

Development of the Ut-Ma'in Intransitive Progressive in six stages

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

Stage 2: Predicate nominal is used for locating a subject at some place; copula *ʒ* 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 *ʒ* locates subject in some place; nominal predicate refers to a location.

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

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

<p>(1) <i>ə̃m</i> <i>ʒ</i> <i>Ø-fàrək</i> 1SG.SUBJ COP C1-king 'I am king.'</p>	<p>Predicate Nominal/Identification Predicate is equated with subject. Predicate is structurally nominal.</p>
<p>(2) <i>ə̃m</i> <i>ʒ</i> <i>ū-bù</i> 1SG.SUBJ COP C3-house 'I am at home.'</p>	<p>Predicate Nominal/Location Predicate refers to a location. Predicate is structurally nominal.</p>
<p>(3) <i>ə̃m</i> <i>ʒ</i> <i>ū-mà</i> 1SG.SUBJ COP C3-build 'I am at a building.'</p>	<p>Predicate Nominal/Location Predicate refers to a location. Predicate is structurally nominal. Root of particular predicate can serve as verb.</p>
<p>(4) <i>ə̃m</i> <i>ʒ</i> <i>ə̃t-mà</i> 1SG.SUBJ PROG C6-build 'I am building.'</p>	<p>Intransitive Progressive – more nominal Predicate refers to an activity. Predicate is structurally nominal.</p>
<p>(5) <i>wā</i> <i>ʒ</i> <i>fə̃ʔə̃t</i> 1SG.SUBJ PROG sit 'He is sitting.'</p>	<p>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. <i>ə̃r-fə̃ʔə̃t</i> 'c5-sit' is not used here by this speaker.</p>

Intransitive Progressive

Transitive Progressive

Stage 1

Stage 2

Stage 3

Stage 4



Stage 5

Stage 1

Stage 2

Stage 3

Source Constructions

Predicate Nominal Construction

S

ó

[C₁-N₁]_{NPPRED}

Associative Construction

NP_{HEAD}

ASSOCP_{MODIFIER}

[N_{HEAD}

[C_{HEAD} - ` LOW TONE - C_{MODIFIER} N_{MODIFIER}]_{ASSOCP}]_{NP}

- Invariant agreement marking for C_{HEAD}.
- A class 6 noun like *ɛtkúr* ‘rooms’ has the noun class 6 prefix *ɛt-* 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)

wā mā:g kúr tèt kósè

wā mā:g kúr t-ɛ-t kósè

C1.3SG.SUBJ build-PST hut C6-ASSOC-C6 show

‘He built classrooms (huts of showing).’

Object in Progressive Construction

VP_{HEAD}
[V_{HEAD}

ASSOCP_{OBJECT}
[C_{????} - `_{LOW TONE} - C_{OBJECT} N_{OBJECT}]_{ASSOCP}]_{NP}

(2) *wā ʒgāth̀̀g*

wā ʒ-gā t-h̀̀g

C1.SUBJ PROG-PST C6-hear

'He/she was hearing'

(3) *wā ʒg h̀̀gd̀̀ ʒ*

wā ʒ-g h̀̀g-d-ə ʒ

C1.SUBJ PROG-PST hear-C5-ASSOC C3.OBJ

'He/she was hearing it.'

Development of the Ut-Ma'in Transitive Progressive in three stages

Stage 1: The Intransitive Progressive is expressed with the copula *ʃ* 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) *ʃm* *ʃ* *ʃs-vʃk*
1SG.SUBJ PROG C4-greet
'I am greeting.'

Intransitive Progressive

Predicate refers to an activity.

Predicate is structurally nominal.

(2) *ʃm* *ʃ* *vʃk* *s-`-u* *nēŋgēn*
1SG.SUBJ PROG greet C4-ASSOC-C7 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) *ʃm* *ʃ* *mā* *d-`-u* *bù*
1SG.SUBJ PROG build C5-ASSOC-C3 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.