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Mermaid construction in Hindi

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1. Introduction

Tsunoda (this volume-a) proposes that the prototype of the mermaid construction ('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 co-referential.
- (c) The 'Clause' can be used as a sentence by itself.

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

Hindi has a variant of the MMC, in which the 'Noun' slot is occupied not by a noun, but by an enclitic: =*vaalaa*. Etymologically, this enclitic is said to derive from the Sanskrit noun *paalaka* 'guardian, protector; one who

maintains or observes'. (*Paalaka* also means a foster-father; a prince, ruler, sovereign, etc. However, it does not refer to a god.) The enclitic =*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 is used in what I have termed 'the =*vaalaa* construction'.

- (2) The =*vaalaa* construction:
[Clause]=*vaalaa* Copula

I propose that the =*vaalaa* construction is a variant of the MMC, as indicated above. It indicates (i) 'be about to' (an aspectual meaning), (ii) schedule, intention (a modal meaning), or (iii) the speaker's firm belief about the occurrence/non-occurrence of a situation (a modal meaning). The verb that precedes the enclitic =*vaalaa* occurs in an infinitive form, not a finite form.

2. Initial illustration

As an initial illustration of the MMC in Hindi, three examples are given.

- (3) [*māĩ* *yuunivarsiTii* *jaa-ne*]=*vaalaa*
1SG university.F.SG go-INF.OBL=*vaalaa*.M.SG
hūũ.
COP.PRS.1SG (McGregor 1995: 171)
LT: 'I am a person who goes to the university.'
FT (i): 'I am about to go to the university.'
FT (ii): 'I am on my way to the university.'
- (4) [*Diskavarii* *śanivaar=ko* *floriDaa* *pahuñc-ne*]
Discovery.M.SG Saturday=on Florida arrive-INF.OBL
=*vaalaa* *hai.*
=*vaalaa*.M.SG COP.PRS.3SG
LT: '[Space Shuttle] Discovery is one which [will] arrive in
Florida on Saturday.'
FT: 'Discovery is due to arrive in Florida on Saturday.'
(<http://khabar.ibnlive.in.com/news/10760/2> (20 Mar 2011))
- (5) [*vah* *aaj* *kal* *mar-ne*]=*vaalaa*
3SG today tomorrow die-INF.OBL=*vaalaa*.M.SG
hai.
COP.PRS.3SG (Platts 1878: 330)
LT: 'He is a person who dies in (the course of) a day or so.'
FT: 'He will die in a day or so.'

3. Profile of the language

Hindi is one of the 22 official languages of India and is used as the primary

official language of the Republic of India. Hindi is a New Indo-Aryan language, which belongs to the Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European family. It is widely spoken in northern India, and also in Trinidad, Guyana, Fiji, Mauritius, South Africa, and many other countries by peoples of Indian origin (Kachru 2009: 399). According to the Census of India 2001 (Office of the Registrar General & Census Commissioner, India. *Census 2001 Data Online (Data on Language)*. <http://censusindia.gov.in/Census_Data_2001/Census_Data_Online/Language/data_on_language.html> (20 March 2011)), the total population of India is 1,028,610,328 and the number of persons who returned Hindi as their mother tongue is 422,048,642 (41.03%).

Hindi is closely related to Urdu, the national language of Pakistan. Hindi and Urdu share the same grammar and core vocabulary. The main differences between the two are that Hindi is written in the Devanagari script and contains a large vocabulary from Sanskrit, whereas Urdu is written in the Perso-Arabic script and contains a large vocabulary from Persian and Arabic. At the colloquial level, there is little difference between the two, and they can be considered varieties of the same language. Therefore, it is frequently referred to as Hindi-Urdu in linguistic literature.

Hindi has the following phonemes. Vowels: /a, aa, i, ii, u, uu, ʃ, e, ai, o, au, ā, āā, ī, īī, ū, ūū, ē, āī, ō, āū/. (Letters with a tilde are nasal vowels.) Consonants: /k, kh, g, gh, ŋ, c, ch, j, jh, ñ, T, Th, D, Dh, N, t, th, d, dh, n, p, ph, b, bh, m, y, r, l, v, ś, S, s, h, R, Rh, (z), (f), (q), (x), (ɣ)/. (Capital letters represent retroflex consonants. Loan phonemes are given in parentheses.)

Stress (Kachru 2009: 401) and pitch are not distinctive in Hindi.

Morphologically, Hindi has both fusional and agglutinating characteristics. Hindi employs both prefixes and suffixes. It is dependent-marking and configurational.

Hindi distinguishes two genders (masculine and feminine), two numbers (singular and plural), and three cases (direct (=∅), oblique, and vocative cases). In addition, it has seven postpositions: =ne 'ERG', =ko 'ACC/DAT', =se 'INS/ABL', =kaa 'GEN', =mē 'in', =par 'on, at', and =tak 'till, up to'. Nouns and infinitives (also called verbal nouns) take the oblique case form when they are followed by a postposition.

