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Tense Realization in V + *-Sooda* Complex Predicates*

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Abstract

This paper deals with some V + *-sooda* complex predicates, and considers the relationship between the realization of tense morphemes in the predicates and the syntactic and semantic properties of the phrases which *-sooda* embeds. First, we will see the V-*sooda* form, which has no tense morpheme between V and *-sooda*. I will claim that the *-sooda* can function as an aspectual auxiliary, and it embeds VP as its complement, when the situation just before the event of V is observable. Next, we will see the V-*te(-i)-sooda* form, which has a tense morpheme (or the sequence of a tense and an aspectual morphemes), *-te(-i)*, between V and *-sooda*. This *-sooda* functions as a suppositional modal auxiliary, embedding TP (/AspP) in its complement position. I will quote a previous study which claims that *-te* is a tense morpheme, and further assume that it does not fix its tense as past/non-past. Because of the temporal property of *-te*, the speech time of *-sooda* covers the embedded clause, which leads to the reading of simultaneity. Finally, we will see the V-*ru/-ta-sooda* form. The *-sooda* has been defined as an evidential modal auxiliary, and it is claimed that the embedded phrase of the *-sooda* is CP.

本稿は、日本語の複雑述語「V + -そうだ」のVと「-そうだ」の間に介在する時制の形態素の有無、あるいは、分布を観察し、その有無／分布と「-そうだ」補部の埋め込み節の統語的意味的特徴との相関性を考察する。最初に、連用形のVに「-そうだ」が接辞する形を観察する。Vの描く出来事の開始直前の状況が観察可能なとき、その「-そうだ」はアスペクト補助動詞と分析し、補部をVPとする。次に、「V-て(い)-そうだ」の文を観察し、この「-そうだ」は話者が同時に起きている他所の状況を「推測」する法助動詞であることを示す。またこの同時点の「推測」は、「-て」を時制と仮定する先行研究を参考に、「-そうだ」補部のTP (/AspP) がもたらす解釈であると仮定する。最後に、「V-{る/た}-そうだ」の文について、この「-そうだ」は先行研究に従って終止形を伴う「伝聞」の法助動詞とし、pro主語とCP補部を伴うことを述べる。

Key Words: aspectual auxiliary, observability, raising predicate, suppositional modal auxiliary, simultaneity, *pro*, evidential modal auxiliary

1. Introduction

This paper deals with a morpheme, ϕ , *-te* (*/-de*), *-ru*, or *-ta* (*/-da*) which appears in Japanese V + *-sooda* complex predicates, and considers the interaction between the distribution of the

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morphemes and the semantic and syntactic properties of the structures with the predicates. Here we assume that *-te/-de* is a kind of tense morphemes, and we will quote a previous study's statement on the assumption later in detail. As long as we observe the tense realization between V and *-sooda*, there seem to be three patterns: in (1a), there is no tense realized, and *-sooda* is attached to the continuative form of V, which is represented as *V- ϕ -sooda*; in (1b), both tense and aspectual morphemes, *-te-i*, appear in the predicate, and the continuative form of the aspect auxiliary is attached to *-sooda*. When the aspectual morpheme is omitted, especially in colloquial usage, we utter it as *V-te-sooda*; and in (1c, d), a non-past or past tense morpheme is attached to V, and the V takes a conclusive form.

- (1) a. Ame-ga huri- ϕ sooda.
rain-NOM fall be about to
'It is about to rain.'
- b. Ame-ga hut-te(-i) sooda.
rain-NOM fall-NONPAST(-PROG) seem
'It seems to be raining.'
- c. Ame-ga hu-ru sooda.
rain-NOM fall-NONPAST I hear
'I heard it would rain.'
- d. Ame-ga hut-ta sooda.
rain-NOM fall-PAST I hear
'I heard it rained.'

