

The Stative Passive Construction in Kurux

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Abstract

Kurux and Malto have highly productive morphological passive formations, unlike many other Dravidian languages. Both languages have undergone innovation: Kurux has extended the original intransitive-reflexive suffix *-r* to cover the passive voice, and Malto has introduced the exclusively passive suffix *-wr/-gr* and the passive verbal adjective in *-pe* although the Patient is not raised to the subject position. In Kurux, the perfect participle of a transitive verb followed by the existential verb *ra?* makes the periphrastic stative passive, which is almost identical with the perfect except that its perfect participle does not show concord with the subject, which is the Patient. Based on elicitation interviews and corpus analysis, we argue that the invariable participle of the stative passive was in fact an attributive adjective, in accord with the description of Grignard (1924:73). Compared to Grignard's days, the stative passive seems to be more grammaticalized as an inflectional category now. While Kurux has undergone simplification of double-concord periphrastic perfect forms, the singular non-masculine forms partially preserve the original concord of the participles. We suggest the possibilities that the loss of concord in the participles of the perfect forms was blocked in the singular non-masculine to avoid a complete merger with the stative passive, and that the partial merger is related with the Kurux speakers' bilingualism with Sadri, where the passive and the perfect have merged into one category.

1. Introduction

Kurux is a language belonging to the Dravidian family. It forms the Kurux-Malto subgroup with its closest sister Malto. In this paper, we will describe the passive constructions of Kurux, especially the stative passive, examine how they are different from equivalent constructions in Malto, and then explore how it developed.

Kurux is spoken by about 1,750,000 people in eastern India, with the heaviest concentration in the states of Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh. Its morphology is mostly agglutinative, but some suffixes are fused. A finite verb form consists of a verb base, either Base 1 or 2 depending on the absence or presence of one of the original past markers, a tense suffix, and a personal suffix marking the person, gender and number of the subject. In addition to the three simple tenses, present, past and future, Kurux has complex verbs denoting progressive and perfective aspects. A noun typically consists of a stem and a case suffix, and a personal suffix if it is a predicate. Kurux is a dependent-marking language. It has an accusative alignment system, and the unmarked word orders are SV with

intransitives and AOV with transitives. There are two genders, the masculine referring to human males and the supreme deity *d^harmes*, and the non-masculine covering all other entities. The nominative is the unmarked case, and accusative marking of inanimate nouns is not obligatory.

The basic data of Kurux cited in this paper was acquired by elicitation in interviews with a male native speaker in his thirties, held in June-July 2012 and February 2011, and from the transcripts of the narrative corpus recorded in the field from 2007 to 2012.

2. Passive Constructions in Kurux

2.1 Passive with the Passive Stem

The passive stem of Kurux is derived by extending the verbal base with the suffix *-r*, as in *kamʔ-* ‘make’ vs. *kam-rʔ-* ‘be made’ (with transposition of /ʔ/ and /r/). While Hahn (1911:61ff.) regards this formation as ‘passive’ as well as ‘intransitive’, Grignard (1924:80) calls it ‘middle voice’ and observes that “a transitive verb remains transitive” (83), and gives *kam-ta:rʔ-* as the true passive. In the current usage, extension with *-r* is the most common way to form a passive stem. The *-r* suffix also derives intransitive verbs, e.g. *c^haõc^haõ-rʔ-* ‘be pungent’ from onomatopoeia. In a passive sentence, the Patient is put in the unmarked (nominative) case, and the Agent, if explicit, takes the instrumental-ablative case marker *-ti:*. (1a) and (1b) are Kurux sentences for ‘Thieves stole my cow’ and its passive counterpart, ‘My cow was stolen by thieves’.

