

Mermaid construction: a case of Kazym Khanty

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This paper investigates the syntax of mermaid constructions in Kazym Khanty. Mermaid constructions (MMCs) consist of the following parts: [[Clause] Noun Copula] (for a detailed description and criteria, see Tsunoda 2020). MMCs can express modal, aspectual, evidential and other meanings. MMCs have been argued by Tsunoda (2020) to be monoclausal, but data from Kazym Khanty suggests otherwise: Khanty MMCs are biclausal and exhibit control. Based on arguments involving clausal negation, passivisation of the embedded clause, scope of negative pronouns and partial control, I demonstrate that MMCs can be biclausal, thus potentially expanding Tsunoda's classification of mermaid constructions.

1. Introduction

Khanty belongs to the Finno-Ugric language family, Ob-Ugric branch. It is mainly spoken in the Khanty-Mansi and Yamalo-Nenets autonomous regions in Russia. The data I use in this paper is the result of my own fieldwork in July–August 2021 in the village of Kazym, in the Khanty-Mansi autonomous region.

Kazym Khanty is left-branching and head-marking with respect to both noun phrases and clauses. Nouns can take possessive suffixes and can have three cases: dative, locative and unmarked nominative. Both finite and non-finite verbs can have either past or non-past tense. Non-finite verbs can be sentential arguments as well as adnominal, temporal and conditional clauses. For a detailed description of the Kazym Khanty language see Kaksin (2010).

1.1. Defining the mermaid construction

The mermaid construction (MMC) is a construction that consists of a clause, a noun and a copula, as shown in (1). MMCs can express modal, aspectual, evidential and other meanings. This type of construction has been attested in multiple languages, with the most prominent groups being Tibeto-Burman and languages of East Asia, according to Tsunoda (2020).

(1) [Clause] Noun Copula

An example of a mermaid construction is provided in (2) below.

- (2) [Asita Hanako=*ga* Nagoya=*ni* ik-u] yotee=*da*.
 tomorrow Hanako=*NOM* Nagoya=*DAT/LOC* go-*NPST* plan=*COP.NPST*
 ‘Hanako plans to go to Nagoya tomorrow.’ (Japanese; Tsunoda 2020:2)

MMCs are defined using the five criteria listed in (3).

- (3) i. The structure is as shown in (1) — superficially at least.
 ii. The Noun is an independent word (not a clitic) that is a noun.
 iii. The subject of the Clause and the Noun are non-coreferential.
 iv. The Clause can be used as a sentence by itself.
 v. The Clause is not the subject of the ‘Noun + Copula’. (Tsunoda 2020:4)

Example (2) illustrates all of the properties of a prototypical MMC listed in (3): [*Asita Hanako=*ga* Nagoya=*ni* iku*] is the Clause, the Copula slot is taken by the copula *=da* and the noun *yotee* ‘plan’ occupies the Noun slot, thus criteria i and ii are satisfied. The subject of the Clause is *Hanako*, which is not coreferential with *yotee* ‘plan’ in the Noun slot (criterion iii). The Clause can be used as a sentence by itself (criterion iv) and is not modified by Noun+Copula (criterion v is meant to exclude constructions with a nominal predicate whose subject is a clause, which would look like [*That he won*] is a surprise).

Tsunoda (2020) allows for some departures from the prototype. For instance, MMCs can have properties listed in (4) below.

- (4) Non-prototypical properties of MMCs
- a. content verbs in the Copula slot (Korean);
 - b. clitics or nominalizer affixes in place of Noun (Hindi, Koryak);
 - c. variations in the linear order of Clause, Noun, Copula (Mandarin Chinese).
- (Tsunoda 2020)

Tsunoda introduces the term ‘mermaid construction’ to refer to a particular type of sentence that looks like it comprises two different structures: it starts with a verb predicate clause (*Asita Hanako=*ga* Nagoya=*ni* iku*, see example (2)) and ends with a nominal predicate (*yotee=*da**). He notes that previously such sentences were falsely classified as noun predicate constructions with an adnominal or a relative clause, hence a new term for them is necessary (Tsunoda 2020:3). Given that the definition of the mermaid construction is based not only on the prototype but also, crucially, on comparison with other constructions in a given language, it is important to show that Khanty really does have a construction that deserves to bear the MMC label. In the next section I am going to give an overview of what I consider to be the Khanty MMC and contrast it with other types of sentences it might belong to.

