see (22). Someone who uses an expression of negative evaluation has to engage herself in analytic thinking before reaching the conclusion of negative evaluation.[5] Hence, negative evaluation employs the thought-implying copula *pen*.

(21) *kháw mây pen khruu*
    PRON NEG COP teacher
    'He is not a teacher.'

(22) **kháw mây khɯɯ khruu*
    PRON NEG COP   teacher
    IM: 'He is not a teacher.'

The use of a copula is not obligatory, e.g., (23). Daily conversations often dispense with copulas.

(23) *nân náŋsɯ̌ɯ kháw*
    that book   PRON
    'That (is) his book.'

A copula is not used to negate a noun-predicate either. For nominal negation, the nominal negator *mây chây* (or *míʔ chây*) 'NEG' is put immediately before a noun-predicate.

(24) *kháw mây chây khruu*
    PRON NEG   teacher
    'He is not a teacher.'

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5 Takahashi & Shinzato (2003: 138) use the finding of Taylor's (1976) experiment as evidence supporting this argument. In Taylor's experiment, the subjects are asked to make "same-different" judgments about successively presented pairs of letters, and he found that "same letter" responses with the recognition of matching letters, which is analogous to the affirmative "X is Y" situation, were faster than "different letter" responses with the recognition of mismatching letters, which is more congruous with the negative "X is not Y" situation. He concludes that while "fast/holistic" processing is employed for "same letter" responses (affirmative recognition), "slow/analytic" processing is utilized for "different letter" responses (negative recognition).

(25) *nân mây chây náŋsɯ̌ɯ kháw*
     that NEG   book   PRON
     'That is not his book.'

However, the copula verb in the quasi-MMC (cf. (4)) is obligatory (cf. 5.1 and 5.4).

4.2 Adnominal clauses

4.2.1 Introductory notes

Teramura (1969) divides adnominal clauses (ACs) (or relative clauses) of Modern Standard Japanese into two types. Tsunoda (this volume-b, 4.2.2) proposes to label these two types as "gap type" and "addition type". Thai has both of these two types of ACs, as shown below. Roughly speaking, the head noun of an AC of the gap type corresponds to an argument or an adjunct in the clause, while that of an AC of the addition type does not.

Other chapters in the present volume use the terms "ACs of the gap type" and "ACs of the addition type". In this chapter, however, I use the terms used in previous studies on Thai grammar, that is, "relative clauses" and "noun complement clauses" (Givón 1990: 509, 645–698; Kullavanijaya 2008: 448) in place of these two terms, respectively. (Thai relative clauses may employ the gapping strategy; otherwise, they contain a resumptive pronoun.)

I also conventionally use the terms "relativizer" and "noun complementizer". They are defined as follows. A relativizer is a functional morpheme that heads an adnominal clause, the head noun of which must have a syntactic relation with the verb in the clause. A noun complementizer is a functional morpheme that heads an adnominal clause, the head noun of which does not have any grammatical relation with the verb in the clause.

In Thai, an adnominal clause – either a relative clause or a noun complement clause – follows its head noun, bringing about a complex noun phrase. In the complex noun phrase, an adnominal clause marker (most commonly *sûŋ* or *thîi*) may be absent, as in (26a), or present, as in (26b) and (26c).

(26) The structure of a noun phrase containing an adnominal clause
     a. Head-N Ø Clause
         The adnominal clause marker is absent, e.g., (28).
     b. Head-N *sûŋ* Clause
         The adnominal clause marker is the relativizer *sûŋ*, e.g., (30).

c. Head-N *thîi* Clause
The adnominal clause marker is the clausal nominalizer *thîi* functioning as a relativizer, e.g., (30), or as a noun complementizer, e.g., (39).[6]

Usually, a noun complementizer, e.g. *thîi* in (39), is not absent. However, it is not impossible for it to be absent. In present-day Thai, *sûŋ* is scarcely used as a noun complementizer, though it is still capable of functioning as a noun complementizer.

4.2.2 Relative clauses

Thai relative clauses are of the "external-head", "postnominal" type in Keenan's (1985) and Lehmann's (1986) terminology. Compare (27) with (28), (29) and (30). The relative clause is shown with braces. Example (29) is marked with the sharp (#), which indicates that the sentence concerned is unacceptable for the intended reading but acceptable for some other reading.

(27) *nák sùuksǎa rian   phaasǎa ʔaŋkrìt*
     student   learn English
     'The student learns English.'

(28) *nák sùuksǎa* (*khon*) {*rian phaasǎa ʔaŋkrìt*}
     student   (CLF)   learn English
     'the student who learns English'

(29) #*nák sùuksǎa* {*kháw rian   phaasǎa ʔaŋkrìt*}
     student   PRON learn English
     IM: 'the student who learns English'

(30) *nák sùuksǎa* (*khon*) {*sûŋ* / *thîi* (*kháw*) *rian   phaasǎa ʔaŋkrìt*}
     student   (CLF)   REL   (PRON) learn English
     'the student who learns English'

Sentence (28) is an example of (26a) (Head-N Ø Clause). When the relativizer is absent, the clause cannot contain its subject. In (29), the clause contains its subject (*kháw* 'PRON') and so it is no longer an example of (26a). It does not mean 'the student who learns English'. It is acceptable for the meaning 'As for the student, he learns English'. (30) is an example of (26b) (Head-N *sûŋ* Clause) and (26c) (Head-N *thîi* Clause). A classifier may occur between the head noun and a relative clause,

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6 See Takahashi (2011) for more details on the natures of relative clause constructions with *thîi*, those with *sûŋ*, and those without a relativizer.

e.g., (28) and (30). Also, a resumptive pronoun may occur in relative clauses, e.g., *kháw* 'PRON' in (30).

The head noun of a relative clause corresponds to an argument or an adjunct in the clause. All the positions on Keenan & Comrie's (1977) noun phrase accessibility hierarchy can be relativized on (Yaowapat & Prasithrathsint 2009). For example, compare (31) with (32) (subject), (33) (direct object) and (34) (indirect object).

(31) *phûu chaay hây   ʔaahǎan mǎa*
     man   transfer/give food   dog
     'The man gave the dog some food.'

(32) *phûu chaay* {*thîi hây   ʔaahǎan mǎa*}
     man   REL transfer/give food   dog
     'the man who gave the dog some food'

(33) *ʔaahǎan* {*thîi phûu chaay hây   mǎa*}
     food   REL man   transfer/give dog
     'the food that the man gave the dog'

(34) *mǎa* {*thîi phuû chaay hây   ʔaahǎan*}
     dog   REL man   transfer/give food
     'the dog that the man gave some food'

Additional examples in which the subject is relativized on are (28) and (30).

4.2.3 Noun complement clauses

As noted in 4.2.1, the head noun of a noun complement clause does not correspond to any argument or an adjunct in the clause. For example, compare (35) with (36).

(35) *phûu chaay yâaŋ plaa*
     man   grill fish
     'The man grills a fish.'

(36) *klìn*   {*thîi*   *phûu chaay yâaŋ plaa*}
     smell COMP man   grill fish
     LT: 'the smell that the man grills a fish'
     FT: 'the smell of the man grilling a fish'

Note that the head noun (*klìn* 'smell') in (36) is absent in (35). The head noun (*klìn* 'smell') does not have any grammatical relation, even oblique one, with the verb in the clause (*yâaŋ* 'grill'). The following expressions with an oblique prepositional phrase containing *klìn* 'smell', for example, are odd.

(37) **phûu chaay yâaŋ plaa kàp klìn*
man   grill   fish   to/with smell
IM: 'The man grills a fish to/with the smell.'

(38) **phûu chaay yâaŋ plaa dûay klìn*
man   grill   fish   with/by.means.of smell
IM: 'The man grills a fish with/by.means.of the smell.'

Another example containing a noun complement clause is the following.

(39) *rûaŋ {thîi kháw rian phaasăa ʔaŋkrìt}*
fact   COMP PRON learn English
'the fact that he learns English'

5 Quasi-mermaid construction

5.1 Introductory notes

The structure of the quasi-MMC of Thai was shown schematically in (4), which is repeated below.

(4) Quasi-MMC of Thai
    a.   Psych-verb type:
        (Target-N)   Copula-V   [NMLZ Psych-V]   (Obl-P Experiencer-N).

    b.   Speech-verb type:
        (Target-N)   Copula-V   [NMLZ Speech-V]   (Obl-P Speaker-N).

    c.   Quotative-complementation type:
        Copula-V   [NMLZ Psych-V/Speech-V]   [COMP Clause].

(COMP: complementizer. N: noun. NMLZ: nominalizer. Obl-P: oblique preposition. V: verb.)

     As noted in Section 3, these three structures are peripheral types of the MMC. Tsunoda (this volume-a, 2.3-[2]) notes that these three structures of Thai "may be considered variants of the MMC, although they are the farthest away from the MMC prototype among all the varieties of the MMC investigated in the present volume". The extent to which the Thai quasi-MMC is remote from the prototype of the MMC will be illustrated in 5.9-[1] below.
     In (4), the constituents shown with parentheses are optional. Note that in each type the copula verb is obligatory. This is in contrast with ordinary copula-verb-

predicate sentences or the copulative construction (see 5.4), in which the copula verb is used optionally; see (23).

"Target-N" identifies the target, goal or the like of psychological/verbal activities. "Obl-P" may be *khɔ̌ɔŋ* 'GEN', *nay* 'LOC', *kɛ̀ɛ* 'DAT', or *kàp* 'COM/DAT'. "Experiencer-N" refers to the mental "Undergoer", i.e., an experiencer, and "Speaker-N" indicates the verbal "Actor", i.e., a speaker. The terms "Undergoer" and "Actor" for macro-roles are adopted from Foley & Van Valin (1984). [COMP Clause] (the quotative complementizer plus a clause) represents the complement of the psych/speech verb.

In (4), the square brackets are used to mark a unit whose constituents are inseparable. The psych-verb type (4a) and the speech-verb type (4b) do not contain [COMP Clause]; "Target-N" and "Obl-P Experiencer-N/Speaker-N" are dispensable for these two types. On the other hand, the quotative-complementation type (4c) lacks both of "Target-N" and "Obl-P Experiencer-N/Speaker-N"; [NMLZ Psych/Speech-V] and [COMP Clause] are indispensable to this type.

The psych-verb type (i.e. (4a)) is the oldest quasi-MMC in Thai. It has been used since the era of the Sukhothai dynasty (13–14C), the earliest period in the documented history of the Thai language (Kitsombat 1981: 33). The speech-verb type (i.e. (4b)) and the quotative-complementation type (i.e. (4c)) appear to have originated from the psych-verb type. Presumably, the speech-verb type arose rather recently. It is not mentioned in the existing studies on Thai grammar. The quotative-complementation type emerged in the nineteenth century (Kitsombat 1981: 44) and came to be commonly used in the twentieth century (Prasithrathsint 1985: 96).

For seven hundred years the psych-verb type has been used to describe a situation where a certain entity, i.e., person or matter, is the target of a group of people's or the general public's psychological activity such as perception, emotion and cognition. Put differently, it is a useful device to effectively encode a human-particular event in which a group of associated people are together mentally affected in some way by a remarkable entity in the society. Therefore, it has been regarded as a peculiar sort of passive construction by Thai linguists, e.g., Prasithrathsint (1985: 17, 92–97). In particular, it is taken to be a non-prototypical passive construction with a transitive verb for psychological activity. The degree of its transitivity is quite low.[7]

The present chapter sets forth an alternative analysis demonstrating that these three constructions can be regarded as peripheral MMCs.

In the following subsections we will closely examine each constituent of the quasi-MMC of Thai, paying attention to their semantic and syntactic aspects: clausal nominalizers (5.2), psych-verbs and speech verbs (5.3), copula verb (5.4), oblique

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7 The other types of passive construction in Thai are exemplified below. The word/words in bold face indicate(s) that the sentence is a passive construction.

noun phrases (5.5), target noun phrase (5.6) and quotative complement clause (5.7). We then turn to other issues: meanings of the quasi-MMC (5.8), Can the Clause be used as a sentence by itself? (5.9), and sentencehood of the Clause (5.10). Morphological issues are largely not relevant, since Thai is basically an isolating language. In order to appreciate the structure and meaning of the quasi-MMC, it is the most convenient to start with clausal nominalizers.

5.2 Clausal nominalizers

The clausal nominalizers[8] used in the quasi-MMC are *thîi* and *kaan*. In the quasi-MMC of the present-day Thai, *kaan* is little used, whereas *thîi* is dominantly used.[9] Both *kaan* and *thîi* are polysemous, polyfunctional morphemes, as shown below.

(i)　*bâan　nán* ***thùuk***　　　(*fay*)　*phǎw mây*
　　　house　that　undergo/PASS　(fire)　burn
　　　LT: 'The house underwent (an event that) (the fire) burnt (it).'
　　　FT: 'The house was burnt (by the fire).'

(ii)　*kháw* ***dây ráp kaan*** *chûay lǔa* (*càak　phûan*)
　　　PRON　receive　NMLZ　support　　(from　friend)
　　　LT: 'He received the support (from his friends).'
　　　FT: 'He was helped (by his friends).'

(iii)　*náŋsǔɯ níi　khǐan* ***dooy*** *nák khǐan　thîi　mii chûɯ sǐaŋ*
　　　book　　this　write　by　writer　　REL　be.famous
　　　'This book was written by a famous writer.'

Type (i) contains a transitive verb that expresses a damaging activity or process (e.g., *phǎw mây* 'burn'). Type (i) by and large conveys the sense of adversity. Type (ii) contains a transitive verb that describes an activity of benefit (e.g., *chûay lǔa* 'help'). Type (iii) contains a transitive verb that represents a creating activity (e.g., *khǐan* 'write').

8 The term "clausal nominalizer" refers to a lexical item functioning as a syntactic device for clausal nominalization (in contrast with a morphological device for lexical nominalization, e.g., *-ness* in English). By the term "clausal nominalization" I mean the process through which a verbal clause is converted into a noun phrase. The converted noun phrase, i.e., nominalized clause, is generally embedded as an argument, a complement, or an adverbial of another clause (Givón 1990: 498).

9 John Whitman (p.c.) comments that it might be the case that the nominalizer *thîi* in the Thai quasi-MMC is a calque (loan translation) of the nominalizer *suo* in Chinese. I am not in a position to judge whether this idea is plausible, for I do not have sufficient knowledge of historical changes of the two morphemes. However, one may say that the assumed grammaticalization pathways of *suo* (cf. Yap & Wang 2011) have something parallel to those of *thîi* (cf. Kullavanijaya 2008). The Chinese morpheme *suo*, just like the Thai morpheme *thîi*, was originally a noun meaning 'place' and evolved into a "light noun", viz., semantically generalized or bleached noun (or "class noun" in Bisang's (1993) terminology; cf. Note 10), before further developing into a wide range of functional morphemes including location nominalizer, patient nominalizer, conditional subordinator, and part of possessive and passive constructions.

kaan is used as (i) a generic noun meaning 'activity, affair', e.g., (40); (ii) a class noun[10] meaning 'matter', e.g., (41); (iii) a lexical nominalizer, e.g., (42); (iv) a clausal nominalizer, e.g., (43).

(40) *ŋaan kaan*
      work activity
      'duties'

(41) *kaan   prapaa*
      matter water.supply
      'waterworks'

(42) *kaan sùksăa pen phúuun thăan khɔ̌ɔŋ thúk   wátthanátham*
      NMLZ study   COP foundation   GEN   every culture
      'Education is the foundation of every culture.'

(43) *kaan càʔ yàa ráaŋ lɛ́ɛw hăa khûu   mày yɔ̂ɔm   míʔ chây rûaŋ*
      NMLZ IRR divorce PFV seek spouse new inevitably NEG   matter
      ŋâay
      easy
      'To divorce and look for a new spouse is inevitably not an easy matter.'

Generic nouns are lexical morphemes proper, which have a referential and contentful meaning and can occur independently of other morphemes in an utterance. Class nouns are partially lexical and partially functional morphemes. They are lexical morphemes in that their meanings are referential even though their level of abstraction is rather high, at least higher than the basic level. At the same time, they may be considered functional in that they are always followed by a noun (e.g. (41)) or a verb (e.g. (45) and (46)) and form a compound in which they function as the head referring to some class/type. A compound with a class noun is basically a noun (e.g. (41) and (45)) but it may be used as an adverb (e.g. (46)). In contrast,

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10 Class nouns are defined by Bisang (1993: 5) as "nouns with a high level of abstraction". In other words, they are nouns having generic (non-specific) meanings. DeLancey (1986: 438–439) explicates the characteristics of "class nouns" which he calls "class terms" as follows. (N.B., The present author has supplied the words in the square brackets.)

[Class terms = class nouns] are morphemes which occur as the head of a number of noun compounds which are examplers of the category labelled by the class term [= class noun]. Thus class terms [= class nouns] have a semantic classifying function quite similar to that of classifiers, although they do not ordinarily show the incoherent range of uses which is a not uncommon feature of classifiers. Many class terms [= class nouns], like *khon* ['person' in Thai], also function as classifiers (though [...] it is not always the case that a class term [= class noun] which is also a classifier is the classifier for all compounds in which it functions as a class term [= class noun]); and a number of class terms [= class nouns] do not occur alone as independent nouns.

nominalizers are functional morphemes proper, whose meanings are totally procedural. While generic nouns and class nouns have a referential meaning, nominalizers do not.

The compound *ŋaan kaan* 'duties' in (40) is composed of two generic nouns *ŋaan* 'work' and *kaan* 'activity', neither of which functions as the head of the compound. The compound *kaan prapaa* 'waterworks' in (41) contains the class noun *kaan* 'matter' that refers to a class/type of matter-like entities. The class noun is the head constituent of the compound. The nominalizer *kaan* 'NMLZ' in (42) and (43) is utilized for lexical and clausal nominalization, respectively.

thîi is used as (i) a generic noun meaning 'place', e.g., (44); (ii) a class noun meaning 'entity (thing, instrument, person, etc.)', e.g., (45) and (46); (iii) a classifier, e.g., (47); (iv) a preposition, e.g., (48); (v) a clausal nominalizer, e.g., (49); (vi) a relativizer, e.g., (30) and (50); (vii) a noun complementizer, e.g., (36), (39) and (51); (viii) a verb complementizer following an emotion verb, e.g., (52).[11] (The other two verb complementizers are *wâa* (< *wâa* 'say'), which follows a perception/cognition/speech verb, and *hây* (< *hây* 'transfer/give'), which follows a desiderative/volitive-action verb.) Note that in Thai any adnominal phrases and clauses, including demonstratives, classifier and prepositional phrases, and relative and complement clauses, follow the head noun phrase.

(44) *thîi   (din)*
     place (earth)
     'place (a piece of land)'

(45) *thîi   nâŋ*
     entity sit
     'seat'

(46) *thîi   ciŋ*
     entity be.true
     'in fact (< what is true)'

(47) *nám   chaa sɔ̌ɔŋ thîi*
     water tea   two   CLF
     LT: 'two teas'
     FT: 'tea for two people'

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11 My basic view of the morpheme *thîi* is as follows. The adnominal clause marker *thîi*, including the relativizer *thîi*, e.g., (50), and the noun complementizer *thîi*, e.g., (51), as well as the verbal complementizer *thîi*, e.g., (52), are variants of the versatile clausal nominalizer *thîi*, e.g., (49). In other words, *thîi* is basically a clausal nominalizer and it may function as a relativizer, as a noun complementizer, or as a verb complementizer in accordance with its varying syntactic and semantic conditions.

(48) *dèk dèk   thîi   bâan*
　　 children at   house
　　 'the children at home'

(49) *thîi   kháw laa ʔɔ̀ɔk thamhây chán   lambàak*
　　 NMLZ PRON resign   make   PRON be.hard
　　 'That he resigned made me feel hard.'

(50) *plaa* {*thîi kháw yâaŋ*}
　　 fish REL PRON grill
　　 'the fish that he grilled'

(51) *rûaŋ* {*thîi   kháw laa ʔɔ̀ɔk*}
　　 fact   COMP PRON resign
　　 'the fact that he resigned'

(52) *chán sǐa cay* {*thîi   kháw laa ʔɔ̀ɔk*}
　　 PRON be.sorry COMP PRON resign
　　 'I was sorry that he resigned.'

The demarcation between the class noun *thîi* 'entity' and the nominalizer *thîi* 'NMLZ' is parallel to that between the class noun *kaan* 'matter' and the nominalizer *kaan* 'NMLZ', as noted above. That is, the class noun *thîi* is a lexical morpheme referring to a class/type of certain entities, while the nominalizer *thîi* is a functional morpheme for clausal nominalization.

It is in the capacity of a clausal nominalizer that *thîi* and *kaan* can occur in the quasi-MMC of Thai. Examples of the quasi-MMC involving *thîi* include (6) (psych-verb type), (7) (speech-verb type), (8) (quotative-complementation type), and (53) (psych-verb type). Those involving *kaan* include (54) (psych-verb type).

(53) *nay bàtcuban níi ʔaahǎan yîipùn càʔ pen* [*thîi   níyom kan*
　　 currently   food   Japan IRR COP NMLZ favor RECP
　　 yàaŋ phrɛ̂ɛ lǎay] *nay mùu   khon   thay*
　　 widely   LOC group people Thai
　　 LT: 'Currently Japanese food is that/what (they) favor widely in the group of Thai people.' (psych-verb type)
　　 FT: 'Currently Japanese food is widely favored among Thai people.'

(54) *phaasǐi pen* [*kaan ramkhaan*] *kàp   khon súuu khǎay*
　　 tax   COP NMLZ be.annoyed COM/DAT buyers.and.sellers
　　 LT: 'Tax is that/what (they) are annoyed (at), with buyers and sellers.'
　　 FT: 'Buyers and sellers are annoyed at tax' or 'Tax annoys buyers and sellers.' (psych-verb type)

Both of the nominalizers *thîi* and *kaan* can be used as a noun with a generic meaning. *kaan* is used as the generic noun 'activity, affair' and the class noun 'matter'. Likewise, *thîi* is used as the generic noun 'place' and the class noun 'entity'. As shown in other chapters in the present volume, nouns that occupy the Noun slot of the MMC in other languages often have generic meanings. (See Tsunoda, this volume-a, 3.1.3.1.) In this respect, too, the quasi-MMC in Thai is similar to the MMC in these languages.

5.3 Psych-verbs and speech verbs

Verbs following the clausal nominalizer in the quasi-MMC are categorized as follows.[12]

(a) Psych-verbs
  (a-1) Perception verbs
        hĕn 'see', *pracàk* 'be.evident'.
  (a-2) Emotion verbs
        chûa mân 'be.confident' (6), *níyom* 'favor' (53), (57) and (60), (*nâa*) *sĭa daay* 'regret', (*nâa*) *ramkhaan* 'be.annoyed' (54), *ʔùn cay* 'feel.relieved' (55), *tôŋ kaan* 'need' (73), *rák* 'love', *khrây* 'desire', *lŏŋlăy* 'dote.on' (58), *sanùk* 'enjoy' (62), *sàtthaa* 'believe.in' (64), (*nâa*) *phɔɔ cay* 'feel.satisfied' (65), *nɛ̂ɛ nɔɔn* 'be.sure' (66), *chûa thŭɯ* 'trust, have.faith.in', *phítsàwŏŋ* 'wonder.in.admiration', *bùa* 'be.tired'.
  (a-3) Cognition verbs
        yɔɔm ráp 'admit' (8), *rúu càk* 'know, be.acquainted.with' (59) and (63), *rúu/sâap* 'know, be.aware.of', *khâw cay* 'understand', (*nâa*) *săŋkèet* 'notice', *sŏn cay* 'be.interested'.
(b) Speech verbs
    klàaw 'say' (7) and (67), *klàaw khwăn* 'criticize' (56), *lûaŋ lɯɯ* 'rumor'.

Examples (55) and (56), respectively, contain a psych-verb (*ʔùn cay* 'feel.relieved') and a speech verb (*klàaw khwăn* 'criticize').

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12 The psych-verbs and speech verbs listed below are mainly taken from the collected sample data and partially supplied by my native-speaker consultant.

(55) *phûu ráp cháy thîi thǔɯ khwaam sûɯɯ troŋ pen* [*thîi   ʔùn cay*]
employee   REL hold   loyalty   COP NMLZ feel.relieved
khɔ̌ɔŋ hǔa nâa
GEN   boss
LT: 'Employees who have loyalty are that/what (they) feel relieved of the
bosses.' (psych-verb type)
FT: 'Employees with loyalty are a relief to the bosses.'

(56) *phalìttaphan làw níi pen* [*thîi   klàaw khwǎn thǔŋ yàaŋ mâak*]
product   these COP NMLZ criticize   reach very.much
LT: 'These products are that/what (they) criticize very much.'
FT: 'These products are criticized very much.' (speech-verb type)

The sample data collected from the Thai National Corpus reveals that psych-verbs are more common than speech verbs in the quasi-MMC in terms of both token and type frequency.[13] Only psych-verbs and speech verbs are used in the quasi-MMC. Prototypical transitive verbs, such as 'break (something)', do not occur in the quasi-MMC. Thus, in this respect the quasi-MMC is low in transitivity.