(1a)	enɡ ^h ay	oy-n	xalb-ɽar	xaðɽ-ar
	I.GEN	cow-ACC	thief-PL	steal.B2-PAST.3PL
(1b)	enɡ ^h ay	o:y	xalb-ɽar-ti:	xaðɽ-r-a:
	I.GEN	cow	thief-PL-ABL	steal-PASS-PAST.3SG.NM

This is a highly productive process, and *-r* can be attached to many verb bases including those with the causative suffix *-tʔ-*, e.g. *men-* ‘hear’ → *men-tʔ-* ‘make heard’ → *men-ta:rʔ-* ‘be heard, be reported’. When the base already has an *-r* form with non-passive meaning, this does not hold true; for example, *keb-* ‘scold’ already has *kebr-* with the same meaning, and the passive needs to be formed periphrastically, *kebr^er mo:x-* ‘be scolded’ with *mo:x-* ‘eat’.

2.2 Perfect Passive

Unlike Malto which has only the simple past tense to express perfective aspect, Kurux has developed complex tense/aspect forms. Present and past perfect forms consist of the perfective participle and the present and past forms of the existential verb *raʔ-* (from Indo-Aryan *rah-* as in Hindi *rahnā* and Bengali *rahā* ‘to remain’, *CDIAL* 10666), inflected in person, gender and number. Table 1 is the present and past perfect paradigm of the transitive verb *on-* (Grignard *o:n-*) ‘drink, eat (rice)’. *onɽ-ka:* is the unmarked form of the perfective participle, and *unɽ-ki:* is the marked non-masculine form, which occurs only in the singular (see below).

Table 1: Present and past present inflection of *on-* ‘drink, eat (rice)’

Present perfect

1SG	<i>onq-ka: raʔ-dan</i>	1PL.EXCL	<i>onq-ka: raʔ-dam</i>
1SG.FF ¹	<i>unq-ki: raʔ-en</i>	1PL.EXCL.FF	<i>onq-ka: raʔ-em</i>
		1PL.INCL	<i>onq-ka: raʔ-dat</i>
2SG.M	<i>onq-ka: raʔ-day</i>	2PL	<i>onq-ka: raʔ-dar</i>
2SG.NM	<i>unq-ki: raʔ-di:</i>	2PL.FF	<i>onq-ka: raʔ-day</i>
3SG.M	<i>onq-ka: raʔ-das</i>	3PL	<i>onq-ka: raʔ-nar</i>
3SG.NM	<i>unq-ki: raʔ-i:</i>	3PL.FF	<i>onq-ka: raʔ-nay</i>

Past perfect

1SG	<i>onq-ka: rahac-kan</i>	1PL.EXCL	<i>onq-ka: rahac-kam</i>
1SG.FF	<i>unq-ki: rahac-ʔan</i>	1PL.EXCL.FF	<i>onq-ka: rahac-ʔam</i>
		1PL.INCL	<i>onq-ka: rahac-kat</i>
2SG.M	<i>onq-ka: rahac-kay</i>	2PL	<i>onq-ka: rahac-kar</i>
2SG.NM	<i>unq-ki: rahac-ki:</i>	2PL.FF	<i>unq-ka: rahac-kay</i>
3SG.M	<i>onq-ka: rahc-as</i>	3PL	<i>onq-ka: rahc-ar</i>
3SG.NM	<i>unq-ki: rahc-a:</i>	3PL.FF	<i>onq-ka: rahc-ay</i>

Grignard (1924:73) scornfully calls the forms with perfective participles in *-ka*: “bogus compound tenses”, adding “No action at all is denoted, but only a *state*, acquired in consequence of previous action.” Instead, he gives a different inflection table as in Table 2, in which the perfective participle takes the personal suffix showing concord with the subject.² Hahn (1911:57) gives the same set of perfective participles showing concord with the subject when used predicatively.

Table 2: Present perfect inflection according to Grignard (1924:69)

Present perfect (Grignard 1924:69; same participle forms used in the past perfect too)

1SG	<i>onq-kan raʔ-dan</i>	1PL.EXCL	<i>onq-kam raʔ-dam</i>
1SG.FF	<i>unq-kin raʔ-en</i>	1PL.INCL	<i>onq-kat raʔ-dat</i>
2SG.M	<i>onq-kay raʔ-day</i>	2PL	<i>onq-kar raʔ-dar</i>
2SG.NM	<i>unq-ki: raʔ-di:</i>	2PL.FF	—
3SG.M	<i>onq-kas raʔ-das</i>	3PL	<i>onq-kar raʔ-nar</i>
3SG.NM	<i>unq-ki: raʔ-i:</i>	3PL.FF	—

In the current inflection (Table 1), the perfective participle agrees with the subject only in

¹ Kurux has ‘inter-feminine’ forms, forms which are used only in interlocution among women. See Hahn (1911:42).