Hindi is a split-ergative language. It exhibits the ergative pattern (A vs. S/O) when the aspect is perfective and the O is neither animate nor definite. The case marking of the A, the S, and the O is summarized in Table 1.

Table 1. The case marking system

	A	S	O
Perfective	=ne	=∅	=ko (O: animate* or definite)
	=ne	=∅	=∅ (O: otherwise)
Imperfective	=∅	=∅	=ko (O: animate* or definite)
	=∅	=∅	=∅ (O: otherwise)

*especially human

The basic word orders are SV and AOV. Adjectives precede the noun

they modify, but adnominal clauses (including relative clauses) may either precede or follow the noun they qualify. (See 4.2.)

Hindi has two types of agreement patterns: modifier-head agreement and noun-verb agreement. To put it simply, modifiers agree with their head noun in gender, number, and case, and the finite verb agrees with an unmarked NP, if any, in the sentence in gender, number, and person. For details, see Kachru (2006: 161-166).

Hindi is written with the Devanagari script, which is also used to write Sanskrit, Marathi, and Nepali. The data in this paper are taken from the written language.

4. Types of clauses and sentences

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

The following three types of clauses/sentences can be recognized.

- (a) Verb-predicate clauses/sentences, e.g., (6).
- (b) Adjective-predicate clauses/sentences, e.g., (7).
- (c) Noun-predicate clauses/sentences, e.g., (8).

(6) *vah mujh=ko sab baatē bataa-egaa.*
 3SG 1SG.OBL=DAT all matter.F.PL tell-FUT.3.M.SG
 'He will tell me everything' (Kachru 2006: 140)

(7) *raam siitaa=se lambaa hai.*
 Ram.M Sita.F=than tall.M.SG COP.PRS.3SG
 'Ram is taller than Sita.'

(8) *bhaarat=kii raajdhaanii naii dillii hai.*
 India=GEN.F capital.F.SG New Delhi COP.PRS.3SG
 'The capital of India is New Delhi.'

The predicate in adjective-predicate and noun-predicate clauses/sentences, e.g., (7), (8), involves the copula verb *honaa* 'be'. The same verb is also very frequently used in verb-predicate clauses/sentences as an auxiliary verb, e.g., (9), and as the existential verb, e.g., (10).

(9) *vah kitaab paRh rahaa hai.*
 3SG book.F.SG read PROG.M.SG AUX.PRS.3SG
 'He is reading a book.'

(10) *mez=par do kitaabē hāī.*
 table.F.SG=on two book.F.PL exist.PRS.3PL
 'There are two books on the table.'

4.2 Adnominal clauses

4.2.1 Introductory notes

An overview of the adnominal clauses ('ACs') is shown in Table 2. Note that I use the term 'adnominal clause' for all of the types listed in Table 2, but that I use the label 'relative clause' for one type only.

Hindi has both 'internal adnominal clauses' ('internal ACs') and 'external adnominal clauses' ('external ACs'). (See Teramura (1969) and Tsunoda (this volume-a, 7.2) for a characterization of these two types of ACs.) Very roughly speaking, in internal ACs, the head noun corresponds to an argument or an adjunct of the AC. In contrast, in external ACs, the head noun is, so to speak, added from 'outside the underlying clause'. It does not correspond to any argument or any adjunct of the AC.

Table 2. Classification of AC structures

	AC (non-finite) + noun	noun + AC (finite)
Internal ACs	participle clause + noun	noun + relative clause
External ACs	infinitival clause + noun	noun + appositional clause

4.2.2 Internal ACs

There are two kinds of internal ACs: participle clause + noun (4.2.2.1) and noun + relative clause (4.2.2.2).

4.2.2.1 Participle clause + noun. Hindi has imperfective and perfective participles. They can be used to form ACs. They are often followed by an auxiliary verb: the perfective participle of the verb *honaa* 'to be', e.g., *huuaa* 'AUX.M.SG' in (11) and *huii* 'AUX.F' in (12). Examples of ACs include (11) (which contains the imperfective participle *sun-taa* 'listen-IMPF.M.SG'), and (12) (the perfective participle *likh-ii* 'write-PFV.F'). In the examples below, the AC is indicated by an underline. In this type of AC, the subject NP is marked with the genitive postposition, e.g., *dost=kii* 'friend.M.SG.OBL=GEN.F' in (12).