1.2. MMCs in Kazym Khanty

There is a construction in Khanty that conforms to all five of the criteria above, with a caveat for criterion iv, i.e. the ability of the Clause to be used as an independent sentence. In Khanty, non-finite verbs used in independent clauses usually agree with the subject by taking a possessive marker, but this does not happen in mermaid constructions. There is also a semantic change due to insubordination (Evans 2007) — independent clauses with non-finite verbal predicates have a mirative meaning (Bikina et al. 2020). As I have already mentioned, some departures from the prototype are allowed, and the Clause of the MMC can have a non-finite predicate, for instance in Hindi (Imamura 2020) or Tagalog (Katagiri 2020).

Examples of the Khanty MMC are presented in (5).¹

- (5) a. Ma ari-ti śir- m w -λ.
 I sing-NFIN.NPST possibility-POSS.1SG be-NPST.[3SG]
- b. Ma ari-ti śir tǎj-λ-əm.
 I sing-NFIN.NPST possibility have-NPST-1SG
 ‘I can sing.’ (lit. ‘I have a possibility to sing.’)

The Noun slot can be filled with various nouns (*śir* ‘possibility’, *numəs* ‘thought’, *k m* ‘time, moment’, *kaš* ‘wish’, etc.). The construction can have the meaning of possibility, wish, intention, etc. depending on the Noun (see examples (6–7) below for some of the possible meanings of Khanty MMCs other than possibility).

- (6) *kaš* ‘wish’
 Ma ulə-ti kaš- m w -s.
 I sleep-NFIN.NPST wish-POSS.1SG be-PST[3SG]
 ‘I wanted to sleep.’
- (7) *numəs* ‘thought’
 Ma pa p lək-a mǎn-ti numəs- m w -λ.
 I ADD side-DAT go-NFIN.NPST thought-POSS.1SG be-NPST[3SG]
 ‘I was planning to go to the other side (of the river).’

The noun *kaš* ‘wish’ creates a meaning analogous to the verb ‘want’ (6). The noun *numəs* ‘thought’ gives the MMC the meaning of planning or considering doing something (7).

The Copula slot can be occupied with content verbs like *tǎjti* ‘to have’, *w jätti* ‘to find’, *w šti* ‘to get lost’ (see (8) for an example involving a content verb).

- (8) *w šti* ‘get lost’
 Ma jak-ti śir- m w š-əs.
 I dance-NFIN.NPST possibility-POSS.1SG get lost-PST[3SG]
 ‘I am no longer able to dance.’ (lit. ‘My ability to dance disappeared.’)

It is important to note that the modal meaning of the MMC is not changed when a content verb

¹ I use a modified version of the Uralic phonetic alphabet (UPA) for the transcription of the examples. The λ symbol corresponds to the voiceless lateral fricative (the IPA symbol is λ).

is put in the copula slot. However, if the Noun slot is taken, for instance, by *śir* ‘possibility’ and the Copula slot is occupied by *w šti* ‘to get lost’, like in (8), there appears a meaning of the possibility vanishing. Content verbs in the Copula slot of Khanty MMCs behave somewhat like compound predicates when combined with the Noun, which is what Tsunoda notices about the Noun+Copula combination in prototypical MMCs as well (Tsunoda 2020:3).

I now turn to the comparison between Khanty MMC and (a) non-finite adnominal clauses (ACs) and (b) periphrastic nominalisations with the noun *w r* ‘deed’ (see Starchenko 2019 about the syntax of *w r*-nominalisations). There is a number of morphosyntactic differences between what I consider to be MMCs and the above mentioned analogous constructions. The differences are listed in Table 1 below.