² Initially, we suspected that the Kurux of our consultant is particularly innovative. But we confirmed in further fieldwork that speakers of all generations from different areas only use forms as in Table 1. The native village of Grignard’s main Kurux consultant is close to that of our consultant, and the possibility of dialectal variation is low, too.

gender, but the pattern of the concord is not straightforward. In the first place, the unmarked form of the perfective participle is Base 2³ + *-ka:*, which does not change when used attributively even if the referent is non-masculine, e.g. *uss-ka: xall* {plough.B2-PFV.PTCP paddy.field.NM} ‘ploughed paddy field’. It also remains unchanged when it is used as a perfective action noun (Grignard 1924:72), e.g. *ars-ka: ke: ba:d-nu:* {arrive-PFV.PTCP GEN after-LOC} ‘after arriving’. Only when it is used as part of a complex verb, and when the referent is singular and non-masculine, *-ka:* changes to non-masculine *-ki:* (incurring [+high] umlaut), i.e. in the second and third persons singular non-masculine and in the inter-female form of the first person singular.⁴ So the distribution of *-ka:* and *-ki:* is not symmetrical as in the participles of two-gender Indo-Aryan languages such as Hindi. This concord is observed for both transitive and intransitive verbs as examples (2) and (3) show:

- (2) a:d ra:ci: kir-ki: raʔ-i:
 she.NM PROP go.B2-PFV.PTCP.NM be-PRS.3SG.NM
 ‘She has been to Ranchi.’

- (3) a:d maŋdʒi: mal uŋd-ki: rahc-a:
 she.NM meal not drink.B2-PFV.PTCP.NM be.B2-PST.3SG.NM
 ‘She had not eaten her meal.’

In exactly the same way as in Table 1, the passive of the perfect is formed by adding present or past forms of the existential verb to the perfective participle of the passive stem, e.g. 1SG *po:sr-ka: raʔ-dan* ‘I have been nurtured’, 3SG.NM *po:sr-ki: raʔ-i:* ‘it/she has been nurtured’ etc. of *po:srʔ-* ‘be nurtured’ from *po:sʔ-* ‘nurture’. (4a) and (4b) are masculine and non-masculine examples of the present perfect of *po:srʔ-*:

- (4a) i: xadd-as ʃoraŋ-nu: po:sr-ka: raʔ-das
 this boy-M forest-LOC be.nurtured-PFV.PTCP be-PRS.3SG.M
 ‘This boy has been brought up in the forest.’

- (4b) i: alla: eŋgdas-ti: erpa:-nu: po:sr-ki:
 this dog.NM my.son-ABL house-LOC be.nurtured-PFV.PTCP.NM
 raʔ-i:
 be-PRS.3SG.NM
 ‘This dog has been brought up at home by my son.’

³ ‘Base 2’ refers to the original past stem, which serves as basis for the past tense and a few participial forms.

⁴ Note that *-ki:* might be an innovation in Kurux, while for *-ka:* Malto has a cognate suffix *-ke* as in *paŋjke* ADJ ‘ripe’.

2.3 Stative Passive

In addition to the perfect passive, Kurux has another type of passive construction, the stative passive. As in the perfect, the stative passive is formed from the perfective participle of a *transitive* verb and the existential verb *raʔ-*, with the Patient in the subject position:

- (5) i: xadd-as ʈoraŋ-nu: po:sc-ka: raʔ-das
 this boy-M forest-LOC raise.B2-PFV.PTCP be-PRS.3SG.M
 ‘This boy has been brought up in the forest.’