The serial verb construction abounds in Thai. Expectedly, a psych-verb or a speech verb appearing in the quasi-MMC is often followed by other verbs. Examples include (7) 'say + reach', (56) 'criticize + reach', (57) 'favor + eat', (58) 'love + desire + dote.on', and (63) 'know + be.good'.

(57) *ʔaahǎan níi pen* [*thîi   níyom rápprathaan kan   thûa pay*]
food   this COP NMLZ favor   eat   RECP in.general
LT: 'This food is that/what (they) favor for eating generally.'
FT: 'This food is generally favored for eating.' (psych-verb type)

5.4 Copula verb

Thai has two copulas: the thought-implying copula *pen* (the copula verb) and the sensation-implying copula *khɯɯ* (the copula particle) (see 4.1). Only *pen* is used in the quasi-MMC. Its use in the quasi-MMC is obligatory. This is in contrast with ordinary copula-verb-predicate sentences or the copulative construction, in which the copula verb is used optionally; see (23).

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13 As noted in the last paragraph of Section 3, the data for the present work was mainly taken from a corpus of written texts. Dealing with data only from a corpus of written texts has a limitation. If we analyze oral data, too, a different picture may emerge. For example, both psych-verbs and speech verbs may turn out to be commonly used in the quasi-MMC.

The copula verb *pen* in the quasi-MMC (i.e. Copula-V), like a psych/speech verb in the construction (i.e. Psych/Speech-V), can participate in the serial verb construction. For example, in (74), it is preceded by another verb (*râəm* 'begin').

The copula verb (Copula-V) may be accompanied by a modal marker and/or an aspectual marker. (In Thai, it is not always easy to distinguish between modal markers and aspectual markers.) Examples include the deontic marker *yɔ̂ɔm* 'inevitably' in (6); the irrealis marker *càʔ* in (53) and (58); the continuous marker *yaŋ* 'still', the epistemic marker *khoŋ* 'probably', and the negative marker *mây* in (59); and the progressive marker *kamlaŋ* in (60). Hence, the entire sentence – with the copula verb – is fully asserted. (In contrast, the psych/speech verb (Psych/Speech-V) cannot be accompanied by a modal and/or aspectual marker. That is, the clause containing psych/speech verb cannot be fully asserted. See 5.10-[2] for a further discussion.)

(58) *naaŋ càʔ pen* [*thîi   rák   khrây lŏŋlǎy*] *khɔ̌ɔŋ thêep tháŋ lǎay*
      lady IRR COP NMLZ love desire dote.on GEN   god   all.and.sundry
      LT: 'The lady would be that/what (they) love and dote on of all the gods.'
      (psych-verb type)
      FT: 'The lady would be loved and doted on by all the gods.'

(59) *tɔɔn nán ʔaahǎan yîipùn kɔ̂   yaŋ   khoŋ   mây pen* [*thîi   rúu càk*]
      that.time food   Japan CONJ CONT probably NEG COP NMLZ know
      LT: 'At that time, Japanese food was probably not yet that/what (they)
      know.' (psych-verb type)
      FT: 'At that time, Japanese food was probably not yet known.'

(60) *ʔaahǎan níi kamlaŋ pen* [*thîi   níyom kan*]
      food   this PROG   COP NMLZ favor RECP
      LT: 'This food is being that/what (they) favor.' (psych-verb type)
      FT: 'This food is being favored.'

The structure of the ordinary copulative construction is shown in (61). Examples include (17).

(61)   Ordinary copulative construction
       Nominal(1)   Copula-V   Nominal(2)

The quasi-MMC (cf. (4)) and the ordinary copulative construction exhibit the following commonalities and differences.

(a) Commonalities
     (a-1) Both contain the copula verb *pen* (Copula-V).
     (a-2) In both of them (except the quotative-complementation type of the quasi-MMC), the copula verb functions as the linker of two nominals.

(b) Differences

(b-1) Structural difference

In the ordinary copulative construction, what follows the copula verb is a nominal in general. It may be a simplex noun phrase or a nominalized clause. But in the quasi-MMC, what follows the copula verb is always "Clause (= [Psych-V/Speech-V])" (see Section 5.10).

(b-2) Semantic difference

In the quasi-MMC (except the quotative-complementation type), the nominal that precedes the copula verb represents the target of an activity denoted by the psych/speech verb that follows the copula verb. Such a semantic relationship cannot be found in the ordinary copulative construction.

On the basis of these structural and semantic differences, it is justifiable to say that the quasi-MMC is a construction distinct from the ordinary copulative construction.

5.5 Oblique prepositional phrase

The structure of the psych-verb type (4a) and the speech-verb type (4b) contains an oblique prepositional phrase ("Obl-P Experiencer-N" or "Obl-P Speaker-N"). The following prepositions are attested: *khɔ̌ɔŋ* 'GEN', e.g. (6), (58), (65), *nay* 'LOC', e.g. (53), (63), (64), *kɛ̀ɛ* 'DAT', e.g. (62), and *kàp* 'COM/DAT', e.g. (54). The speaker noun phrase (Speaker-N) cannot be preceded by the dative preposition *kɛ̀ɛ* or the comitative/dative preposition *kàp*.

(62) *pen* [*thîi   sanùk*] *kɛ̀ɛ   thêepphayádaa tháŋ puaŋ*
     COP NMLZ enjoy   DAT god   all
     LT: '(It) was that/what (they) enjoy to all the gods.
     FT: 'All the gods enjoyed (it)' or '(It) was enjoyed by all the gods.' (psych-verb type)

In the quasi-MMC of the contemporary Thai, the genitive case and the locative case seem dominant, but the dative case and the comitative/dative case are uncommon.

The noun phrase following the preposition refers to an experiencer (mental Undergoer) or a speaker (verbal Actor). The experiencer/speaker is generally a certain group of people or the general public, and not a specific individual. When a noun phrase in a locative prepositional phrase names a specific place, it metonymically refers to the people living there. For example, in (63), *náʔŋáʔsáʔkìʔ* 'Nagasaki' refers to Nagasaki people.

(63) *kaafɛɛ pen khrûaŋ dùuum sûŋ pen* [*thîi rúu càk kan dii*]   *nay*
  coffee COP drink   REL COP NMLZ know   RECP be.good LOC
  ná?ŋá?sá?kì? maa   tâŋ tɛ̀ɛ samǎy ?è?dò?
  Nagasaki   CONT since the.Edo.era
  LT: 'Coffee is the drink which has been that/what (they) know well in
  Nagasaki since the Edo era.' (psych-verb type)
  FT: 'Coffee is the drink which has been well known in Nagasaki since the
  Edo era.'

The oblique prepositional phrase may be absent, e.g., (7), (56), (57), (59), (60)
and (73). Nonetheless, it is by no means insignificant. Indeed its presence is often
necessary for adequately interpreting a quasi-MMC, especially if the experiencer/
speaker noun phrase refers to not the general public, but members of a certain
group. As examples, consider (64) and (65). If the prepositional phrase (*nay mùu
chon chán nák róp* 'in the group of the warrior class' in (64) and *khɔ̌ɔŋ khɔɔmmiwnít*
'of the communists' in (65)) were absent, it would be impossible to precisely under-
stand what the expressions mean.

(64) *níkaay sen pen* [*thîi   sàtthaa*]   *nay mùu   chon chán   nák róp*
  sect   Zen COP NMLZ believe.in LOC group social.class warrior
  LT: 'The Zen sect was that/what (they) believe in in the group of the warrior
  class.' (psych-verb type)
  FT: 'The Zen sect was believed in by the warriors.'

(65) *bùkkhon phûu níi pen* [*thîi   phɔɔ cay*]   *khɔ̌ɔŋ khɔɔmmiwnít*
  person   CLF   this COP NMLZ feel.satisfied GEN   communist
  LT: 'This person is that/what (they) feel satisfied of the communists.'
  FT: 'This person satisfies the communists' or 'The communists are satisfied
  with this person.' (psych-verb type)

5.6 Target noun phrase

The structure of the psych-verb type (4a) and that of the speech-verb type (4b)
contain a noun phrase representing the target of a psychological/verbal activity
(Target-N), e.g., (6) *kháw* 'PRON'; (7) *nawaníyaay rûaŋ níi* 'this novel'; (53), (59)
?aahǎan yîipùn 'Japanese food'; (54) *phaasǐi* 'tax'; (55) *phûu ráp cháy thîi thǔuu
khwaam sûuu troŋ* 'employees with loyalty'; (56) *phalìttaphan làw níi* 'these prod-
ucts'; (57), (60) *?aahǎan níi* 'this food'; (58) *naaŋ* 'the lady'; (63) *khrûaŋ dùuum*
'the drink'; (64) *níkaay sen* 'the Zen sect'; (65) *bùkkhon phûu níi* 'this person'; and
(73) *?aahǎan chɛ̂ɛ khěŋ* 'frozen foods'. The target noun phrase is not an argument
(subject/object) noun phrase of a verb in the construction. It is a sort of topic noun
phrase that names a salient entity serving as the stimulus of a psychic state or a

verbal activity, such as the object of emotional concern (admiration, desire, confidence, anxiety, envy, aversion, etc.), the focus of cognition, the target of criticism, and the center of public attention. Take the target noun phrase in (65) (*bùkkhon phûu ní* 'this person'), for an example. It refers to the person whose behavior has been observed by the communists and who eventually makes them feel satisfied. Sometimes the target noun phrase is absent and the preceding sentence or discourse alludes to the target, goal or the like of the psych/speech verb in question.

By contrast, the structure of the quotative-complementation type (4c) does not contain the target noun phrase. This is because the description of this type of the quasi-MMC places focus on the content of a complement clause of the psych/speech verb. It expresses the utterer's view or belief regarding the general public's feeling or opinion (see 5.7).

5.7 Quotative complement clause

The structure of the quotative-complementation type (4c) contains a complement clause of a psych/speech verb, which is led by the quotative complementizer *wâa* ([COMP Clause]), e.g., (8), (66) and (67). The quotative complement clause immediately follows [NMLZ Psych/Speech-V].

(66) *pen* [*thîi   nɛ̂ɛ nɔɔn*] [*wâa   kaan   plìan plɛɛŋ làw níi sòŋ   phǒn*
     COP NMLZ be.sure   COMP NMLZ change   these transmit effect
     tɔ̀ɔ   rûup bɛ̀ɛp rɯan lɛ́ʔ ...]
     upon style   house and
     LT: '(It) is that/what (they) are sure that these changes effected the style of houses and ...'
     FT: '(It) is sure that these changes effected the style of houses and ...'
     (quotative-complementation type)

(67) *pen* [*thîi   klàaw kan*] [*wâa   camnuan chaaw yiw thîi taay loŋ   khâay*
     COP NMLZ say   RECP COMP number   people Jew REL die   TER camp
     hɛ̀ŋ níi mâak   kwàa   khon   yəəraman thîi...]
     CLF this be.many more.than person German   REL
     LT: '(It) is that/what (they) say that the number of Jewish people who died in this camp was more than German people that ...'
     FT: '(It) is said that the number of Jewish people who died in this camp was more than German people that ...' (quotative-complementation type)

As mentioned in Section 2, the quotative-complementation type seems to have derived from the oldest quasi-MMC, i.e. the psych-verb type, which inherently takes no complement clause. Unlike the psych-verb type and also unlike the speech-verb type, the quotative-complementation type specifies neither the experiencer/

speaker (Obl + Experiencer/Speaker) nor the target of the experiencer/speaker's psychological/verbal activity (Target). Rather, it signals that the unnamed experiencer/speaker is supposed to be the general public. The quotative complement clause represents the general public's feeling or opinion, which the utterer assumes; or more accurately, it expresses the utterer's view or belief that the general public must feel or think so. On this basis, it can be regarded as a "modalized construction". That is, it is likely that over time the construction has undergone the process of "subjectification", i.e., a pragmatic-semantic process whereby meanings become increasingly based on the speaker's subjective belief state/attitude toward the proposition, or the process of "modalisation of the epistemic kind", and eventually gained a modal meaning (cf. Traugott 1989, 1995). As the construction came to suppress the prepositional phrase and embrace the complement clause, its meaning shifted from less subjective/epistemic, i.e., being based on the external described situation, to more subjective/epistemic, i.e., being based on the internal described situation. While the original construction remains irrelevant to modality, the derived construction thus exhibits the utterer's stance or epistemic attitude toward what she/he is talking about.

It is useful to cite an example of the Modern Standard Japanese MMC with the enclitic nominalizer =*no*. See the second sentence in (68) (cited from Tsunoda (this volume-b, 5.1.4)).

Modern Standard Japanese:
(68) *gakusee=ga   issyokenmee benkyoo-si-te i-ru.*
     student=NOM very.hard   study-do-GNF be-NPST
     'The students are studying very hard.'

   <u>*siken=ga   ar-u   =no*</u>   *=da.*
   examination=NOM be-NPST =NMLZ =COP.NPST
   Clause   Noun   Copula
   'This is because there will be an examination.'

The second sentence in (68) has the structure shown in (1). *Siken=ga* and *ar-u* constitute the Clause. The Noun slot is occupied by the nominalizer =*no*. That is, the second sentence has the structure shown in (2). (The enclitic =*no* may also be regarded as the genitive case marker or a non-content noun.) The Modern Standard Japanese MMC with =*no* expresses cause, reason, or the like.

The quasi-MMC of Thai shares the following commonality with the instances of the MMC reported from other languages: a clause (e.g. Clause in (1)) is indispensable.

In particular, the quotative-complementation type of the Thai quasi-MMC is similar to the Modern Standard Japanese MMC with the nominalizer =*no* in that they are both grammatical constructions with an epistemic modal flavor. Specifically, the quotative-complementation type expresses the utterer's view or belief regarding the general public's feeling or opinion, and the Modern Standard Japa-

nese MMC with the nominalizer =*no* denotes the utterer's understanding or judgment as to what is the cause, reason, or the like of the relevant situation.

5.8 Meanings of the quasi-MMC

We now recapitulate the meanings of the three types of the Thai quasi-MMC.

The psych-verb type describes a situation where a certain entity, i.e., person or matter, is the target of a group of people's or the general public's psychological activity such as perception, emotion and cognition. It is a useful device to effectively encode a human-particular event in which a group of associated people are together mentally affected in some way by a remarkable entity in the society.

The speech-verb type describes a situation where a certain entity is the target of a group of people's or the general public's verbal activity such as criticizing and rumoring.

The quotative-complementation type expresses the utterer's view or belief regarding the general public's feeling or opinion.

5.9 Can the Clause be used as a sentence by itself?

As seen in Section 1, Tsunoda (this volume-a) proposes that the prototype of the MMC has five properties, one of which is the following:

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

The aim of the investigation that follows is to examine whether the Clause is acceptable as a non-elliptical sentence (not just as an elliptical sentence) by itself.

Regarding the Thai quasi-MMC, it is not easy to identify the Clause itself. This issue will be discussed in [1]. Then, whether the Clause of the Thai quasi-MMC can be used as a sentence (to be precise, a non-elliptical sentence) will be discussed in [2].

[1] Clause
As stated above, concerning the Thai-quasi MMC, it is not easy to identify the Clause itself. The reason for this is the following. As mentioned in Section 1, according to Tsunoda (this volume-a, 2.3-[2]), the three types of the Thai quasi-MMC may be considered variants of the MMC, but they are the farthest away from the MMC prototype among all the varieties of the MMC investigated in the present volume.

As noted in Section 1, the prototype of the MMC has a structure shown in (1) – superficially at least. The Noun slot may be occupied by a nominalizer, as shown in (2). Note that the nominalizer (NMLZ) is outside the Clause. Thai has three structures that may be considered variants of the MMC, as shown in (4). They contain

a nominalizer (NMLZ). As noted in Section 1, the nominalizer and the psych/speech verb form a unit, to the exclusion of the prepositional phrase ("Obl-P Experiencer-N" or "Obl-P Speaker-N"). A group of words that form a unit are shown with the use of square brackets.

(1) Prototype of the mermaid construction ("MMC"):
     Clause   Noun   Copula.

(2) Clause   NMLZ   Copula.

(4) Quasi-MMC of Thai
     a. Psych-verb type:
         (Target-N)   Copula-V   [NMLZ Psych-V]   (Obl-P Experiencer-N).

     b. Speech-verb type:
         (Target-N)   Copula-V   [NMLZ Speech-V]   (Obl-P Speaker-N).

     c. Quotative-complementation type:
         Copula-V   [NMLZ Psych-V/Speech-V]   [COMP Clause].

In the MMC of many other languages, the Clause can contain arguments (the subject and the object) and adjuncts. For example, consider the following sentence, which is an instance of the MMC of Modern Standard Japanese.

Modern Standard Japanese:
(69) *asita   koko=de   syusyoo=ga   enzetu=o*
     tomorrow here=LOC/INS prime.minister=NOM speech=ACC
     Clause

     su-ru   yotee =da.
     do-NSPT plan =COP.NPST
     Clause   Noun Copula
     'The prime minister plans to deliver a speech here tomorrow.'

Syusyoo=ga 'Prime.minister=NOM' (the subject) and *enzetu=o* 'speech=ACC' (the object) are arguments of *su-ru* 'do-NPST'.

In contrast, the Thai quasi-MMC does not have a constituent that exactly corresponds to the Clause of the MMC in languages such as Modern Standard Japanese. See (4a), for example. Psych-V does not have any argument (in contrast with *su-ru* 'do-NPST' of (69)). For example, "Obl-P Experiencer-N" is not an argument of Psych-V. As noted in Section 3, the A, the S, and the O are not marked for case. "Obl-P Experiencer-N" contains a preposition, and therefore it is not an argument. It is an adjunct (an oblique prepositional phrase). Target-N is separated from Psych-V; Copula-V and NMLZ intervene between them. Therefore, it should not be considered an argument of Psych-V. The same applies to (4b), and a similar remark applies to (4c).

It is important to stress here that, while a verb (or serial verbs) in an independent verb-predicate sentence may or may not take an argument, a psych/speech verb in the quasi-MMC must not take an argument. Consider (70), which is a constructed example. The psych-verb (*tɔ̌ŋ kaan* 'need') takes an experiencer noun phrase (*chaaw yîipùn* 'Japanese people') as its subject argument, and this expression is not acceptable.

(70) **ʔaahǎan chɛ̂ɛ khěŋ rɓ̂əm pen* [*thîi   chaaw yîipùn tɔ̌ŋ kaan*]
      frozen.foods   begin COP NMLZ people Japan need
      IM: 'Frozen foods began to be needed among Japanese people.'

We have seen that for the Thai quasi-MMC, it is not easy to identify the Clause itself. (This in turn shows the extent to which the Thai quasi-MMC departs from the MMC in languages such as Modern Standard Japanese.) For the purpose of the present subsection – Can the Clause be used as a sentence by itself? –, the Clause of the Thai quasi-MMC is characterized as follows: the morpheme/morphemes that remains/remain after the NMLZ has been deleted from [NMLZ Psych-V], [NMLZ Speech-V] and [NMLZ Psych-V/Speech-V], respectively. (In (2), the NMLZ is outside the Clause. Therefore, in (4), too, the NMLZ should be considered to be outside the Clause.) For the purpose of presentation, this/these morpheme/morphemes that remains/remain will be shown as "the portion [Psych-V/Speech-V]".

[2] Unacceptability of the Clause as a sentence by itself
The portion [Psych-V/Speech-V] of the quasi-MMC is not acceptable as a non-elliptical sentence, although it may be acceptable as an elliptical sentence. For example, the portion "[Psych-V/Speech-V]" of (6) (psych-verb type) is as shown in (71). Similarly for (7) (speech-verb type) and (72), and for (8) (quotative-complementation type) and (73).

(71) *chûa mân*
      be.confident
      '(A group of people) are confident (of something).'

(72) *klàaw thǔŋ yàaŋ phrɛ̂ɛ lǎay*
      say   reach widely
      '(A group of people) mention (something) widely.'

(73) *yɔɔm ráp kan   thûa pay*
      admit   RECP in.general
      '(A group of people) admit (something) generally.'

All of (71), (72) and (73) are incomplete as sentences. They are not acceptable as non-elliptical sentences. At best they are elliptical sentences, as shown in the translations above.

To sum up the discussion of 5.9, it is not easy to identify the Clause of the Thai quasi-MMC. (This is because the Thai quasi-MMC is remote from the MMC in languages such as Modern Standard Japanese.) Nonetheless, if we take "the portion [Psych-V/Speech-V]" to be the Clause, the Clause is not acceptable as a sentence (to be precise, a non-elliptical sentence) by itself.

5.10 Sentencehood of the Clause

The Clause of the Thai quasi-MMC lacks properties of independent sentences at least in the following two respects and it shows a lower degree of sentencehood than independent sentences.

[1] Absence of arguments
As seen in 5.9, the Clause (i.e. the portion "[Psych-V/Speech-V]") of the quasi-MMC cannot take any argument, in contrast with independent sentences. Consequently, it cannot be used as a sentence (to be precise, a non-elliptical sentence) by itself. At best it will be an elliptical sentence.

In the structure of the quasi-MMC (4a, b), the noun phrase representing the experiencer/speaker (Experiencer-N/Speaker-N) is preceded by an oblique preposition (Obl-P). The "Obl-P Experiencer-N/Speaker-N" (oblique prepositional phrase) is an adverbial element, not an argument (see 4.1).

[2] Modal and/or aspectual markers
(As noted in 5.4, in Thai, it is not always easy to distinguish between modal markers and aspectual markers.) The Clause (i.e. the portion "[Psych-V/Speech-V]") of the quasi-MMC cannot contain any modal/aspectual marker. Compare (74) and (75). In (75), which is a constructed example, the verb *tôŋ kaan* 'need' is accompanied by a modal and/or aspectual marker (*càʔ* 'IRR'), and the sentence is unacceptable.

(74) *ʔaahăan chɛ̂ɛ khěŋ rɔ̂əm pen* [*thĭi   tôŋ kaan*]
      frozen.foods   begin COP NMLZ need
      LT: 'Frozen foods began to be that/what (they) need.'
      FT: 'Frozen foods began to be needed.' (psych-verb type)

(75) **ʔaahăan chɛ̂ɛ khěŋ rɔ̂əm pen* [*thĭi   càʔ tôŋ kaan*]
      frozen.foods   begin COP NMLZ IRR need
      IM: 'Frozen foods began to be needed.'

Needless to say, modal and aspectual markers are acceptable in independent sentences, e.g. (9) (*ʔàat* 'maybe'), (10) (*khûn* 'INC'), and (19) (*khoŋ* 'probably').

The acceptability/unacceptability of arguments concerns an important aspect of sentencehood. The acceptability/unacceptability of modal markers concern another important aspect of sentencehood: assertedness, i.e., functional independence at the speech-act level (Croft 2001: 338, 360). As seen above, the Clause of the quasi-MMC cannot contain any argument. Nor can it contain any modal/aspectual marker. This shows that the Clause lacks two important properties of independent sentences. To conclude, the Clause exhibits a very low degree of sentencehood.

I note in passing that the copula verb (Copula-V) of the quasi-MMC may be accompanied by a modal/aspectual marker (see 5.4). This shows that the entire quasi-MMC has a high degree of assertedness.

6 Comparison of the quasi-MMC with other constructions

6.1 Introductory notes

We now compare the quasi-MMC with other constructions of Thai.

The structure of the prototype of the MMC is as shown in (1). Superficially at least, it looks as if the prototypical MMC is bi-clausal. In some of the languages reported in the present volume, the Clause of the MMC looks similar to an adnominal clause of the respective languages and consequently it looks as if the MMC is bi-clausal, with an adnominal clause as an embedded subordinate clause. This applies to the Thai quasi-MMC – partly at least. The clause nominalizer *thîi* is used in one of the three main types of adnominal clauses (see (26c)), and it is one of the two clausal nominalizers used in the quasi-MMC (see 5.2). (However, a Thai adnominal clause may not be considered an embedded subordinate clause. With the clausal nominalizer *thîi*, it may be considered an independent nominal, i.e. nominalized clause, rephrasing the so-called head noun preceding it.)

However, languages such as Modern Standard Japanese (Tsunoda, this volume-b, Section 6) and Korean (Kim, this volume, Section 6) yield evidence to show that their MMC does not contain an AC and that it is syntactically mono-clausal. (See Tsunoda (this volume-a, 3.4.2).) In view of this, it is important to examine the following two issues, regarding the Thai quasi-MMC.

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

For Thai, we shall compare the following constructions.

(i)   Mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences (cf. 4.1).
(ii) Quasi-MMC: psych-verb type.
(iii) Quasi-MMC: speech-verb type.
(iv) Quasi-MMC: quotative-complementation type.
(v)   Relative clauses (4.2.2)
(vi) Noun complement clauses (4.2.3).

Mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences are chosen as the representative of mono-clausal independent sentence. It is necessary to consider mono-clausal sentences, since one of the aims of this comparison is to examine the issue (b) listed above.

When we look at the quasi-MMC, we shall mainly be concerned with the portion "[Psych-V/Speech-V]" of the quasi-MMC (cf. 5.9-[1]) (which excludes the nominalizer), but we also look at the entire quasi-MMC (which contains the nominalizer).

The result of this comparison is shown in Table 1 in Section 6.8.

6.2 Modal and aspectual markers

(i) Mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences
Modal and aspectual markers are acceptable, e.g. (9), (10), (19).

