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Mermaid constructions in Kurux

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1. Introduction

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

(1) Clause + Noun + Copula.

In addition, as Tsunoda (this volume-a, -b) and other papers in the present volume show, there are instances in which the 'Noun' slot is occupied by an enclitic which derives from a noun. There are also instances in which a noun or an enclitic of nominal origin has changed into a suffix and the suffix continues to occupy the 'Noun' slot. The noun, the enclitic, or

the suffix in the 'Noun' slot in (1) may also be a nominalizer.

Kurux, a Dravidian language of eastern India, has what can be regarded as the MMC, unlike other Dravidian languages. Two enclitics $=mad^he$: and $=bese$:, and possibly one noun $caḍḍe$: 'necessity', are attested in the 'Noun' slot. The MMC with $=mad^he$: has a modal or an aspectual meaning: 'X plans to ...', 'X is scheduled to ...', 'X has the property of ...ing'. The one with $=bese$: has an evidential meaning: 'X looks/appears/seems ...'. The one with $caḍḍe$: 'necessity' indicates cause/reason.

It seems likely that $=mad^he$: and $=bese$: derive from nouns that were borrowed from Indo-Aryan languages: $mád^hya$ 'middle' and $vēṣa$ 'dress', respectively.

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.

2. Initial illustration

Examples of the MMC in Kurux include (2) ($=mad^he$: 'be scheduled to') and (3) ($=bese$: 'like').

(2)   i: re:lga:ṛi: ko:ḍarma:
      this   train   Koderma
      ka:l-u:=mad^he(-d)   hike
      go-PRS.VADJ=ADJ-NM COP.PRS.3SG.NM
      'This train is scheduled to go to Koderma' or
      'This train is the Koderma-bound one.'

(3)   a:s   cī:x-na:=bese: rahc-as
      3SG.M.NOM   cry-VBN=like   be.B2-PST.3SG.M
      'He 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 the people called the Oraons, who mainly live in the states of Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, and Orissa in eastern India. Languages from three language families are spoken in this area: Dravidian, Indo-European (to which the Indo-Aryan languages belong), and Austro-Asiatic. The lingua franca of this multi-ethnic area is an Indo-Aryan language called Sadri, Sadani, or Nagpuri, which is considered by many to be a dialect of Bhojpuri (Jordan-Horstmann 1969). According to the Census of India 2001, there
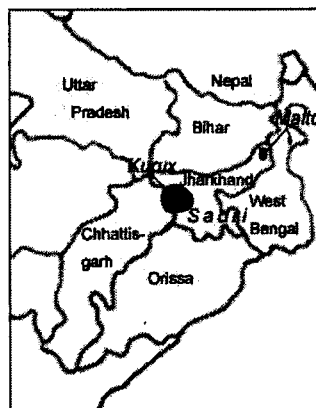
are 1,751,489 ethnic Oraons, but the number of Kurux speakers is probably less than half of that figure. The language that is linguistically closest to Kurux is Malto, also spoken in Jharkhand. Kurux used to be a non-literary language, and literacy in Kurux is still limited. The data for the present paper are cited from the spoken language.

Kurux has ten distinctive 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 distinctive consonants, /ʔ, k, kʰ, g, gʰ, c, cʰ, j, jʰ, ʈ, ʈʰ, ɖ, ɖʰ, 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 contrasting in pitch or stress alone.

Kurux is largely agglutinating, but 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.

The distinction between nouns and adjectives is not clear-cut. Adjectives often function as the head of an NP, similar to nouns. When used predicatively, adjectives do not agree with the subject in person-number-gender while nouns do. This is against what is expected from the agreement hierarchy proposed by Comrie (1975), according to which adjectives are more likely to exhibit agreement with the subject than nouns will.

Kurux has two numbers (singular and plural), three persons, and the inclusive-exclusive distinction in the first persons, plural. It makes a gender distinction between human masculine and other referents, and only human nouns, masculine and feminine, contrast in number. There are three tenses: past, present, and future. There are aspectual forms, such as progressive and perfect. Tense and agreement marking is obligatory in verbal predicates.

Kurux has two copula verbs: *tal-* is used to describe permanent properties, and *raʔ-* is used for temporary properties and states. The copula *hik-*, which is the Sadri equivalent of *tal-*, is used, too.

Table 1 presents a partial paradigm of conjugation, with the verb 'to dance' as an example. The third-person singular masculine and non-masculine forms are given for each category. The present perfect and the past perfect involve the copula verb *raʔ-*.