Since in the normal perfect forms the participle agrees with the subject in gender in the singular, it is expected that the perfect participle of a transitive verb would agree with the Patient which is the subject. However, the participle of the stative passive invariably ends in *-ka:* even when the Patient is non-masculine or when there is no explicit agent as in (6), or when the Agent is feminine as in (7):

- (6) i: mu:rti xajj-ti: kamc-ka: raʔ-i:
 this statue.NM dirt-ABL make.B2-PFV.PTCP be-PRS.3SG.NM
 ‘This statue is made from clay.’

- (7) karam je: gaḍḍ-ka: rahc-a: adi-n
 Karam.NM REL plant.B2-PFV.PTCP be.B2-PST.3SG.NM that-ACC
 hū: caḍḍ-as
 too uproot.B2-PST.3SG.M
 ‘He plucked out the Karam boughs that they (the wives) had erected.’

According to our narrative corpus, all unambiguous cases of stative passive with non-masculine subjects have perfect participles in *-ka:*. If the verb would agree in gender and number with the Agent of the action denoted by the verb, the one in (7) should end in *-ka: rahc-ar*. Since the verbs agree with the Patient of the action denoted by the verb, the VPs in (6) and (7) are not transitive, and since the participles do not show concord in gender with the Patient and become *-ki:*, they are different from eventive passive too.

3. Emergence of the passive constructions

In this section, we will trace the origin of Kurux passives, and consider how to interpret the agreement in the stative passive.

There is no exclusively passive morpheme reconstructed for Proto-Dravidian (Krishnamurti 2003:279). Among Dravidian languages, Modern Tamil forms passives with an infinitive followed by the auxiliary *paṭu* ‘suffer’. In Sangam Tamil, this combination simply meant ‘suffer/experience ...ing’ (Rajam 1994:517f.) and was not grammaticalized as a passive auxiliary yet. The passive with *paṭu* is thus an internal development in Tamil. In parallel developments, Kannada and Telugu also

have passives with a cognate auxiliary *paḍu*. In order to consider how Kurux has developed the passive constructions, it would not be out of place to discuss how the passive is expressed in Malto in the following two sections.

3.1 *-r* suffix in Malto

In perfect correspondence to Kurux *-r* (2.1), Malto has a stem-formative suffix *-r*, so *-r* is reconstructible for Proto-Kurux-Malto. Furthermore, Krishnamurti (1961: 146f.) connects Kurux *-r* with Telugu intransitive verbs in *-aru* and *-uru*, and attributes reflexive and neutral/passive meanings to it. Emeneau (1975 [1994: 225]) considers Kurux-Malto *-r* to be the retention of the Proto-Dravidian intransitive voice suffix, and Krishnamurti (2003: 279) attributes an intransitive/middle meaning to it.

The function of Malto *-r* is limited to intransitives and reflexives. It is also attached to borrowed Indo-Aryan intransitive verbs, as in *bana-r-* ‘to become, to be made’ from Hindi *ban-* ‘id.’, and *-r* in this case is an intransitive marker. Cognate pairs of Kurux and Malto share only these two functions, e.g.

Krx. *no:ḍʰrʔ-* ‘to wash oneself’ from *no:ḍ-* ‘to wash’ : Mlt. *no:ḍr-* from *no:ḍ-* ‘wash’,

Krx. *coxʔ-* ‘to be plucked’ from *coxʔ-* ‘to pluck’ : Mlt. *cogr-* ‘to drop off’ from *cog-* ‘to pluck off’,

Krx. *he:rʔ-* ‘to be tied’ from *heʔ-* ‘to tie’ : Mlt. *ey-r-* ‘to tie on oneself’ from *ey-* ‘to tie’.

The following is an example of the reflexive use of Malto *ey-r-* (Kobayashi 2012:113):

- (8) agdi to ... kuku-no pa:ga-n ey-r-ar
 formerly TOP head-LOC turban-ACC tie-REFL-PST.3PL
 ‘Formerly, they tied turbans on their head.’