(ii) Quasi-MMC: psych-verb type
(iii) Quasi-MMC: speech-verb type
(iv) Quasi-MMC: quotative-complementation type
As noted in 5.10-[2], modal and aspectual markers are unacceptable in the portion "[Psych-V/Speech-V]" of the quasi-MMC. See (75).

(v) Relative clauses
Modal and aspectual markers are acceptable. See the relative clause of (76) where the verb *hây* 'transfer/give' is accompanied by the irrealis marker *càʔ* 'IRR'.

(76) *phûu chaay* {*thîi càʔ hây   ʔaahǎan mǎa*}
     man   REL IRR transfer/give food   dog
     'the man who would give the dog some food.'

(vi) Noun complement clauses
Modal and aspectual markers are acceptable. See the noun complement clause of (77) in which the verb *yâaŋ* 'grill' is modified by the progressive marker *kamlaŋ* 'PROG'.

(77) *klìn*   {*thîi   phûu chaay kamlaŋ yâaŋ plaa*}
     smell COMP man   PROG   grill fish
     LT: 'the smell that the man is grilling a fish'
     FT: 'the smell of the man grilling a fish'

6.3 Clausal nominalizers

(i) Mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences
A clausal nominalizer cannot occur. See (9) to (14), for example.

(ii) Quasi-MMC: psych-verb type
(iii) Quasi-MMC: speech-verb type
(iv) Quasi-MMC: quotative-complementation type
A clausal nominalizer obligatorily precedes the portion "[Psych-V/Speech-V]" of the quasi-MMC. See (4).

(v) Relative clauses
(vi) Noun complement clauses
Use of a clausal nominalizer is acceptable, but not obligatory. See (26).

6.4 Final particles

Thai has a large number of final particles (cf. Hudak 1991: 773–774): question particles, particles of politeness/formality, which may express an impolite attitude, and particles of modality. Thai final particles occur not only at the end of independent sentences or dependent clauses; they also occur at the end of single phrases or single morphemes (Pittayaporn & Chulanon 2012: 17–18). The units that host final particle(s), be they morphosyntactically large or small, constitute "intonational phrases", i.e., the prosodic constituents that serve as the domain for the characteristic intonational contours. Thai intonational phrases are realized with one pitch contour delimited by a final stressed syllable (Pittayaporn & Chulanon 2012: 17). A unit containing final particle(s) is highly asserted, even though it may be a nominal unit composed of a noun in isolation and the particle (i.e., noun-predicate).

(i) Mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences
Final particles can occur. See the final particle *máŋ* 'I guess' in (78).

(78) *kháw pen khruu   máŋ*
     PRON COP teacher PRT
     'He is a teacher, I guess so.'

(ii) Quasi-MMC: psych-verb type
(iii) Quasi-MMC: speech-verb type
(iv) Quasi-MMC: quotative-complementation type

Final particles cannot occur in the portion "[Psych-V/Speech-V]" of the quasi-MMC. See:

(79) *kháw pen [thîi   chûa mân   máŋ] khɔ̌ɔŋ phûu tây baŋkháp banchaa
     PRON COP NMLZ be.confident PRT GEN subordinates
     IM: 'He is, I guess, trusted by (his) subordinates.'

(v) Relative clauses
(vi) Noun complement clauses

Final particles cannot occur. See:

(80) *phûu chaay {thîi hây   ʔaahǎan mǎa máŋ} pen khruu
     man   REL transfer/give food   dog PRT COP teacher
     IM: 'The man who, I guess, gave the dog some food is a teacher.'

6.5 Arguments

As noted in 5.9-[1], in Thai, the A, the O and the S, i.e. the arguments, are not marked for case with case markers, such as prepositions. In contrast, combinations of a preposition and a nominal are adverbial elements. That is, the "Obl-P Experiencer-N/Speaker-N" (oblique prepositional phrase) is an adverbial element, but not an argument of the psych/speech verb.

(i) Mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences
Arguments can occur, e.g. (9) to (14).

(ii) Quasi-MMC: psych-verb type
(iii) Quasi-MMC: speech-verb type
(iv) Quasi-MMC: quotative-complementation type

As noted in 5.9-[1], arguments cannot occur in the portion "[Psych-V/Speech-V]" of the quasi-MMC. See (70).

(v) Relative clauses
(vi) Noun complement clauses

Arguments can occur, e.g. (32) to (34), (36), and (39).

6.6 Resumptive pronouns

It is convenient to start with (v) Relative clauses.

(v) Relative clauses

A resumptive pronoun may occur in a relative clause, but its use is not obligatory. See *kháw* 'PRON' in (30).

(i) Mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences
(ii) Quasi-MMC: psych-verb type
(iii) Quasi-MMC: speech-verb type
(iv) Quasi-MMC: quotative-complementation type
(vi) Noun complement clauses

A resumptive pronoun cannot occur in these constructions. Its occurrence is acceptable in a relative clause. However, its occurrence is unacceptable in a noun complement clause. This is because, in contrast with a relative clause, the head noun of a noun complement clause does not have any grammatical relation with the verb in the clause (cf. 4.2.1).

6.7 Gapping

The term "gapping" may not be suitable as a label for the phenomenon discussed below. However, we use this term in the absence of a suitable term. See Keenan (1985: 154) for gapping in the formation of relative clauses. For gapping, too, it is convenient to start with (v) Relative clauses.

(v) Relative clauses

A note on resumptive pronouns in relative clauses is in order. Compare (27) and (30). The relative clause in (30) contains a resumptive pronoun ('PRON'). Like other functional words, pronouns tend to be not used, especially in oral discourse (cf. Section 3). Also, a pronoun used as an argument or a complement is often absent if the preceding clause contains a coreferential pronoun or noun phrase (cf. Section 2), and this applies when a pronoun is used as a resumptive pronoun. As (30) shows, the use of a resumptive pronoun is optional. When the resumptive pronoun is absent, gapping has taken place. When the resumptive pronoun is present, gapping has not occurred. That is, gapping optionally occurs in the formation of relative clauses.

(vi) Noun complement clauses

Gapping does not take place in the formation of noun complement clauses. For example, both the subject and the object are present in the noun complement clause of (36), as is the case with (35).

(ii) Quasi-MMC: psych-verb type

(iii) Quasi-MMC: speech-verb type

(iv) Quasi-MMC: quotative-complementation type

As seen in 5.9-[1], arguments cannot occur in the portion "[Psych-V/Speech-V]" of the quasi-MMC. (The quotative-complementation type contains [Psych-V/Speech-V]; see (4c) and 5.7.) "Obl-P Experiencer-N/Speaker-N" (oblique prepositional phrase) is an adverbial element, but not an argument of the psych/speech verb. In view of this, it is justifiable to say that gapping takes place in the formation of the portion "[Psych-V/Speech-V]", that is, in the formation of each of the three types of the quasi-MMC. For example, compare the portion "[Psych-V/Speech-V]" of (63) (quasi-MMC) and (81). While (81) contains both the subject and the object, the portion "[Psych-V/Speech-V]" of (63) contains neither of them.

(81) *khon   ná?ŋá?sá?kì? rúu càk kaafɛɛ kan   dii*
      people Nagasaki   know   coffee RECP be.good
      'Nagasaki people know coffee well.'

(i) Mono-clausal verb predicate sentences

Gapping does not take place in the formation of these sentences.

From 6.2 to 6.7, we compared the six construction types listed in 6.1. Many chapters on individual languages investigate verb morphology in this comparison. However, the issue of verb morphology is irrelevant in Thai; verbs do not inflect. All the criteria examined concern syntactic aspects.

6.8 Discussion

The result of the comparison above can be shown as in Table 1.

As noted at the end of 6.7, all the criteria examined concern syntactic aspects. Now, in terms of "Clausal nominalizer", the entire quasi-MMC (of any type) behaves exactly like relative clauses and noun complement clauses, and unlike mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences. Also, in terms of "Final particle", the portion "[Psych-V/Speech-V]" of the quasi-MMC behaves exactly like relative clauses and noun complement clauses, and unlike mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences. In these two respects, it may look as if the quasi-MMC contains an embedded subordinate clause, that is, as if the entire quasi-MMC is bi-clausal.

However, in terms of "Resumptive pronoun", the portion "[Psych-V/Speech-V]" of the quasi-MMC behaves unlike relative clauses, but like noun complement clauses and mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences. In this respect, it is difficult to say whether the quasi-MMC is bi-clausal or mono-clausal.

Tab. 1: Comparison of the quasi-MMC with other constructions.

	Modal/aspectual marker	Clausal nominalizer
Mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences	+	−
Quasi-MMC: psych-verb type	−	+
Quasi-MMC: speech-verb type	−	+
Quasi-MMC: quotative-complementation type	−	+
Relative clauses	+	+
Noun complement clauses	+	+
	Final particle	**Arguments**
Mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences	+	+
Quasi-MMC: psych-verb type	−	−
Quasi-MMC: speech-verb type	−	−
Quasi-MMC: quotative-complementation type	−	−
Relative clauses	−	+
Noun complement clauses	−	+
	Resumptive pronoun	**Gapping**
Mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences	−	−
Quasi-MMC: psych-verb type	−	+
Quasi-MMC: speech-verb type	−	+
Quasi-MMC: quotative-complementation type	−	+
Relative clauses	+	−
Noun complement clauses	−	−

Legend: +: acceptable or obligatory; −: unacceptable.

In terms of "Modal/aspectual marker", "Arguments" and "Gapping", the portion "[Psych-V/Speech-V]" of the quasi-MMC differs from mono-clausal verb-predicate sentences and also from relative clauses and noun complement clauses. This provides no evidence to decide as to whether the quasi-MMC is bi-clausal or mono-clausal.

To sum up, whether the quasi-MMC is bi-clausal or mono-clausal is not a clear-cut matter. Nonetheless, the evidence for its bi-clausality is stronger than that for its mono-clausality. The quasi-MMC may have to be considered bi-clausal.

In most of the languages investigated in the present volume, syntactically the MMC should be considered mono-clausal, not bi-clausal. The Thai quasi-MMC may be uncommon in that syntactically the evidence for its bi-clausality is stronger than that for its mono-clausality. This may be due to its remoteness from the prototype of the MMC (5.9-[1]). (See Tsunoda, this volume-a, 3.4.2).

6.9 Compound predicate

As seen in Section 1, the prototype of the MMC has the structure shown in (1) – superficially at least. However, languages such as Modern Standard Japanese (Tsunoda, this volume-b, Section 6) and Korean (Kim, this volume, Section 6) provide ample evidence to show that syntactically their MMC is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal, despite its superficial appearance (shown in (1)). The MMC of these languages has just one predicate, not two predicates, and the predicate is a compound predicate that consists of the predicate of the Clause, the Noun and the Copula, as shown in (3).

(1) Prototype of the mermaid construction ("MMC"):
    Clause   Noun   Copula

(3) ... <u>predicate of Clause   Noun   Copula</u>.
            compound predicate

(The portion "[Psych-V/Speech-V]" may form a serial verb construction. The Thai serial verb construction may be considered a construction of co-predication; in other words, each verb phrase in the construction may constitute a concurrent predication. In the discussion below, however, we shall consider, for convenience' sake, that the construction as a whole constitutes a single predicate.)

We saw in 6.8 that for the Thai quasi-MMC syntactically the evidence for its bi-clausality is stronger than that for its mono-clausality. However, despite this, there are two pieces of evidence to support the view that the quasi-MMC has only one predicate, but not two predicates.

First, the Noun and the predicate of the portion "[Psych-V/Speech-V]" form a unit. As noted in Section 1, the clausal nominalizer (i.e. the Noun) and the psych/speech verb in the portion "[Psych-V/Speech-V]" form a unit, to the exclusion of the prepositional phrase ("Obl-P Experiencer-N" or "Obl-P Speaker-N"), which is an adverbial element.

Second, no morpheme can intervene between the copula (Copula-V) and the nominalizer (NMLZ).

Then, syntactically the evidence for the bi-clausality of the quasi-MMC is stronger than that for its mono-clausality. However, there is also evidence for the existence of just one predicate in the quasi-MMC. This incongruence is intriguing.

7 Summary and concluding remarks

Most instances of the MMC reported in the present volume are found in AOV languages. Thai is an AVO language, but it has what may be called a quasi-MMC. It is

a non-prototypical MMC, and among the reported instances it is the farthest away from the prototype.

The Thai quasi-MMC can be classified into three types: (i) psych-verb type, (ii) speech-verb type, and (iii) quotative-complementation type. The quotative-complementation type employs both psych-verbs and speech verbs. All of these verbs are low in transitivity.

The psych-verb and speech-verb types describe a situation where a certain entity is the target of a group of people's or the general public's psychological activity (such as perception, emotion and cognition) and verbal activity (such as criticizing and rumoring), respectively. The quotative-complementation type expresses the utterer's view or belief regarding the general public's feeling or opinion.

In all of the three types, the copula verb is necessary, and another important constituent verb, viz., a psych/speech verb, is obligatorily accompanied by a clausal nominalizer. In this respect, the Thai quasi-MMC resembles a type of the MMC found in languages such as Modern Standard Japanese. Besides, the clausal nominalizer adjacent to the copula verb can be used as a noun expressing a generic meaning. This is reminiscent of the fact that a noun adjacent to the copula verb in the MMC reported in some other chapters in the present volume has a generic meaning.

The experiencer/speaker noun phrase in the psych/speech-verb type refers to the general public or members of a certain group. As such, the psych-verb type effectively describes an event in which a group of people are mentally affected by a certain remarkable entity in the society. Because of this, it has been regarded by Thai grammarians as a kind of passive construction. In this study I have alternatively analyzed it as a quasi-MMC. I have also shown that the speech-verb type, which hitherto has not been mentioned in studies on Thai grammar, can be taken as a quasi-MMC as well. In addition, I have pointed out that the quotative-complementation type is a modalized construction.

Syntactically the evidence for the bi-clausality of the quasi-MMC is stronger than that for its mono-clausality. However, there is also evidence for the existence of just one predicate in the quasi-MMC. This incongruence is intriguing.

Acknowledgments

Abbreviations

A = transitive subject; AC = adnominal clause; ACC = accusative; CLF = classifier; COMP = complementizer; COM = comitative; CONJ = conjunction; CONT = continuous; COP = copula; DAT = dative; F = feminine; FT = free translation; GEN = genitive; GNF = general nonfinite; IM = intended meaning; INC = inchoative; INS = instrumental; IRR = irrealis; LOC = locative; LT = literal translation; M = masculine; MC = middle construction; MMC = mermaid construction; N = noun; NEG = negative; NMLZ = nominalizer; NOM = nominative; NPST = nonpast; O = object; O_1 = a noun phrase representing the theme, gift or the like; O_2 = a noun phrase indicating the goal, recipient or the like; Obl-P = oblique preposition; PASS = passive; PFV = perfective; PROG = progressive; PRON = pronoun; PRT = final particle; RECP = reciprocal; REL = relativizer; S = intransitive subject; SG = singular; TER = terminative; V = verb; 1 = first person; 2 = second person; 3 = third person.

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III VSO/VOS languages

Masumi Katagiri

18 Tagalog

1 Introduction

Tsunoda (this volume-a, 2.1) proposes that the prototype of the mermaid construction ("MMC") has all of the following five properties.

(a) The structure is as shown in (1) – superficially at least.
(b) The Noun is an independent word (not a clitic) that is a noun.
(c) The subject of the Clause and the Noun are non-coreferential.
(d) The Clause can be used as a sentence by itself.
(e) The Clause is not the subject of the "Noun + Copula".

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

In the prototypical MMC, the Noun slot is occupied by a noun that is an independent word. In non-prototypical instances, it may be occupied by an enclitic or a suffix which derives from a noun. Nouns, enclitics and suffixes in the Noun slot may also be nominalizers.

Tsunoda (this volume-a, Sections 1 and 2.1) notes as follows. Superficially at least, it looks as if the MMC contains a subordinate clause and is bi-clausal. However, languages such as Modern Standard Japanese (Tsunoda, this volume-b, Section 6) and Korean (Kim, this volume, Section 6) provide ample evidence that syntactically their MMC is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal, despite its superficial appearance (shown in (1)). Their MMC has just one predicate, not two predicates, and the predicate is a compound predicate that consists of the predicate of the Clause, the Noun and the Copula, as shown in (2).

(2) [... predicate of Clause]   Noun   Copula.
                    compound predicate

The prototype of the MMC as proposed by Tsunoda is based on the MMC in Modern Standard Japanese, a predicate-final (or verb-final) language (see Tsunoda, this volume-a, 2.1, this volume-b). Most of the languages that have the MMC are predicate-final (or verb-final) languages (see Tsunoda, this volume-a, 5.2). In contrast, Tagalog is a predicate-initial (or verb-initial) language. Nonetheless, it has the MMC, and this MMC is a mirror image of the kind of the MMC found in Modern Standard Japanese and other predicate-final (or verb-final) languages. This is, to

my knowledge, the first MMC that has ever been reported from any predicate-initial language.

The Tagalog MMC is of two types.

(3) Finite type:
Noun(-)Linker   [Clause (finite)].

(4) Infinitive type:
Noun(-)Linker   [Clause (infinitive)].

Tagalog has no copula verb, and consequently, its MMC contains no copula verb. There are differences between the two types in terms of (i) morphology (finite vs. infinitive), (ii) syntax, and (iii) semantics.

In the finite type, the predicate of the Clause is in a finite form, and the Clause by itself can be used as a sentence. The noun in the Noun slot is *mukha* 'face', a loan word from Sanskrit. The finite type has evidential meanings: inference and visual evidence.

In the infinitive type, the predicate of the Clause is in the infinitive form, and the Clause by itself cannot be used as a sentence. The nouns that can occupy the Noun slot are *plano* 'plan', *tradisyon* 'tradition', *destino* 'destiny' (all are loans from Spanish), *balak* 'plan' and *kapalaran* 'fate'. The infinitive type indicates 'X plans to …' (a modal meaning), 'X has the practice of VERBing' (an aspectual meaning), or 'X is destined to …' (a modal meaning).

Syntactically there is some evidence that the Tagalog MMC is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal, and that it has a compound predicate that consists of the Noun and the predicate of the Clause.

2 Initial illustration

An example of the finite type is (5) (*mukha* 'face'), and an example of the infinitive type is (6) (*plano* 'plan'). In the examples of the MMC given below, the form in the Noun slot is in bold face. When literally translated, the MMC does not make sense, and both a literal translation ("LT") and a free translation ("FT") will often be provided. The Clause and its literal English translation are shown with square brackets.

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

(6) ***Plano**-ng* [*apruba-han   nang gobyerno   ang pag-import   nang bigas*].
   plan-LK   approve-PF:INF GEN government TOP NMLZ-import GEN rice
   LT: 'Plan [for the government to approve the import of rice].'
   FT: 'The government plans to approve the import of rice.'

3 Profile of the language

Tagalog is a member of the Western Malayo-Polynesian branch of the Austronesian language family. It is spoken by approximately 22 million people as the first language in the southern part of the island of Luzon including Metro Manila, and by about 50 million people as L2 over the entire archipelago of the Philippines. Filipino, the national and an official language of the Philippines, is the standardized form of Tagalog with a lexicon enriched with words borrowed from other Philippine languages.

There are certain stylistic differences between spoken Tagalog and written Tagalog, but not in significant ways. The data presented here are cited from both spoken Tagalog (e.g. from narratives) and written Tagalog (e.g. from newspapers).

Tagalog has 27 phonemes: 5 vowels /i e a o u/, 6 diphthongs /ay aw uy oy ey iw/, and 16 consonants /p b t d k g ʔ m n ŋ s h l ɾ y w/. Stress is distinctive.

Tagalog is largely agglutinative, and partially fusional. Tagalog morphology is generally characterized as prefixal, but it has suffixes, infixes, and circumfixes as well. Its verb morphology is quite complex; see 4.1.2.1.

Tagalog, like other Philippine languages, is predicate-initial (or verb-initial) in its basic word order: VOS and VSO. It uses prepositions, but not postpositions. In terms of clause structure, it has the so-called Philippine-type of rich voice alternations; see 4.1.2.1.

With regard to the order of an adjective and the modified noun, there is no fixed order: an adjective can either precede the noun it modifies or follow it, with the linker *na* (or its variant: *-ng*) between them.

(7) *Na-kita=ko   ang payat na aso.*
   PF:PFV-see=1SG:GEN TOP thin   LK dog
   'I saw the thin dog.'

(8) *Na-kita=ko   ang aso-ng payat.*
   PF:PFV-see=1SG:GEN TOP dog-LK thin
   ('As above.')

A preferred order seems to be determined partly by the relative length of words or phrases: the heavier constituent tends to follow the other.

The linker links various kinds of constituents that stand in the modifier-modified relation, such as a numeral and a noun, two nouns in appositive relation, a demonstrative and a noun, the main clause and a subordinate clause, etc. An adnominal clause (or a relative clause) and the noun it modifies are also linked by the linker, and the adnominal clause either precedes the noun or follows it. (See 4.2.1.) A demonstrative can either precede or follow the modified noun with a linker between them, e.g., either *ito-ng bahay* ('this:TOP-LK house') or *bahay na ito* ('house LK this:TOP') 'this house'. A numeral always precedes the modified noun, e.g., *tatlo-ng relo* ('three-LK watch') 'three watches'.

Tagalog is both head-marking and dependent-marking. The Tagalog clause structure is configurational.

4 Types of sentences and clauses

4.1 Verbal-predicate and non-verbal-predicate sentences/clauses

The predicate of a sentence/clause can be either verbal or non-verbal, and sentences/clauses can be classified accordingly.

4.1.1 Non-verbal sentences/clauses

In non-verbal sentences/clauses, the predicate may be nominal, e.g., (9); adjectival, e.g., (10); or prepositional, e.g., (11). The basic structure of these sentences/clauses consists of the predicate followed by the subject expression.

```
     PREDICATE            SUBJECT
(9)  Estudyante sa  UP    ang babae  dyan.
     student     OBL UP   TOP woman  there
     'That woman is a student at UP (=University of the Philippines).'

(10) Maganda              ang babae  dyan.
     beautiful            TOP woman  there
     'That woman is beautiful.'

(11) Nasa kusina  ngayon si    Maria.
     in   kitchen now    TOP Maria
     'Maria is in the kitchen now.'
```

There is no copula verb in Tagalog, as shown in the examples above.

The term "subject" for the constituent marked by prepositional *ang* (*si* for personal names) may be confusing in that it does not exactly correspond to the subject in languages such as English. This constituent is traditionally called "topic" in Philippine linguistics (cf. Constantino 1971 and Schachter & Otanes 1972, among others), but it is highly grammatical in nature compared with topics in languages like Japanese, and it does have some of the properties that may be considered subject properties. For example, it is the obligatory constituent in clauses, and it is the target of many syntactic phenomena, such as relativization. For the sake of convenience, we use the term SUBJECT here as opposed to PREDICATE, to describe the part of the sentence/clause containing the topic constituent.

The subject and the predicate can be inverted, with the inversion marker *ay*.

    SUBJECT   PREDICATE

(12) *Ang babae dyan ay estudyante sa UP.*
      TOP woman there INV student   OBL UP
      'That woman is a student at UP.'

(13) *Ang babae dyan ay maganda.*
      TOP woman there INV beautiful
      'That woman is beautiful.'

The inversion construction is a stylistic variant of the basic construction shown in (9)-(11), and is textually limited. According to Schachter & Otanes (1972: 485), the inversion construction "is characteristic of formal style, and is more common in writing, lectures, sermons, etc., than it is in ordinary conversation". Constituents that can be inverted are limited to the topic of the sentence/clause, an adverbial expression, and a non-topic actor (Katagiri 1992). ("Non-topic actor", that is, an actor nominal that is not the topic, will be discussed in 4.1.2.2.)

4.1.2 Verbal-predicate sentences/clauses

We shall first look at the morphology of verbs (4.1.2.1), and then the structure of sentences/clauses (4.1.2.2). In 4.1.2 strictly speaking we deal with the structure of clauses, not of sentences, and we shall sometimes use the term "clause", not "sentence".

4.1.2.1 Morphology of verbs

Basically, verbs always contain an affix – a prefix, an infix, a suffix, or a circumfix – which expresses focus, aspect, and mode in a merged form. Here, the terms "focus" and "topic" are not used in the way they are used in discourse study. "Focus" refers to a kind of agreement, and "topic" indicates the NP that agrees with

Tab. 1: Focus affixes.

Actor Focus (AF)	*-um-, mag-, m-, mang,-, ma-, magka-, maki-, makipag-, maka-*
Patient Focus (PF)	*-in, i-, -an, ma-*
Direction Focus (DF)	*-an*
Beneficiary Focus (BF)	*i-, ipag-, ipang-*
Location Focus (LF)	*-an, ka--an, pag--an, pang--an*
Instrumental Focus (IF)	*i-, ipag-, ipang-*
Reason Focus (RF)	*ika-, ikapag-, ikapang-*

Tab 2: Inflections of *bigay* 'give' and *bili* 'buy'.