Table 1: Verb Conjugation

Verbal base *nal-*, Base 2[1] (B2) *naly-* 'to dance'		
	3SG.M	3SG.NM
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:*
past verbal adjective	*nal-ka:*	
present verbal adjective	*nal-u:*	
future verbal adjective	*nal-o:*	
verbal noun	*nal-na:*	

Kurux has a nominative-accusative alignment system (A/S vs. O). The nominative case involves no overt suffix, and the gloss 'NOM' will often be omitted in this study. Kurux has both dependent-marking and head-marking. It is, in the main, configurational.

Kurux has AOV and SV as the unmarked word orders. A noun is preceded by its modifiers, such as a deictic or demonstrative, a numeral, and an adjective (the position of adnominal clauses will be discussed in 4.2.1.). Complement clauses are postposed, as in many Indo-Aryan languages. When a phrase or clause is heavy or receives focus, it can be placed after the finite verb, at the end of a sentence.

4. Types of clauses and sentences

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

Very roughly speaking, clauses and sentences in Kurux can be classified into three groups (although the distinction between nouns and adjectives is not clear; cf. Section 3): verb-predicate clauses/sentences, adjective-predicate clauses/sentences, and noun-predicate clauses/sentences.
[1] Verb-predicate clauses/sentences
Example:

(4) a: kukko-s   *dʰanhu:(hu-n)*   hocc-as
    that   boy-3SG.M   bow(-ACC)   take.B2-PST.3SG.M
    'That boy took up the bow.'

[2] Adjective-predicate clauses/sentences
Adjective-predicate clauses/sentences obligatorily contain a copula verb.

(5) a: kukko-s sanni: tal-das
    that   boy-M   small   COP-3SG.M
    'That boy is small.'[2]

[3] Noun-predicate clauses/sentences
Noun-predicate clauses/sentences obligatorily contain a copula verb.

(6) ni:n   daw   a:l-ay   tal-day
    2SG.NOM   good   man-2SG   COP-PRS.2SG.M
    'You are a good man.'

Japanese abounds in noun-predicate sentences in which the subject and the complement are not co-referential. The most famous example is the following, cited from Okutsu (1978).

·   (7) (At a restaurant, someone may order his meal as follows:)
         boku=wa   unagi=da.
         1SG(male)=TOP   eel=COP.NPST
         LT: 'I am an eel.'
         FT: 'I will order an eel dish', 'I want to eat an eel'.

In contrast, in noun-predicate sentences in Kurux, the subject and the complement must be co-referential, and (7) would have to be expressed as follows.

(8) e:n   iŋjo-n   mo:x-on
    1SG.NOM   fish-ACC   eat-FUT.1SG
    'I will have fish.'

4.2 Adnominal and adverbial clauses

4.2.1 Adnominal clauses
4.2.1.1 Introductory notes. Kurux has three ways to form adnominal clauses ('ACs'): the correlative strategy (4.2.1.2), the use of a finite verb and a deictic (or demonstrative) (4.2.1.3), and the use of a verbal noun or a verbal adjective (4.2.1.4).

Kurux has both 'internal ACs' and 'external ACs'. Roughly speaking, in internal ACs, the head noun corresponds to an argument or an adjunct of the AC. In contrast, the head noun is added from outside the underlying clause in external ACs. It does not correspond to an argument nor an adjunct of the AC. See Teramura (1969) and Tsunoda (this volume-a, 7.2) for a characterization of these two types of ACs.

4.2.1.2 Correlative strategy. See Keenan (1985: 163-168) for a characterization of the correlative strategy. In Kurux, this strategy involves an interrogative pronoun and a distal deictic. The latter functions as a resumptive pronoun. These ACs are head-internal, and the head noun is

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within the AC. The verbs employed are in a finite form. Examples follow.

(9) *eka:*   *kukko-s* *put^hi-n*   *paṛ^hc-as*
    which   boy-M   book-ACC   read.B2-PST.3SG.M
    a:s
    that.M.NOM
    'the boy who read a book'.