Reflexive verbs with *-r* as in this sentence, which would be attracted by the object which is usually adjacent and become in concord with it (→ *ey-r-a* {tie-REFL-PST.3SG.NM} in this case), would be a starting point of the passive use of *-r* in Kurux. Malto did not take this path, and instead of semantically extending *-r* to the passive, it developed, or possibly preserved, the passive suffix *-wr/-gr* of unknown origin.⁵

3.2 Accusative Subject in Malto Passives

Malto shows strong asymmetry between active and passive voices. In elicitation interviews, consultants translated Hindi passive sentences into the active in most cases. Even when passive verb

⁵ Since Southern Malto has *-hr* corresponding to *-wr*, *-wr* is considered to come from *-gr* (Southern and Western /h/ corresponds to Northern /g/) through compensatory articulation. Puttaswamy (2009:79) connects this suffix with the verbal base *urq-* ‘come out’, but the change of /q/ to /g/ is not regular and needs explanation. If *-wr* is different from *-gr*, a reduced form of the verb *bar-* ‘come’ would be a possible origin of it (cf. the Italian passive with *venire* ‘come’).

bases are formed with the suffixes *-wr* and *-gr*, the Patient often remains in the accusative case.⁶ For example, a passive sentence (9b) with the accusative subject is made from (9a) ‘Thieves stole my cow’:

- (9a) eŋ-ki o:y-a qalwe-r qaɖ-ar
 I-GEN cow-ACC thief-PL steal.B2-PST.3PL
- (9b) eŋ-ki o:y-a⁷ qalwe-r-it qal-wry-a
 I-GEN cow-ACC thief-PL-INS steal-PASS.B2-PAST.3SG.NM

Although Malto does not distinguish perfective and imperfective aspects within the present tense, it has a passive verbal adjective with stative meaning formed with the suffix *-pe*, to which Kurux has no cognate. *-pe* forms function as the stative passive as in (10). Here also, the subject *ale* ‘dog’ takes the accusative suffix *-n* in a majority of cases in elicitation.

- (10) maq-ond ale-n kuŋi-no coŋj-pe-ð
 CLF-one dog-ACC post-LOC tie-PASS.PTCP-3SG.NM
 ‘A dog is tied to the post’

3.3 Stative passive construction as an internal development in Kurux

We saw in 2.2 that in the present and past perfect of Kurux, the participle ends in *-ki*: if the subject is non-masculine (and singular)⁸, and in 2.3 that the verb ends in *-ka*: in the stative passive if a non-masculine Patient is the subject, regardless of the gender of the Agent.

To resolve this discrepancy, it would be better to consider that the perfective participle in the stative passive was originally not a part of the complex verb. We saw in 2.2 that the perfective participle is used either as an action noun, a verbal adjective, or a part of a complex verb, and it shows concord and changes to *-ki*: only in the last case.

One possibility is to consider the *-ka*: form as a verbal noun, serving as a predicate NP to the Patient which is raised to the subject position. Since an action noun is often neutral in terms of voice, a construction with an action noun easily functions as passive. A problem with this analysis is that the sentence is not equational, for an action and the Patient of an action are not in apposition. Copula sentences in Kurux are equational in most cases, and non-equational topic-comment sentence patterns are hard to find. Since an action noun would also require its argument to have different cases, this analysis is untenable.

Now let us turn to the other possibility, i.e. to interpret the *-ka*: participle as a verbal adjective. It is perfectly grammatical to form NPs *kame-ka*: *mu:rti* ‘produced statue (NM)’ and *gaɖɖ-ka*: *karam*

⁶ Haspelmath (1990:34f.) calls such a construction ‘desubjective’.

⁷ *o:yu* (unmarked case) is also possible.

⁸ Only human nouns take the plural suffix *-r*, so nonhuman non-masculine nouns are all treated as singular regardless of their actual number.

