Aktionsart and Aspectotemporality in Non-European Languages

Proceedings from a Workshop held at the University of Zurich, June 23-25, 2000

Universität Zürich 2001
Contents

Preface 1

Participants of the Workshop 3

List of abbreviations 5

*Lars Johanson (Mainz)*
The aspectually neutral situation type 7

*Johanna Mattissen (Cologne)*
Tense and aspect in Laz 15

*Olivier Roos (Zurich & Beijing)*
Mandarin Chinese -zhe 49

*Fernando Zúñiga (Zurich)*
A selection theory of Mapudungun aspect 73

*Mathias Jenny (Zurich & Bangkok)*
The aspect system of Thai 97

*Karen H. Ebert (Zurich)*
Tense-aspect flip-flop and a somewhat elusive gram type 141

*Östen Dahl (Stockholm)*
Languages without tense and aspect 159

*Éva Á. Csató (Uppsala)*
Turkic double verbs in a typological perspective 175

*Thomas Bearth (Zurich)*
Tense-aspect markers as viewpoint operators in Swahili discourse 189
Preface

In June 2000, sixteen linguists met in Zurich to discuss aktionsart (actionality) and aspecto-temporality in non-European languages. Some of us had already worked together in the EURO Typ group on Tense and Aspect. The work of others developed from a seminar on aspect at the University of Zurich. Our common background was a functional approach, and most of us tried to test the theories of Johanson and/or of Breu & Sasse, which had earlier proved fruitful in the description of aspect-related phenomena in a number of languages of different types (cf. i.a. Johanson 1971, 2000; Sasse (ed.) 1991, Breu (ed.) 2000). The approaches share the distinction of at least five aktionsarten, defined by phases and boundaries or a combination thereof. Grammatical aspect operates on the aktionsarten. Whereas Breu and Sasse present a unified analysis of aspect systems, Johanson stresses the fundamental difference between the Slavic type and the more widespread Romance type (see also in this volume).

The results of our investigations were rather mixed. The theories can be nicely applied to languages of Northern Eurasia. Mattissen's thorough analysis of Laz in this volume applies the latest version of Breu (1997, 2000). Roos describes Mandarin Chinese aktionsarten and the functions of the aspektual suffix -zhe on the basis of Johanson's theory. Further south in Eurasia, e.g. in Thai, the search for aktionsarten becomes futile. Practically every word can be used in any test context, as Jenny shows, and the Thai TAM categories bear only a vague resemblance with the 'universal' gram types claimed, e.g. by Dahl (1985), Bybee et al. (1994). Ebert, puzzled by tense flip-flops in Kiranti languages, arrives at the conclusion that a gram type tentatively called "new situation" is underlying - a category that Jenny arrived at independently for Thai -leeu. The well-known aktionsarten and aspect categories seem to fade out the further we move Southeast. Some languages of Irian Jaya have no tense-aspect markers at all (see Dahl).

On the other side of the world, the Chilean Mapudungun fits in with the aktionsarten, though less perfectly with aspects (Zúñiga). The remaining two papers deal with somewhat different questions. Csató describes the form and function of compound verb constructions in Turkic and some nonrelated languages. No matter what the form is, the functions are cross-linguistically remarkably consistent (also in languages not considered here). Bearth
investigates the Swahili tense-aspect markers and especially the auxiliary ‘be’ as a viewpoint marker in the framework of discourse analysis.

Due to various reasons, not all papers presented at the workshop are included here. We would like to thank Piermarco Bertinetto, Walter Breu, Casper de Groot, Ursula Drolc, Christa König, Lukas Neukom, and Martin Schult for their active participation and for some fascinating data, which will appear elsewhere.

References


Participants of the workshop

Thomas Bearth  
Seminar für Allg. Sprachwissenschaft  
Plattenstr. 54  
CH 8032 Zürich  
Thomas_Bearth@compuserve.com

Casper de Groot  
IFOTT, Spuistraat 210  
Universiteit Amsterdam  
NL-1012VT Amsterdam  
casper.de.groot@hum-uva.nl

Piermarco Bertinetto  
Scuola Normale Superiore  
Piazza dei Cavalieri  
I-56100 Pisa  
bertinet@alphalinguistica.sns.it

Ursula Drolc  
Insititut für Afrikastudien  
Universität Bayreuth  
D-95440 Bayreuth  
ursula.drolc@uni-bayreuth.de

Walter Breu  
Sprachwissenschaft/Slavistik  
Universität Konstanz  
D-78457 Konstanz  
Walter.Breu@uni-konstanz.de

Karen H. Ebert  
Seminar für Allg. Sprachwissenschaft  
Plattenstr. 54  
CH 8032 Zürich  
ebert@spw.unizh.ch

Éva Á. Csató  
Dept. of Asian and African Languages  
Uppsala Universitet  
S-75120 Uppsala  
eva.csato-johanson@afro.uu.se

Matthias Jenny  
539 Soi 39 Phatthanakan Rd.  
Suanluang, Bangkok 10250  
Thailand  
mathias.jenny@switzerland.org

Östen Dahl  
Institutionen för Lingvistik  
Stockholm Universitet  
S-10691 Stockholm  
oesten@ling.su.se

Lars Johanson  
Seminar für Orientkunde  
Jakob-Welder-Weg 18  
D-55099 Mainz  
johanson@mail.uni-mainz.de
Christa König
Institut für Afrikanistik
Meister-Ekkehart-Str. 7
Universität Köln
D-50937 Köln
Christa.Koenig@uni-koeln.de

Johanna Mattissen
Institut für Sprachwissenschaft
Meister-Ekkehart-Str. 7
Universität Köln
D-50937 Köln
Johanna.Mattissen@uni-koeln.de

Lukas Neukom
Seminar für Allg. Sprachwissenschaft
Plattenstr. 54
CH-8032 Zürich
neukom@spw.unizh.ch

Olivier Roos
Beijing University
Shaoyuan 5-405
100871 Beijing, P.R. China
Olivier_Roos@access.unizh.ch

Martin Schult
Anklamer Str. 45
D-10115 Berlin
martin.schult@student.hu-berlin.de

Fernando Zúñiga
Seminar für Allg. Sprachwissenschaft
Plattenstr. 54
CH-8032 Zürich
Fernando.Zuniga@access.unizh.ch
**List of abbreviations**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>actor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>ablative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADH</td>
<td>adhortative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADV</td>
<td>adverbal marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGN</td>
<td>agentive noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL</td>
<td>allative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AMB</td>
<td>ambulative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANIM</td>
<td>animate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANT</td>
<td>anterior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPL</td>
<td>applicative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ART</td>
<td>article</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATT</td>
<td>suffix calling for attention</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATTR</td>
<td>attributivizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUX</td>
<td>auxiliary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BEN</td>
<td>benefactive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c3-11</td>
<td>class prefixes of nominal classes 3-11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td>causative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CESS</td>
<td>cessative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CEXP</td>
<td>counter-expectative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CL</td>
<td>classifier</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COM</td>
<td>comitative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMM</td>
<td>comment marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMP</td>
<td>complementizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMPAR</td>
<td>comparative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMPL</td>
<td>compleitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COND</td>
<td>conditional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONS</td>
<td>consequential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONT</td>
<td>continuous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONV</td>
<td>converb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d, DL</td>
<td>dative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>dative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEF</td>
<td>definite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEM</td>
<td>demonstrative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DES</td>
<td>desiderative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIR</td>
<td>directive / directional verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIST</td>
<td>distal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DISTR</td>
<td>distributive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>exclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMPH</td>
<td>emphatic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>ergative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EVI</td>
<td>evidential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXPER</td>
<td>experiential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f, F</td>
<td>feminine, female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fam</td>
<td>familiar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIN</td>
<td>final</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FOC</td>
<td>focus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FV</td>
<td>final verb vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>genitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GER</td>
<td>gerund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HAB</td>
<td>habitual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hh</td>
<td>high honorific</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hiLOC</td>
<td>high locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hon</td>
<td>honorific</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hum, HUM</td>
<td>human</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>inclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IDEO</td>
<td>ideophone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMM</td>
<td>immediate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMPER</td>
<td>imperative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INAN</td>
<td>inanimate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INCEP</td>
<td>inceptive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INCH</td>
<td>inchoative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INCL</td>
<td>inclusion (‘as well as’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INCMP</td>
<td>incomplete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IND</td>
<td>indicative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDEF</td>
<td>indefinite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INF</td>
<td>infinitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INGR</td>
<td>ingressive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INST</td>
<td>instrumental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTJ</td>
<td>interjection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTRA</td>
<td>initiotransformative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INV</td>
<td>inverse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
List of abbreviations

IPFV imperfective
IRVS irreversible
itr, ITR intransitive
LOC locative
m, M masculine, male
MAN manner subordinator
MID middle
MOT motative
NARR narrative
NEG negation
NML nominalizer
NPT nonpast
ns, NS non-singular
NSIT new situation
O object
OBL oblique
OPT optative
OR orientation verb
P patient / undergoer
p, PL plural
PART particle
PASS passive
PATN patientive noun
PCPL participle
PERF perfect
PERS persistive
PFV perfective
POL politeness
POSS possessive
POST posterior
POT potential
PPOS postposition
PPERF pluperfect
PREFIX prefix for personal names
PREP preposition
RES present
PROB probability
PROG progressive
PROH prohibitive
PROS prospective
PROX proximate
PT past
PURP purposive
Q question marker
QUOT quote marker
RDP reduplication
REC reciprocal
REFL reflexive
REL relativizer
REP reportive / report particle
RES resultative
REV reversionary
RLNQ relinquutive
RVC resultative verb compound
s, SG singular
S intransitive subject
SEQ sequential
SFP sentence-final particle
SIM simultaneous
STAT stativizer
SUB subordinator
SUBJ subjunctive
TAMP tense-aspect-mood-person
TEL telicizer
TEMP temporal subordinator /
marker
TMPR temporary aspect
TOP topic
TR, TR transitive
u unmarked
vlg vulgar
VOL volitive
VR verbalizer
The aspectually neutral situation type

Lars Johanson
University of Mainz

**Aim.** The aim of this paper is to argue for the existence of an aspectually neutral situation type across languages. The remarks are based on an aspect-actionality-tense model presented in previous work, e.g. Johanson (1971) and Johanson (2000).

**Viewpoint categories.** In this model, aspect is defined as encoding viewpoint perspectives. Viewpoint categories are grammaticalized morphological devices expressing different views of linguistically represented events, envisaging them in various ways relative to their limits, and signaling how they come into view at aspecual viewpoints.

Events are conceived of as having an initial and a final limit, *terminus initialis* and *terminus finalis*. The more or less salient interval between the limits is the course, *cursus*. The distance between the two limits may be considerable, as with events consisting of actions such as ‘to sleep’, ‘to sit’, ‘to bark’ or ‘to eat an apple’. The distance may be small, as with events consisting of actions such as ‘to fall asleep’ or ‘to sit down’. In certain cases the limits may be conceived of as practically coinciding, e.g. with events consisting of actions such as ‘to explode’.

**Three perspectives.** Three natural ways of envisaging events in relation to their limits are postulated, three perspectives founded on basic human perception:

(i) The **intraterminal** perspective envisages an event within its limits, *intra terminos*. The initial limit is already passed over; and the final limit is not yet attained.

(ii) The **postterminal** perspective envisages an event after the transgression of its relevant limit, *post terminum*. The decisive limit, whether initial or final, is already passed over.
(iii) The ADTERMINAL perspective envisages an event at the very attainment of its relevant limit, ad terminum. The decisive limit of the event is reached.

What comes into view at a given viewpoint is thus (i) a point situated within the limits of the event, (ii) a point situated after the decisive limit, or (iii) the decisive limit itself. The viewpoint is the moment of speaking or some point of time referred to, e.g. the point in a narrative text to which the plot has advanced.

**Aspect, tense and actionality.** The fact that the aspectual perspectives are concerned with time does not mean that they are tenses. The task of temporal categories is to localize entire propositional contents, including aspectual perspectives, in relation to points of time. Combinations of aspect and tense produce aspecto-temporal items, which display both kinds of properties, e.g. *was eating* (+INTRATERMINAL, +ANTERIOR). Viewpoint categories do not subsume actional contents in the sense of lexical semantics and thus do not include actional modifications expressing the way actions are carried out or specifying phases of them, e.g. *to eat up* as against *to eat.*

Aspect operates on the actional content encoded in the actional phrase, which minimally consists of a verb but may also comprise complements and adverbials. Actional devices are not perspectivizing in the sense of viewpoint operators. They do not offer various views of one and the same event, but specify the actions themselves. Aspectual, actional and temporal categories interact to determine the interrelations of events in texts.

**Interplay of aspectual and actional categories.** While the interrelatedness of aspect grammar and actional lexical semantics is common to all aspectual systems, the classification is a matter of language-specific conventionalization. A classificatory framework for the analysis of the interplay of aspectual and aspect-sensitive actional categories has been suggested in Johanson (1971: 194–233) and Johanson (2000: 145-169). The main distinctions are the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Actional structure</th>
<th>The actional content is conceptualized</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Transformative</td>
<td>as implying transformation:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Finitransformative</td>
<td>• as implying final transformation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• Initiotransformative</td>
<td>• as implying initial transformation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nontransformative</td>
<td>without transformation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 1**

**ACTIONAL STRUCTURE AND CONCEPTUALIZATION**
Transformatives imply a crucial limit that must be attained in order for the action to count as accomplished, e.g. English to fall asleep. Nontransformatives do not imply such a crucial limit, e.g. to sleep. With finittransformatives, the crucial limit implying transformation is the final one; with initiotransformatives, it is the initial one. Since initiotransformatives are rare in modern European languages, they are frequently ignored in linguistic analyses. The lexical meaning of to hide comprises both an initial transformation and a new state beginning with this transformation. English mostly distinguishes such phases by means of one transformative and one nontransformative verb, e.g. to fall asleep and to sleep.

**Situation types with respect to limits.** The application of aspectual perspectives to classes of aspect-sensitive actional phrases may be illustrated with the following simple English examples expressing anterior uni-occasional events.

**ADTERMINAL**
- Initiotransformative: Hid behind a tree.
- Finittransformative: Drowned. Left the room. Ate up the apple.

**POSTTERMINAL**
- Nontransformative: Had played.
- Initiotransformative: Had hidden behind a tree.
- Finittransformative: Had left the room. Had eaten the apple.

**INTRATERMINAL**
- Nontransformative: Was playing.
- Initiotransformative: Was hiding behind a tree.
- Finittransformative: Was drowning. Was leaving the room. Was eating the apple.

There is, however, a fourth, aspectually neutral, way of referring to events, namely without any characterization with respect to limits.

**Four situation types.** A simple narrative text may illustrate the interaction of the four situation types: I entered the garden. The girl was playing. Her brother had left. I watched her for a while. The story leads us from one point of time to another, each one being a potential vantage point for an aspectual perspective.

At the initial point, the final limit of ‘entering’ is attained. Since the natural interpretation is adterminal, the situation is suitable for items such as the Russian perfective past. English, lacking adterminals, uses a non-intraterminal and non-postterminal item instead.
At the vantage point of _was playing_ no new event begins or ends. The viewpoint is situated between the limits of the event: the child had started to play and had not stopped playing. Since the natural interpretation is an intraterminal one, the situation is suitable for an intraterminal item, which is available in English.

Similarly, at the vantage point of _had left_ no event begins or ends. The event of ‘leaving’ is referred to after its crucial limit is transgressed. Since the natural interpretation is postterminal, this is a situation suitable for a postterminal item such as the English perfect.

With _watched her for a while_, a new event ‘watching’ including both natural limits takes place. Since no crucial limit is said to be attained or transgressed here, the natural interpretation cannot be adterminal, intraterminal or postterminal. Since the action lacks a decisive final limit that must be attained in order for the event to count as accomplished, the situation is unsuitable for adterminals. On the other hand, the event is not seen from within or after a decisive limit. This situation type, which does not tolerate marked aspectual characterization, will be referred to as the **neutral** type.

**More or less qualified items.** Optimally, the aspectual structure of texts might be indicated by adterminal, intraterminal or postterminal markers on the corresponding sentences. However, languages handle the meta-level structures according to their specific devices, expressing the perspectives selectively and in idiosyncratic ways. In order to realize the situation types, they employ more or less qualified items.

If one of the perspectives is grammaticalized in the verbal morphology through inflections, clitics or free syntactic elements, we are dealing with a **viewpoint operator** (+INTRA, +POST or +AD). Viewpoint operator systems may be simple, signaling one of the perspectives, or more complex, involving more terms.

Languages differ in obligatoriness, i.e. with respect to what perspectives they must express. Certain languages must express the intraterminal situation type explicitly, leaving the adterminal and neutral types to less qualified items. Other languages must express the adterminal type, leaving the intraterminal and neutral types to less qualified items. Certain languages must express the postterminal type, whereas they leave non-postterminal situations to less qualified items.

Languages lacking a given operator do not need to express the corresponding situation type explicitly. The lack may partly be compensated by other linguistic means, various “aspectual strategies”. However, the mere occurrence of an item in a sentence suggesting a situation type characteristic of an intra-, post- or adterminal view is not sufficient for ascribing that item a corresponding language-specific grammatical value. Thus, nonadterminals cannot express an intraterminal perspective on events, and nonintraterminals cannot express an adterminal perspective. In sentences such as Russian _ona_
prisla domoj and English she came home, the verbs exhibit a similar textual behavior, but possess different grammatical values. Three degrees of qualification for items covering a given situation type may be distinguished:

(i) Marked intraterminal, adterminal or postterminal items (viewpoint operators).

(ii) Unmarked opposition partners of such items, i.e. non-intraterminals, non-adterminals and non-postterminals, which negate the concept expressed by their respective partner, or are indifferent towards it.

(iii) Aspectually unqualified items not participating in any opposition with a viewpoint operator and thus incapable of expressing a situation type.

English exhibits intraterminals ("progressives"), postterminals ("perfects") and the corresponding unmarked opposition members. It uses the non-intraterminal and non-postterminal simple past for the adterminal and neutral situation types. Russian possesses adterminals ("perfectives") and corresponding unmarked opposition members ("imperfectives"). It uses the non-adterminal for the intraterminal and neutral situation types. English and Russian thus apply contrary methods. For the neutral situation type, the respective unmarked items are used.

**Characteristics of the neutral type.** Referring to events in an aspectually neutral way means that the whole event including its course and limits is envisaged in an integral way without any specific point being highlighted. This perspective is suitable for nontransformatives and initiotransformatives. It is not ‘perfective’ in any goal-oriented sense; and there is no limiting object involved. The mere occurrence is stated: a stretch of action took place without the idea of a crucial limit implied. Adterminal items are thus excluded.

On the other hand, the perspective is not “imperfective” in the intraterminal sense. The event is not described with specific attention to its internal structure, viewed “from within”. On the contrary, the idea of introspection is incompatible with the indication of the total temporal extension (Johanson 2000: 167). The neutral type readily combines with ‘for X time’ adverbials, e.g. English sat there for a while, Russian pisal dva časa ‘wrote for two hours’; cf. the well-known example reigned for thirty years, Classical Greek ebasileuse triákonta été, French régna trente ans, Russian carstvoval tridecat’ let, Bulgarian caruva trijset godini. However, the length of duration is irrelevant for the use of the neutral type.

This type should not be confused with the adterminal type with which a specific stretch of time filled with a certain actional content is envisaged at its achievement: ‘to spend a certain time period V-ing’ (Johanson 2000: 157), e.g.
Russian prožil tri goda ‘lived for three years (= spent three years living)’, Bulgarian pospa dva časa ‘slept for two hours (= spent two hours sleeping)’. The time adverbials used here are mensural expressions indicating the whole interval filled with the action. The delimitative and perdurative modes of action used are transformative, implying a crucial limit.

“Imperfectives” and “perfectives”. A brief comment on the relations of our types to so-called “imperfective” and “perfective” situations may be necessary.

Definitions to the effect that imperfectives “look inside” the limits of the event clearly correspond to intraterminality; see Comrie’s definition of imperfectivity as “explicit reference to the internal temporal structure of a situation, viewing a situation from within” (1976: 24). However, if the event is presented as a “continuous, temporally unstructured course”, we are dealing with the neutral type.

A definition of perfectivity as “a development heading for an endpoint” may seem to be close to the notion of adterminality. However, it rather corresponds to the actional notion of finittransformativity. Transformativity implies a crucial limit to attain, whereas adterminality envisages the actual attainment of that limit. If, on the other hand, perfectives are taken to present an event in an integral way, as “a bounded whole”, we are again dealing with the neutral situation type.

What adterminal and neutral situations have in common is the propulsive power to advance the plot in narrative texts. The attainment of a limit leads into an event or out of an event (“situation change”). The difference is that with the adterminal situation type a limit is envisaged in its attainment, whereas with the neutral situation type both limits are implied, though none is highlighted. The so-called perfective aspect corresponds to adterminality only if it is defined as representing an event with reference to its crucial limit. The intra- and postterminal situation types are non-propulsive. No event ends and no event is introduced at the viewpoint established; the event is envisaged with its limits excluded from the view. The so-called imperfective aspect corresponds to intraterminality only if it is defined as representing an event under exclusion of its limits.

Marked items excluded. Our original contention was that the neutral type requires no aspectual characterization, or even does not tolerate any, since there is no point that should be highlighted. The perspective is neither intraterminal, nor adterminal or postterminal. A glance at some Indo-European languages gives us the empirical evidence that the neutral situation type does not permit aspectual characterization by means of viewpoint operators. It is only possible with non-intraterminal, non-adterminal and unqualified items.

The picture remains similar if we proceed to non-Indo-European languages possessing viewpoint operators of the types discussed. Turkish possesses
intraterminals, postterminals and corresponding unmarked opposition members. It employs the non-intraterminal simple past in cases that would be suitable for an adterminal view, e.g. girdı ‘entered’, oturdu ‘sat down’. Typically, the same non-intraterminal past is also used in neutral cases, e.g. bakıtı ‘watched’, oturdu ‘sat (for a period of time)’, otuz yıl hiküüm sürdü ‘reigned for thirty years’. Analogously, Maltese also uses its non-intraterminal, e.g. raqad il-ġurnata koll-ha ‘slept the whole day’. Chukchi does not use its intraterminal imperfect or its postterminal perfect to express the occurrence of an event as integral whole, but rather its non-intraterminal and non-postterminal simple past (“aorist”) in -g?i, e.g. mígciiretg?i ‘he worked’. Similarly, Kalmyk employs its “aorist” in -v rather than the past intraterminal in -na, e.g. kȍdl? ‘worked’, neg čas diŋŋə kelay ‘spoke for about one hour’, xoyr časdas aqvə tavn čas kürtl gazet umšy ‘read newspapers from two to five o’clock’. Finally, Georgian also uses its “aorist” rather than its intraterminal imperfect or its postterminal perfect, e.g. jaylma [didxans] iq’e pa ‘the dog barked [for a long time]’.

This random sample of sentences corroborates our contention that the neutral situation type is universally covered by unmarked or unqualified items, whereas the use of explicit aspect operators is excluded.

References


Tense and aspect in Laz

Johanna Mattissen
University of Cologne

1 The Laz language

Laz is a Kartvelian language spoken on the southeast coast of the Black Sea from Batumi in Georgia in the east to Pazar (Laz name: Atina) in Turkey in the west. The number of speakers is not known exactly due to a lack of statistics; ethnic estimates extend from 50,000 to 500,000 people. The language is in any case severely endangered, as people younger than 20 years of age no longer learn it. The variety of Laz presented here is the dialect of Ardeșen (Arfașeni) and its surrounding villages, just east of Pazar. The data consists of texts collected on the site and elicitations from speakers of Laz living in Germany.

Ardeșen Laz is an SOV language in which central participants as well as local adverbials are not case-marked, contrary to most other Kartvelian languages and dialects (see contributions in Harris 1991). The verb is marked for TAM and person, with different verb classes determining which participants are encoded. Monopersonal active verbs mark one participant on the verb, the actor; monopersonal inactive verbs mark only the experiencer or possessor; and polypersonal verbs mark both the actor and undergoer (the primary object in the sense of Dryer 1986). While monopersonal active verbs are intransitive or reflexive and polypersonal verbs are (di)transitive, monopersonal inactive verbs comprise both intransitive and transitive ones (for details see Mattissen 1995).

* This paper developed from my cooperation with Sevim Genç, to whom I would like to express my heartfelt thanks for her everlasting patience and kindness! I also would like to acknowledge comments by participants of the 1999 Meeting on Caucasian Linguistic Problems and of the Zurich Workshop on Aspect and Actionality in the summer of 2000.

Karen H. Ebert & Fernando Zúñiga (eds.), 2001
Aktionsart and aspectotemporality in non-European languages.
(1) a. MONOPERSONAL ACTIVE VERBS
   bulur   ‘I go’
   bıyurur ‘I die’
   mcar    ‘I sleep’
   bimpulam ‘I hide’

b. MONOPERSONAL INACTIVE VERBS
   maşkürinen ‘I am afraid’
   maoropen ‘I love sth.’
   miyğun    ‘I have sth. [inan.]’
   mişkun    ‘I know sth.’
   golomaonen ‘I can read sth.’

c. POLYPERSONAL VERBS
   bompulam ‘I hide sth.’
   bampulam ‘I hide from sb.’
   boşkürinam ‘I make sb. afraid of sth.’
   mebuγam  ‘I take sth. to sb.’

The syntactic relation of explicit nominal participants to the predicate is identified by word order (but see section 4.2 for focus). Nominal participants are not obligatory, however.

(2) MONOPERSONAL ACTIVE VERB
a. ma bulur               ‘I am going.’
   1s go:1s:PRES
b. ma bimpulam            ‘I am hiding (myself).’
   1s hide:1s:PRES

(3) MONOPERSONAL INACTIVE VERB
a. ma (laçi-ṣa) maşkürinen ‘I am afraid (of the dog).’
   1s dog-MOT fear:>1s:PRES
b. ma ar oxori miyğun     ‘I have a house.’
   1s one house have[inan]>1s:PRES

(4) POLYPERSONAL VERB
a. ma çitabi golobionam   ‘I am reading a book.’
   1s book read:(1>3)s:PRES
b. ma tKvan cari megıyamt ‘I am bringing you food.’
   1s 2p bread bring:(1>2)p:PRES

The glosses reflect the different verb classes. The polypersonal gloss “(1>3)s” is to be understood as first person acting on third person without plural being marked. Number is not marked for each participant encoded within the verb
form separately, but only once and independent of person. As a consequence, a
verb form like me-g-iy-am-ti, in which g- encodes non-second person acting on
second, -am- is a non-third actor, and -t a non-third plural, has three different
interpretations: ‘I take sth. to you (pl.)’, ‘we take sth. to you (sg.)’ and ‘we
take sth. to you (pl.).’ The monopersonal inactive gloss “>1s” characterizes a
verb as marking an experiencer. As is obvious from the examples, Ardeşen Laz
exhibits ergativity neither in morphology (which dominates Kartvelian
languages) nor in syntax. Rather, there is a lexicalized active system within the
verb without syntactic consequences.