As also evident in the English translation attached to each example, the sentence of (1a) describes a temporal situation anterior to the beginning of raining. The speaker utters it, judging from observation of the sky. The sentence of (1b) sounds like the speaker's subjective supposition for somewhere else, and thus, when he/she utters it, the speaker is not actually seeing the place where it is raining. The situations of (1c, d) are a kind of report. Somebody told the speaker or the weather forecast said that it would rain/it rained where he/she was.

The purpose of this paper is to explore the relationship between the realization of tense morphemes in V + *-sooda* predicates and the function(s) of the auxiliary *-sooda*. In the next section, some previous studies are introduced to show how *-sooda* is defined. In Section 3, I will observe the behaviors of the three types of V + *-sooda*: namely, *V- ϕ -sooda*, *V-te(-i)-sooda*, and *V-ru/-ta-sooda*. For the first and the third ones, the analyses are based on previous studies, while for the second one, *V-te(-i)-sooda*, I will consider why the sentence with the predicate describes a durative event somewhere else and simultaneity with the speech time.

2. Preliminaries

2.1 Aspectual auxiliary *-sooda*

The auxiliary *-sooda* is usually classified as an epistemic modal auxiliary, which is seen in detail in the next subsection, but sometimes *-sooda* does not behave like a typical modal auxiliary, since such *-sooda* appears under a negative phrase or a tense phrase structurally. The following is the negative sentence with *V-sooda*.

- (2) Ame-ga huri- soode- nakat-ta.
rain-NOM fall be about to NOT-PAST
'It was not about to rain.' (Nitta 2014: 632, English translation is the author's.)

An epistemic modal auxiliary embeds a propositional phrase in its complement position, and a proposition corresponds to a literal meaning of a sentence. If *-sooda* can appear under the negation and tense phrases, ‘*nakat-ta*,’ as in (2), it is not a modal of the type. It rather behaves as an aspectual auxiliary (cf. *huri-dasa-nakat-ta*, ‘(It) did not begin to rain.’). In the example of (3), though it was not originally an example for a discussion of *-sooda*, *-sooda* in (3) functions as an aspectual morpheme, where the compound *odori-sooda* is followed by a past tense morpheme *-ta*, and a modal auxiliary *-daroo*, ‘might.’

- (3) [_{S1} Taroo-ga uta-i] (sosite) [_{S2} Hanako-ga odori-soodat-ta-daroo].
 TARO-NOM sing-CONT and Hanako-NOM dance-be about to-PAST-MIGHT
 (i) strict reading: ‘[Taroo might have been about to sing] and [Hanako might have been about to dance].’ (with aspect, tense, and modal recovered)
 (Fukushima 2015: 71, the other three readings are omitted.)

In addition, let us pay attention to the past form of *odori-soodat-ta* in (3), which does not show any morpheme between *odori-* and *-sooda*. Compare (4a) with (4b, c), where *-te* in (4b) or *-ta* in (4c) intervenes between *odor-* and *-sooda*, respectively.

- (4) a. Hanako-ga odori-soodat-ta-daroo.
 Hanako-NOM dance-be about to-PAST-MOOD
 ‘Hanako might have been about to dance.’
 b. *Hanako-ga odot-te(-i)-soodat-ta-daroo.
 Hanako-NOM dance-TENSE(-ASPECT)-MOOD-PAST-MOOD
 Intended meaning: ‘Hanako might have been likely to be dancing.’
 c. *Hanako-ga odot-ta-soodat-ta-daroo.
 Hanako-NOM dance-PAST-MOOD-PAST-MOOD
 Intended meaning: ‘I might have heard that Hanako danced.’

When *V-sooda* compounds realize *-te* or *-ta* between *V* and *-sooda*, it is not possible for another tense morpheme *-ta* and another modal auxiliary *-daroo* to follow, as seen in (4b, c). Thus, we assume that *-sooda* in (3) or (4a) is an aspectual auxiliary. Especially, when we can see the current situation just before the event which *V* describes begins, for example, *a cloudy sky before raining* or *preparatory exercises for dancing*, the *-sooda* which attaches to the *V* must function as an aspectual auxiliary. On the other hand, the latter two *-sooda* in (4b, c), which do not suffix a past tense and another modal morphemes, are modal auxiliaries, which I will introduce in the next subsection.