‘erected Karam boughs (NM)’ corresponding to (6) and (7) respectively, with perfect participles as attributive adjectives with ‘resultative’ meaning (Haspelmath 1994:157). Since an adjective can usually be used as a predicate, it should be possible to put the attributive adjectives in the predicate position followed by *raʔ-*, a copula as well as an existential verb, in the senses ‘This statue is [one that is] made from clay’ and ‘The Karam boughs were [what] they (the wives) had erected’.⁹ When used adjectivally, the perfective participle agrees with the Patient of the verb’s action in terms of gender although it is morphologically transitive, and that seems to be why the stative passive looks ambivalent in terms of voice.¹⁰

This analysis is actually already given by Grignard. In the paragraph on the so-called “bogus compound tenses” mentioned in 2.2, Grignard (1924:73) makes a passing comment that “the Past [i.e. perfective] Participle, being an Adjective, follows the rule of concord of Adjectives.” This is the same as what we call the stative passive, except that the participle shows case government like that of a noun. Grignard gives the following example:

- (11) e:n d^harmes-gahi kamc-ka: raʔ-en
 I god-GEN make.B2-PFV.PTCP be-PRS.1SG.FF
 “I am God’s handiwork.”

In fact, the genitive *d^harmes-gahi* in this sentence is judged to be ungrammatical by our consultant; in present-day Kurux, the Agent must be in the ablative-instrumental case (*d^harmes-ti:*) and not in the genitive case. This change in case government suggests that the participle, which used to be nominal or adjectival, is becoming incorporated into the VP and behaves like a verb, requiring the Agent to be in the ablative-instrumental case as passive verbs do.

4. Discussion

We mentioned in 3 above that Proto-Dravidian did not have a morphological process of passivization separate from intransitivization. Languages such as Tamil developed passive voice by using a verb meaning ‘suffer’ as an auxiliary. But that is innovation within individual languages, and no morphological passive is reconstructed for Proto-Kurux-Malto either, unless Malto *-wr/-gr* is retention of a Proto-Kurux-Malto passive suffix.

When a passive construction develops in a language, there are at least two processes involved, i.e. i) development of a unique passive verb, and ii) ascension or topicalization of the Patient (cf. Keenan & Dryer 2007:327). In Malto, i) has taken place by the passive stem-formative suffix *-wr/-gr* and the passive participle in *-pe*, but since the Patient often remains in the accusative case, ii) is not complete. On the other hand, ii) is complete in the *-r* passive of Kurux because the Patient is

⁹ Nowrangi (1956:110) notes a similar construction in Sadri, formed from a past participle and the copula *hek-*, e.g. *dek^hal hek-ō* ‘I am the one seen’, which is distinct from the eventive passive or perfect passive.

¹⁰ Grignard (1924:72) “The Past Participle of transitive Verbs has both the active and the passive meanings.”

topicalized by taking the unmarked case and moving to the topic position, but the passive stem in *-r* is a semantic extension of the intransitive-reflexive, and hence i) is only halfway complete. In the stative passive as well, the predicate is transitive and not passive. In other words, neither Kurux nor Malto has developed a full-fledged passive construction.

According to Hahn’s and Grignard’s descriptions as in Table 2, participles in perfect forms show person-number-gender concord with the subjects, and the stative passive is referred to by the latter as a “bogus complex tense” as cited above. Given the high reliability of Grignard’s overall description, Kurux must have undergone a rapid change in its periphrastic inflections in less than eighty years (Figure 1), and the participle of the perfect tense lost the person-number concord with the subject and became almost completely unverbated with the existential verb except in the non-masculine singular. The stative passive, which started as a predicative use of attributive perfect participles, has also undergone a change in that it now requires the Agent to be in the ablative-instrumental case, suggesting that it is in the process of being grammaticalized as a category of verb inflection.

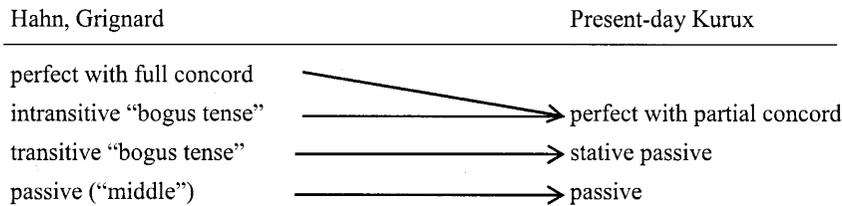


Figure 1: Change of verb categories in Kurux

In the world’s languages, there are passive constructions without morphologically unique passive VPs (Keenan and Dryer 2007:329ff.). Here we will discuss which language has a similar construction as the Kurux stative passive.