A closer look at the Ardeşen Laz verb template shows the following slots:

(proclitic)=(preverb)-personal prefix-orientation vowel-root-(CAUS)-TAMP

Proclitics and preverbs will concern us later in some detail (see section 4). The
different orientation vowels (called version or pre-root vowels in Kartvelology)
indicate valency and syntactic role of participants to some degree (see Mattissen
1995). The TAMP suffix encodes tense-aspect or mood-aspect and person
marking (person is marked discontinuously in the personal prefix, the TAMP,
and in one case, in the orientation vowel).

The verb form below illustrates all slots except for the causative morpheme:

(5) proclitic preverb pers. prefix orientation vowel root TAMP
    va me b u śvel am
    NEG thither 1>3 3.beneficiary help PRES:non-3:sA
    NEG=help:(1>3)s:PRES
    ‘I do not help him.’

The preverb in this case is an integral part of the verb’s lexical meaning. The
tense-aspect and mood-aspect forms existing in Laz are presented in Table 1.
The present and the pluperfect do not distinguish aspect but are related to
imperfective forms and perfective forms, respectively, by morphological form.
From the Kartvelian perspective, it is striking that the paradigm is smaller than
for instance in Georgian (see Aronson 1991), and that there is no separate
perfect.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Imperfective forms</th>
<th>Perfective forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tenses</td>
<td>Present</td>
<td>Pluperfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Past_PFV</td>
<td>Past_PFV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Future_PFV</td>
<td>Future_PFV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moods</td>
<td>Optative_PFV</td>
<td>Optative_PFV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Conditional_PFV</td>
<td>Conditional_PFV</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Present and past forms will be studied in the body of this paper, so for reasons of completeness we will start with an overview of the other tense and mood categories.

2 Tense and mood functions

The Laz pluperfect is a relative-absolute tense (in the sense of Comrie 1985), used for states of affairs which took place (or did not take place) before a past state of affairs or prior to a point in time in the past and without relevance for the present moment. The past reference point or event can be encoded by an adverbial (as in (6)), adverbial clause, or attribute clause (as in (7)):

(6) a cu ţana ogine him (a defa) ko=maziru dorfun
    one two year before 3s once FOC=sec:>1s:PT.PFV PPERF
    ‘I have seen him [only once] one or two years ago.’ (and never again)

(7) na yuru baba skani
    NML die:3s:PT.PFV father POSS:2s
    a cu defa ko=maziru dorfun
    one two time FOC=sec:>1s:PT.PFV PPERF
    ‘I saw your late father (only) once or twice (i.e. before he died).’

Pluperfect implies that further events have happened in the meantime after the event described which bear a relation to it:

(8) mçima mçiy! pencere-ti gomţi dorfun
    rain rain:3s:PRES window-also open:(1>3)s:PT.PFV PPERF
    ‘(Look), it is raining! And I had opened the window.’

The perfective future in Laz is used for future and for posterior habitual states of affairs:

(9) yazi ntxiri ora na moxtasen zade xazi maerfey
    summer hazelnut time NML come:3s:FUT.PFV very joy become:>1p:PT.IPFV
    ‘We used to be looking forward to the time of the hazelnut harvest in the summer.’

It is also employed together with the complementizer deyi to express purposive, and in the apodosis of conditional sentences. The imperfective future occurs infrequently, for instance with reference to “the same time tomorrow” or in warnings uttered to prevent an imminent event:
(10) mondo  golionamfare  
don’t.dare  read:(2>3)s:FUT.IPVF  ‘Don’t you dare read this!’

The optative is used in requests to non-second person, in negative imperatives or purposives.

(11) bigzalat!  
depart:1p:OPT.PFV  ‘Let’s go!’

(12) mondo  zuy⁻a-ša  k=amaxta!  
don’t.dare  sea-MOT  FOC=enter:2s:OPT.PFV  ‘Don’t enter the sea!’

In addition, the optative turns up in the protasis of hypothetical conditionals and in temporal clauses with future reference; note the difference in aspect:

(13) a. mofta-ša  
    come:1s:OPT.PFV-MOT  ‘until I come’
    b. mobulurta-ša  
    come:1s:OPT.IPV-MOT  ‘while I am coming’

The conditional is found in the apodosis and sometimes even in the protasis of unreal conditionals:

(14) Kucxe-te ciiti-Ko,  
    epeyi ora  ko=golaxtaserfu  
    foot-INST  go.down:2s:PT.PFV-SUB  quite  time  FOC=go.over.to:3s:COND.PFV  ‘If you went on foot it would take quite some time.’

Furthermore, the conditional encodes the future of the past in non-habitual contexts:

(15) Araşenì haiku zade na dogutaserfu  var=uşkurfu  
    A.  so  much  NML  stop:3s:COND.PFV  NEG=know:>3s:PT.IPV  ‘(S)he did not know (then) (s)he was going to stay in Araşenì for so long.’

(16) gomžarfu  
    open:(1>3)s:COND.PFV  ‘I wanted to open it (but did not undertake anything to do so).’
3 Laz aktionsart verb classes

In applying the aspect model developed by Breu (1994, 1996, 1997) and Sasse (1991a, 1991b), we examined which aktionsart classes exist in Laz, i.e. the lexical semantics of a verb with respect to situation change (event boundary) and sustained situation. We found that Laz fits into the model quite well although it was difficult to obtain reliable results from some tests. According to the tests presented below, six of the seven possible verb classes predicted by the model exist in Laz: totally static (TSTA; roughly, stative), inceptively static (ISTA; corresponding to initiotransformative verbs in Johanson’s terms (2000)), inchoative⁵ (INCO), activity (ACTI, roughly, dynamic atelic), gradually terminative (GTER, roughly, telic/accomplishments) and totally terminative (TTER, roughly, punctual) verbs. Relatively static verbs (temporary states) cannot be delimited as a separate class.

Inceptively static verbs are lexicalized as expressing a situation change and an ensuing temporary state (cf. Breu 1996: 44-45), e.g. French savoir ‘get to know, know’; inchoative verbs denote a situation leading to a situation change, this change and the ensuing state (Breu 1997:62-63), e.g. hide, which means ‘strive to enter a hiding-place’, ‘enter a hiding-place’ as well as ‘be hidden’.

Here is an overview of examples for each of the classes in Laz:

(17) TSTA

bare ‘I am’
mişkun ‘I know sth.’
mıyun ‘I have sth. [inan.]’
mixen ‘I have sth. sitting’
pxer ‘I am seated’
bzur ‘I lie’

nçay ‘[leaf] is [on the tree]’
mşun ‘I remember sth.’
midgun ‘I have sth. standing’
mizun ‘I have sth. lying’
bdgur ‘I stand’
mcar ‘I sleep’

(18) ISTA

maoropen ‘I love sb.’
mamş Corruptionen ‘I am hungry’
maseiren ‘I am astonished’
mafamaxen ‘I am jealous’

maşkuronen ‘I am afraid’
mambinen ‘I am thirsty’
mafiçiren ‘I have an idea’
mambaren ‘sth. is swollen on me’

(19) INCO

bimpulam ‘I hide’
dopxedur ‘I sit down’

binciram ‘I go to bed, fall/am asleep’
dobgutur ‘I stop, stay’

⁵ Note from the editors: “Inchoative” is used in the sense of Breu (1997) and not in the traditional meaning.
(20) ACTI
bicəšam ‘I work’  bəzižam ‘I laugh’
buğəğam ‘I run’  bigzər ‘I walk’
bıxələm ‘I am happy’  pərəjądəm ‘I sing’
bəgorum ‘I search for sth.’  boʃər ‘I look at sth.’
cepçəm ‘I hit sth.’  dəpkaçəm ‘I hold on to sth.’

(21) GTER
bier ‘I become’  bulur ‘I go’
byurur ‘I die’  xoskən ‘[animal] dies’
boynurinam ‘I kill sb.’  gomʒum ‘I open sth.’
bəgəznam ‘I light sth.’  bəskərinəm ‘I dry sth.’

(22) TTER
bəziʒəm ‘I find sth.’  oxosboʒənom ‘I understand sth.’
pəvəxəm ‘I burst’  gomandinen ‘st. gets lost on me’
bəkoğəm ‘I marry [a man]’  bəkənəm ‘I grasp sth.’
bəcələr ‘I marry [a woman]’  mepçəm ‘I give sth. to sb.’
bəgəznəm ‘I depart’  gəməŋədənəm ‘I forget sth.’

Additionally, however, it is necessary to posit a hybrid class of verbs which combine characteristics of both activities and gradually terminative verbs, as will be shown below. To this large class belong:

(23) ACTI/GTER
bimxor ‘I eat sth.’  golobionam ‘I read sth.’
mğağam ‘I write sth.’  mkum ‘I grind sth.’
pəʒələm ‘I pick [flower]’  boʒəğəm ‘I show sth.’
pəxərəm ‘I cut sth.’  pəxətəm ‘I fell [tree]’
pčəm ‘I sew sth.’  pčəm ‘I bake sth.’

All these verbs are transitive. The common feature setting them off from pure activities in terms of semantics seems to be the affectedness of the object. In contrast to objects of pure activity verbs, the object of verbs of the hybrid class is changed or effected by the action. It is striking, however, that golobionam ‘I read it’ belongs to this class while cepçəm ‘I hit him’ does not. Yet, we can think of something which has been read as having changed its state from unknown to known. We leave this topic for further study.

In any case, the distinction between the ACTI, GTER and hybrid classes must be made on the lexical level as all verbs in Laz bear an inherent valency. There are no ambitransitive verbs like English write or run which are activities on the lexical level and behave like gradually terminative verbs on the phrasal level, depending on the presence and referential status of an object, e.g. write a
letter, run a mile. In Laz, the presence of a participant NP is optional and does not change transitivity nor aktionsart.

Before turning to the tests which led to the above classification, some observations on inceptively static verbs have to be made. In order to find out whether there are such verbs at all, we tested a considerable number of verbs, letting ourselves be inspired by the semantics of verbs described in the literature as ISTA verbs. Any ISTA verb should behave as follows: its imperfective form should encode a situation which holds after the situation change which is expressed by the perfective form. Most of the plausible candidates tested did not conform to this scheme, e.g. baḵnam ‘I grasp sth.’, dolobikunam ‘I put sth. on’, ebiselam ‘I rise’, mpun ‘it boils’, goomtun ‘it covers sth.’ (nor are they INCO verbs). In the example below, one of the sentences construed to find out what the imperfective form means shows that baḵnamti reads as ‘I wanted to grasp [e.g. the bar]’ but cannot mean ‘I held [the bar]’ (this sense would not be compatible with the following context in the example), for which another verb dopkačum is used. In other words, the imperfective form encodes a state of affairs prior to the one of the perfective form baḵni ‘I grasped it’, not after, while the phase after the situation change expressed by the perfective form is expressed by a different verb.

(24) on the bus:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{baḵnamti} & \quad \text{ceboli} & \quad \text{memişveley} & \quad \text{ebiseli} \\
\text{grasp:(1>3)s:PT.IPVF} & \quad \text{fâll:1s:PT.PFV} & \quad \text{help:(3>1)p:PT.PFV} & \quad \text{rise:1s:PT.PFV}
\end{align*}
\]

baḵni
dopkači

grasp:(1>3)s:PT.PFV
hold.on:(1>3)s:PT.PFV

‘I wanted to grasp the bar but fell, I was helped and rose, grasped the bar and held on to it.’

Finally, the verbs listed in (18) could be established as inceptively static verbs. Most strikingly, they all belong to one formal verb class: monopersonal inactive experiencer verbs. This class is identifiable by the structure of a verb form: the personal prefix encodes the person of the experiencer (m- 1s in the citation form), the orientation vowel is -a-, and the verbs belong to the inactive -en conjugation class, as the suffix shows (see Mattissen 1995:50). Thus, all ISTA verbs seem to be experiencer verbs, but the reverse does not hold true. Verbs like maziren ‘I see’, mayoden ‘sth. happens to me’, mažunen ‘my sth. aches’, mamkorinen ‘I yawn’, mardardalen ‘I tremble’, manciren ‘I am able to sleep’, etc. belong to different actionality classes.

The existing aktionsart classes will be established now with the help of critical tests based on the interactional readings of imperfective and perfective paradigmatic forms of verbs belonging to different lexical classes. First, the perfective forms, then the imperfective ones will be studied, finally we will proceed to several inconsistency tests.
3.1 Past perfective forms

In comparing perfective forms of different lexical verb classes we can delimit totally static verbs right away because they do not have perfective forms in the first place, i.e. corresponding to a present tense form *miškun* ‘I know’ there is no *miški* ‘I knew’. As a consequence, there is no pluperfect form either, since pluperfect is composed of a past perfective form and the invariable element *dortun*.

This does not mean, however, that there are concepts which cannot be expressed in Laz. For instance, besides the totally static verb *mcar* ‘I sleep’, there is *binciram* ‘I go to bed, fall asleep, am asleep’ which has perfective forms.

(25) seri do-binciri va=manciru
evening FOC-go.sleep:1s:PT.PFV NEG=go.sleep(POT):>1s:PT.PFV

cu saafi şukle do-manciru
two hour after FOC-go.sleep(POT):>1s:PT.PFV
‘I went to bed in the evening but could not sleep, I fell asleep (only) two hours later.’

3.2 Past perfective senses

All other verbs have perfective forms, but do not differ conspicuously in the senses the past perfective form conveys. Most frequently, it is used for sequential events or results.

(26) Q: cu saaft mu i?
two hour what Q
A: mčari, golobioni, cari psckomi
‘What did you do within the last two hours?’ - ‘I wrote, read and ate.’

(27) gomţi
open:(1>3):s:PT.PFV
‘I (have) opened it.’

(28) ko=bziri
FOC=find:(1>3):s:PT.PFV
‘I (have) found it.’ (= “look here”, or “yesterday”)

The result sense derives from the implication that an afterstate still holds, i.e. in the example above, that what I opened is still open, or from a perceptible outcome of the event (compare the use of the present perfect in English). This is different from a resultative which denotes a resulting state and does not focus on the action which led to it as is the case here (see section 5).
For a clear distinction of verb classes we have to take further parameters into account. First, activity (29), inceptively static (30), and inchoative verbs (31) are compatible with adverbials of duration; gradually terminative verbs (32) and totally terminative verbs (33) are not:

(29) cu saλi bgori 
    two hour look.for:(1>3)s:PT.PFV 'I searched it for two hours.'

(30) cu ʒana laći-șa maškurinu 
    two year dog-MOT afraid:>1s:PT.PFV [but things have changed].'

(31) cu saλi bimpuli 
    two hour hide:1s:PT.PFV 'I hid for two hours.'

(32) *a saλi (Muṭafi-șa) bidi 
    one hour M.-MOT go:1s:PT.PFV *'I went (to Mutfafi) for one hour.'

(33) *a saλi bziри 
    one hour find:(1>3)s:PT.PFV *'I found (sth.) for one hour.'

Note that the last sentence is grammatical in the sense of 'I found one clock'. The presence of an explicit participant has no influence on the compatibility with an adverbial of duration (see (29) and (33)), not even if it is plural. As we saw in section 1, central participants licensed by a verb are not obligatorily encoded by an explicit NP. The sentence below was volunteered by a native speaker in supplement to the rejection of a sentence intended to mean 'I found several things for one hour'.

(34) zuya çenari diʃka bziри a saλi pKorobi 
    sea border wood find:(1>3)s:PT.PFV one hour gather:(1>3)s:PT.PFV 'I found firewood on the beach and collected it for one hour.'

As plurality of a participant brings about a distributive or iterative sense of the verb (finding several things is a chain of a number of "find" events) this could in theory be a substitute for the lacking sustained situation of totally terminative states of affairs (compare the iterative meaning of the imperfective past form of such a verb in section 3.4) and could allow for a compatibility with an adverbial of duration. As example (34) above shows, however, this is not the case in Laz: a totally terminative verb is not compatible with such an adverbial in its perfective form.

Second, compatibility with adverbials expressing a delimited time span (‘in x time’) was checked. Inchoative (35) and activity verbs ((36), (37)) are incompatible with such adverbials, independent of transitivity.
(35) *a daķiķa-şä bimpuli
one minute-MOT hide:1s:PT.PFV
*I hid in one minute.‘

(36) *a saaṭi-şä biçalisi
*I worked in one hour.‘

(37) *a saaṭi-şä bgori
*I looked for it in one hour.‘

Gradually terminative verbs can be used with them:

(38) a saaṭi-şä neka gomži
one hour-MOT door open:(1>3)s:PT.PFV
*I opened the door in one hour.‘

Inceptively static (39) and totally terminative verbs (40) are compatible with the adverbials, the meaning, however, is ‘at the end of x time’:

(39) cu saaṭi-şä mamskornu
two hour-MOT hungry:<>1s:PT.PFV
‘After two hours I became hungry.’

(40) context: I yelled and yelled
a saaṭi-şä nena gomandinu
one hour-MOT voice get.lost:<>1s:PT.PFV
‘After one hour I lost my voice.’

At this point, the hybrid class of verbs comes into play. These verbs are compatible with both kinds of adverbials, thus combining the positive values of the activity and gradually terminative verbs while being distinct from both classes.

(41) a saaṭi o-škomu
one hour FOC-eat:(3>3)s:PT.PFV
‘He ate it for one hour.’

(42) a saaṭi-şä o-škomu
one hour-MOT FOC-eat:(3>3)s:PT.PFV
‘He ate it (up) in one hour.’

Note that this behavior is independent of the presence of an explicit object.

Let us see now if the corresponding imperfective forms confirm the findings with respect to different actionality classes.

3.3 Present tense senses

Of the possible senses of the Laz present, viz.
(i) state of affairs existing or ongoing at the moment of speech,
(ii) present habitual,
(iii) universal (state of affairs always existing, e.g. the earth orbits around the sun),
(iv) performative (e.g. *I declare this exhibition open*), and
(v) prospective (something one is about to do),
all verbs share the present habitual and universal sense. Totally terminative verbs are the only class which cannot have the “existing” or “ongoing” sense in an affirmative form.

(43) yoxo muṣi ko=mṣun 'I know his name.' TSTA
    name POSS:3s FOC=remember:1s:PRES

(44) mamṣKorinen 'I am hungry now.' ISTA
    hungry:1s:PRES

(45) bimpulam 'I am hiding.' INCO
    hide:1s:PRES

(46) biçaliṣam 'I am working.' ACTI
    work:1s:PRES

(47) mcaɾum 'I am writing sth.' ACTI/GTER
    write:(1>3)s:PRES

(48) samduyi gomṣum, xut kilidi-ṣi sumi gomṣi GTER
    chest open:(1>3)s:PRES five lock-GEN three open:(1>3)s:PT.PFV
    'I am opening the chest, I have (already) opened three of the five locks.'

(49) bẓiram 'I (usually) find (what I lose).’ TTER
    find:(1>3)s:PRES

As the translation in (49) indicates, the sense of the totally terminative verbs is habitual. The “ongoing” sense is possible in the corresponding negative form, however.

(50) va=bẓiram 'I cannot find it (right now).’
    NEG=find:(1>3)s:PRES

In distinction to the other classes (of which there is a choice below), totally static and inceptively static verbs do not allow a prospective sense.

(51) mcaɾum 'I am about to write sth.’
    write:(1>3)s:PRES

(52) gomṣum 'I am about to open sth.’
    open:(1>3)s:PRES
(53) pťavəʒum
    burst:1s:PRES
‘I am going to burst.’ (e.g. after eating a lot)

The present form of inchoative verbs (as well as all their imperfective forms) is
characterized by its two possibilities of interpretation: either as the situation of
bringing oneself into a position or as the situation of maintaining oneself in
that position. For bimpulam ‘I am hiding’, for instance, these two interpre-
tations are ‘I am going into a hiding-place’ and ‘I am hidden’; for binciram,
they are ‘I am going to bed’ and ‘I am asleep’. One native speaker pointed out,
however, that forms like dopxedur ‘I am sitting down, sitting’ and dobgtur ‘I
am stopping, staying’, when used in the resultative sense, still imply the
preceding situation change and are therefore employed only if the change is
informative, e.g. when someone has moved and states her new situation. Thus,
in most cases the simple (totally static) position verbs pxer ‘I am seated’, bdgur
‘I stand’ and mcar ‘I sleep’ are used.

3.4 Imperfective past senses

The imperfective past form of totally static verbs expresses a state which no
longer holds.

(54) nçar 찾
    hang.on.tree:3s:PT.IPFV
‘[Leaves] were on the tree (but no longer are).’

For a state which began in the past and still continues, the “no longer”
implicature has to be explicitly cancelled, for instance:

(55) aprili pavri ko=nçar찾
    April leaf FOC=hang.on.tree:3s:PT.IPFV now-also
    ko=nçay
    FOC=hang.on.tree:3s:PRES
‘In April leaves were on the tree, and they still are.’

The imperfective past form of inceptively static, inchoative, activity and hybrid
verbs occurs in the incidency constellation of states of affairs for actions
forming the background against which another action/event takes place:

(56) nekna goinţu-si         golobionamţi
    door open(MID):3s:PT.PFV-SUB read:(1>3)s:PT.IPFV
‘When the door opened I was reading.’
Inchoative verbs allow the characteristic double interpretation:

(57) bimpulamti  nekha irau
    hide:1s:PT.IPVF  door  knock(MID):3s:PT.PFV
    ‘I was hiding when there was a knock on the door.’

With gradually terminative verbs, the imperfective form reads as conative or prospective (as in the present), i.e. it denotes a phase which precedes and implies a situation change, even though this change does not necessarily have to take place.

(58) gomʒumti
    open:(1>3)s:PT.IPVF
    ‘I tried to open it (but it would not open).’

(59) ɣurrurfu
    die:3s:PT.IPVF
    ‘He was about to die.’

Example (58) can mean ‘I was going to open the door’, ‘I was opening the door (by pressing the handle)’, or ‘I was trying to open the door (but it would not open)’.

Finally, the imperfective past form of totally terminative verbs has an iterative meaning, as is expected of verbs which do not have extension in time as part of their lexical meaning. Such a phase is “smuggled in” by multiplying the single events over time. So in the example below it is expressed that somebody lost her voice time and again over a certain time span, not that the voice was gone for the whole period of time.

(60) nena  gomandinerfu
    voice  get.lost:>1s:PT.IPVF
    ‘I kept losing my voice.’

Turning to temporal adverbials again, totally static (as in (61)), inceptively static, inchoative, activity and hybrid verbs (as in (62)) are compatible with an adverbial of duration in their imperfective past form.

(61) cu  ndya  mcarfi
    two  day  sleep:1s:PT.IPVF
    ‘I was confined to my bed for two days.’

(62) cu  saafi  golobionamfi
    two hour  read:(1>3)s:PT.IPVF
    ‘I used to read for two hours.’ (e.g. a day)

The dynamic verbs have a habitual sense in this case. A combination with an adverbial of duration is possible for gradually terminative verbs only if they are read as conatives or habituals.
(63) a saaﬁ boyrınumfı
one hour kill:(1>3)s:PT.IPVF
‘I tried to kill him for one hour.’

If totally terminative verbs occur in the context of adverbials of duration, they are read as iteratives.

(64) cu xafıa boyne lastrıyi İvaʒurfu
two week always tire burst:3s:PT.IPVF
‘For two weeks my tires kept bursting.’

Imperfective past forms were not accepted with adverbials of delimited time span. The only possible interpretation of such a construction the native speaker could think of in a suitable context was ‘sb. was V-ing up until x time ago’.

3.5 Inconsistency tests

Besides testing compatibilities with different adverbials, tests which set a perfective and an imperfective form of one and the same verb into a certain relation to find out if a consistent expression results are used in the classification of aktionsarten.

Activities and gradually terminative verbs are distinguished by the interruption test. Imagine somebody is reading something, like in (65):

(65) golobionam
read:(1>3)s:PRES
‘I am reading.’

and is interrupted (by a phone call, for example). This person can tell the caller

(66) golobioni
read:(1>3)s:PT.PFV
‘I read.’ (= ‘I have already read sth.’)

In other words, even if the action is interrupted at a given point and not completed, its right boundary has already been transgressed by just stopping halfway. This behavior is typical of all activity verbs, as well as of the Laz hybrid verbs, as the example shows. Gradually terminative verbs, on the other hand, show the opposite results. When the action of opening a door as in (67)

(67) gomʒum
open:(1>3)s:PRES
‘I am going to open it.’

is interrupted halfway (and not brought to its end) the right boundary has not yet been transgressed, which is evident from the clause
(68) *gomʒi  
   open:(1>3)s:PT.PFV
   ‘I opened it (and it is open).’

being ungrammatical as a response. The adequate answer is

(69) va=gomʒi  
   NEG=open:(1>3)s:PT.PFV
   ‘I did not open it.’

as the door is not yet open. Boundary transgression takes place only upon successfully completing the action. Another test on gradually terminative verbs is based on the prestidial reading of the imperfective form (no-transgression (of final boundary) test):

(70) yururu  
   do va=yuru  
   die:3s:PT.IPFV and NEG=die:3s:PT.PFV
   ‘He was dying, but did not die.’

Such a statement is impossible with an activity, inceptively static or totally static verb in Laz, but acceptable for inchoative and totally terminative verbs.

(71) doguturfu  
   do va=dogutu  
   stop:3s:PT.IPFV and NEG=stop:3s:PT.PFV
   ‘He was stopping, but did not stop.’

In order to delimit inceptively static and inchoative verbs from other verbs, the following continuation test can be employed:

(72) mamʃkorinu, xolo mamʃkorinen  
   hungry:>1s:PT.PFV still/again hungry:>1s:PRES
   ‘I got hungry, and I am still hungry.’

(73) bimpuli xolo bimpulam  
   hide:1s:PT.PFV still/again hide:1s:PRES
   ‘I hid, and I am still hiding.’

With verbs of other aktionsarten, this construction is interpreted as referring to two unconnected events, with xolo reading as ‘again’.

(74) gvočondru, xolo gvočondrun  
   forget:>3s:PT.PFV still/again forget:>3s:PRES
   ‘He forgot it, and he forgets it again and again [although I remind him continually].’

As a counter-check, the native speaker was asked to finish a sentence like [V(perfective past) sukute ...]. The spontaneous responses to sentences with inchoative verbs were for instance
(75) bimpuli  şuKule  Ali  va=meziru  
hide:1s:PT.PFV  after  A.  NEG=see:(3>1)s:PT.PFV  
‘After I hid, Ali did not see me.’

(76) binciri  şuKule  ezmoces  bziiri  
go.sleept:1s:PT.PFV  after  dream  find:(1>3)s:PT.PFV  
‘After falling asleep, I had a dream.’

These answers clearly show that the interpretation of the perfective past form which first came to mind was that the person is still hidden/asleep, and not that the hiding/sleeping event is completed. In order to see if the latter (sequential) interpretation is possible as well, I construed suitable sentences which were accepted by the native speaker after adding some context, e.g.

(77) oxori  cu  saafti  bimpuli  şuKule  gale  gamafti  
house two hour hide:1s:PT.PFV after outside exit:1s:PT.PFV  
‘After hiding in the house for two hours, I went outside.’