	Infinitive	Perfective	Imperfective	Contemplated
AF	**mag**bigay	**nag**bigay	**nag**bibigay	**mag**bibigay
	bu**m**ili	bu**m**ili	bu**m**ibili	bibili
PF	**i**bigay	**i**binigay	**i**binibigay	**i**bibigay
	bilh**in**	binili	binibili	bibilh**in**
DF	bigy**an**	binigy**an**	binibigy**an**	bibigy**an**
BF	**i**bili	**i**binili	**i**binibili	**i**bibili

the focus-marked verb. That is, "focus" does not mean the most essential piece of new information. Nor does "topic" necessarily concern what is being talked about. In what follows, the terms "focus" and "topic" will be used in the way they are used in Philippine linguistics, and not in the way they are used in discourse analysis.[1]

The focus affixes that are commonly used are shown in Table 1. The forms of the affixes shown in Table 1 are in their infinitive form. The choice among different affixes under the same focus is lexically determined although there are certain generalizations that can be made.

Verbs further inflect for aspect and mode. As an example, the inflections of verbs *bigay* 'give' and *bili* 'buy' are shown in Table 2. (Focus affixes are boldfaced.)

4.1.2.2 Structure of clauses
In the basic word order, clauses with a verbal predicate consist of a verb followed by one or more arguments. The order of nominal arguments (e.g., nouns and noun phrases) is not fixed, and the basic word order is either VOS or VSO. (In contrast,

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1 Schachter (1987: 940) notes as follows: terms such as subject, topic and focus "are misleading in one way or another and it seems better to refer to this argument expression as the *trigger*, a term that reflects the fact that the semantic role of the argument in question triggers the choice of a verbal affix".

the position of personal pronouns is fixed. They are enclitics and they are attached to the first constituent of the clause.) Thus, the role of the arguments is not determined by word order, but partly by the marking of the constituent and mainly by the form of the verbal affix.

In verbal-predicate clauses, one of the constituents of the clause is obligatorily chosen as the topic of the clause, and the verb contains an affix that agrees with the topic constituent and marks its semantic role. For example, in ditransitive clauses where an actor nominal, a patient nominal, and a beneficiary nominal are present, there are three possible clauses.

Actor focus:
(14) *B-um-ili*   **ang lalaki** *nang singsing para sa asawa niya*.
      AF:PFV-buy TOP man GEN ring   for OBL spouse 3SG:GEN
      'The man bought a ring for his wife.'[2]

Patient focus:
(15) *B-in-ili*   *nang lalaki* **ang singsing** *para sa asawa niya*.
      PF:PFV-buy GEN man TOP ring   for OBL spouse 3SG:GEN
      'The man bought the ring for his wife.'

Beneficiary focus:
(16) *I-b-in-ili*   *nang lalaki nang singsing* **ang asawa niya**.
      BF:PFV-buy GEN man GEN ring   TOP spouse 3SG:GEN
      'The man bought his wife a ring.'

In (14), the actor nominal is chosen as the topic of the clause, and its semantic role is marked on the verb by the focus affix (AF: actor focus). The same applies to (15) (PF: patient focus), where the patient nominal is chosen as the topic, and (16) (BF: beneficiary focus), where the beneficiary nominal is chosen as the topic. The topic constituent is marked by the topic preposition *ang* and it is usually interpreted as definite. Non-topic actor nominals and non-topic patient nominals are marked by the genitive marker *nang* (*ni* for personal names), and non-topic oblique constituents are marked by the oblique marker *sa* (*kay* for personal names).[3]

There has been a debate as to a proper characterization of the focus system of Philippine languages. See, for example, Shibatani (1988, 1999) and Katagiri (2005).

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2 Note that the verb *b-um-ili* 'AF:PFV-buy' consists of the verb root *bili* 'buy' and the inflectional infix *-um-* 'AF:PFV' (cf. Table 2). It is difficult to gloss infixes adequately. The same applies to many other verbs in the examples given below.

3 In standard orthography, the genitive marker *nang* [naŋ] is written as *ng*. To avoid confusion with the suffix *-ng* [ŋ], which is a linker, *nang* is used in this work.

Tagalog makes use of various kinds of enclitics that occur in the second position of the clause: personal pronouns, and adverbial particles that denote aspect and modality.

4.2 Adnominal clauses

4.2.1 Introductory notes

As an initial illustration of adnominal clauses ("ACs") (or relative clauses), compare (17), (18) and (19). The ACs are shown with braces.

(17) *B-in-ili=ko*   *ang* *bahay*.
     PF:PFV-buy=1SG:GEN TOP house
     'I bought the house.'

(18) *Mahal*   *ang* *bahay na* {*b-in-ili=ko*}.
     expensive TOP house LK PF:PFV-buy=1SG:GEN
     'The house I bought was expensive.'

(19) *Mahal*   *ang* {*b-in-ili=ko*}-*ng*   *bahay*.
     expensive TOP PF:PFV-buy=1SG:GEN-LK house
     'The house I bought was expensive.'

An AC basically follows the head noun it modifies, e.g., (18), but it can also precede the noun if the clause is not too heavy, e.g., (19), just as an adjective can either precede or follow the noun it modifies; see (7) and (8). An AC and the head noun are linked by a linker. The form of the linker is as follows: (a) the word *na* following a consonant or a semivowel, e.g., (18); and (b) the suffix -*ng* following a vowel, e.g., (19).

An important point is that the head nominal must be the topic nominal of the AC, that is, it must agree with the focus-marking of the verb of the AC. Thus, in (18) and (19), the head noun *bahay* 'house' is the topic of the AC, whose verb is in a patient-focus form. The head noun is the patient of the verb of the AC. That is, the head noun agrees with the focus-marking of the AC. On the other hand, if a non-topic of the AC is relativized on, the resultant sentence is ungrammatical. Compare (20) with (21) and (22).

(20) *B-um-ili=ako*   *nang bahay*.
     AF:PFV-buy=1SG:TOP GEN house
     'I bought a house.'

(21) *Mahal   ang bahay na {b-um-ili=ako}*
     expensive TOP house LK AF:PFV-buy=1SG:TOP
     IM: 'The house I bought was expensive.'

(22) *Mahal   ang {b-um-ili=ako}-ng   bahay.*
     expensive TOP AF:PFV-buy=1SG:TOP-LK house
     IM: 'The house I bought was expensive.'

In all of (20) to (22), the verb is in an actor-focus form. In (21) and (22), the topic of the AC is *=ako* 'I' (the actor). However, the intended head noun is *bahay* 'house' (the patient nominal), and it is not the topic of the AC. The intended head noun does not agree with the focus-marking of the verb of the AC, and consequently, (21) and (22) are ungrammatical.

To be precise, there are exceptional cases where a non-topic nominal can be relativized on. See 4.2.2.

ACs of Tagalog can be classified into the following types:

(a) ACs of the gap type (4.2.2).
(b) ACs of the addition type (4.2.3).
(c) Headless ACs (4.2.4).

Teramura (1969) divides Japanese ACs into two types. Tsunoda (this volume-b, 4.2.2) proposes to label these two types as "gap type" and "addition type". Tagalog has both types of ACs, as shown below, and also headless ACs. ACs of the gap type and ACs of the addition type have the head noun, while headless ACs do not.

4.2.2 Adnominal clauses of the gap type

ACs of this type are formed with the gap strategy. The head noun generally corresponds to an argument or an adjunct of the AC. It may also correspond to a possessor nominal. As long as the head noun is the topic of the AC, a wide range of nominals with various semantic roles can be the head noun of ACs. Examples follow.

Actor:
(23) *Siya   ang babae-ng {nag-tu-turo   nang wika-ng   Filipino}.*
     3SG:TOP TOP woman-LK AF:IPFV-teach GEN language-LK Filipino
     'The woman who teaches Filipino language is she.'

Patient:
Examples include (18) and (19). (These are instances of ACs of the gap type.)

Beneficiary:

(24) *Sino   ang babae-ng {i-b-in-ili=mo   nang singsing}?*
    who:TOP TOP woman-LK BF:PFV-buy=2SG:GEN GEN ring
    LT: 'The woman for whom you bought a ring is who?'
    FT: 'Who is the woman for whom you bought a ring?'

Instrumental:

(25) *Ito   ang lagari-ng {i-p-in-am-utol ni   Pedro nang puno}.*
    this:TOP TOP saw-LK   IF:PFV-cut   GEN Pedro GEN tree
    'The saw with which Pedro cut a tree is this.'[4]

As shown above, any nominal can be relativized on as long as it is the topic of the AC. Furthermore, a non-topic nominal can be relativized on in some cases. For example, a possessor nominal can be relativized on if it is extracted from the topic nominal of the AC.

Non-topic possessor:

(26) *Mahusay ang paper nang estudyante.*
    skillful   TOP paper GEN student
    'The student's paper is outstanding.'

(27) *Siya   ang estudyante-ng {mahusay ang paper}*
    3SG:TOP TOP student-LK   skillful   TOP paper
    'The student whose paper is outstanding is he.'

Also, certain oblique expressions can be relativized on, but this requires the use of an adverbial interrogative, rather than a linker.

(28) *Ito   ang railway station {kung saan   galling si   Pedro}.*
    this:TOP TOP railway station ADV where be.from TOP Pedro
    'The railway station where Pedro is from is this.'

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4 There is another, preferred way to express the meaning of (25):

(i) *Ito   ang lagari-ng {g-in-amit ni   Pedro pang-putol nang puno}.*
    this:TOP TOP saw-LK   PF:PFV-use GEN Pedro for-cut   GEN tree
    'This is the saw Pedro used to cut a tree.'

Roughly speaking, the difference between (25) and (i) is as follows. In (25), the verb for 'cut' is in the instrumental-focus form, whereas (i) employs the verb for 'use' (in the patient-focus form) in place of the instrumental focus.

4.2.3 Adnominal clauses of the addition type

As seen in 4.2.2, with ACs of the gap type, the head noun generally corresponds to an argument or an adjunct of the AC. In contrast, with ACs of the addition type, 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.

Tsunoda (this volume-a, 5.2) points out that most of the languages that have the MMC have ACs of the addition type. Tagalog may be uncommon in that it has the MMC but that its ACs of the addition type are only barely acceptable and not highly productive. The specific details are as follows.

In Tagalog, ACs of the addition type are generally unacceptable. However, there are instances in which an AC of this type is marginally acceptable. Consider the following set of examples.

(29) *Na-lu-luto=na* ang bigas.
AF:IPFV-cook=already TOP rice
'The rice is cooking.'

(30) **Na-lu-luto=na* ang bigas sa amoy.
AF:IPFV-cook=already TOP rice OBL smell
IM: 'The rice is cooking with the smell.'

(31) *bigas na* {*na-lu-luto=na*}
rice LK AF:IPFV-cook=already
'the rice that is cooking'   (AC of the gap type)

(32) ??*Masarap ang amoy na* {*na-lu-luto* ang bigas*}.
tasty TOP smell LK AF:IPFV-cook TOP rice
LT: 'The smell with which the rice is cooking is nice.'
FT: 'The smell of the rice cooking is nice.'   (AC of the addition type)

The verb in (29) is in an actor focus form. (31) contains an AC of the gap type. (The verb is in an actor focus form, and the sentence is acceptable.) (32) contains an AC of the addition type. The head noun in (32), i.e. *amoy* 'smell', does not correspond to any argument of (29). Nor can it correspond to any adjunct. If (29) were to contain an adjunct that would correspond to *amoy* 'smell' in (32), we would have (30). However, (30) is ungrammatical. That is, the head noun in (32) is, so to speak, added from "outside the underlying clause". In (32), the verb is in an actor focus form, as is the case with (29) and (30), but *amoy* 'smell' does not agree with the actor focus of the AC, and the sentence is only marginally acceptable.

Another example of the addition type is (34). It employs an adverbial interrogative, like (28).

(33) *Nagalit=siya.*
AF:PFV-angry=3SG:TOP
'He got angry.'

(34) *Iyan   ang dahilan {kung bakit nagalit=siya}.*
that:TOP TOP reason ADV   why AF:PFV-angry=3SG:TOP
'The reason why he got angry is that.'

We have seen two instances of ACs of the addition type. Nonetheless, it is important to emphasize that, in Tagalog, generally ACs of the addition type are not acceptable. Recall that most of the languages that have the MMC have ACs of the addition type. Consider the following set of examples.

(35) *I-p-in-iprito=niya   ang isda.*
PF:IPFV-fry=3SG:GEN TOP fish
'He is frying the fish.'

(36) **I-p-in-iprito=niya   ang isda sa   amoy.*
PF:IPFV-fry=3SG:GEN TOP fish OBL smell
IM: 'He is frying the fish with the smell.'

(37) *isda-ng {i-p-in-i-prito=niya}*
fish-LK PF:IPFV-fry=3SG:GEN
'the fish that he is frying' (AC of the gap type)

(38) **Mabaho ang amoy na {i-p-in-i-prito(=niya)   ang isda}.*
stinky   TOP smell LK PF:IPFV-fry(=3SG:GEN) TOP fish
LT: 'The smell with which he is frying the fish is stinky.'
FT: 'The smell of (his) frying fish is stinky.' (AC of the addition type)

In (35), the verb is in a patient-focus form, and *isda* 'fish' (the patient nominal) is the topic of the clause. (36) shows that *sa amoy* 'with the smell' cannot occur in (35). The ex. (37) (AC of the gap type) is perfectly acceptable: the head noun *isda* 'fish' (the patient nominal) agrees with the focus-marking (patient focus) of the verb of the AC. (38) is intended to be an instance of ACs of the addition type, but it is not acceptable. Recall first that *sa amoy* 'with the smell' cannot occur in (35). Note that *sa amoy* 'with the smell' does not agree with the verb of the AC. (It cannot occur in (35) in the first place, and there is no way it can agree with the verb of the AC.)

4.2.4 Headless adnominal clauses

Headless relatives are common if the omitted head denotes a person or a thing, though the grammatical restriction on AC formation holds here as well: the (omitted) head must be the topic of the AC. Compare (39) and (40). In (40), the actor nominal, which refers to a person, is omitted. Also compare (41) and (42). In (42), the patient nominal, which refers to a thing, is omitted. In each sentence the semantic role of the omitted head is marked on the verb: AF in (40), and PF in (42).

(39) *T-um-utulong ang tao-ng iyan sa nag-hi-hirap.*
AF:IPFV-help TOP person-LK that:TOP OBL AF:IPFV-be.poor
'That person helps the poor.'

(40) *Sino {ang t-um-utulong sa nag-hi-hirap}?*
who:TOP TOP AF:IPFV-help OBL AF:IPFV-be.poor
'Who is the person who helps the poor?'

(41) *Mahal ang kamisadentro-ng iyan.*
expensive TOP shirt-LK that:TOP
'That shirt was expensive.'

(42) *Mahal {ang b-in-ili=ko}.*
expensive TOP PF:PFV-buy=1SG:GEN
'What I bought was expensive.'

5 Mermaid construction

5.1 Introductory notes

As seen in Section 1, Tsunoda (this volume-a) proposes that the prototype of the mermaid construction ("MMC") has the structure shown in (1) – superficially at least.

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

Tagalog would not be expected to have the MMC. There are at least two reasons for this.

First, the prototype of the MMC as proposed by Tsunoda is based on the MMC in Modern Standard Japanese, a predicate-final (or verb-final) language (cf. Tsunoda, this volume-a, 2.1, this volume-b). Almost all of the languages in which the MMC

is attested are predicate-final (or verb-final) (see Tsunoda, this volume-a, 5.2), as shown in the other chapters in the present volume. However, Tagalog is predicate-initial (or verb-initial).

Second, as will be noted in 5.2.1, the MMC may be said to resemble ACs of the addition type in that the noun is not an argument (or an adjunct) of the clause. In view of this, the MMC would be expected to occur in languages in which ACs of the addition type are abundant and highly acceptable. Indeed, as mentioned at the end of 4.2.3, most of the languages that have the MMC have ACs of the addition type (see Tsunoda, this volume-a, 5.4). In Tagalog, ACs of the addition type are only barely acceptable and not highly productive.

In view of the above, the MMC would not be expected to occur in Tagalog.

Despite these expectations, Tagalog does have the MMC. It is a predicate-initial (or verb-initial) language. Its MMC is a (partial) mirror image of the kind of the MMC found in Modern Standard Japanese and other predicate-final (or verb-final) languages. The Tagalog MMC is of two types: (3) and (4).

(3) Finite type:
   Noun(-)Linker   [Clause (finite)].

(4) Infinitive type:
   Noun(-)Linker   [Clause (infinitive)].

As is the case with ACs (4.2.1), the Noun and the Clause are linked by the linker. We shall look at the finite type in 5.2, and the infinitive type in 5.3.

The Tagalog construction in question is not a prototypical instance of the MMC in the sense that it lacks the Copula (cf. (1)), and that, in the case of the infinitive type, the Clause cannot be used as a sentence by itself (cf. (d) in Section 1). Nonetheless, it is an instance of the MMC; its structure is a (partial) mirror image of the structure shown in (1).[5]

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5 The MMC analysis might not be maintained under the "equation hypothesis" proposed by Naylor (1995), for example, among others (cf. Schachter and Otanes 1972, Schachter 1976, Kaufman 2009), in which Tagalog verbal predicates are assumed to be syntactically nominal, and the Tagalog clause structure is best analyzed as an equational. Under this hypothesis, there would be no clause showing a combination of noun-predicate and verb-predicate structures. In the construction in question here, however, the two parts are linked by a linker, instead of parataxis which Naylor (1995) regards as the means of realizing "equational" clauses.

5.2 MMC (1): finite type

5.2.1 Structure

In the finite type, there is only one noun that can occupy the Noun slot: *mukha* 'face, facial expression'. It is interesting to note that this word is a loan word from Sanskrit: *mukha* 'mouth, face, countenance'. According to Yasunari Imamura (p.c.), its descendent *mukh* (with *a* dropped) is still used in Modern Hindi, with the meaning of 'face'.

The use of the word *mukha* is not limited to educated people. The Philippines has been trading with India since as far back as the 7th century, and this trade has influence on Philippine languages. According to Panganiban (1972), of the 30,000 root words in Tagalog, close to 300 are loans from Sanskrit. Other common Tagalog words of Sanskrit origin include *guro* 'teacher', *asawa* 'spouse', and *wika* 'language'.

In Tagalog, *mukha* 'face, facial expression' can be used outside the MMC. When it is used in the MMC, the MMC has evidential meanings: visual evidence and inference.

The predicate of the Clause may be nominal, e.g., (44); adjectival, e.g., (46); or verbal, e.g., (48) (same as (5)). When the predicate is verbal, it is in a finite form. However, when the predicate is a nominal or adjectival, the distinction between finite and nonfinite forms is virtually non-existent. (Recall that Tagalog does not have a copula verb.) Whichever the predicate is, the Clause can be used as a sentence by itself. Compare the following pairs of examples.

Nominal predicate:

(43) *Binata=pa=siya.*
    bachelor=yet=3SG:TOP
    'He is still a bachelor.'

(44) ***Mukha**-ng* [*binata=pa=siya*].
    face-LK   bachelor=yet=3SG:TOP
    LT: 'Face [he is still a bachelor].'
    FT: 'It seems he is still a bachelor.'

Adjectival predicate:

(45) *Malusog si   Erap.*
    healthy TOP Erap
    'Erap is healthy.'

(46) ***Mukha**-ng* [*malusog si   Erap*].
    face-LK   healthy TOP Erap
    LT: 'Face [Erap is healthy].'
    FT: 'It seems Erap is healthy.'

Verbal predicate:

(47) *Sa-sabog=na*   *ang bulkan.*
    AF:CONT-erupt=already TOP volcano
    'The volcano will erupt soon.'

(48)=(5) **Mukha**-*ng* [*sa-sabog=na*   *ang bulkan*].
        face-LK   AF:CONT-erupt=already TOP volcano
        LT: 'Face [the volcano will erupt already].'
        FT: 'It seems the volcano will erupt soon.'

The MMC may look similar to ACs. Note that *mukha* 'face' can in no way be an argument of the Clause. In this respect, the MMC differs from ACs of the gap type (4.2.2), but it resembles ACs of the addition type (4.2.3).

It is useful to mention the difference between finite forms and infinitive forms (cf. Table 2). The difference can be roughly summarized as follows.

(a) Finite forms inflect for focus, aspect and mode in a merged form.
(b) Infinitive forms inflect for focus, but not for aspect or mode.

Now, as noted above, the predicate of the Clause occurs in a finite form (when it is a verb). Roughly speaking, there is no restriction on the inflection of the predicate of the Clause – as long as it inflects for focus/aspect/mode. Examples follow.

(49) **Mukha**-*ng* [*b-um-i-bili*   *ngayon ang lalaki nang bago-ng kotse*].
    face-LK   AF:IPFV-buy now   TOP man GEN new-LK car
    'It seems the man is buying a new car now.'

(50) **Mukha**-*ng* [*b-in-ili*   *kahapon nang lalaki ang bago-ng kotse*].
    face-LK   PF:PFV-buy yesterday GEN man   TOP new-LK car
    'It seems the man bought the new car yesterday.'

To be precise, the predicate of the Clause cannot be in an imperative form. Infinitive forms are also used as imperative forms. They indicate focus only, and they do not show aspect or mood.

5.2.2 Semantics

The MMC with *mukha* 'face, facial expression' has evidential meanings. More specifically it denotes the following:

(a) visual evidence: on the basis of what the speaker actually sees, he/she states that a situation is likely to occur, or:

(b) inference: the speaker makes an inference on the basis of the surrounding situation.

Examples have already been given. An additional example is the following. (It contains an instance of "headless adnominal clause' (cf. 4.2.4): *ang ipiniprito nang lalaki* '(the one that) the man is frying'.)

(51) **Mukha**-ng [*isda ang i-p-in-i-prito nang lalaki*].
    face-LK   fish TOP PF:IPFV-fry GEN man
    LT: 'Face [the one that the man is frying is fish].'
    FT: 'It seems to be fish that the man is frying.'

The speaker may utter this sentence in a situation where he/she makes this judgment on the basis of the smell.

5.2.3 Comparison of *mukha* 'face' and adverbs

Meanings similar to those of the MMC with *mukha* 'face' can be expressed by using adverbs. Superficially at least, sentences with the adverb *para* 'seemingly' have the same structure as that of the MMC with *mukha* 'face'.

(52) *Para-ng*   *binata=pa=siya.*
    seemingly-LK bachelor=yet=3SG:TOP
    'It seems he is still a bachelor.'

(53) *Para-ng*   *malusog si   Erap.*
    seemingly-LK healthy TOP Erap
    'It seems Erap is healthy.'

(54) *Para-ng*   *sa-sabog=na*   *ang bulkan.*
    seemingly-LK AF:CONT-erupt=already TOP volcano
    'It seems the volcano will erupt soon.'

Compare these sentences with (44), (46), and (48), respectively. These two groups of sentences have the same structure at least superficially: *mukha/para* + linker + clause. They are also similar in meaning, only with slight difference in terms of probability of the situation happening or occurring. Although *para* can be used in situations that one can actually see, as is the case with *mukha*, the likelihood of the occurrence of the situation is higher with *mukha* than with *para*.

    In fact, many adverbial expressions have the same structure described above (at least superficially), especially those that denote frequency: *madalas* 'often', *lagi* 'always', *madalang/bihira* 'rarely', *beses* 'times', etc.

(55) *Dalawa-ng beses sa   isa-ng buwan na nag-bi-bilyar   si   Noy.*
     two-LK   times OBL one-LK month LK AF:IPFV-billiard TOP Noy
     LT: 'Two times in a month that Noy plays billiard.'
     FT: 'Noy plays billiard twice a month.'

The structure observed in (55) is parallel to the structure of the MMC given in (3) above, as follows: Noun (*dalawang beses sa isang buwan* 'twice a month') + Linker + Clause. One might argue, then, that *mukha* is grammaticalized and that it now has an adverbial function that denotes evidentiality.

   However, there are two syntactic differences between the MMC with *mukha* and those sentences that have the kind of adverbial expressions illustrated above: [1] inversion and [2] negation.

   [1] Inversion
Tagalog has a phenomenon that can be called "inversion" (cf. (12) and (13)). In the MMC with *mukha*, the first part (Noun) and the second part (Clause) cannot be inverted, irrespective of whether an inversion marker is employed or not. See (56) (same as (5)) and (57).

(56)=(5) **Mukha**-*ng* [*sa-sabog=na*   *ang   bulkan*].
         face-LK   AF:CONT-erupt=already TOP volcano
         'It seems the volcano will erupt soon.'

(57) *[*Sa-sabog=na*   *ang bulkan*] (*ay*)   **mukha**.
     AF:CONT-erupt=already TOP volcano (INV) face

In contrast, in (55), the first part ('twice a month') can be postposed, although this is not common. Compare (55) and (58).

(58) *Nag-bi-bilyar   si   Noy na dalawa-ng beses sa   isa-ng   buwan.*
     AF:IPFV-billiard TOP Noy LK two-LK   times OBL one-LK month
     'Noy plays billiard twice a month.'

Comparison of (56) with (57) and (55) with (68) indicates that *dalawang beses sa isang buwan* 'twice a month' is something like an adverbial phrase, while (56) is an established construction, with a rigid relative order of words/phrases. *Mukha* is not an adverbial element. It is a part (and an important part) of the MMC.