- (11) *vah reDiyo sun-taa huuaa aadmii*
 that radio.M listen-IMPF.M.SG AUX.M.SG man.M.SG
kaun hai?
 who COP.PRS.3SG (Snell & Weightman 2003: 232)
 'Who is that man listening to the radio?'
- (12) *yah mere dost=kii*
 this 1SG.GEN.M.SG.OBL friend.M.SG.OBL=GEN.F
likh-ii huii pustak hai.
 write-PFV.F AUX.F book.F.SG COP.PRS.3SG
 'This is a book that my friend wrote.'
 (Tanaka & Machida 1986: 120)

4.2.2.2 *Noun + relative clause*. The formation of what I term ‘relative clauses’ in Hindi employs the ‘corelative strategy’ (cf. Keenan (1985: 163-168)). Hindi relative clauses are introduced by the relative pronoun *jo* (or one of its inflected variants). A part of the relative clause may precede the head noun; see *māĩ=ne* ‘1SG=ERG’ in (15). Relative clauses can be formed on all the positions on the accessibility hierarchy of Keenan & Comrie (1977), except for the object of comparison. Examples are the following: (i) subject: (13), (ii) direct object: (14), (iii) indirect object: (15), (iv) oblique case NP: (16), and (v) genitive or possessor: (17). Relativization on the object of comparison is not perfectly acceptable. See (18).

- (13) *jo laRkaa so rahaa thaa*
REL boy.M.SG sleep PROG.M.SG AUX.PST.M.SG
vah śor=se jaag gayaa.
COR noise=INS wake go.PFV.M.SG (Kachru 1980: 30)
‘The boy who was asleep woke up because of the noise.’
- (14) *yah pahlii hindii kitaab hai*
this first Hindi book.F.SG COP.PRS.3SG
jise māĩ=ne aakhir=tak paRh-aa.
REL.ACC 1SG=ERG last=up.to read-PFV.M.SG
‘This is the first Hindi book that I read through.’
(Tanaka & Machida 1986: 112)
- (15) *māĩ=ne jis laRkii=ko gaa-naa*
1SG=ERG REL.OBL girl.F.SG.OBL=DAT sing-INF
sikhaa-yaa vah ab reDiyo=par
teach-PFV.M.SG COR now radio.M=on
gaa-tii hai.
sing-IMP.F AUX.PRS.3SG (Kachru 1980: 31)
‘The girl whom I taught singing sings on the radio now.’
- (16) *jis kursii=par diidii jii baiTh-ii*
REL.OBL chair.F.SG=on big.sister HON sit-PFV.F
hai vah banaaras=mē ban-ii
AUX.PRS.3SG COR Banaras=in be.made-PFV.F
thii.
AUX.PST.F.SG (Shapiro 2003: 272)
‘The chair on which [my] big sister is sitting was made in Banaras.’
- (17) *jis vyakti=kaa paisaa corii*
REL.OBL person.M=GEN.M.SG money.M.SG stealing
ho gayaa vah cintit hai.
become go.PFV.M.SG COR worried COP.PRS.3SG
‘The man whose money was stolen is worried.’ (Kachru 1980: 31)
- (18) *?hasan jis laRke=se lambaa*
Hasan REL.OBL boy.M.SG.OBL=ABL tall.M.SG
hai vah hasan=se Dar-taa
COP.PRS.3SG COR Hasan=ABL be afraid-IMP.F.M.SG

hai.

AUX.PRS.3SG

(Kachru 1980: 31)

‘The boy whom Hasan is taller than is afraid of Hasan.’

4.2.3 External ACs

There are two kinds of external ACs: infinitival clause + noun (4.2.3.1) and apposition of noun and clause (4.2.3.2).

4.2.3.1 *Infinitival clause + noun.* In this structure, the infinitive (the verbal root + *-naa*) cannot modify the head noun directly and the genitive case marker =*kaa* (or one of its inflected variants) must be inserted between the infinitive and the head noun.

- (19) *un=ke* *paarTii* *choR-ne=kii*
3PL.OBL=GEN.M.OBL party.F.SG leave-*INF*.OBL=GEN.F
carcaa
rumor.F.SG
‘a rumor that he will leave his party’ (Koga 1996: 77r)
- (20) *machliyãã* *tal-ne=kii* *gandh*
fish.F.PL fry-*INF*.OBL=GEN.F smell.F.SG
‘the smell of fish frying’ (Koga & Takahashi 2006: 319r)
- (21) *buxaar=ke* *phail-ne=kii*
fever.M=GEN.M.OBL spread-*INF*.OBL=GEN.F
vajhõ=kii *jããc*
reason.F.PL.OBL=GEN.F investigation.F.SG
‘an investigation of the reasons for spread of [dengue] fever’
(BBC061002_delhi_dengue (4 Oct 2006))

4.2.3.2 *Apposition of noun and clause.* This type of external AC involves the apposition of the head noun and the modifying clause. The clause is introduced with the conjunction *ki* ‘that’. Roughly speaking, this conjunction is equivalent to the complementizer *that* of English.

