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Mermaid Constructions in Sidaama

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1. Introduction

The present paper is the first report on the existence of any mermaid construction ('MMC') outside Asia — in Sidaama of Ethiopia.

Tasaku Tsunoda (this volume-a) proposes that the prototype of the MMC has the following three properties.

(a) It has the structure shown in (1).
(b) The subject of the 'Clause' and the 'Noun' are not coreferential.
(c) The 'Clause' can be used as a sentence by itself.

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

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. Furthermore, one of the three types is even a prototypical instance of an MMC.

The 'Noun' slot is occupied by the noun *gara* 'manner, way' in one type (*gara* MMC), and by the enclitic *=gede* 'like, as if, so that, that (complementizer)' in another (*=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 (DATLOC MMC), the 'Noun' slot is occupied by the dative-locative suffix *-ra*, 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 of the *=gede* MMC can be used as a sentence by itself, but that of the DATLOC MMC cannot. The *gara* MMC conforms to the prototype of the MMC, while the other two types do not.

The present study also speculates how the Sidaama MMCs came to be used.

2. Initial illustration

Examples of the three types of MMCs follow.

gara MMC: MMC with the noun *gara* 'manner, way'
   (2)   ise
          3SG.F.NOM
          dod-d-anno   gara-a=ti.
          run-3SG.F-IPFV.3   manner-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
          LT: 'She is the manner she (habitually) runs.'
          FT: 'It seems like she (habitually) runs.'

=gede MMC: MMC with the enclitic *=gede* 'like, as if, so that, that (complementizer)'
   (3)   ise
          3SG.F.NOM
          dod-d-anno=gede-e=ti.
          run-3SG.F-IPFV.3=like-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
          LT: 'She is like she will run.'
          FT: 'It seems like she will run.'

DATLOC MMC: MMC with an infinitive followed by the dative-locative suffix

(4)   ise
3SG.F.NOM
dod-d-a-ra-a = ti.
run-3SG.F-INF-DATLOC.MOD-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
'She is about to run.'

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). It is spoken in the Sidaama Zone of South-Central Ethiopia. According to the 2007 Ethiopian Census, as of 2005 the population of the Sidaama people 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 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, in press b). 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, in press). See Table 1. 'Modified' and 'Unmodified' (and its related term 'Modifier') are capitalized because these terms are used here to refer to the morphosyntactic distinction specific to nouns in Sidaama.

Table 1: Nominative, Genitive, and Dative-locative Case Suffixes

Modification \ case \ gender	Nominative		Genitive		Dative-locative	
	FEM	MASC	FEM	MASC	FEM	MASC
Unmodified	-ø	-u	-te	-u	-te	-ho
Modified		-i	-ø	-i	-ra	

Verbs inflect for aspect or mood and also for the person, number, and gender of the subject (and optionally for those of the object). There are five

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aspectual categories: imperfective, distant perfect, recent perfect, continuous, and progressive. The imperfective has both habitual and future interpretations. The mood categories are of two types: imperative and optative.

In a verb-predicate sentence (cf. 4.1), the verb root has to be accompanied either by one of the mood suffixes, e.g. (5) (imperative), or by the subject suffix and one of the aspectual suffixes, e.g. (6) (distant perfect). Both the aspectual and mood suffixes have different forms depending on the person and number of the subject.

(5) faraššó   usur-i.
     horse.ACC   fasten-IMP.2SG
     '(to the second person singular) Fasten the horse!'

(6) ise   faraššó   usur-t-ino.
     3SG.F.NOM   horse.ACC   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 a relative clause to form (part of) an argument noun phrase, (ii) an adjective, a noun phrase, a genitive noun phrase, or a relative 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 of the referent of the noun phrase and on the case of the noun phrase. See Table 2. (The plural form =re is limited to use (i). It is not relevant to the main theme of the present paper.)

Table 2: Singular Noun-Phrase Enclitic =ta/=ha

Use	Case	Gender	FEM	MASC
(i)	ACC		=ta	=ha
	NOM		=ti	=hu
	GEN		=te	=hu
(ii)	PRED	Unmodified nouns, adjectives, (headless) relative clauses	=te	=ho
		Modified nouns	=ti	——
(iii)	COMP		=ta	=ha

The present study mainly concerns use (ii), the predicative use of the singular noun-phrase enclitic. (Note that Sidaama does not have a copula verb, and the noun-phrase enclitic =ta/ =ha performs the function of a copula.) In this use, when preceded by an adjective, the singular noun-phrase enclitic is =te (FEM)/ =ho (MASC), e.g. (7). When preceded by a common noun, it changes its form depending on whether the noun is

Unmodified (= *te* (FEM)/ = *ho* (MASC)), e.g. (8), or Modified (= *ti*), e.g. (9) to (12). The noun *farašśo* 'horse' is Modified by the adjective *dunka* 'slow' in (9), by the third-person genitive pronoun *isé* in (10), by the relative clause *ise usur-t-ino* 'she fastened' in (11), and the third-person possessive pronominal suffix -*se* in (12).

(7) faraš̌š-u   dunka = ho.
     horse-NOM.M   slow=NPC.M.PRED
     'The horse is slow.'

(8) ku'u   farašśo=ho.
     that.M.NOM   horse=NPC.M.PRED
     'That is a horse.'

(9) ku'u   dunka   farašśo-o = ti.
     that.M.NOM   slow   horse-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
     'That is a slow horse.'

(10) ku'u   isé   farašśo-o = ti.
     that.M.NOM   3SG.F.GEN   horse-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
     'That is her horse.'

(11) ku'u   [ise   usur-t-ino]
     that.M.NOM   3SG.F.NOM   fasten-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
     farašśo-o = ti.
     horse-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
     'That is the horse that she fastened.'

(12) ku'u   farašśo-se-e=ti.
     that.M.NOM   horse-3SG.F.POSS-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
     'That 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.

Sidaama is primarily a spoken language. Although it has a writing system (based on the Latin alphabet), the literacy rate is very low. All the examples in this paper were collected from my consultants by means of oral elicitation or from orally narrated folk tales 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. (5), (6), (ii) adjective-predicate sentences, e.g. (7), and (iii) noun-predicate sentences, e.g. (8) to (12). The verb predicate is accompanied by verbal suffixes, whereas the adjective predicate and the noun predicate are not. Unlike the verb predicate, the adjective predicate and the noun predicate are followed by the predicative noun-phrase enclitic.

4.2. Relative clauses (or adnominal clauses) and adverbial clauses

4.2.1 Relative clauses (or adnominal clauses)

A relative clause is formed by means of gapping, e.g. (11), (13) to (18), (21) to (23), or by means of pronominal retention (usually, the retention of the pronominal possessive suffix), e.g. (19) to (20), (24) to (25). No relative pronoun is used. A noun may serve as the head of a relative clause, e.g. (15), (17), (19). A noun-phrase enclitic may attach to a clause to form a relative clause without a head noun, e.g. (16), (18), (20), (23). Both a noun head and the enclitic may be used, e.g. (26).

(13)   ani   [mat'aafá   hatté
       1SG.NOM   book.ACC   that.F.GEN
       beetto-ra
       child.GEN.F.MOD-DAT.MOD
       u-i-t-ino]   *mančo*
       give-EP-3SG.F-D.PRF.3 person(ACC.mod)
       la'-o-mm-o.
       see-D.PRF.1-1SG-M
       'I (MASC) saw the woman who gave the book to that girl.'

(14)   ani   [mat'aafá   hatté
       1SG.NOM   book.ACC   that.F.GEN
       beetto-ra
       child.GEN.F.MOD-DAT.MOD
       u-i-t-ino] = *ta*
       give-EP-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=NPC.M.ACC
       la'-o-mm-o.
       see-D.PRF.1-1SG-M
       'I (MASC) saw the one (FEM) who gave the book to that girl.'

(15)   ani   [ise   mat'aafá
       1SG.NOM   3SG.F.NOM book.ACC
       u-i-t-ino]   *mančo*
       give-EP-3SG.F-D.PRF.3 person(ACC.mod)

la'-o-mm-o.
see-D.PRF.1-1SG-M
'I (MASC) saw the person who she gave the book to.'

(16) ani   [ise   mat'aafá
1SG.NOM   3SG.F.NOM   book.ACC
u-i-t-ino] = ha   la'-o-mm-o.
give-EP-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=NPC.M.ACC   see-D.PRF.1-1SG-M
'I (MASC) saw the one (MASC) who she gave the book to.'

(17) isi   [ise   hakk'iččó
3SG.M.NOM   3SG.F.NOM   tree.ACC
mur-t-anno]   meesane
cut-3SG.F-IPFV.3   ax(ACC.mod)
hiikk'-ø-ino.
break-3SG.M-D.PRF.3SG.M
'He broke the ax with which she cuts a tree.'

(18) isi   [ise   hakk'iččó
3SG.M.NOM   3SG.F.NOM   tree.ACC
mur-t-anno] = ta
cut-3SG.F-IPFV.3=NPC.F.ACC
hiikk'-ø-ino.
break-3SG.M-D.PRF.3SG.M
'He broke the one (FEM) with which she cuts a tree.'