   [2] Negation
We have seen that *dalawa-ng beses sa isa-ng buwan* 'twice a month' can be post-posed. This, however, does not apply to the word *para* 'seemingly'. As is the case with *mukha*, *para* cannot be postposed. However, *mukha* and *para*, both of which express evidentiality of an action or state occurring, exhibit a difference in word

order when negated. In Tagalog, the negative particle occurs clause-initially, that is, before the predicate of the clause. Compare (45) with (59), and (47) with (60).

(59) *Hindi malusog si   Erap.*
    NEG   healthy TOP Erap
    'Erap is not healthy.'

(60) *Hindi pa sa-sabog   ang bulkan.*
    NEG   yet AF:CONT-erupt TOP volcano
    'The volcano will not erupt yet.'

Now, compare (61) with (62), and (63) with (64).

(61) *Hindi=siya   **mukha**-ng binata.*
    NEG=3SG:TOP face-LK   bachelor
    'He does not seem to be a bachelor.'

(62) ***Mukha**=siya-ng   hindi binata.*[6]
    face-3SG:TOP-LK NEG   bachelor
    'He does not look like a bachelor.'

(63) **Hindi=siya   para-ng   binata.*
    NEG=3SG:TOP seemingly-LK bachelor

(64) *Para=siya-ng   hindi binata.*
    seemingly=3SG:TOP-LK NEG   bachelor
    'He does not seem to be a bachelor.'

   The contrast between (61) and (63) shows a syntactic difference between the MMC with *mukha* and sentences with an adverbial expression. The fact that the negative particle *hindi* can naturally occur before *mukha*, but not before *para*, indicates that *mukha* behaves as the predicate of the sentence, but that *para* does not. This suggests again that *mukha* is not an adverbial element but that it occupies the Noun slot of the MMC. (See (3) for the Noun slot of the MMC.)

5.2.4 Can the Clause of the MMC be used as a sentence by itself?

One of the five properties of the prototype of the MMC as proposed by Tsunoda (this volume-a) (listed in Section 1 above) is the following.

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6 According to my consultant, in this word order, the speaker emphasizes the physical appearance, especially the face, of the person.

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

As noted in 5.2.1, the Clause of the MMC with *mukha* 'face' can be used as a sentence by itself.

5.2.5 Sentencehood of the Clause of the MMC

As just seen, the Clause of the MMC with *mukha* 'face' can be used as a sentence by itself. Nonetheless, the Clause of this MMC does not have the full status of an independent sentence. Thus, as noted in 5.2.1, the verb of the Clause cannot be in an imperative form. That is, the Clause exhibits a lower degree of sentencehood than independent sentences.

5.3 MMC (2): infinitive type

5.3.1 Introductory notes

The structure of the infinitive type is shown in (4).

(4) Infinitive type:
  Noun(-)Linker [Clause (infinitive)].

In the finite-type MMC, the predicate of the Clause may be nominal, adjectival or verb, and it is in a finite form when it is a verb (5.2.1). In contrast, in the infinitive type the predicate of the Clause in the infinitive form, that is, a non-finite form.

5.3.2 Nouns

The nouns that can occupy the Noun slot in the infinitive type include *plano* 'plan', e.g., (6), (69), (72); *tradisyon* 'tradition', e.g., (65), (73); *destino* 'destiny' (all borrowed from Spanish); *balak* 'plan'; and *kapalaran* 'fate', e.g., (68), (70), (71). They have a modal meaning ('plan to do' or 'be destined to do') or an aspectual meaning (habitual: 'have the practice of VERBing'). This is summarized in Table 3, given in 5.4.

(65) ***Tradisyon**-g* [*ipag-diwang   nang manga Filipino ang Easter*].
  tradition-LK PF:INF-celebrate GEN PL   Filipino TOP Easter
  LT: 'Tradition [for Filipinos to celebrate Easter].'
  FT: 'Filipinos have the practice of celebrating Easter.'

5.3.3 Can the Clause of the MMC be used as a sentence by itself?

In the MMC of the infinitive type, the verb in the Clause is an infinitive, non-finite. As noted in 5.2.1, infinitive forms inflect for focus only, and not for aspect or mode. (Finite forms of verbs inflect for focus, aspect and mode in a merged form.) Infinitive forms are also used as imperative forms. Nonetheless, the Clause as it stands is unacceptable as an imperative sentence. For example, the Clause of (65) by itself will be as shown in (66). But (66) is ungrammatical. It becomes grammatical if it is expressed as in (67).

(66) *Ipag-diwang*   *nang manga Filipino ang Easter.*
    PF:INF-celebrate GEN PL   Filipino TOP Easter

(67) *Ipag-diwang=ninyo*   *ang Easter!*
    PF:INF-celebrate=2PL:GEN TOP Easter
    'Celebrate Easter!'

(Note that (67) contains =*ninyo* '2PL:GEN'. An imperative sentence needs to contain a second person pronoun.)

To sum up, the Clause of the infinitive-type MMC cannot be used as a sentence by itself.

5.3.4 Sentencehood of the Clause of the MMC

As just seen, the Clause of the MMC of the infinitive type cannot be used as a sentence by itself. In this respect, the Clause does not have the status of a sentence.

5.4 Semantics of the two types of the MMC

We have seen one noun (in 5.2) and five nouns (in 5.3) that can occupy the Noun slot of the MMC. Their meanings can be summarized as in Table 3. As can

Tab. 3: Semantics of the MMC.

	outside MMC	meaning of MMC
mukha	'face'	evidential: visual evidence and inference
plano	'plan'	modal: 'plan to do'
tradisyon	'tradition'	aspectual: habitual
destino	'destiny'	modal: 'be destined to do'
balak	'plan'	modal: 'plan to do'
kapalaran	'fate'	modal: 'be destined to do'

be seen, they are highly grammaticalized in the MMC, in terms of semantics at least.

5.5 Comparison of the two types of the MMC

We now compare the two types of the MMC: the finite type and the infinitive type.

5.5.1 Actor nominal (1): preposition

In Tagalog, generally, when an NP agrees with the verb in terms of focus marking, it must be preceded by the topic preposition (cf. 4.1.2.2). For example, in (14), the actor nominal *lalaki* 'man' agrees with the verb *b-um-ili* 'AF.PFV-buy' (in the actor focus), and it is preceded by the topic preposition *ang*. When the actor nominal does not agree with the verb, it is preceded by the genitive preposition, e.g., (15) and (16) (*nang lalaki* 'GEN man'). The verb is in the patient focus in (15), and in the beneficiary focus in (16).

The same applies to the MMC of the finite type. In (49), the actor nominal (*lalaki* 'man') agrees with the verb (in the actor focus) and it is preceded by the topic preposition *ang*. In (50), the actor nominal (*lalaki* 'man') does not agree with the verb (in the patient focus) and it is preceded by the genitive preposition *nang*.

However, the above does not apply to the MMC of the infinitive type. When the actor nominal agrees with the verb, its behavior is different from that described above. In some instances, the actor nominal may be preceded either by the topic preposition (as is generally the case with an actor nominal used as the topic) or by the genitive preposition (as is generally the case with an actor used as a non-topic).

(68) ***Kapalaran**-g* [*ma-wala*   *si / ni*   *Pilar sa*   *Maynila upang*
     fate-LK   AF:INF-disappear TOP/GEN Pilar OBL Manila   in order to
     ma-kita   *si*   *Pepe*].
     PF:INF-see   TOP   Pepe
     LT: 'Fate [for/of Pilar to get lost in Manila in order to see Pepe].'
     FT: 'Pilar was destined to get lost in Manila in order to see Pepe.'

In other instances, the actor nominal can be preceded by the genitive preposition. But the use of the topic preposition is unacceptable or only marginally acceptable. This is despite the fact that it agrees with the verb (in the actor focus).

(69) ***Plano**-ng* [*b-um-isita   ni / *si   Noy sa   Davao bukas*].
    plan-LK   AF:INF-visit GEN/*TOP Noy OBL Davao tomorrow
    LT: 'Plan [of Noy to visit Davao tomorrow].'
    FT: 'Noy plans to visit Davao tomorrow.'

(70) ***Kapalaran**-g* [*ma-talo   ni / ?si   Erap noon-g eleksyon*].
    fate-LK   AF:INF-lose GEN/?TOP Erap last-LK election
    LT: 'Fate [of/for Erap to lose in the last election].'
    FT: 'Erap was destined to lose in the last election.'

At this stage of investigation, no factor – if there is any – is known that conditions the difference between instances such as (68) and those such as (69) and (70).

5.5.2 Actor nominal (2): relative order

There is a difference in the behavior of the actor nominal between the finite type and the infinitive type. This difference has to do with the genitive marking of the actor nominal. It is convenient to start with the infinitive type.

In the infinitive type, if the actor nominal is preceded by the genitive case, it may precede the verb and occur immediately after the Noun of the MMC. This is possible both (i) when the actor nominal agrees with the verb (in the actor focus), e.g., (71), and (ii) when the actor nominal does not agree with the verb (in a focus other than the actor focus), e.g., (72) and (73) (the patient focus).

(71) ***Kapalaran*** [*ni/*si   Pilar na ma-wala   sa   Maynila upang*
    fate   GEN/*TOP Pilar LK AF:INF-disappear OBL Manila   in:order:to
    ma-kita   si   Pepe].
    PF:INF-see TOP Pepe
    LT: 'Fate [of Pilar to get lost in Manila in order to see Pepe].'
    FT: 'Pilar was destined to get lost in Manila (when she went) to see Pepe.'

(72) ***Plano*** [*nang gobyerno-ng   apruba-han   ang pag-import   nang*
    plan   GEN   government-LK approve-PF:INF TOP NMLZ-import GEN
    bigas].
    rice
    LT: 'Plan [of the government to approve the import of rice].'
    FT: 'The government plans to approve the import of rice.'

(73) ***Tradisyon*** [*nang manga Filipino-ng ipag-diwang   ang Easter*].
    tradition   GEN   PL   Filipino-LK PF:INF-celebrate TOP Easter
    LT: 'Tradition [of Filipinos to celebrate Easter].'
    FT: 'Filipinos have the practice of celebrating Easter.'

Compare, for example, (68) and (71). In (71), the actor nominal (*Pilar*) occurs immediately after the Noun (*kapalaran* 'fate') and it must be preceded by the genitive postposition, and not by the topic preposition. In (68), the actor nominal does not occur immediately after the Noun, and it may be preceded by the topic preposition or by the genitive preposition.

Only the actor nominal can precede the verb and occur immediately after the Noun.

In contrast to the infinitive type, the finite type (the Noun is *mukha* 'face') does not allow the actor nominal to occur immediately after the Noun *mukha*, irrespective of whether the actor nominal is the topic (see (74) and (75)), or not (see (76) and (77)).

(74) ***Mukha**-ng* [*bi-bisita   si   Noy sa Davao bukas*].
    face-LK   AF:CONT-visit TOP Noy OBL Davao tomorrow
    'Noy seems to be going to Davao tomorrow.'

(75) ****Mukha*** [*si   Noy na bi-bisita   sa   Davao bukas*].
    face   TOP Noy LK AF:CONT-visit OBL Davao tomorrow
    IM: 'Noy seems to be going to Davao tomorrow.'

(76) ***Mukha**-ng* [*t-in-anggap=na   nang gobyerno   ang kanila-ng*
    face-LK   PF:PERF-receive=already GEN government TOP 3PL:OBL-LK
    pagkakamali].
    mistake
    'The government seems to have acknowledged its mistake.'

(77) ****Mukha*** [*nang gobyerno-ng   t-in-anggap=na   ang kanila-ng*
    face   GEN   government-LK PF:PERF-receive=already TOP 3PL:OBL-LK
    pagkakamali].
    mistake
    LT: 'Face [of the government that received their mistake already].'
    IM: 'The government seems to have acknowledged its mistake.'

6 Comparison of the MMC and other constructions

6.1 Introductory notes

We now compare the MMC with other constructions. In particular, we shall examine the following two issues.

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

The structure of the prototype of the MMC is as shown in (1). Superficially at least, it looks as if the prototypical MMC is bi-clausal. In some of the languages reported in the present volume, the Clause of the MMC looks similar to an adnominal clause ("AC") (or a relative clause) of the respective languages and consequently it looks as if their MMC is bi-clausal, with an AC as a subordinate clause. However, languages such as Modern Standard Japanese (Tsunoda, this volume-b, Section 6) and Korean (Kim, this volume, Section 6) yield evidence that their MMC does not contain an AC and that it is syntactically mono-clausal, not bi-clausal. (See Tsunoda (this volume-a, 3.4).) In view of this, it is important to examine the two issues listed above.

For Tagalog, we compare the following constructions.

(i) Mono-clausal verbal independent sentences (4.1.2).
(ii) MMC (1): finite type (5.2).
(iii) MMC (2): infinitive type (5.3).
(iv) ACs (1): gap type (4.2.2).
(v) ACs (2): addition type (4.2.3).
(vi) ACs (3): headless (4.2.4).

Verb-predicate sentences are chosen as the representative of independent sentences. It is necessary to consider mono-clausal sentences, since one of the aims of this comparison is to examine the issue (b) listed above.

When we look at the MMC, we shall mainly be concerned with the Clause, but we shall also look at the entire MMC.

We shall compare the constructions listed above in terms of morphology and syntax. The result of this comparison is shown in Table 4.

6.2 Verb morphology

(i) Mono-clausal verbal independent sentences
The predicate verb is in a finite form.

(ii) MMC (1): finite type
The predicate of the Clause may be nominal, adjectival or a verbal. When a verb is used, it is in a finite form.

(iv) ACs (1): gap type
(v) ACs (2): addition type
(vi) ACs (3): headless
The predicate of ACs may be nominal, adjectival or a verbal. When a verb is used, it is in a finite form.

(iii) MMC (2): infinitive type

The predicate verb of the Clause is in the infinitive form.

6.3 Actor nominal: preposition

(i) Mono-clausal verbal independent sentences

(ii) MMC (1): finite type

When the actor nominal agrees with the verb (in terms of focus), it is preceded by the topic preposition. When it does not agree with the verb, it is preceded by the genitive preposition.

(iii) MMC (2): infinitive type

When the actor nominal agrees with the verb, it can be preceded by the topic preposition or by the genitive preposition in some instances, and it is preceded by the genitive preposition only (and the topic preposition is unacceptable or marginally acceptable) in other instances.

(iv) ACs (1): gap type

When a non-actor nominal is gapped, the actor nominal inside the AC is in the genitive preposition. It does not agree with the verb. When the actor nominal is gapped, it agrees with the verb, but it is absent in the AC. That is, it cannot have any preposition.

(v) ACs (2): addition type

When the actor nominal agrees with the verb, it is preceded by the topic preposition. When it does not agree with the verb, it is preceded by the genitive preposition.

(vi) ACs (3): headless

When the actor does not agree with the verb, it is preceded by the genitive preposition. When the verb is in the AF form, the actor itself is omitted, and it is not overtly expressed. That is, it cannot have any preposition.

6.4 Deletion of an argument or an adjunct

It is convenient to start with ACs.

(iv) ACs (1): gap type

An argument or an adjunct may be deleted in the formation of ACs of the gap type. For example, compare (17), (18) and (19). The ex. (17) contains =*ko* '1SG:GEN' and *bahay* 'house', but *bahay* 'house' is absent in the AC of (18) and the AC of (19).

(vi) ACs (3): headless

An argument or an adjunct is always deleted in the formation of headless ACs. As a pair of examples, (39) contains *ang tao-ng iyan* 'that person' and *sa nag-hi-hirap* 'the poor', but the expression for 'that person' is absent in the AC of (40). As another pair of examples, (41) contains *ang kamisadentro-ng iyan* 'that shirt', but the expression for 'that shirt' is absent in the AC of (42).

(v) ACs (2): addition type

No argument or adjunct is deleted in the formation of ACs of the addition type. For example, (33) contains =*siya* '3SG:TOP', and =*siya* '3SG:TOP' is present in the AC of (34).

(i) Mono-clausal verbal independent sentences
(ii) MMC (1): finite type
(iii) MMC (2): infinitive type

No argument or adjunct is deleted in the formation of these constructions.

6.5 One subject or two subjects?

In 6.5, I use the term "subject" in the way it is used in studies of languages other than Philippine languages – in conformity with other chapters in the present volume, for the purpose of a crosslinguistic comparison. That is, it does not necessarily refer to a word that agrees with the verb in terms of focus. In 6.5, roughly speaking, "subject" refers to the agent/actor in a transitive clause/sentence, and to the sole argument in an intransitive clause/sentence.

Again, it is convenient to start with ACs.

(iv) ACs (1): gap type

A sentence with an AC of the gap type may have two subjects: the subject of the AC and the subject of the main clause. For example, (18) has two subjects: =*ko* '1SG:GEN' is the subject of the AC, and *ang bahay* 'TOP house' is the subject of the main clause.

(v) ACs (2): addition type

A sentence with an AC of the addition type has two subjects. For example, in (34), =*siya* '3SG:TOP' is the subject of the AC, and *dahilan* 'reason' is the subject of the main clause.

(vi) ACs (3): headless

A sentence with a headless AC may have two subjects. For example, in (42), =*ko* '1SG:GEN' is the subject of the AC, and *ang b-in-ili=ko* 'what I bought' is the subject of the main clause.

(i) Mono-clausal verbal independent sentences

These sentences have only one subject. Thus, (14) has one subject: *ang lalaki* 'TOP man'.

(ii) MMC (1): finite type

The MMC of the finite type has one subject. Thus, (78) (same as (5)) has one subject: *ang bulkan* 'TOP volcano'.

(78)=(5) **Mukha**-*ng* [*sa-sabog=na* *ang bulkan*].
         face-LK   AF:CONT-erupt=already TOP volcano
         LT: 'Face [the volcano will erupt already].'
         FT: 'It seems the volcano will erupt soon.'

It may be thought that (78) has two subjects: the Clause (shown in square brackets) is the subject of the main clause and *ang bulkan* 'TOP volcano' is the subject of a subordinate clause. If this view were adopted, a literal translation of (78) would be as follows: '(That) the volcano will erupt already (is) a face'. However, this view has to be rejected. According to this translation, the Clause and the Noun would be coreferential. Then, (78) would depart from the prototype of the MMC in terms of the property (c) (cf. Section 1).

(c) The subject of the Clause and the Noun are non-coreferential.

To sum up, the MMC of the finite type has just one subject.

(iii) MMC (2): infinitive type

Consider (79) (same as (6)).

(79)=(6) **Plano**-*ng* [*apruba-han* *nang gobyerno* *ang pag-import* *nang*
         plan-LK   approve-PF:INF GEN government TOP NMLZ-import GEN
         bigas].
         rice
         LT: 'Plan [for the government to approve the import of rice].'
         FT: 'The government plans to approve the import of rice.'

What was stated about the MMC of the finite type applies to the MMC of the infinitive type. The MMC of the infinitive type has just one subject.

6.6 Discussion

The result of the comparison above can be summarized as in Table 4.

The first criterion, "Verb morphology", concerns a morphological aspect, while other criteria in the main have to do with syntactic aspects. In particular, the criterion of "Actor nominal: preposition" deals with the structure of the actor nominal NP.

The MMC of the finite type consistently behaves like mono-clausal verbal independent sentences. Also, it behaves like ACs in the following three respects. First, it behaves like the three types of ACs in terms of "Verb morphology". Second, it behaves like ACs (2) of the addition type regarding "Actor nominal: preposition". Third, it behaves like ACs (2) of the addition type concerning "Deletion of argument or adjunct". However, there is no type of ACs which behaves exactly like the finite

Tab. 4: Comparison of the MMC with other constructions.

	Verb morphology	
Mono-clausal verbal independent sentences	Finite	
MMC (1): finite	Finite	
MMC (2): infinitive	Infinitive	
ACs (1): gap	Finite	
ACs (2): addition	Finite	
ACs (3): headless	Finite	
	Actor nominal: preposition	
	When the actor agrees with the verb:	When the actor does not agree with the verb:
Mono-clausal verbal independent sentences	topic	genitive
MMC (1): finite	topic	genitive
MMC (2): infinitive	topic/genitive, or genitive only	genitive
ACs (1): gap	…	genitive
ACs (2): addition	topic	genitive
ACs (3): headless	…	genitive
	Deletion of argument or adjunct	Two subjects
Mono-clausal verbal independent sentences	−	−
MMC (1): finite	−	−
MMC (2): infinitive	−	−
ACs (1): gap	+	+
ACs (2): addition	−	+
ACs (3): headless	+	+

Legend: +: acceptable or obligatory; −: unacceptable or absent; …: not applicable.

type. That is, the finite type does not contain an AC. It is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal.

The MMC of the infinitive type in the main – but not consistently – behaves like mono-clausal verbal independent sentences. It differs from the latter in the following two respects. First, the verb is in an infinitive form, not a finite form. Second, when the actor agrees with the verb, it may be, or has to be, in the genitive case. The infinitive type is similar to only one type of ACs. Namely, it is similar to ACs (2) of the addition type with respect to "Actor nominal: preposition". There is no type of ACs which in the main behaves like the infinitive type. That is, the infinitive type does not contain an AC. Although the evidence is weaker than that for the finite type, it is justifiable to say the infinitive type is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal.

To sum up, the finite type and the infinitive type do not contain an AC. Syntactically the finite type is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal. Although the evidence is weaker than that for the finite type, it is justifiable to say that the infinitive type is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal.

6.7 Compound predicate

We saw in 6.6 that syntactically the two types of the Tagalog MMC can be considered mono-clausal, not bi-clausal – although the evidence for the infinitive type is weaker than that for the finite type. Then, these two types of the MMC should have just one predicate, not two predicates. We now investigate what structure the predicate has.

As seen in Section 1, the prototype of the MMC has the structurete shown in (1) – superficially at least. However, languages such as Modern Standard Japanese (Tsunoda, this volume-b, Section 6) and Korean (Kim, this volume, Section 6) provide ample evidence that syntactically their MMC is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal, despite its superficial appearance (shown in (1)). Their MMC has just one predicate, not two predicates, and the predicate is a compound predicate that consists of the predicate of the Clause, the Noun and the Copula, as shown in (2).

(1) Prototype of the mermaid construction ("MMC"):
     [Clause]   Noun Copula

(2) [... predicate of Clause]   Noun   Copula.
                    compound predicate

We turn now to the Tagalog MMC. Recall that it is of two types.

(3) Finite type:
     Noun(-)Linker   [Clause (finite)].

(4) Infinitive type:
     Noun(-)Linker   [Clause (infinitive)].

As mentioned in Section 1, Tagalog has no copula verb. Therefore the issue of the Copula is irrelevant. What we need to investigate is whether the Noun and the predicate of the Clause form a unit syntactically. This issue requires a detailed syntactic analysis of these two types of the MMC, and here I offer only tentative observations that are available at this stage of investigation.

In the finite type, there are two pieces of evidence that the Noun and the predicate of the Clause form a unit. First, inversion of the Noun and the Clause is unacceptable. See (57), in which the predicate of the Clause and the Noun cannot be separated. Second, the actor nominal cannot intervene between the Noun and the predicate of the Clause; see (75) and (77). However, there is one piece of evidence that the Noun and the predicate of the Clause do not form a unit. That is, inversion inside the Clause is possible. Compare (78)=(5) with:

(80) **Mukha**-*ng* [*ang bulkan   ay   sa-sabog=na*].
     face-LINK TOP volcano INV AF:CONT-erupt=already
     'It seems the volcano will erupt soon.'

Note that in (80) the Noun and the predicate of the Clause do not form a unit. To sum up, for the finite type, there are two pieces of evidence that the Noun and the predicate of the Clause form a unit. But there is one piece of evidence that they do not form a unit.

In the infinitive type, there are two pieces of evidence that the Noun and the predicate of the Clause form a unit. First, as is the case with the finite type, inversion of the Noun and the Clause is unacceptable. For example, compare (65) with (81), in which the predicate of the Clause and the Noun cannot be separated.

(81) *[*Ipag-diwang   nang manga Filipino ang Easter*] *ay*   **tradisyon**.
     PF:INF-celebrate GEN PL   Filipino TOP Easter INV tradition
     LT: 'Tradition [for Filipinos to celebrate Easter].'
     IM: 'Filipinos have the practice of celebrating Easter.'

Second, in contrast with the finite type, inversion inside the Clause is not possible. Compare (65) with (82), in which the Noun and the predicate of the Clause cannot be separated.

(82) ***Tradisyon**-g* [*ang Easter* (*ay*) *ipag-diwang   nang manga Filipino*].
     tradition-LK   TOP Easter (INV) PF:INF-celebrate GEN PL   Filipino
     IM: 'Filipinos have the practice of celebrating Easter.'

However, there is one piece of evidence that the Noun and the predicate of the Clause do not form a unit. In contrast with the finite type, the actor nominal may intervene between the Noun and the predicate of the Clause under two conditions; see (71) to (73). To sum up, for the infinitive type, there are two pieces of evidence that the Noun and the predicate of the Clause form a unit. But there is one piece of evidence that they do not form a unit.

That is, for each of the finite type and the infinitive type, the evidence for the unit of the Noun and the predicate of the Clause is stronger than the evidence that denies this unit. In other words, it is possible to say that these two types have a compound predicate that consists of the Noun and the predicate of the Clause. If this view is adopted, (78)=(5), for example, can be shown as follows.

(78)=(5) ***Mukha**-ng* [*sa-sabog=na*   *ang bulkan*].
        face-LK   AF:CONT-erupt=already TOP volcano
        compound predicate
        LT: 'Face [the volcano will erupt already].'
        FT: 'It seems the volcano will erupt soon.'