- (22) *raajan=ko* *aaśaa* *hai* *ki*
Rajan=DAT hope.F.SG exist.PRS.3SG CONJ
use *naukrii* *mil* *jaa-egii.*
3SG.DAT job.F.SG accrue go-FUT.3.F.SG
LT: ‘To Rajan exists the hope that to him the job accrues.’
FT: ‘Rajan hopes that he will get the job.’ (Kachru 1980: 38)
- (23) *us=kaa* *yah* *daavaa* *ki*
3SG.OBL=GEN.M.SG this claim.M.SG CONJ
muniis *ghuus* *le-taa* *hai*
Munish bribe.F.SG take-*IMPF*.M.SG AUX.PRS.3SG
bilkul sahi hai.
quite correct COP.PRS.3SG (Kachru 1980: 28)
‘His claim that Munish takes bribe is quite correct.’

In (22), the clause *use naukrii mil jaaegii* ‘He will get the job’ is in apposition with the noun *aaśaa* ‘hope’, and in (23), the clause *muniis̄ ghuus letaa hai* ‘Munish takes bribe’ is in apposition with the noun *daavaa* ‘claim’.

5. Mermaid construction and its related construction

To the best of my knowledge, Hindi does not have a construction that conforms to the prototype of the MMC (see (1)). However, it has a construction which can arguably be treated as a variant of the MMC: the =*vaalaa* construction (5.1). In addition, it has a construction that may be considered related to the MMC. It involves the existential verb (5.2).

5.1 =*vaalaa* construction

5.1.1 Introductory notes

The enclitic =*vaalaa* is used very productively and frequently. It inflects for gender, number, and case. As noted in Section 1, etymologically, this enclitic is said to derive from the Sanskrit noun *paalaka* meaning ‘guardian, protector; one who maintains or observes’. (*Paalaka* also means a foster-father; a prince, ruler, sovereign, etc. However, it does not refer to a god.) The enclitic =*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 is used in what I have termed ‘the =*vaalaa* construction’ as a nominalizer. I propose that the =*vaalaa* construction is a variant of the MMC, as indicated above. We shall look at these two uses.

5.1.2 =*vaalaa* used for forming noun phrases and adjective phrases

=*vaalaa* can be used for forming noun phrases and adjective phrases that mean ‘the one who/which does/is ...’. The noun phrases denote agents, possessors, or the like. In this use, =*vaalaa* inflects for gender, number, and case. Examples follow.

- (24) *ganne=vaalaa*
sugarcane.M.SG.OBL=*vaalaa*.M.SG
‘sugarcane seller’
- (25) *mar-ne aur*
die-INF.OBL and
ghaayal ho-ne=vaalō=kii taadaad
be.injured-INF.OBL=*vaalaa*.M.PL.OBL=GEN.F number.F.SG
(BBC060310_kashinath_varanasi (12 Mar 2006))
‘the number of dead and injured’
- (26) *dillii jaa-ne=vaalii gaaRii*
Delhi go-INF.OBL=*vaalaa*.F vehicle.F.SG
‘a train bound for Delhi’

- (27) *lambe* *baalō=vaalii* *laRkii*
 long.M.PL.OBL hair.M.PL.OBL=*vaalaa*.F girl.F.SG
 ‘a girl who has long hair’ (Montaut 2004: 153)

5.1.3 =*vaalaa* construction: a variant of the mermaid construction

In this use, =*vaalaa* occurs as a part of the predicate in the construction shown in (2). More specifically, its structure is shown in (29).

- (28) =(2) =*vaalaa* construction: a variant of the MMC:

[Clause]=*vaalaa* Copula

- (29) [X V-*ne*]=*vaalaa honaa*.

This construction is formed by attaching the enclitic =*vaalaa* to an infinitive form of a verb. (The infinitive suffix *-naa* occurs in the oblique case form *V-ne*.) The enclitic =*vaalaa* is followed by the copula verb *honaa*. (The copula verb inflects for person and number in the present tense, and for gender and number in the past tense.)

An overall characterization of the MMC in Hindi is the following.

(a) The ‘Noun’ slot of the MMC is occupied not by a noun, but by an enclitic: =*vaalaa*. =*vaalaa* inflects for gender and number. (When used in the MMC, it does not inflect for case.)

(b) The predicate in the ‘Clause’ is in an infinitive form. It is not a finite form. In this respect, the MMC resembles the ACs described in 4.2.2.1 (participle) and 4.2.3.1 (infinitive).

(c) In the ACs described in 4.2.2.1 and 4.2.3.1, the subject is marked with the genitive postposition. In contrast, the subject of the =*vaalaa* construction is not marked with the genitive postposition. It is consistently in the direct case. (As Table 1 shows, the A is in the ergative case in the perfective aspect, and in the direct case, in the imperfective aspect; the S is consistently in the direct case. In the MMC, the predicate of the ‘Clause’ is in an infinitive form, and it cannot be in the perfective aspect. Concomitantly the subject (whether it is the A or the S) is consistently in the direct case.)

(d) The MMC indicates: (i) ‘be about to’ (an aspectual meaning), (ii) schedule, intention (a modal meaning), or (iii) the speaker’s firm belief about the occurrence/non-occurrence of a situation (a modal meaning, to be precise, epistemic).

