Development of the Út-Ma’in Intransitive Progressive in six stages

Stage 1: Predicate nominal is used for identification; copula ḏ equates subject with predicate.

Stage 2: Predicate nominal is used for locating a subject at some place; copula ḏ locates subject in some place; nominal predicate refers to a location; no overt locative morpheme.

Stage 3: Predicate nominal is used for location with lexeme whose root is also used as a verb; copula ḏ locates subject in some place; nominal predicate refers to a location.

Stage 4: Nominal predicate refers to an activity; copula ḏ yields an Intransitive Progressive interpretation.

Stage 5: Progressive interpretation of copula ḏ occurs with no evidence of nominal marking on predicate.

(1) ūm ḏ Ø-fāršk

1SG.SUBJ COP C1-king

‘I am king.’

Predicate Nominal/Identification
Predicate is equated with subject.
Predicate is structurally nominal.

(2) ūm ḏ ā-bù

1SG.SUBJ COP C3-house

‘I am at home.’

Predicate Nominal/Location
Predicate refers to a location.
Predicate is structurally nominal.

(3) ūm ḏ ā-mà

1SG.SUBJ COP C3-build

‘I am at a building.’

Predicate Nominal/Location
Predicate refers to a location.
Predicate is structurally nominal.
Root of particular predicate can serve as verb.

(4) ūm ḏ št-mà

1SG.SUBJ PROG C6-build

‘I am building.’

Intransitive Progressive – more nominal
Predicate refers to an activity.
Predicate is structurally nominal.

(5) wā ḏ fāʔēt

1SG.SUBJ PROG sit

‘He is sitting.’

Intransitive Progressive – less nominal
Predicate refers to an activity.
Predicate has no evidence of nominal structure; i.e., no noun class prefix. A nominal form for this root does exist in class 5. ūr-fāʔēt ‘c5-sit’ is not used here by this speaker.
Intransitive Progressive  Transitive Progressive

Stage 1  
Stage 2  
Stage 3  
Stage 4  
Stage 5  

Source Constructions

Predicate Nominal Construction  \[ S \Downarrow \ [C_1\cdot N_1]_{NPRED} \]

Associative Construction  \[ NP_{HEAD} \rightarrow ASSOC_{MODIFIER} \]

\[ [N_{HEAD} \rightarrow [C_{HEAD} \rightarrow [\_LOW\ TONE\ -\ C_{MODIFIER}\ -\ N_{MODIFIER}]]_{ASSOC}]_{NP} \]

- Invariant agreement marking for \( C_{HEAD} \).
- A class 6 noun like \( ûtkûr \) ‘rooms’ has the noun class 6 prefix \( ût\)- and invariantly requires class 6 agreement marking on modifiers. For the Associative Phrase, used when a noun is a modifier, the agreement marking is the concord prefix \( t\)-.

(1)  \( wâ\ mâg\ kûr\ tô\ t\ kîsê \)

\[ wâ\ \ mâ\cdot g \ kûr\ \ t\cdot ô\cdot t \ kîsê \]
\[ C1\cdot 3SG\cdot SUBJ\ \ build\cdot PST\ \ hut\ \ C6\cdot ASSOC\cdot C6\ \ show \]

‘He built classrooms (huts of showing).’
Object in Progressive Construction

(2) wā gziphòg
   wā  ʒ-g  t-hòg
C1.SBJ PROG-PST  C6-hear
‘He/she was hearing’

(3) wā ɡ Hodgā ʒ
   wā  ɡ  Hodg-d-ə  ʒ
C1.SBJ PROG-PST hear-C5-ASSOC  C3.OBJ
‘He/she was hearing it.’
Development of the Út-Ma'in Transitive Progressive in three stages

Stage 1: The Intransitive Progressive is expressed with the copula ǯ and a noun class marked nominal follows encoding the event.

Stage 2: Associative Construction is employed for expressing a second argument.

Stage 3: Change in concord marking on second argument in the Progressive.

(1) ŋm ǯ ǯs-vįk
    1SG.SUBJ  PROG  C4-greet
    ‘I am greeting.’

Intransitive Progressive
Predicate refers to an activity.
Predicate is structurally nominal.

(2) ŋm ǯ vįk s- postpone nĘ postpone
    1SG.SUBJ  PROG  greet  C4-ASSOC  old.man
    ‘I am greeting an old man.’

Transitive Progressive – more nominal
Predicate refers to an activity.
Predicate is structurally nominal.
Predicate has an expressed second argument.
Second argument is introduced with noun phrase morphology – Associative.
Noun morphology matches expectations for noun class concord; i.e., here class 4 morphology occurs on the Associative.

(3) ŋm ǯ mā postpone bũ postpone
    1SG.SUBJ  PROG  build  C5-ASSOC  house
    ‘I am building a house.’

Transitive Progressive – less nominal
Predicate refers to an activity.
Predicate has an expressed second argument.
Second argument is introduced with noun phrase morphology - Associative.
Noun morphology does not match expectations for noun class concord; i.e., here class 6 t- prefix is expected on the Associative Phrase if it were fully nominal.