Criterion	MMC	AC	Periphrastic nominalisation
Past tense participles as embedded predicates	–	+	+
Distinct embedded and matrix subjects	–	+	+
Noun inflected for number and case	–	+	+

Table 1. MMCs compared to *w r*-nominalisations and ACs

First, MMCs feature only non-past tense participles as embedded predicates and disallow past tense participles (9), unlike ACs (10) and *w r*-nominalisations (11).²

(9) *Ańa-jen **mǎn-əm** śir tǎj-λ.

A.-POSS.2SG **go away-NFIN.PST** possibility have-NPST[3SG]

Expected: ‘Maybe Anya has left.’

(10) Śaś- m λ **t-əm** pǎsan nuχ m η-s- m.

paternal.grandmother-POSS.1SG **buy-NFIN.PST** table up wipe-PST-1SG>SG

‘I wiped the table that my grandmother bought.’ (Bikina & Starchenko 2019:2)

(11) waśaj-en jaj-əλ **w jt-əm** t tχot šiwaλ-əs.

W.-2SG brother-3SG **find-NFIN.PST** wallet see-PST[3SG]

‘Wasya saw the wallet that his brother found.’ (Starchenko 2019:3)

Next, the subject of MMC’s Clause and the matrix possessor/subject are necessarily coreferent (12), whereas in ACs (see (10) repeated below in (13)) and periphrastic nominalisations (14) two different subjects are possible.

(12) ***Ma** kaś- m w -λ [**nǎj** jira mǎn-ti].

I wish-POSS.1SG be-NPST[3SG] **thou** away go-NFIN.NPST

Expected: ‘I want you to go away.’ (lit. ‘I have a wish that you would go away.’)

² In example (10) et passim, subject-object conjugation is glossed using > symbol: SUBJ>OBJ. The subject-object conjugation endings reflect the person and number features of the subject and the number features of the object.

Copula, where the Copula is present.

These claims are made on the basis of several syntactic tests: (i) agreement between the verb and the subject, (ii) topic marking, (iii) contrast marking, (iv) focus marking, (v) kakarimusubi (agreement between a focus marker and the predicate), (vi) adverbs of modality, (vii) negation, (viii) case marking of the subject, (ix) anticipatory pronouns, (x) clefting, (xi) relativization, (xii) gapping, (xiii) one subject or two subjects, (xiv) deletion of ACs and the Clause, (xv) sentence-final particles, (xvi) modal and aspectual markers, and (xvii) copula. (Tsunoda 2020:35)

All of the above mentioned aspects are used to differentiate between MMCs and other types of sentences (e.g., sentences with adnominal clauses, regular independent monoclausal sentences). In the languages examined in Tsunoda (2020), MMCs pattern with monoclausal sentences rather than with those containing an adnominal clause.

The notion of MMC is created so as to be useful for crosslinguistic comparison (Tsunoda 2020:11). I will be working within the minimalist framework, so both the syntactic diagnostics I use and the conclusions I draw may be different from Tsunoda's. However, it is alarming when different frameworks show opposite results when applied to similar constructions. If the comparative concept of mermaid construction is meant to capture its monoclausality, which is one of Tsunoda's main claims about MMCs, an MMC that exhibits biclausal behaviour, albeit in a different framework, calls for a reinvestigation of this concept. I return to this issue in section 5.

In the next sections, I apply various diagnostics for restructuring, movement and control in order to determine the structure of Khanty MMCs.

3. Evidence for biclausality and control

I claim that the Khanty MMC is biclausal and that the subject position of the embedded clause is occupied by PRO — a silent pronoun bound from the matrix clause. In this section I present syntactic evidence that supports this claim.