(19) [ise   ledo-si
3SG.F.NOM   CMT-3SG.M.POSS
dag-g-ino]   mančo
come-3SG.F-D.PRF.3   person(ACC.mod)
af-oo-mm-o.
get.to.know-D.PRF.1-1SG-M
'I (MASC) know the man with whom she came.'
(*lit.* 'I (MASC) got to know the man she came with him.')

(20) [ise   ledo-si
3SG.F.NOM   CMT-3SG.M.POSS
dag-g-ino]=ha
come-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=NPC.M.ACC
af-oo-mm-o.
get.to.know-D.PRF.1-1SG-M
'I (MASC) know the one (MASC) with whom she came.'
(*lit.* 'I (MASC) got to know to the one (MASC) she came with him.')

(21) ani   [ise   t'ume-te-nni
1SG.NOM   3SG.F.NOM   beauty-GEN.F-LOC

aǰ-ǰ-anno]   *mančo*
become.inferior-3SG.F-IPFV.3   person(ACC.mod)
aɗɗ-o-mm-o.
take-D.PRF.1-1SG-M
'I (MASC) married the woman who is more beautiful than her.'
(*lit.* 'I (MASC) took the woman to whom she becomes inferior in
beauty.')

(22) ani   [ise   t'ume-te-nni
      1SG.NOM   3SG.F.NOM   beauty-GEN.F-LOC
      aǰ-ǰ-anno] = *ta*
      become.inferior-3SG.F-IPFV.3=NPC.F.ACC
      aɗɗ-o-mm-o.
      take-D.PRF.1-1SG-M
      'I (MASC) married the one (FEM) who is more beautiful than her.'
      (*lit.* 'I (MASC) took the one (FEM) to whom she becomes inferior
      in beauty.')

(23) kuni   farašš-i   ise
      this.M.NOM   horse-NOM.MOD.M   3SG.F.NOM
      usur-t-ino = ho.
      fasten-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=NPC.M.PRED
      'This horse is the one (MASC) that she fastened.'

(24) ani   [ise   mat'aafá-si
      1SG.NOM   3SG.F.NOM   book.ACC-3SG.M.POSS
      hun-t-ino]   *mančo*
      lose-3SG.F-D.PRF.3   person(ACC.mod)
      la'-o-mm-o.
      see-D.PRF.1-1SG-M
      'I (MASC) saw the man whose book she lost.'

(25) ani   [ise   mat'aafá-si
      1SG.NOM   3SG.F.NOM   book.ACC-3SG.M.POSS
      hun-t-ino] = *ha*   la'-o-mm-o.
      lose-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=NPC.M.ACC   see-D.PRF.1-1SG-M
      'I (MASC) saw the one (MASC) whose book she lost.'

(26) ani   [ise   mat'aafá
      1SG.NOM   3SG.F.NOM   book.ACC
      u-i-t-ino] = *ha*
      give-EP-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=NPC.M.ACC
      hakkonne   *mančo*   la'-o-mm-o.
      that.M.ACC   person(ACC.mod)   see-D.PRF.1-1SG-M
      'I (MASC) saw that man who she gave the book to.'

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In Sidaama, relativization by means of gapping can be applied not only to argument noun phrases, but also to adjunct noun phrases. It is possible to relativize a noun phrase on any position in Keenan & Comrie's (1977) Noun Phrase Accessibility Hierarchy. Examples include the following. Subject: (13), direct object: (11), (23), indirect object: (15), (16), (26), major oblique case NP: (17), (18), possessor: (24), (25), and object of comparison: (21) to (22). Relativization by means of pronominal retention is restricted to possessor NPs, e.g. (19) to (20), (24) to (25).

Teramura (1969) points out that adnominal clauses ('ACs') of Japanese are of two types: internal ACs and external ACs. Roughly speaking, in internal ACs, the head noun corresponds to an argument or an adjunct of the AC, and the underlying clause is recoverable. In contrast, in external ACs, the head noun is, so to speak, added from the outside the underlying clause. It does not correspond to any argument or adjunct of the AC. See Tsunoda (this volume-a, 7.2.). See also Tsunoda (this volume-b, 4.2.1) for Japanese examples.

Sidaama has internal ACs; examples have been given in (13)-(26). However, it does not have external ACs. As noted by Tsunoda (this volume-a), almost all the languages that have MMCs have external ACs in addition to internal ACs. Sidaama is uncommon in that it has MMCs despite the absence of external ACs.

The verb in a relative clause in Sidaama is in one of its finite forms. It is in the imperfective, the distant perfect, the recent perfect, the continuous, or the progressive aspect. According to Keenan (1985: 160), the use of finite verb forms is unusual for prenominal relative clauses, which use non-finite verb forms (often, called 'participles') in most languages with prenominal relative clauses. In this respect, Sidaama may be uncommon.

4.2.2 Adverbial clauses
Sidaama uses clause-final markers to form different types of adverbial clauses, which normally precede a main clause. Some of them are relevant to a discussion of the MMCs, and are discussed in 5.2.4.2, 5.2.4.3, and 5.3.

5. Mermaid constructions

5.1. Introductory notes

As noted in Section 1, Sidaama has three types of MMCs. One of the three types is even a prototypical instance of an MMC. Their structures are shown in (27), (28) and (29).

(27) *gara* MMC: MMC with the noun *gara* 'manner, way'
    (a) Clause gara-a = ti.
    (b) Clause gar-í = te. (for a feminine subject)
       Clause gar-í = ho. (for a masculine subject)

(28) =gede MMC: MMC with the enclitic =gede 'like, as if, so that, that (complementizer)'
    (a) Clause = gede-e = ti.
    (b) Clause=gede-e = te. (for a feminine subject)
        Clause=gede-e = ho. (for a masculine subject)

(29) DATLOC MMC: MMC with an infinitive followed by the dative-locative suffix
    1SG, 2SG: Subj. V-INF-PERS/NUM-GENDER-ra-a = ti.
    3SG, 3PL: Subj. V-PERS/NUM/GENDER-INF-ra-a = ti.
    1PL: Subj. V-PERS/NUM-INF-PERS/NUM-ra-a = ti.
    2PL: Subj. V-PERS/NUM-INF-ra-a = ti.

In the *gara* MMC in (27) (discussed in 5.2.1), the 'Noun' slot is occupied by the noun *gara* 'manner, way'. In (27a), the final vowel of *gara* is lengthened, and in (27b), *gara* is in its genitive form, and its final vowel is replaced by -*i*, the genitive suffix for Modified masculine nouns. (Genitive nouns in this position are normally possessor nouns, e.g. 'The horse is the boy's'. I have only two nouns in my data other than *gara* whose genitive forms in the predicate position are not possessors: *umo* 'head' and *aada* 'model', whose genitive forms in this position mean 'the first one' (e.g. 'He is the first one.') and 'a well-organized person' (e.g. 'He is a well-organized person.'), respectively.)

In the =*gede* MMC in (28) (discussed in 5.2.2), the 'Noun' slot is occupied by the enclitic =*gede* 'like, as if, so that, that (complementizer)', and the final vowel of =*gede* is lengthened.

The 'Clause' part of both types of MMCs can stand alone as an independent sentence, and has the same pitch pattern when used as an independent sentence as when it appears in an MMC.

Unlike in other types of constructions, in both the *gara* MMC and the =*gede* MMCs, the person of the subject of the 'Clause' is restricted to the third-person, and cannot be the first person or second person.

Both types have 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 s/he has heard about it from someone else: 'It seems like ...' or 'It appears that ...', though the *gara* MMC with =*ti* in (27a) is aspectually a little more restricted than the *gara* MMC with =*te* (FEM)/ =*ho* (MASC) in (27b), and even more so than the =*gede* MMC in (28).

In the DATLOC MMC in (29) (discussed in 5.3), the 'Noun' slot is occupied by the dative-locative suffix -*ra*, and the verb of the 'Clause' is an infinitive inflected for person, number, and gender. This type has the meaning of the proximative aspect: 'be about to do ...'.

As noted in Section 3, Sidaama has noun-phrase enclitics that are used to form noun phrases. See Table 2. As (27) to (29) show, the Sidaama MMCs end with one type of noun-phrase enclitic: =*ti* (used with Modified nouns

as predicates) or $= te$ (FEM)/ $= ho$ (MASC) (used with Unmodified nouns, adjectives, and headless relative clauses as predicates). Thus, the MMCs resemble noun phrases in that they are followed by a noun-phrase enclitic in the predicate position.

In (27) and (28), the 'Clause' (preceding *gara* or =*gede*) can stand by itself as an independent sentence. In contrast, in (29), the 'Clause' (preceding *-ra-a* = *ti*) cannot. The types represented in (27b) and (28b) are particularly common, but that in (28a) is somewhat less common.

5.2 gara *MMC and* =gede *MMC*

Sections 5.2.1 and 5.2.2 describe the two types of MMCs separately, and Section 5.2.3 compares their subtypes. Section 5.2.4 discusses the similarities and differences between *gara* and =*gede* as used in constructions other than the MMCs.