7 Summary and concluding remarks

Tagalog would not be expected to have the MMC. First, it is predicate-initial (or verb-initial), whereas almost all of the languages in which the MMC is attested are predicate-final (or verb-final). Second, most of the languages that have the MMC have ACs of the addition type. However, in Tagalog, ACs of the addition type are only marginally acceptable.

Despite these two expectations, Tagalog does have the MMC. This MMC is the mirror image of the prototype of the MMC, attested in predicate-final languages, except that Tagalog has no copula verb. The Tagalog MMC is of two types: the finite type and the infinitive type.

In the finite type, the predicate of the Clause may be nominal, adjectival or verbal. When a verb is used, it is in a finite form. The Noun is *mukha* 'face', a loan from Sanskrit *mukha*, and the MMC has evidential meanings of visual evidence and inference: 'the situation is likely to occur'. The Clause can be used as a sentence by itself, irrespective of whether its predicate is nominal, adjectival or verbal. However, it does not have the full status of an independent sentence.

In the infinitive type, the predicate of the Clause has to be verbal, and it is in the infinitive form, that is, a non-finite form. At least five nouns are attested in the Noun slot. Two of them are loans from Spanish, while the remaining two are native Tagalog words. The infinitive type has an evidential, a modal, or an aspectual meaning. The Clause cannot be used as a sentence by itself. That is, it does not have the status of an independent sentence. The infinitive type exhibits an

unusual behavior in terms of the case and the relative position of the actor nominal.

The finite type and the infinitive type do not contain an adnominal clause. In terms of syntax, the finite type is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal. Although the evidence is weaker than that for the finite type, it is justifiable to say that the infinitive type is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal. There is some evidence that each type has a compound predicate that consists of the Noun and the predicate of the Clause.

Lastly, it is interesting to note that the nouns used in the Noun slot of the MMC are mostly loan words. This might have something to do with the preference for verbal constructions of the language *per se*, but it remains for further research.

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

AC = adnominal clause; ADV = adverbial; AF = actor focus; BF = beneficiary focus; CONT = contemplated; DF = direction focus; FT = free translation; GEN = genitive; IF = instrumental focus; IM = intended meaning; INF = infinitive; INV = inversion marker; IPFV = imperfective; LF = location focus; LK = linker; LT = literal translation; MMC = mermaid construction; NEG = negative; NMLZ = nominalizer; OBL = oblique; PF = patient focus; PFV = perfective; PL = plural; RF = reason focus; SG = singular; TOP = topic; 1 = first person; 2 = second person; 3 = third person.

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IV Languages in which the order of S, O and V is not fixed

Megumi Kurebito
19 Koryak

1 Introduction

Tsunoda (this volume-a, 2.1) proposes that the prototype of the mermaid construction (hereafter "MMC") has all of the following five properties.

(a) The structure is as shown in (1) – superficially at least.
(b) The Noun is an independent word (not a clitic) that is a noun.
(c) The subject of the Clause and the Noun are non-coreferential.
(d) The Clause can be used as a sentence by itself.
(e) The Clause is not the subject of the "Noun + Copula".

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

In the prototype of the MMC, the Noun slot is occupied by an independent word that is a noun. In non-prototypical MMCs, the Noun slot may be occupied by a clitic or an affix that derived from an independent noun (Tsunoda, this volume-a, 2.3-[1]). Furthermore, there are instances in which an independent noun has become an enclitic or a suffix and continues to occupy the Noun slot (Tsunoda, this volume-a, 4.2.2). See Tsunoda (this volume-b, 7.6 to 7.8) for examples in Japanese (from Early Middle Japanese to Modern Standard Japanese). Also, in non-prototypical MMCs, the Noun slot may be occupied by a nominalizer, and the nominalizer may be an independent word, a clitic or an affix (Tsunoda, this volume-a, 2.3-[1]). See Tsunoda (this volume-b, 5.1.4) for an example in Modern Standard Japanese.

Tsunoda (this volume-a, Section 1 and 2.1) notes as follows. Superficially at least, it looks as if the MMC contains a subordinate clause and is bi-clausal. However, languages such as Modern Standard Japanese (Tsunoda, this volume-b, Section 6) and Korean (Kim, this volume, Section 6) provide ample evidence that syntactically their MMC is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal, despite its superficial appearance (shown in (1)). Their MMC has just one predicate, not two predicates, and the predicate is a compound predicate that consists of the predicate of the Clause, the Noun and the Copula, as shown in (2).

(2) [... predicate of Clause]   Noun   Copula.
            compound predicate

Koryak does not have the prototypical MMC. Nonetheless, it has a construction that may be regarded as a variant of the MMC. This construction will be labelled

"quasi-MMC" (hereafter "QMMC"). The Noun slot is occupied not by an independent noun but by a nominalizer suffix. (In this respect, the Koryak QMMC departs from the prototype.) Two nominalizer suffixes are attested in the Noun slot: the agentive/patientive noun-forming suffix *-jo-lqəl* (hereafter "JQ") and the action-noun forming suffix *-ɣiŋ* (hereafter "GN"). It is not known if these two nominalizer suffixes derived from any independent noun (Kurebito 2014). (To be precise, the nominalizer JQ consists of two suffixes: *-jo*, a nominalizer, and *-lqəl*, whose meaning is 'one which is supposed to become …' or 'material for …'. These two suffixes are jointly glossed as 'JQ'.)

The Koryak QMMC can be schematized as in (3). The part that corresponds to the Clause of (1) is shown with square brackets. The Clause in (3) compulsorily includes a verb stem and optionally an argument (or arguments) ("X") and an adjunct (or adjuncts) ("Y"). Word order in Koryak is free, and the relative order of the verb, arguments and adjuncts is not fixed. The nominalizer suffix is JQ or GN.

(3) The Koryak QMMC:
    (X) (Y) Verb + Nominalizer suffix + Person-plus-number suffix.

Koryak has a verb that can be called a copula verb (i.e. *-it-* 'be'). However, this verb is not used in the QMMC (or in some other contexts where a copula verb might be expected). The Copula slot of (1) is occupied by a person-plus-number suffix. In this respect, too, the Koryak QMMC departs from the prototype.

The QMMC primarily express a modal meaning, to be precise, a deontic meaning, such as obligation ('have to', 'must', 'should'). In addition, JQ-words may indicate schedule, expectation ('be supposed to', 'be expected to') or intention, depending on the context. These meanings are observed in the MMC of many other languages reported in the present volume.

2 Initial illustration

Four examples are given below as initial illustrations of the Koryak QMMC.

Quasi-MMC with the nominalizer JQ
(4) *ɣəcci   ecɣi   awje-jo-lqəl-eɣe   ɣ-en'pici-te   jaja-k.*
    2SG.ABS today   eat-JQ-2SG.S   COM-father-COM house-LOC
    'You (SG) should eat at home with your father today.'

(5) *ɣəm-nan inʕe   ʕajŋaw-jo-lqəl-Ø   qajəkmiŋ-ə-n.*
    1SG-ERG soon   call-JQ-3SG.P   boy-E-ABS.SG
    'I should call the boy soon.'

Quasi-MMC with the nominalizer GN

(6) *Ekil ənno qət-ɣiŋ-ə-n wojv-etəŋ.*
besides 3SG.ABS go-GN-E-3SG.S village-ALL
'Besides he/she should go to the village.'

(7) *ənnen ujetik-Ø ɣəmleŋ tajk-ə-ɣiŋ-ə-n.*
one sledge-ABS.SG again make-E-GN-E-3SG.P
'(Someone) should fix one sledge again.'

3 Profile of the language

The Koryak language is a member of the Chukchi-Kamchatkan language family. It is mainly spoken in the northern part of the Kamchatka Oblast and in the Magadan Oblast along the Sea of Okhotsk in Russia. According to the official 2002 Russian census, 2,369 people (27.1 % of the total Koryak population) regard Koryak as their native language (RAIPON 2012).

Koryak is characterized by marked dialectal diversity (Zhukova 1968). Besides the main dialects, Chawchəvan and Palana, there are other dialects such as Paren, Itkan, Kamenskoe, Apuka, and Karaga (Zhukova 1968). All the examples presented in this chapter were obtained in elicitation from the Chawchəvan dialect in the Magadan Oblast.

The phonemic inventory of the Chawchəvan dialect set up by Kurebito (2004) is as follows. Consonants: /p, t, t', k, q, v, ɣ, ʕ, c, m, n, n', ŋ, l, l', j, w/ and vowels: /i, e, a, o, u, ə/. There is no laryngeal contrast in obstruents. Stops are typically voiceless and fricatives voiced. The apostrophe /'/ indicates palatalization of the dentals. /c/ presents the voiceless palato-alveolar affricate [t͡ʃ]. Pitch and stress are not distinctive.

Koryak is a polysynthetic language which employs incorporation and a variety of affixes including suffixes, prefixes, and circumfixes. Therefore, Koryak can quite easily create a "word", that is, a holophrase, which would correspond to a "sentence" in less synthetic languages, e.g.:

(8) *T'-ə-ktep-nalɣ-ə-t'-icʕ-ə-ŋ-ə-k-Ø.*
1SG.S-E-wild.sheep-skin-E-make-fur.coat-E-make-E-1SG.S-PF
'I have made a fur coat with wild sheep skin.'

(9) *T'-ə-n'ke-qoja-nomakav-ə-k-Ø.*
1SG.S-E-midnight-reindeer-herd-E-1SG.S-PF
'I have herded the reindeer at midnight.'

(10) *K-ena-mal-ə-n-kemetʃ-ə-jp-an-ə-ŋ-Ø.*
      NFUT.IPF-1SG.P-well-E-CAUS-clothes-E-put.on-CAUS-E-NFUT.IPF-3SG.S
      'He/She is/was dressing me with clothes.'

Koryak is agglutinating and it is double-marking (both dependent-marking and head-marking) at the clause level. Also, it is non-configurational. As mentioned in Section 1, word order in Koryak is free, and the relative order of the verb, arguments and adjuncts is not fixed. Similarly, the relative order of a noun and its modifier is not fixed.

Nouns are marked for both case and number. They have twelve cases: absolutive (*-Ø*, *-n*, *-ŋa/-ŋe*, and reduplication of the stem initial CVC), locative (*-k/-kkə*), instrumental (*-e/-a/-te/-ta*), dative (*-ŋ*), allative (*-etəŋ/-jtəŋ*), prolative (*-epəŋ/-jpəŋ/-ɣəpəŋ*), ablative (*-ŋqo*), contactive (*-jite/-eta*), causal (*-kjit/-kjet*), essive (*-u/-o/-nu/-no*), comitative (*ɣe-/ɣa-…-e/-a/-te/-ta, ɣawən-…-ma*), and associative (*ɣejq-/ɣajq-…-e/-a/-te/-ta*). The absolutive case exhibits a three-number distinction: singular, dual, and plural. In other cases, human nouns and proper nouns in a higher position on the animacy hierarchy distinguish between singular and plural. (Numerals, e.g. *ənnen* 'one' in (6), are not marked for case or number.)

Case-marking of free NPs follows the ergative-absolutive pattern (A vs. S/P). There is no special form for the ergative case except in the personal pronouns. Either the locative or the instrumental is employed for the ergative according to the animacy hierarchy (Kurebito 2001).

Verbs inflect for the following categories.

Mood: indicative, optative, potential, and conjunctive.
Tense: non-future and future.
Aspect: perfect (resulative vs. aorist) and imperfect.

As examples, inflectional categories of the indicative mood are shown in Table 1 (an intransitive verb) and Table 2 (a transitive verb).

Tab. 1: Inflection of intransitive *tawjiŋ* 'cough' (1SG.S, IND).

	Non-future		Future
	Resultative	Aorist	
Perfect	*ɣa-tawjiŋ-iɣəm* RES-cough-1SG.S	*t-ə-tawjiŋ-ə-k-Ø* 1SG.S-E-cough-E-1SG.S-PF	*t-ə-ja-tawjiŋ-ə-ŋ* 1SG.S-E-FUT-cough-E-FUT.PF
Imperfect	*t-ə-ku-tawjiŋ-ə-ŋ* 1SG.S-E-NFUT.IPF-cough-E-NFUT.IPF		*t-ə-ja-tawjiŋ-eke* 1SG.S-E-FUT-cough-FUT.IPF

Tab. 2: Inflection of transitive *pŋəlo* 'ask' (1SG.A/3SG.P, IND).

	Non-future		Future
	Resultative	Aorist	
Perfect	*ɣa-pəŋlo-len-Ø* RES-ask-3SG.P-1SG.A	*t-ə-pəŋlo-n-Ø* 1SG.A-E-ask-3SG.P-PF	*t-ə-ja-pŋəlo-ŋ-ə-n* 1SG.A-E-FUT.PF-ask-FUT.PF-E-3SG.P
Imperfect	*t-ə-ko-pŋəlo-ŋ-ə-n* 1SG.A-E-NFUT.IPF-ask-NFUT.IPF-E-3SG.P		*t-ə-ja-pŋəlo-jk-ə-n* 1SG.A-E-FUT-ask-FUT.IPF-E-3SG.P

Koryak has no traditional orthography of its own. Although a Cyrillic-based orthographic system was introduced in 1930s, it is currently not widespread.

4 Types of sentences and clauses

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

Koryak sentences can be classified into two major types: verb-predicate and noun-predicate sentences. In each type, the predicate inflects, showing agreement in terms of person-plus-number. Where the predicate is an adjective, the sentence has the structure of either a verb-predicate sentence or a noun-predicate sentence.

[1] Verb-predicate sentences
The predicate agrees with the S when it is intransitive, e.g. (11), and with both the A and P when it is transitive, e.g. (12) and (13).

(11) *ɣəmmo   t-ə-lqut-ə-k-Ø.*
    1SG.ABS 1SG.S-E-stand.up-E-1SG.S-PF
    'I have stood up.'

(12) *ɣəm-nan ənno   t-uʕet-ə-n-Ø.*
    1SG-ERG 3SG.ABS 1SG.A-await-E-3SG.P-PF
    'I have waited for him/her.'

(13) *Tocɣ-ə-nan ɣəmmo   in-uʕet-tək-Ø.*
    2PL-E-ERG 1SG.ABS 1SG.P-await-2PL.A-PF
    'You (PL) have waited for me.'

Except for 2DU/2PL, the agreement operates in the nominative-accusative pattern (A/S vs. P). For example, 1SG has the following agreement markers.

t- for the A, e.g. (12), and the S, e.g. (11.).
ine-/ena-/in-/en- for the P, e.g. (13).

2DU/2PL show agreement in the neutral pattern (S/A/P). For example, 2PL has the following agreement markers.

-tək for the S, e.g. (14), the A, e.g. (13) and the P, e.g. (15).

(14) *Tuju   qol-la-tək-Ø.*
       2PL.ABS stand.up-PL-2PL.S-PF
       'You (DU) have stood up.'

(15) *Muсɣ-ə-nan tuju   mət-oʕal-la-tək-Ø.*
       1PL-E-ERG   2PL.ABS 1PL.A-await-PL-2PL.P-PF
       'We (PL) have waited for you (PL).'

[2] Noun-predicate sentences
In noun-predicate sentences, the predicate (which involves a noun) includes a person-plus-number marker that agrees with the S, e.g. (16).

(16) a. *en'pici-jɣəm*   (father-1SG.S)   'I am a father.'
       b. *en'pici-muji*   (father-1DU.S)   'We (DU) are fathers.'
       c. *en'pici-muju.*   (father-1PL.S)   'We (PL) are fathers.'
       d. *en'pici-jɣi.*   (father-2SG.S)   'You (SG) are a father.'
       e. *en'pici-tuji.*   (father-2DU.S)   'You (DU) are fathers.'
       f. *en'pici-tuju.*   (father-2PL.S)   'You (PL) are fathers.'
       g. *en'pic-Ø.*   (father-3SG.S)   'He is a father.'
       h. *en'pici-t.*   (father-3DU.S)   'They (DU) are fathers.'
       i. *en'pici-w.*   (father-3PL.S)   'They (PL) are fathers.'

These forms are also used for appositive expressions, e.g. *en'pici-jɣəm* 'I, a father'.

[3] Adjective-predicate sentences
Where the predicate is an adjective, the sentence has an agreement marker for verb-predicate sentences or one for noun-predicate sentences, depending on the type of predication: (i) event predication, which describes a temporary condition of a nominal entity, and (ii) property predication, which describes a more or less permanent property of a nominal entity.

For event predication, agreement markers for intransitive verb-predicate sentences are employed. See Table 1 above. To be precise, the forms for the combination of non-future and imperfect are used. An example of event predication is the following. The predicate involves *-ŋ* 'NFUT.IPF' and also *-Ø* '3SG.S'.

(17) *Ecɣi ənno   unmək   ko-ŋot-at-ə-ŋ-Ø.*
     now 3SG.ABS very.much NFUT.IPF-angry-VBLZ-E-NFUT.IPF-3SG.S
     'Now he/she is very angry.'

For property predication, agreement markers for noun-predicate sentences (cf. (16)) are used. All of them are shown in (18).

(18) a. *n-ə-mejŋ-ə-jɣəm.*   (PRP-E-big-E-1SG.TOP)   'I am big.'
      b. *n-ə-mejŋ-ə-muji.*   (PRP-E-big-E-1DU.TOP)   'We (DU) are big.'
      c. *n-ə-mejŋ-ə-muju.*   (PRP-E-big-E-1PL.TOP)   'We (PL) are big.'
      d. *n-ə-mejŋ-ə-jɣe.*   (PRP-E-big-E-2SG.TOP)   'You (SG) are big.'
      e. *n-ə-mejŋ-ə-tuji.*   (PRP-E-big-E-2DU.TOP)   'You (DU) are big.'
      f. *n-ə-mejŋ-ə-tuju.*   (PRP-E-big-E-2PL.TOP)   'You (PL) are big.'
      g. *n-ə-mejəŋ-qin-Ø.*   (PRP-E-big-3TOP-SG)   'He/she is big.'
      h. *n-ə-mejəŋ-qine-t.*   (PRP-E-big-3TOP-DU)   'They (DU) are big.'
      i. *n-ə-mejəŋ-qine-w.*   (PRP-E-big-3TOP-PL)   'They (PL) are big.'

The forms shown in (18) differ from those shown in (16) in the following three respects. (i) All the forms listed are preceded by the prefix *n-*, which is the marker for property predication (Kurebito 2010). This prefix is followed by the epenthetic vowel *ə*. (ii) The same epenthetic vowel occurs immediately before the agreement marker of 1SG to 2PL. (iii) From 3SG to 3PL, the third person topic marker *-qin/ -qine* occurs immediately before the third person agreement marker. (In effect, the second occurrence of the epenthetic vowel and the third person topic marker exhibit a complementary distribution.)

The forms for 1SG to 2PL do not contain an overt topic marker. Nonetheless, the gloss 'TOP' is added to their glosses, in accordance with the third person forms.

An example of property predication is (19). Like (17), (19) contains the adjective root *ŋot* 'angry'. The predicate involves *-qen-Ø* '3TOP-SG'.

(19) *ənno   unmək   n-ə-ŋot-qen-Ø.*
     3SG.ABS very.much PRP-E-angry-3TOP-SG
     'He/she is by nature very short-tempered.'

4.2 Adnominal clauses

4.2.1 Introductory notes

Koryak employs two main strategies to form adnominal clauses ("ACs") (or relative clauses): (i) the participial strategy, which involves a participle (4.2.2) and (ii) the finite subordinate strategy, which employs a finite verb and a relativizer (e.g. a

Tab. 3: Koryak relativization strategies and Accessibility Hierarchy.

AH	Explicitness		participle (LH/JQ)	finite: relative adverb	finite: relative pronoun
High	Less explicit	S	+	–	–
		A	–	–	–
		direct P	+	–	–
		indirect P		?	
		oblique noun	–	+	–
		possessive	–	–	+
Low	More explicit	object of comparison	–	–	–

Legend: + acceptable; ? marginally acceptable; – unacceptable.

relative pronoun, a relative adverb) (4.2.3) (Kurebito 2008a, 2008b). The use of these two strategies exhibits a complementary distribution as per Keenan & Comrie's (1977) Accessibility Hierarchy. See Table 3. Specifically, NPs in a higher position on the hierarchy are modified by the less explicit strategy, namely the participle strategy, and NPs in a lower position are modified by the more explicit strategy, namely the finite subordinate strategy. (As it stands, the A (ERG) cannot be relativized on. It has to be turned into the S, by means of S/A alternation, to be relativized on).

As mentioned in Section 3, the relative order of a noun and its modifier is not fixed. An AC may precede or follow the head noun.

4.2.2 Participial strategy

In the participial strategy, Koryak mainly employs two nominalizer suffixes: *-lʕ* (abbreviated as "LH") and *-jo-lqəl* ("JQ"; mentioned in Section 1). The structure of participial ACs can be schematized as follows. The nominalizer suffix is LH or JQ. "X" represents an argument (or arguments), and "Y" an adjunct (or adjuncts). They are optional.

(20) Structure of Koryak participial ACs
(X) (Y) Verb + Nominalizer suffix (LH or JQ) + Person-plus-number suffix

Both LH and JQ are attached to verb stems. They produce stems that refer to the S or the P (in the absolutive case). (That is, the formation of these participles operates in the ergative-absolutive system: A vs. S/P.) For example, the relevant stem refers to the S in (21) ('boy') and (23) ('boy'), and to the P in (22) ('book') and (24) ('knife').

LH and JQ differ in terms of time reference. LH describes a situation that precedes that of the main clause, e.g. (21), or a situation that is concurrent with that of the main clause, e.g. (22). JQ refers to (i) a situation that follows the situation

described by the main clause, e.g. (23), (24), and (ii) (where the main clause is absent) a situation in the future, e.g. (47), (48). In addition, JQ may indicate obligation ('have to', 'should'), schedule ('be supposed to'), expectation ('be expected to'), or intention, depending on the context. See (46) to (48), given in 5.2.3.

Examples of participial ACs follow. (21) and (22) contain LH, and (23) and (24) contain JQ. The AC is shown with braces. The interjection *ʕamin* is often inserted between the head noun and the AC as the sentence is expanded. It shows the beginning of the AC.

(21) *ɣəm-nan liɣi   t-ə-ku-lŋ-ə-ŋ-ə-n   qajəkmiŋ-ə-n,*
    1SG-ERG know 1SG.A-E-NFUT.IPF-regard-E-NFUT.IPF-E-3SG.P boy-E-ABS.SG
    {ʕamin ajɣəve   jet-ə-lʕ-ə-n   ŋalvəlʕ-ə-ŋqo}.
    INTRJ yesterday come-E-LH-E-ABS.SG herd-E-ABL
    'I know the boy who came from the herd yesterday.'

(22) *ɣəm-nan liɣi   t-ə-ku-lŋ-ə-ŋ-ə-n*
    1SG-ERG know 1SG.A-E-NFUT.IPF-regard-E-NFUT.IPF-E-3SG.P
    kalikal,   {ʕamin ecɣi qajəkmiŋ-a   jəlŋ-ə-lʕ-ə-n}.
    book (ABS.SG) INTRJ now boy-INS(ERG) read-E-LH-E-ABS.SG
    'I know the book that the boy is reading now.'

(23) *ɣəm-nan liɣi   t-ə-ku-lŋ-ə-ŋ-ə-n   qajəkmiŋ-ə-n,*
    1SG-ERG know 1SG.A-E-NFUT.IPF-regard-E-NFUT.IPF-E-3SG.P boy-E-ABS.SG
    {ʕamin mitiw   lajv-ə-jo-lqəl-Ø   tənop-etəŋ}.
    INTRJ tomorrow walk-E-JQ-ABS.SG hill-ALL
    'I know the boy who will walk to the hill tomorrow.'

(24) *ɣəm-nan wutku t-ə-leʕu-n-Ø   wala-Ø,   {ʕamin mitiw*
    1SG-ERG here   1SG.A-E-see-3PL.P-PF knife-ABS.SG INTRJ tomorrow
    ʕojacek-a   java-jolqəl-Ø}.
    man-INS(ERG) use-JQ-ABS.SG
    'I saw the knife which the man will use tomorrow.'

In ACs that involve JQ, the A in ACs generally occurs in the ergative case, e.g. (22) ('boy-INS(ERG)), (24) ('man-INS(ERG)), (48) ('1SG-ERG'), but it rarely occurs in the genitive case, e.g. (46) ('1SG-GEN').

4.2.3 Finite subordinate strategy

The finite subordinate strategy employs a finite predicate for ACs. It modifies the oblique NPs and possessor nouns, with the help of a relativizer, such as a relative adverb, e.g. (25), and a relative pronoun, e.g. (26).