2.2 Modal auxiliaries *-sooda*

The modal use of *-sooda* has been divided into two types: evidential (*denbun*) and suppositional (*yootai*). Suppositional *-sooda* has been divided further into several sub-types, based on their semantic functions. For example, the classification of Morita (1990: 68) consists of six types: situation (*yootai*), supposition (*suiryoo*), prediction (*yosoku*), imminentness (*sunzen*), prospect (*keisei*), and unreality (*higenzitu*). (For another classification, see Ooba’s (1999) five types.) This paper, however, deals with the relationship between *V + -sooda* and tense morphemes in the predicates, and as long as the forms of the predicates are the same, we will use the higher classification: evidential and suppositional. Takubo (2009) refers to the former as *Sooda 1* (‘I hear’), while the latter as *Sooda 2* (‘look like’). “*Sooda 1* is attached to a conclusive

form (*syuusikei*), and inflects like a nominal adjective. . . . *Sooda 2* is attached to the continuative form (*ren'yookei*) and inflects like a nominal adjective (*keiyoo doosi*), . . .” (Takubo 2009: 175).

- (5) a. Sakura-ga saki-sooda.
 cherry blossoms-NOM bloom-ASPECT/-MOOD
 ‘The cherry blossoms look ready to open.’
 b. Sakura-ga sai-ta-sooda.
 cherry blossoms-NOM bloom-PAST-MOOD
 ‘I heard that the cherry blossoms were open.’

In (5b), *-sooda* is attached to the conclusive form, ‘sai-ta,’ and it can be read as evidential (or *Sooda 1*). In (5a), there appears to be a problem: as we hypothesized that V-*sooda* can function as an aspectual auxiliary in the previous subsection, how can we tell which is suppositional (or *Sooda 2*) and which is aspectual *-sooda* in the compounds like (5a), since they have the same form, *saki-sooda*? Here again, when the situation just before the beginning of the blooming can be seen objectively, the *-sooda* functions as an aspect. Here, I’d like to tell the difference between aspectual and modal *-sooda* through observability. When we observe an event of V in the V- ϕ -*sooda* compounds objectively, *sooda* functions as an aspect, as seen in (6a); when we imagine an event of V subjectively, it functions as a mood, as in (6b). We could never see a situation where the subject person is approaching a star in the sky.

- (6) a. Sakura-no tubomi-mo hukurande, moo hana-ga saki-sooda.
 cherry blossoms-GEN bud-too swollen, soon flower bloom-ASPECT
 ‘As the buds of the cherry blossoms are swollen, the flowers are about to open soon.’
 b. Konya-wa kuuki-ga sundei-te, hosi-ni te-ga todoki-sooda.
 tonight-TOPIC air-NOM clear-and, star-to hand-NOM reach-MOOD
 ‘The air outside is so clear tonight that the stars were within ready reach of me.’
 (Ooba 2014: 362, The English translations are the author’s.)

Next, we will consider the properties of the embedded phrases of *-sooda* and how the way of tense realization affects the interpretation of the constructions with the complex predicates.

3. The embedded phrases of *-sooda*

The observations introduced so far indicate that there can be four kinds of *-sooda*: namely, (i) V- ϕ -aspectual-*sooda*, (ii) V- ϕ -suppositional modal-*sooda*, (iii) V-*te(-i)*-suppositional modal *sooda*, and (iv) V-*ru/-ta*-evidential modal *sooda*.

First, the aspectual auxiliary *-sooda* is categorized as a raising predicate (cf. Nishigauchi (1993), Kageyama (1993)), which can be examined by passivization, as in (7).