5.2.1 gara *MMC*
This type of MMC uses the noun *gara* 'manner, way' in the 'Noun' slot. The *gara* MMC has two subtypes: (27a) and (27b). (27b) is more common than (27a). The 'Clause' of the *gara* MMC with $= ti$ in (27a) is largely restricted to the habitual interpretation of the imperfective aspect, whereas the 'Clause' of the *gara* MMC with $= te$ (FEM)/ $= ho$ (MASC) in (27b) can be used in the distant perfect or the future interpretation of the imperfective aspect. (Nevertheless, I have a small number of examples of the *gara-a* = *ti* MMC with the distant perfect that can be used in informal speech.) Both subtypes of this MMC 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 ...'. The two subtypes are illustrated below.

[1] (27a): Clause *gara-a* = *ti*
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*. Examples are given in (30)-(32).

(30) ise   farassó
      3SG.F.NOM   horse.ACC
      guluf-f-anno   gara-a = ti.
      ride-3SG.F-IPFV.3   manner-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
      LT: 'She is the manner she (habitually) rides a horse.'
      FT: 'It seems like she (habitually) rides a horse.'

(31) kawiččo gord-u   t'eená
      here   sky-NOM.M   rain.ACC

gan-ø-anno   gaŕa-a = ti.
hit-3SG.M-IPFV.3   manner-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
LT: 'The sky is the manner it (regularly) hits rain here.'
FT: 'It seems like it (regularly) rains here.'

(32) ise   hank'-i-t-anno
      3SG.F.NOM   get.angry-EP-3SG.F-IPFV.3
      gaŕa-a = ti.
      manner-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
      LT: 'She is the manner she (habitually) gets angry.'
      FT: 'It seems like she (habitually) gets angry.'

The *gara-a = ti* MMC is compatible only with the imperfective with the habitual interpretation, and is incompatible with any other aspectual category including the imperfective with the future interpretation.

The *gara-a = ti* MMC may look like a subjectless construction with *gara* in its literal sense as a predicate noun modified by a relative clause. However, this is not the case. Consider (11). It is a noun predicate sentence and its predicate is modified by a relative clause. Now, recall that the subject can be omitted when its referent is clear from the context (Section 3), and that a relative clause can relativize adjuncts (4.2). In the *=gede* MMC ending with *= ti*, because the predicative noun-phrase enclitic is in the form for Modified nouns, *gara* may be analyzed as being treated as a Modified noun. Thus, it may be thought that sentences like (30) to (32) are in fact noun-predicate sentences whose predicate is modified by a relative clause (like (11)), but whose subject has been omitted (unlike (11)). That is, it might be thought that, in (30) to (32), the noun *gara* is used in its literal sense 'way, manner', and is modified by a relative clause (which is prenominal), and serves as the predicate of a noun predicate sentence. According to this view, (30), for example, may appear to be able to be translated as '[It] is the manner in which she rides a horse', and (32) as '[It] is the manner in which she gets angry'. In fact, any sentence that is an instance of the *gara* MMC with *= ti* could also be interpreted as an instance of such a construction as long as the omission of the subject is obvious from the context.

First, we shall provide examples of *gara* used in its literal sense modified by a relative clause: (33) and (34).

(33) kuni   ise   farašsó
      this.MASC.NOM   3SG.F.NOM   horse.ACC
      guluf-f-anno   gaŕa-a = ti.
      ride-3SG.F-IPFV.3 manner-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
      'This is the manner in which she (habitually) rides a horse/will ride a horse.'

(34) kuni   ise
      this.MASC.NOM   3SG.F.NOM

hank'-i-t-anno   gara-a = ti.
get.angry-EP-3SG.F-IPFV.3   manner-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
'This is the manner in which she (habitually) gets angry/will get
angry.'

In (33) and (34), the subject could be omitted, e.g. (35) and (36), which are
identical with (30) and (32), respectively. Thus, in fact, these sentences are
ambiguous between the two interpretations; they are pronounced the same
way regardless of the interpretation.

(35) ise   faraššó
     3SG.F.NOM   horse.ACC
     guluf-f-anno   gara-a = ti.
     ride-3SG.F-IPFV.3   manner-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
     (a) Relativized predicate noun *gara* with subject omission: [It] is
         the manner in which she (habitually) rides a horse/will ride a
         horse.'
     (b) MMC: 'It seems like she (habitually) rides a horse/will ride a
         horse.'

(36) ise   hank'-i-t-anno
     3SG.F.NOM   get.angry-EP-3SG.F-IPFV.3
     gara-a = ti.
     manner-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
     (a) Relativized predicate noun *gara* with subject omission: '[It] is
         the manner in which she (habitually) gets angry/will get angry.'
     (b) MMC: 'It seems like she (habitually) gets angry.'

However, these two constructions have three differences.
The first difference concerns conjugational categories. As mentioned
earlier at the beginning of [1], in the *gara* MMC with = *ti*, if the preceding
verb is in the imperfective aspect, it has only the habitual interpretation.
Thus, when (35) and (36) are used as MMC sentences, they have only the
habitual readings, but no future readings, e.g. (35b) and (36b). In contrast,
with *gara* modified by a relative clause whose verb is in the imperfective, it
has both habitual and future interpretations, e.g. (35a) and (36a) (and also
(33) and (34)). In fact, in this construction, the verb of the relative clause
can be in any aspect, as shown in the distant perfect example (37), which
has no MMC interpretation. (As noted in 4.2, the verb in a relative clause
cannot be in the recent perfect aspect.)

(37) ise   hank'-i-t-ino
     3SG.F.NOM   get.angry-EP-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
     gara-a = ti.
     manner-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
     '[It] is the manner in which she got angry.'

Therefore, sentences like (35) and (36) are ambiguous partly because the verb is in the imperfective aspect.

The second difference involves person. As mentioned in 5.1, the MMC limits the person of the subject of the 'Clause' to the third-person, whereas none of the relative clause constructions places such a person restriction on the subject. Thus, if the first or second person is used, as in (38), the sentence has no MMC interpretation and is unambiguously interpreted as containing the relative clause construction.

(38)   ati   hank'-a-tt-o
        3SG.F.NOM   get.angry-IPFV.2-2-M
        gara-a = ti.
        manner-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
        '[It] is the manner in which you (MASC) get angry/will get angry.'

The third difference involves negation. When the negative proclitic *di* = attaches to the verb immediately preceding *gara*, in a sentence with the predicate noun *gara* used in its literal sense modified by a relative clause, the negation applies to the predicate noun phrase, e.g. (39a), whereas in a *gara-a = ti* MMC sentence, the negation applies to the verb, e.g. (39b).

(39)   ise   di = hank'-i-t-anno
        3SG.F.NOM   NEG=get.angry-EP-3SG.F-IPFV.3
        gara-a = ti. .
        manner-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
        (a) Relativized predicate noun *gara* with subject omission: '[It]
            is not the manner in which she (habitually) gets angry/will get
            angry.'
        (b) MMC: 'It seems like she (habitually) does not get angry.'

To sum up, the *gara* MMC with = *ti* should not be regarded as a construction that involves a relative clause.

[2] (27b): Clause *gar-í = te* or Clause *gar-í = ho*
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 singular predicative noun-phrase clitic for Unmodified nouns, adjectives, and (headless) relative clauses (Table 2).

The behavior of *gara* in this MMC is unusual. As mentioned in 5.1, although it is in the genitive case, it does not seem to involve possession. Moreover, it is the Modified genitive *gar-i* (as opposed to the Unmodified genitive *gar-u*), but the enclitic that attaches to it is in one of the forms for Unmodified nouns: = *te* (FEM) or = *ho* (MASC). Examples are shown in (40)-(42). The aspect of the verb of the 'Clause' in this MMC is limited to the future interpretation of the imperfective (e.g. (40) and (41)) or the distant perfect (e.g. (42)).

(40) ise   farašsó
3SG.F.NOM   horse.ACC
guluf-f-anno   gar-í=te.
ride-3SG.F-IPFV.3   manner-GEN.M.MOD=NPC.F.PRED
LT: 'She is the manner's she will ride a horse.'
FT: 'It seems like she will ride a horse.'

(41) kawiččo gord-u   t'eená
here   sky-NOM.M   rain.ACC
gan-ø-anno   gar-í=ho.
hit-3SG.M-IPFV.3   manner-GEN.M.MOD=NPC.M.PRED
LT: 'The sky is the manner's it will rain here.'
FT: 'It seems like it will rain here.'

(42) ise   hank'-i-t-ino
3SG.F.NOM   get.angry-EP-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
gar-í=te.
manner-GEN.M.MOD=NPC.F.PRED
LT: 'She is the manner's she got angry.'
FT: 'It seems like she got angry.'

This 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'.

[3] 'Clause' as a sentence
As noted in 5.1, in the *gara* MMC, the 'Clause' can stand by itself as a complete sentence. Specifically, the 'Clause' of the *gara-a=ti* MMC requires the verb of the 'Clause' to be in the imperfective aspect, and that of the *gar-í=te/gar-í=ho* MMC requires the verb of the 'Clause' to be in the imperfective aspect or the distant perfect. When the 'Clause' is used as a complete sentence, the verb in the imperfective aspect has both the habitual and the future interpretations, but the imperfective verb has only the habitual interpretation in the *gara-a=ti* MMC, and has only the future interpretation in the *gar-í=te/gar-í=ho* MMC. Compare (43) with (30) and (40); (44) with (31) and (41); (45) with (32).