(78) Ali-şi  oxori  cu  xafti  dobguti  şuKule  bigzali  
A.-GEN  house  two  week  stop:1s:PT.PFV after  depart:1s:PT.PFV  
‘After staying at Ali’s for two weeks, I left.’

Finally, it was difficult to obtain neat results from testing phasal verbs. Phasal verbs are construed with the verbal noun, and verbs formed from one and the same root have identical verbal noun forms but need not belong to the same aktionsart class, e.g. *maziren* ‘I see sth.’ (ACTI) and *bziram* ‘I find sth.’ (TTER) with verbal noun *oziru*.

### 3.6 Aktionsart class criteria

So in conclusion, the relevant parameters for the distinction of aktionsart verb classes are the senses of the opposed aspect forms in the past, the meaning of the present tense, the compatibility with adverbials of duration and delimited time span, and the results of the interruption test, the no-transgression test, and the continuation test. Tables 2, 3 and 4 below give an overview of the behavior of different verb classes according to these parameters:
### TABLE 2: PERFECTIVE FORMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Sense of past tense</th>
<th>Compatibility with adverbial of duration</th>
<th>Compatibility with adverbial of delimited time span</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TSTA</td>
<td>no perfective forms</td>
<td>not applicable</td>
<td>not applicable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ISTA</td>
<td>result, sequential</td>
<td>o.k.</td>
<td>'at the end of X time'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INCO</td>
<td>result, sequential</td>
<td>o.k.</td>
<td>impossible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACTI</td>
<td>sequential, result</td>
<td>o.k.</td>
<td>impossible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACTI/GTER</td>
<td>sequential, result</td>
<td>o.k.</td>
<td>o.k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GTER</td>
<td>result, sequential</td>
<td>impossible</td>
<td>o.k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TTER</td>
<td>sequential, result</td>
<td>impossible</td>
<td>'at the end of X time'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 3: IMPERFECTIVE FORMS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Sense of present tense</th>
<th>Sense of past tense</th>
<th>Compatibility with adverbial of duration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TSTA</td>
<td>existing state, habitual</td>
<td>state no longer existing</td>
<td>o.k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ISTA</td>
<td>existing state, habitual</td>
<td>state, backgrounded in incidency</td>
<td>o.k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INCO</td>
<td>ongoing, existing state, habitual, prospective</td>
<td>backgrounded in incidency, conative</td>
<td>o.k., habitual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACTI</td>
<td>ongoing (progressive), habitual, prospective</td>
<td>backgrounded in incidency</td>
<td>o.k., habitual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACTI/GTER</td>
<td>ongoing (progressive), habitual, prospective</td>
<td>backgrounded in incendency</td>
<td>o.k., habitual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GTER</td>
<td>ongoing (progressive), habitual, prospective</td>
<td>conative, prospective</td>
<td>o.k., conative, habitual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TTER</td>
<td>habitual, prospective, ongoing under negation</td>
<td>iterative</td>
<td>(iterative)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 4: INCONSISTENCY TESTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Interruption</th>
<th>No transgression</th>
<th>Continuation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TSTA</td>
<td>not applicable</td>
<td>not applicable</td>
<td>not applicable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ISTA</td>
<td>transgression of initial boundary</td>
<td>impossible</td>
<td>o.k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INCO</td>
<td>ambiguous</td>
<td>o.k.</td>
<td>o.k.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACTI</td>
<td>transgression of final boundary</td>
<td>impossible</td>
<td>(different events)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACTI/GTER</td>
<td>transgression of final boundary</td>
<td>o.k.</td>
<td>(different events)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GTER</td>
<td>no transgression of final boundary</td>
<td>o.k.</td>
<td>(different events)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TTER</td>
<td>not applicable</td>
<td>o.k.</td>
<td>(different events)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The existence of the hybrid class of verbs is confirmed by the inconsistency tests. In the interruption test, these verbs behave like activities, in the non-transgression test, like gradually terminative verbs. We therefore chose to set up a separate class for these verbs instead of classifying them as either activities or gradually terminative verbs.

On the whole, applying the aspect model of Breu (1994, 1996, 1997) and Sasse (1991a, b) has turned out to be rewarding for Laz.

Two further complications of this system remain to be examined, which center around the perfect on the one hand and a mysterious morpheme represented by a proclitic and three preverbs on the other. As the former is based on a premise of the latter we will proceed with the proclitics and preverbs.

4 Proclitics and preverbs in Laz

In the Laz verb template (see (4)) there are two slots to the left of the personal prefix, one for proclitics and one for preverbs.

Laz has three proclitics which are mutually exclusive in the proclitic slot: negation var= ~ va=, prohibitive mot= ~ mo=, and ko= ~ k=, the function of which will be discussed below. The former two are illustrated in (79):

(79) a. va=mebuucamți
    NEG=listen.to:(1>3)s:PT.IPVF
    ‘I was not listening to them.’

b. mot=ulur
    PROH-go:2s:PRES
    ‘Don’t go.’

The proclitic character of the elements was concluded from the facts that they (i) occur as free particles and (ii) coalesce with a verb as its outermost element to form one accentual unit. To a question ‘did you do anything?’ the answer can be var ‘no’. A negative question or statement (e.g. ‘you did not do anything’) can be relegated by

(80) ko,    do-biçalişi
    oh.yes   FOC-work:1s:PT.PFV
    ‘Oh yes, I did work.’

The proclitic ko= is affirmative and rejects a negation, corresponding to German doch or French si.

Laz disposes of a large set of preverbs which mostly encode local relations. They are independent of the proclitics and follow them in a given verb form. The preverbs are reminiscent of German or Russian preverbs and are generally semantically transparent. They are monosyllabic or bisyllabic in form and mutually exclusive in their preverb slot:
These lexical preverbs combine with verbs and modify their meaning. In some cases, preverb and verb form a very tight unit such that the semantic contribution of the preverb is no longer transparent. This concerns verbs with the preverbs *me-* ‘thither’ (which is transparent e.g. in *mebulur* ‘I go thither’), *oxo-* and *do-* the basic meaning of which is totally obscured synchronically, e.g. in

(82) mebugnam ‘I know a lot about sth.’ (*bugnam; bognam ‘I hear sth.’)  
mebisinapam ‘we are having a small talk’ (*bisinapam ‘I talk’)  
dopxedur ‘I sit down’ (*pxedur; pxer ‘I sit’)  
dopKaçum ‘I hold on to sth.’ (*pKaçum)  
dopsKudur ‘I stay’ (*psKudur ‘I live’)  
oxobožonam ‘I understand sth.’ (*božonam; mažonen ‘I weigh sth.’)  
oxobušKum ‘I let sth. go’ (*bušKum; bošKum ‘I send sb.’)
another (grammatical) preverb (as there is only one preverb slot), and instead take ko=.

(83) bulur ‘I go’: menda-fi ‘I went’ (past perfective + preverb)  
    mo-bulur ‘I come’: ko=mo-fi ‘I came’ (past perfective + proclitic)  
    (preverb mo- ‘hither’)  
    me-bulur ‘I go there’: ko=me-fi ‘I went there’ (past perfective +  
    (preverb me- ‘thither’) proclitic)

The difference between the lexical and the grammatical preverbs do- becomes obvious from the compatibility with ko=. Verbs with lexical do- take ko=, like all other verbs with preverbs, which is impossible for grammatical do- taking verbs, compare:

(84) ‘hold on to’ *pKaçum, dopKaçum, ko=dopKaçum, *kopKaçum,  
    *dodopKaçum  
    ‘work’ biçališam, do-biçališam, *ko=dobiçališam, *kobiçališam

There are, in addition, preverbless verbs which nevertheless take ko= (under exclusion of other grammatical preverbs):

(85) bore ‘I am’  
    mišKun ‘I know’  
    mışun ‘I remember’  
    baKnam ‘I grasp sth.’  
    maKnen ‘sth. seizes me’ (e.g. illness)  
    boširam ‘I show sth.’  
    božer ‘I look at sth.’  
    pçam ‘I feed sb.’  
    bOpsam ‘I fill sth. up’  
    mıyun ‘I have sth. [inan.]’  
    mionun ‘I have sth. [anim.]’  
    maziren ‘I see sth.’  
    bziram ‘I find sth.’

Most verbs without a lexical preverb, however, take the grammatical preverb do-.

(86) biçališam ‘I work’  
    bimpulam ‘I hide’  
    bompulam ‘I hide sth.’  
    bigzalam ‘I depart’  
    binciram ‘I go to bed, fall asleep’  
    bier ‘I become’  
    bimçir ‘I swim’  
    byurur ‘I die’  
    mčaram ‘I write sth.’  
    pšKorum ‘I cut sth.’

If preverbless, directed motion and transfer verbs take the preverb mende-.

(87) bulur ‘I go’  
    bionam ‘I lead sb. [anim.] there’  
    biyam ‘I take sth. [inan.] there’  
    buyam ‘I take sth. [inan.] to sb.’  
    bošKum ‘I send sb. [anim.]’  
    buncyonam ‘I send sth. [inan.]’  
    bimfər ‘I flee’
Preverbless consumption verbs formed from the roots for ‘eat’, ‘drink’, ‘graze’, ‘burn’, and ‘catch’ take o-:

(88) bimxor‘I eat sth.’
    mcuy  ‘[animal] grazes’
    pšum  ‘I drink sth.’
    biçver  ‘I burn’
    pçopum  ‘I catch sth.’

Finally, there are verbs which are not compatible with any of the grammatical preverbs nor with the proclitic, e.g.

(89) cemKolum  ‘I close sth.’
    bodum  ‘I close my eyes’
    gomʒum  ‘I open sth.’
    maʒunen  ‘I feel pain’
    maçven  ‘sth. hurts (me)’
    gomoçondrun  ‘I forget sth.’

From further testing the compatibilities, we learn that ko= and the three grammatical preverbs are mutually exclusive not only among each other but also mutually exclusive with the negation proclitic var= and with the preverbal particle na which marks complement and attributive clauses, as in (90) and (91).

(90) Ali para na ziru  do-miʒu
    A. money NML find:(3>3)s:PT.PFV  FOC-tell:(3>1)s:PT.PFV  ‘Ali told me he had found money.’

(91) para oxori na on cuma mepçi
    money house NML be:3s:PRES brother give:(1>3)s:PT.PFV  ‘I gave my brother, who is at home, the money.’

This means that ko=, do-, mende-, and o- do not occur under negation and in complement and attributive clauses. The restriction concerning negation becomes evident from the comparison of an affirmative and a corresponding negative experiential in the example below:

(92) ma zuya do-bimçiri  ‘I have swum in the sea before.’
    1s sea  FOC-swim:1s:PT.PFV

(93) hiçi zuya va=bimçiri  ‘I have never swum in the sea.’
    never sea  NEG=swim:1s:PT.PFV

What is the function of the proclitic ko= and the three grammatical preverbs? A first conjecture, with the Georgian situation in mind, might be that the function is an additional marking of perfective forms, as this is what the

1 domaçven is lexicalized as ‘it burns on me’.
Georgian cognate *da-* (of *do-*) does (see Aronson 1991). This supposition is not borne out, however, since the Laz elements in question turn up with all tense-aspect and mood-aspect forms, including imperfective ones. The only regular and predictable co-occurrence restrictions which emerged from the examination of vast spontaneous discourse material are
(i) ongoing, performative, and universal readings of the present form are never marked by *ko*- or a grammatical preverb;
(ii) a conative reading of an imperfective form is not possible for a marked form;
(iii) with *ko*- or one of the grammatical preverbs, a present form constitutes a “historical” present, used instead of a past perfective:

(94) Ferat dayi a ndya balKnKi ko=celapxon ya Ardešen ...
F. uncle one day balcony FOC=sit.on:3s:PRES say A.
‘Uncle Ferat said: “One day I was sitting on the balcony in Ardešen ...”’

(iv) a perfective form intended to indicate a current relevance of a past event or an experiential is always marked (see section 5).

These observations suggest examining whether the proclitic *ko*- and the preverbs *do-*, *mende-*, and *o*- constitute boundedness or telicity markers supplementing the inflectional aspect system, similar to the Bulgarian case (cf. Lindstedt 1985). A comparison of the distribution of forms and of the contexts in both languages does not show convincing parallels, however. The two sentences below, adapted from their original versions (see Breu 1994:37-38) into Laz, serve as examples for critical uses, where telicity and aspect value in Bulgarian do not match. The first one is a sample of habituality of sequential actions, where Bulgarian employs a “perfective Imperfect”, i.e. an imperfective inflectional form of a telicized verb. The second one illustrates a temporally extended (durative) situation presented as one item in a sequence of events, a context for the Bulgarian “imperfective Aorist”, i.e. the inflectional perfective form of a non-telicized verb.

(95) idu moxtu, idu moxtu
     go:3s:PT.PFV come:3s:PT.PFV go:3s:PT.PFV come:3s:PT.PFV
‘Again and again he came and went.’

(96) yoma si akszami-şa ggori bigzali
     yesterday 2s evening-MOT look.for:(1>2)s:PT.PFV depart:1s:PT.PFV
‘I looked for you all day yesterday, then left.’

Laz uses perfective forms without proclitic/preverb in both cases. If the proclitic/preverb were a telicity marker, analogous to Bulgarian preverbs, it should be present in the first sentence. Besides, past perfective forms marked
with the proclitic or grammatical preverbs do not turn up as frequently in the Laz texts as the Bulgarian "perfective aorist" forms (i.e. past perfective inflectional forms with telicizing preverb; cf. Lindstedt 1985).

Also, ko= and the grammatical preverbs are independent of the verbal aktionsart class of a verb, as is evident from the lists above. This amounts to concluding that ko=, do-, mende-, and o- are not redundant markers of tense/aspect or aktionsart, but have a function of their own.

4.1 Status of the object

Still searching within the realm of aspect, it is known from Hopper & Thompson (1980:252pp) that the status of an object can play an important role in telicity and aspect systems. In section 1, we saw that the tense/aspect ergativity split common to Kartvelian languages is not found in Ardeşen Laz. Tests showed that animacy and number are not relevant for ko/do/mende/o-marking, but the presence of a nominal object and its referential status interact to some degree with the mysterious category. As the contrasted examples (97a : b) prove, the object is definite in the context of a marked form:

(97) a. mektubi nčaru

letter write:(3>3)s:PT.PFV

b. mektubi do-nčaru

letter FOC-write:(3>3)s:PT.PFV

'S/he wrote a letter/letters.'

'S/he wrote the letter.'

The marked verb form occurs both with and without a nominal object, but the unmarked one is considered somehow incomplete without an overt object by native speakers.

(98) mutu miškun, ko=miškun

something know:>1s:PRES FOC=know:>1s:PRES

'I know what I know.'

If the category in question had an aspectual function we would expect (according to Hopper & Thompson (1980) and Sasse (1991b:30, 21)) the presence of the transitive object and telicity or perfectivity, and the absence of the object and atelicity or imperfectivity of the verb to correlate, which is obviously not the case.

4.2 Focus

Instead, native speakers agree that the complement to the left of the unmarked form is the central element of interest. A clause like

(99) ar oxorza maziru

one woman see:>1:PT.PFV

'I saw a woman.'
implies that one unexpectedly saw a woman and had rather expected something else. This effect seems to be the result of highlighting or contrasting, i.e. of focus. Compare two further examples:

(100) ar oxori mîyun 'I have (only) one house (that's all).
    one house have[inan.]:>1s:PRES

(101) a bere mîyun 'I have (only) a child (and nobody else).
    one child have[anim.]:>1s:PRES

Indeed, not only patients but all kinds of participants can stand in the position directly left of the predicate and be focused, i.e. word order is determined by information structure. This principle is illustrated below for negation focus and contrastive focus.

(102) a. çitabi cuma şKimi va=mepçi,
    book brother POSS:1s NEG= give:(1>3)s:PT.PFV
    Ali mepçi
    A. give:(1>3)s:PT.PFV
    'I did not give the book to my brother, but to Ali'

    b. cuma şKimi çitabi va=mepçi, gazete mepçi
    brother POSS:1s book newspaper
    'I did not give my brother a book, but a newspaper.'

In a parallel way, verb-adjacent adverbials or copredicates (see also section 5) are focused.

(103) ma  ýoma va=mofti,
    1s yesterday NEG= come:1s:PT.PFV today come:1s:PT.PFV
    'I did not come yesterday but today.'

Now, in search of a corroborating for the hypothesis that the proclitic ko= and the grammatical preverbs interact with focus, we found that in the focal position, a noun phrase very often contains the numeral ar 'one', a halfway grammaticalized indefiniteness marker. Without that marker, a noun tends to be read as definite; and clauses without ar 'one' before the verb-adjacent complement and without the proclitic/preverbs are rejected by native speakers out of context, as for example

(104) *oxorza maziru 'I saw the woman'
    woman see:>1s:PT.PFV

or are interpreted in a different way, for example
(105) oxori miyun ‘I have something at home/in the house’
    house have[inan.]:>1s:PRES

with oxori as local adjunct (local adjuncts are not case marked) and not as object (*I have the house’), or are somehow idiomatized: The clause bere mionun ‘I have the child’ and its preferred version

(106) zulu bere mionun ‘I have the small child’
    little child have[anim.]:>1s:PRES

were considered to be a proper explanation for an early departure in the sense of “I must be off now, you know I have that small child (I must take care of)’.

In the presence of the proclitic/grammatical preverbs there is no focusing effect on a complement. Compare examples corresponding to the ones above:

(107) oxorza ko=maziru ‘I actually saw the woman.’
    woman FOC=see:>1s:PT.PFV

(108) oxori ko=miyun ‘I own a/the house.’
    house FOC=have[inan.]:>1s:PRES

(109) bere ko=mionun ‘I am a mother/father.’
    child FOC=have[anim.]:>1s:PRES

On adding the numeral ar ‘one’, sentences such as the ones below introduce a syntactically referential participant about which one is going to give further information:

(110) ar oxorza ko=maziru ‘I saw a woman ...’
    one woman FOC=see:>1s:PT.PFV

(111) ar oxori ko=miyun ‘I have a house (but not a big one...’)
    one house FOC=have[inan.]:>1s:PRES

(112) a bere ko=mionun ‘I have one child ...’
    one child FOC=have[anim.]:>1s:PRES

These findings show that discourse, too, plays a role in the use of ko=/do-
/mende/- o-

The comparison of sentences with and without proclitic or grammatical preverbs leads to the conclusion that the elements in question signal that a (verb adjacent) complement (or copredicate or adverbial, for that matter, see (114)) is not in the focus position (which is in front of the verb), and put the focus on the verb itself. The following pairs of examples underline this. The first pair is
parallel to an example repeated in the discussion about thetic and categorical judgments (e.g. Sasse 1987:522):

(113) a. Ali ɣuru  
    A. die:3s:PT.PFV  
    ‘Ali died (unexpectedly)!’

b. Ali do-ɣuru  
    A. FOC-die:3s:PT.PFV  
    ‘Ali (finally) died.’ (e.g. after a long-lasting serious illness)

Adverbials and copredicates are focused as well if left-adjacent to a preverbless or ko-less verb. In example (114b) below, the child is expected to go to bed in the house up the hill (where (s)he lives) but does not do so.

(114) a. bere d-inciru  
    child FOC-go.sleep:3s:PT.PFV  
    ‘The child went to bed (in the house),’

b. bere ʃale inciru  
    child slope.down go.sleep:3s:PT.PFV  
    ‘The child went to bed down the hill.’

For the following two sentences, the native speaker’s explanations as given in the translations are very good support for the hypothesis that ko= and the grammatical preverbs mark verb focus.

(115) a. cututa-ʃa golomaonu  
    two month-MOT read(POT):>1s:PT.PFV  
    ‘I read it in two months = It took me two months to read it.’

b. cututa-ʃa ko=golomaonu  
    two month-MOT FOC=read(POT):>1s:PT.PFV  
    ‘It took me two months, but I managed to read it (to the end).’

Verb focus again leaves open the possibility for two structural types: the complement may belong to the backgrounded part of a sentence, or the focus-marked verb is contrasted to some other state of affairs. A nice example underscoring this is

(116) a. para bziri  
    money find:(1>3)s:PT.PFV  
    ‘(Imagine,) I found MONEY!’
b. para ko=bziri  
   money FOC=find:(1>3)s:PT.PFV  
   (i) ‘The money (we are/were talking about), I found it’  
   (ii) ‘I FOUND the money’  

This interpretation also holds in a more elaborate context. In the examples below, the first sentence (117) presupposes that the money had already been mentioned and focuses on its receipt. The second sentence (118) does not presuppose money (in the universe of the discourse situation). In both sentences, it is not mutu ‘something’ which is focused, but the act of buying.

(117) para k=çopa-si da muşi a  
    money FOC=take.up:(3>3)s:OPT.PFV-SUBsister POSS:3s one  
    mutu d-uiindramtu  
    something FOC-buy:(3>3)s:PT.IPFV  
    ‘Whenever he got the money he bought something for his sister.’

(118) para çopa-si da muşi a  
    money take.up:(3>3)s:OPT.PFV-SUB sister POSS:3s one  
    mutu d-uiindrāy  
    sth. FOC-buy:(3>3)s:OPT.PFV  
    ‘If he really gets money (for something) he should buy something for his sister.’

For the time being, the focus approach seems to be the most rewarding of all possible solutions (that is why the gloss FOC has been chosen), which also covers the findings at the end of section 4 (tense/aspect interaction) and in 4.1 (definiteness).

5 Perfect and resultative in Ardeşen Laz

5.1 Perfect

Ardeşen Laz does not have a separate morphological perfect category, as for example Georgian does. Searching from the functional perspective, a past action with relevance to the moment of speech and an experiential, two cross-linguistically occurring senses of a perfect category (cf. Bybee et al. 1994:62, 78), can indeed be expressed in Ardeşen Laz, namely by a past perfective form bearing the proclitic or appropriate grammatical preverb. Evidentiality can be encoded through the choice of complementizers, but plays a minor role in Ardeşen Laz.

Current relevance of a past action is exemplified below for verbs of the hybrid activity/gradually terminative class in (119) and in (120), where it
manifests itself in the form of a result, and for a totally terminative verb in (121):

(119) cari o-ps\text{"om}\text{"i} bread FOC-eat:(1>3)s:PT.PFV 'I have already eaten.'

(120) cari do-p\text{"ev}\text{"i} bread FOC-bake:(1>3)s:PT.PFV '(Look here,) I have baked bread.'

(121) para cemilu. sum Ko\text{"ci} memi\text{"s}veley. money drop:1s:PT.PFV three man help:(3>1)p:PT.PFV ar\text{"jo} ioxu: para ko=bez\text{"ri} one.of.them shout:3s:PT.PFV money FOC=find:(1>3)s:PT.PFV 'I dropped money. Three men helped me (look for it). (Then) one of them shouted: I found the money.'

Experiential is encoded in a formally identical way:

(122) ma zu\text{"ya} do-bim\text{"c}iri 1s sea FOC-swim:1s:PT.PFV 'I have swum in the sea before.'

(123) Mu\text{"uf}a\text{"f}\text{"i}-\text{"sa} menda-fti M.-MOT FOC-go:1s:PT.PFV 'I have been to Mu\text{"uf}a\text{"f}i'

As the proclitic ko= and the grammatical preverbs are not compatible with the negation proclitic, negated currently relevant past action or experiential are not distinct from any other past perfective form (except for the presence of hi\text{"ci} 'never'):

(124) hi\text{"ci} zu\text{"ya} va=bim\text{"c}iri never sea NEG=swim:1s:PT.PFV 'I have never swum in the sea.'

The functional domain of the perfect has no distinct morphological expression, thus a currently relevant past action and an experiential cannot be united into a category of their own, but share the form of other (non-perfect) past functions, including narrative and imperative forms. The situation is parallel to Latin and reminiscent of German, where past and perfect are expressed with one and the same paradigmatic form; in German, however, it is the former morphological perfect.

\footnote{The past perfective forms, with or without proclitic or grammatical preverb, are used as imperative forms.}
5.2 Resultative

Laz has a subjective, an objective, and a secondary possessive resultative (in the sense of Nedjalkov & Jaxontov 1988:9, 25-26) all of which put contrastive focus on the extant situation of a participant. The resultative does not use the past perfective, but the (only) participle in Ardeşen Laz, formed with the suffix -eri, plus the verb bore ‘I am’ (subjective and objective resultatives) or miyun/mionun ‘I have sth. [±animate]’ (possessive resultative), and is much less common than the “perfect”.

(125) a. PAST PERFECTIVE
    (ma) čitabi golobioni ‘I read the book.’
    1s book read:(1>3)s:PT.PFV

b. “PERFECT” (PAST PERFECTIVE + PROCLITIC/PREVERB)
    (ma) čitabi ko=golobioni ‘I have read the book.’
    1s book FOC=read:(1>3)s:PT.PFV

c. SUBJECTIVE RESULTATIVE: PARTICIPLE + ‘BE’
    (ma) golaon-eri bore ‘I am in the state of having read sth.’
    1s read-PCPL be:1s:PRES (e.g. of what I was expected to read).

d. OBJECTIVE RESULTATIVE: PARTICIPLE + ‘BE’
    čitabi golaon-eri on ‘The book is read.’
    book read-PCPL be:3s:PRES

e. (SECONDARY) POSSESSIVE RESULTATIVE: PARTICIPLE + ‘HAVE’
    (ma) čitabi golaon-eri miyun ‘I have the book (as a) read (one).’
    1s book read-PCPL have[inan.]:>1s:PRES

The contrastive sense is very strong in sentences like:

(126) cari xen-eri miyun ‘I have the food ready (lit. made).’
    bread make-PCPL have[inan.]:>1s:PRES

which is uttered in a situation where someone has previously announced that s/he was going to start cooking and the speaker stresses that s/he now has done the cooking. Furthermore, the copredicative participle is focused; note that, suitably, the predicate is never marked by ko=/do-/mende-/o-. The object, consequently, belongs to the backgrounded part of the sentence, as in the following sentence
(127) a şişe şarabi dolabi ompul-eri miyün
    one bottle wine cupboard hide-PCPL have[inan.]>1s:PRES
    ‘I have a bottle of wine hidden in my cupboard.’

which is appropriate in a situation where someone is offered some wine but
declines (“no, thanks, I have a supply”), i.e. şarabi ‘wine’ is the topic.

Not all verbs in Laz can enter into resultative constructions, as is to be
expected, and aktionsart plays its role therein. Totally static verbs do not have a
participle form in the first place. Activity verbs form the participle, but it does
not enter into the resultative construction but is used as a copredicate or
attribute only.

(128) a. *zişin-eri bore
    laugh-PCPL be:1s:PRES
b. zişin-eri mulun
    laugh-PCPL come:3s:PRES
    ‘He comes, laughing.’

Inceptively static (129) and inchoative verbs (130), verbs of the hybrid class as
in (125c, d) and (131), gradually (132) and totally terminative verbs (133)
form participles which enter into the different resultative constructions.
Intransitive verbs, however, do not have objective resultatives.

(129) orop-eri borfi
    love-PCPL be:1s:PT.IPFV
    ‘I was in love.’

(130) a. bere ncir-eri on
    child go.sleep-PCPL be:3s:PRES
b. bere ncir-eri mionun
    child go.sleep-PCPL have[anim.]>1s:PRES
    ‘I have a child who is asleep.’