3.1. Ruling out restructuring

Restructuring is a phenomenon of so-called 'clause unification' (Cable 2004); I draw a more formal definition from Wurmbrand (2004): 'restructuring constructions are infinitival constructions which are characterised by the lack of clause-boundedness effects (in languages in which infinitives otherwise show clausal behaviour)' (Wurmbrand 2004:991).

The availability of restructuring for MMCs would mean a possibility of monoclausality, and the absence of restructuring would entail biclausality. As tests from Wurmbrand (1998) show, Khanty MMCs do not exhibit restructuring, which rules out monoclausality altogether.

The first argument against restructuring is the so-called 'long passive', like in example (17) from German. The matrix predicate is passivised rather than the embedded predicate, which means that the two predicates behave like one with respect to case assignment and agreement, and there is thus one clause rather than two. Long passives are impossible in mermaid constructions (18). If MMCs were monoclausal, passive morphology would be able to appear on the matrix predicate, but this is prohibited.

3 EVIDENCE FOR BICLAUSALITY AND CONTROL 3.2 Limited independence of Clause

(17) dass der Traktor zu reparieren versucht wurde
 that the tractor.NOM to repair tried was
 ‘that it was tried to repair the tractor’ (German; Wurmbrand 2001:19)

(18) *Ma wasa-jen-ən s ŋk-ti śir tǎj-λ-aj-əm.
 I Wasya-POSS.2SG-LOC hit-NFIN.NPST possibility have-NPST-PASS-1SG
 Expected: ‘I can get hit by Wasya.’

Nevertheless, passive voice can appear inside the embedded clause of an MMC, like in (19). Kazym Khanty has no way of marking passive voice on non-finite verbs, rather, the passivisation results in the change in case marking of the embedded predicate’s arguments.

(19) M ŋ [aŋke-λ-aw-ən λapət-ti] śir-ew w -λ.
 we mother-PL-POSS.1PL-LOC feed-NFIN.NPST possibility-POSS.1PL be-NPST[3SG]
 ‘Our parents can feed us.’ (lit. ‘There is a possibility for us to be fed by our parents.’)

Clausal negation is allowed inside of the Clause by some speakers, which I have marked with the percent sign. Example (20) constitutes a point against restructuring. The possibility of negating only the embedded clause indicates that this clause has some autonomy from the matrix clause. Clausal negation has been shown by Wurmbrand (2001) to be prohibited within complements of restructuring predicates.

(20) %Ma [tǎmxǎtəλ školaj-a ǎn mǎn-ti] śir tǎj-λ-əm.
 I today school-DAT NEG go-NFIN.NPST possibility have-NPST-1SG
 ‘I can skip school today.’ (lit. ‘I have a possibility not to go to school today.’)

In light of the arguments above, Khanty MMCs cannot be analysed as monoclausal. The impossibility of long passive on the one hand, and the possibility of passive transformations and clausal negation inside the embedded clause on the other hand, prove that restructuring is not an option for mermaid constructions in Khanty. Thus, there is more than one clause.

3.2. Limited independence of Clause

While Khanty MMCs are not monoclausal, the matrix clause and the embedded clause are not completely independent. Adnominal non-finite clauses and periphrastic nominalisations in Khanty can have subjects of their own, possibly different from the matrix subjects (see section 1.2). The embedded subject of the Khanty MMC, however, must be silent and coreferent with the matrix subject. Sentences like (21) below are not acceptable.

(21) *Ma kaš- m w -λ [nǎŋ jira mǎn-ti].
 I wish-POSS.1SG be-NPST[3SG] you.SG away go-NFIN.NPST
 Expected: ‘I want you to go away.’ (lit. ‘I have a wish that you would go away.’)

There must be a dependency between the matrix clause and the embedded clause of the MMC. There are two options: control or subject raising (exceptional case marking (ECM) is not an option, since the argument in the matrix clause is nominative and bears no exceptional case).

