Quasi-mermaid construction in Sakha (Yakut)

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1. Introduction

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

(1)[Clause] Noun Copula.

Sakha has a construction which resembles the MMC (hereafter, quasi-mermaid construction: quasi-MMC). Twenty-eight nouns have been attested in the 'Noun' slot. They are all content nouns, and the meaning of the quasi-MMC is modal, aspectual, temporal or the like. The predicate verb of the 'Clause' is in the adnominal form, i.e. a non-finite form. The 'Copula' is a suffix, not a free form. The crucial difference from the prototype of the MMC is that the 'Noun' must take the proprietive suffix meaning 'having', as is the case with the quasi-MMC in Khalkha Mongolian (see Umetani (this volume)). The proprietive suffix -LEEx is a derivational suffix (not a case suffix) which derives nominals from nominals.

2. Initial illustration

Examples of the Sakha quasi-MMC are given below as an illustration. Recall that nouns in the 'Noun' slot must take the proprietive suffix $-LEEx^1$.

- (2) *min tokio-ва bar-ar bwlaan-naax-pwn* ISG Tokyo-DAT go-VN.PRS plan-PROP-COP.1SG LT: 'I have a plan [that I] go to Tokyo.' FT: 'I plan to go to Tokyo.'
- (3) ylete suox xaal-ar keskil-leex-ter without.work remain-VN.PRS future-PROP-COP.3PL LT: 'They have a future [that they] remain without work.' FT: 'They will still be unemployed.'

3. Profile of the language

Sakha is a member of the Turkic language family. It is spoken mainly in Sakha Republic in eastern Siberia. The number of its speakers is estimated to be approximately 450,000. Almost all the speakers are Sakha-Russian bilinguals. For the name of this language, the present paper uses the self-designation name "Sakha", which is actually cognate with another well-known language name, "Yakut".

The inventory of consonants is as follows: /p, b, t, d, č, ž, k, g, s[s~h], x, \varkappa , m, n, ň, ŋ, l, r, j/². Sakha has twenty vowel phonemes: eight short vowels /a, e, o, œ, u, i, u, y/, eight long vowels /aa, ee, oo, œœ, uuu, ii, uu, yy/, and four diphthongs /uua, ie, uo, yœ/. Word-stress, which does not have a distinctive function, is placed on the word-final syllable. There are rich morphophonological alternations, e.g. the vowel harmony rule and assimilation of consonants, especially in suffixation. Often, 16 or more allomorphs of one suffix result from morphophonological alternations.

Sakha is a strongly agglutinating language and uses suffixes extensively. Sakha exhibits both dependent-marking and head-marking. For example, case relations are marked by case suffixes attached to NPs (i.e. dependent-marking). On the other hand, possessive suffixes are attached to the possessed NPs and possessor NPs take no formal marking (i.e. head-marking). The case system is basically of the nominative-accusative type (A/S vs. O). The nominative case has a zero suffix, while the accusative has an overt suffix. Under certain conditions, the object lacks an overt case suffix, and in this respect the case system is of the neutral type (S=A=O).

Verbs inflect for negation, tense, person-cum-number of the subject, etc. A verb stem must take a finite suffix, a participle suffix, or a converb suffix. Participles are also called "verbal nouns". They form a nominal clause or an adnominal clause. The copula is a suffix, not a free form (with zero suffix only for 3sG).

The verb-final orders, i.e. AOV and SV, are preferred, but the topic NP can precede the A. A demonstrative, a numeral, an adjective and an adnominal clause precede the noun they modify.

Constituents of a sentence can be omitted if their referent is clear. This is particularly the case with the subject, for the person-cum-number of the subject is indicated in the predicate.

The current orthography, which employs Cyrillic letters, was established in 1939, replacing the previous Latin-alphabetical one. Children can choose the Sakha language as their medium of instruction at school, but some urban schools provide education only in Russian. The data for the present paper are taken from the spoken language of Sakha.