(10) *eka:*   *put^hi:*   *a:*   *kukko-s*
    which   book   that   boy-M
    paṛ^hc-as   *a:d*
    read.B2-PST.3SG.M   3SG.NM.NOM
    'the book that the boy read'

(11) *e:n*   *eka:*   *orto-s-gane* *kac^hnak^hṛ?-a:lagkan*
    1SG.NOM   which   one-M-with   talk-PST.PROG.1SG
    a:s   *ne:las*   *pa:kuṛka:l-os*
    3SG.M.NOM   tomorrow   Pakur go-FUT.3SG.M
    'The man I was talking to will go to Pakur tomorrow.'

4.2.1.3 Use of a finite verb and a deictic. Examples include the following. An AC precedes the noun it modifies.

(12) *bar?-a:lagi:*   *a:*   *pello:*
    come-PRS.PROG.3SG.NM   that   woman
    a:s-gahi   *taŋg-day*   *hike*
    3SG.M-GEN   own-elder.sister   COP.PRS.3SG.NM
    'The woman who is coming is his elder sister.'

(13) *put^hi-n*   *paṛ^h?-a:lagyas*   *a:*   *kukko-s*
    book-ACC   read-PST.PROG.3SG.M   that   boy-M
    'the boy who was reading a book'

(14) *a:*   *kukko-s* *paṛ^h?-a:lagyas*   *a:*   *put^hi*
    that   boy-M   read-PST.PROG.3SG.M   that   book
    'the book that the boy was reading'

4.2.1.4 Use of a verbal noun or a verbal adjective. An AC precedes the noun it modifies. The predicate of the AC may be either a verbal noun, e.g. (15), or a verbal adjective, e.g. (16) and (17). Of the three types of verbal adjectives (cf. Table 1), the past verbal adjective (-*ka:*), e.g. (16), and the present verbal adjective (-*u:*), e.g. (17), can modify a noun.

(15) *ko:ḍarma:*   *ka:-na:*   *re:lga:ṛi:*
    Koderma   go-VBN train
    'a Koderma-bound train'

(16) *put^hi(-n)*   *paṛ^hc-ka:*   *kukko-s*
    book(-ACC)   read.B2-PST.VADJ   boy-M
    'the boy who read a book'

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(17) *pu^{h}i(-n)*   *paṛ^{h}ʔ-u:*   *kukko-s*
book(-ACC)   read-PRS.VADJ boy-M
'the boy who {reads/is reading/will read} a book'

The past verbal adjective refers to completed actions, e.g. (16), while the present verbal adjectives describe uncompleted actions, e.g. (17).

4.2.1.5 External ACs. All of the examples of ACs given above may be considered 'internal ACs', for the head noun is an argument or an adjunct of the AC. In addition, Kurux has 'external ACs', in which the head noun is not an argument or an adjunct of the AC and the AC is appositional to the head noun, e.g. (18).

(18) *a:*   *a:l-as-gahi*   *eṛpa-n*   *xe:nd-na:* *kattha:*
that   man-M-GEN   house-ACC buy-VBN story
'the story/rumor that the man is buying a house'

4.2.2 Adverbial clauses
The structure of adverbial clauses resembles that of an AC plus a noun. Roughly speaking, this can be divided into two types.

One type resembles the type of ACs discussed in 4.2.1.4. What appears to be an adnominal clause precedes and modifies the noun. The predicate of the clause may be a verbal adjective, e.g. (19), (20), or a verbal noun, .e.g. (21). The noun is often in the locative case, e.g. (20), (21). In (19), the noun *caḍḍe:* 'necessity' functions as a subordinate conjunction and indicates cause/reason 'because'.

(19) *a:s-ge*   *lu:r*   *mal-ka:*   *caḍḍe:*
3SG.M-DAT wisdom be.not-PST.VADJ because
a:s   *amm-an*   *e:r-das*
3SG.M.NOM   water-ACC look-PRS.3SG.MASC
ki   *ka:-das*
and   go-PRS.3SG.MASC
'Because he had no intelligence, he saw water and went away.'
(20) *cando:* *arg-ka:*   *bi:ri:-nu-m*
moon   climb-PST.VADJ   time-LOC-EMPH
a:s   *cailker-as*
3SG.M.NOM   set.out.B2-PAST.3SG.MASC
'He set out when the moon had risen up.'
(21) *bi:ṛi:* *putt-na:* *be:ṛa:-nu:* *cando-d*   *argy-a:*
sun   set-VBN time-LOC moon-NM rise.B2-PST.3SG.NM
ker-a:
go.B2-PST.3SG.NM
'At the time of the sunset, the moon has risen up.'

In the other type, what appears to be an AC involves the correlative strategy (cf. 4.2.1.2).