3.2 Limited independence of Clause 3 EVIDENCE FOR BICLAUSALITY AND CONTROL

Either there is a silent pronoun in the embedded subject position or the embedded subject moves to the matrix clause. I will argue for the first option — control. The next two subsections provide arguments for this analysis: one comes from the scope of negative pronouns and the other from partial control.

3.2.1. Scope of negative pronouns

To provide evidence for control, I need to show that subject raising is not a possible scenario for Khanty MMCs. The argument against subject raising comes from a test employing the scope of negative indefinite pronouns. The pronoun *n m xujat* ‘nobody’ in (22) below can only have wide scope. Note that there is a phenomenon of negative concord in Khanty, so no double negative effects occur in (22).

- (22) Tām xop-ən **n m xuj-at** λowəλ-ti śir ħnt m.
 this boat-LOC **nobody who-INDEF** row-NFIN.NPST possibility NEG.EX
 ‘Nobody can row in this boat.’ (*‘This boat does not require that anybody row.’)
NEG > ∃, *∃ > NEG

Example (22) contains a modal *śir* ‘possibility’ and a negative pronoun *n m xujat* ‘nobody’, so the sentence may have two interpretations with different scopes of the negative pronoun: the meaning could be either ‘nobody can row in this boat’ if the negative pronoun was c-commanding the modal, or ‘this boat is such that it can go without anybody rowing’ if the negative pronoun was in the embedded clause, c-commanded by the modal. In Khanty MMCs only one option is available — the one where ‘nobody’ is in the matrix subject position, scoping over *śir* ‘possibility’. If *nobody* moved out of the embedded clause, every copy of it would be available for interpretation, yielding two possible meanings, but this is not so. The control hypothesis, on the other hand, makes an accurate prediction that only PRO’s antecedent in the matrix clause can be interpreted.

3.2.2. Partial control

The partial control test, as described by Landau (2001), makes use of group verbs, whose subject is always plural, such as *gather* in English (see (23a)). When such a verb becomes the embedded predicate in a control environment, the matrix subject can still be singular, like in (23b). That is because PRO and the matrix subject may have non-identical referents, for instance, the PRO in (23b) is a group, which John is a part of.

- (23) a. *John gathered at noon.
 b. John_i wanted [PRO_{i+j} to gather at noon].
 c. *John seemed to have gathered at noon.

The phenomenon of non-identical referents is incompatible with raising — the matrix subject raised from the embedded clause has the same referent. That is why (23c) is unacceptable, and partial control can be used as a diagnostic for control.

For Khanty MMCs I will use the verb *ăktăśti* ‘to gather’. The PRO in its clausal complement is plural, which can be further proved by (24), where a secondary predicate ‘by oneself’ bound locally by PRO can only be plural.

4 STRUCTURE OF MMC

- (24) a. *Annaj-en_i [PRO_{i+j} λ w **satt-əλ-a_{i/j}** λ jŋ-λ-aλ piλa
 A.-POSS.2SG **she by oneself-POSS.3SG-DAT** girlfriend-PL-POSS.3SG with
 wot śa äktəś-ti] λäŋxaλ.
 together gather-NFIN.NPST want-NPST[3SG]
 Expected: ‘Anya wants to gather with her friends by themselves.’
- b. Annaj-en_i [PRO_{i+j} λiw **satt-eλ-a_{i+j}** λ jŋ-λ-aλ piλa
 A.-POSS.2SG **they by oneself-POSS.3PL-DAT** girlfriend-PL-POSS.3SG with
 wot śa äktəś-ti] λäŋxaλ.
 together gather-NFIN.NPST want-NPST[3SG]
 ‘Anya wants to gather with her friends by themselves.’

Now that it is established that plural PRO exists in Khanty, we can apply the partial control diagnostic using *äktəśti* ‘to gather’. The behaviour of MMCs in this test suggests that there is a PRO in the embedded subject position. As shown in (25), partial control is acceptable in Khanty MMCs.