In the periphrastic passive of Spanish, a copula or existential verb combines with the past participle of a transitive verb, which agrees in number and gender with the Patient as in (12a), whereas the past participle does not show any concord in perfect forms as in (12b). The past participle behaves as an adjective in the passive but it is a part of the complex verb in the perfect.

(12a) La *Ilíada* y la *Odisea* fueron *escritas* por Homero.
 the *Illiad.F* and the *Odyssey.F* were written.PFV.PTCP.F.PL by Homer
 “The *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were written by Homer.”

(12b) Alfonso y Rosita han *escrito* juntos el libro.
 Alfonso and Rosita have written.PFV.PTCP together the book
 “Alfonso and Rosita wrote the book together.”

The participles in the Kurux perfect show partial concord while those in the stative passive do not, and the agreement pattern may appear to be opposite to that of Spanish. But it is an idiosyncratic rule of Kurux that verbs show concord in gender with the subject while adjectives do not. The perfect participle in the Kurux stative passive is adjectival in that it does not show concord while the one in the perfect is verbal in that it does, and in that sense the agreement pattern of the participles in the Kurux stative passive and perfect is the same as in Spanish.

The stative passive also poses a question about the type of morphosyntactic alignment in Kurux. In present-day Kurux, where the stative passive has developed as a verb category, there are minimal pairs such as (13a) and (13b) for singular non-masculine subjects:

(13a) sikʈa: (lakʈa:-ti:) d^harc-ka: raʔ-i:
 jackal.NM tiger.NM-ABL catch.B2-PFV.PTCP be-PRS.3SG.NM
 “A jackal has been caught (by a tiger).”

(13b) sikʈa: (berxa-n) d^harc-ki: raʔ-i:
 jackal.NM cat.NM-ACC catch.B2-PFV.PTCP.NM be-PRS.3SG.NM
 “A jackal has caught (a cat).”

In Hindi, (13a) and (13b) are respectively rendered as (14a) and (14b) (cf. McGregor 1995:173).

(14a) siyār (bāg^h-se) pakʈ-ā huā hai
 jackal.M tiger-from catch-PFV.PTCP.SG.M be.PFV.PTCP.SG.M COP.PRS.3SG

(14b) siyār-ne (billī) pakʈ-ī hai
 jackal.M-ERG cat.F catch-PFV.PTCP.SG.F COP.PRS.3SG

Since the form of the participle is different from that of the transitive VP in the non-masculine singular in Kurux, and since there is also an accusative type of transitive sentences like (13b) in the same aspect, (13a) cannot be considered an ergative construction.

With respect to the use of a transitive in place of passive stems as in (13a), the stative passive construction of Kurux finds a close parallel in Japanese, where it is possible to make a passive sentence with a transitive verb as in the following example:

(15) ki=ga ue-te at-ta
 tree=TOP plant-CVB be-PST
 “There was a tree planted.”

Just like in the stative passive complex verb of Kurux such as *kamc-ka: raʔ-i:*, where *kamc-ka:* is a participle of a transitive verb and *raʔ-i:* is a non-masculine (including inanimate) form, *at-ta*, a

copula for an inanimate subject, goes with the subject *ki* ‘tree’, while *ue-te* ‘having planted’ is a transitive verb and cannot have *ki* as its subject. However, Japanese has traits of a topic-prominent language (Li and Thompson 1976:460) where it is possible to put the object of a transitive verb in the topic position, and the similarity with respect to voice might be due to different sentential structures.

Merger of the perfect and the passive, and blocking thereof, might sound unrealistic, but Sadri (Sadani), an Indo-Aryan language with which Kurux is in closest contact, presents a case of merger of perfect and perfect passive in an inflectional category called Perfect II (Jordan-Horstmann 1969:86):

(16a) bambai mor dek^h-al āhe
 Bombay I.GEN see-PST.PTCP be.PRS.3SG
 “Bombay has been seen (visited) by me.”

(16b) moẽ u-ke dek^hal āhõ
 I he-ACC see-PST.PTCP be.PRS.1SG
 “Certainly I myself have seen him.”