(43) ise   farašsó
3SG.F.NOM   horse.ACC
guluf-f-anno.
ride-3SG.F-IPFV.3
'She (habitually) rides a horse/will ride a horse.'

(44) kawiččo gord-u   t'eená
here   sky-NOM.M   rain.ACC
gan-ø-anno.
hit-3SG.M-IPFV.3

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'It (regularly) rains here/will rain here.'
'*lit.* The sky (regularly) hits rain here/will hit rain here.'

(45) ise   hank'-i-t-anno.
     3SG.F.NOM   get.angry-EP-3SG.F-IPFV.3
     'She (habitually) gets angry/will get angry.'

[4] The *gara* MMC possesses all of the properties of the prototype of the MMC (Section 1). First, regarding MMC property (a), it has the structure shown in (1). Second, concerning MMC property (b), in (30), for example, the subject ('she') and the 'Noun' ('manner') are not coreferential. Third, as for MMC property (c), the 'Clause' can be used as a sentence by itself.

5.2.2 =gede MMC
The enclitic =*gede*, which is phonologically bound to various types of constituents, has a sense similar to the noun *gara* 'manner, way', and shares some grammatical properties with it, as discussed later in 5.2.4.2.
=*gede* seems to have been grammaticalized from a noun. It still bears some properties of nouns (e.g. compatibility with the ablative-instrumental suffix and the dative-locative suffix, and modification by some nominal modifiers). However, unlike nouns, it has no lexical gender. It cannot be accompanied by the possessive pronominal suffix or any other noun suffix than the ablative-instrumental suffix and the dative-locative suffix.
The =*gede* MMC has two subtypes: (28a) and (28b). (28b) is more common than (28a). The verb of the 'Clause' in both subtypes can be in the imperfective (future interpretations only), the distant perfect, and the progressive. The =*gede-e* = *ti* MMC additionally allows the verb of the 'Clause' to be in the recent perfect, and the =*gede-e* = *te*/=*gede-e* = *ho* additionally allows it to be in the continuous. We shall look at each of the two subtypes.

[1] (28a): Clause=*gede-e* = *ti*
In this subtype, =*gede* is followed by =*ti*, the form of the singular predicative noun-phrase enclitic for Modified nouns (cf. Table 2). Examples include (46)-(48). Compare (46) with (30) and (40).

(46) ise   faraššó
     3SG.F.NOM   horse.ACC
     guluf-f-anno = gede-e = ti.
     ride-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=like-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
     LT: 'She is like she will ride a horse.'
     FT: 'It seems like she will ride a horse.'

(47) kawiččo gord-u   t'eená
     here   sky-NOM.M   rain.ACC
     gan-ø-anno = gede-e = ti.
     hit-3SG.M-IPFV.3 = like-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD

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LT: 'The sky is like it will hit rain here.'
FT: 'It seems like it will rain here.'

(48)　ise
　　　　3SG.F.NOM
　　　　hank'-i-t-u = gede-e = ti.
　　　　get.angry-EP-3SG.F-R.PRF.3=like-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
　　　　LT: 'She is like she got/is angry.'
　　　　FT: 'It seems like she got/is angry.'

[2] (28b): Clause=*gede-e = te* or Clause=*gede-e = ho*
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). The verb at the end of the 'Clause' may be in the imperfective (future), the distant perfect, the continuous, or the progressive. Examples include (49)-(51). Compare (49) with (30), (40), and (46).

(49)　ise　　　　　　faraššó
　　　　3SG.F.NOM　　horse.ACC
　　　　guluf-f-anno = gede-e = te.
　　　　ride-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=like-LV=NPC.F.PRED
　　　　LT: 'She is like she will ride a horse.'
　　　　FT: 'It seems like she will ride a horse.'

(50)　kawiččo gord-u　　　t'eená
　　　　here　　sky-NOM.M　　rain.ACC
　　　　gan-ø-anno = gede-e = ho.
　　　　hit-3SG.M-IPFV.3 = like-LV=NPC.M.PRED
　　　　LT: 'The sky is like it will hit rain here.'
　　　　FT: 'It seems like it will rain here.'

(51)　ise　　　　　　hank'-i-t-e
　　　　3SG.F.NOM　　get.angry-EP-3SG.F-CNV.3
　　　　no = gede-e = te.
　　　　come.to.exit.3=like-LV=NPC.F.PRED
　　　　LT: 'She is like she has been angry.' (continuous aspect)
　　　　FT: 'It seems like she has been angry.'

[3] 'Clause' as a sentence
The 'Clause' which precedes =*gede-e = ti* or =*gede-e = te*/=*gede-e = ho* can stand by itself as a complete sentence. Compare, for example, (48) with (52) and (51) with (53).

(52)　ise　　　　　　hank'-i-t-u.
　　　　3SG.F.NOM　　get.angry-EP-3SG.F-R.PRF.3
　　　　'She got/is angry.'

(53) ise   hank'-i-t-e
      3SG.F.NOM   get.angry-EP-3SG.F-CNV.3
      no.
      come.to.exit.3=like-LV=NPC.F.PRED
      'She has been angry (continuous aspect).'

[4] The =gede MMC does not conform to the prototype of the MMC (cf. Section 1). Indeed, it has MMC property (c): the 'Clause' can be used as a sentence by itself. However, crucially, it lacks property (a), for the 'Noun' is occupied not by a noun, but an enclitic.

5.2.3 Differences between the gara MMC subtypes and the =gede MMC subtypes

The subtypes of these two types of MMCs are similar to each other, but they have some differences. Specifically, there are the following differences. [1] A difference between the gara-a = ti MMC and the other three gara/=gede MMC subtypes (the gar-í = te/gar-í = ho MMC, the =gede-e = ti MMC, and the =gede-e = te/=gede-e = ho MMC). [2] Differences between the =gede-e = ti MMC and the two MMC subtypes with = te (FEM)/ =ho (MASC) (the gar-í = te/gar-í = ho MMC and the =gede-e = te/=gede-e = ho MMC).

[1] A difference between the gara-a = ti MMC and the other three gara/=gede MMC subtypes

As mentioned earlier, only the gara-a = ti MMC is compatible with the habitual reading of the imperfective aspect (5.2.1-[1], -[3]), while the other three yield future readings with the imperfective aspect. Compare (30) with (40), (46), and (49), and additionally compare (31) with (41), (47), and (50).

[2] Differences between the =gede-e = ti MMC and the two MMC subtypes with = te (FEM)/ =ho (MASC)

Setting aside the gara-a = ti MMC, which is aspectually limited, the =gede-e = ti MMC differs from the two MMC subtypes with = te (FEM)/ =ho (MASC) (the gar-í = te/gar-í = ho MMC and the =gede-e = te/=gede-e = ho MMC) in two respects.

One difference 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, the =gede-e = ti MMC example (47) 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, (41) and (50), can contain either adverb.

Second, in the =gede-e = ti MMC, the subject can be either animate or inanimate (e.g. (46)-(48), (54), (57), (60), (63)). In contrast, in the =gede-e = te/=gede-e = ho MMC, the subject basically cannot be inanimate and has to be an animate entity or a natural entity that can act like animate ones (e.g.

sky, earth, wind) when the verb is not in the imperfective (e.g. (51), (55), (58), (61)), though the subject can be either animate or inanimate when the verb is in the imperfective (e.g. (49), (50), (64)). In the *gar-í = te/gar-í = ho* MMC, the subject basically cannot be non-human, and has to be human when the verb is not in the imperfective (e.g. (42), (56), (59)), though the subject can be either animate or inanimate when the verb is in the imperfective (e.g. (40), (41), (65)).

(54)   mobaile
        cell.phone.NOM.F
        k'arris-s-ino = gede-e = ti.
        cause.a.problem-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=like-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
        LT: 'The cell phone is like it caused a problem.'
        FT: 'It seems like the cell phone went out of order.'

(55)   *mobaile
        cell.phone.NOM.F
        k'arris-s-ino = gede-e = te.
        cause.a.problem-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=like-LV=NPC.F.PRED

(56)   *mobaile   k'arris-s-ino
        cell.phone.NOM.F   cause.a.problem-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
        gar-í = te.
        manner-GEN.MOD.M=NPC.F.PRED

(57)   wošičč-u
        dog-NOM.M
        dot-ø-ino = gede-e = ti.
        bark-3SG.M-D.PRF.3=like-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
        LT: 'The dog is like it barked.'
        FT: 'It seems like the dog barked.'

(58)   wošičč-u
        dog-NOM.M
        dot-ø-ino = gede-e = ho.
        bark-3SG.M-D.PRF.3=like-LV=NPC.M.PRED
        LT: 'The dog is like it barked.'
        FT: 'It seems like the dog barked.'