(131) cari çv-eri miyün
    bread bake-PCPL have[inan.]>1s:PRES
    ‘I have the bread baked.’

(132) a. baba yur-eri on
    father die-PCPL be:3s:PRES
b. baba yur-eri mionun
    father die-PCPL have[anim.]>1s:PRES
    ‘My father is dead.’

(133) a. lastriyi țvaşin-eri on
    tire burst-PCPL be:3s:PRES
b. lastriyi țvaşin-eri miyün
    tire burst-PCPL have[inan.]>1s:PRES
    ‘I have a flat burst.’
Resultatives are not formed from activity and totally stative verbs, thus the hybrid class behaves like gradually terminative verbs in this respect.

In the resultative construction the participle stands to the left of the verb. The participle of all verbs is also used as an attribute before a noun: ḫavaşineri lastriyyi 'a burst tire'. Thus, there are separate constructions for resultatives, but not for perfect meaning in Ardeşen Laz.

6 Conclusion

Ardeşen Laz has a grammaticalized aspect opposition of imperfective and perfective forms which are distinguished in the past and future tense and in the optative and conditional mood. In distinction to Georgian and other Kartvelian languages and even Laz dialects, Ardeşen Laz does not have a tense/aspect ergativity split in the case frames of predicates and no inflectional perfect set, i.e. person marking on verbs and the construction of participant relations are constant throughout all tense-aspect and mood-aspect forms for a given verb.

The sense of an aspect form depends on the lexical semantics of a verb: on the basis of the aspect model by Breu (1994, 1996) and Sasse (Sasse 1991a, b), Ardeşen Laz has six of the possible seven akionsart verb classes - totally static, inceptively static, inchoative, activity, gradually terminative, totally terminative - and an additional hybrid class. Totally static verbs are characterized by the absence of perfective forms and of the participle, by compatibility with adverbials of duration, incompatibility with adverbials of delimited time span, and the absence of prospective and conative senses. Inceptively static verb can be recognized using the continuation test (after having V-ed is still V-ing) and the no-transgression test (*was V-ing but did not V). They do not have a prospective reading of imperfective forms and are compatible with adverbials of duration. Conspicuously, they are all experiencer verbs in Laz. Inchoative verbs are identified by the two readings of their imperfective forms as prestadial (entering a position) and resultative (maintaining the position). They are compatible with adverbials of duration, but not with adverbials of delimited time span. Both the continuation and the no-transgression tests yield positive results. Activity verbs are delimited by their compatibility with adverbials of duration and incompatibility with adverbials of delimited time span, the impossibility of a resultative construction, and their transgression of the final boundary on interrupting the event. Other tests yield negative results. Gradually terminative verbs are compatible with adverbials of delimited time span, and incompatible with adverbials of duration; they can be interrupted but do not transgress their final boundary in that case. Totally terminative verbs are defined by their habitual or iterative sense of imperfective forms and incompatibility with adverbials of duration. Gradually and totally terminative verbs are compatible with
adverbials of duration in their imperfective forms only if they read as habitual or conative.

The hybrid class combines characteristics of activities and gradually terminative verbs. They are all (inherently) transitive verbs which are compatible with both adverbials of duration (like ACTI) and of delimited time span (like GTER) and enter into the resultative construction (like GTER). They have transgressed a boundary on interruption (partial performance, like ACTI), and final transgression (complete performance) can be cancelled (like GTER).

There is no separate morphological perfect category in Ardeşen Laz, but currently relevant past action and experiential are expressed with a past perfective form marked with proclitic ko= or one of the grammatical preverbs do-, mende-, and o-. These are lexically conditioned allomorphs of a morpheme marking verb focus. Although do- is cognate to Georgian da-, the morpheme is not a redundant marking on perfective forms as it is in Georgian, but compatible with all TAM forms. Subjective and objective as well as possessive resultatives are encoded by the construction [participle -eri + a form of bore ‘I am’ or miyun/mionun ‘I have sth./sb.’], respectively.

References


Mandarin Chinese -zhe

Olivier Roos
University of Zurich and Beijing

1 Introduction

This paper attempts to give an account of the Mandarin Chinese (MC) morpheme -zhe, commonly labeled a “progressive” or “resultative”, within the framework of some more recent developments in aspect theory (Sasse 1991, Johanson 2000). At the core of these works stands the concept of aspectual meaning as the result of an interaction between inherent verb semantics, i.e. actionality or “Aktionsart”, and aspectual operators (the aspect morphemes in a narrow sense).\(^1\) In what follows, I will mainly adhere to Johanson’s terminology, and for the sake of intelligibility I have included a list of his labels for the various actional categories below (cf. Johanson 2000:33).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>The actional content is conceptualized</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| [+tf] finitransformative | • as implying final transformation...
| [+tf, +mom]       | ...without a salient cursus
| [:+tf, -mom]      | ...with a salient cursus
| [+ti] inititransformative | • as implying initial transformation
| [-t, +dyn]        | • without transformation, as dynamic
| [-t, -dyn]        | • without transformation, as static

In investigating -zhe, I will first address the question whether it is plausible to postulate classes of actionality in MC, and if so, which classes can be distinguished. This will be followed by a section on the occurrence of -zhe and restrictions thereof. I will then proceed to inquire into its function and argue that it is indeed both used as a progressive and a resultative, while the last chapter tries to give an explanation for the polyfunctionality of -zhe.

\(^1\) I will use “viewpoint operators” and “aspectual operators” as synonyms.
2 Actionality in Mandarin Chinese

To my knowledge there are but a few papers which deal explicitly with actionality in MC. In what follows I will refer mainly to Tai (1984), Li (1989), and Smith (1990) and (1991). There seems to be agreement on the validity of Vendler’s distinction between statives, activities, and achievements for MC on the level of verbal lexemes. These classes correspond to Johanson’s (2000) categories [−t, −dyn], [−t, +dyn], and [+tf, +mom], respectively. However, none of the authors mentioned above reports testing for actionality independently of aspect. Li’s only criterion for distinguishing “process verbs” (Vendler’s activities) from statives is that the former “occur very naturally with the progressive marker zài” (1989:34). Of course, without independently determining the function of zài the test remains circular. Smith (1991), too, seems to attach great importance to the combinability with aspect morphemes for determining actional content, although she does mention other characteristics as well, such as the incompatibility of achievements with the construction huā ‘spend’ + expression of time. She gives as examples for stative verbs xiàng ‘resemble’, shǔyú ‘belong to’, cúnzài ‘exist’; for activities zǒu ‘go/walk’, chăng ‘sing’, zhǎo ‘look for’; achievements are exemplified by sǐ ‘die’, huì ‘return’, míngbāi ‘understand’. As far as accomplishments ([+tf, −mom]) are concerned, Tai and Smith share the view that they are not valid as a lexical category. However, Tai addresses the question whether accomplishments can be identified in the form of ‘resultative verb compounds’ (RVC)\(^2\) or on a phrasal level, similar to English run a mile, paint a picture, etc. Tests on the behavior of actional phrases with delimitative and durative expressions of time should reveal their actionality: activities are incompatible with the former, accomplishment with the latter. For an exemplary investigation into RVCs, Tai compares xué ‘study’ and xuéhuì ‘learn’ (from xué + huì ‘be able to’) to their English counterparts. As can be seen below, the same pattern emerges for MC (Tai 1984:291):

(1) tā xué-le wǔ nián de zhōng-wén.
   s/he study-PFV five year ATTR Chinese-language
   ‘S/he has studied Chinese for five years.’

(2) *tā xué-huí-le wǔ nián de zhōng-wén.
   *‘S/he has learned Chinese for five years.’

\(^2\) RVC are verbal composites made up of two verbs (V\(_1\) and V\(_2\)) with V\(_2\) usually expressing a result of the action of V\(_1\), as in, e.g., cāgān ‘to wipe dry’ (cā ‘to wipe’ + gān ‘dry’), gǔzhèng ‘to correct’ (gǎi ‘to alter’ + zhèng ‘right, correct’), zhǎódào ‘to find’ (zhǎo ‘to look for’ + dào ‘to arrive at’). Cf. Bisang (1992).
(3) *tā zài wǔ nián nèi xué-le zhōng-wén.
s/he be (LOC) five year within study-PFV Chinese-language
*‘S/he has studied Chinese in five years.’

(4) tā zài wǔ nián nèi xué-huí-le zhōng-wén.
‘S/he has learned Chinese in five years.’

(5) *tā huā-le wǔ nián cái xué-le zhōng-wén.
s/he spend-PFV five year only.then study-PFV Chinese-language
*‘It took him/her five years to study Chinese.’

(6) tā huā-le wǔ nián cái xué-huí-le zhōng-wén.
‘It took him/her five years to learn Chinese.’

(4) and (6) indeed seem to express that the process of learning took five years, which rules out understanding xuéhùi as punctual. This would prove that MC does have [+tf, –mom] actional phrases. Tai draws the same conclusion, although with the reservation that

[while an accomplishment verb in English has both action and result aspects, a resultative verb compound in Chinese has only the result aspect. (Tai 1984:292)]

He bases his opinion on the fact that xuéhùi, as opposed to xué, cannot occur in combination with the progressive zài:

(7) *wǒ zài xuéhùi zhōng-wén.
‘I am learning Chinese.’

Again, the test with zài remains invalid unless its function has been established without recourse to the type of verbs it occurs with. Moreover, tests with the progressive might be altogether unsuitable to ascertain actionality differences. Even in English it seems that the compatibility of a verb with the progressive doesn’t depend on its actionality alone, cf.

(8) a. I was reading a book, when you came in.
b. ??I was learning Chinese, when you came in.

Although both ‘read a book’ and ‘learn Chinese’ are accomplishments, they behave differently with respect to the progressive. Given this, it appears reasonable to assume [+tf, –mom] actional phrases in the form of RVCs for MC. Since they point to the result of an action they can be expected to be telic.

---

3 By ‘aspect’ Tai obviously refers to something close to what is termed here ‘actionality’.
In fact, I believe $V_2$ can be analyzed as a telicity marker conveying more detailed lexical information. In my judgement this is the case with all the RVCs listed in Bisang (1992).

Answering the question whether verb-object phrases represent accomplishments is more difficult. Tai examines which reading results from the application of perfective -le on phrases like huà yì zhāng huà ‘paint a picture’:

(9) wǒ zuótiān huà-le yì zhāng huà, kēshi méi huà-wán.
    I yesterday paint-PFV one CL painting but NEG paint-finish
    ?‘I painted a picture yesterday but I didn’t finish it.’

According to Tai, the grammaticality of (9), where méi huà-wán expresses incompleteness and -le therefore cannot imply attainment of a final limit, indicates that huà yì zhāng huà, unlike paint a picture, is not an accomplishment. Conversely, Li (1989:31) reports that the speakers he consulted clearly rejected this sentence. I conclude from this that the matter remains controversial and awaits further clarification.

One class of verbs which none of the authors mentioned above argues for, but for which there is strong evidence is [+ti]. Ebert (1995:188) remarks that the conflation of a transformation and the following situation into a single lexeme is very common. In these cases a resultative may be used to refer to the (static) situation. Frequently this holds for concepts like ‘sit down/sit’, ‘lie down/lie’, ‘put on/wear’, ‘take/hold’, etc. in MC zuò, tāng, chuān, ná. Jaxontov (1988:119) makes a similar statement regarding zuò and tāng: “the same root may denote both a state and the preceding change of state.”

Interestingly, Li (1989) postulates a class of verbs which he calls ‘mixed static-telic’. Their distinguishing feature is to denote an action in its course in combination with zài (the progressive) and the resulting state in combination with -zhe. He mentions chuān ‘put on/wear’ as an example. However, basing a class of verbs on different readings with different morphemes seriously undermines its plausibility. Nevertheless, the case of chuān, which in combination with -zhe, as Jaxontov (1988) and Dai (1991) point out, remains ambiguous in its reference to the course of an action or the resulting state, might justify setting up an extra category of two-phase verbs, ————— (cf. Ebert 1995).

Although a thorough investigation remains to be conducted, the few tests in Tai (1984) and Smith (1991) indicate that it is not unreasonable to postulate different actionality classes in MC. Sasse (1991) and Li (1991b) both claim that Chinese verbs are ‘polyactional’, i.e. their actional content is indeterminable. Therefore it is unnecessary to assume actionality classes in MC. In my opinion this point of view is unjustified.
3 Where -zhe occurs

3.1 Verbs which combine with -zhe

With regard to determining the aspectual meaning of -zhe an account of the
actional content of verbs would, of course, be most welcome. Since, as I have
mentioned before, no details were found in the literature, I will confine myself
to listing some representative examples for the kinds of verbs which allow the
combination with -zhe, as long as they can be grouped on rough semantic
criteria. However, it remains to be seen whether any general semantic criteria
can be determined to allow or prohibit the combination with -zhe. This section
relies essentially on Ma (1985) and Jaxontov (1988).

I. Verbs meaning ‘to hold’ or ‘to wear’, e.g.: ná ‘take/hold’, bào ‘hold in
one’s arms’, tí ‘hold by the handle’, bēi ‘carry on one’s back’, etc.; chuān
(dàyī) ‘put on/wear (a coat)’, dāi (màozi) ‘put on (a hat)’, pī (dàyī) ‘throw (a
coat) over one’s shoulder’, shū (biànzi) ‘have the hair plaited’ (lit. ‘combed in
a plait’), liú (húzi) ‘grow a beard’, etc.

(10) tā bào-zhe hái zi.
     s/he hold-ZHE child
     ‘S/he is holding a child in her/his arms.’

(11) lǎotóur liú-zhe bái húzi.
     old.man grow-ZHE white beard
     ‘The old man has a white beard.’

II. Posture verbs and verbs expressing the state of a part of one’s body, e.g.:
kào ‘lean on’, zhù ‘live, reside’, etc.; bì (yānjìng) ‘close (one’s eyes)’, zhāng
(zuǐ) ‘have (the mouth) open’, zhòu (méi) ‘frown’, è (dùzi) ‘be hungry’ (lit.
‘have a hungry belly’) etc.

(12) mén wài zhàn-zhe sān ge rén.
     door outside stand-ZHE three CL man
     ‘Outside the door there are three men standing.’ (Jaxontov 1988:118)

(13) dàye háishí nàme dūn-zhe.
     uncle still this.way crouch-ZHE
     ‘Uncle was still squatting the same way as before.’ (Jaxontov 1988:120)

(14) zhèi tǔménlóu lǐ zhū-zhe ge guānggūnr lǎohàn, ...
     this gate in live-ZHE CL bachelor old.man
     ‘Behind this gate lived an old bachelor, ...’ (ZGTH, 5)
(15) tā yǎnjīng bì-zhe.
s/he eyes close-ZHE
‘S/he has his/her eyes closed.’ (Li & Cheng 1993:442)

(16) fūqì  liǎng kǒu shícháng è-zhe  dùzi.
husband.and.wife two CL often hungry-ZHE belly
‘Husband and wife were often hungry.’ (ZGTH, 197)


(17) zhūōzi  shàng fāng-zhe sān běn shū.
table on put-ZHE three CL book
‘Three books lie on the table.’

(18) qián zài yínxiáng lǐ cún-zhe.
money be (LOC) bank in store-ZHE
‘The money is deposited in the bank.’

(19) dòng-kǒu dú-zhe kuài dà shítóu.
cave-mouth block-ZHE CL large stone
‘The cave’s entrance was barred by a large stone.’ (Jaxontov 1988:121)

(20) hēibān  shàng xiě-zhe jǐ ge zì.
blackboard on write-ZHE some CL characters
‘Some characters are written on the blackboard.’


(21) mǎyǐ zài di shàng pá-zhe.
ant be (LOC) ground on crawl-ZHE
‘Ants are crawling on the ground.’ (Ma 1985:25)

(22) hěn duō rén zài jiē shàng zǒu-zhe.
very many people be (LOC) street on walk-ZHE
‘Many people are walking on the street.’ (Ma 1985:25)
(23) zhè lǐ liǎng tiān yīzhí xià-zhe dà yǔ.
    this two day continuously come down-ZHE big rain
    'The last two days it has been pouring down without stopping.'

V. Verbs denoting existence: yǒu ‘have’, cúnzài ‘exist’

(24) tā yǒu-zhe gāoguì de pínzhì.
    s/he have-ZHE noble ATTR character
    'S/he has a noble character.' (Zhang & Xu 1985, cited in Li 1991a:254)

(25) wǔshí nián dà chūqì zhèngzhì jīngjì dēng fāngmiàn
    fifty decade beginning politics economy etc. aspect
    yě cúnzài-zhe bù shǎo wèntí.
    also exist-ZHE NEG few problem
    'In the beginning of the fifties there were a lot of problems in the area
    of politics and economy, too.' (Li 1991a:254)

For the sake of completeness, I have included below several semantically
diverse verbs to illustrate the range of applicability of -zhe: chăng ‘sing’,
gōngzuò ‘work’, tǎolùn ‘discuss’, fēnxī ‘analyze, dòuzhēng ‘fight, kū ‘cry’,
tīng ‘hear, listen’, dīǎn ‘light up’, shēnghuó ‘live, be alive’, xī ‘switch off’, etc.

(26) tā zhùyì de tīng-zhe jiàoshòu de huà.
    s/he pay.attention ADV listen-ZHE professor ATTR words
    'Attentively s/he listened to the professor's words.'
    (Li & Cheng 1993:445)

(27) tāmen wánqíáng de dòuzhēng-zhe, gōngzuò-zhe,
    they tenacious ADV fight-ZHE work-ZHE
    shēnghuó-zhe.
    be.alive-ZHE
    'Tenaciously they fight, work, and stay alive.' (Li 1991a:253)

(28) wūzǐ lǐ xī-zhe dēng.
    room in switch.off-ZHE light
    'The light is switched off in the room.'

Besides this, -zhe forms idiomatic phrases with verbs like jiē ‘connect, come
into contact’, suí ‘follow’, zhào ‘reflect’, shuō ‘say’, but also with yìwèi
‘meaning, sense': jiē-zhe ‘after', suí-zhe ‘along with', zhào-zhe ‘according to',
shuō-zhe ‘with this', yìwèi-zhe ‘mean':

---

4 Sung (1984:90) analyses jiē, suí, and zhào, among others, as prepositions (cf. also Paris
(1981:203, footnote 1)). At any rate their verbal character seems to be bleached in
(29) ...dùnshì guā-qǐ-le dà fēng, jiē-zhe immediately blow-V2:get.up-PFV big wind after.that xià-qǐ-le dà yǔ, ... come.down-V2: get.up-PFV big rain ‘... immediately a strong wind came up and shortly after it started pouring...’ (Deng & Gu 1989:200)

(30) suí-zhe zhōngguó zúijīn jī nián de jīngjì follow-ZHE China nearest a.few year ATTR economy fāzhǎn ... development ‘Along with China’s economic development in the last few years ...’

(31) shuō-zhe, liù ge rén hùxiāng kàn-le yī yǎn, ... say-ZHE, six CL people mutually look-PFV one eye ‘With this the six of them glanced at each other ...’ (ZGTH, 199)

(32) zhè yī shūzi yìwèi-zhe shēngchǎn tígāo-le liǎng bèi. this one figure mean-ZHE production raise-PFV two time ‘This figure means a twofold increase in production.’ (XHDCD, 966)

3.2 Semantic restrictions on the occurrence of -zhe

Zhang & Xu (1985) (cited in Li (1991a)) and Sung (1984) provide a list of verbs which do not allow the combination with -zhe. Sung (1984:91) notes that -zhe is not applicable to verbs “denoting a state themselves” as, e.g., pèifu ‘admire’, zhīdào ‘know’, fānduì ‘object to’, xiàng ‘resemble’, but he does not reveal on what criteria he assumes these to be statives. Incompatibility with -zhe also holds for a number of telic verbs, allegedly for the reason that they denote “a single or very short action”, e.g., wàngjī ‘forget’, juédìng ‘decide’, xiāomiè ‘eliminate’, yíshī ‘lose (sth.)’. It remains to be seen, however, whether xī ‘put out’, which is combinable with -zhe (cf. (28)), is conceptualized as lasting longer than xiāomiè etc. If this is not the case, other factors must be responsible for the applicability of -zhe.

According to Jaxontov (1988:116f.), telic verbs must meet two conditions for -zhe to occur with them: a) the state resulting from an action has to be “physical and the result easily observable”, and b) the state must be temporary, i.e. reversible. This rules out verbs denoting the creation or destruction of an object such as huà ‘melt’, miè ‘extinguish, destroy’, shā ‘kill’, zhǔ ‘cook’, as well as verbs referring to psychological states/processes. Moreover, verbs denoting actions resulting in the presence of an object or in somebody’s constructions with -zhe. However, jiēzhe as such can also mean ‘catch’.
possessive of it do not combine with -zhe either, e.g., lái ‘come’, mài ‘sell’,
gài ‘build’, zhūō ‘catch’.
Quite remarkably, RVCs seem to be generally incompatible with -zhe, cf.:

(33) a. tā shǒu lǐ ná-zhe yí běn shū.
    s/he hand in take/hold-ZHE one CL book
    ‘S/he is holding a book in his/her hand.’

b. *tā shǒu lǐ ná-zhù-zhe yí běn shū.
    s/he hand in take/hold-V₂:stop-ZHE one CL book
    ‘S/he is holding tight a book in his/her hand.’

(34) *hēibǎn shāng xiě-chéng-zhe jǐ ĝē zǐ.
    blackboard on write-V₂:become-ZHE some CL character
    ‘Some characters are written on the blackboard.’ (but cf. (20))

Yeh (1993) presents an investigation into the semantic properties of statives
in MC and their combinability with -zhe. Following Dowty (1979) and Chu
(1983) he relies on three tests for determining a verb to be static: it cannot
occur with zài (the progressive)\(^5\), it can be modified by hěn ‘very’, and it is not
felicitous with adverbs of control like gùì de ‘deliberately’. The agentivity test
can, of course, only sort out statives among verbs which take animate
participants. Yeh then distinguishes two groups according to the applicability
of -zhe.\(^6\)

A. compatible with -zhe, e.g.:
   gǎoxìng ‘happy’
   bēishāng ‘sad’
   bìng ‘ill’
   tòng ‘hurt’
   mánɡ ‘busy’
   ē ‘hungry’
   qì ‘angry’

B. incompatible with -zhe, e.g.:
   xiànɡ ‘resemble’
   cōnɡmínɡ ‘intelligent’
   shànliánɡ ‘kind’
   hàokè ‘hospitable’
   chéngshì ‘honest’

(35) tā hái qi-zhe, nǐ bié qù fān tā.
    s/he still angry-ZHE, you PROH go bother s/he
    ‘He is still angry. Don’t go and bother him.’ (Yeh 1993:81)

\(^5\) As I have already mentioned above, without independently establishing zài as a progressive,
using it to determine the actionality of a verb remains circular.
\(^6\) I render here Yeh’s list slightly modified. In group A he also includes hâipà ‘be afraid of’
which according to Sung (1984:91) does not occur with -zhe. In group B, on the other hand,
one also finds yòu ‘have’, but cf. (24).
(36) shāngkǒu réng tòng-zhe, yěxǔ fā yán-le.
    wound still hurt-ZHE, maybe occur infection-PFV
    ‘The wound is still hurting; maybe it got infected.’ (Yeh 1993:81)

(37) *tā cōngmíng-zhe, tā zhīdǎo zěnme zǒu.
    s/he intelligent-ZHE, s/he know how go
    ‘S/he is intelligent, s/he knows the way.’ (Yeh 1993:81)

Group A seems to comprise verbs denoting temporally limited properties whereas group B contains lexemes expressing permanent qualities. Following Carlson (1977), Yeh terms group A “stage-level predicates” and group B, “individual-level predicates”. Stage-level predicates, as their name indicates, are characterized by relating to a spatially and temporally bounded stage of an individual. This accounts for their compatibility with expressions of time as opposed to individual-level predicates:

(38) jīntiān zài xuéxiào, tā hěn gāoxìng.
    today be (LOC) school s/he very happy
    ‘S/he was happy at school today.’ (Yeh 1993:83)

(39) ??jīntiān xiàwǔ, tā hěn xīǎng tā māmā.
    today afternoon s/he very resemble s/he mother
    ??S/he resembled his/her mother this afternoon.

If one compares Yeh’s characterization of group A as stage statives to Jaxontov’s condition b), the similarity is striking. It seems then that the occurrence of -zhe crucially depends on a situation being conceptualized as temporally bounded. Supporting evidence for these findings comes from the fact that group B statives can combine with -zhe as long as they are taken to denote something temporary, as in:

(40) tā jīntiān kě chéngshí-zhe ne!
    s/he today EMPH honest-ZHE NE
    ‘He is really honest today!’ (Yeh 1993:94)

4 The function of -zhe

Before proceeding to the description of the aspectual function of -zhe I would like to point out two usages of this morpheme which are not the focus of this paper but which might be relevant in a wider discussion of -zhe.
On the one hand, -zhe can mark a subordinated predicate. In this case the situation described by this secondary predicate is seen as simultaneous or anterior to the situation portrayed by the verb in the main clause:  

(41) tā kāi-zhe chuānghu chāng gē.
   s/he open-ZHE window sing song
   ‘She sang while opening the window’ /
   ‘She sang with the window open.’ (Chan 1980:67)

(42) tā xié-zhe yǎn xiào-zhe kàn wǒ.
   s/he slant-ZHE eye smile-ZHE look I
   ‘Smiling, s/he looked at me out of the corner of his/her eye.’
   (Li & Thompson 1981:224)

On the other hand, -zhe also occurs in combination with zài or zhèng, which are commonly analyzed as a progressive markers:  

(43) a. tā zhèng dā-zhe diànhuà ne.
    s/he right.now send-ZHE telephone NE
    ‘S/he is making a phone call.’ (Li & Cheng 1993:442)

    b. tā zài zhī-zhe máoyī ne.
       s/he be (LOC) knit-ZHE pullover NE
       ‘S/he is knitting a pullover.’ (Li & Cheng 1993:442)

4.1 -zhe as durative?

Several authors describe -zhe as a durative morpheme, e.g. Chan (1980), Li & Thompson (1981), Ma (1985), or Chu (1987). I would like to take a closer look at Ma’s and Chu’s analyses. They share a very similar view on the function of -zhe in assigning it the expression of “ongoingness of a situation” (Ma 1985:24). The exact meaning conveyed by -zhe, however, is seen as depending on the semantic content of the verb. Accordingly, the situation referred to can be dynamic or static. Ma distinguishes as relevant verb classes motion verbs, verbs of posture, and verbs of placement. A dynamic reading for -zhe results from the combination with a motion verb, whereas with the two other verb classes one gets a stative reading. Chu’s classification differs slightly from Ma’s. Besides verbs of posture and verbs of placement he posits the more

---

8 It is widely agreed upon that zhèng (‘right, just now’), zài (introduces a locative expression), zhèngzài, and ne each alone or in combination mark the progressive (see, e.g., Li & Cheng 1993:432). Besides that, ne encodes emphasis or topic; Li & Thompson (1981) call ne ‘Response to Expectation particle’.
general class of action verbs and also mentions statives. However, neither Manor nor Chu give any explicit criteria for assigning a verb to one class or another. I will discuss both analyses with regard to each verb class.