4. Types of sentences and clauses

4.1 Verb-predicate and nominal-predicate sentences/clauses

Roughly speaking, the sentences/clauses in Sakha can be classified as follows:

- (a) Verb-predicate sentences/clauses, e.g. (4). The predicate verb must have a finite suffix and a person-cum-number marking.
- (b) Nominal-predicate sentences/clauses, e.g. (5). Nouns, adjectives and a few adverbs can be the predicate with the copula suffix, only when the sentence is present affirmative. Elsewhere they occur with an auxiliary verb.

(4)	min	kuorak-ka	bar-a-bwn
	1sg	city-DAT	go-prs-1sg
	'I go	to the city.'	-

(5) *min učuutal-bun* 1sG teacher-COP.1sG 'I am a teacher.'

4.2 Adnominal clauses

The predicate verb of an adnominal clause ('AC') has the form of a verbal noun. The inflected forms of verbal nouns are shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Forms of verbal nouns	Table	e 1.	Forms	of ver	bal	nouns
--------------------------------	-------	------	-------	--------	-----	-------

	tense-neutral	past	present	future	
positive	-TEX	-BI t	-r/-Er	-IEX	
negative	-BEtEx		-BEt	-(I)mIEx	

Like Japanese, Sakha has both "internal adnominal clauses" ("internal ACs") and "external adnominal clauses" ("external ACs"). (See Teramura

(1969) and Tsunoda (this volume-a, 7.2) for a discussion of these two types of ACs.)

[1] Internal ACs

In internal ACs, the head noun corresponds to an argument or an adjunct of the AC. In terms of Keenan and Comrie's (1977) accessibility hierarchy, the following positions can be relativized on: subject, e.g. (6), direct object, e.g. (7), indirect object, e.g. (8), oblique object, e.g. (9), and the possessor, e.g. (10). However, the object of comparison cannot be relativized on.

When the subject is relativized on, the head noun has no marking, e.g.:

(6) syyr-er kihi run-VN.PRS person 'a person who runs'

Elsewhere the NP qualified by an AC obligatorily takes a possessive suffix, which indicates the person-cum-number of the subject of the AC. In examples (7), (8), and (9), possessive suffixes (-m, -um, or -but) are obligatory even when the subject is omitted.

(7)	(min)	aax-put	kinige-m
	1sg	read-VN.PST	book-poss.1sg
	'the book	that I read'	

(8) (min) belex bier-bit žon-um 1SG present give-VN.PST people-POSS.1SG 'the people to whom I gave a present'

(9)	(bihigi)	kel-bit	suol-but
	1pl	come-VN.PST	way-poss.1pl
	'the way by	y which we came'	

As noted above, the possessor can be also relativized on. In this example the head noun does not need a possessive suffix because the head noun *uol* 'boy' is the possessor of the subject in the AC.

(10)	ije-te	balшшha-ва	ylelii-r	uol	
	mother-POSS.3SG	hospital-dat	work-VNPRS	boy	
	'a boy whose mother works in a hospital'				

[2] External ACs

In external ACs, in contrast with internal ACs, the head noun does not correspond to any argument or adjunct in the AC but, so to speak, is added from outside the underlying clause. Examples of Sakha external ACs are:

(11)	kim =ere	xaam-ar	twah-a
	who =CLT	walk-VN.PRS	sound-POSS.3SG

LT: 'the sound that someone walks' FT: 'the sound of someone walking'

(12) *žadaņu buol-ar kuttal-a* poor become-VN.PRS fear-POSS.3SG LT: 'the fear that [(s)he] becomes poor' FT: 'the fear of his/her becoming poor'

5. Quasi-MMC

5.1 Introductory notes

As noted in Section 1, Sakha has what may be considered a quasi-MMC. The crucial difference from the prototype of the MMC is that the 'Noun' in the quasi-MMC of Sakha has the proprietive suffix -LEEx. The 'Noun' is in turn followed by the copula suffix. Twenty-eight nouns have been attested in the 'Noun' slot. The predicate verb of the 'Clause' is in the verbal noun form, i.e. a non-finite form. The 'Clause' cannot be used by itself as a sentence.