(59)   *wošičč-u   dot-ø-ino
        dog-NOM.M   bark-3SG.M-D.PRF.3
        gar-í = ho.
        manner-GEN.MOD.M=NPC.M.PRED

(60)   kawiččo gord-u   t'eená
        here   sky-NOM.M   rain.ACC

gan-ø-ino = gede-e = ti.
bark-3SG.M-D.PRF.3=like-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
LT: 'The sky is like it hit rain here.'
FT: 'It seems like it rained here.'

(61)   kawiččo gord-u   t'eená
       here   'sky-NOM.M   rain.ACC
       gan-ø-ino = gede-e = ho.
       hit-3SG.M-D.PRF.3=like-LV=NPC.M.PRED
       LT: 'The sky is like it hit rain here.'
       FT: 'It seems like it rained here.'

(62)   ?kawiččo   gord-u   t'eená
       here   sky-NOM.M   rain.ACC
       gan-ø-ino   gar-í = ho.
       hit-3SG.M-D.PRF.3   manner-GEN.MOD.M=NPC.M.PRED

(63)   mobaile
       cell.phone.NOM.F
       k'arris-s-anno = gede-e = ti.
       cause.a.problem-3SG.F-IPFV.3=like-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
       LT: 'The cell phone is like it will cause a problem.'
       FT: 'It seems like the cell phone will go out of order.'

(64)   mobaile
       cell.phone.NOM.F
       k'arris-s-anno = gede-e = te.
       cause.a.problem-3SG.F-IPFV.3=like-LV=NPC.F.PRED
       LT: 'The cell phone is like it will cause a problem.'
       FT: 'It seems like the cell phone will go out of order.'

(65)   mobaile   k'arris-s-anno
       cell.phone.NOM.F   cause.a.problem-3SG.F-IPFV.3
       gar-í = te.
       manner-GEN.MOD.M=NPC.F.PRED
       LT: 'The cell phone is the manner's it will cause a problem.'
       FT: 'It seems like the cell phone will go out of order.'

5.2.4 Comparison of gara *and* = gede *outside the MMCs*
We shall now examine the properties that *gara* and = *gede* may have when they are used outside the MMCs: the properties found in *gara* only (5.2.4.1), those found in both (5.2.4.2), and those found in = *gede* only (5.2.4.3).

Table 3 provides a summary of this comparison. The check and the asterisk indicate that the morpheme in question has, and does not have, this property, respectively.

· *gara* has most of the properties that other nouns have, while = *gede* has only limited nominal properties.

Table 3: Comparison of of *gara* and *=gede*

		Properties	*gara*	*=gede*
5.2.4.1	[1]	Lexical gender	√	*
	[2]	Modification by Modifiers	√	*
	[3]	Use as an adjective	√	*
	[4]	Genitive case	√	*
	[5]	Constituting an argument	√	*/√
5.2.4.2	[1]	Occurrence with the ABLINS suffix and the DATLOC suffix	√	√
	[2]	Formation of adverbials 'like/as ...' (manner) and 'as if ...' (counterfactual)	√	√
	[3]	Use in manner continuation constructions	√	√
	[4]	Formation of causal and concessive clauses	√	√
	[5]	MMC	√	√
5.2.4.3	[1]	Purpose clause 'so that ...' and the periphrastic causative construction	*	√
	[2]	Use as a complementizer	*	√
	[3]	Use as the marker of comparison in a type of equative construction	*	√
	[4]	Use in the construction 'adj-GEN ... =NPC.PRED'	*	√

5.2.4.1 Properties found in gara *only.* The noun *gara* 'manner, way' has lexical properties that other nouns have, whereas the enclitic *=gede* lacks most of them.

[1] Lexical gender

gara has its own lexical gender, unlike *=gede*. It is a masculine noun, and shows morphosyntactic properties of masculine nouns. The subject noun *gara* is Modified by the genitive pronoun in (66), and by the possessive pronominal suffix in (67). Consequently it is marked with -*i*, the nominative suffix for Modified masculine nouns (cf. Table 1). Also, the noun phrase *isé gar-i* in (66) and the noun phrase *gar-i-se* in (67) are treated as masculine, as indicated on the pronominal suffix for the third-person masculine subject: -*ø*.

(66) isé   gar-i
      3SG.F.GEN   manner-NOM.M.MOD
      ané-ra
      1SG.GEN-DATLOC.PRON
      di = law-ø-ino-'e.
      NEG-become.clear-3SG.M-PRF.3-1SG
      'I don't understand/don't feel comfortable with her manner.'
      (*lit.* 'Her manner did not become clear to me.')

(67) gar-i-se
      manner-NOM.M.MOD-3SG.F.POSS
      ané-ra
      1SG.GEN-DATLOC.PRON
      di = law-ø-ino-'e.
      NEG-become.clear-3SG.M-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 Modifiers, i.e. modified by nominal modifiers such as an adnominal demonstrative, e.g. (68) ('this'), an adjective, a genitive pronoun, e.g. (66) (*isé* 'her') and relative clauses, e.g. (69) ('in which she behaves'), and accompanied by the possessive pronominal suffix, e.g. (67) (*-se* [-3SG.F.POSS]).

(68) konní   gar-í-nni
      this.GEN.NOM   manner-GEN.M.MOD-ABLINS
      hee'r-ø-e-e = nna   ...
      live-3SG.M-CNV-LV=and
      'They lived like this (*lit.* using this manner), and ...'

(69) ani   ise   ikk-i-t-anno
      1SG.NOM   3SG.F.NOM   behave-EP-3SG.F-IPFV.3
      gara   di=bat'-ee-mm-o.
      manner(ACC)   NEG=like-IPFV.1-1SG-M
      'I (MASC) don't like the way in which she behaves.'

In contrast, =*gede* can be neither modified by an adnominal demonstrative nor accompanied by the possessive pronominal suffix, though it may attach to (but not 'be modified/Modified by') adjectives, genitive noun phrases, and clauses (Section 5.2.4.2).

[3] Use as an adjective

In Sidaama, where nouns share many properties with adjectives, there are cases where nouns are used as adjectives (and vice versa). The noun *gara* can also be used as an adjective that means 'true', 'appropriate', or 'well-mannered (often, in the negative)', e.g. (70)-(72).

(70) baššo   ann-i-'ya
      past   father-NOM.M.MOD-1SG.POSS
      y-ø-ino = ti   t'a
      say-3SG.M-D.PRF.3=NPC.F.NOM   now
      la'-ee-mm-o   woite   gara = ho.
      look-IPFV.1-1SG-M   when   true=NPC.M.PRED
      'The thing that my father said in the past is true when I (MASC) look at it now.'

(71) loos-i-kki
job-NOM.M.MOD-2SG.POSS
di = gara = ho = na   ...
NEG-appropriate=NPC.M.PRED=and
'The things you have done (*lit.* your job) are not appropriate,
and ...'

(72) isi   di=gara=ho.
3SG.M.NOM   NEG=well-mannered=NPC.M.PRED
'He is not well-mannered.'

On the other hand, =*gede* has no such use.

[4] Genitive case
Like other nouns, *gara* can be marked with the genitive case suffix, e.g. (68),
but =*gede* cannot.

[5] Constituting an argument
gara can constitute an argument, and when it does, it normally comes at the
end of the noun phrase, e.g. (66), (67), (73).

(73) isi   manná   ass-i-n-e
3SG.M.NOM   people.ACC   do-EP-GENERAL-CNV
š-i-n-a-nni   gara
kill-EP-GENERAL-INF-MANNER   way(ACC)
egenn-ø-ino.
come.to.know-3SG.M-D.PRF.3
'He knows how to kill people.'
(*lit.* 'He came to know the way to do and kill people.')

On the other hand, =*gede* does not seem to be able to constitute an
argument. Nevertheless, complement clauses formed with =*gede* as a
complement (5.2.4.3) could be treated as arguments, though it is not
obvious whether or not such clauses (noun clauses; Dryer 2007: 203-204)
can be considered an object of the main verb.

5.2.4.2 Properties found in both gara *and* = gede. These properties are
observed in four constructions in addition to the MMCs. All the
constructions except the MMCs are adverbial — either adverbial phrases or
adverbial clauses.

[1] Occurrence with the ABLINS suffix and the DATLOC suffix
The ablative-instrumental suffix -*nni* and the dative-locative suffix -*ra* can
attach to *gara* and =*gede*, though no other case suffix can attach to =*gede*.
Examples are given in (68) and in (82)-(87) below.

[2] Formation of adverbials 'like/as ...' (manner) and 'as if ...' (counterfactual)

Both *gara* and = *gede* (and also their forms with the ablative-instrumental suffix -*nni* or the dative-locative suffix -*ra*) can constitute an adverbial that indicates a manner, 'like/as ...', when preceded by a clause, e.g. (74), (75), or by a genitive noun phrase, e.g. (76), (77). The meaning that the construction conveys is 'in the manner specified by the preceding clause' or 'in a manner similar to that of the referent of the preceding genitive noun phrase'.