A. "Stative verbs"
Chu lists as "stative verbs" hǎo ‘good’, máng ‘busy’, duō ‘a lot’, rè ‘hot’. They can combine with -zhe as in:

(44) zhēi ge duō-zhe ne!
this CL a.lot-ZHE NE
‘There is an awful lot of this!’ (Chu 1987:10)

However, he notes that "under normal circumstances, there is no need to additionally specify the durative aspect of a state verb, and thus -zhe doesn’t occur with state verbs" (1987:10). Yet he does not make clear what he understands by "normal circumstances". When -zhe does occur with state verbs, he attributes a syntactic or pragmatic function of subordination/emphasis rather than an aspectual one to it.

B. Motion verbs / action verbs
As to motion verbs, the difference between the single verb form and verb + -zhe is that, according to Ma, using -zhe adds emphasis on the continuity of the dynamic process. Thus, both (45a) and (22), repeated here as (45b), are well-formed and refer to the same situation.

(45) a. hěn duō rén zài jiē shān zhǒu-O.
very many people be (LOC) street on walk
‘Many people are walking on the street.’

b. hěn duō rén zài jiē shān zhǒu-zhe.

Chu basically agrees with Ma on the emphasizing role of -zhe in combination with this type of verbs and explains it as follows:

The occurrence of an action verb with -zhe in an utterance [...] provides a more natural environment for a durative aspect interpretation for the suffix than any other type of verbs can. That is, the -zhe attached to an action verb typically specifies that the duration of the action is the center of attention [...]. (Ma 1987:4)

9 Again, it remains to be seen whether these verbs behave like real statives in independent actionality tests.
C. Posture / placement verbs
As far as posture verbs and verbs of placement are concerned, in both Ma’s and Chu’s opinion -zhe specifies the stative meaning of the verb. Both kinds of verbs share the property of encompassing the initial action as well as the resulting state. Chu assumes that verbs of posture and verbs of placement are unspecified as to being active or stative, i.e. they are [-action, -state]. In order to disambiguate this potential double meaning a complement TAM marker is necessary:

(46) a. tā men zhān-qīlái (le).  
they stand-V₂:up  PFV
‘They are standing up (stood up).’ (Chu 1987:6)

b. tā men zài ménkǒu zhān-zhe.  
they be (LOC) door stand-ZHE
‘They are standing at the door.’ (Chu 1987:6)

Chu argues that V₂ qīlái in (46a) – which forms an RVC with zhān – highlights the action-related meaning component of zhān, while reference to the static situation in (46b) takes place only by means of -zhe. Although he does not make it explicit, I take it from this argument that he assigns -zhe the property [+static]. But then this contradicts his statement that the combination of -zhe with an action verb should be more natural (s. above).

Ma also characterizes posture verbs as being able to refer either to the initial action or to the resulting state. As a durative marker, then, -zhe should in principle allow this ambiguity: “Since posture verbs involve both an action and the continuing state of that action, zhe theoretically could describe the durative nature of both the active and stative parts [...]” (Ma 1985:26). But she explains the suppression of this ambiguity with the very short extension in time of the dynamic situation: sitting down, for example, only requires a very small amount of time from the beginning to the end of the action and is therefore “not considered a process in the true sense” (Ma 1985:27). This suffices for her to determine that -zhe stresses the stative component. In my view, this argumentation is unsatisfactory for two reasons. First, the linguistic conceptualization of situations into verb meaning does not depend directly on how much or how little time they encompass, i.e. Aktionsart is not a matter of duration in the real world. For example, while English die and MC sī may be used to refer to the same event, they conceptualize it differently, independent of the actual duration of a particular situation: die is felicitous with delimitative expressions of time (‘in x time’), i.e. it is [+tf, -mom], whereas sī, being [+tf, +mom], is not. Second, there actually seem to be verbs, although only very few, which in combination with -zhe can express both the action and the resulting state (two-phase verbs as described in chapter 1). chuān ‘put on/wear’
has been mentioned above, and Smith (1991) claims zhòng ‘plant/grow’ to behave in the same way:\footnote{However, my informant rejected the progressive reading in (48). Interestingly enough, ‘put on/wear’ seems to be equally ambiguous in Korean with -ko iss- (see Kim 1993) and in Japanese with -te iru (see Ebert 1995).}

\begin{align*}
(47) & \text{tā chuān-zhe dāyì.} \\
& \text{s/he put.on/wear-ZHE coat} \\
& \text{‘S/he is putting on a coat/is wearing a coat.’}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
(48) & \text{tián lǐ zhòng-zhe huār.} \\
& \text{field in plant-ZHE flowers} \\
& \text{‘Flowers are planted in the ground’/‘In the ground flowers are being planted.’ (Smith 1991:362)}
\end{align*}

In the light of these examples, it is difficult to see how Ma’s and Chu’s notion of -zhe as highlighting the stative part of the verb meaning could be maintained.

From the point of view of a theory of aspect as it is used here, it remains unclear whether Ma and Chu consider -zhe to be an element modifying the actionality or a viewpoint operator. It is desirable to keep these two domains terminologically apart and I will refer to Comrie (1976) for this purpose. In his opinion durativity is a dimension of the lexical content, or “inherent meaning”. He defines it as follows (1976:41): “[...] durativity simply refers to the fact that the given situation lasts for a certain period of time (or at least, is conceived of as lasting for a certain period of time) [...]”. Thus it corresponds to Johanson’s feature [--mom]. -zhe, however, can hardly be seen as transforming a [+mom] actional phrase into [--mom]. This becomes very clear when it combines with iterative phrases. A serial interpretation of several [+tf, +mom] events is a frequent way of actionality change from transformative to nontransformative, cf. Johanson (2000:36): “The actional content then no longer involves one single transformation, but recurrent transformations all through its duration [...]. Iteratives are normally nontransformative. [...] When [+tf, +mom] actional contents such as ‘explode’ are realized as [serial], they normally lose their transformativity.” This is exactly the case in (49), where -zhe does not express any duration of the situation, but, quite to the contrary, it is only the conceptualization of the situation as [--mom] that allows the use of -zhe:

\begin{align*}
(49) & \text{a. *yi kē shǒuliúdān bàozhà-zhe.} \\
& \text{one CL hand.grenade explode-ZHE} \\
& \text{‘A hand grenade exploded.’}
\end{align*}
b. shōuliúdàn yì kē jiē yì kē de bāozhà-zhe.
hand.grenade one CL join one CL ADV explode-ZHE
'The hand grenades exploded one after the other.'

c. wúshù shōuliúdàn bāozhà-zhe.
countless hand.grenades explode-ZHE
'Countless hand grenades exploded.' (Dai 1991:100)

The term "continuative", which is common mostly in the Chinese literature ("chíxùti"), is not quite accurate either – provided that continuativity is taken to refer to a phase of an event (‘go on x-ing’); as such, it is opposed to ingressivity (‘start x-ing’) and egressivity (‘stop x-ing’). A continuative reading in this sense results for -zhe only from the combination with the imperative, but even then it is not compulsory:

(50) a. nǐ chàng-zhe!
you sing-ZHE
'Keep singing!'

   b. bi-zhe yǎnjīng!
   close-ZHE eyes
   'Close your eyes!/Keep your eyes closed!' (Huang & Davis 1989:157)

Evidently, -zhe can neither be described as an element modifying actionality nor as expressing a phase of an event. Instead, I will argue that it fulfills the function of a viewpoint operator, presenting an action/process in its course. Several authors have termed it an “imperfective” (e.g., Smith (1991)) or a “progressive” (e.g., Wang (1992), Ebert (1995) (although she reckons it is primarily a resultative)). Imperfectivity as defined by Comrie (1976) also includes habituality, but -zhe is excluded from being used in habitual contexts, as exemplified by (51):

(51) *wǒ méi tiān xiàwǔ chàng-zhe gē.
i every day afternoon sing-ZHE song
'I sing every afternoon.'

Thus it seems appropriate to apply the term “progressive” to -zhe in spite of the existence of another progressive form, zài. I will discuss the differences between the two forms in Johanson’s terms in chapter 5.

4.2 -zhe as a resultative

There is only one context in which -zhe is obligatory, namely if one wants to point to the posttransformative situation of posture verbs:
(52) a. tāmen zài ménkǒu zhàn-zhe/*zhàn-Ō.  
they be (LOC) door stand-ZHE  
‘They are standing at the door.’ (Ma 1985:27)

b. jiē shang tíng-zhe/*tíng-Ō hěn duō qīchē.  
street on park-ZHE very many car  
‘There are many cars parked on the street.’ (Ma 1985:31)

Given this, analyzing -zhe as a resultative seems quite natural. To my knowledge, Jaxontov (1988) was the first to present such an analysis, and I would like to take a closer look at his work.

Nedjalkov and Jaxontov’s (1988:6) (henceforth N & J) definition of resultative is:

The term resultative is applied to those verb forms that express a state implying a previous event.

Resultatives differ from statives in that the latter pertain to a stative situation without implying a previous event. N & J categorize resultatives mainly from two points of view. On the one hand, three diathesis types are distinguished according to the semantic relationship between the clause with the “base verb”, or “underlying clause”, i.e. the clause expressing the event (e.g., “Susan has put on a hat”), and the sentence with the derived resultative form referring to the resulting state (“Susan has a hat on”). -zhe covers all three common types:

- **SUBJECTIVE RESULTATIVE**: the subject of the resultative sentence is coreferential with the underlying subject; this kind of resultative is typically derived from intransitive verbs, e.g., tā zuò xià ‘S/he is sitting down’ → tā zuò-zhe ‘S/he is sitting’

- **OBJECTIVE RESULTATIVE**: the subject of the resultative sentence is coreferential with the underlying object, e.g., tā kāi mén ‘S/he is opening the door’ → mén kāi-zhe ‘The door is open’

- **POSSESSIVE RESULTATIVE**: the underlying object refers to a body part or possession of the underlying subject or to something in immediate contact with it; the underlying object remains an object in the resultative sentence and its subject is interpreted as a possessor or the like, e.g., wǒ dài-shang-le màozì ‘I have put on a hat’ → wǒ dài-zhe màozì ‘I have a hat on’

The second distinction is based on restrictions concerning the kinds of situations expressible by resultatives in a certain language. N & J differentiate the “specific resultative meaning” from the “general resultative meaning”. The
specific resultative meaning is confined to denoting directly observable states only, i.e. forms corresponding to ‘forgotten’, ‘lost’, or ‘eaten’ etc. are excluded. Some specific resultatives are further restricted to a still narrower sense, namely to denoting temporary, i.e. reversible states. This prohibits forms like ‘fried’, ‘built’, ‘broken’ etc. The resultative in MC is essentially subject to these two conditions (cf. section 3.2.). Still, one does come across a few resultatives expressing irreversible states, e.g.:

(53) liǎn shǎng zhǎng-zhe yī kē hēi zhī.
face on grow-ZHE one CL black birthmark
‘S/he had a black birthmark in her/his face.’ Dai (1991:104)

(54) tā de yǎnjīng yíxiāng xiā-zhe.
s/he ATTR eye all.along blind-ZHE
‘S/he is blind by birth.’

Besides this, -zhe also forms quasi-resultatives. These refer to states not resulting from a preceding action or process, e.g.:

(55) wōmen de cūnzhūāng wéi-zhe dà sēnlín.
we ATTR village surround-ZHE large forest
‘Our village is surrounded by a large forest.’

5 -zhe as resultative and progressive

The previous section should have made clear that there are instances of -zhe which can be analyzed with good reason as progressive uses, but also others which are undeniably resultative. One could now try to determine which function is more basic. Instead, I would like to elaborate on the affinities between the progressive and the resultative, in the light of which a convergence of both functions in one form is not so surprising. For this, I will start with an outline of Johanson’s exposition on viewpoint operators.

Johanson (2000:2) reckons there are three dimensions in the domain of viewpoint operators:

- Intraterminality [+INTRA], “envisaging the event within its limits”

- Postterminality [+POST], “envisaging the event after the transgression of its relevant limit”

- Adterminality [+AD], “envisaging the event in the attainment of its relevant limit” (this type seems to be relevant for Slavonic languages only and will not be dealt with further)
Moreover, intra- and postterminals display varying degrees of focality. By focality Johanson (2000:60) means "the concentration (focus) of the psychological interest on the situation obtaining at O [=orientation point, O.R.]". Focal entities convey what holds at a particular O: an event in its course in the case of [+INTRA] or an event wholly or partly past, perhaps with remaining effects or traces, in the case of [+POST]. This "presentness" can be envisaged with different ranges of vision and accordingly, focality is a scalar notion and focality values are relative. Johanson suggests a division into three degrees: high-focal (HF), low-focal (LF), and non-focal (NF), corresponding to the ranges of narrow, expanded, and open vision, respectively. In general, an element of lower focality is semantically broader (allows a wider perspective of the situation pertaining at O) than an element of higher focality. However, as Johanson points out, "it has not been possible to set up situational types in terms of the focality degrees used to describe them" (2000:61).

The relevant entities for an investigation into -zhe are focal intra- and postterminals. High-focal intraterminals (+INTRA^{HF}) convey a narrow presentness and refer typically to uni-occasional, i.e. non-repetitive events basically confined to the immediate proximity of O and actually performed there. They are usually restricted to dynamic,agentive actional phrases. All in all they could be subsumed under the label "progressive". The diachronic process of defocalization, i.e. the gradual expansion of the range of vision, converts high-focal intraterminals into low- and finally, non-focal entities. Along with the shift to +INTRA^{LF} the compatibility with non-dynamic, non-agentive actional phrases rises, and reference to repetitive events becomes possible, all this leading to a wider presentness.

+POST^{HF} items are also strongly O-oriented in that they imply dwelling in a state after the transgression of the relevant limit. Their narrow range of vision prevents them from grasping an event in its totality, i.e. no past phase of the event is 'in sight'. Instead, the event is referred to indirectly through effects, traces, or consequences attributable to it and observable at O. High-focal posttransformatives are usually restricted to transformative actional contents, i.e. [+tf] and [+ti], and correspond to "statives" and "resultatives". Whether a form is understood as conveying the result of an action/process, however, depends on the lexical content. In combination with initiotransformatives, postterminals imply at least the transgression of the initial limit; this can yield a similar reading as with +INTRA^{HF}.The semantic affinity of high-focal post- and intraterminals, i.e. dwelling in a certain situation, can be illustrated by the following diagram (cf. Johanson 2000:146):\(^\text{11}\)

\(^\text{11}\) An arrow marks the viewpoint, and dots stand for the variable space within which it may be situated. ◇ marks the crucial transformational limit of transformatives.
As I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, analyzing -zhe as a resultative, i.e. as +POST\(^{HF}\), does not seem to pose any problems. When determining -zhe as a progressive, however, questions arise as to its relation with the other progressive zài. Reichardt & Reichardt (1990) remark that in this function -zhe is gradually being replaced by zài in the modern colloquial language. Whether -zhe is being pushed down towards a lower degree of focality or whether it is losing its function as a +INTRA item altogether, I am not able to determine. Its combinability with verbs like yǒu ‘have’ or cúnzài ‘exist’ – provided these are in fact static verbs – suggests that -zhe already does have a lesser degree of focality than zài (cf. *zài yǒu, *zài cúnzài).

Ebert (1995) suggests that the current progressive function of -zhe might have derived from an earlier purely resultative use. One tentative explanation for this, illustrated below with chuān ‘put on/wear’ (cf. Ebert 1995:200), would be as follows: With two-phase verbs, a resultative can be used to describe practically the same situation as a progressive of the verb in its post-transformative meaning, like English is hidden = is hiding (see stage 0. and 1. below). If this overlap in use leads to blurring the distinction between the two forms, the resultative might, in a first step, extend to non-transformative verbs and be reinterpreted as a (new) progressive (see 2.). In a second step, it would become possible to apply the new progressive to the pre-transformational phase of two-phase verbs (see 3.), hence the ambiguity of chuān-zhe (cf. (47)).

```
...×...    ...×...    X...    ...×...    ...×...
↑......    ↑......    ↑......    ↑......    ↑......
```

0. chuān-zhe  1. chuān-zhe  2. wánr-zhe  3. chuān-zhe
'has (put) on' 'is wearing' 'is playing' 'is putting on'

Taking into account the etymology of -zhe it is, in my opinion, hardly possible to decide whether we are dealing with a change of a telicity marker into a resultative morpheme and later into a progressive, as just outlined, or whether it reflects the development of a locative expression into a durative actional phrase and subsequently into a progressive. In any case, etymological
data are controversial. The character 起 can be pronounced in three ways in MC: zhe, zhào, and zhuó. zhào as a primary predicate means ‘touch’, as V2 ‘attain, reach’, e.g., cāi-zhào ‘guess right’ (cāi ‘guess’), zhǎo-zhào ‘find’ (zhào ‘look for’). zhuó means ‘touch, come into contact with’ as well, but also ‘apply, use’ as in zhuó yǎn ‘turn one’s attention to’ (yǎn ‘eye’); zhuó does not occur as V2. Paris (1981) supports the view that -zhe is derived from zhào. She claims that it had resultative meaning already in the 8th century. Other authors, among them Mei (1988), assume that -zhe has its origin in zhuó. Norman (1988:123) gives an example for zhuó dating from the 6th century; according to him its function is to show location:

(56) zuò zhuó xī qián
    sit LOC knee in.front.of
    ‘sits in front of his knees’

However, he also remarks that deriving -zhe from zhuó is based on relatively little evidence.

In connection with the discussion of diachronic aspects of -zhe, the situation in the Beijing dialect, which all in all is the base for standard MC (cf. Norman 1988), might be of some interest. Ma (1987) reports for the Beijing dialect (and assumes the same to be valid for a lot of others) that -zhe does not combine with the progressive zài:

(57) * wōmen zhèng zài qiánjìn-zhe.
    we right.now PROG advance-ZHE
    ‘We are advancing.’

It is particularly remarkable that, according to Ma, chuān-zhe in tā chuān-zhe dàyì (see (47)) can be exclusively interpreted as having resultative meaning, i.e. ‘has a coat on’. This could mean two things: either that -zhe can only refer to the situation after the transgression of the crucial limit, not to the process of putting on the coat, or that chuān is not a two-phase verb in the Beijing dialect. A more straightforward example, which makes the difference between standard MC -zhe and dialect -zhe quite evident, is (58):

(58) tā (zhèng) kāi-zhe mén ne.
    s/he (right.now) open-ZHE door NE

In MC this sentence is commonly interpreted as a progressive, ‘s/he is opening the door’. In the Beijing dialect, however, again only the resultative reading is allowed. Ma makes clear that this construction is parallel to qīché kāi-zhe mén ne ‘the car has the door open’, and consequently tā is not to be interpreted as actor, but as possessor or the like. He gives as the most accurate translation ‘he has the/his door opened’ (Ma 1987:19).
Of course, a more thorough investigation into the relation between MC and the Beijing dialect would be necessary to draw any conclusions on the diachronic development of -zhe. However, if a standard, i.e. written language can be assumed to be more resistant to change than dialects used in everyday oral communication the question arises why -zhe in MC should have undergone an expansion to include the progressive meaning but not in the Beijing dialect.

6 Summary

Verbal actionality classes in MC still await detailed research, but the data available give reason to assume that claims about Chinese verbs being polyactional, i.e. undetermined as to their actional content, are incorrect.

As far as the function of -zhe is concerned, I have argued that it should be described as an aspectual operator and not as an element modifying actionality. On the one hand, it acts as a resultative or, in Johanson’s terms, +POST\textsuperscript{HF} item, on the other hand as a progressive, or +INTRA\textsuperscript{HF}. Given the practically identical meaning of high-focal post- and intraterminals in combination with particular actionality types, especially with [+ti], the convergence of resultative and progressive in one single form seems far from being accidental. However, etymological data do not provide conclusive evidence as to which function developed earlier, and a look at dialects gives rise to further questions concerning the diachronic process.

References


A selection theory of Mapudungun aspect

Fernando Zúñiga
University of Zurich

Abstract
The present paper replies to a recent study (Golluscio 1998) that works with Smith's (1991) model, which distinguishes lexical aspect (aktionsarten) on the one hand and grammatical aspect (asptual operators) on the other to describe verbal aspect in Mapudungun, an indigenous language of South America. Unlike its predecessor, the theory presented here is characterized by both a semantic representation that does not allow for logical entailments and a more detailed taxonomy of actionality types. The study further shows how a system of imperfective operators with specialized meanings enables the language to pay close attention to aspectotemporal distinctions.

1 Introduction

Mapudungu(n)\(^1\) is one of the comparatively few South American languages that have not been the object of linguistic attention only recently, the first description dating back to 1606. Although there have been some comprehensive descriptions in this century (Augusta 1903, Moesbach 1962, Smeets 1989, Salas 1992), the bulk of the work on verbal aspect has followed a more or less exclusively semasiological approach. In other words, a lot of effort has been invested in sorting out the meaning and exact position of certain relevant morphemes, but little has been done to show how the aspectual system

---

\(^{1}\) From mapu 'land' and dungu(n) 'speech, language'; other names of the language are Mapuche, Araucanian, Chedungu(n) and Tsedungu(n). In Argentina, the decreasing number of speakers was ca. 40,000 by 1988. In Chile, it is certain that an unknown but important percentage of the ca. 1,000,000 ethnic Mapuche are fluent speakers of the language; conservative estimates place the figure at around 200,000 (Grimes 1999). Cf. Fabre (1998:720ff) for more details.

Aktionsart and aspectotemporality in non-European languages.
would work as a whole, with the notable exception of Golluscio (1998), which applies Smith's (1991) framework to the verbal morphology of Mapudungun. The present study briefly sketches some elements of the language in Chapter 2 and a summary of Golluscio (1998) in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 points to a couple of issues raised by Golluscio's analysis, and Chapter 5 proposes an alternative framework that distinguishes more actionality types and does so by working with somewhat different basic elements. Chapter 6 discusses some discrepancies between both models, and Chapter 7 closes the paper.

2 Some basic issues of Mapudungun verbal morphology

Mapudungun is a polysynthetic language\(^2\) that shows productive agglutinative processes like suffixation, reduplication, compounding, and some prefixation. Nominal morphology is relatively simple, with no case markers and possession marked by means of external possessives related to the personal pronouns; there is no obligatory number marking on nouns, although it is customary to find the pluralizing particle *pu* with animate nouns and it is obligatory to mark attributive adjectives with the suffix -*ke* in the plural. On the other hand, verbal morphology is fairly complex. Some of the productive morphemes mark categories like passive, benefactive, negation, spatial direction, person and number, tense, aspect, and mood. The interested reader may consult Salas (1992) or Zúñiga (2000) for further reference. One can easily find long verbal complexes in texts; consider cases like (1a) and (1b) below:\(^3\)

   very-good-man-ngē-tu-QUOT-IND-3d
   'They say that both of them became very rich men (lit. very good men).’ (S 197)

   b. Rūŋkū-kon-fem-tu-a-y-mi.
   jump-enter-IMM-TU-FUT-IND-2s
   'You\(s\) will immediately jump back in.’ (S 69)

Some frequent non-aspectual morphemes are listed in (2):

\(^2\) Mapudungun is certainly polysynthetic in the wide sense of the term: the verbal complex can consist of a large number of morphemes, there is nominal incorporation and polypersonalism, and many concepts expressed by adverbs in European languages are represented by verbal suffixes in Mapudungun. But even when approaching the question in a more principled way (cf. Fortescue 1994), Mapudungun ranks as fairly polysynthetic.

\(^3\) The examples are from my own fieldwork unless otherwise stated. Other sources are Golluscio 1998 (G), Catrileo 1996 (C), Salas 1992 (S), Smeets 1989 (Sm), Coña 1930 (Co), Augusta 1916 (Ad) and Augusta 1903 (A).
(2) a. Personal endings (indicative)
   1s  -n    1d  -yu    1p  -iñ
   2s  -mi   2d  -mu    2p  -mún
   3s  -Ø    (3d -ngu)  3p  -ngün

b. Indicative:    -i (-y after vowels)
   Quotative:      -rke
   Participles:     -el / -lu
   Ruptured implicature:  -fu
   Negation:       -la
   Future:         -a
   Infinitive:     -n

3 Golluscio’s (1998) application of Smith (1991) to Mapudungun

Many contemporary approaches to the phenomenon of aspectuality work with
models distinguishing aktionsarten (also called actionality types, or lexical
situation types) on the one hand and aspecral values or operators on the other.
The present chapter sketches Golluscio’s (1998) application of Smith’s (1991)
framework, which constitutes the first study of Mapudungun aspect working
with a two-component model.

3.1 Actionality types

Golluscio (1998)\textsuperscript{5} tentatively distinguishes the same five basic actionality types
as Smith based on the parameters [±dynamic], [±telic] and [±instantaneous], to
which she adds the feature [±bounded]. Thus, she arrives at the categorization
in Table 1 below. Golluscio says the dynamicity feature refers to whether there
is some change involved; telicity means there is an inherent goal or endpoint
in the action or event; the [±instantaneous] parameter refers to the presence or
absence of an extension along the temporal axis; boundedness means there are
initial and final endpoints in the predicate semantics.

Examples for each type are given in (3) below (Golluscio 1998:37ff):

\hspace{1cm} 4 The third person marking is normally -Ø. Potential ambiguities are sometimes avoided by
means of the 3d and 3p endings.

\hspace{1cm} 5 I have slightly adapted the orthography of some examples to match the convention usually
used nowadays by the Chilean Linguistic Society (Sociedad Chilena de Lingüística); in
particular, the unrounded high central vowel and its schwa-like allophone will be consistently
represented by ā instead of ì (as in Golluscio) or ə (as in Augusta and Moesbach), and the
velar nasal is written ng instead of ñ (as in Augusta and Moesbach).
TABLE 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MAPUDUNGUN ACTIONALITY TYPES ACCORDING TO GOLLUSCIO (1998)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dynamic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accomplishments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achievements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semelfactives</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(3) a. Re che dungu kim-i.
   pure people language know-IND
   ‘S/he knew Mapudungun (lit. the language of the pure people).’

b. Meli ańtú miaw-i.
   four day walk-IND
   ‘Four days s/he walked.’

c. Ngüpitu-y tañi ruka ta Xwan.
   paint-IND 3POSS house PART J.
   ‘Juan painted his house.’

d. Feymu wula ta aku-y tañi pichi wentru.
   then just PART arrive-IND ART little man
   ‘Then the child just arrived.’

e. Wirar-i.
   roar-IND
   ‘S/he roared.’

3.2 Aspectual operators

Golluscio states that the basic aspectual opposition in Mapudungun is
PERFECTIVE versus IMPERFECTIVE (1998:40), the former category being
formally unmarked and the several subtypes of the latter being formally
marked. Observe her further characterization of the unmarked form (1998:40-
41, my translation):

Thus, in Mapudungun, a situation can be presented either as a whole, not
durative or in progress, durative. [...] On the one hand, the absence of
aspectual markers define the event as ‘completive, terminated’ — and this
emerges clearly in the case of punctual situations like amun ‘I went’ or
ngillay ‘he bought’ —. On the other, the same absence of marking permits
the theme-inherent aspectual meaning to emerge. In the case of state verbs, whose meaning of existence or possession bears the feature ‘not momentary, permanent’, [they] will manifest the associated features [-dynamic, -bounded] despite their absence of aspectual marking.