We shall first look at the use of the proprietive suffix (5.2), followed by a discussion of various aspects of the quasi-MMC: the use of the proprietive suffix in the quasi-MMC (5.3), and the nouns that are attested in the 'Noun' slot (5.4). There is a 'Noun' with the proprietive suffix -LEEx which may not take a copula suffix (5.5). In this case the 'Noun' is grammaticalized as a particle.

A note on the similarity between external ACs and the MMC is in order. As noted by Tsunoda (this volume, 7.2) they are similar as follows. In external ACs, the head noun does not correspond to any argument or adjunct in the AC but, so to speak, is added from outside the underlying clause. That is, the head noun is not coreferential with any argument or any adjunct of the AC. Similarly, in the MMC, the 'Noun' is not coreferential with the subject of the 'Clause'. The same applies to the Sakha quasi-MMS.

As mentioned in Tsunoda (this volume, 7.2), at the beginning of the collaborative research project whose main outcome is the present volume (Tsunoda, this volume-a, Section 2), it was hypothesized that the presence of external ACs is a prerequisite to the presence of the MMC. However, this hypothesis has turned out to be untenable.

Nonetheless, it is important to recall that Sakha has external ACs, without which the quasi-MMC may not be likely to exist in the language.

5.2 The proprietive suffix -LEEX

In Sakha, predicative possession is expressed with the proprietive suffix -LEEx, which means 'having'. An NP with the suffix -LEEx can be used both attributively, e.g. (13), and predicatively, e.g. (14):

(13)	uhun	battax-taax	kwws
	long	hair-prop	girl
	ʻa girl w	ith long hair'	

(14) min ys obo-loox-pun 1SG three child-PROP-COP.1SG 'I have three children.'

A noun followed by the proprietive suffix may be preceded and modified by an AC, e.g.:

(15) *araj kepset-er tabaarus-taax-pun* just talk.with-VN.PRS friend-PROP-COP.1SG 'I have only friends to talk with.'

In (15), *kepset-er* 'talk.with-VN.PRS' modifies just *tabaarus* 'friend', and not the entire *tabaarus-taax-pun* 'friend-PROP-COP.1SG'.

5.3 Use of the proprietive suffix -LEEX in the quasi-MMC

The quasi-MMC contains "AC + Noun-LEEX-COP." Although this construction is not an instance of the prototypical MMC in terms of the structure shown in (1) above, semantically it is very similar to the MMC of Japanese; the latter is an instance of the prototypical MMC. Indeed, many of the MMC examples in Japanese can be translated into Sakha by using an "AC + Noun-LEEX-COP". An example of this quasi-MMC is the following (the same as (2)):

(16)	min	tokio-ʁa	bar-ar	bwlaan-naax-pwn
	1sg	Tokyo-dat	go-VN.PRS	plan-prop-cop.1sG
	LT: 'I	have a plan [that	0.'	
	FT: 'I]	plan to go to Tok	xyo.'	

A Japanese equivalent for (16) is the following:

(17) watasi=wa tookyoo=ni ik-u yotee=da. 1SG=TOP Tokyo=DAT/LOC go-NPST plan=COP.NPST LT: 'I am a plan [that I] go to Tokyo.' FT: 'I plan to go to Tokyo.'

There is one important difference between the Japanese MMC and the Sakha quasi-MMC. In Sakha, even when *tokio-Ba bar-ar* 'Tokyo-DAT go-VN.PRS' is deleted from (16), the resultant sentence is still acceptable:

(18) min bullaan-naax-pun 1SG plan-PROP-COP.1SG 'I have a plan.' However, in Japanese, if tookyoo=ni ik-u 'Tokyo=DAT/LOC go-NPST' is deleted from (17), the resultant sentence makes no sense (See Tsunoda, this volume-b, 6.4).

(19) ? watasi=wa yotee=da. 1SG=TOP plan=COP.NPST LT: 'I am a plan.'

That is, the crucial difference is the presence of the proprietive suffix attached to the 'Noun' in the quasi-MMC of Sakha.