- (7) a. *Kono hon-ga (Zyon-niyotte) yomi-das-are-ta. (*-das* is a raising predicate.)
 this book-NOM (John-by) read-begin-PASSIVE-PAST
 ‘*This book was begun to be read by John.’
 b. Kono hon-ga (Zyon-niyotte) yomi-naos-are-ta. (*-naos* is a control predicate.)
 this book-NOM (John-by) read-again-PASSIVE-PAST
 ‘This book was read again by John.’
 (Kishimoto 2013: 146, The English translations are the author’s.)

The test of passivization in (8) also shows that the aspectual *-sooda* is a raising predicate.

- (8) a. (Zyon-ga honya-de kono hon-o te-ni tot-ta node,) Zyon-ga kono hon-o
John-NOM bookstore-at this book-ACC pick up-PASTAS, John-NOM this book-ACC
kai-sooda.
buy-be about to
'(As he picked up the book at the bookstore,) John is about to buy the book.'
- b. *Kono hon-ga (Zyon-niyotte) kai-sooda-rare-ta.
this book-NOM (John-by) read-be about to-PASSIVE-PAST
Intended meaning: 'This book was about to be bought by John.'

Thus, an aspectual *-sooda* is a raising predicate, taking an event as its internal argument. The syntactic category of the event is either vP or VP, since there is no tense morpheme appearing between the embedded clause and *-sooda*. The subject position of *-sooda* is occupied with a DP which is raised from the subject position in the embedded clause, satisfying the requirements of EPP and Case for the DP.

Second, we have to consider the syntactic properties of the three types of modal *-sooda*. The compound with modal *-sooda* as in (6b) which does not have a tense morpheme in it seems to have the same structure as that with aspectual *-sooda*, as in (6a). The other predicates with modal *sooda* have a tense morpheme in them, so they must take a proposition as their internal argument. The syntactic category of the proposition must be TP or CP, since the V in the embedded clause has its tense form. Then, the subject DP in the embedded clause also has its Nominative Case checked by the T head. In this respect, *-sooda* in the compound, V-*te/ru/ta-sooda*, is not a raising predicate.

Now, let us examine the syntactic properties of the four types of V + *-sooda* predicates one by one, and see the relation between the the distribution of tense, ϕ , *-te(-i)* or *-ru/ta*, and the interpretations of the constructions.

3.1 V- ϕ + *-sooda*

First, we will see the embedded clauses of aspectual *-sooda*, compared with the ones of modal *-sooda*. If *-sooda* functions as an epistemic (for both evidential and suppositional) modal, it has to c-command a tensed sentence, since the speaker's thought expressed by an epistemic modal is operating over a proposition. As for English epistemic/non-epistemic modals, Butler (2003) utilizes symmetric predicates.

- (9) a. Arthur looks like Susan \rightarrow Susan looks like Arthur
b. Arthur must/might look like Susan \rightarrow Susan must/might look like Arthur
c. Arthur must/can look like Susan \rightarrow Susan must/can look like Arthur
(Butler 2003: 978)

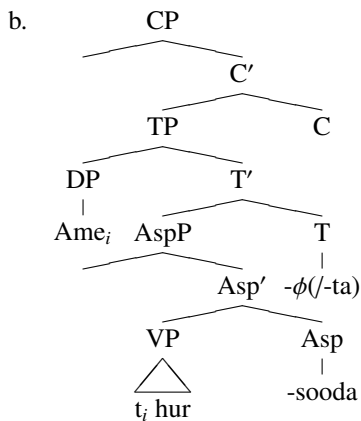
From Butler's (2003: 978) account, the inference $R(x, y) \rightarrow R(y, x)$ only remains valid under epistemic readings. I applied the test to Japanese *-sooda* compounds, as seen in (10).

- (10) a. Hanako-ga Taroo-to akusyusi-sooda.
Hanako-NOM Taro-with shake hands-be about to-NONPAST
 \rightarrow Taroo-ga Hanako-to akusyusi-sooda.
Taro-NOM Hanako-with shake hands-be about to-NONPAST
'Hanako is about to shake hands with Taro.
 \rightarrow Taro is about to shake hands with Hanako.'