(e) The etymology of =*vaalaa* is said to be the Sanskrit noun *paalaka* ‘guardian, protector; one who maintains or observes’.

Examples of ‘be about to’ (an aspectual meaning) include (3), (30), and (31). This use may provide an evidential meaning, as in (31).

- (30) *baiTh-ie,* [*māī* *aap=ko* *bulaa-ne*]=*vaalii*
 sit-IMP.HON 1SG 2HON=ACC call-INF.OBL=*vaalaa*.F
thii.
 COP.PST.F.SG (Nirmal Verma, *Antim Aranya*)
 ‘Sit down, please. I was about to call you.’

- (31) [*paanii baras-ne=hii*]=*vaalaa* *hai*.
rain.M fall-INF.OBL=EMPH=*vaalaa*.M.SG COP.PRS.3SG
‘It looks like it is just about to rain.’ (Jagannāthan 1981: 321)

Examples of ‘schedule, intention’ (a modal meaning) include (4), and (32) to (35). According to previous studies (e.g., Platts (1878: 330), Montaut (2004: 112)), the =*vaalaa* construction concerns a situation in the proximate/near future. However, my own examination of relevant examples has revealed that this construction can also refer to a situation in the remote future provided that the situation is highly likely to occur, e.g., (34) and (35).

- (32) *do tiin mahiine baad, [māĩ yah kaam*
two three month.M.PL after 1SG this job.M
choR de-ne]=vaalaa hũũ.
quit give-INF.OBL=*vaalaa*.M.SG COP.PRS.1SG
‘I intend to quit this job after two or three months.’
(Tsuchida 1985: 613)
- (33) [*māĩ tapaścaryaa=mē rat rah-ne aur uttam*
1SG ascetic.practice=in devote-INF.OBL and supreme
dharm=kaa paalan kar-ne]
religion/law=GEN.M.SG keeping.M.SG do-INF.OBL
=*vaalaa hũũ.*
=*vaalaa*.M.SG COP.PRS.1SG
‘I intend to devote myself to ascetic practices and keep the
supreme law.’
(http://www.ganeshgaatha.com/ganesh_leela_detail.php?id=31 (5
Mar 2012))
- (34) [*haridvaar=kaa aglaa kumbh 2021=mē=hii*
Haridwar=GEN next *Kumbh* 2021=in=EMPH
ho-ne]=vaalaa hai.
be.held-INF.OBL=*vaalaa*.M.SG COP.PRS.3SG
‘The next *Kumbh* (a grand Hindu religious fair) at Haridwar is
scheduled to be held in 2021.’
(http://in.jagran.yahoo.com/news/local/bihar/4_4_6436984_1.html
(23 Sep 2011))
- (35) [*ek kSudragrah epofis 2029=mē pṛthvii=ke*
a asteroid apophis 2029=in earth=GEN
bahut paas aa-ne]=vaalaa hai.
very near come-INF.OBL=*vaalaa*.M.SG COP.PRS.3SG
‘An asteroid called Apophis is scheduled to come very close to
earth in 2029.’
(<http://www.dw-world.de/dw/article/0,,5261769,00.html> (1 Aug
2011))

Examples of the speaker’s firm belief about the occurrence/non-occurrence of a situation (a modal meaning: epistemic)

include (5) and the following.

- (36) *hamē pataa thaa ki*
 1PL.DAT information.M.SG exist.PST.M.SG CONJ
 [Tokyo=*mēek baRaa bhuukamp aa-ne*]
 Tokyo=in a big earthquake.M.SG come-INF.OBL
 =*vaalaa hai.*
 =*vaalaa*.M.SG COP.PRS.3SG
 ‘We knew that a big earthquake would certainly occur in Tokyo.’
 (<http://www.amarujala.com/vichaar/VichaarDetail.aspx?nid=897&tp=b&Secid=4&SubSecid=9> (5 Mar 2012))

As these examples indicate, the =*vaalaa* construction is used to describe situations that have high probability of occurring, but are not realized yet (or the situations that were not realized if the copula verb is in the past form, as in (30)).

The main difference between the prototype of the MMC (see Section 1) and the =*vaalaa* construction is the following. The ‘Clause’ of the prototype of the MMC can be used as a sentence by itself. In contrast, this is not the case with the ‘Clause’ of the =*vaalaa* construction; it cannot be used as a sentence by itself. The predicate of the ‘Clause’ is in an infinitive form of a verb. That is, it is not finite. Compare (37) (same as (3)) (an instance of the =*vaalaa* construction) and (38) (the ‘Clause’ of (37)).

- (37) [*māi yuunivarsiTii jaa-ne*]=*vaalaa*
 1SG university.F.SG go-INF.OBL=*vaalaa*.M.SG
hūū.
 COP.PRS.1SG (McGregor 1995: 171)
 LT: ‘I am a person who goes to the university.’
 FT (i): ‘I am about to go to the university.’
 FT (ii): ‘I am on my way to the university.’
- (38) **māi yuunivarsiTii jaa-ne.*
 1SG university go-INF.OBL
 Intended meaning: ‘I go to the university.’