- (25) Annaj-en_i [PRO_{i+j} λ jŋ-λ-aλ piλa wot śa äktəś-ti] kaš
 A.-POSS.2SG girlfriend-PL-POSS.3SG with together gather-NFIN.NPST wish
 täj-λ/ kaš-əλ w -λ
 have-NPST[3SG] wish-POSS.3SG be-NPST[3SG]
 ‘Anya wants to gather with her friends by themselves.’ (lit. ‘Anya has a wish to gather with her friends by themselves.’)

The secondary predicate ‘by oneself’ is plural, which indicates that the embedded subject is plural as well and thus not completely coreferent with the matrix subject. That disproves the raising hypothesis and constitutes another argument in favour of control.

4. Structure of MMC

I have provided arguments for biclausality of the Khanty mermaid constructions and shown that they exhibit control rather than subject raising. I suggest the following structure for Khanty MMCs (the trees in Figure 1 and Figure 2 correspond to examples (26a)-(26b)).

- (26) a. Ma ari-ti śir- m w -λ.
 I sing-NFIN.NPST possibility-POSS.1SG be-NPST.[3SG]
- b. Ma ari-ti śir täj-λ-əm.
 I sing-NFIN.NPST possibility have-NPST-1SG
 ‘I can sing.’ (lit. ‘I have a possibility to sing.’)