(22) *ek?am-bi:ri-m*   *i:di*   *xacr-o:*
     any-time-EMPH this   go.off-FUT.3SG.NM
     a:-bi:ri-m   *kʰe?-oy*   *ka:l-oy*
     that-time-EMPH die-FUT.2SG   go-FUT.2SG
     'When this [string] goes off, you are going to die.'

(23) *ekanne:*   *a:s*   *ukky-as*
     which.way   3SG.M.NOM   sit.B2-PST.3SG.M
     anne-m   *xandr-as*   *ker-as*
     that.way-EMPH   sleep-PST.3SG.M go.B2-PST.3SG.M
     'As soon as he sat down, he fell asleep.'

What may be considered the subordinate clause precedes what may be regarded as the main clause. The predicates of the 'subordinate clauses' are finite forms, in (22) and (23).

5. Mermaid Construction

5.1 Introductory notes

As mentioned in Section 1, one noun (*caɖɖe:* 'necessity') and two enclitics (*=madʰe* and *=bese*) are attested in the 'Noun' slot of the 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 will consider each of the three morphemes separately.

5.2 MMC involving the noun caɖɖe: 'necessity'

The noun *caɖɖe:* 'necessity' can function as a subordinate conjunction and indicates cause/reason 'because' (Grignard 1924a:121, 1924b, s.v.). The predicate of this adverbial clause ('cause, reason') is a verbal adjective. Examples include (19) and:

(24) *a:s*   *tamba-s-in*   *ilc-ka:*
     3SG.M.NOM own.father-M-ACC   fear.B2-PST.VADJ
     caɖɖe: *boŋg-as*   *ker-as*
     because   run.away-PST.3SG.M   go.B2-PST.3SG.M
     'He ran away because he was scared of his father.'

As mentioned in Section 3, a phrase or clause can be placed after the finite verb when it is heavy or is in focus. Thus, the *caɖɖe:* clause can also occur after *boŋg-as ker-as*:

(25) *a:s*   *boŋg-as*   *ker-as*
      3SG.M.NOM   run.away-PST.3SG.M   go.B2-PST.3SG.M
      tamba-s-in   *ilc-ka:*   *caɖɖe:*
      own.father-M-ACC fear.B2-PST.VADJ because
      'He ran away, because he was scared of his father.'

Furthermore, when a more explicit focus is put on it, the *caɖɖe:* clause can take the copula verb *raʔ-* (but not *tal-*) and become an independent sentence, as in (26):

(26) *a:s*   *boŋg-as*   *ker-as.*
      3SG.M.NOM   run.away-PST.3SG.M   go.B2-PST.3SG.M
      'He ran away.'
      a:d   *tamba-s-in*   *ilc-ka:*
      that   own.father-M-ACC   fear.B2-PST.VADJ
      caɖɖe: *rahc-a:*
      because   be.B2-PST.3SG.NM
      '[It was] because he was scared of his father.'

(27) *a:*   *re:lga:ɽi:*   *bigɽa:r-ka:*   *caɖɖe:*
      that   train   be.broken-PST.VADJ   because
      rahc-a:.
      be.B2-PST.3SG.NM
      '[It] is because the train had a technical problem'
      aoŋge   *di:ri:*   *maɲj-a:*
      therefore   delay   become.B2-PST.3SG.NM
      'that it became delayed.'

Since *caɖɖe:* can be used as a noun meaning 'necessity', the second sentence of (26) and the first sentence of (27) may be said to have the structure shown in (1): Clause + Noun + Copula. That is, it may be considered an instance of the prototype of the MMC.

The second sentence of (26) has close parallels in Japanese. The Japanese MMC in which the noun *wake* 'cause, reason', e.g. (28), or the enclitic nominalizer *=no* occupies the 'Noun' slot may indicate cause/reason or provide an explanation (cf. Tsunoda, this volume-b, 5.4.3-[3]).

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

The etymology of *caɖɖe:* is not transparent. On the one hand, it looks like a borrowing of Sadri postposition *caɖe* 'because of' (Jordan-Horstmann 1969:150, but it also seems to be connected with Kurux *ca:ɽ* 'necessity', and it might be two independent etyma. If that is the case, the construction with

caḍḍe: cannot be considered an MMC.[3]

5.3 MMC involving the enclitic =mad^h^e:

5.3.1 Introductory notes

The enclitic *=mad^h^e:* (Grignard 1924a:119, 1924b, s.v.) serves as a nominalizer or adjectivizer. It is attached to the genitive forms of pronouns, adjectives (including deictics), and verbal adjectives, nouns and NPs (see below), and it forms adjectives, adjectival phrases (see below), nouns and NPs.