5.1.4 Status of =*vaalaa* as an enclitic

Almost all of the previous studies (e.g., Shukla (2001: 97), Montaut (2004: 153), Kachru (2009: 413)) treat =*vaalaa* as a suffix. (Butt (1995: 72-74) identifies two types of *vaalaa*; a suffix -*vaalaa* and an enclitic =*vaalaa*.) In my view, however, it has a more independent status than suffixes and I regard it as an enclitic. The reasons for this are the following.

(a) =*vaalaa* inflects for gender, number, and case, like independent words. (Suffixes themselves do not inflect.)

(b) Diverse categories of words can be the host for =*vaalaa*: nouns (e.g., (24) and (27)), infinitives of verbs (e.g., (25), (26), and (30) to (37)), adverbs (e.g., (39)), adjectives (e.g.; (40)), and demonstratives (e.g., (41-B)).

- (39) *us=kii* *hameśaa=vaalii* *miiThii* *aavaaz*
 3SG.OBL=GEN always=*vaalaa*.F sweet voice.F.SG
 ‘her usual sweet voice’ (Abhimanyu Anat, *Ek Ummid Aur*)
- (40) *choTe=vaale* *kamre=mē*
 small.M.SG.OBL=*vaalaa*.M.SG.OBL room.M.SG.OBL=in
Tiivii *hai.*
 television.M.SG exist.PRS.3SG (Bhatt 2007: 210)
 ‘The television is in the small room (not the big room).’
- (41) A: *aap* *kaunsii* *saaRii* *lēgii?*
 2HON which.F sari.F.SG take.FUT.2HON.F
 ‘Which sari will you take?’
 B: *yah=vaalii.*
 this=*vaalaa*.F.SG
 ‘This one.’ (Montaut 2004: 154)

(c) When =*vaalaa* is attached, the host is placed in its oblique form (if it is a noun or an infinitive of verbs, e.g., (24) to (27) and (30) to (37)). That is, =*vaalaa* governs the case of its host. (Suffixes do not govern the case of the preceding element.)

(d) According to Butt & King (2004: 173), “One classic test for clitic status is the interaction with coordinate structures. Inflectional affixes do not scope over a coordinate structure”. In contrast, =*vaalaa* scopes over coordinate structures. In (33), two clauses are coordinated by the conjunction *aur* ‘and’. =*vaalaa* is attached to the second infinitive (*karnaa* ‘to do’), and the infinitive is in the oblique case form (-*ne*). Note that the first infinitive (*rat rahnaa* ‘to devote’), too, is in the oblique case form. This indicates that =*vaalaa* scopes over this coordinate structure. Another example in which =*vaalaa* scopes over a coordinate structure is (25).

(e) The emphatic clitic =*hii* may be placed between the infinitive and =*vaalaa*, as in (31).

5.2 Related construction

The following sentences are examples of the ‘related construction’.

- (42) *rohit=kaa* *fiziks* *paRh-ne=kaa*
 Rohit=GEN.M.SG physics study-INF.OBL=GEN.M.SG
iraadaa *hai.*
 intention.M exist.PRS.3SG
 LT: ‘Rohit’s intention to study physics exists.’
 FT: ‘Rohit intends to study physics.’ (Kachru 1990: 65)
- (43) *hema=par* *saaraa* *ghar* *samhaal-ne=kii*
 Hema=on entire home manage-INF.OBL=GEN.F
zimmevaarii *hai.*
 responsibility.F exist.PRS.3SG (Kachru 1990: 65)
 LT: ‘On Hema the responsibility of managing the entire house exists.’

- FT: 'Hema has the responsibility of managing the entire house.'
- (44) *raat so-ne=se pahle shibu=ko paan*
 night sleep-INF.OBL=than before Shibu=DAT betel
khaa-ne=kii aadat hai.
 eat-INF.OBL=GEN.F habit.F exist.PRS.3SG
 LT: 'At night before sleeping, to Shibu a habit of chewing betel
 exists.'
 FT: 'Shibu has a habit of chewing betel at night before sleeping.'
 (Vikesh Nijhavani, *Bhukh*)

These sentences may look similar to the prototype of the MMC shown in Section 1. First, (cf. (a)), superficially, they may appear to have the structure of 'Clause + Noun + Copula'. Second (cf. (b)), in (42), for example, what may be considered the subject of the 'Clause' (i.e., 'Rohit') and the 'Noun' (i.e., 'intention') are not co-referential. Third, note also that the verb *honaa* may be used as the copula verb ('be'), e.g., (8) (and as the existential verb ('exist'), e.g., (10)).

However, these sentences differ from the prototype of the MMC in that what may appear to be the 'Clause' cannot be used by itself as a sentence; the verb is in an infinitive form. For example, compare (42) and (45). (45) is not acceptable.