- b. Hanako-ga Taroo-to akusyusi-te(-i)-sooda.
 Hanako-NOM Taro-with is shaking hands-MOOD
 → Taroo-ga Hanako-to akusyusi-te(-i)-sooda.
 Taro-NOM Hanako-with is shaking hands-MOOD
 ‘It seems that Hanako is shaking hands with Taro.’
 → It seems that Taro is shaking hands with Hanako.’
- c. Hanako-ga Taroo-to akusyusi-ta-sooda.
 Hanako-NOM Taro-with shook hands-MOOD
 → Taroo-ga Hanako-to akusyusi-ta-sooda.
 Taro-NOM Hanako-with shook hands-MOOD
 ‘I heard that Hanako shook hands with Taro.’
 → I heard that Taro shook hands with Hanako.’

The results show that the predicates, *akusyusi-te(-i)-sooda* and *akusyusi-ta-sooda*, in (10b, c) remain valid in the inference $R(x, y) \rightarrow R(y, x)$, which shows their *-sooda* is an epistemic modal. On the other hand, the compound *akusyusi-sooda* in (10a) does not remain valid in the inference, thus it is an aspectual auxiliary and does not embed a sentence (a proposition), but a VP excluding tense. The following is the syntactic structure of the example of (1a) with an aspectual *-sooda*. It can be attached to a past tense morpheme at the end of the sentence.

- (11) a. Ame-ga huri-sooda(t-ta).
 rain-NOM fall-be about to-NONPAST(-PAST)
 ‘It is/was about to rain.’



As the complement of the aspectual *-sooda* is VP, no tense realization between V and *-sooda* occurs.

As for the (ii) V- ϕ -suppositional modal *-sooda*, I also assume a similar structure as that of the aspectual *-sooda* in (11b).

- (12) a. Hosi-ni te-ga todoki-sooda.
 star-to hand-NOM reach-MOOD
 ‘The stars look to be within ready reach of me.’
- b. $[_{TP} [_{PP} \text{Hosi-ni}] \text{te}_i\text{-NOM}[_{ModP} [_{VP} \text{t}_i [_{V} \text{todok-}]] \text{-sooda}]\text{-}\phi]$

For the reason why the embedded clause of this type of suppositional modal *-sooda* does not have a tense, though it is one of epistemic modalities, we assume for now that as the content of the embedded clause is unreal, or the speaker's imagination, it should disregard any temporal property. The syntactic status of the *-sooda* can be a root modal, like a root modal of English *must*. (cf. Butler 2003: 988) However, as the possibility of a root modal of *-sooda* in (12) requires a more careful discussion, I leave the possibility open for the next occasion.

3.2 V-*te(-i)* + Modal auxiliary *-sooda*

As we observed in (10b, c) in the previous subsection, both V-*te(-i)-sooda* and V-*ru/ta-sooda* are epistemic modals and thus have a proposition as an embedded clause. Then, we have to consider why their affix realization between V and *-sooda* is different: namely, *-te(-de)* on one hand, and *-ru/ta(-da)* on the other hand. Moreover, we quoted in the introduction that the former type means supposition, while the latter type means evidential. As the affix realizations seem to be linked to the two meanings, let us examine the linking with temporal adverb modifications. In (13a), the aspectual property of the event supposed is durative or progressive, since the speaker, for example, supposes the situation in Kobe simultaneously while he/she is in some other place than Kobe. On the other hand, the meaning of evidentiality cannot go with such simultaneous modification, as is seen in (13b).