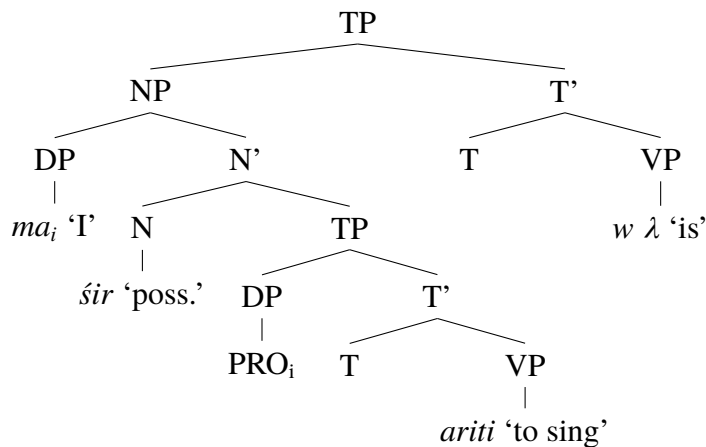


Figure 1. Copula MMC

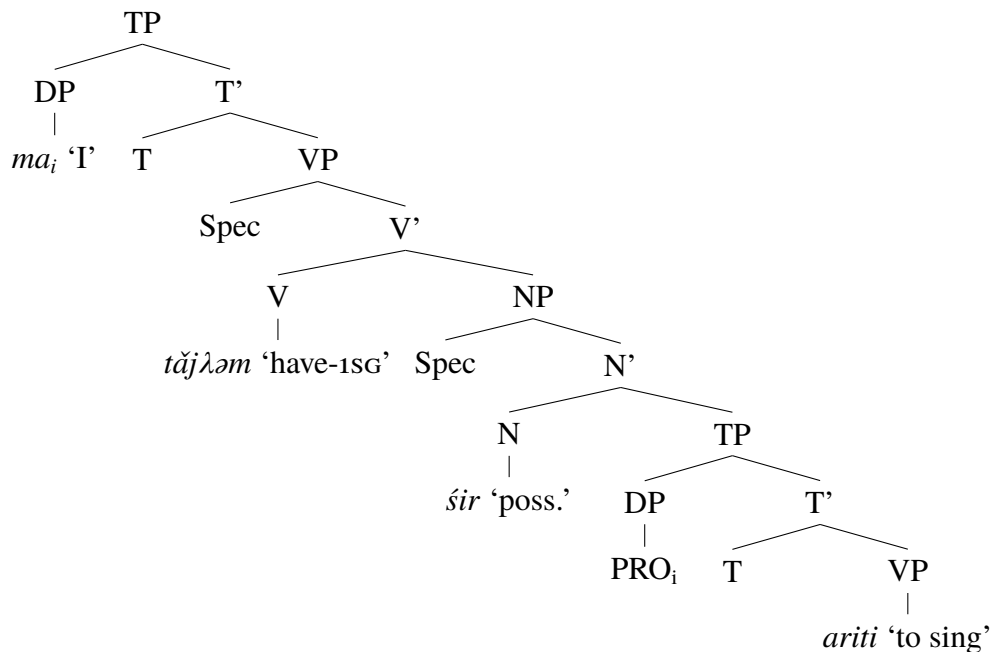


Figure 2. Matrix predicate MMC

The subordinate clause is embedded under Noun (*šir*), which is the argument of the matrix verb. PRO in [Spec, TP] of the embedded clause is controlled by the possessor of Noun in [Spec, NP], like in (26a), or the subject (*ma*) in matrix clause's [Spec, TP], like in (26b).

When it comes to the size of the nominal shell that the Noun of the MMCs constitutes, I tentatively assume it to be a small nominal on account of the unavailability of number or case inflection as well as any referential properties. This is reflected in the tree representations above (Figures 1–2): the Noun is labelled as an N-head in contrast to personal pronouns and PRO, which are DPs (see Bernstein 1991 about the DP hypothesis).

5. Summary and discussion

I have shown that MMCs in Kazym Khanty are biclausal, contrary to previous research in other languages. In particular, they exhibit obligatory subject control by either the possessor of MMCs' Noun or the matrix subject. This analysis can be extended to other languages in which MMCs have been attested, although such an enterprise might run into some problems stemming from the way MMCs are defined.

The definition of an MMC (or rather its key properties) is repeated below as given by Tsunoda (2020).

- (27) i. The structure is (at least superficially): [Clause] Noun Copula.
 ii. The Noun is an independent word (not a clitic) that is a noun.
 iii. The subject of the Clause and the Noun are non-coreferential.
 iv. The Clause can be used as a sentence by itself.
 v. The Clause is not the subject of the 'Noun + Copula' (Tsunoda 2020:4)

The criteria above describe a prototype of an MMC, meaning that particular MMCs may vary in how close to the prototype they are. Tsunoda (2020:7), for instance, lists the following possibilities for the Noun slot: (a) an independent word independent word that is a noun—the prototypical MMC; (b) a clitic; (c) an affix; (d) zero.

The quote describes what can occupy the Noun slot of MMCs. It allows departures from the prototype: criterion (ii) from the definition above states that the Noun slot should be filled by a noun, but this is apparently not mandatory.

The order of the constituent parts of the MMC (Clause, Noun, Copula) is also subject to variation. For instance, there are constructions in Mandarin Chinese, according to Ono (2013), that have the order presented in (28) below. The subject is separated from the Clause by the Copula.

- (28) [Subject] Copula [Clause] Noun

For detailed descriptions of MMCs that do not strictly adhere to the prototype, see the volume by Tsunoda (2020). The data from Kazym Khanty indicates that a construction can conform to the prototype of the MMC to a large extent and still constitute a counterexample to the generalisations made by Tsunoda (2020). How many languages have a mermaid construction that requires a syntactic analysis different from that of Tsunoda (2020) is a question for future research.

It is possible that mermaid constructions are not as uniform in their syntactic properties as they seem. If that is the case, the very notion of a mermaid construction would not be very useful for crosslinguistic comparison: we would gain no knowledge about the syntax of a construction from establishing that it is an MMC. I leave it to further investigation how reliable the definition actually is and whether my conclusions about the Khanty MMC can be extended to other languages.

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Abbreviations

1, 2, 3	first, second, third person	NFIN	non-finite
ADD	additive	NPST	non-past tense
DATIVE	dative case	PASS	passive voice
INDEF	indefinite pronoun	PL	plural number
LOC	locative case	POSS	possessive marker
NEG	negation	PST	past tense
NEG.EX	existential negation	SG	singular number

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