5.4 Nouns in the 'Noun' slot

Sakha has no non-content nouns, such as the Japanese *mono* 'thing' and *koto* 'fact'. Also, no nominalizer or the like occurs in the 'Noun' slot. Twenty-eight nouns have been attested in the 'Noun' slot. They are difficult to classify in a clear-cut way, and they are tentatively classified as follows. All of these nouns are content nouns.

5.4.1 Nouns meaning "appearance" or the like

This group comprises nouns that have the meaning of "appearance" or the like: *buhuw* 'appearance', *keriŋ* 'appearance', *kœryŋ* 'appearance', *žyhyn* 'shape', and *činči* 'sign'. Their meaning is evidential: inference, e.g. (20), or direct observation, e.g. (21), (33).

- (20) bwhaw-um syp-pyt kerin-neex knife-POSS.1SG disappear-VN.PST appearance-PROP:COP.3SG LT: 'My knife has an appearance [that it] disappeared.' FT: 'It seems that my knife has disappeared.'
- (21) *žollom-mut žyhyn-neex-xin* feel.happy-VN.PST shape-PROP-COP.2SG LT: 'You have a shape [that you] feel happy.' FT: 'You look happy.'

5.4.2 Nouns meaning "plan", "idea" or the like

This group consists of nouns that have the meaning of "plan", "idea" or the like: *bulaan* 'plan', *burajuak* 'design', *anal* 'aim', *soruk* 'goal', *sual* 'goal', *sanaa* 'idea', *tolkuj* 'thought', *basa* 'hope', *žykkyær* 'volition', and *žuluur* 'ambition'. They have a modal meaning. Examples include (2) (=(16)) and:

(22) yle-ti-n salguw-r sanaa-laax-pun work-POSS.3SG-ACC continue-VN.PRS idea-PROP-COP.1SG LT: 'I have an idea [that I] take up his work.' FT: 'I will take up his work.' (23) policija yæreß-er bar-ar police study-POSS.3SG:DAT go-VN.PRS baßa-laax-pun 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 *kuhalua* 'anxiety'. They have a modal meaning.

 (24) sotoru xotugu territorija-lar-but soon northern territory-PL-POSS.1PL kuraanaxsuj-ar kuttal-laax-tar get.empty-VN.PRS fear-PROP-COP.3PL LT: 'Our northern territories have fear [that they] soon become uninhabited.'

FT: '[We are worried that] our northern territories might become uninhabited soon.'

5.4.4 Nouns meaning "future" or "fate"

The nouns are *keskil* 'future' and *žulua* 'fate'. Their meaning may be "temporal" or "modal". Examples include (3) and:

(25) nuučča omug-u-n kutta sulž-ar Russian nation-POSS.3SG-ACC with be-VN.PRS žulsa-laax-put 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 *kwax* 'power' and *žowur* 'ability'. They have a modal meaning.

- (26) ajmax-tar-a œjœœ-tœx-tœryne =ere relative-PL-POSS.3SG support-COND-3PL =CLT wččat-tar-a yœren-er kwax-taax-tar youth-PL-POSS.3SG study-VN.PRS power-PROP-COP.3PL LT: 'The young people have a power [that they] study only when their relatives support them.'
 - FT: 'The young people can study only when their relatives support them [financially].'

(27) kihi atun kuuul-lar-tan person other animal-PL-ABL kæmyske-n-er žour-daax guard-REFL-VN.PRS ability-PROP:COP.3SG LT: 'Humans have an ability [that they] protect themselves from other animals.'
FT: 'Humans can protect themselves from other animals.'

5.4.6 Nouns meaning "event", "time" or "fuss"

The nouns are *tygen* 'event', *kem* 'time', and *ajdaan* 'fuss'. Their meaning may be "temporal" or "experiential", i.e. a type of "aspectual meaning". The quasi-MMC with any of these nouns has an experiential meaning or the like (a type of aspectual meaning). The quasi-MMC with *tygen* 'event' simply denotes 'X has done'. That with *kem* 'time' conveys the meaning 'There was a time when X did'. That with *ajdaan* 'fuss' means 'There was a fuss in which X did'.