In (30), *=mad^h^e:* 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^h^e:* 'wearing a cap and glasses') is not just an adjective but an adjectival phrase.

Since *=mad^h^e:* can be attached to a coordinate structure, e.g. (30), we analyze *=mad^h^e:* not as a suffix but as an enclitic.

There is no cognate of *=mad^h^e:* in Malto, which is genetically close to Kurux. The use of *=mad^h^e:* is in close parallelism with the Hindi enclitic *=vaalaa* (cf. Imamura, this volume). Also, an Indo-Aryan etymology is highly likely (see 5.3.4). In view of these three facts, *=mad^h^e:* is probably a loan introduced after the divergence of Kurux and Malto.[4]

5.3.2 Uses of =mad^h^e:

As just noted, the enclitic *=mad^h^e:* is attached to genitive forms of pronouns, adjectives (including deictics), verbal adjectives, and nouns/NPs, and it forms adjectives/adjectival phrases and nouns/NPs. When it is attached to verbal adjectives, the resulting construction resembles the MMC. We shall now examine the uses of *=mad^h^e:*.

[1] With nouns and NPs

When combined with nouns/NPs, *=mad^h^e:* forms adjectives/adjectival phrases meaning 'having ..., characterized by ...', e.g. (29), (30), (31), or nouns/NPs meaning 'someone/something having ...' or '... thing/people', e.g. (32).

(29) *a:*   *ṭu:pi:=mad^h^e:*   *kukko-s*   *eŋgda-s*
     that   cap=ADJ   boy-M.NOM   my.son-M
     hik-das
     COP-PRS.3SG.M
     'That boy wearing a cap is my son.'

(30)   *a:*   *ṭu:pi:*   *ar*   *casma:=mad^h^e:*   *kukko-s*
     that   cap   and   glasses=ADJ   boy-M.NOM
     'that boy wearing a cap and glasses'

(31) *i:d*   *casma:=mad^h^e:*   *duka:n*   *hike*
     this.NM.NOM   glasses=ADJ   shop   COP.PRS.3SG.NM
     'This is an optician's shop.'

(32) *xadd=mad^h^e-r*   *be:c-a:lagnar*
     child=NMLZ-PL.NOM   play-PRS.PROG.3PL
     'Children are playing.'

[2] With verbal nouns (-na:)
When combined with verbal nouns (-na:), =mad^he: forms adjectives/adjectival phrases meaning 'for ...ing'. They can also be used as nouns.

(33) i: dudhi: ca:h-nu: saj-na:=mad^he: hike
     this   milk   tea-LOC   put-VBN=ADJ COP.PRS.3SG.NM
     (Pointing to powder creamer) 'This milk is for putting in tea.'

[3] With genitive forms of pronouns
When =mad^he: is placed after genitive forms of pronouns, it produces possessive pronouns.

(34) i: casma: eŋg-hay=mad^he-d   hike
     this   glasses I-GEN=NMLZ-NM.NOM   COP.PRS.3SG.NM
     'These glasses are mine (lit. my ones).'

[4] With deictics
With deictics, such as a: 'that' or i: 'this', =mad^he: means 'that one, this one'.

(35) nam-hay   ʈre:n   bar?-a:lagi:
     1PL.INCL-GEN   train   come-PRS.PROG.3SG.NM
     i:=mad^he: hike
     this=NMLZ   COP.PRS.3SG.NM
     'Our train is this coming one.'

[5] With adjectives
When combined with adjectives, =mad^he: forms nouns/NPs meaning 'a ... one' and adjectives/adjectival phrases meaning 'somewhat ...'.

(36) seya:n=mad^he: ba?-a:lagi:
     young=NMLZ   say-PRS.PROG.3SG.NM
     '[Among the birds], the younger ones say.'[5]
(37) mu:li:-tara mo:ʈ=mad^he: ɖa:ɽa-n   k^haɳɖ-a:
     root-side   thick=ADJ   bough-ACC   cut-INF
     helr-as
     start-PST.3SG.M
     'He started cutting a somewhat big bough at its root.'