As to the imperfective markers, Golluscio distinguishes, among others, the operators (appearing as suffixes in the verbal complex) summarized in Table 2 below, where the labels given by other authors have been included for comparison:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-(kü)le</td>
<td>continuative 1</td>
<td>durative /</td>
<td>stative</td>
<td>stative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>progressive</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ke₁</td>
<td>continuative 2</td>
<td>habitual /</td>
<td>‘constant</td>
<td>durative /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(constant)</td>
<td></td>
<td>frequentative</td>
<td>feature’</td>
<td>habitual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ke₂</td>
<td>habitual</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-meke</td>
<td>-me + ke₁</td>
<td>‘spend time</td>
<td>progressive</td>
<td>‘be busy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>V-ing’</td>
<td></td>
<td>(V-ing)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ka</td>
<td>continuative 3</td>
<td>continuative</td>
<td>continuative</td>
<td>continuative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(obstinate)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following are examples provided by Golluscio for the different categories:

(4) a. Awkantu-le-y tañi pichi che.  
   play-le-IND lsPOSS little people  
   ‘My child is / was playing.’ (G 41)

b. Kūdaw-ke-n.  
   work-ke-1s  
   ‘I work (i.e. I have a job).’ (G 42)

c. Mūle-ka-y.  
   be-ka-IND  
   ‘S/he still is [sc. somewhere or somehow].’ (G 43)

d. Fill antü utra-ke-y ta Xwan.  
   every day rise-ke-IND PART J.  
   ‘Juan rises every day.’ (G 44)
The *le*-operator is possibly related to *müle*- ‘be (located), stay’ and has two allomorphs: -*le* after vowels and -*küle* elsewhere. Golluscio characterizes this morpheme as the result of the “grammaticalization of the semantic relationship between the continuative and the stative” (1998:41). In fact, Smeets (1989) and Augusta (1903) call the suffix *STATIC*, and Salas (1992) acknowledges its dual nature without committing himself to just one label. Golluscio’s cases in point can be observed in (5) below:

(5) a. Mawtu-y tañi pichi che.
    sleep-IND 1sPOSS little people
    ‘My child slept.’ (G 42)

    b. Mawtu-le-y tañi pichi che.
    sleep-LE-IND 1sPOSS little people
    ‘My child is sleeping / asleep.’ (G 42)

She also distinguishes a different suffix -*le*₂ which is not inflectional but derivational and yields states when applied to “adjectivo-adverbial themes”, e.g. in (6) below. More on this subject is found in the Appendix.

(6) Kūme-le-n.
    good-LE-1s
    ‘I am fine.’ Sp. *estoy bien* (G 39)

Finally, Golluscio comments somewhat marginally on the following important issues that shall concern us further down:

a) what she analyzes as a bimorphemic element -*me-ke* (“directional with endpoint” and “continuative 2”) with the meaning “continuative / progressive” in examples like *küchatu-me-ke-n* (wash-ME-KE-1s) ‘I kept on washing’ (1998:44), and

b) the use of the unmarked form to “manifest the inchoative aspect of the action” as “sometimes” opposed to the *le*- or *we*-form which “express the resulting state of the action” in examples like *mawtu-y* (sleep-IND) ‘s/he sleeps / slept’ but also ‘s/he falls / fell asleep’ (1998:45).

4 Brief critique of Golluscio (1998)

Golluscio’s study has the obvious merit of being the first one to address an important and neglected area of South American descriptive linguistics. I would argue, nevertheless, that if the issues mentioned in the following sections are approached in a different way it is possible to arrive at a better understanding of how Mapudungun aspect works.
4.1 Actionality types

Golluscio only gives sentences that exemplify each actionality type but does not seem to have arrived at them by applying tests like the usual ones cited in the literature. On the contrary, her comments ("By opposition to the first situation type, I define the verbs in Examples (3) through (6) as events because they manifest a common property, viz. [+dynamic]." (1998:38, translation and italics mine)) suggest that the categorization is based rather on inspection. This need not yield flawed results but can be misleading; many predicates are notorious in that they may belong to different categories in different languages, e.g. ‘sit’, ‘die’, ‘dress’, ‘know’, etc. Here only independent language-specific tests help to arrive at more robust language-specific categories. Some of the usual tests can be applied in Mapudungun, e.g. compatibility with kiñe hora ‘for / during one hour’ or kiñe hora mew ‘in one hour’ to decide whether a predicate is instantaneous or not, or the interruption (‘if you are V-ing and someone interrupts you, have you V-ed?’) and continuation tests (‘if you have V-ed, can you go on V-ing?’) to ascertain its telicity.

Further observe that not all parameters are needed for the distinction of the five aktionsarten. In particular, the feature [±bounded] is redundant since no actionality type is defined by this alone. The feature [±instantaneous], on the contrary, contributes to distinguish activities from semelfactives (both being [+dynamic, -telic]).

More seriously, there are systematic meaning discrepancies with different aspectual operators which are unaccounted for in Golluscio’s five-way categorization of predicates. There are verbs whose meke-form is equivalent in meaning to their le-form and verbs for which both forms differ in meaning. In (7a) af- ‘end’ behaves like the accomplishment example ngüpüti- ‘paint’ given by Golluscio (cf. Table 1 above) but in (7b) Ňam- ‘disappear, get lost’ does not:

(7) a. Af-meke-y.
   end-MEKE-IND
   ‘It is coming to an end.’
   vs.
   Af-küle-y.
   end-LE-IND
   ‘It is coming to an end.’

b. Ňam-meke-y.
   disappear-MEKE-IND
   ‘It is disappearing.’
   vs.
   Ňam-küle-y.
   disappear-LE-IND
   ‘It is lost.’

4.2 The meke-form

Whereas Golluscio analyzes this suffix as composed of translocative -me and "constant feature" -ke, Augusta (1903), Moesbach (1962), Smeets (1989) and Salas (1992) treat it as monomorphic and related to the full verb meke- ‘be busy doing something / V-ing’. Golluscio does not provide further evidence to
support her bimorphic analysis of this suffix, but the entry in Augusta’s dictionary (1916) renders *meke-* as meaning both ‘be busy V-ing’ and ‘be always V-ing’. However, since (a) *meke* is admittedly less frequent than *-le*, (b) the grammaticalization path from the full verb *meke-* to the suffix *-meke* is plausible, and (c) my informants agreed on excluding a habitual reading (thus privileging the progressive reading) of the *meke*-form, I prefer to follow the opinion of the majority. It has been labeled “progressive” and “durative”. Observe in Example (8) occurrences both as a suffix and as independent verb:

(8) Ínche  kutron-tu-*meke*-n.  vs.  Ínche *meke*-n  kutron-tu-n.

1s  ill-TU-MEKE-1s  1s  be.busy-1s  ill-TU-INF

‘I am suffering.’  ‘I am suffering.’ (Sm 376)

5 An alternative selection theory of Mapudungun aspect

Needless to say, Smith’s theory (1991, 1997) is not the only two-component model of verbal aspect. Similar frameworks have been developed by Breu (1994, 1996, 1998, 2000), Sasse (1991a, b), and Johanson (2000). The particular selection theory I propose for Mapudungun in this chapter has to account for the data summarized in 5.1. Section 5.2 explains how the core of the model works, and Section 5.3 briefly presents some other prominent aspect-related morphology in the language.

5.1 The data

Before proceeding further I have summarized the data presented above that have to be accounted for by any model trying to cope with Mapudungun aspecual categories in Table (3) below. Some predicates appear in the *le-* and *meke-* and unmarked form (types b, e, and f), but others do not. Moreover, with some verbs the semantic yield of the *le-* and *meke*-forms is equivalent (types b and e), and in one type they differ (f). I have regarded type g as marginal for the present study; more details on this and on the related question whether *-le* is inflectional are found in the Appendix. Further research will show whether this is justified.

5.2 Basic elements: aktionsarten and aspectual operators

**Actionality types.** One fundamental question is whether a model placing a fair amount of information into the lexicalized predicate semantics and working with rather passive phase and boundary selectors is more powerful than one distributing the tasks conversely, i.e. a theory where the aspectual operators have more meaning to contribute and the aktionsarten are comparatively underspecified. Let us consider a model where a considerable
semantic burden, as it were, is placed on the aktionsarten. Along similar lines as Bickel’s (1996) study of aspect in Belhare, I work with the two basic notions of PHASE (φ) and BOUNDARY (τ) on the temporal tier of semantic representation. Unlike Bickel, however, I further subcategorize these notions as in (9) below:

(9) a. Phases
   • totally static \( \varphi_{TS} \)
   • relatively static \( \varphi_{RS} \)
   • dynamic \( \varphi_{D} \)

b. Boundaries
   • inherent \( \tau \)
   • external \( \tau_{E} \)

TABLE 3
MAPUDUNGUN PREDICATE TYPES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>le-form</th>
<th>meke-form</th>
<th>unmarked form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>*Wentru-nge-le-y.(\text{man-nge-le-ind}) ‘He is a man.’</td>
<td>*Wentru-nge-meke-y.(\text{man-nge-meke-ind}) ‘He is a man.’</td>
<td>Wentru-nge-y.(\text{man-nge-ind}) ‘He is a man.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>Lef-küle-y.(\text{run-le-ind}) ‘He is running.’</td>
<td>Lef-meke-y.(\text{run-meke-ind}) ‘He is running’</td>
<td>Lef-i.(\text{run-ind}) ‘He ran.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>*Pe-le-y.(\text{find-le-ind}) ‘He is finding it / He found it.’</td>
<td>*Pe-meke-y.(\text{find-meke-ind}) ‘He is finding it.’</td>
<td>Pe-y.(\text{find-ind}) ‘He found it.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>Kurü-le-y.(\text{black-le-ind}) ‘It is black / It has become black.’</td>
<td>*Kurü-meke-y.(\text{black-meke-ind}) ‘It is blackening (itr.).’</td>
<td>Kurü-y.(\text{black-ind}) ‘It blackened (itr.).’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>Af-küle-y.(\text{end-le-ind}) ‘It is coming to an end.’</td>
<td>Af-meke-y.(\text{end-meke-ind}) ‘It is coming to an end.’</td>
<td>Af-i.(\text{end-ind}) ‘It ended.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>Ñam-küle-y.(\text{disappear-le-ind}) ‘It is lost / It has disappeared.’</td>
<td>Ñam-meke-y.(\text{disappear-meke-ind}) ‘It is disappearing.’</td>
<td>Ñam-i.(\text{disappear-ind}) ‘It got lost / It disappeared.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>Küntrö-le-y.(\text{lame-le-ind}) ‘S/he limps.’</td>
<td>*Küntrö-meke-y.(\text{lame-meke-ind}) ‘S/he limps.’</td>
<td>Küntrö-y.(\text{lame-ind}) ‘S/he limps.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nor-küle-y.(\text{straight-le-ind}) ‘It is straight.’</td>
<td>*Nor-meke-y.(\text{straight-meke-ind}) ‘S/he is straight.’</td>
<td>Nor-i.(\text{straight-ind}) ‘S/he is honest.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The taxonomies in (9) can be compared to the four basic aktionsarten according to Breu (1998, 2000), viz. totally static, relatively static, temporary/activities and totally terminative. I have separated the last one from the other three and added for the sake of completeness an external boundary which is not present in the predicate semantics but externally set either by the context, additional lexical material, or the grammar (I have preferred to label it “external” rather than “arbitrary” (cf. Smith 1997:22ff) to highlight this feature). An inherent boundary is a change, be it initial or final, which is semantically present. Whereas totally static phases correspond to permanent properties or situations (e.g., Russian vesit ‘weigh’, Spanish ser alto ‘be tall’), relatively static ones are used to depict situations that can but need not be bounded temporally (e.g. Russian (pro)suščestovat’ ‘exist’, Spanish estar enfermo ‘be ill’). Dynamic phases may correspond to fairly different situations, e.g. where there is high agentivity involved (e.g. English work) or with weather phenomena (e.g. English rain), but what they have in common is the necessity of a temporal boundary of some kind.

The phases and boundaries presented in (9) above combine to produce the actionality types shown in Table 4 on the next page. The elements in brackets are logical entailments that are not part of the predicate semantics, whereas the other elements are available for the aspectual grammemes to select them; Bickel (1997, 2000) discusses at length why logical entailments have to be banned from semantic representation in order to arrive at coherent selection theories. Breu (1998, 2000) explicitly distinguishes two aktionsarten (his GTER and INCO, corresponding to types VI and VII here) by specifying whether the ensuing relatively static phase is merely implied or present in the predicate semantics. Observe that type IV may or may not have an ensuing phase present as logical entailment, but it consists only of a boundary \( \tau \) (cf. Bickel 2000:16-17).

As to the activity type (III), I have preferred to characterize it more in the spirit of Breu (1998, 2000) than Sasse (1991a, b) or Bickel (1996) in that (i) there is no inherent boundary specified in the semantic representation and (ii) dynamicty, although arguably orthogonal to the notions of phase and boundary, plays a decisive role.

The different actionality types have been grouped in such a way that some affinities between them are highlighted. Aktionsarten I, II and III may be labeled “phasic” in the sense that semantically they consist only of a phase, either a static \( (\phi_{TS} / \phi_{RS}) \) or a dynamic one \( (\phi_D) \). Actionality type IV consists merely of a boundary \( \tau \) and might be therefore called “punctual”. Finally, aktionsarten V through VII share the property of consisting of both phases and boundaries and could be termed “complex” following Breu (1998, 2000). Type V signifies the entrance into a state whereas type VI corresponds to a process and its outcome. Type VII is equivalent to Breu’s “inchoative” and comprises the process, its outcome, and the ensuing state.
**TABLE 4**

MAPUDUNGUN ACTIONALITY TYPES: TEMPORAL STRUCTURE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>labels</th>
<th>examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>$\Phi_{TS}$</td>
<td>Total state (totally static, TSTA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>$\Phi_{RS}$</td>
<td>Relative state (relatively static, RSTA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>$\Phi_{D}$</td>
<td>Activity (temporary, ACTI)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>$\tau (\Phi_{RS})$</td>
<td>Punctual (achievement, totally terminative, TTER)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$\tau$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>$\tau \Phi_{RS}$</td>
<td>Initiorthansformative (inceptive-stative, ISTA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>$\Phi_{D} \tau (\Phi_{RS})$</td>
<td>Finitransformative (accomplishment, gradually terminative, GTER)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>$\Phi_{D} \tau \Phi_{RS}$</td>
<td>Diphasic (inchoative, INCO)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**-le, -meke, and their interplay with the actionality types.** Let us focus on some of the morphology discussed in Chapters 3 and 4. Theaspectual selectors -le and -meke appear to have fairly specialized functions, as described in Table 5 below:

**TABLE 5**

SELECTED MAPUDUNGUN ASPECTUAL OPERATORS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Basic meaning</th>
<th>Extension</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-le</td>
<td>$\Phi_{RS}$-selector with a left $\tau$ (I, V, VII)</td>
<td>$\Phi_{D}$-selector (III, VI)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-meke</td>
<td>$\Phi_{D}$-selector (III, VI, VII)</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>default: $\tau$ (IV, V, VI, VII), $\Phi_{TS}$ (I), $\Phi_{RS}$ (II) or $\tau_{E}$ (III)</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
I - III. Phasic types

- With states, only the unmarked form is compatible with the predicate semantics. One of the examples of Golluscio (1998:38) is nie-y-nguin ta kullin (have-IND-3p PART animal) ‘they had animals’, where both *neleynguin and *nemekeynguin would be ungrammatical. The default form selects the only element there is to select, viz. the phase φ. Consider nie-püneñ- ‘be pregnant’ in Example (10):

(10) Nie-püneñ-i, feymew lef-la-y. 
    have-child.of.woman-IND therefore run-NEG-IND
    ‘She did not run because she is pregnant.’ (C 22)

Some of these states are not limitable, like wentr-u-nge- ‘be a man’ and denominal verbs with -nge in general, and are therefore represented as consisting of a totally static phase φTS. Others behave alike with respect to aspectual operators but are limitable, like nie- ‘have’ and nie-püneñ- ‘be pregnant’ and consist of a relatively static phase φRS.

- On the other hand, both the lef-form and the meke-form are grammatical and mean the same with activities like lef- ‘run’, e.g. in lef-küle-y = lef-meke-y ‘s/he is running’. The range of applicability of the lef-form seems to have been extended from relatively static phases with an initial boundary to accommodate dynamic phases like the ones provided by activities within its selection scope. The unmarked form functions as a boundary selector but additionally sets an external boundary (τE) which coincides with an endpoint present in logical, but not semantic, representation. Activities can combine with phrases like kiñe hora ‘during / for one hour’; they can be interrupted (lef-meke-fu-n ‘I was running’ implies lef-ün ‘I have ran’) and continued. This class includes many verbs of motion like trekatu- / miaw- ‘walk’, wander and müpüti- ‘fly’, predicates like ülkantu- ‘sing’ and rakidum-‘think (of sthg.)’, and iterativized predicates like nuf-nuf-tu- ‘sniff repeatedly’ (from nuf- ‘sniff’; cf. further down on -tu).

IV. Punctual type

The punctual aktionsart provides only an inherent boundary τ to be selected, and so both phase-selectors yield ungrammatical results with this predicate type. The unmarked form selects the boundary as in pe-y ti llafe ‘s/he found the key’. It is important to note that iterative or habitual readings require specialized morphemes in Mapudungun (stem reduplication + -tu or -ke, cf. Section 5.3). Punctuals cannot combine with phrases like kiñe hora ‘for / during one hour’.
IV. - VI. Complex types

- Initiotransformatives provide both an initial boundary \( \tau \) and an ensuing relatively static phase \( \varphi_{RS} \), and so it is natural that only the unmarked form (selecting \( \tau \)) and the le-form (selecting \( \varphi_{RS} \)) are grammatical. Other examples include motri- ‘get/be fat’, are- ‘get/be hot’, welli- ‘become/be empty’, wüywü- ‘become/be dizzy’, karü- ‘become/be green’, etc.\(^6\)

- Finitransformatives consist of a dynamic phase \( \varphi_D \) followed by a final boundary \( \tau \), but here both the le-form’s extension and the meke-form are able to select the former; as expected, the unmarked form selects the attainment of the endpoint.\(^7\) Both the interruption and the continuation test distinguish them from activities. An interesting example is ruka- ‘build a house’, where the le-form cannot refer to the ensuing state where the house has already been built. As in other languages, configurations consisting of a transitive verb and a count object NP typically belong to this class.

- Finally, the diphasic aktionsart is the richest of all in that it provides a dynamic phase \( \varphi_D \), a boundary \( \tau \) and a relatively-static phase \( \varphi_{RS} \) to be selected, and it is here that the operators’ specialization becomes apparent: the meke-form selects the first phase, the unmarked form the attainment of the boundary and the le-form the ensuing state. As with finitransformatives, the interruption and the continuation tests yield different results than with activities. Examples of this actionality type include nüla- ‘open’, anum- ‘plant’, anü- ‘sit’, nüürf- ‘close’, wikür- ‘break’, etc.

5.3 Some other aspectual operators and aktionsarten-related elements

The elements discussed so far are the ones I have studied more closely because I believe them to lie at the center of the Mapudungun aspectual system. However, other morphemes mentioned by Golluscio need to be addressed in a study like this. Many other aspect-related morphemes are not yet well understood and require closer attention in future research.

The suffix -tu. This highly productive suffix (cf. the full verb tu- ‘take’) turns atelic predicates like wentrü-nge- ‘be a man’ into initiotransformatives like wentrü-nge-tu- ‘become a man (i.e. rich)’. It also appears on predicates that do not seem to require it (cf. pe- ‘find’ and pe-tu- ‘to find what was lost’), perhaps with some remnant of the meanings ‘back’ and ‘again’ still found in other predicates (e.g. aku- ‘arrive’ vs. aku-tu- ‘arrive back’; ayü-w- ‘get

---

\(^6\) Among the previous studies on the subject, Smets is the only one who mentions the analytic form with the adverb petu ‘still’ like petu tigüy ‘it is becoming white’ (1989:211) to fill the gap in the paradigm of this verb type, as it were. However, my informants were positive about the odd character of such forms.

\(^7\) One predicate of this class (ürfi- ‘drown’) seems to show an anomalous behavior. Although not mentioned as such in the literature available to me, my informants were positive about the fact that the form *ürfi-le-y ‘s/he is drowning / s/he has drowned’ was ungrammatical. Neither do I know the reasons for this, nor have I been able to find analogous cases.
happy’ vs. ayü-w-tu- ‘to get happy again’; cf. also (1b)). With many lexemes there is a systematic opposition -Ø/-tu where -tu signifies consumption of some kind, e.g. kofke ‘bread’ vs. kofke- ‘bake bread’ vs. kofke-tu- ‘eat bread’, but sometimes it seems to have a rather general meaning along the lines of ‘do with N what is customary’, e.g. mamil ‘firewood’ vs. mamil-tu- ‘gather firewood’. Further consider the combination of the suffix -tu with the reduplication of the root to derive iterative predicates, as in (11):

(11) Rängkü-rängkü-tu-y.
    jump-RDP-TU-IND
    ‘S/he made jumps, bounced.’ (S 188)

Finally consider that some verbs only appear with the -tu element, e.g. papelu-tu- ‘study’ (cf. Spanish papel ‘paper’) and chillka-tu- ‘read, write’ (cf. chillka ‘book, letter’).

The suffix -ke. This highly productive and very frequent morpheme has been given different labels, viz. HABITUAL, DURATIVE, FREQUENTATIVE, and ‘constant feature’. Golluscio argues in favor of two morphemes -ke_1 (“continuative”, 12a) and -ke_2 (“habitual”, 12b):

(12) a. Küdaw-ke-n.
    work-KE-1S
    ‘I work (i.e. I have a job).’ (A 40, G 42)

    b. Fill antü miaw-ke-fu-chi wentru waria mew la-y.
    every day walk-KE-FU-ATTR man city PPOS die-IND
    ‘The man who walked round in town every day has died.’ (Sm 330)

Of course, with examples like (12b) the phrase fill antü ‘every day’ is not necessary for the habitual reading. Augusta (1903:40ff) gives many instances of ambiguous forms where both a habitual and a progressive reading are possible. Further observe that, interestingly enough, -ke is combinable with -le (13) and with the full verb meke- (14):

(13) lef-i   (run-IND) ‘s/he ran’
     lef-ke-y   (run-KE-IND) ‘s/he runs’
     lef-küle-y   (run-LE-IND) ‘s/he is running’
     lef-küle-ke-y   (run-LE-KE-IND) ‘s/he is always running’

---

8 Iterative predicates can be derived from some lexemes by means of affixing -nge to the reduplicated root, but this procedure invariably yields intransitive verbs. The suffixion of -tu does not alter the root’s original transitivity but permits further transitivization / causativization. Cf. e.g. Salas (1992:188ff) for more details.
(14) Fey meke-ke-y ŋi pali-fi-el engün ...
 3 be.busy-KE-IND 3POSS ball.game-FF-PCPL 3p
'They are always fighting ...' (Co 27)

Although further research is necessary in this area, I believe Golluscio is on the right track; a specialized habitual morpheme -ke seems to have turned into a generalized imperfective in cases like (12a) above, where there is seemingly no difference in meaning between kiadawken, kiadawmeken and kiadawkülen 'I am working'. What remains true, nevertheless, is that a habitual reading requires the suffix -ke on the verb.

**The suffix -we.** As a free word and part of nominal compounds, we means 'fresh, new, recent', e.g. we ko 'fresh water' and we-che 'young (person)'. The suffix -we also appears on verbs with the meaning 'already':

(15) a. Wütre-we-y.
cold-WE-IND
'(It is cold outside. Why does she go out?) She is cold already.'
(Sm 340)

quiet.down-LE-WE-TU-IND quiet.down-LE-TU-IND
'It is already quiet again.' 'It is quiet again.' (Sm 341)

Note that -we can combine with both a state (15a) and an initiotransformative (15b); in fact, it can appear with all aktionsarten.

Besides the use of -we alone, we find two important combinations, viz. with the negation -la to form what is normally called the CESSATIVE (16a) and with -le to signify 'stay/remain V-ed/V-ing' (16b):

(16) a. Iñche küpa-yi-je-la-n
1s want-eat-WE-NEG-1s
'I do not want to eat any more.' (Sm 340)

all city ash-LEWE-IND
'The whole city has been reduced to ashes (Sp. quedó reducida a cenizas).''(A 43)

The noun trufken 'ash' in (16b) can be verbalized either as trufken-tu- 'turn into ashes (tr.)' or as trufken-w- 'turn into ashes (itr.)', but it is apparent that

---

9 The function of the suffix -fi in nonfinite verb forms is still not entirely clear. Nevertheless, it most probably has to do with argument structure, animacy and the like, and does not seem to show any sensitivity to aspecto-temporal categories.
neither -tu nor the reflexive morpheme -w are obligatory for a reading like the one in (16b). Trufken- is an initiatransformative predicate, and the lewe-form signifies not only that the relatively static phase, i.e. the state ‘turned into ashes’, holds, but also that it is the result of an action or process which either is present in the context or has been mentioned in the discourse.

The suffix -ka. This morpheme is apparently related to ka ‘and; other’, which may function as a conjunction in e.g. kiñe waka ka epu kawel (one cow KA two horse) ‘one cow and two horses’, and as an attribute in e.g. ka lifru eluen (KA book give:me:IMPER) ‘give me another book’. Besides, with numerals ka means ‘another, more’, e.g. ka kiñe eluen kuram (KA one give:me:IMPER egg) ‘give me another egg / one more egg’. In combination with a verbal predicate, -ka can mean ‘still’ (17a) and iteration (17b); sometimes it has become lexicalized, as in (17c) (cf. nūtram- ‘tell’):

    be-KA-IND house PPOS
    ‘S/he is still in the house.’ (A 93)

b. katrii- ‘cut’ katrii-ka- ‘make several cuts’
   ramtu- ‘ask’ ramtu-ka- ‘make several questions’ (S 191)

c. Ñi chaw engu nūtramka-y tī werken.
   1sPOSS father 3d talked-IND ART messenger
   ‘The messenger talked with my father.’ (C 52)

6 Discussion

Is the model outlined in the preceding sections more consistent and more powerful or just more cumbersome than Golluscio’s description of the Mapudungun data? Let me now turn to some of the prominent issues in this respect.

6.1 Complex actionality types

Smith’s model (the one used by Golluscio) does not posit the initiatransformative and diphasic aktionsarten, but I would argue that they are needed for the description of Mapudungun aspect. Initiatransformatives have been postulated for many languages and are related to the problem of word formation discussed in the Appendix.