(74) y-ø-ino   gara
      say-3SG.M-D.PRF   manner
      roduuwá-si   baalankanni
      brother.PL.ACC-3SG.M.POSS   all
      wošš-ø-e   gamba   ass-ø-e
      call-3SG.M-CNV   [meaningless]   do-3SG.M-CNV
      abb-ø-i.
      bring-3SG.M-R.PRF.3
      'As he said, he called all his brothers, got them together (*lit.* did *gamba*), and brought them.'

(75) y-ø-ino = gede
      say-3SG.M-D.PRF=like
      roduuwá-si   baalankanni
      brother.PL.ACC-3SG.M.POSS   all
      wošš-ø-e   gamba   ass-ø-e
      call-3SG.M-CNV   [meaningless]   do-3SG.M-CNV
      abb-ø-i.
      bring-3SG.M-R.PRF.3
      'As he said, he called all his brothers, got them together (*lit.* did *gamba*), and brought them.'

(76) beett-u   ann-ú   gara
      child-NOM.M father-GEN.M manner
      c'oi'r-ø-anno.
      talk-3SG.M-IPFV.3
      'The boy talks like his father.'

(77) beett-u   ann-ú = gede
      child-NOM.M father-GEN.M=like
      c'oi'r-ø-anno.
      talk-3SG.M-IPFV.3
      'The boy talks like his father.'

Both *gara* and = *gede* can form adverbials of manner with some adjectives, e.g. (78) and (79).

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(78) isi   danča gara   daah-ø-ino.
      3SG.M.NOM   good   manner   swim-3SG.M-D.PRF
      'He swam well.'

(79) isi   danča = gede   daah-ø-ino.
      3SG.M.NOM   good=like   swim-3SG.M-D.PRF
      'He swam well.'

Both *gara* and =*gede* can also form an adverbial clause 'as if ...' (counterfactual), where *gara* immediately follows or =*gede* directly attaches to the verb of the subordinate clause in the distant perfect, e.g. (80) and (81). In this construction, *gara* and =*gede* can be optionally followed by the converb form of the verb *ikk-* 'behave'.

(80) ise   lowo   re
      3SG.F.NOM   many   things(ACC.mod)
      af-f-ino   gara
      get.to.know-3SG.F-D.PRF.3   as.if
      (ikk-i-t-e)   c'oid-d-anno.
      (behave-EP-3SG.F-CNV) talk-3SG.F-IPFV.3
      'She talks as if she knew many things.'

(81) ise   lowo   re
      3SG.F.NOM   many   things(ACC.mod)
      af-f-ino = gede
      get.to.know-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=as.if
      (ikk-i-t-e)   c'oid-d-anno.
      (behave-EP-3SG.F-CNV) talk-3SG.F-IPFV.3
      'She talks as if she knew many things.'

[3] Use in manner continuation constructions

Forms of *gara* and =*gede* with the ablative-instrumental suffix *-nni*, *gar-í-nni* [manner-GEN.M.MOD-ABLINS] or =*gede-e-nni* [like-LV-ABLINS], 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. (82) and (83). (Without the suffix *-nni*, neither *gara* nor =*gede* can be used this way.)

(82) ise   kubb-i-t-ino
      3SG.F.NOM   jump-EP-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
      gar-í-nni   waá
      manner-GEN.M.MOD-ABLINS   water.LOC
      e'-'-u.
      enter-3SG.F-R.PRF.3
      'Continuously jumping, she entered the water.'

(83) ise
      3SG.F.NOM
      kubb-i-t-ino = gede-e-nni
      jump-EP-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=like-LV-ABLINS
      waá   e'-'-u.
      water.LOC   enter-3SG.F-R.PRF.3
      'Continuously jumping, she entered the water.'

[4] Formation of causal and concessive clauses
Both *gara* and *=gede* can follow a verb to form a causal clause
('because ...') or a concessive clause ('even though ...'). They often take the
following form: (i) *gar-í-nni* [manner-GEN.M.MOD-ABLINS], e.g. (84), or
=gede-nni [=like-ABLINS], e.g. (85), in a causal clause, and (ii) *gar-í-ra*
[manner-GEN.M.MOD-DATLOC.MOD], e.g. (86), and *=gede-ra* [=like-
DATLOC.MOD] in a concessive clause, e.g. (87).

(84) t'eená   gan-ø-ino
      rain   hit-3SG.M-D.PRF.3
      gar-í-nni   baatto
      manner-GEN.M.MOD-ABLINS   ground.NOM.F
      k'uf-f-ino.
      become.wet-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
      'Because it rained, the ground is/became wet.'
      (*lit.* 'With the manner (impersonal 3SG.M subject) hit rain, ...')

(85) t'eená   gan-ø-ino=gede-nni
      rain   hit-3SG.M-D.PRF.3=like-ABLINS
      baatto   k'uf-f-ino.
      ground.NOM.F   become.wet-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
      'Because it rained, the ground is/became wet.'
      (*lit.* 'With like (impersonal 3SG.M subject) hit rain, ...')

(86) t'eená   gan-ø-ino
      rain   hit-3SG.M-D.PRF.3
      gar-í-ra
      manner-GEN.M.MOD-DATLOC.MOD
      baatto   di = k'uf-f-ino.
      ground.NOM.F   NEG=become.wet-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
      'Even though it rained, the ground is not/has not become wet.'
      (*lit.* 'To the manner (impersonal 3SG.M subject) hit rain, ...')

(87) t'eená   gan-ø-ino=gede-ra
      rain   hit-3SG.M-D.PRF.3=like-DATLOC.MOD
      baatto   di = k'uf-f-ino.
      ground.NOM.F   NEG=become.wet-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
      'Even though it rained, the ground is not/has not become wet.'
      (*lit.* 'To like (impersonal 3SG.M subject) hit rain, ...')

5.2.4.3 Properties found in =gede *only.* There are four types of constructions where =*gede* can occur, but *gara* cannot.

[1] Purpose clause 'so that ...' and the periphrastic causative construction
The enclitic =*gede* occupies the final position of a subordinate clause that expresses a purpose, e.g. (88). The verb preceding =*gede* is in the imperfective aspect.

(88) lubboo-nke=nna   gangoota   č'alla
life.NOM.F-1PL.POSS=and mule.PL.NOM.F only
gati-n-s-ee-mmo=gede   waa
save-1PL-save-IPFV.1-1PL=so.that   water
wido-o-nni   ǰawaa-n-t-e
other.side-LV-LOC   hurry-1PL-hurry-CNV
ful-lo.
cross-IMP.1PL
'Let us cross the river to the other side quickly so that we will save only our lives and mules.'

Also, =*gede* occurs in the periphrastic causative construction, e.g. (89). *ass-* 'to do' is the main verb and the =*gede* clause preceding it expresses the result of causation. The verb in the =*gede* clause is in the imperfective aspect, and =*gede* is optional. This construction could be regarded as one type of 'so that' construction.

(89) isi   haariim-ø-anno-woite
3SG.M.NOM   make.a.joke-3SG.M-IPFV.3-when
mann-u   bat'-ø-i-kki-nni
people-NOM.M come.to.like-3SG.M-R.PRF.3-NEG-ABLINS
muušši   ya-ø-anno(=gede)
[meaningless] say-3SG.M-IPFV.3(=so.that)
ass-ø-anno.
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).'

[2] Use as a complementizer
=*gede* can occur at the end of a clause to form a clausal complement, e.g. (90) and (91). (90) is an instance of a 'jussive construction', where the person who is told and the subject of the clausal complement are identical. (91) is an instance of a reported speech construction, where they are different from each other.

(90) isi   ga'a   isí=wa
3SG.M.NOM tomorrow   3SG.M.GEN=place
haɗ-ɗ-anno=gede
go-3SG.F-IPFV.3=COMP

kul-ø-ino-se.
tell-3SG.M-D.PRF.3SG.M-3SG.F
'He told her to come (*lit.* go) to his place tomorrow.'

(91) isi   ga'a   isé=wa
      3SG.M.NOM   tomorrow   3SG.F.GEN=place
      ha'r-ø-anno=gede
      go-3SG.M-IPFV.3=COMP
      kul-ø-ino-se.
      tell-3SG.M-D.PRF.3SG.M-3SG.F
      'He told her that he would go to her place tomorrow.'

[3] Use as the marker of comparison in a type of equative construction
There are two types of equative constructions, and one of them involves
=*gede*. =*gede* attaches to the end of the genitive noun phrase that refers to
the standard of comparison, e.g. (92). The final vowel of =*gede* is
optionally lengthened as =*gede-e*.

(92) ise   isí=gede   hoꝗjameette=te.
      3SG.F.NOM.M   3SG.M.GEN=like   tall.F=NPC.F.PRED
      'She is as tall as him.'

[4] Use in the construction 'adj-GEN ... =NPC.PRED'
In this construction, =*gede* is preceded by 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. (93), (94). Like the
gara MMC and the =*gede* MMC, the 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'.

(93) ise   buša-te=gede-e=te.
      3SG.F.NOM   bad-GEN.F=like-LV=NPC.F.PRED
      'It seems like she is bad.'

(94) isi   buš-u=gede-e=ho.
      3SG.M.NOM   bad-GEN.M=like-LV=NPC.M.PRED
      'It seems like he is bad.'