[6] With verbal adjectives
When combined with verbal adjectives, =mad^he: forms nouns/NPs meaning 'that which ..., one who ...' and adjectives/adjectival phrases that function like an AC.

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(38) eṛpa: mal-ka:=madʰe-r   bagge: raʔ-nar
    house   be.not-PST.VADJ=NMLZ-PL   many   be-PRS.3PL
    LT: '[There] are many whose house is non-existent.
    FT: 'There are many homeless people.'

Additional examples include (2), (39) (same as (2)), and (40). They contain a copula verb.

(39) i: re:lga:ṛi: ko:ḍarma: ka:-na:=madʰe:
    this   train   Koderma   go-VBN=ADJ
    hike
    COP.PRS.3SG.NM
    'This train is scheduled to go to Koderma' or 'This train is the Koderma-bound one.'

(40) i: pocgo: kaŋk   mo:x-na:=madʰe:
    this   weevil   wood   eat-VBN=ADJ
    hike
    COP.PRS.3SG.NM
    'This weevil is a wood eater.'

In (39) and (40), which contain a copula verb, the enclitic =madʰe: may be considered as occupying the 'Noun' slot of the MMC, shown in (1). 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 a noun, but by an enclitic. Combined with a copula, =madʰe: means 'Something/someone has the property of ...ing', 'is supposed to ...', or 'is going to ...'. The meaning is aspectual or modal.

The copula verb (cf. Section 3) employed here may be *tal-* (used for permanent properties) or *raʔ-* (used for temporary properties or states), e.g. (41). It may also be *hik-*, which is the Sadri equivalent of *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 (39) and (40) resemble the type of the Japanese MMC that contains the enclitic =*no*. 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, 5.4.4). Note that =madʰe is a nominalizer/adjectivizer.

5.3.3 Comparison with the Hindi enclitic =vaalaa

Hindi, which is an Indo-Aryan language, has the enclitic =*vaalaa*. Imamura (this volume) 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), or (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.)

As can be seen, the uses of the Kurux suffix =*mad^{h}e:* largely overlap with those of the Hindi enclitic =*vaalaa*. (Possibly this is due to structural borrowing.) However, there is one important difference. In the MMC, the Kurux =*mad^{h}e:* may be omitted when referring to a planned future action. Compare (41) and (42). In contrast, the Hindi =*vaalaa* is mandatory in this meaning; see (43).[6]

(41) Kurux
    e:n   *ka:l-u:=mad^{h}e:*   *rahac-kan*
    1SG.NOM   go-PRS.VADJ-ADJ   be.B2-PST.1SG
    'I was going to go/planning to go.'

(42) Kurux
    e:n   *ka:l-u:*   *rahac-kan*
    1SG.NOM   go-PRS.VADJ   be.B2-PST.1SG
    '(As above)'

(43) Hindi
    mɛ̃   *jaa-ne=vaalaa*   *t^{h}aa*
    1SG.NOM   go-INF=ADJ.SG.M be.PST.SG.M
    '(As above)'

5.3.4 Etymology of =mad^{h}e:

A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary by Burrow and Emeneau (1984) does not suggest any Dravidian etymology for =*mad^{h}e:*. However, the following Kurux example, which I have found in a narrative, gives a clue as to its original meaning:

(44) *a:*   *mad^{h}e:-nu:*   *oṇṭa:*   *kõha:*   *lu:rgar*
    that   middle-LOC   one   big   intelligent
    rahc-a:
    be.B2-PST.3SG.NM
    'Among them, there was one big, intelligent [bird].'

Grignard's (1924b: 470) Kurux dictionary gives 'from among' as the meaning of =*mad^{h}e:*. If the original meaning of =*mad^{h}e:* was 'middle', it agrees with Sanskrit *mád^{h}ya-* 'middle', the entry 9804 in Turner's *A comparative dictionary of Indo-Aryan languages* (Turner 1962–1966: 563). Sadri has a postposition *mad^{h}e* 'in the middle of, near' aside from *maj^{h}e* 'id.' (Jordan-Horstmann 1969:167), and this is the likeliest source of Kurux =*mad^{h}e*.[7]

5.4 MMC involving the enclitic =bese:

5.4.1 Uses of =bese:

Like =*mad^{h}e:*, =*bese:* is attached to coordinate structures, and we analyze it

as an enclitic. It has an evidential meaning—generally, evidence based on direct observation. It can be translated as 'like' or 'as if'.