(25) *wejem-Ø,* {*miŋki ʕamin ajɣəve   ɣəcci*
    river-ABS.SG where INTRJ yesterday 2SG.ABS
    k-ejeʕo-ŋ-Ø}
    NFUT.IPF-fish-NFUT.IPF-2SG.S
    'the river where you were fishing yesterday'

(26) *el'ʕa-Ø,*   {*ʕamin qun   mikən ŋavakək-Ø   malaw-ja-k*
    woman-ABS.SG INTRJ INTRJ whose daughter-ABS.SG cure-yurt-LOC
    ko-vetat-ə-ŋ-Ø   *doktor-o*}
    NFUT.IPF-work-E-NFUT.IPF-3SG.S doctor-ESS
    'the woman whose daughter works as a doctor at the hospital'

In passing, I note that Koryak does not seem to have ACs of the type that Tsunoda (this volume-b, 4.2.2-[2]) refers to as "the addition type". Tsunoda (this volume-a, 5.4) notes that most of the languages that have a prototypical MMC or an MMC close to its prototype have ACs of the addition type. Koryak has neither a prototypical MMC nor ACs of the addition type.

5 Quasi-mermaid construction ("QMMC")

5.1 Introductory notes

As noted in Section 1, Koryak does not have a structure that exactly conforms to the prototypical MMC. Nonetheless, it has a structure that can be regarded as a variant of the MMC – a quasi-MMC ("QMMC") – because of its semantic, morphological, and syntactic similarities to the MMC.

The principal characteristics of the Koryak QMMC can be summarized as follows.

(a) The structure of the Koryak QMMC can be demonstrated as in (27), which is based on (3). "(JQ or GN)" has been added.

(27) The Koryak QMMC:
     (X) (Y) Verb + Nominalizer suffix (JQ or GN) + Person-plus-number suffix.

(b) The JQ-suffix (*-jo-lqəl*) is a nominalizer suffix that forms agentive/patientive nouns, while the GN-suffix (*-ɣiŋ*) is a nominalizer suffix that derives action nouns. The nominalizer suffixes are attached to verb stems.
(c) The Noun slot is occupied by the nominalizer suffix JQ or GN, not by an independent noun. (In this respect, the Koryak QMMC departs from the prototype of the MMC.)

(d) The JQ-words (words formed with JQ) and GN-words (words formed with GN) used as the predicate of the QMMC do not take any case marking. (This is despite the fact that both JQ and GN are noun-stem-forming suffixes.) They take a person-plus-number suffix that agrees with the S or the P. That is, the agreement in the QMMC operates in the ergative-absolutive pattern (A vs. S/P).

(e) As mentioned in Section 1, Koryak has a verb that can be called a copula verb, but this verb is not used in the QMMC. That is, the Copula slot is not filled with a copula. (In this respect, too, the Koryak QMMC departs from the prototype.) Instead, a person-plus-number suffix is attached to JQ or GN and indicates that the JQ-word or the GN-word is the predicate (not a noun used as an argument or an adjunct).

(f) With JQ-words and GN-words used for the QMMC, the arguments (i.e. the A in the ergative case, and the S and the P in the absolutive case) and adjuncts (both oblique nouns and adverbs (which have no overt case suffix) can occur, as is the case with full-fledged sentences. (There is one exception to this. A GN-word agrees with the P in the absolutive, and the A is either deleted or presented in the dative case, e.g. (55) ('1SG.DAT'), (56) ('sister-ANM.SG-DAT'). The A occurs in the ergative in independent sentences, e.g. (12) ('1SG-ERG').)

(g) JQ-words and GN-words for the QMMC primarily express a modal meaning, to be precise, a deontic meaning, such as obligation (in the past, at the present time or in the future) ('have to', 'must', 'should'). In addition, JQ-words may indicate schedule, expectation ('be supposed to', 'be expected to') or intention, depending on the context.

(h) JQ-words have three uses, including their use in the QMMC:

(i)   arguments in sentences;
(ii) the predicate of adnominal clauses ("ACs"), and;
(iii) the predicate of the QMMC.

GN-words have three uses, including their use in the QMMC:

(i)   arguments in sentences;
(ii) the predicate of nominal clauses, and;
(iii) the predicate of the QMMC.

These three uses of each of JQ-words and GN-words exhibit a cline of degree of nounhood, and conversely, a cline of degree of verbhood, in the following order: (i) > (ii) > (iii). That is, among the three uses, (iii) (their use in the QMMC) shows the highest degree of verbhood.

It is not known if the nominalizers JQ and GN derived from a noun.

We shall examine the use of JQ-words in 5.2, including their use in the QMMC (5.2.1), and the use of GN-words in 5.3, including their use in the QMMC (5.3.1).

5.2 JQ-words

We shall look at the three uses of JQ-words: use as the predicate of the QMMC (5.2.1), use as arguments in sentences (5.2.2) and use as the predicate of adnominal clauses (5.2.3). We shall provide further discussions of JQ-words in 5.2.4 to 5.2.8.

5.2.1 JQ-words as the predicate of the QMMC

[1] Semantics

JQ-words used as the predicate of the QMMC primarily express a modal meaning, to be precise, a deontic meaning, such as obligation (in the past, at the present time or in the future) ('have to', 'must', 'should'). In addition, JQ-words may indicate schedule, expectation ('be expected to', 'be supposed to') or intention, depending on the context. This applies to the JQ-words used in the QMMC.

[2] Agreement: markers, parameters and pattern

JQ-words used in the QMMC take the same set of person-plus-number suffixes as those used in noun-predicate sentences. (These suffixes are illustrated in (16).) However, there is a difference regarding their use. In noun-predicate sentences, these suffixes agree only with the S. See (16). In contrast, in the QMMC, they agree with the S in intransitive sentences, and with the P in transitive sentences. That is, the agreement operates in the ergative-absolutive pattern (A vs. S/P).

(28) shows the paradigm of JQ-words for the QMMC derived from the intransitive verb stem *va* 'stay'. The person-plus-number suffix agrees with the S. The examples in (29) contain the transitive verb stem *ʕajŋaw* 'call'. The person-plus-number suffix agrees with the P.

There is no restriction on the person of the S or the A; it can be the first person, the second person, or the third person.

(28) a. *va-jo-lqəl-eɣəm.*　(1SG.S)　'I should stay.'
     b. *va-jo-lqəl-moje.*　(1DU.S)　'We (DU) should stay.'
     c. *va-jo-lqəl-mojo.*　(1PL.S)　'We (PL) should stay.'
     d. *va-jo-lqəl-eɣe.*　(2SG.S)　'You (SG) should stay.'
     e. *va-jo-lqəl-toje.*　(2DU.S)　'You (DU) should stay.'
     f. *va-jo-lqəl-tojo.*　(2PL.S)　'You (PL) should stay.'
     g. *va-jo-lqəl-Ø.*　(3SG.S)　'He/She should stay.'
     h. *va-jo-lqəl-te.*　(3DU.S)　'They (DU) should stay.'
     i. *va-jo-lqəl-o.*　(3PL.S)　'They (PL) should stay.'

(29) a. *ʕajŋaw-jo-lqəl-eɣəm*. (1SG.P) '(Someone) should call me.'
b. *ʕajŋaw-jo-lqəl-moje*. (1DU.P) '(Someone) should call us (DU).'
c. *ʕajŋaw-jo-lqəl-mojo*. (1PL.P) '(Someone) should call us (PL).'
d. *ʕajŋaw-jo-lqəl-eɣe*. (2SG.P) '(Someone) should call you (SG).'
e. *ʕajŋaw-jo-lqəl-toje*. (2DU.P) '(Someone) should call you (DU).'
f. *ʕajŋaw-jo-lqəl-tojo*. (2PL.P) '(Someone) should call you (PL).'
g. *ʕajŋaw-jo-lqəl-Ø*. (3SG.P) '(Someone) should call him/her.'
h. *ʕajŋaw-jo-lqəl-te*. (3DU.P) '(Someone) should call them (DU).'
i. *ʕajŋaw-jo-lqəl-o*. (3PL.P) '(Someone) should call them (PL).'

[3] Arguments

The arguments in the JQ-QMMC behave exactly like those in full-fledged sentences. The S and the P occur in the absolute case, e.g. (30), (31), (33), (34), while the A occurs in the ergative case, e.g. (32). (The verb in (34) is intransitive, despite its English translation 'eat'.)

(30) *ɣəmmo   ecɣi   qəc-co-lqəl-eɣəm ŋelvəlʕ-etəŋ.*
1SG.ABS today go-JQ-1SG.S   herd-ALL
'I should go to the herd today.'

(31) *ɣəmmo   ajɣəve   janot qəc-co-lqəl-eɣəm ŋelvəlʕ-etəŋ.*
1SG.ABS yesterday first go-JQ-1SG.S   herd-ALL
'I had to go to the herd first yesterday.'

(32) *Mitiw   ɣ-ə-nan   ŋəlvəlʕ-ə-ŋqo   jəle-jo-lqəl-Ø*
tomorrow 2SG-E-ERG reindeer.herd-E-ABL bring-JQ-3SG.P
təm-jo-n
kill-NMLZ-ABS.SG
'You should bring a killed reindeer from the herd tomorrow.'

(33) *Ekilu mitiw   je-muqe-juʕ-ə-ŋ-Ø   to   ənno   jaja-k*
if   tomorrow FUT-rain-begin-E-FUT-3SG.S and 3SG.ABS house-LOC
va-jo-lqəl-Ø.
stay-JQ-3SG.S
'If it starts raining tomorrow, then he/she should stay home.'

(34) *əccu   awje-jo-lqəl-o awje-ja-k.*
3PL.ABS eat-JQ-3PL.S   eat-house-LOC
'They should eat at the buffet.'

[4] Adjuncts: oblique nouns and adverbs

Oblique nouns and adverbs (which have no overt case suffix) can occur in the JQ-QMMC, e.g. (30) to (34).

5.2.2 JQ-words as arguments in sentences

[1] Meaning and formation

As noted in 5.1-(g) and 5.2.1-[1], JQ-words may indicate obligation, schedule, expectation, or intention. This applies when they are used as arguments in sentences.

When attached to an intransitive verb, JQ produces an agentive noun that means 'the S who/that is/was supposed to do (Vi)', e.g. (35). When attached to a transitive verb, it produces a patientive noun that means 'the P which someone (the A) is/was supposed to do (Vt)', e.g. (36). Note that the formation of these nouns operates in the ergative-absolutive pattern: A vs. S/P.

(35) a. *va-jo-lqəl-Ø*
        stay-JQ-ABS.SG
        'a person who is/was supposed to stay'
     b. *va-jo-lqəl-te*
        stay-JQ-ABS.DU
        '(two) persons who are/were supposed to stay'
     c. *va-jo-lqəl-o*
        stay-JQ-ABS.PL
        '(more than two) persons who are/were supposed to stay'

(36) a. *tajk-ə-jo-lqəl-Ø*
        make-E-JQ-ABS.SG
        'a thing which someone is/was supposed to make'
     b. *tajk-ə-jo-lqəl-te*
        make-E-JQ-ABS.DU
        '(two) things which someone is/was supposed to make'
     c. *tajk-ə-jo-lqəl-o*
        make-E-JQ-ABS.PL
        '(more than two) things which someone is/was supposed to make'

[2] Agreement and case marking

JQ-words used as arguments inflect for case-plus-number (but not for person) and show agreement with the predicate verb. To the best of my knowledge, their case marking is restricted to the absolutive and the locative cases. (37) and (38) are examples of the absolutive for the S. (39) is an example of the absolutive for the P. This agreement operates in the ergative-absolutive pattern (A vs. S/P). (40) is an example of the locative. (The verb *minnine* is an intransitive verb, despite its English translation 'join'.) The instrumental case, for example, is not allowed. (41), in which the instrumental case is used for the A (i.e. the ergative case), is unacceptable.

(37) *Taŋataw-jo-lqəl-Ø   ecɣi ku-jəlqet-ə-ŋ-Ø.*
get.dressed-JQ-ABS.SG now NFUT.IPF-sleep-E-NFUT.IPF-3SG.S
'The one who is supposed to dress himself/herself is sleeping now.'

(38) *ʕajŋaw-jo-lqəl-Ø miŋkəje amu   ɣe-lq-ə-lin.*
call-JQ-ABS.SG where   probably RES-leave-E-3SG.S
'The one whom someone was supposed to call has probably gone somewhere.'

(39) *ɣəm-nan təne-jo-lqəl-Ø   t-ə-ntəmŋev-ə-n-Ø.*
1SG-ERG sew-JQ-ABS.SG 1SG.A-E-lose-E-3SG.P-PF
'I have lost the one which I was supposed to sew.'

(40) *Jeŋa-jo-lqəl-ə-k mitiw   ɣe-minnine-te.*
fly-JQ-E-LOC   tomorrow COM-join-COM
'Join the one who is supposed to fly tomorrow.'

(41) **Jeŋa-jo-lqəl-a   na-k-enajej-ɣe*
fly-JQ-INS(ERG) INV-NFUT.IPF-look.for-2SG.P
'The one who is supposed to fly is looking for you.'

[3] The agent argument

For a JQ-word with a transitive verb, the agent NP of a JQ-word must be in the genitive case, and cannot be in the ergative case; see (42). This is an instance of Givón's (2001: 25) observation that the subject and/or the object acquire genitive case-marking through nominalization.

(42) *ɣəm-nin / *ɣəm-nan ʕajŋaw-jo-lqəl-Ø miŋkəje amu   ɣe-lq-ə-lin.*
1SG-GEN / *1SG-ERG call-JQ-ABS.SG where   probably RES-leave-E-3SG.S
'The one whom I was supposed to call has probably gone somewhere.'

Compare (42) with a full-fledged sentence such as (43), in which the transitive *ʕajŋaw* 'call' takes the following case frame: 'agent-ERG patient-ABS'.

(43) *ɣəm-nan ʕojacek-Ø   t-ə-ʕajŋav-ə-n-Ø.*
1SG-ERG man-ABS.SG 1SG.A-E-call-E-3SG.P-PF
'I have called a man.'

[4] Adjuncts: oblique nouns and adverbs

A JQ-word used as an argument can take an oblique noun, e.g. (44) ('Magadan-ALL'). However, adverbs (which have no overt case suffix), such as temporal adverbs, are not permitted; see (45). The reason for this is not known.

(44) *Magadan-etəŋ jeŋa-jo-lqəl-Ø jeppə ko-tva-ŋ-Ø*
Magadan-ALL fly-JQ-ABS.SG yet NFUT.IPF-stay-NFUT.IPF-3SG.S
ŋelvəlʕ-ə-k.
reindeer.herd-E-LOC
'The one who is supposed to fly to Magadan is still in the reindeer herd.'

(45) **Mitiw va-jo-lqəl-Ø jaja-k ecɣi ʕeqev-i-Ø*
tomorrow stay-JQ-ABS.SG yurt-LOC now leave-PF-3SG.S
ŋelvəlʕ-ə-k.
reindeer.herd-E-LOC
'The one who is supposed to stay home tomorrow has left for the reindeer herd.'

5.2.3 JQ-words as the predicate of adnominal clauses

[1] Meaning
As noted in 4.2.2, a JQ-word used as the predicate of adnominal clauses ("ACs")
(or relative clauses) refers to (i) a situation that follows the situation described by
the main clause and (ii) – in the absence of a main clause – a situation in the
future. In addition, a JQ-word may indicate obligation ('have to', 'should'), sched-
ule, expectation ('be supposed to', 'be expected to'), or intention, depending on
the context.

[2] Agreement and case marking
JQ-words used as the predicate of ACs inflect for case-plus-number (but not for
person). They refer to the S or the P. (That is, this agreement operates in the erga-
tive-absolutive pattern: A vs. S/P.) JQ-words used as the predicate of ACs have only
one case: the absolutive. In terms of case marking, the JQ-words used as the predi-
cate in ACs are more limited than JQ-words used as an argument (5.2.2-[2]); the
latter occurs in two cases: absolutive and locative.

[3] The agent argument
Like JQ-words used as arguments, JQ-words used as the predicate of ACs can take
an agent NP. Recall that, with JQ-words used as arguments, the agent NP has to
occur in the genitive, and cannot occur in the ergative case; see (41). In contrast,
with JQ-words used as the predicate of ACs, the agent NP can be in the ergative
case, e.g. (24) ('man-INS(ERG)'), although the genitive case also rarely occurs, e.g.
(46) ('1SG.GEN').

(46) {*ɣəm-nin təne-jo-lqəl-Ø*} *icʕ-ə-n t-ə-ntəmŋev-ə-n-Ø*
1SG-GEN sew-JQ-ABS.SG fur.coat-E-ABS.SG 1SG.A-E-lose-E-3SG.P-PF
'I have lost the fur coat that I was supposed to (or I should) sew.'

[4] Adjuncts: oblique nouns and adverbs

Furthermore, ACs whose predicate is a JQ-word can contain oblique nouns and adverbs (which have no overt case suffix). Examples involving an oblique noun include (23) ('hill-ALL') and (47) ('house-LOC'). Those involving an adverb include (23) ('tomorrow'), (24) ('tomorrow'), (47) ('today'), and (48) ('tomorrow'). (The verb in (47) is an intransitive verb, despite its English translation 'clean'. This JQ-word refers to the S ('aunt').)

(47) *əccaj-Ø,* {*ʕamin ecɣi jaja-k ŋajqətva-jo-lqəl-Ø*}
    aunt-ABS.SG INTRJ today house-LOC clean-JQ-ABS.SG
    'the aunt who is supposed to clean in the house today'

(48) *kalikal,* {*ʕamin ɣəm-nan mitiw akmec-co-lqəl-Ø*}
    book(ABS.SG) INTRJ 1SG-ERG tomorrow buy-JQ-ABS.SG
    'the book that I should (or, intend to) buy tomorrow'

5.2.4 Comparison of the JQ-QMMC with other constructions

We have seen the three uses of JQ-words: as the predicate of the QMMC (5.2.1), as arguments (5.2.2), and as the predicate of ACs (5.2.3). We now recapitulate the commonalities and the differences among these three uses. We shall also compare the JQ-words in these three uses with typical nouns and finite verbs. Finite verbs are used as the predicate of independent sentences. That is, we shall also compare the JQ-QMMC with independent sentences and ACs.

The result of this comparison is shown in Table 4. The constructions examined constitute a cline in terms of the degree of nounhood or conversely in terms of the degree of verbhood.

[1] Agreement parameters

Typical nouns (Section 3), JQ-words used as arguments (5.2.2-[2]) and JQ-words used in ACs (5.2.3-[2]) inflect for case-plus-number (but not for person). In contrast, JQ-words in the QMMC (5.2.1-[2]) and finite verbs (used in independent sentences; 4.1) inflect for person-plus-number (but not for case).

[2] Agreement pattern

The agreement operates in the ergative-absolutive pattern (A vs. S/P) with JQ-words used as arguments (5.2.2-[2]), JQ-words used in ACs (5.2.3-[2]), and JQ-words used in the QMMC (5.2.1-[2]). With finite verbs, it generally operates in the nominative-accusative pattern (A/S vs. P), but it partially employs the neutral pattern (4.1-[1]). This criterion is irrelevant to typical nouns.

[3] Number of cases

Typical nouns have twelve cases (Section 3). Argument JQ-words have two cases: absolutive and locative (5.2.2-[2]). JQ-words in ACs have only one case: absolutive (5.2.3-[2]). JQ-words used in the QMMC have no case. This criterion is irrelevant to finite verbs.

[4] Case marking of the agent NP

For a JQ-word with a transitive verb, the agent NP takes the genitive case with JQ-words as arguments (5.2.2-[3]), the ergative or rarely the genitive with JQ-words in ACs (5.2.3-[3]), and the ergative in the QMMC (e.g. (32)) and with finite verbs (e.g. (12)). This criterion is irrelevant to typical nouns.

[5] Oblique nouns

Oblique nouns can occur with JQ-words as arguments (5.2.2-[4]), JQ-words in ACs (5.2.3-[4]), JQ-words in the QMMC (e.g. 'herd-LOC' (30)) and finite verbs. This criterion is irrelevant to typical nouns.

[6] Adverbs (with no overt suffix)

Adverbs (which have no overt suffix) can occur with JQ-words in ACs (5.2.3-[4]), JQ-words in the QMMC (e.g. 'today' in (30)), and finite verbs, but not with JQ-words as arguments (5.2.2-[4]). This criterion is irrelevant to typical nouns.

[7] Verbal inflection

Finite verbs inflect for mood, tense and aspect (Section 3). But JQ-words do not; the suffix JQ is attached to verb stems (5.1). This criterion is irrelevant to typical nouns.

The result of the comparison above is summarized in Table 4. The criterion (h), which looks at semantics, is added, for readers' convenience. The criteria (c) and (g) deal with morphology, while the remaining criteria, i.e. (a), (b), (d), (e) and (f), may be said to concern syntax.

Naturally, typical nouns have a full status as a noun, and finite verbs (used in independent sentences) have a full status as a verb. In terms of the criteria (a) to (g) (though not (h)), Table 4 exhibits a cline of nounhood, and conversely, a cline of verbhood. Among the three uses of JQ-words, JQ-words used as arguments have the highest degree of nounhood (and the lowest degree of verbhood), followed by JQ-words used in ACs, which are in turn followed by JQ-words in the QMMC. That is, JQ-words in the QMMC have the highest degree of verbhood.

Tab. 4: Comparison of JQ-QMMC with other constructions.

	nounhood				verbhood
	typical noun	JQ: argument	JQ: AC	JQ: QMMC	finite verb
(a) agreement parameters	case+ number	case+ number	case+ number	person+ number	person+ number
(b) agreement pattern	…	A vs. S/P	A vs. S/P	A vs. S/P	A/S vs. P, A/S/P
(c) cases	12	2	1	zero	…
(d) agent NP	…	GEN	ERG, GEN	ERG	ERG
(e) oblique noun	…	+	+	+	+
(f) adverb	…	−	+	+	+
(g) mood, tense, aspect	…	−	−	−	+
(h) meaning of JQ	…	obligation, schedule, expectation, intention	situation that follows, future, obligation, schedule, expectation, intention	obligation, schedule, expectation, intention	…

Legend: +: acceptable or obligatory; −: unacceptable; …: irrelevant.

5.2.5 Degree of sentencehood

We have considered the three uses of JQ-words in terms of nounhood and verb-hood. We can also look at their degree of sentencehood. Among the three uses of JQ-words, sentences that contain a JQ-word used as an argument have the lowest degree of sentencehood, and the QMMC has the highest degree of sentencehood.

The JQ-QMMC exhibits the following situation. In terms of (g), which is one of the two morphological criteria, the JQ-QMMC lacks a property of independent sentences. However, regarding (c), the other morphological criterion, the JQ-QMMC possesses a property of independent sentences. In terms of the syntactic criteria, i.e. (a), (b), (d), (e) and (f), the JQ-QMMC possesses all the properties of independent sentences, which contain a finite verb as the predicate. That is, the JQ-QMMC has a very high degree of sentencehood.

5.2.6 Can the Clause be used as a sentence by itself?

As noted in Section 1, Tsunoda (this volume-a, 2.1) proposes that the prototype of the mermaid construction (hereafter, "MMC") has five properties, two of which are repeated below.

(a) The structure is as shown in (1) – superficially at least.
(d) The Clause can be used as a sentence by itself.

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

The situation in Koryak is as follows. The structure of the Koryak QMMC can be shown as in (27). Recall that word order in Koryak is not fixed.

(27) The Koryak QMMC:
    [(X) (Y) V] + Nominalizer suffix (JQ or GN) + Person-plus-number suffix.

The Clause is shown in square brackets. For example, (5) can be shown as follows. Note that in (49) the Clause is divided into two parts.

(49) [*ɣəm-nan inʕe ʕajŋaw*]-*jo-lqəl-Ø* [*qajəkmiŋ-ə-n*].
    1SG-ERG   soon call-JQ-3SG.P   boy-E-ABS.SG
    'I should call the boy soon.'

The Clause of the JQ-QMMC cannot be used as a sentence by itself. The predicate of the Clause is a verb stem, which is followed by the Noun slot (which is occupied by a nominalizer suffix). The verb stem is not inflected for mood, tense or aspect (cf. Section 3), and consequently the Clause cannot be used as a sentence by itself. In this respect, the JQ-QMMC departs from the prototype.

5.2.7 Is the QMMC bi-clausal or mono-clausal?

We shall examine the following two issues regarding Koryak.

(a) Does the QMMC contain an adnominal clause ("AC")?
(b) Is the QMMC bi-clausal or mono-clausal?

The structure of the prototype of the MMC is as shown in (1). Superficially at least, it looks as if the prototypical MMC is bi-clausal. In some of the languages reported in the present volume, the Clause of the MMC looks similar to an adnominal clause ("AC") (or a relative clause) of the respective languages and consequently it looks as if the MMC is bi-clausal, with an AC as a subordinate clause.

In Koryak, too, it may look as if the JQ-QMMC contains an AC. The structure of the Koryak QMMC (shown in (27)) and that of Koryak participial ACs (shown in (20) and repeated below) look similar.

(20) Structure of Koryak participial ACs
    (X) (Y) Verb + Nominalizer suffix + Person-plus-number suffix

Furthermore, the nominalizer suffix JQ can be used in both (27) (cf. 5.1) and (20) (cf. 4.2.2). It may look as if the JQ-QMMC is bi-clausal, with an AC as a subordinate clause.

However, languages such as Modern Standard Japanese (Tsunoda, this volume-b, Section 6) and Korean (Kim, this volume, Section 6) yield ample evidence that their MMC does not contain an AC and that it is syntactically mono-clausal, not bi-clausal, despite its superficial appearance (shown in (1)). (See Tsunoda (this volume-a, 3.4.2).) In view of this, it is important to examine the two issues listed above.