- (13) a. Imagoro Koobe-de ame-ga hut-te(-i) sooda.
 about now Kobe-in rain-NOM fall-TENSE(-PROG) be likely
 'It is likely to be raining about now in Kobe.'
- b. *Imagoro Koobe-de ame-ga hu-ru/ta sooda.
 about now Kobe-in rain-NOM fall-NONPAST/-PAST I hear
 'Intended meaning: I heard it would be/was raining about now in Kobe.'

If the simultaneity is canceled, the grammaticality is reversed.

- (14) a. *Kinoo Koobe-de ame-ga hut-te(-i) sooda.
 yesterday Kobe-in rain-NOM fall-TENSE(-PROG) seem
 Intended meaning: 'It seems to have been raining yesterday in Kobe.'
- b. Kinoo Koobe-de ame-ga hu-ta sooda.
 yesterday Kobe-in rain-NOM fall-NONPAST I hear
 'I heard it was raining yesterday in Kobe.'

Furthremore, the grammaticality does not only involve the temporal properties, but also the place(s) concerned. The place where the speaker utters should be different from the place where the event of V occurs in (15a). Let us set the situation so that the speaker of (15a, b) and (16a, b) is in Kobe now.

- (15) a. *Koobe-de ame-ga hut-te(-i) sooda.
 Kobe-in rain-NOM fall-TENSE(-PROG) be likely
 'It is likely to be raining in Kobe.'
- b. Koobe-de ame-ga hu-ru/ta sooda.
 Kobe-in rain-NOM fall-NONPAST/-PAST I hear
 'I heard it would be/was raining in Kobe.'

If the place in the event changes, both are grammatical.

- (16) a. Oosaka-de ame-ga hut-te(-i) sooda.
 Osaka-in rain-NOM fall-TENSE(-PROG) seem
 ‘It seems to be raining in Osaka.’
- b. Oosaka-de ame-ga hu-ru/-ta sooda.
 Osaka-in rain-NOM fall-NONPAST/-PAST I hear
 ‘I heard it would be/was raining in Osaka.’

The phenomena seen in (13a) and (14a), *-te/-te-i*, in the predicates guarantee that the temporal property of the embedded event is the same as the speech time. Namely, the time when the speaker supposes that it is raining in Kobe overlaps with the duration of when it is raining in Kobe. Especially, even if we omit the durative aspect of *-i*¹ from the complex, we can understand the sentence simultaneous supposition for somewhere else. Thus, I hypothesize that the function of *-te (-de)* which is attached to the first V in the *-sooda* compounds is a kind of tense morpheme, but it does not have its own past/non-past feature. The tense analysis of *-te* has already been suggested in Nakatani (2013), as in (17).

- (17) a. T[+past] in Japanese realizes as *-ta* when governed by C, and as *-te* otherwise.
- b. In Japanese, T sequences events, whereas C anchors an event to a reference time (and sometimes sequences reference times.)
 (Nakatani 2013: 63, 90)

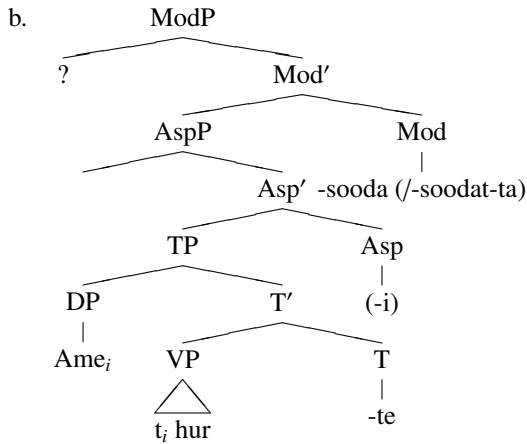
Nakatani (2013: 94-95) also suggests the mechanism for the way the sequencer *-te* derives the simultaneity of the first event and the second event. He calls it *event interlacing*: that is, when the first event of V_1 is temporally dependent on the second event of V_2 in the $V_1-te V_2$ construction, the pluractional operator may take its scope over the dependent event. The event of V_1 is iterated as many times as the number of subevents of the activity of V_2 .