The enclitic =bese: can follow adjectives/adjectival phrases including verbal adjectives, e.g. (45), and nouns/NPs including verbal nouns, e.g. (46). Unlike =madᵇe:, =bese: can also follow finite verb forms, e.g. (47) (past), (48) (future), and (49) (present). =bese: is commonly used with a verb of perception, such as e:tʰrʔ- 'to look', mendrʔ- 'to sound', or lag- 'to feel' (intransitive).

(45) cẽ:p   poss-ka:=bese:
     rain   fall.B2-PST.VADJ=like
     e:tʰrʔ-a:lagi:
     look-PRS.PROG.3SG.NM
     'It looks like it rained.'

(46) cẽ:p   poy-na:=bese: e:tʰrʔ-a:lagi:
     rain   fall-VBN=like   look-PRS.PROG.3SG.NM
     'It looks like it is going to rain.'

(47) cẽ:p   poss-a:=bese:
     rain   fall.B2-PST.3SG.NM=like
     e:tʰrʔ-a:lagi:
     look-PRS.PROG.3SG.NM
     'It looks like it rained.'

(48) ad-ige   xadd-ar   man-or=bese:
     3SG.NM-DAT   child-PL   be.born-FUT.3PL=like
     e:tʰrʔ-a:lagi:
     look-PRS.PROG.3SG.NM
     'She looks pregnant.'

(49) a:s-gahi   ɖaɳɖi: berxa: cĩ:x-i:=bese:
     3SG.M-GEN   song   cat   cry-PRS.3SG.NM=like
     mindrʔ-i:
     sound-PRS.3SG.NM
     'His song sounds as if a cat is crying.'

In (48), man-or=bese: 'be.born-FUT.3PL=like' can be replaced with man-na:=bese: 'be.born-VBN=like'. Similarly, in (49), cĩ:x-i:=bese: 'cry-PRS.3SG.NM=like' can be replaced with cĩ:x-na:=bese: 'cry-VBN=like'.

Sentences such as (47) to (49) may be considered bi-clausal; that is, the words that precede the enclitic =bese: constitute a subordinate clause. In this respect, =bese: functions as a subordinating conjunction.

Now, a word involving =bese: can also be used with the copula verb raʔ- (the copula used for temporary properties; cf. Section 3), e.g. (3) and:

(50) a:s   urmi-n   mo:dᵇr-as=bese:
     he.NOM   everything-ACC forget-PST.3SG.M=like
     raʔ-das
     be-PRS.3SG.M

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'He is as if he has forgotten everything.'

In (3) and (50), =*bese:* may be considered as occupying the 'Noun' slot of the MMC, shown in (1). 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 a noun, but by an enclitic.

The copula that is used in sentences such as (3) and (50) is *ra?-*, which describes temporary properties. It is not *tal-* or *hik-*, which denote permanent properties. That is, this MMC concerns temporary properties and not permanent properties.

5.4.2 Etymology of =bese:

No likely cognate of =*bese:* has been found in Malto. 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 (1962–66:702) 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 possible 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'. Kurux *be:s* 'good, well, very much' from Hindi *beśa* 'good, more' or Bengali *beśa* 'nice, too much' is probably a different etymon.

The above suggests that =*bese:* may have an Indo-Aryan (and not Dravidian) origin.

5.5 Comparison of the three types of MMC

Table 2 compares the three types of MMC discussed above in terms of (i) the possible etymology of the morphemes that occupy the 'Noun' slot, (ii) its use and meaning used outside the MMC in present-day Kurux, (iii) the morphological status (i.e. word vs. suffix) of the morpheme in question, and (iv) the meaning/function that the MMC in question has.

Table 2. Comparison of the three types of MMC (1)

etymology	outside MMC	in MMC: 'Noun' slot	in MMC: meaning
Sadri *caḍe* 'because of'	noun *caḍḍe:* 'necessity'	word *caḍḍe:*	cause/reason: 'It is because'
IA *māḍʰya* 'middle'	noun *maḍʰe:* 'middle', enclitic *=maḍʰe:* 'nominalizer, adjectivizer'	enclitic *=maḍʰe:*	aspectual or modal: 'has the property of ...', 'is supposed to ...'
IA *vēṣa* 'dress'	enclitic *=bese:* 'like'	enclitic *=bese:*	evidential: 'looks/appears/ seems as if ...', 'is like ...'

If the proposed etymologies are correct, *=maḍʰe:* and *=bese:* used in the MMC have grammaticalized considerably. 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' > property.
(d) 'dress' > evidential ('It appears as if ...')