The finit transformative actionality type, roughly equivalent to what is traditionally called accomplishment, is shown by Breu (1998, 2000) to be different from the diphasic type and shows reflexes at least in some languages.
Russian aspectual pairs like umirat'/umeret’ ‘die’ and lovit'/pojmat’ ‘catch’ are best analyzed as finittransformatives, whereas Russian prjatat'sja/sprjatat'sja 'hide' and Italian indossare 'put on, wear' are diphasic, because with these predicates a phase selector can apply to either the pre-τ or the post-τ phase (cf. Ebert 1995). If the following phase of Mapudungun predicates like nūlah- 'open' were an implication or implicature as with af- 'end', it should be defeasible under specific, perhaps even marked, conditions — something I have been unable to show. On the contrary, my informants' grammaticality judgements, the meanings of the le-form and the meke-form, and the texts I have analyzed suggest that the ensuing phases are more robust than mere implicatures. As to logical implications, in Bickel's words, "the semantic representation of a sign is not only poorer than its pragmatic implicatures but also poorer than its logical implications" (2000:3, my translation). Cf. Bickel (1997, 2000) for a thorough argumentation on why logical entailments have to be banned from semantics if the selection theory is to be principled and fully operational; I hope to have shown that, with some predicates, Mapudungun -le selects a phase that is not only implied but actually present in the semantic structure.

Smeets (1989:370) mentions the following verbs which seem to be ambiguous in that the le-form can be understood either as resultative or as progressive, i.e. they can be categorized as either diphasic or activities:

(18) a. Pūra-le-y.  
   go.up-LE-IND  
   'S/he is upstairs. / S/he is climbing'.

b. Pire-le-y.  
   snow-LE-IND  
   'It is covered with snow. / It is snowing.'

c. Arof-kūle-y.  
   sweat-LE-IND  
   'S/he is covered with sweat. / S/he is sweating.'

Also note that some (seemingly not very numerous) Russian pairs like pokryt'/pokryvat' 'cover' and okružit'/okružat' 'surround' are said by Breu to be ambiguous between activities and final-terminatives (1998:69ff). Unfortunately, I have been unable to check any hypotheses concerning these ambiguities, nor have I come across more verbs of this type in Mapudungun.

### 6.2 The punctual type

Smith posits two aktionsarten which share the feature [-duration], viz. her achievements (PUNCTUALS in the present framework) and her semelfactives. Both also share the feature [-static] or [+dynamic] and differ only in telicity, the former being telic and the latter atelic. In Smith's words, "[t]elic events have a change of state which constitutes the outcome, or goal, of the event. [...]
In contrast, atelic events are simply processes. They can stop at any time: there is no outcome. In other words, atelic events have arbitrary final endpoints" (1997:19). Let us consider some of Smith's examples concerning this distinction (those in (19a) are achievements while those in (19b) are semelfactives):

(19) a. find, lose, recognize, break a glass, reach the top, arrive, explode a bomb, see a comet
   b. knock at the door, hiccup, flap a wing, blink, cough, tap, peck, scratch, kick

Note that also Vendler (1967) and Dowty (1979) were aware of this difference, but they categorized English predicates like the ones listed in (19b) as an atelic subtype of achievements and not as a different type. Of course, if predicates like cough are not semelfactive in the strict sense of the term (i.e. in case one coughs more than just once), they are activities.

As for the usual phase selectors, it makes no difference whether there is something in the logical representation or not, because elements absent from semantics are not eligible. The yield of an unmarked form or a specialized boundary selector would show no difference either. But Smith argues that achievements may be combined with resultative imperfectives whereas semelfactives cannot, so the question comes down to whether we need to postulate diphasics and finitransformatives as different types. The answer is yes, as I have shown in the preceding section. Table 6 below summarizes the discrepancies between Smith's analysis and mine (I stands for initial endpoint, F for final endpoint, E for single-stage event, Nat for natural (as opposed to arbitrary), R for result and the dots for a phase):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predicate</th>
<th>Smith's label</th>
<th>Smith's representation</th>
<th>My label</th>
<th>My representation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>build a house</td>
<td>accomplishment</td>
<td>I ... F_Nat R</td>
<td>Finitransformative</td>
<td>φ_D τ (φ_RS)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ruka-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cough</td>
<td>semelfactive</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>Punctual</td>
<td>τ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chafon-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>find the key</td>
<td>achievement</td>
<td>... E_R ...</td>
<td>Punctual</td>
<td>τ (φ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe- ti llave</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>get / be lost</td>
<td>achievement</td>
<td>... E_R ...</td>
<td>Diphasic</td>
<td>φ_D τ φ_RS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ham-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
I argue that, at least for Mapudungun, my representations are more adequate than Smith’s. With ruka- ‘build a house’ there is no discrepancy between the two analyses but rather a notational difference. With pe- ti llaf e ‘find the key’, however, no morphosyntactic evidence suggests that it should be given a different semantic representation from chafo- ‘cough’ since no phase selector is compatible with these predicates. By contrast, with ŕam- ‘get / be lost’ both a “dynamic imperfective” (-meke) and a “relatively static imperfective” (-le) are possible and have different readings.

7 Conclusions

Golluscio (1998) was the first study to approach Mapudungun aspect with a two-component model distinguishing lexical and grammatical elements, and the present paper has continued this task in much the same vein. Unlike the framework proposed by Golluscio, the theory I have argued for consistently bans logical entailments from predicate semantics and nevertheless arrives at Breu’s seven aktionsarten for Mapudungun. I hope to have shown that such a model outranks a framework like Smith’s on grounds of descriptive power.

It is certainly not exceptional for a head-marking language of the Americas to allow a good portion of its morphology to be concerned with aspectotemporal categories, and Mapudungun is one of the many that privileges the imperfective as the marked category. Moreover, it is reasonable to suppose that the several grammaticalization / lexicalization paths have led from suitable lexemes (many of which are still in use as full words) to fairly specialized aspctual operators and other aspect-related morphology that include spatial and argument-related elements as well, the latter not discussed in this study. Needless to say, this presents an interesting picture when compared to e.g. the aspctual system of Spanish (the language’s cultural competitor for the last five centuries), most of whose specialized categories are expressed periphrastically instead of morphologically.

This study has attempted to make a contribution to (i) our awareness of the linguistic structures of a not very frequently cited but comparatively well-documented South American language, (ii) our knowledge about the interaction between lexical and grammatical aspect, and (iii) our understanding of how natural languages work when faced with the challenge of construing reality.
Appendix: Inflectional vs. derivational -le

There is a systematic three-way opposition between le-, nge- and Ø-forms for a numerous class of verbs. Most of the roots are color terms or other adjectives, but also others like pun ‘night’ and wün ‘dawn’. Example (1) is one of the many predicates showing these forms and meanings (pun- ‘get dark’, wün- ‘dawn’ and pilu- ‘go deaf’ behave alike):

(1) karü-y (green-IND) ‘it became green’
    karü-le-y (green-LE-IND) ‘it is (in a) green (state)’ Sp. está verde
    karü-nge-y (green-NGE-IND) ‘it is (permanently) green’ Sp. es verde

With other adjectives, however, the unmarked form seems to behave differently. Compare the cases in (2) from Smeets (1989):

(2) a. nor-i (straight-IND) ‘it is straight; it was successful’
    nor-küle-y (straight-LE-IND) ‘it is straight, it stands upright’
    nor-nge-y (straight-NGE-IND) ‘it is (always) straight’

b. küntrö-y (lame-IND) ‘s/he limps’
    küntrö-le-y (lame-LE-IND) ‘s/he limps’
    küntrö-nge-y (lame-NGE-IND) ‘s/he is lame (since birth)’

c. *kishu-y (alone-IND) —
    kishu-le-y (alone-LE-IND) ‘s/he is (temporarily) alone’
    kishu-nge-y (alone-NGE-IND) ‘s/he is (always) alone’

The lexicalization of ‘have a positive outcome’ as the meaning of nor- in the first example does not pose a real problem, but the variation between an unmarked and a le-marked form to signify the transitory state with nori (2a) and küntrö (2b) may suggest that the whole system, especially the treatment of static components, is being disrupted or redesigned — obviously only a second-best hypothesis. Augusta’s dictionary (1916) has entries that differ from Smeets’ translations. For nor- we find nor-küle- ‘be in a straight position, be correct’ and nor- ‘be honest, be integer, be straight’, the former rather a temporary quality of things and the latter rather a permanent character trait (and therefore one might have expected *nor-nge- ‘be honest’). My own data suggest that nori means either ‘it was successful’ or ‘it got straight’ but not ‘it is straight’ (for which only norküley is used).

For küntrö- the situation is slightly different: a permanent trait or habitual reading (Sp. cojear) and the progressive/stative version (Sp. estar cojo) are given for küntrö- and küntrö-le-. I have failed to elicit a form meaning ‘s/he became lame’ but some of my informants agreed on küntröley (and not ??küntröy) being the way to render Spanish está cojo. In the case of kishu
alone, self, own’ (2c), I do not think it is reasonable to set up a separate class since it is the only instance I have found of an adjective that behaves this way. My general (provisory) conclusion is to regard these three verbs as either not fully understood or anomalous.

But what does this have to do with aspect? In the treatment of the other authors mentioned above, forms like karüy ‘it became green’ and karüley ‘it is green (now)’ (Examples (2a) and (2b)) are word forms obtained from the lexeme karü ‘green’ via zero-derivation, whereas a form like karüngey ‘it is (permanently) green’ (Example (2c)) corresponds to a different lexeme which is the product of nge-derivation. So -le is an inflectional aspectual morpheme like Ø, and -nge is a derivational suffix. According to Golluscio’s analysis, on the other hand, there would be three verbal lexemes: a simple one (karü- ‘become green’) and two derived ones (karü-le- ‘be in a green state’ and karü-nge- ‘be permanently green’), since she postulates two different but clearly related suffixes -le₁ (inflectional, forms the continuative 1) and -le₂ (derivational, yields state verbs), both with allomorphs -le and -küle.

Yes, but how many lexemes really? As mentioned in Section 4.3 above, Golluscio’s approach to what I have analyzed here as initiotransformative predicates forces me to tangentially address the question of word formation in Mapudungun. Of the competing analyses, Golluscio posits (3a), whereas the other authors that have worked on Mapudungun posit (3b):

(3) a. Trilexemic:  
karü-  ‘become green’
karü-le-  ‘be (temporarily) green’
karü-nge-  ‘be (permanently) green’

b. Bilexemic:  
karü-  ‘green’ (with the grammatical categories 
karu-Ø- ‘become green’ and karü-le- ‘be (temporarily) green’)
karu-nge-  ‘be (permanently) green’

The trilexemic solution is motivated by the fact that Smith’s theory of aspect does not provide an initiotransformative aktionsart among the list of available actionality types. It has to posit not only three lexemes but also two different -le suffixes, one of them inflectional and the other derivational. The latter would derive stative verbs from adjectives (Golluscio 1998:43) while the former is a grammeme labeled “stative/durative”. This amounts to saying that there is a systematic homophony between forms like karü ‘green (adj.)’ and karü-Ø- ‘become green (v.)’, which of course never surfaces since every verb form shows morphology that is never equal to merely -Ø. Stative verbs would be differentiated as to how stative they are, with the suffix -le rendering less stative predicates than -nge.
In the present framework there is no need to postulate a separate lexeme karü-le- ‘be (temporarily) green’ (which would be similar to analyzing some forms like English is dawning as derived from dawn while others, e.g. is running, would be part of the verbal paradigm of run). Not only do I postulate two lexemes instead of three, but I also posit only one morpheme -le which is inflectional rather than derivational. Therefore, I argue for homophony between karü ‘green (adj.)’ and karü-O- ‘green (v.)’. As in the trilexemic analysis, the suffix -nge derives totally stative predicates directly from the root karü and not from the verbalized karü-O-. In which respect is this approach less powerful or less consistent than Golluscio’s? I fail to see either data left unexplained or inconsistencies in the analysis deriving from a bilexemic solution. On the contrary, I believe both Occam’s razor and considerations concerning explanatory power to favor, if not the particular version of a selection theory I have presented in Chapter 5, at least a model that is close to it both in spirit and in some of its details.

References

A selection theory of Mapudungun aspect


The aspect system of Thai

Mathias Jenny
Bangkok and Zurich

1 Introduction

In this paper I will present the verbal aspect system of the Standard Thai language, which is the variety used in the area of Bangkok and also the means of communication and education throughout Thailand. Both the written variety and the colloquial speech of Bangkok are considered in the attempt to establish the aspectual system of the language.¹ Data from closely related languages and dialects are used whenever they are likely to give relevant insight into specific problems or lead to greater clarity in the discussion.

Of all grammatical sub-systems, tense-aspect-modality is probably the most complex and frustrating to the linguist. For one thing, it is an obligatory category without which simple sentences cannot be produced. (Givón 1984:269)

The good news for Thai is that aspect forms no obligatory category in the grammar, i.e. simple sentences can be produced without overt aspect markers, leaving the interpretation to the context. The aspect system of Thai is, however, no less frustrating. Given the fact that there are no morphological hints as to the function of a given word in a sentence and that many words used as TAM markers are also in use as full verbs, the picture one gets is rather blurred. It is due to exactly this non-obligatoriness of overt aspect markers that it is extremely difficult to get a coherent and consistent picture of the system.

Previous descriptions of the Thai verbal system are rare and not readily available. The main work cited here is A Study of Aspect in Thai (Boonyapatipark 1983), which will be discussed in section 2.

Thai is a language with a very poor morphological system. Apart from some kinds of derivation and faint traces of a developing verbal agreement for

¹ In choosing the example sentences for this paper, I have drawn from many different sources, both written and oral, including personal informal communication. The grammaticality of all sentences other than from the written sources presented has been checked with native speakers of Bangkokiaian Thai.

number, there are no morphological processes at all. With the morphological means lacking, their functions have to be taken over by lexical and syntactical processes. In the case of the Thai verbal system, tense, aspect, and mood are mainly expressed by auxiliaries and verb serialisation (cf. Bisang 1992). The grammaticalisation degree of the auxiliaries varies. Most auxiliaries still function as free morphemes syntactically, though they are usually bound to the VP intonationally.

The unmarked word order in Thai is SVO, the verb and the (direct) object forming the VP. Nothing can come between V and O, not even TAM auxiliaries. This shows that the auxiliaries do not form a part of the verb proper, but rather of the VP as a whole.

2 The study of the Thai verbal system by Tasanalai Boonyapatipark

The first systematic account of the Thai verbal system is the thesis written by Tasanalai Boonyapatipark (1983). In this 250 plus page paper, the author examines Thai verbs and classifies them into different categories. Boonyapatipark's classification of Thai verbs is mainly based on Lyons (1977) with some adjustments.

Boonyapatipark's classification is based on semantic differences, not formal or syntactic ones, and in some cases appears rather arbitrary. There is, for example, no overt reason for postulating a subcategory for verbs denoting 'having and being' in Thai. Nor is there any reason to make a division between 'bodily sensations' and 'feelings and transitory attitudes'. One important verb class is grouped in Boonyapatipark's 'dynamic situations or states resulting from such situations'. This is the first attempt to account for the class of INITIOTRANSFORMATIVE verbs in Thai. Having proposed this classification of Thai verbs, the author discusses the meaning and function of six 'aspect markers', viz. kamlay, yuu, yan, leeu, khvi and ca', with the different verb classes, as well as restrictions and possible cooccurrences of these markers.
The aspect system of Thai

Figure 1: Boonyapatipark’s verb classes

1. States
   Permanent states
   qualities: suuɲ^{4} (‘tall’), tiaɡ^{2} (‘short’), ṭuən^{4} (‘fat’), phɔɔm^{4} (‘slim’), suai^{4} (‘pretty’),
   lek^{4} (‘small’), ŋai^{2} (‘big’)
   inert cognition/attitudes: ruu^{1} (‘know’), khaʔcai (‘understand’), rak^{1} (‘love’), chuua^{2} (‘believe’),
   chɔɔp^{3} (‘like’), kliat^{1} (‘hate’)
   having/being: mii (‘have’), pen (‘be’), khɔɔp/khraŋ (‘possess’)

   Temporary states
   inert perception: hen^{1} (‘see’), daiʔyin (‘hear’), daiʔklin^{1} (‘smell sth’), ruuʔstuk^{1} (‘feel’)
   bodily sensation: cep^{1} (‘hurt’), khan (‘itch’), puat^{1} (‘ache’)
   feelings/transit. attitudes: hiu (‘be hungry’), mohoo (‘be angry’), siu^{4} cai (‘be sad’),
   ntuai^{1} (‘be tired’)

2. Dynamic situations
   Processes
   non-accomplishments: wın^{2} (‘run’), kin (‘eat, drink’), dɔɔk (‘walk’),
   tham kaaʔbaʔ (‘do one’s homework’)
   accomplishments: təʔsinʔcai (‘decide’), ṭuʔsak^{2} (‘choose’)

   Events
   achievements: taaʔ (‘die’), sɛt^{1} (‘finish’), cop^{1} (‘end’), thuŋ^{4} (‘reach’), maa thuŋ^{4} (‘arrive’)
   momentary situations: sadut^{1} (‘stumble’), khaʔ^{2} (‘knock’), kradoɔt^{1} (‘jump’), khuaʔŋ^{2} (‘throw’)

3. Dynamic situations or states resulting from such situations
   with animate subject only:  suəm^{4} (‘wear’), sai^{4} (‘wear’), yuuʔun (‘stand’), naʔ^{2} (‘sit’)
   with anim. or inan. subject:  prək^{1} (‘open’), pit^{1} (‘close’), hak^{1} (‘break’), tok^{1} (‘fall’)
   with inanimate subject only:  khaat^{1} (‘be torn’), teq^{1} (‘burst, break’)

Though Boonyapatipark is a native speaker of Bangkok Thai (Standard Thai), some of the examples marked as ungrammatical are very common and perfectly grammatical in spoken Thai. (2.1) for instance is not problematic at all.

(2.1) ṭkhaʔ^{4} kamlanŋ taai (Boonyapatipark 1983:70)
3hum PROG die

This sentence is very well intelligible (and regarded correct) as ‘(S)he is dying’ or ‘(S)he is going to die’.

---

^{2} I use IPA symbols to transcribe Thai, indicating the tones according to the indigenous Thai system, i.e. the mid level tone is unmarked, the low tone is marked 1, the falling tone 2, the high tone 3 and the rising tone 4. In quoting examples from other sources, I adjust the spelling accordingly in order to facilitate the reading.
The use of kamlaŋ with verbs indicating permanent states is, according to Boonyapatipark, not grammatical in most cases. There are some exceptions: "The use of kamlaŋ may, however, be acceptable with some verbs of this group [verbs indicating qualities]. For example, the combination of kamlaŋ with ruoi ‘be rich’ as in (27) [my (2.2)] below is acceptable."

(2.2) khau⁴ kamlaŋ ruoi
3hum PROG be.rich

‘He is rich at the present.’

This sentence is grammatically correct, another possible reading being ‘he is going to be rich’ or ‘he is becoming rich’.

Boonyapatipark tries to force Thai into a system developed for English and similar languages. This is done by marking correct sentences as ungrammatical, choosing the translations that best fit into this system and splitting the postulated categories arbitrarily (‘…may be acceptable with some verbs of this group …’). It is not surprising, therefore, that Boonyapatipark’s classification fails the common tests for actionality, the first three of which have been in use since Vendler 1957 (Figure 2). Boonyapatipark has to be accredited, however, with presenting the first attempt to bring some order into the Thai verbal system. Her attempt may not be very successful in some respects, but given the lack of earlier studies to refer to, her thesis must be considered an important step in the study of Thai grammar. Especially in analysing the TAM markers she discusses, she presents important insights and very useful labels, as will be seen later on.

Figure 2 shows Boonyapatipark’s classification of verbs tested according to some common tests for establishing verb classes. As the table clearly shows, the verb classes are not evident from the results. Especially striking is the obvious impossibility to establish a class of telic verbs as opposed to atelic verbs. Another problem that is evident in Boonyapatipark’s analysis is the English translation, which in many cases does not reflect the semantics of the Thai verb. What Boonyapatipark classifies as “states” is more correctly translated as ‘be xx’ or ‘become xx’.

“Non-accomplishments” can have telic readings in a given context without overt marking. It is clear, therefore, that a categorisation of the Thai verbs has to be based on language specific tests, which might (and in fact is very likely to) lead to a very different picture than the one seen in European languages. I will attempt a categorisation below.
**Figure 2: Test of Classification according to Boonyapatipark**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb \ Test</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>Verb class</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>suup⁴ 'tall'</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>±</td>
<td>qualities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tis³ 'short'</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>±</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?uan³ 'fat'</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>±</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ruu³ 'know'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>inert cognition /attitudes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rak³ 'love'</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mii 'have'</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>±</td>
<td></td>
<td>having / being³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pen 'be'</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hen⁴ 'see'</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>inert perceptions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cep³ 'hurt'</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>bodily sensations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khan 'itch'</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hiu⁴ 'hungry'</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>feelings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuai³ 'tired'</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>winy² 'run'</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>non-accomplishments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kin 'eat'</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lutuk² 'choose'</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>accomplishments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taai 'die'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>achievements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>set 'finish'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sadut¹ 'stumble'</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>momentary situations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kho³ 'knock'</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sai¹ 'wear'</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Dyn/States animate S only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nap² 'sit'</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pyv⁴ 'open'</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Dyn/States animate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pit¹ 'close'</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>or inanimate S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khaat¹ 'torn'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>Dyn/States inanimate S only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teek 'break'</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Tests**

A. if someone x-s and is interrupted, he has x-ed
B. for two hours, until two o'clock
C. in two hours, in two years, in a minute
D. start x-ing
E. if someone x-s and is interrupted, he has almost x-ed
F. at two o'clock (±: possible if specific time expression is topic)

³ The verbs pen and mii are semantically empty, i.e. in many cases they cannot be analysed properly without a NP following them.
3 The Verb Categories in Thai

3.1 Punctual Verbs

A category that can be established by language internal formal means in Thai is the class of PUNCTUAL or MOMENTARY verbs which have no temporal expansion, i.e. consist of only a situation change or transformation. This class is characterised by the non-cooccurrence with the TAM marker yuu⁴, which denotes a limited phase (‘temporary’) (cf. 4.1). Not compatible⁴ with yuu⁴ are verbs like taai ‘die’, r̂oaβraɪ ‘explode’, haai⁴ ‘recover (from illness), disappear’⁵, seɪ ‘finish’, cop⁴ ‘end, come to an end’. This class coincides largely with Boonyapatipark’s ‘achievements’.

The semantic structure of punctual verbs consists of only one point: Ø. Punctual verbs can be used in attributive position with a resultative reading without overt marking. An expression like khon taai ‘person die’ can be interpreted as ‘people die’ or ‘dead person’.

3.2 Statives, activities, initiotransformatives

The bulk of the remaining verbal lexemes in Thai can at first sight be divided into two major groups that correspond roughly to ‘verbs’ and ‘adjectives’ in traditional European grammars. In spite of Bisang’s reservations (1992:328), the comparative particle kwaa¹ is one formal criterion to define QUALITY VERBS, even if the resulting subcategory is not identical with Boonyapatipark’s group of “verbs indicating qualities” and does not always conform to subcategories that can be established on other formal grounds, such as cooccurrence with certain TAM markers.

If the comparative marker kwaa¹ is used with a verb other than a stative, the stative maak² ‘much, many’ must be added:

(3.1) khau⁴ suun⁴ kwaa¹ phiï² chaai khau⁴.  
3hum tall COMPAR older.brother 3hum  
‘He is taller than his brother.’

(3.2) a. *phom² tham ηaan kwaa¹ khau⁴.  
1sm do work COMPAR 3hum
b. phom⁴ tham ηaan maak² kwaa¹ khau⁴.  
1sm do work much COMPAR 3hum  
‘I work more than he does.’

⁴Not compatible means that these verbs cannot occur with yuu⁴ alone. In most cases yuu⁴ is possible together with a location adverb, which is analyzed differently. (cf. section 4)
⁵The grammaticality of the expression haai⁴ yuu⁴ ‘is recovering’ is more than dubious.
It is not ungrammatical to add maak\(^2\) in (3.1), but rather unidiomatic. The omission of maak\(^2\) in (3.2a) on the other hand leads to ungrammaticality of the sentence.

The verb suuy\(^4\) in (3.3), as most statives, does not only describe a state (of being tall), but also a continuous process (of growing and becoming tall). In a natural setting, the first interpretation does not make much sense, therefore the second reading is preferred. But compare also (3.4), where only the state is expressed by the quality verb:

(3.3) khau\(^4\) yan\(^x\) suuy\(^4\) yuu\(^1\).
3hum PERS tall TMPR
?‘He is still tall,’ or (better) ‘He is still growing.’

(3.4) khau\(^4\) phuun\(^2\) ce \(?\)ayuu\(^3\) sip\(^1\) khuwp\(^1\), yan\(^x\) mai\(^2\) too rook\(^1\).
3hum just.now PROS age ten year PERS NEG big CEXP
‘He is only ten years old, he isn’t (a) big (boy) yet.’

Clearly, the process of ‘becoming a big boy’ has started, but the relative state of ‘being big’ has not been reached yet. For too with a different interpretation see (4.33).

Some statives are conceived of as having no starting point or no end point. These include expressions like ‘be a child’, ‘young’ which have no beginning, but only an end point, or ‘to be old’ which in a natural setting does not end at any point, but has started at some time. We can therefore divide the statives in three subclasses, viz.

1. States with only beginning: /---------
2. States with only end point: ---------/
3. States with both beginning and end: /---------/

A fourth group can be added, the totally stative predicates, which describe a property that is not normally subject to change, i.e. excluding both beginning and end points. This group is expressed in Thai mostly by nominals, with or without a copula. Typical examples are expressions like nam\(^3\)nak\(^1\) ‘weight\(^6\)', chuu\(^2\) ‘name’, pen chaau phuhr\(^3\) ‘be a Buddhist’, ni\(^3\)sai\(^4\) ‘attitude, character, behaviour’ etc. As these predicates do not normally cooccur with aspect markers, they will not be considered in this study.

It has to be noted that beginning and end points here are purely (natural) temporal limits, not crucial boundaries. A simple test for the distinction of the subclasses of quality verbs is the applicability of time expressions like ‘since’ and ‘until’ in natural settings. With states excluding the end point, only ‘since’

\(^6\) Only the “weight” of certain things like a car, a stone, etc. is totally stative, of course. When talking about people, the change in weight can be expressed by adding aspect markers.
is applicable, with those excluding the beginning only ‘until’, while the rest is combinerable with both.

(3.5) ton²maai¹ nii³ yai¹ tan³teɛ¹ (?conthuŋ⁴) pii thii²teɛu³.

>This tree has been big since (*until) last year.

(3.6) khau⁴ tuœ tio³ con thuŋ⁴ (*tan³teɛ¹) ?aayu³ sip¹haa² pii.

>He was short until (*since) he was fifteen years old.

(3.7) khau⁴ suœi⁴ tan³teɛ¹ / conthuŋ⁴ ?aayu³ sip¹haa² pii.

>She was beautiful since/until she was fifteen years old.

These distinctions are important as some of the TAM markers which will be discussed in section 4 are sensitive to the semantic structure of quality verbs.

Usually statives with specific time expressions only if the time expression is the topic (in sentence initial position) rather than the comment of the sentence:

(3.8) a. tœn ?aayu³ haa² khuœ¹, khau⁴ suœi⁴.