- (45) **rohit=kaa fiziks paRh-ne.*
 Rohit=GEN.M.SG physics study-INF.OBL
 Intended meaning: 'Rohit studies physics.'

These sentences resemble the MMC with =*vaalaa* in that the predicate of the 'Clause' contains a verb in an infinitive form in the oblique case. However, they differ from the latter in the following respects. (i) The verb in an infinitive form in the oblique case is followed by =*vaalaa* in the MMC, but by the genitive case postposition in (42) to (44). (ii) What may be considered the subject is consistently in the direct case in the MMC, but it is in the genitive case in (42) (*rohit=kaa* 'Rohit=GEN.M.SG'), the locative case 'on' in (43) (*hema=par* 'Hema=on'), and the dative case in (44) (*shibu=ko* 'Shibu=DAT').

Hindi has no possessive verb corresponding to the English *have*, and predicative possession (X has/owns Y) is expressed periphrastically by a postposition and the existential verb *honaa*. (Recall that this verb can also be used as the copula verb.) Different postpositions are used for different possessives. In view of the above, examples such as (42) to (44) are best considered instances of existential/possessive expression. This is reflected in the English translations of these sentences.

6. Historical change

6.1 Etymology of =vaalaa

I have only limited information on the etymology of =vaalaa. Beams (1879: 238-239) and Kellogg (1893: 342) state that =vaalaa derives from the Sanskrit noun *paalaka* 'guardian, protector; one who maintains or observes'. (*Paalak(a)* is still used as a noun 'guardian, protector' and an adjective 'protecting, supporting' in Hindi. The word-final *a* is dropped by a regular phonological rule of Hindi.) They point out the correspondence between the Sanskrit *gopaalaka* 'cowherd' and the Hindi *gvaalaa* 'cowherd'. In a recent literature, Montaut (2004: 146, 153) gives the same etymology for =vaalaa. However, it should be noted that, to the best of my knowledge, no construction such as '[Clause] *paalaka* Copula' has been found in Sanskrit.

6.2 Grammaticalization of =vaalaa

In this section, I shall examine the grammaticalization of =vaalaa, assuming that its etymology proposed by Beams (1879), Kellogg (1893), and Montaut (2004) is correct.

[1] A noun (*paalaka* 'guardian, protector' in Sanskrit) changed to an enclitic (=vaalaa in Hindi).

[2] The meaning changed from 'lexical' to 'grammatical', namely, from 'guardian, protector; one who maintains or observes' to (i) 'be about to' (an aspectual meaning), (ii) schedule, intention (a modal meaning), and (iii) the speaker's firm belief about the occurrence/non-occurrence of a situation (a modal meaning). Beams (1879: 240) states as follows: "this [i.e. =vaalaa construction — YI] is not perhaps a classical phrase, but it is one which one hears a dozen times a day from the mouths of people of all classes".

[3] The Sanskrit *paalaka* 'guardian, protector; one who maintains or observes' was used as an independent word or second member of a compound (e.g., *lokapaalaka* 'a world protector'). On the other hand, the Hindi =vaalaa is a dependent element, and in the =vaalaa construction, =vaalaa is used as a part of the predicate.

[4] Now, sentences involving =vaalaa (hereafter, =vaalaa sentences) are occasionally ambiguous and two (or more) readings are possible, e.g., (46) and (47).

- (46) *laRkaa paRh-ne=vaalaa hai.*
boy.M.SG study-INF.OBL=vaalaa.M.SG COP.PRS.3SG
(i) 'The boy is studious type.'
(ii) 'The boy is about to start studying.' (Verma 1971: 104)
- (47) *šer aadmii khaa-ne=vaalaa hai.*
tiger.M.SG man.M eat-INF.OBL=vaalaa.M.SG
COP.PRS.3SG
(i) 'The tiger is man-eating type.'

(ii) 'The tiger is about to eat a man.'

(Verma 1971: 104)

The two readings in each of (46) and (47) differ in the type of predication. When the sentence has the reading of (i), =*vaalaa* is used for forming noun phrases and adjective phrases (5.1.2). Also, it is an instance of 'property predication', which describes a particular characteristic of a person or thing. When the sentence has the reading of (ii), it is a variant of MMC and an instance of 'event predication', which describes a specific event. The meaning of the sentence depends, for example, on the context or the presence of a certain type of adverb of time. (If the sentence includes 'today', as against 'always', it is interpreted as an instance of event predication.) (See Kageyama (2006) for a discussion of property predication and event predication.)

These two types of =*vaalaa* sentences have different syntactic structures; see Table 3.