- (28) bu suruksut beje-te suuh-ar this writer self-POSS.3SG make.error-VN.PST tygen-neex event-PROP:COP.3SG LT: 'This writer himself has an event [that he] makes an error.' FT: 'This writer himself has once made an error.'
- (29) er-bi-n kutta araxs-a husband-POSS.1SG-ACC with divorce-CVB sus-put kem-neex-pin AUX-VN.PST time-PROP-COP.1SG LT: 'I have a time [that I was] divorced from my husband.' FT: 'I was once divorced from my husband.' [experiential meaning]

5.4.7 Nouns meaning "custom" or "habit"

The nouns are *yges* 'custom' and *kemelži* 'habit'. Their meaning is probably "habitual", a type of aspectual meaning.

(30)	tæræppyt-ter	oskuola-ва	seleennii-r			
	parent-PL	school-DAT `	entrust-VN.PRS			
	yges-teex-ter					
	custom-PROP-C	OP.3PL				
	LT: 'Parents have a custom [that they] leave [problems] to the school.'					
	FT: 'Parents ter	nd to leave [proble	ms] to the school.'			

(31)	kurgut-tar	uulussa	trotuar-ш-nan
	girl-PL	street	sidewalk-poss.3sg-INS

xonnox-toru-ttan	1	wl-s-an	kieŋ	kekke-nen
underarm-POSS.3	PL-ABL	take-COOP-CVB	wide	row-INS
ajannww-r	tykteri	kemelži-leex-	ter	
travel-VN.PRS	rude	habit-prop-co	OP.3PL	
I T. Girls have	had hahit	t [that they] walk	in a wid	e row along

LT: 'Girls have a bad habit [that they] walk in a wide row along sidewalks taking each other's underarms.'

FT: 'Girls tend to walk arm-in-arm in a wide row across sidewalks.'

Note that in (31) the 'Noun' *kemelži* 'habit' is modified by an adjective *tykteri* 'rude'. We shall return to this in Section 6.

5.4.8 Nouns meaning "right" or "obligation"

The nouns are *buraap* 'right' and *ebeehines* 'obligation'. Their meaning is "modal".

(32)	arassuwja	graždan-nar-a		yrdyk	yærex-xe
	Russia	citizen-PL-POSS	.3sg	high	study-DAT
	bosxo ya	eren-er	buraa	p-taax-tar	
	free stu	ıdy-vn.prs	right-P	rop-cop.3	PL
	LT: 'Russiar	n citizens have a ri	ight [tha	at they] stu	udy for free
	in higher	education.'		• •	•
	TT (D .'.		C C	• 1.• 1.	. 1

FT: 'Russian citizens can study for free in higher education'

5.5 Summary of the semantics of the quasi-MMC

We have looked at the twenty-eight nouns that can occupy the 'Noun' slot of the Sakha quasi-MMC. They are all content nouns when used outside the quasi-MMC. As seen above, the quasi-MMC has various meanings, such as modal, evidential, aspectual and modal. See Table 2.

'Noun'	meaning outside quasi-MMC	meaning of quasi-MMC
[1] buhuu	appearance	quasi-ivitvie
[1] bunuuu [2] kerin	~ ~	
	appearance	speaker's inference
[3] kæryŋ	appearance	[evidential; §5.4.1]
[4] <i>žyhyn</i>	shape	
[5] činči	sign	
[6] bulaan	plan	
[7] bwrajwak	design	
[8] <i>anal</i>	aim	
[9] soruk	goal	
[10] <i>swal</i>	goal	volition, intention
[11] <i>sanaa</i>	idea	[modal; §5.4.2]
[12] tolkuj	thought	
[13] basa	hope	
[14] žykkyær	volition	
[15] žuluur	ambition	
[16] kuttal	fear	apprehension
[17] kwhalsa	anxiety	[modal; §5.4.3]
[18] keskil	future	future
[19] žulsa	fate	[temporal/modal; §5.4.4]
[20] kwax	power	potential
[21] <i>žosur</i>	ability	[modal; §5.4.5]
[22] tygen	event	
[23] kem	time	experiential
[24] ajdaan	fuss	[aspectual; §5.4.6]
[25] yges	custom	habitual
[26] kemelži	habit	[aspectual; §5.4.7]
[27] buraap	right	possibility, obligation
[28] ebeehines	obligation	[modal; §5.4.8]