The situation in Koryak is as follows. First, see Table 4. ACs with JQ and the JQ-MMC behave identically in terms of (b) agreement pattern, (e) oblique noun, (f) adverb, and (g) mood, tense, aspect. However, they behave differently in terms of (a) agreement parameters, (c) number of cases, and (d) case of the agent NP. That is, it is not justifiable to say that the JQ-QMMC contains a participial AC with JQ.

Second, a participial AC with JQ occurs with a head noun, e.g. (21) to (24). However, the JQ-QMMC does not and cannot occur with any head noun. This is a fundamental difference.

To conclude, the JQ-QMMC does not contain an AC. In fact, it does not contain any subordinate clause, and it should be considered mono-clausal, not bi-clausal.

5.2.8 Compound predicate

I have used the expression "the predicate of the QMMC" repeatedly. I now attempt to characterize the predicate of the JQ-MMC in some detail.

We saw in 5.2.7 that syntactically the JQ-QMMC should be considered mono-clausal, not bi-clausal. Then, it should have just one predicate, not two predicates. We now investigate what structure the predicate has.

As noted in 5.2.7, languages such as Modern Standard Japanese (Tsunoda, this volume-b, Section 6) and Korean (Kim, this volume, Section 6) provide ample evidence that syntactically their MMC is mono-clausal, not bi-clausal, and that their MMC has just one predicate, not two predicates. The predicate is a compound predicate that consists of the predicate of the Clause, the Noun and the Copula, as shown in (2).

(2) [... predicate of Clause]   Noun   Copula.
                compound predicate

The situation in the Koryak JQ-QMMC is as follows. The Noun slot is occupied by a nominalizer suffix (JQ), and JQ is attached to the verb of the Clause; the latter is a verb stem. The Copula slot is not filled with a copula. The Noun (a nominalizer suffix) is followed by a person-plus-number suffix instead, which occupies the Copula slot. Obviously, the verb stem and these two suffixes form a tight unit. They constitute the predicate of the JQ-QMMC. Nonetheless, this predicate will not be called a "compound" predicate, since suffixes are involved.

5.3 GN-words

We shall look at the three uses of GN-words: use as the predicate of the QMMC (5.3.1), use as arguments in sentences (5.3.2), and use as the predicate of nominal clauses (5.3.3). We shall provide further discussions of GN-words in 5.3.4 to 5.3.8.

5.3.1 GN-words in the QMMC

[1] Formation and semantics
Like the JQ-suffix, the GN-suffix is added to verb stems. Also, like JQ-words, GN-words primarily express a modal meaning, to be precise, a deontic meaning, such as obligation (in the past, at the present time or in the future) ('have to', 'must', 'should'). In addition, GN-words may indicate schedule, expectation ('be supposed to', 'be expected to') or intention, depending on the context. This applies to the GN-words used in the QMMC.

[2] Agreement: markers, parameters and pattern
Regarding person-plus-number suffixes, on the whole what was stated about the JQ-words for the QMMC (5.2.1-[2]) applies to the GN-words for the QMMC. Namely, they take the same set of person-plus-number suffixes as those used in noun-predicate sentences. (These suffixes are illustrated in (16).) However, there is one difference regarding their use. In noun-predicate sentences, these suffixes agree only with the S. See (16). In contrast, in the QMMC, they agree with the S in intransitive sentences, and with the P in transitive sentences. That is, the agreement operates in the ergative-absolutive pattern (A vs. S/P).

(50) shows the paradigm of GN-words for QMMC derived from the intransitive verb stem *qət* 'go'. The person-plus-number suffix agrees with the S. The examples in (51) contain the transitive verb stem *jawjat* 'feed'. The person-plus-number suffix agrees with the P.

There is no restriction on the person of the S or the A; it can be the first person, the second person, or the third person.

(50) a. *qət-ɣiŋ-eɣəm*.   (1SG.S)   'I should go.'
　　 b. *qət-ɣiŋ-ə-moje*.   (1DU.S)   'We (DU) should go.'
　　 c. *qət-ɣiŋ-ə-mojo*.   (1PL.S)   'We (PL) should go.'
　　 d. *qət-ɣiŋ-eɣe*.   (2SG.S)   'You (SG) should go.'
　　 e. *qət-ɣiŋ-ə-toje*.   (2DU.S)   'You (DU) should go.'
　　 f. *qət-ɣiŋ-ə-tojo*.   (2PL.S)   'You (PL) should go.'
　　 g. *qət-ɣiŋ-ə-n*.   (3SG.S)   'He/she should go.'
　　 h. *qət-ɣiŋ-ə-t*.   (3DU.S)   'They (DU) should go.'
　　 i. *qət-ɣiŋ-o*.   (3PL.S)   'They (PL) should go.'

(51) a. *jawjat-ɣiŋ-eɣəm*.   (1SG.P)   '(Someone) should feed me.'
　　 b. *jawjat-ɣiŋ-ə-moje*.   (1DU.P)   '(Someone) should feed us (DU).'
　　 c. *jawjat-ɣiŋ-ə-mojo*.   (1PL.P)   '(Someone) should feed us (PL).'
　　 d. *jawjat-ɣiŋ-eɣe*.   (2SG.P)   '(Someone) should feed you (SG).'
　　 e. *jawat-ɣiŋ-ə-toje*.   (2DU.P)   '(Someone) should feed you (DU).'
　　 f. *jawjat-ɣiŋ-ə-tojo*.   (2PL.P)   '(Someone) should feed you (PL)'
　　 g. *jawjat-ɣiŋ-ə-n*.   (3SG.P)   '(Someone) should feed him/her.'
　　 h. *jawjat-ɣiŋ-ə-t*.   (3DU.P)   '(Someone) should feed them (DU).'
　　 i. *jawjat-ɣiŋ-o*.   (3PL.P)   '(Someone) should feed them (PL).'

[3] Arguments

In the GN-QMMC, the S and the P in the Clause slot occur in the absolutive case, e.g. (52), (53) (the S), (54), (55), (56) (the P) – as is the case with the JQ-QMMC and with full-fledged sentences. However, the A may occur not only in the ergative case, e.g. (54), but also in the dative case, e.g. (55), (56) – in contrast with the JQ-QMMC and with full-fledged sentences, where the A occurs in the ergative case only, and not in the dative case. The A does not occur in the dative case in any other construction of Koryak.

(52) *Ekil   ɣəmle ɣəmmo   qət-ɣiŋ-eɣəm mašina-ta wojv-etəŋ.*
　　 besides again 1SG.ABS go-GN-1SG.S car-INS   village-ALL
　　 'Besides I should go to the village by car again.'

(53) *Ekil   ənno   an'pec-ə-ŋ   vəʕaj-paje-ɣiŋ-ə-n.*
　　 besides 3SG.ABS father-E-DAT grass-reap-GN-E-3SG.S
　　 'Besides he/she should mow for his/her father.'

(54) *Ekil   ənno   ɣəm-nan ta-ja-ŋ-ɣiŋ-ə-n.*
　　 besides 3SG.ABS 1SG-ERG make-yurt-make-GN-E-3SG.P
　　 'Besides I should set up a yurt for him/her.'

(55) *Ekil   ɣəmkəŋ ɣəcci   jawjat-ɣiŋ-eɣe.*
  besides 1SG.DAT 2SG.ABS feed-GN-2SG.P
  'Besides I should feed you.'

(56) *ɣəmle ŋano cakok-na-ŋ   elɣətaw-wiŋ-ə-n kəmiŋ-ə-n,   məjew*
  again this sister-ANM.SG-DAT clean-GN-E-3SG.P child-E-ABS.SG because
  unmək ɣe-tqeŋu-lin.
  very   RES-get.dirty-3SG.S
  '(The child's) sister$_i$ should clean the child, because he/she$_j$ got dirty very much.'

In the vast majority of the instances of the MMC reported in the present volume, the subject of the Clause has the same case as that of the subject of independent sentences. There are, however, a small number of exceptions to this general tendency. (See Tsunoda (this volume-a, 3.3.2.3). One of them is the dative marking of the A in the Koryak GN-QMMC, e.g. (55), (56). Other exceptions are observed in the Mitsukaido dialect of Japanese (Sasaki, this volume, 5.3.3) and Hindi (Imamura, this volume, 5.1.3.1-(c)).

[4] Adjuncts: oblique nouns and adverbs
Oblique nouns and adverbs can occur in the Clause, e.g. (52) to (56).

5.3.2 GN-words as arguments in sentences

[1] Meaning and formation
A GN-word used as an argument is an action noun. GN productively attaches to both intransitive and transitive verb stems. When attached to an intransitive verb stem, it produces a noun that means 'to do (Vi)' or 'do (Vi)-ing', e.g. (57). When attached to a transitive verb, it produces nouns that mean 'to do (Vt) something' or 'do (Vt)-ing something', e.g. (58).

(57) a. *wejcet-ɣiŋ-ə-n* (go.on.foot-GN-E-ABS.SG)   to go on foot', 'going on foot'
  b. *jonat-ɣiŋ-ə-n* (live-GN-E-ABS.SG)   'to live', 'living, life'
  c. *ojecvat-ɣiŋ-ə-n* (play-GN-E-ABS.SG)   'to play', 'playing'
  d. *l'ajvətko-ɣiŋ-ə-n* (walk-GN-E-ABS.SG) 'to walk', 'walking'

(58) a. *jawjat-ɣiŋ-ə-n* (feed-GN-E-ABS.SG)   'to feed someone',
                           'feeding someone'
  b. *japlajtat-ɣiŋ-ə-n* (boot-GN-E-ABS.SG) 'to boot someone',
                           'booting someone'

[2] Agreement and case marking

Case-plus-number marking varies from one GN-word to another. For instance, the GN-word *ojecvat-ɣiŋ-ə-n* 'playing' has the following five cases out of the twelve cases: the absolutive, the locative, the instrumental, e.g. (61), the dative, e.g. (62), and the causal cases. It inflects for the three numbers (SG/DU/PL) in the absolutive case, but it has only the singular form in the other four cases.

A GN-word in the absolutive case agrees with the S in intransitive sentences, e.g. (59), and with the P in transitive sentences, e.g. (60). In this respect, the agreement by GN-words operates in the ergative-absolutive system: A vs. S/P.

(59) *Qojalʕat-ɣiŋ-ə-n*   *inʕe*
     herd.reindeer.in.summer-GN-E-ABS.SG   soon
     k-ejmev-ə-ŋ-Ø.
     NFUT.IPF-approach-E-NFUT.IPF-3SG.S
     'Summer pasturing is coming soon.'

(60) *Kali-k*   *ɣa-kali-lin-Ø*   *ɣeŋət-ɣiŋ-ə-n.*
     book-LOC   RES-write-3SG.P-3SG.A   net.fish-GN-E-ABS.SG
     'In the book (someone) wrote (about) net-fishing.'

(61) *Ojecvat-ɣiŋ-a ɣəmmo*   *juleq*   *ŋanko t-ə-tva-k-Ø.*
     play-GN-INS   1SG.ABS   for.a.long.time   there   1SG.S-E-stay-1SG.S-PF
     'I stayed there for a long time by playing.'

(62) *ɣəmmo*   *ojecvat-ɣiŋ-ə-ŋ*   *t-ə-jiʕet-ə-k-Ø.*
     1SG.ABS   play-GN-E-DAT   1SG.S-E-be.delighted-E-1SG.S-PF
     'I was delighted at playing' or 'I enjoyed playing.'

[3] Adjuncts: oblique nouns and adverbs

GN-words used as arguments in sentences cannot take an adjunct, irrespective of whether it is an oblique noun or an adverb. See (59) to (62).

5.3.3 GN-words as the predicate of nominal clauses

GN-words can take the S or A, oblique nouns and adjuncts, and function as a nominal clause. A GN-word in a nominal clause occurs in the absolutive case. The entire nominal clause generally occurs in the object position of a transitive verb.

[1] The arguments: the S and the A

The S or the A of GN-words must be in the genitive, and cannot be in the absolutive case or the ergative case; see (63).

(63) *γəm-nin / *γəmmo   kalecet-γiŋ-ə-n   t-ə-kali-n-Ø*
    1SG-GEN / *1SG.ABS study-GN-E-ABS.SG 1SG.A-E-write-3SG.P-PF
    an'pece-jək-ə-ŋ.
    father-ANM.PL-E-DAT
    'I wrote to my parents (about) my study.'

The verb *kalecet* 'study' is an intransitive verb, but the S NP cannot occur in the absolutive case, and it has to occur in the genitive case. Also, consider:

(64) *γəm-nin / *γəm-nan   tajk-ə-γiŋ-ə-n   tuj-ujetik-Ø*
    1SG-GEN / *1SG.ERG make-E-GN-E-ABS.SG new-sledge-ABS.SG
    en'pici-te   liγi   ku-lŋ-ə-ŋ-ə-ni-n.
    father-INS(ERG) know NFUT.IPF-regard-E-NFUT.IPF-3SG.A-3SG.P
    'My father knows my making a new sledge.'

The verb *liγi lŋ-* 'know' is a transitive verb, but the A NP (i.e. the agent NP of a transitive verb) cannot occur in the ergative case, and it has to occur in the genitive case.

    The P of GN-words occurs in the absolutive case, e.g. (64).

    [2] Agreement
A GN-word used as the predicate of a nominal clause agrees with the S, e.g. (63) or the P, e.g. (64), in terms of case and number (but not person). It operates in the ergative-absolutive system: A vs. S/P.

    [3] Adjuncts: oblique nouns and adverbs
A GN-word used as the predicate of a nominal clause can take oblique nouns, e.g. (65) ('car-INS', 'village-ALL') and (66) ('big-E-village-LOC').

(65) *Kəmiŋ-a   mašina-ta qət-γiŋ-ə-n   wojv-etəŋ*
    child-INS(ERG) car-INS   go-GN-E-ABS.SG village-ALL
    γa-nn'əγal-len-Ø.
    RES-miss-3SG.P-3SG.A
    'The child missed going to the village by car.'

(66) *γəm-nan cetkejuŋ-o t-ə-ku-lŋ-ə-ŋ-ə-n*
    1SG-ERG think-ESS 1SG.A-E-NFUT.IPF-regard-E-NFUT.IPF-E-3SG.P
    jonat-γiŋ-ə-n   mejŋ-ə-wujv-ə-k.
    live-GN-E-ABS.SG big-E-village-E-LOC
    'I am/was thinking about living in a big village.'

    A GN-word used in nominal clauses can take adverbs, e.g. (67) ('everywhere').

(67) *ɣəm-nin   jeŋalʕat-ɣiŋ-ə-n   ɣemɣenkəjij en'pici-jək   ewənʕat*
    1SG-GEN fly-GN-E-ABS.SG everywhere father-ANM.PL.LOC(ERG) anyway
    ʕenq-u   ne-ku-lŋ-ə-ŋ-ə-n.
    dislike-ESS INV-IPF-regard-E-IPF-E-3SG.P
    'My father has no great opinion of my flying everywhere.'

In addition, a GN-word can be used as the predicate of an indirect interrogative clause, e.g. (68).

(68) *ɣəm-nan ujŋe liɣi   e-lŋ-ə-ke   tite   ən-in   malaw-ja-k*
    1SG-ERG not   know not-regard-E-not when 3SG-GEN cure-yurt-LOC
    kəmeŋat-ɣiŋ-ə-n.
    give.birth-GN-E-ABS.SG
    'I don't know when she will give birth to a baby.'

5.3.4 Comparison of the GN-QMMC with other constructions

We have seen the three uses of GN-words: as the predicate of the QMMC (5.3.1), as arguments (5.3.2) and as the predicate of nominal clauses (including indirect interrogative clauses) (5.3.3). We now recapitulate the commonalities and the differences among these three uses. We shall also compare the GN-words in these three uses with typical nouns and finite verbs. Finite verbs are used as the predicate of independent sentences. That is, we shall also compare the GN-QMMC with independent sentences.

The result of this comparison is shown in Table 5. The constructions examined constitute a cline in terms of the degree of nounhood or conversely in terms of the degree of verbhood – as is the case with JQ-words (Table 4 above).

[1] Agreement parameters
Typical nouns (Section 3), GN-words used as arguments (5.3.2-[2]) and GN-words in nominal clauses (5.3.3-[2]) inflect for case-plus-number (but not for person). In contrast, GN-words in the QMMC (5.3.1-[2]) and finite verbs inflect (used in independent sentences; 4.1) for person-plus-number (but not for case).

[2] Agreement pattern
The agreement operates in the ergative-absolutive system (A vs. S/P) for GN-words as arguments (5.3.2-[2]), for GN-words in nominal clauses (5.3.3-[2]) and GN-words in the QMMC (5.3.1-[2]). With finite verbs, it generally operates in the nominative-accusative pattern (A/S vs. P), but it partially employs the neutral pattern (4.1-[1]). This criterion is irrelevant to typical nouns.

[3] Number of cases

Typical nouns have twelve cases (Section 3). Some GN-words used as an argument may have up to five cases: the absolutive, the instrumental, the locative, the dative, and the causal (5.3.2-[2]). GN-words for nominal clauses can only take the absolutive (5.3.3). GN-words used in the QMMC have no case (5.3.1). This criterion is irrelevant to finite verbs.

[4] Case marking of the agent NP

Where a transitive verb is involved, the agent NP takes the genitive case with GN-words as the predicate of nominal clauses (5.3.3-[1]), but it takes the ergative or the dative in the QMMC (5.3.1-[3]) and it takes the ergative with finite verbs (e.g. (12)). This criterion is irrelevant to GN-words as arguments and to typical nouns.

[5] Oblique nouns

Oblique nouns can occur with GN-words in nominal clauses (5.3.3-[3]), GN-words in the QMMC (e.g. 'car-INS' and 'village-ALL' in (52)) and finite verbs. But they cannot occur with GN-words used as arguments (5.3.2-[3]). This criterion is irrelevant to typical nouns.

[6] Adverbs (with no overt suffix)

What was stated about oblique nouns apply to adverbs (which have no overt suffix). Examples include the following. Nominal clauses: 'everywhere' in (67). QMMC: 'besides' and 'again' in (52). Finite verbs: 'now' and 'very much' in (17).

[7] Verbal inflection

Finite verbs inflect for mood, tense and aspect (Section 3). But GN-words do not; the GN-suffix is attached to verb stems (5.1). This criterion is irrelevant to typical nouns.

The result of the comparison above is summarized in Table 5. The criterion (h), which looks at semantics, is added, for readers' convenience. The criteria (c) and (g) deal with morphology, while the remaining criteria, i.e. (a), (b), (d), (e) and (f), may be said to concern syntax.

Naturally, typical nouns have a full status as a noun, and finite verbs (used in independent sentences) have a full status as a verb. In terms of the criteria (a) to (g) (though not (h)), Table 5 exhibits a cline of nounhood, and conversely, a cline of verbhood. Among the three uses of GN-words, GN-words used as arguments have the highest degree of nounhood (and the lowest degree of verbhood), followed by GN-words used in nominal clauses, which are in turn followed by GN-words in the QMMC. That is, GN-words in the QMMC have the highest degree of verbhood.

Tab. 5: Comparison of GN-QMMC with other constructions.

	noun-hood			verb-hood	
	typical noun	GN: argument	GN: nominal clause	GN: QMMC	finite verb
(a) agreement parameters	case+ number	case+ number	case+ number	person+ number	person+ number
(b) agreement pattern	…	A vs. S/P	A vs. S/P	A vs. S/P	A/S vs. P, A/S/P
(c) cases	12	up to 5	1	zero	…
(d) agent NP	…	…	GEN	ERG, DAT	ERG
(e) oblique noun	…	−	+	+	+
(f) adverb	…		+	+	+
(g) mood, tense, aspect	…	−	−	−	+
(h) meaning of GN	…	action	action	obligation, schedule, expectation, intention	…

Legend: +: acceptable or obligatory; −: unacceptable; …: irrelevant.

5.3.5 Degree of sentencehood

We have considered the three uses of GN-words in terms of nounhood and verb-hood. Among the three uses, sentences that contain a GN-word used as an argument have the lowest degree of sentencehood, and the GN-QMMC has the highest degree of sentencehood.

The GN-QMMC exhibits the following situation. In terms of (g), which is one of the two morphological criteria, the MMC lacks a property of independent sentences. But regarding (c), the other morphological criterion, the GN-QMMC possesses a property of independent sentences. In terms of the syntactic criteria, i.e. (a), (b), (d), (e) and (f), the GN-MMC possesses all the properties of independent sentences, which contain a finite verb as the predicate. (Note, however, the GN-QMMC allows the dative case for the agent NP, but that independent sentences do not.) That is, the GN-QMMC has a very high degree of sentencehood.

5.3.6 Can the Clause be used as a sentence by itself?

What was stated about the JQ-QMMC in 5.2.6 applies to the GN-QMMC. That is, the Clause of the GN-QMMC cannot be used as a sentence by itself. The predicate of the Clause is a verb stem, which is followed by the Noun slot (which is occupied

by a nominalizer suffix). The verb stem is not inflected for mood, tense or aspect (cf. Section 3), and consequently the Clause cannot be used as a sentence by itself. In this respect, the GN-QMMC departs from the prototype.

5.3.7 Is the GN-QMMC bi-clausal or mono-clausal?

JQ-words can be used in adnominal clauses ("ACs") (4.2.2 and Table 4). In contrast, GN-words are not used in ACs (Table 5). That is, the GN-QMMC does not contain any AC. For that matter, there is no evidence to show that the GN-QMMC contains any kind of subordinate clause.

To conclude, the GN-QMMC should be considered not bi-clausal but mono-clausal, as is the case with the JQ-QMMC (5.2.7).

5.3.8 Compound predicate

What was stated about the JQ-QMMC in 5.2.8 applies to the GN-QMMC. That is, the verb of the Clause is a verb stem, and it is followed by the Noun (a nominalizer suffix), which is in turn is followed by a person-plus-number suffix. Obviously, the verb stem and these two suffixes form a tight unit. They constitute the predicate of the JQ-QMMC. (This predicate will not be called a "compound" predicate, since suffixes are involved.)

6 Summary and concluding remarks

Koryak does not have the prototypical MMC. Nonetheless, it has a construction that may be regarded as a quasi-MMC ("QMMC"). The Noun slot is occupied not by an independent noun but by a nominalizer suffix (attached to a verb stem): *-jo-lqəl* ('JQ') or *-γiŋ* ('GN'). Koryak has a verb that can be called a copula verb, but this verb is not used in the QMMC. The Copula slot of the QMMC is occupied by a person-plus-number suffix.

It is not known if these two nominalizer suffixes derived from any independent noun.

Semantically, the two types of the QMMC primarily express the modal meaning of obligation. They may also express schedule, expectation or intention.

In a broader context of Koryak morphosyntax, the nominalizer JQ produces words that have three uses: (i) as an argument, (ii) as the predicate of adnominal clauses, and (iii) as the predicate of the QMMC. The nominalizer GN produces words that have three uses: (i) as an argument, (ii) as the predicate of nominal clauses, and (iii) as the predicate of the QMMC. In each case, these three uses

exhibit a decreasing cline of nounhood, and conversely an increasing degree of verbhood. Among these three uses, JQ-words and GN-words used in the QMMC have the lowest degree of nounhood, and the highest degree of verbhood. Syntactically the QMMC possesses the properties of independent sentences. It should be considered not bi-clausal but mono-clausal, and it has a predicate that consists of a verb stem, a nominalizer suffix and a person-plus-number suffix.

One unusual feature of the Koryak QMMC is that, when the GN suffix is used, the A NP of a transitive verb may occur in the ergative case (as is the case with independent sentences) but also in the dative case (unlike any other construction of Koryak). A similar phenomenon – where the case of the A in the MMC differs from that in independent sentences – seems uncommon, being reported only from the Mitsukaido dialect of Japanese and Hindi.

As shown in other chapters of the present volume, there are languages that allow a large number of nouns in the Noun slot of the MMC, while there are also languages that allow a very small number of nouns in this slot. (See Tsunoda (this volume-a, 3.1.1).) The conditioning factor – if there is any – is unknown. I suggest that one possibility is the absence/presence of agreement. Namely, it is possible that languages with agreement allow a very small number of nouns, while those without agreement allow a large number of nouns. However, this is merely conjecture and requires further investigation.

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations and symbols

A = transitive subject or agent of a transitive verb; ABL = ablative; ABS = absolutive; AC = adnominal clause; ALL = allative; ANM = animate; C = consonant; CAUS = causative; COM = comitative; DAT = dative; DU = dual; E = epenthesis; ERG = ergative; ESS = essive; FUT = future; GEN = genitive; GN = GN-suffix; IND = indicative; INH = inchoative; INS = instrumental; INTRJ = interjection; INV = inverse; IPF = imperfective; JQ = JQ-suffix; LH = LH-suffix; LOC = locative; MMC = mermaid construction; NFUT = non-future; NMLZ = nominalizer; P = object or patient of a transitive verb; PF = perfective; PL = plural; PRP = property predication; QMMC = quasi-mermaid construction; RES = resultative; S = intransitive subject; SG = singular; TOP = topic; V = verb; V = vowel; VBLZ = verbalizer; Vi = intransitive verb; Vt = transitive verb: X = argument; Y = adjunct; 1 = first person; 2 = second person; 3 = third person.

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