The $V-te(-i)-sooda$ must also behaves in a similar way: When the tense morpheme of the first event is a sequencer of *-te/-de* in a complex predicate, the temporal property of the dependent event (V_2) expands its scope over the depending event (V_1). In the case of $V-te(-i)-sooda$ complex, as *-te* does not have past or non-past features, the event of $V-te$ is temporally dependent on the durative aspect of *-i*. The durative aspect *-i* has scope over the $V-te$ and the event of $V-te-i$ becomes durative. The $V-te-i$ is then temporally dependent on the suppositional modal of *-sooda*. Thus, the speech time at which the speaker utters *-sooda* comes to have the scope over the $V-te-i$, to derive the simultaneous reading.

The following is the syntactic structure of the example of (1b) with a modal *-sooda*.

- (18) a. Ame-ga hut-te(-i) sooda.
 rain-NOM fall-NONPAST(-PROG) seem
 ‘It seems to be raining.’

¹The form *te-i (-de-i)* actually has one more usage, experiential, as well as durative. See the two usages in detail in Igarashi and Gunji (1998: 91-93).



The suppositional modal *-sooda* embeds TP or AspP as its complement. The T head *-te* does not have a past/non-past feature, and the ModP head *-sooda* c-commands AspP or TP, taking scope over *Ame-ga fut-te(-i)*. The structure (18b), however, still has a problem: the EPP restriction has not yet been satisfied. What kind of DP occupies the subject position of Spec, ModP? To answer the question, I will quote Takezawa's (2016) analysis of the two kinds of *-sooda* constructions in the next subsection.

3.3 V-ru/-ta + Modal auxiliary -sooda

Finally, let us consider *V-ru/-ta-sooda* construction, compared with *V-te-sooda* construction. Semantically the *-sooda* in *V-ru/-ta-sooda* construction means evidential. Such evidential *-sooda* also has a proposition as its internal argument. Then, let us see what kind of complement the evidential *-sooda* embeds. The form *-no* and a copula predicate *-da* can intervene between *V-ru/-ta* and evidential *-sooda*, while they can not between *V-te* and suppositional *-sooda*. The form *-no* can be C head, since it behaves like a DP object in (19).

- (19) Kimi-ga soko-ni i-ta-no-o mi-ta.
 you-NOM there be-PAST-NOMINALIZATION-ACC see-PAST
 'I saw that you were there.'

A sentential DP is considered to be equivalent to CP, based on cross-linguistic morphological, syntactic, and semantic observations for assuming a nominal counterpart to CP, namely DP, by Bernstein (2001: 537-544). In Japanese, the nominalization function of *-no* in (19) shows it is one such C head. The C head *-no* is often used with a copula predicate *-da* to be *-no-da*. If *-no-da* intervenes between a V-tense complex and *-sooda*, we can say that the *-sooda* embeds CP as its complement.

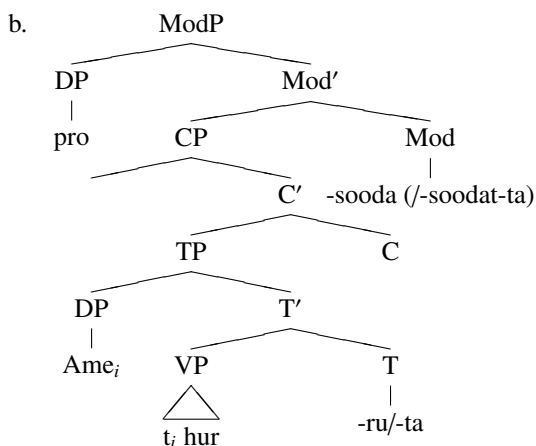
- (20) a. *Taroo-wa taisetuna syorui-o wasure-te(-i)-no-da sooda.
 Taro-TOPIC important documents forget-TENSE(-PROG)-COMP-COPULA seem
 Intended meaning: 'Taro seems to be forgetting the important documents.'
 b. Taroo-wa taisetuna syorui-o wasure-ta-no-da sooda.
 Taro-TOPIC important documents forget-PAST-COMP-COPULA I hear
 'I heard that Taro forgot the important documents.'