(16a) and (16b) share the same participle of the transitive verb *dek^h*- ‘see’ and existential verbs of the same tense, and the only difference aside from the case of the Agent is the presence of the accusative object *u-ke*. Leveling of the participle forms in the Kurux perfect inflection that took place after Grignard’s grammar made perfect forms mostly identical with the stative passive forms. Unlike Sadri where there is no gender distinction in the participles, Kurux has two genders which contrast in the singular, and the survival of the gender distinction in the singular number prevented the stative passive from merging with the perfect completely.

Since practically all Kurux speakers are bilingual with Sadri, it might be possible to consider the partial merger of the perfect and the stative passive in Kurux as convergence.¹¹ On the one hand, this hypothesis finds support in the extensive borrowing of Kurux from Sadri, such as the copula *hik-* (Sadri *hek-*), the existential verb *raʔ-* (Sadri *rah-*), conjunction *-k^hane:* (Sadri *-k^han*), and postposition *-lek^hʔa:* ‘like’ (Sadri *lak^he*). On the other hand, the leveling of the participles of the perfect can be explained as an internal process of univerbation or a shift towards group inflection within Kurux rather than by convergence which is an elusive notion hard to formulate. In any case, it is conceivable that Kurux speakers’ grammatical knowledge of Sadri, where the passive and the perfect have merged in one inflectional category, prepared the way for shifting to a compound tense system of present-day Kurux with partially merged perfect and stative passive.

¹¹ It might better be called ‘metatypy’, a term Ross (2007:124) introduced to refer to “the diachronic process whereby the morphosyntactic constructions of one of the languages of a bilingual speech community are restructured on the model of the constructions of the speakers’ other language”. I thank Tooru Hayasi for the reference.

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Abbreviations

1: first person; 3: third person; ABL: ablative; ACC: accusative; ADJ: adjective; B2: Base 2 (past stem); *CDIAL*: Turner (1962–66); CLF: classifier; CVB: converb; ERG: ergative; EXCL: exclusive; F: feminine; FF: inter-feminine; GEN: genitive; INCL: inclusive; INS: instrumental; LOC: locative; M: masculine; NM: non-masculine; PASS: passive; PFV: perfective; PL: plural; PRF: perfect; PROP: proper noun; PRS: present; PST: past; PTCP: participle; REFL: reflexive; REL: relative; SG: singular; TOP: topic.

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クルフ語の状態受身構文

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キーワード：クルフ語 サドリー語 ドラヴィダ語族 状態受身 収斂 文法化

要旨

クルフ語とマルト語は他のドラヴィダ語族言語とは異なり、生産的な受身語幹をもつ。もと自動・再帰の接辞であった *-r* がクルフ語で受身に拡張され、マルト語では目的語が主格には昇格しないものの、受身接辞 *-wr/-gr* と動形容詞接辞 *-pe* が新たに発達した。クルフ語では *-r* による受身形のほか、他動詞の完了分詞と存在動詞 *raʔ* を組み合わせる迂言的に状態受身が作られるが、これは分詞が単数非男性で主語との一致を起こさないことを除けば、能動の完了形と同形である。形容詞的な受身形の過去分詞が一致を示さず、動詞的な完了形の過去分詞が一致を示すことはスペイン語などと逆で奇異に見えるが、これは動詞には性数人称の一致があるが形容詞には一致がないというクルフ語の個別言語的特徴によるものである。本論文では聞き取り調査と書き起こしコーパスの分析により、状態受身に見られる不変化の完了分詞が実は限定用法の形容詞であるという Grignard (1924) の指摘を支持する。格支配から判断して、現在のクルフ語では Grignard の記述に比べて状態受身が動詞カテゴリーとしてより確立されていると見られる。クルフ語の完了形では分詞の主語との一致がほぼ失われているが、状態受身と完全に融合してしまうのを避けるため、単数非男性形のみ主語との一致が保存された可能性を本論文では指摘する。完了と受身の融合した時制をもつサドリー語との二言語併用による収斂も考えられる。

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