We saw (cf. Table 3) that *gara* has the properties of nouns, but =*gede*
does not (5.2.4.1). We also saw that =*gede* can function as an adverbial
clause marker or complementizer in various constructions, but *gara* cannot
(5.2.4.3). (The properties examined in 5.2.4.2 are shared by both of them,
though.) As noted in Section 1, the etymological relationship between them
is not clear. Nonetheless, it is certain that =*gede* is more grammaticalized
than *gara*.

5.3 DATLOC MMC

The structure of this type of MMC is shown in (29). The verb with the infinitive suffix -a and the agreement suffix(es) (the person/number suffix and the gender suffix in the case of the first and second person singular; the person/number suffix in the case of the first and second person plural; the person/number/gender suffix in the case of the third person) is followed by the dative-locative suffix -ra, the lengthened vowel -a, and the predicative noun-phrase clitic for Modified nouns = ti. That is, the 'Noun' slot is occupied by the dative-locative suffix -ra. It has the meaning of the proximative aspect: 'be about to do ...'. Examples include (4) and (95)-(97).

(95) k'aakk'-u
      baby-NOM.M
      wi'l-ø-a-ra-a=ti.
      cry-3SG.M-INF-DATLOC-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
      'The baby boy is about to cry.'

(96) hamašš-u   balé-si   giddo-ra
      snake-NOM.M   hole(GEN.F.MOD)-3SG.POSS   inside-ALL
      e'-ø-a-ra-a=ti.
      enter-3SG.M-INF-DATLOC-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
      'The snake is about to enter its hole.'

(97) ninke
      1PL.NOM
      go-n-t'-a-mmo-ra-a=ti.
      sleep-1PL-sleep-INF-1PL-DATLOC-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
      'We are about to sleep.'

The DATLOC MMC does not conform to the prototype of the MMC (Section 1). First, regarding MMC property (a), the 'Noun' slot is occupied not by a noun, but by a suffix.[1] Second, concerning MMC property (c), the predicate of the 'Clause' cannot be used as a sentence by itself. The predicate is a verb in one of its two agreement-inflected infinitive forms (the other inflected infinitive is irrelevant to and is not dealt with in the present paper), not in any of its finite forms.

As noted above, this type of MMC has the meaning of proximative aspect. It generally describes future events, e.g. (4) and (95) to (97). However, it may 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 or hee'r-ø-i [live-3SG.M-R.PRF.3], whose form is invariable regardless of the person, number, and gender of the subject. Examples are given in (98) and (99).

(98) hamašš-u   balé-si   giddo-ra
      snake-NOM.M   hole(GEN.F.MOD)-3SG.POSS   inside-ALL
      e'-ø-a-ra-a=ti = nka.
      enter-3SG.M-INF-DATLOC-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD=PAST
      'The snake was about to enter its hole.'

(99) ninke
      1PL.NOM
      go-n-t'-a-mmo-ra-a=ti
      sleep-1PL-sleep-INF-1PL-DATLOC-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
      hee'r-ø-i.
      live-3SG.M-R.PRF.3
      'We were about to sleep.'

6. Comparison of the MMCs with other constructions

Table 4 compares the three types of MMCs with relative clauses, verb-predicate sentences, adjective-predicate sentences, and noun-predicate sentences, in terms of the following.

(a) Animacy and person of the subject.
(b) Acceptability of the aspectual categories.
(c) Occurrence with the singular noun-phrase enclitic ('NPC').

The animacy and person of the subject and the aspectual categories acceptable in the MMCs were discussed in the relevant subsections of Section 5. The forms of the singular noun-phrase enclitic were shown in Table 2. The use of this enclitic was discussed for some of the constructions shown in Table 4. (As mentioned in connection with Table 2, the plural form is not relevant to the theme of the present paper.)

The *gar-í* = *te*/*gar-í* = *ho* MMC and the =*gede-e* = *te*/=*gede-e* = *ho* MMC — unlike the *gara-a* = *ti* MMC, the =*gede-e* = *ti* MMC, the DATLOC MMC, and the other types of constructions — restrict the subject to human or animate entities and those that can be considered equivalent to them when the verb is not in the imperfective, though this restriction does not apply when the verb is in the imperfective.

The *gara* and =*gede* MMCs are quite different from the DATLOC MMC and the other types of constructions in that they allow only the third person as subject. These MMCs have an evidential meaning, and are useful for talking about a third person's feelings when the speaker is not sure about them, but they are not used for the conversation participants' own actions or states, which are obvious or easily accessible to the speaker.

In terms of aspectual categories, the DATLOC MMC is different from the other types of MMCs and also from verb predicate sentences. Its verb does not have any aspectual category. It has the infinitive suffix and an

agreement· suffix(es), followed by the dative-locative suffix and a predicative noun-phrase enclitic.

Verb-predicate sentences do not employ a noun-phrase enclitic, and in this respect they differ from all the other constructions. That is, regarding the occurrence of a noun-phrase enclitic, the MMCs and relative clauses exhibit similar behavior.

We shall now turn to syntactic aspects of these constructions.

This has not been discussed explicitly, although it has been exemplified amply. Namely, across the constructions listed in Table 4, argument noun phrases are marked in the same way. The subject noun phrase is in the nominative case, the direct object noun phrase is in the accusative case, and the indirect object noun phrase is in the dative-locative case.

In relative clauses (or adnominal clauses) in Japanese (see Tsunoda, this volume-b, 6.3.2), the subject can exhibit nominative/genitive conversion, but in Sidaama, no construction listed in Table 4 can show such an alternation.

Thus, in terms of syntax, the MMCs are similar to both relative clauses and independent sentences (verb-predicate sentences, adjective-predicate sentences, and noun-predicate sentences), but overall, the MMCs are more similar to relative clauses than to independent sentences as far as the phenomena examined are concerned.

Table 4: Comparison of the MMCs with other constructions

grammatical property / construction	examples	Animacy and person of subject	Aspectual categories	Occurrence with NPC
Relative clause	(11), · (13)-(26), (33)-(39)	animate and inanimate; first, second, and third persons	all aspect categories	relative clause can be directly followed by the NPC inflected for corresponding gender and case (has to be directly followed by the NPC when there is no common noun head)
gara-a = ti MMC	(2), (30)-(32), (35)-(36), (39), (115)	animate and inanimate; third person only	habitual imperfective (sometimes, distant perfect in informal speech)	gara directly followed by =ti
gar-í = te/gar-í = ho MMC	(40)-(42), (65)	human (and non-human in the imperfect	distant perfect or future imperfective	gara directly followed by =te (FEM)/ =ho (MASC)

		ive); third person only		
=*gede-e*=*ti* MMC	(3), (46)-(48), (54), (57), (60), (63), (100)-(101), (113), (117)	animate and inanimate; third person only	future imperfective, distant perfect, recent perfect, or progressive	=*gede* directly followed by =*ti*
=*gede-e*=*te*/=*gede-e*=*ho* MMC	(49)-(51), (58), (61), (64)	animate (and inanimate in the imperfective); third person only	future imperfective, distant perfect, continuous, or progressive	=*gede* directly followed by =*te* (FEM)/ =*ho* (MASC)
DATLOC MMC	(4), (95)-(99), (110b)	animate and inanimate; first, second, and third persons	proximative aspect expressed by the construction itself	=*ra* directly followed by =*ti*
Verb pred. sentence	(5), (6), (13)-(22), (24)-(26), (43)-(45), (52), (66)-(67), (69), (73)-(91), (102), (104), (106), (108)	animate and inanimate; first, second, and third persons	all aspect categories	*

		animate and inanimate; first, second, and third persons		
Adj. pred. sentence	(7), (70), (72), (92)	animate and inanimate; first, second, and third persons	N/A	Adj. directly followed by NPC (= *te* (FEM)/ = *ho* (MASC)
Noun pred. sentence	(8)-(12), (33)-(39)	animate and inanimate; first, second, and third persons	N/A	Noun directly followed by NPC (Unmodified: = *te* (FEM)/ = *ho* (MASC), Modified: = *ti*)

7. Why Sidaama has the mermaid constructions

As noted in Section 1, MMCs have been mainly reported from languages in Asia, and the present paper is the first report on 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. We shall look at three possibilities in the following.

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 ...'. 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. Nonetheless, it can be added to the *gara* MMC and the =*gede* MMC. Examples of *ordo* added to the =*gede* MMC are shown in (100) and (101), 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, in press c).) ˢ

(100) ord-u   ise
   appearance-NOM.M 3SG.F.NOM
   hank'-i-t-anno=gede-e=ti.
   get.angry-EP-3SG.F-IPFV.3=like-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
   LT: 'The appearance is she is like she will get angry.'
   FT: 'It seems like she will get angry.'

(101) ise   ordó
   3SG.F.NOM appearance.OBL   *ρ*

hank'-i-t-anno = gede-e = ti.
get.angry-EP-3SG.F-IPFV.3=like-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
LT: 'With respect to appearance she is like she will get angry'
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 (100) and (101). Furthermore, the set of requirements on the animacy and person of the subject and aspectual categories for each MMC subtype (discussed in Section 5 and summarized in Table 4) applies to constructions like (100) and (101), depending on the subtype.