Table 3. Two types of =*vaalaa* sentences

	Syntactic structure	Meaning
Property predication	[X [V- <i>ne=vaalaa</i>] <i>honaa</i>]	'X is the one that V' (property)
Event predication	[X [V- <i>ne=vaalaa honaa</i>]]	'X is about to V' (aspectual) 'X is due to V' (schedule) 'X intends to V' (intention) 'X will V' (speaker's firm belief about the occurrence/non-occurrence of an event/situation)

The difference between the two syntactic structures is illustrated by the position of a negation word in the sentence. Hindi has three negation words. A negation word generally comes immediately before the predicate verb. (48) is an instance of property predication, and the negation word *nahī̄* occurs before the copula verb. This shows that, in (48), *the* 'COP.PST.M.PL' is the predicate, and that (48) has the structure of 'Property predication' shown in Table 3. (49) and (50) are instances of event predication, and *nahī̄* 'NEG' comes before the verb phrase *V-ne=vaalaa honaa*. This shows (i) that the predicate is *kar-ne=vaalaa hū̄* 'do-INF.OBL=*vaalaa*.M.SG COP.PRS.1SG' in (49), and *aa-ne=vaalaa hai* 'come-INF.OBL=*vaalaa*.M.SG COP.PRS.3SG' in (50), and (ii) that, consequently, (49) and (50) have the structure of 'Event predication' shown in Table 3.

- (48) *minisTar saahab cup baiTh-ne=vaale*
 minister HON silent sit-INF.OBL=*vaalaa*.M.PL
nahī̄ the.
 NEG COP.PST.M.PL (Rahi Masoom Raza, *Neem ka Ped*)

- ‘The minister was not a type of person to sit silent.’
 (49) *lekin māĩ koiĩ taariĩx tay nahĩĩ*
 but 1SG certain date deciding NEG
kar-ne=vaalaa hũũ.
 do-INF.OBL=*vaalaa*.M.SG COP.PRS.1SG
 ‘But I am not going to set a precise [retirement] date now.’
 (BBC060907_blair_party_leave (8 Sep 2006))
- (50) *jab tak aap apnii soc=ko nahĩĩ*
 by the time 2HON REFL.GEN thought=ACC NEG
badl-ẽge, tab tak badlaav nahĩĩ
 change-FUT.2HON.M by then change.M.SG NEG
aa-ne=vaalaa hai.
 come-INF.OBL=*vaalaa*.M.SG COP.PRS.3SG
 ‘Unless you change your thoughts, change will not come.’
 (ZEE111115 (16 Dec 2011))

The development of =*vaalaa* can be surmised in terms of grammaticalization as in Table 4.

Table 4. The development of =*vaalaa*

Stage I	Sanskrit noun <i>paalaka</i>	‘guardian, protector’
Stage II	Hindi grammatical element = <i>vaalaa</i> (from lexical item to grammatical item)	used for forming noun phrases and adjective phrases
Stage III	[X [V- <i>ne=vaalaa</i>] <i>honaa</i>]	property predication
Stage IV	[X [V- <i>ne=vaalaa honaa</i>]] (by reanalysis)	event predication

The change from the Sanskrit noun *paalaka* to the Hindi enclitic =*vaalaa* is a typical case of grammaticalization in that an independent lexical item has become a dependent form and acquired grammatical functions (cf. Hopper and Traugott 2003: xv). As already stated, =*vaalaa* sentences exhibit two types of predication: property predication and event predication. It can be speculated that the change from property predication to event predication is the result of reanalysis. In event predication, the concrete meaning of =*vaalaa*; ‘the one who/which does/is...’ has been lost (i.e., semantic bleaching), and syntactically, =*vaalaa* has become a part of the predicate.

7. Summary and concluding remarks

Hindi has a variant of the MMC in which the predicate of the ‘Clause’ is a

verb in an infinitive form and the 'Noun' slot is occupied by the enclitic =*vaalaa*, which is in turn followed by the copula verb. The meanings of this MMC are aspectual and modal. Etymologically, the enclitic =*vaalaa* may have been the Sanskrit noun *paalaka* 'guardian, protector; one who maintains or observes'. If this etymology is correct, =*vaalaa* has undergone grammaticalization: (i) from a noun (an independent word) to an enclitic, and (ii) from a lexical meaning to grammatical meanings.

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Abbreviations

A - transitive subject; ABL - ablative; AC - adnominal clause; ACC - accusative; AUX - auxiliary verb; CONJ - conjunction; COP - copula; COR - correlative; DAT - dative; EMPH - emphatic; ERG - ergative; F - feminine; FT - free translation; FUT - future; GEN - genitive; HON - honorific; IMP - imperative; IMPF - imperfective; INF - infinitive; INS - instrumental; LT - literal translation; M - masculine; MMC - mermaid construction; NEG - negative; O - object; OBL - oblique; PFV - perfective; PL - plural; PROG - progressive; PRS - present; PST - past; REFL - reflexive; REL - relative pronoun; S - intransitive subject; SG - singular; V - verb; 1 - first person; 2 - second person; 3 - third person

Enclitics are preceded by the equal symbol, while affixes are indicated with a hyphen.

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