Based on the test above, I conclude that the evidential *-sooda* takes CP for its complement. Furthermore, Takezawa (2016: 64–66) claims that the evidential *-sooda* is not a raising predicate, since T head in the embedded tensed clause assigns Nominative Case to the subject, and the subject does not move any further. The following are Takezawa’s analyses of the two kinds of *-sooda*.

- (21) a. [_{CP} [_{TP} Taroo-ga_i [_β t_i dekake] sooda]]
 b. [_{CP} [_{TP} - [_{CP} Taroo-ga dekakeru] sooda]]
 (Takezawa 2016: 65, The notations in romanized characters are the author’s.)

He analyzed that Spec, TP position shown with an underline is occupied with *pro*, which avoids an EPP violation. Based on Takezawa’s analysis above, the example in (1d), which is quoted below again in (22a), has the structure of (22b).

- (22) a. Ame-ga hut-ta sooda.
 rain-NOM fall-PAST I hear
 ‘I heard it rained.’



As the evidential *-sooda* embeds CP (a proposition) for its complement, the predicates have either *-ru*, ‘-NONPAST,’ or *-ta*, ‘-PAST,’ tense morpheme between V and *-sooda*. The proposition which the evidential *-sooda* reports has no such restriction on the time and the place as the *V-te(-i) sooda* has.

In passing, so far it can be said that an aspectual *-sooda* has a different status from an evidential modal *-sooda*, in that the former positions immediately above VP, while the latter immediately above CP. This is supported by the example of (23a), which accommodates both phrases of *-sooda*.

- (23) a. Kanban-ga moosukoside taore-soodat-ta-sooda.
 signboard-NOM almost fall-be about TO-PAST-MOOD
 ‘I heard that the signboard was about to fall.’
 b. *Kanban-ga moosukoside taore-soodat-te(-i)-sooda.
 signboard-NOM almost fall-be about TO-PAST-MOOD
 Intended meaning: ‘It seems that the signboard was about to fall.’

However, the aspectual *-sooda* does not co-occur with a suppositional *-sooda* as in (23b), though I claimed that they have different syntactic properties from each other. The impossibility of the co-occurrence must lie in the restriction of observation which the aspectual *-sooda* has and the hypothetical function of *-te*. It is a tense morpheme which fixes its tense of the embedded VP to the speech time, and the speaker of *-sooda* suspects some other situation simultaneously. The compound *taore-sooda* should be observable, but *V-te-sooda* expresses the speaker's supposition for some other place, which leads to contradiction.

4. Conclusion

This paper took up some V + *-sooda* complex predicates: namely, (i) *V-sooda*, which has no tense morpheme between V and *-sooda*. The *-sooda* is defined as an aspectual auxiliary, when the pre-stage of the event of V is observable. The compound describes a temporal point next to the beginning of an event which V expresses.

(ii) *V-te(-i)-sooda*, which has a tense (and aspectual) morpheme(s), *-te(-i)*, between V and *-sooda*. The *-sooda* is a suppositional modal auxiliary which embeds TP (/AspP) as its complement. The tense morpheme, *-te*, does not fix its temporal point, and the temporal property of *V-te(-i)* depends on the speech time of *-sooda*, which leads to the reading of simultaneity. Because of the temporal property, the form, *V-te(-i)-sooda*, is used when we suppose that an event of V is occurring somewhere else.

(iii) *V-ru/ta-sooda* has a tense morpheme *-ru/ta* between V and *-sooda*, and the *-sooda* is an evidential modal auxiliary which embeds CP in its complement position. The embedded CP has its TP projection, which allows the clause to have its own temporal property, as well as its own place, both can be different from when and where *-sooda* is uttered.

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