As noted above, ordo 'appearance' itself is not used as part of 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) 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. Nonetheless, there is one construction that may be relevant: the cleft construction.

The Sidaama cleft construction takes the form 'clause =hu ... =ti' (or '... =ti clause =hu'). Its subject consists of a clause and the nominative singular masculine noun-phrase enclitic =hu, and the predicate is a focused constituent followed by the predicating noun-phrase enclitic =ti. Any type of constituent other than the subject of the clause can be extracted. Compare (102) and (103) (direct object) with (104) and (105) (indirect object). (In the examples of the cleft construction, the subject is underlined.)

(102) laatto   buné   la'-'-ino.
       Laatto(NOM.F) Bune.ACC   see-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
       'Laato saw Bune.'

(103) laatto   la'-'-ino=hu
       Laatto(NOM.F) see-3SG.F-D.PRF.3=NPC.M.NOM
       bune-e=ti.
       Bune-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
       'It is Bune who Laatto saw.'

(104) bune   wot'é   laattó-ra
       Bune(NOM.F) money.ACC   Laatto.GEN.F-DATLOC.PROP

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u-i-t-ino.
give-EP-3SG.F-D.PRF.3
'Bune gave money to Laatto'.

(105) bune   wot'é
Bune(NOM.F)   money.ACC
u-i-t-ino=hu
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.'

Adverbial clauses, too, can be extracted. Compare (106) and (107) (cause) and (108) and (109) (purpose).

(106) beett-i-si
child-NOM.MOD.M-3SG.M.POSS
t'iss-am-ø-ino-daafira
cause.sickness-PASS-3SG.M-D.PRF.3-because
min-í-si-ra
house-GEN.MOD.M-3SG.M.POSS-ALL
keešš-ø-e   mar-ø-ino.
become.late-3SG.M-CNV   arrive-3SG.M-D.PRF.3
'He arrived home late because his son was sick.'

(107) min-í-si-ra
house-GEN.MOD.M-3SG.M.POSS-ALL
keešš-ø-e
become.late-3SG.M-CNV
mar-ø-ino=hu
arrive-3SG.M-D.PRF.3=NPC.M.NOM
beett-i-si
child-NOM.MOD.M-3SG.M.POSS
t'iss-am-ø-ino-daafira-a=ti.
cause.sickness-PASS-3SG.M-D.PRF.3-because-
LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
'It is because his son was sick that he arrived home late.'

(108) sagalé   hid-d-i-t-a-ra
food.ACC   buy-MID-EP-3SG.F-INF-DATLOC
beettó-si-ra   wot'é
child.GEN.F-3SG.M.POSS-DATLOC.MOD.M   money(ACC)
u-ø-ino.
give-3SG.M-D.PRF.3
'He gave money to his daughter so that she could buy food.'

(109) beettó-si-ra   wot'é
       child.GEN.F-3SG.M.POSS-DATLOC.MOD.M   money(ACC)
       u-ø-ino=hu   (ise)
       give-3SG.M-D.PRF.3=NPC.M.NOM   3SG.F.NOM
       saɠalé
       food.ACC
       hiɗ-ɗ-i-t-a-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.'

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 (109) (the
underlined portion) is omitted, the resultant sentence is (110). It can be
translated as in (110a).

(110) (ise)   saɠalé
       3SG.F.NOM   food.ACC
       hiɗ-ɗ-i-t-a-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.'

In fact, the predicate part of the cleft construction extracting a purpose
clause has exactly the same structure as the DATLOC MMC. Both contain
the infinitive suffix and the dative-locative suffix (cf. (29) and 5.3).
Therefore, (110) can also be interpreted as an MMC sentence, as shown in
(110b).

It is possible, though not certain, that the DATLOC MMC and elliptical
cleft sentences such as (110) 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
(Haspelmath 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, too, involves the cleft construction. (Strictly speaking, the scenario
presented below is somewhat simplified for the sake of exposition.) The
verb *lab-* 'appear' takes a clausal complement ending with the noun-phrase
enclitic *=ha* as the complementizer, e.g. (111). When the clausal
complement is clefted, the complementizer is *=gede*, e.g. (112). In fact, this
sentence has the same meaning as its predicate part alone, namely (113).
(113) is an instance of the *=gede-e=ti* MMC.

(111) Non-cleft sentence
ané-ra ise
1SG.GEN-DAT.PRON 3SG.F.NOM
hank'-i-t-anno = ha
get.angry-EP-3SG.F-IPFV.3=NPC.COMP.M
law-ø-ino-'e.
appear-3SG.M-D.PRF.3-1SG
'It appears (*lit.* appears) to me that she will get angry.'

(112) Cleft sentence
ané-ra
1SG.GEN-DAT.PRON
law-ø-ino-'e = hu   ise
appear-3SG.M-D.PRF.3-1SG=NPC.M.NOM   3SG.F.NOM
hank'-i-t-anno = gede-e = ti.
get.angry-EP-3SG.F-IPFV.3=like-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
LT: 'What appeared to me is that she is like she will get angry.'
FT: '(What appears to me is that) it seems like she will get angry.'

(113) = gede-e = ti MMC
ise
3SG.F.NOM
hank'-i-t-anno = gede-e = ti.
get.angry-EP-3SG.F-IPFV.3=like-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
'It seems like she will get angry.'

Also, = gede-e = ti in (112) can be replaced with gara-a = ti, as in (114). In fact, (114) has the same meaning as its predicate part alone, namely (115). (115) is an instance of the gara-a = ti MMC. Both (114) and (115) have a habitual meaning.

(114) Cleft sentence
ané-ra
1SG.GEN-DAT.PRON
law-ø-ino-'e = hu   ise
appear-3SG.M-D.PRF.3-1SG=NPC.M.NOM   3SG.F.NOM
hank'-i-t-anno   gara-a = ti.
get.angry-EP-3SG.F-IPFV.3   manner-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
LT: 'What appeared to me is that she is the manner she (habitually)
       gets angry.'
FT: '(What appears to me is that) it seems like she (habitually) gets
       angry.'

(115) gara-a = ti MMC
ise
3SG.F.NOM

hank'-i-t-anno   gara-a = ti.
get.angry-EP-3SG.F-IPFV.3   manner-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
'It seems like she (habitually) gets angry.'

In sentences such as (112) and (114), 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 (116). Again, (116) has the same meaning as its predicate part alone, namely (117). (117) is in fact an instance of the *=gede-e=ti* MMC. ((116) happens to contain *=gede-e=ti*, rather than *gara-a = ti*. But the same applies if *=gede-e=ti* is replaced with *gara-a=ti*.)

(116) Cleft sentence
       <u>ani</u>
       <u>1SG.NOM</u>
       hed-ee-mm-o = hu   ise
       think-IPFV.1-1SG-M=NPC.M.NOM   3SG.F.NOM
       hank'-i-t-anno = gede-e = ti.
       get.angry-EP-3SG.F-IPFV.3=like-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
       LT: 'What I (MASC) think is that she is like she will get angry.'
       FT: '(What I (MASC) think is that) it seems like she will get
           angry.'

(117) *=gede-e = ti* MMC
       ise
       3SG.F.NOM
       hank'-i-t-anno = gede-e = ti.
       get.angry-EP-3SG.F-IPFV.3=like-LV=NPC.PRED.MOD
       'It seems like she will get angry.'

Whichever of the MMC subtypes occurs as a predicate in such constructions, the same requirements on the animacy and person of the subject and the aspectual categories for each MMC subtype (see Table 4) apply, and the meaning of the sentence as a whole is the same as the MMC subtype serving as the predicate.

To sum up, the omission of the subject (the underlined portion) from sentences such as (112) and (114) (which are instances of the cleft construction) may also be a possible source for these MMCs.

8. Summary and concluding remarks

The present paper is the first report on the existence of MMCs outside Asia, i.e. in Sidaama of Ethiopia. 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 the dative-locative suffix -ra. The verb of the 'Clause' is an infinitive inflected for person, number, and gender, followed by the dative-locative suffix. This type has the meaning of 'proximative aspect'.

The 'Clause' of the *gara* MMC and of the *=gede* MMC can be used as a sentence by itself, but that of the DATLOC MMC cannot.

The *gara* MMC is an instance of the prototype of the MMC, while the other two types are not.

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, the DATLOC MMC seems unlikely to have developed through the grammaticalization of a noun.

Abbreviations

ABLINS - ablative-instrumental; COMP - complementizer; CMT - comitative noun; CNV - converb (connective); D.PRF - distant perfect; DATLOC - dative-locative; EP - epenthesis; FT - free translation; IPFV - imperfective; LT - literal translation; LV - lengthened vowel; MID - middle; MMC - mermaid construction; mod - modified (accompanied by a modifier/modifiers); MOD - Modified (accompanied by a modifier/modifiers, by the possessive pronominal suffix, or both); NPC - noun-phrase enclitic; PROP - proper noun; R.PRF - recent perfect

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1 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

enclitic: the genitive =*no*. (=*no* may also be regarded as a complementizer or a non-content noun. See Tsunoda (this volume-b, 5.4.4).)