Papers 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) to (c) seem uncommon. Furthermore, they seem uncommon in the grammaticalization of nouns in general.

Table 3 compares the morphosyntax of the three types of MMC. The copulas *raʔ-* (for temporary properties) and *tal-* (for permanent properties) are Kurux words, while the copula *hik-* (for permanent properties) is a loanword from Sadri, a neighboring Indo-Aryan language (cf. Section 3).

Table 3. Comparison of the three types of MMC (2)

'Noun' slot	'Copula'	predicate of 'Clause'
word *caḍḍe:*	*raʔ-*	verbal adjective
clitic *=madʰe:*	*tal-/hik-, raʔ-*	verbal adjective, verbal noun
clitic *=bese:*	*raʔ-*	verbal adjective, verbal noun, finite verb

6. Comparison of the MMC and verb-predicate sentences

We shall compare the MMC with verb-predicate sentences, as in both constructions—both MMC and main clauses—the predicate is verbal. The MMC differs from verb-predicate sentences in the following respects.

(a) The MMC ends with a copula. (Verb-predicate sentences end with a verb.)

(b) With *=bese:*, the predicate of the 'Clause' can be in a finite form (Table 3). In this case, the 'Clause' can be used by itself as a sentence. However, elsewhere, the predicate of the 'Clause' is in a non-finite form: when *=bese:* occurs with (i) a verbal noun or a verbal adjective, (ii) *=madʰe:* (a verbal adjective or a verbal noun), and (iii) *raʔ-* (a verbal adjective). In the latter cases, the 'Clause' of the MMC cannot be used as a sentence by itself.

The 'Clause' of the MMC and verb-predicate sentences behaves identically in terms of the following respects.

(c) Word order. AOV and SV are the unmarked orders.

(d) Case-marking. For example, the subject can be in the nominative not only in verb-predicate sentences, e.g. (4), but also in the 'Clause' of the MMC, e.g. (3).

7. Summary and concluding remarks

Kurux has one noun and two enclitics that can occupy the 'Noun' slot of the MMC. The MMC involving the noun *caḍḍe:* 'necessity' indicates cause/reason. The one with the enclitic *=madʰe:* means '... has the property of ...ing' or '... is supposed/scheduled to ...'. The one with the enclitic *=bese:* has an evidential meaning: 'It looks/appears/seems' and 'as if'.

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, unlike verb-predicate sentences. In terms of word order and the case of the subject, the 'Clauses' of the MMC and verb-predicate sentences show no difference.

The enclitic *=madʰe:* possibly derives from the Indo-Aryan noun *mádʰya* '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. These two forms have been
grammaticalized in terms of both morphology and meaning.

Kurux is a Dravidian language, and as is still the case in the closely
related language Malto, it was probably impossible originally to conclude a
sentence containing a verb element with a noun + copula. However, there
was apparently a syntactic innovation after the split of Kurux and Malto,
which explains the existence of the MMC in Kurux.

Abbreviations

AC – adnominal clause; ACC – accusative; ADJ – adjectivizer; B2 – Base 2;
COP – copula; DAT – dative; DESID – desiderative; EMPH – emphatic;
FUT – future; GEN – genitive; GER – gerund; INCL – inclusive; INF –
infinitive; LOC – locative; M – masculine; MMC – Mermaid Construction;
NM – non-masculine; NMLZ – nominalizer; NPST – non-past; PL – plural;
PROG – progressive; PRS – present; PST – past; TOP – topicalizer; VADJ –
verbal adjective; VBN – verbal noun

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[1] Base 2 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.

[2] If the complement *sanni:* shows concord with the subject, it has a nominal meaning: *a: kukko-s sanni-s tal-das* {that boy-M youngest.one-M COP-3SGM} 'That boy is the youngest.'

[3] One argument for considering *caɖɖe:* 'necessity' and *caɖɖe:* 'because' as a single etymon is the existence of usages bridging these two meanings, such as *ender caɖɖe:* {what necessity} 'Why?/ For what?'.

[4] The Hindi enclitic *=vaalaa*, too, can be attached to a coordinate structure like that in (30). See Imamura (this volume).

[5] Non-human referents are referred to by the singular form regardless of their actual numbers.

[6] This is probably because there is an old usage of the present verbal adjective (*-u:*) denoting planned future action by itself.

[7] 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.