Table 2. Semantics of the 'Noun' and the quasi-MMC

5.6 Grammaticalization from a nominal to a particle

In all of the examples of the Sakha quasi-MMC we have examined, the 'Noun' is followed by the proprietive suffix. Another example is (33). If the proprietive suffix is deleted from (33), we obtain (34).

sulaj-but	bwhww-laax-xwn
be.tired-VN.PST	appearance-PROP-COP.28G
LT: 'You have an a	ppearance [that you] are tired.'
FT: 'You look tired	•
	be.tired-VN.PST

(34) * *swlaj-butt bwhww-gwn* be.tired-VN.PST appearance-COP.2SG Intended meaning: 'You look tired.' Example (34) has the structure of the prototype of the MMC, shown in (1); the 'Noun' is no longer followed by the proprietive suffix. However, (34) is not grammatical.

Now, it is interesting to note that (33) can be paraphrased as (35).

(35)	swlaj-bwk-kwn	bwhwwlaax	
	be.tired-PST-2SG	it.appears	
	'It appears that you are tired.'		

In (33), the verb *sulaj*- 'be.tired' is in the verbal noun form, i.e. a non-finite form. However, in (35), it is in a finite form, having the past form with person/number marking. Also, in (33), the noun *buhuwu* 'appearance' plus the proprietive is followed by the copula (*-xun* 'COP.2SG'). In contrast, it is not followed by the copula in (35). These facts suggest that in this case *buhuwu* 'appearance' is no longer a noun, and that *buhuuulaax* '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, *buhuuulaax* is the only "Noun-LEEX" that can appear after a finite verb form and has apparently become a particle. Petrov (1978) lists several nouns with the proprietive suffixes as particles, such as *buhuuu-laax*, *bulaan-naax*, *kerin-neex*, etc. Among these "particles" only *buhuuu-laax* allows the copula to precede, and therefore it can be regarded to be grammaticalized.

6. Summary and concluding remarks

Sakha has what may be considered to be a quasi-MMC. Twenty-eight nouns have been attested in the 'Noun' slot. They are all content nouns. The meaning of that quasi-MMC has is modal, evidential, aspectual, temporal or the like and is summarized in Table 2. The predicate verb of the 'Clause' is in the verbal noun form, i.e. a non-finite form. The 'Clause' cannot be used by itself as a sentence. The 'Noun' has the proprietive suffix 'having', like the quasi-MMC in Khalkha Mongolian. Without the proprietive suffix the sentence is ungrammatical. The noun with the proprietive suffix is followed by the copula suffix. One of these nouns followed by the proprietive suffix appears to have become a particle.

In the MMC of some other languages, nouns in the 'Noun' slot are grammaticalized and they have a lower degree of "noun-hood" than when they are used outside the MMC. For example, in the Japanese MMC, nouns in the 'Noun' slot cannot be modified by an adjective (Tsunoda this volume-b, 5.6.4). However, in the quasi-MMC of Sakha, the 'Noun' can be modified by an adjective; see (31). At least in this respect, it is not grammaticalized.

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Abbreviations

ABL - ablative; AC - adnominal clause; ACC - accusative; AUX - auxiliary; CLT - clitic; COND - conditional; COOP - cooperative; COP - copula; CVB - converb; DAT - dative; FT - free translation; INS - instrumental; LOC locative; LT; literal translation; MMC - mermaid construction; NPST nonpast; PL - plural; POSS - possessive; PROP - proprietive; PRS - present; PST - past; REFL - reflexive; SG - singular; TOP - topic; VN - verbal noun

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² [s] and [h] can be regarded as allophones of one phoneme.

¹ A suffix form is written with small capital letters when it has several allomorphs.