>TEMP age five year 3hum pretty

b. ?khau⁴ suœi⁴ tœn ?aayu³ haa² khuœ¹.

>3hum pretty TEMP age five year

‘She was pretty when she was five years old.’

There are, however, quality verbs that can be used with specific time expressions denoting the beginning of the state:

(3.9) naalikaa pluk¹ daŋ tœn hok¹ mooŋ chaau³.

>clock wake, loud TEMP six o’clock morning

‘The alarm clock went off at six a.m.’

The verb daŋ ‘be loud’ obviously behaves like an “initiatransformative” verb, a category recognised already by Boonyapatipark. She calls this class “verbs indicating dynamic situations and states arising from such situations” (1984:57) (DYN. STAT). The members of this class are characterised by their semantic structure indicating an event (transformation) leading to a ensuing state. Both the event and the state are expressed by the same verbal lexeme.
(3.10) khau⁴ lap¹ tɔɔn sii¹ thum².
3hum asleep TEMP four evening.hour
‘He fell asleep at 4 p.m.’

(3.11) phom⁴ ruu³ tɔɔn thii² phom⁴ cɔɔ khau⁴ khraŋ² reek².
1sm know TEMPATTR 1sm meet 3hum time first
‘I knew/realised it, when I met him/her the first time.’

(3.12) ?khaŋ⁴ tuə suŋ⁴ mɯa² ?aayu⁴ sip¹ hok¹ pii.
3hum body tall when age sixteen year
‘He grew tall when he was sixteen years old.’

As shown above, many (but not all!) of the quality verbs established through the compatibility with the comparative kwad¹ cannot be used in these constructions. Here the time adverb tan⁴ tee¹ ‘since’ or an auxiliary/aspect marker like the phasal auxiliary rɔɔm² ‘begin, start’ or the perfective marker dat² (see 4.2) have to be used instead.

(3.13) khau⁴ tuə suŋ⁴ tan⁴ tee¹ ?aayu⁴ sip¹ hok¹ pii.
3hum body tall since age sixteen year
‘He has been tall since the age of sixteen.’

(3.14) khau⁴ rɔɔm² tuə suŋ⁴ mɯa² ?aayu⁴ sip¹ hok¹ pii.
3hum start body tall when age sixteen year
‘He started being tall when he was sixteen years old.’

According to Boonyapatipark the DYN.STAT verbs are sensitive to the animacy of their subject (see fig. 1). The distinction is especially important in clauses where the temporary aspect marker yuu¹ is present, resulting in different interpretations according to the animacy of the subject. Though Boonyapatipark’s analysis can explain the differences of interpretation of DYN.STAT verbs, a more adequate explanation is to take the semantic role of the subject as determining factor for the interpretation of DYN.STAT verbs in yuu¹-clauses. If the subject is actor, the normal interpretation is “focus on activity”, while with undergoer subject it is “focus on state”. Many DYN.STAT verbs can take both actor and undergoer as subject, and many subjects (especially animate) can function both as actor or undergoer. In these cases only the context determines whether we are dealing with actor or undergoer subject interpretation.

While in (3.15) the subject can be interpreted only as actor, in (3.16) the context suggests this reading.
(3.15) khau⁴ prɔxt¹ prɔtuu⁴ yuu¹.
3hum open door TMPR ‘He is opening the door.’

(3.16) yaa¹ phun² khau² maa, chan⁴ sai¹ suə² yuu¹.
PROH just.now enter come 1fam wear shirt TMPR ‘Don’t come in yet, I’m putting on my shirt.’

To focus on the action with DYN.STAT verbs, the new high focal progressive marker kamlāŋ (see 4.1.4) is usually employed. As the subject of sai¹ can also be a semantic undergoer, example (3.16) is ambiguous and could be expressed more clearly as

(3.17) yaa¹ phun² khau² maa, chan⁴ kamlāŋ sai¹ suə² yuu¹.
PROH just.now enter come 1sf PROG wear shirt TMPR

While a possible comment to (3.16) might be something like ‘why can’t I come in, if you are wearing a shirt?’, (3.17) is unambiguous in most cases (though a reading with focus on the state might be construed).

With undergoer subjects, the aspect marker yuu¹ focuses on the state following the event.

(3.18) prɔtuu⁴ prɔxt¹ yuu¹.
door open TMPR ‘The door is open.’

Another verbal class postulated by Boonyapatipark (1984:54) are ‘verbs indicating non-accomplishments’ or ACTIVITIES. With specific time expressions, these verbs are often interpreted as inchoatives, i.e. the time expression denotes the beginning of the activity. The interpretation is determined by the position of the time expression: if it is in topic position, the reading is ‘situation going on at time x’; if the time expression is in the comment clause, the normal reading is ‘situation starts at time x’.

There is obviously no clear-cut three-way distinction STATIVES - ACTIVITIES - INITIOTTRANSFORMATIVES in Thai. We are rather dealing with a continuum on which the individual verbs or verbal expressions are to be located, many verbs sharing properties of more than one class.

The category encompassing statives, activities and initiottransformatives can be called DURATIVE verbs. Durative verbs have a certain duration, which may or may not be limited by temporal boundaries on either or both sides.

With some duratives, the initial limit has more prominence than with others, i.e. it can be focused on more easily. More easily here means that less marked context or overt marking is needed to achieve an inchoative reading (“initiottransformatives”). Others lack prominent limits, appearing as totally
stative, while still other verbs seem to have both initial and final limits of about equal prominence ("activities").

### 3.3 Telicity in Thai

As seen in figure 2, the telicity of Thai verbs can not easily be determined by using the common tests. Johanson speaks of "linguistic units expressing actions" and Comrie suggests that we should speak rather of "telic situations" than of "telic verbs":

Moreover, provided an appropriate context is provided, many sentences that would otherwise be taken to describe atelic situations can be given a telic interpretation. [...] However, although it is difficult to find sentences that are unambiguously telic or atelic, this does not affect the general semantic distinction made between telic and atelic situations. (1995:54)

It is certainly true for Thai that many verbs can be interpreted as telic or as atelic, depending on the context. While a verb like khaa² 'kill' is normally interpreted as telic, it does not necessarily have to be so. In (3.19), the expression khaa² tuə taai 'kill oneself, commit suicide' does not necessarily imply that the person really died and has therefore to be reinforced by taai pai ciicij 'she really died', in spite of the use of the compound khaa² taai 'kill-die', which normally expresses telicity.

(3.19) kha¹ klum², lyyi khaa² tuə taai, le³ ko²
tuai pai ciicij
die go real:RDP
'She was depressed, therefore she committed suicide, and then she really died.' (LR:269)

One factor preventing an unambiguous telic reading is the fact that Thai verbs can both express an 'intention to act' and the 'activity' itself. As aspect is not an obligatory category, the prospective aspect does not have to be expressed overtly, but can be established by the context.

If we change the second part of (3.19) above, we get the reading 'tried to commit suicide':

(3.20) kha¹ klum², lyyi khaa² tuə taai, tee¹ ko² mai² taai.
'She was depressed, therefore she tried to commit suicide, but she did not die.'
Another candidate for the class of accomplishments that deserves some consideration is the verb *luuwm* 'forget'. Certainly ‘forgetting’ takes an amount of time, and it can not be called ‘forgetting’ if it is not carried out to the end. This seems to make ‘forget’ semantically a typical accomplishment. Still the tests to establish accomplishments fail with *luuwm*. It does not make sense to ask ‘how long does it take to forget this?’ or to say that ‘it took him five years to forget’. The problem here seems to be a conceptual one. Although it takes some time to forget, we only realise the moment we have forgotten. We are not aware of the beginning of the process or the process itself. ‘Forget’ is therefore conceived of as punctual rather than as extended situation. That *luuwm* in Thai is in fact used as punctual is shown by its incompatibility with the temporary marker *yuu*'. An atelic (or rather conative) interpretation of *luuwm* is given in sentence (3.21), where it is again the ‘trying to do’ that is dominant, not the activity itself:

(3.21) phayaayaam thau²rai, *luuwm* thau²rai kə²
make.effort how.much forget how.much COMM
khọŋ muən⁴ dyəm.
CONT same original
‘However hard I try, however much I (try to) forget, it’s still the same as it was.’ (from a popular Thai song)

One way to achieve telicity in an expression is by adding a definite object. As Thai grammar does not require an overt object with a transitive verb, the verb can in further references retain its telicity, even if the object is absent.¹

(3.22) phom⁴ taŋ²cai cə *ʔaan¹ naŋ⁴stuų⁴ lem² nii³
1sm intend PROS read book CL_book this
*cop¹* wan nii³, tee¹ phəodii phuən² maa haa⁴, kə²
end day this but just.then friend come look.for COMM
ləyi *ʔaan¹* mai² *cop¹*.
CONS read NEG end
‘I intended to finish this book today, but then a friend came to see me, so I did not finish it.’

If in the sentence (3.22) *ʔaan¹* ... *cop¹* is replaced by *ʔaan¹* and *ʔaan¹* *mai²* *cop¹* by *mai²* *ʔaan¹* or *mai²* *daŋ²* *ʔaan¹*, the first part of the sentence could be interpreted as ‘I intended to read in this book’ and the second part would most likely be understood as ‘I didn’t read’ or ‘I didn’t get to reading’, while (3.22) implies that I started reading but did not finish the book.

¹ It is common to overtly express nominal phrases only once in a paragraph, both written and spoken, unless some new information is added to them or the listener might lose track of them.
Overt telicity by combination of two or more verbs is very common in Thai. The first verb indicates an activity or an attempt to achieve a result and is characterised by the feature [+volition, + control] while the second one expresses the result and carries the features [-volition, -control]. A detailed description of these "completive" verbs is given in Noss (1964:127ff, cf. p.8f) and summarised in Bisang (1992:338f), who calls them 'resultative constructions'. The sentences (3.23) - (3.24) illustrate these telicising verb compounds.

(3.23) khau⁴ haa⁴ rot³ mai² cyy.
3hum look.for car NEG find
'He cannot find his car (although he is looking for it).'

(3.24) khun kin khaau² mot¹ leeu³ ruuu⁴?
2hon eat rice be.all NSIT Q
'Have you already eaten all your food?'

The verbs haa⁴ 'look for' and kin 'eat' are not telic themselves, but with a V2 adding a final boundary, the whole expression usually becomes telic. Notice that the telicising verb in the compound does not have to be telic itself. cyy 'find, meet' is not necessarily telic (i.e. it has readings that exclude telicity) but as V2 it is conceptualised as transformative.

As seen above (3.20), verbal compounds do not always result in telic readings. The context remains the main determining factor. This is due to the fact firstly that we always have to reckon with an implied prospective reading and secondly that in verbal compounds V2 does not necessarily express the achievement of a result itself, but can have purposive meaning, i.e. 'V1 is done in order to achieve V2'. This purposive component can be overtly expressed by hai² 'give, let; CAUS, FIN', but here again the overt marking is not obligatory. This accounts for the atelic reading in (3.20) above of the verbal compound khaa² tuo taa'i 'kill self', which can be interpreted as 'kill self in order to die'. Nothing is said about the result being achieved or not, though in an unmarked context it is implicated that the result is achieved.

We can state that telicity in Thai is not inherent in the verbal semantics except for the punctual verbs, which do not include a period but only a transformation. There are situations corresponding to accomplishments, but an adequate context can always cancel the telicity of these, highlighting only the situation leading to the transformation and sometimes even exclude the transformation. We may therefore postulate different tendencies of durative verbs, namely verbs denoting situations without prominent borders, with equally prominent initial and final borders, with prominent initial borders and with prominent final borders.

The easiest way to determine the semantic tendency of a given verbal expression is by applying it to the sentence ... toon saam³ mooy '... at three
o'clock' or ... muə² wansuk¹ '... last Friday'. Compare the default interpretations of the sentences below without marked context.

(3.25) khau⁴ khaa² wuo muə² wansuk¹.
3hum kill cow when Friday
'He killed a cow last Friday.' ⇒ final limit prominent

(3.26) khau⁴ lap¹ toon sii¹ thum².
3hum asleep TEMP our evening.hour
'He fell asleep at three p.m.' ⇒ initial limit prominent

(3.27) phom⁴ kin khaa¹ toon peet¹ mooŋ.
1sm eat rice TEMP eight o'clock
'I eat/ate at eight o'clock.' ⇒ both limits equally prominent

3.4 Phasal verbs - verbal phases

Phasal verbs are used to add boundaries and phases to verbal expressions. I include in the class of phasal verbs all verbal auxiliaries that are used in combination with other verbs to add and/or put focus on one phase or point of their semantic structure. In this sense, the group of V2 that have a telicising function forms a subclass of the phasal verbs. Many of the aspect markers discussed in section 4 overlap with or have arisen from phasal verbs. The main difference between phasal auxiliaries and TAM markers is the degree of grammaticalisation. The phasal auxiliaries generally retain their verbal semantics, while the markers are more grammaticalised.

The most typical phasal verbs are 'begin' and 'stop'. In Thai, these are widely used, even in situations where the verbal semantics and/or the context are sufficient to suggest a specific reading:

(3.28) laŋ⁴ caak¹ theŋ³ luuk² khon reek² kuəp¹ pii, diʔ¹chan⁴
after ABL miscarry child CLhum first almost year 1sthou
ko² rɤrm² tan⁰ khan ?iik¹ khranŋ³.
COMM begin set.up womb more time
'Almost a year after I had lost my first child, I became pregnant again.' (PL:11)

The expression tan⁰ khan 'set up a womb/pregnancy, conceive a child' clearly includes a starting point; the phasal auxiliary rɤrm² here only reinforces the inchoative reading. The same goes for (3.29), with pɤm⁴ 'open' being a typical verb with prominent initial border.
(3.29)  stūk1saa4phanphaanيت1 thaa2m2 pøyt1 bɔrīkaan tan7tee1
Sueksaphanphanich begin open service since
nun7 meesaayɔn 2543.
on April 2000
‘Sueksaphanphanich will be open from April 1st, 2000.’
(advertisement of the opening of a shop in Bangkok)

The opposite of thaa2m2 is lvrk2 ‘stop, finish, cease’, which only indicates that
an activity is ending, without reference to its outcome. In other words, the final
boundary is reached, independent of whether it is the crucial boundary
(transformation) or not.

(3.30) phom4 lvrk2 pɔan1 naŋ4stuu4 tɔon/tan7tee1 thieŋ2.
1sm finish read book TEMP/since noon
‘I stopped reading at noon.’

In order to add information about the result, we have to change lvrk2 into set1
‘finish’ to indicate that a set portion of the reading has been finished, cop1
‘end’ if the whole book has been read or mot1 ‘all’ if all books that had to be
read have actually been read.

The phasal verbs therefore not only choose a certain phase of the action, but
add a boundary. Aspect markers are added to indicate the role of this boundary,
i.e. whether it has been transgressed, will be reached soon, etc. With punctual
verbs, thaa2m2 indicates the beginning, lvrk2 the end of a habit, suggesting
iterative reading.

3.5 The basic verb classes in Thai

We have established on the preceding pages two major verb classes: PUNCTUAL
and non-punctual (DURATIVE) verbs. The durative verbs do not form a
homogenous class but rather a continuum of verbs with different tendencies of
prominent boundaries.

The context, auxiliaries, and aspect markers can set boundaries and phases
and focus on them, producing verbal expressions with telic, initio-
transformative, static and punctual interpretations. The three main
determining factors setting and choosing boundaries or phases in a given verbal
expression are thus

1. The context (both linguistic and extra-linguistic)
2. Phasal auxiliaries
3. TAM markers.

We can conclude that some kind of aktionsart is present in Thai, but it is
very underspecified. There are two verbal categories that can be established by
language internal formal means, but the pragmatics remain an important factor in determining the interpretation.

The next chapter is dedicated to the main aspect markers in modern Thai and their interaction with the different verb types.

4 The main aspect markers in Thai

In this section I will present the main aspect markers in Thai, together with their meaning, use and restrictions. Some of them have already been dealt with in Boonyapatipark (1983). The markers are arranged in groups according to their use. It must be noted, however, that the categories ‘imperfective’, ‘perfective’ and ‘perfect’ are not clear-cut categories in Thai. The classification of the Thai aspect markers is only partly adequate and applied here for reasons of convenience. Many of the markers under discussion do not correspond in their function(s) to one of these categories alone.

1. ‘Imperfective’ markers
   a. yuul, a postverbal TEMPORARY aspect marker
   b. pai, a postverbal CONTINUATIVE marker
   c. yay, a preverbal PERSISTIVE marker
   d. kamlay, a preverbal PROGRESSIVE marker

2. ‘Perfective’ marker
   a. dai^2, a preverbal PERFECTIVE marker

3. ‘Perfect’ markers
   a. lee^2, a postverbal marker for ‘NEW SITUATIONS’
   b. maa, a postverbal PERFECT marker

4. The prospective marker
   a. ca^2l ~ co, a preverbal PROSPECTIVE marker

Of these aspect markers, all but kamlay and ca^2l are also used as full verbs in standard Thai or have developed from verbs. Where the use as a full verb is not present in the standard language anymore, it is often found in closely related dialects. Given the fact that most aspect markers still retain their transparent semantics, it is difficult, if not impossible, in many instances to decide whether we are dealing with a verb with its own semantics or with a grammaticalised TAM marker. It also has to be kept in mind that absolute verb classes can hardly be established, i.e. TAM markers and the context can influence the classification of a given verbal expression. Most of the aspect markers are therefore not selective, i.e. they do not only select a part of the
semantic structure of a verb (or verbal expression), but they very often add meaning to it, both modal and aspeccual.

4.1 The markers of the ‘imperfective’ group

The imperfective aspect is characterised by its reference to the internal temporal structure of a situation. The imperfective does not necessarily have to form a homogenic category in a language. To this we might add that there are markers in some languages that only partly correspond to imperfective meaning, while other functions of the same markers are classified rather as perfective or modal than as imperfective. One such example is pai (s. below), which covers part of the imperfective, but has other uses with rather perfective meaning.

In Thai, the imperfective is not expressed in a single category, but divided into different subcategories, namely temporary, continuative, persistive, progressive and habitual aspects.

*yuu*

*yuu* as a full verb means ‘be at, stay, live, remain at’. As a postverbal auxiliary it has been described as ‘present tense’ (Thonglor 1978:247) or as ‘continuative’ marker (Boonyapatipark 1983:99ff.). Noss gives as meaning of the auxiliary *yuu* “remaining on the scene, unchanged, action continuing, temporary, without necessary future significance” (1964:186). I suggest the label ‘temporary aspect’ for *yuu*, as the temporary component seems to be dominant. *yuu* indicates that the right limit of the situation has not been reached yet. This accounts for the incompatibility of *yuu* with verbs denoting irreversible situations without possible end point, e.g. *kee* ‘be old’ as opposed to *num* ‘be young (man)’.

Furthermore, *yuu* does not cooccur with punctual verbs. *yuu*-clauses are often used to describe the background of a narrative.

(4.1)  siè² phuut² siè² khui nai muu¹ khondooisaan⁴ sin²
sound speak sound chat in group passenger REL

den yuu¹ muo² tuə ryrm² ?aak¹ caak¹ thaa² nan³
loud TMPR when boat start exit ABL jetty that

khoi² khoi² ŋəp² pai.
gradually quiet go

‘Voices chatting when the boat left the jetty gradually faded.’

(LC:1; ML:1)

---

* Cf. Bickel (1996:113ff) for discussion of a form with similar function in Belhare.
* In the examples from ‘Many Lives’ where appropriate I use the English translation by Borthwick (1996).
In (4.1) the situation at one specific point in time (‘when the boat left the jetty’) is described, and at that point the talking and chatting, that is likely to have started some time earlier, goes on, but a possible endpoint is conceivable (and actually reached here).

*yuu* occurs with expressions of a specific point in time in topic position, as in (4.2). In (4.3), the period covered by *yuu* is ‘a very long time’:

(4.2) muɔ²waan tɔn baai¹ mooŋ, phom¹ tham kap¹ yesterday TEMP afternoon o’clock 1sm do with khaau² yuu rice TMPR

‘Yesterday at 1 p.m. I was cooking.’

(4.3) tat¹sin⁴cai yuu¹ naan thiidiœu kwaa¹cə mun⁴ thoorœsap¹ decide TMPR long.time very before PROS dial telephone pai haa⁴ khunyiŋ⁴ saa⁴raai¹. go look.for lady Sarai

‘It took her a very long time to make up her mind and call lady Sarai.’

(LR: 86)

More restricted, if not impossible, is the use of *yuu* with broader expressions of time like ‘yesterday’, ‘last year’, etc., as can be seen in the ungrammaticality of examples (4.4) and (4.5).

(4.4) *muɔ²waan phom⁴ ?aan¹ naŋ⁴stuur⁴ yuu¹. yesterday 1sm read book TMPR

‘Yesterday I was reading.’

(4.5) *pii thi²leœu³khau⁴ pen khruu yuu¹. year previous 3hum be teacher TMPR

‘Last year, he was a teacher.’

Both sentences are acceptable only if an adverbial expression is added:

(4.6) muɔ²waan phom⁴ ?aan¹ naŋ⁴stuur⁴ yuu¹ baan² thəŋ³ wan. yesterday 1sm read book TMPR/stay house INCL day

‘Yesterday I spent the whole day reading at home.’

(4.7) pii thi²leœu³khau⁴ pen khruu yuu¹, tėe¹ tɔn ni³ ?oo⁴ leœu³. year previous 3hum be teacher TMPR but TEMP this exit NSIT

‘Last year, he was a teacher, but now he quit.’
The use of *yuu* with future reference is not very common, but not excluded, as seen in (4.8)

(4.8) thaa² khun mai² prěrt¹ prētuu baan², phom⁴ cō
      2hon NEG open door house lsm PROS
   nāj² rō yuu¹ thān³ khūmn.
      sit wait TMPR INCL night
   ‘If you don’t open the house door, I am going to sit and wait for you all night.’ (LR:470)

Another use of *yuu* is with expressions of habituality, with or without overt habitual marker. In this case, *yuu* denotes a habit that is restricted in time and holds for sure only for the period described.

(4.9) mēe² khōcō⁴ seem⁴ kō² bon¹ thun⁴
      mother POSS S. COMM complain about
   khwaam-yaa⁴ con yuu¹ pen prēcam thūk³ wan.
      NML-poor TMPR be permanent every day
   ‘Sem’s mother continued to complain daily of her poverty.’ (LC:46, ML:28)

*pai* ‘go’

*pai* ‘go’ is widely used as a full verb denoting a motion away from the point of reference, usually the now and here for the speaker. As an orientation verb after the main verb it expresses a motion away from the speaker and towards a goal, which it introduces. *pai* can be considered either transitive (as in (4.10), where the use of *pai* is obligatory) or intransitive (in (4.11)).

(4.10) khau⁴ dāmn pai roongriēn.
      3hum walk go school
   ‘He walks to school.’

(4.11) khau⁴ tōok¹ pai tan⁴ tēe¹ thīn².
      3hum exit go since noon
   ‘He left at noon.’

The original meaning of *pai* is always present in its function as TAM marker. Its semantic scope as TAM marker varies from ‘continuative’ (i.e. away from the present moment into the future) to ‘completed’ and ‘away from speaker or his interest’. *pai* combines with all verb classes, though its application is restricted in some combinations, especially where a spatial movement towards the speaker is involved.
**pai as continuative marker.** In the function of a continuative marker, *pai* is often accompanied by *tso* ‘connect, link, continue’. In (4.12) *pai* could be replaced by *yuu’* without an obvious change in meaning.

(4.12)  k hunyiq⁴ sa’a⁴raai¹ niŋ’⁵ pai  khrun² nuŋ’¹.
      lady  Sarai still go(CONT)moment one
     ‘Lady Sarai remained silent for a moment.’ (LR:730)

Unlike *yuu’*, *pai* can express an extension of time into the future. In (4.13), the use of *yuu’* would lead to ungrammaticality:

(4.13)  hai² nak³riën ?aan¹ naŋ’⁴sutu⁴ pai (*yuu¹*) ?iik¹
      CAUS students read book go(CONT) more
     yii²sip¹ naathii.
      twenty minute
     ‘The students have to keep reading in their books for another twenty minutes.’

But compare the very similar sentence in (4.14), where both *pai* and *yuu’* can be used. The interpretation is not quite the same, though. While *yuu’* describes the situation as completed, past, *pai* may indicate a continuance into the future.

(4.14)  nak³riën ?aan¹ naŋ’⁴sutu⁴ yuu¹ / pai  ?iik¹ yii²sip¹ naathii.
      student read book TMPR / CONT more twenty minute
     ‘The students kept reading for another twenty minutes.’

In sentences with *yuu’* as a full verb, *pai* is usually the only option to express a continuing situation:

(4.15)a. *khau⁴ yuu¹ nuŋ’ thai yuu¹ ruə²ruə².
    3hum stay country Thai TMPRcontinuously
b. khau⁴ yuu¹ nuŋ’ thai pai  ruə²ruə².
    3hum stay country Thai go(CONT)continuously.
   ‘He is/keeps staying in Thailand (for the time being, until some change comes).’

With duratives without prominent limits, *pai* usually expresses an increasing degree of the situation or introduces a starting point of the situation. In (4.1) above we saw the expression *sĩŋ’⁴ nan⁵ khoi² khoi² ḷiŋ’² pai* ‘the voices gradually faded’, lit. ‘the voices gradually went silent’. In this sentence the degree of ‘silence’ is increasing. In (4.16), *pai* indicates the beginning of the state:

(4.16)  [Other sentence with pai indicating a beginning of a state]
(4.16)  muæ² khruu khau² maa nai hoŋ² rian, nak³ rion kɔ²
when teacher enter come in classroom student COMM
ŋiap² pai thanthii.
quiet go at.once
‘When the teacher entered the classroom, the students went quiet at
once.’

Even if pai and/or thanthii are absent, the meaning remains unchanged. The
context makes it clear enough (or suggests it clearly enough) that the students
had been chatting before the teacher entered and stopped the moment he came
in. It is important to notice in this connection that the context, also
extralinguistic, can determine the exact interpretation of a given situation,
adding aspectual values that are not present in the verbal semantics.

**pai as marker of action away from centre of interest.** This use of pai is
rather modal than aspectual, though it cannot be clearly separated from other
uses of the TAM marker pai. A typical example is given in (4.17), which
contrasts with (4.18), where the other orientation verb maa is used instead.
(4.17) implies that the speaker is not going to listen to what the addressee is
going to say, whereas in (4.18) he will listen to it. In (4.17), the sound goes
away from the hearer’s ears, therefore pai is the obvious choice here.

(4.17)  yaak¹ phuut² ʔərai kɔ² phuut² pai thɔy²¹.
DES speak what COMM speak go IMPER
‘If you want to say something, go on, speak!’ (LR:573)

(4.18)  pai nai⁴ maaʔ phuut² maa hɔ̃ri.
go where come speak come EMPH
‘Where have you been? Tell me right away!’

In (4.19) the first instance of pai indicates continuative, whereas the second
one implies rather that the action is away from the centre of interest, in this
case Vibhat. The expression lap¹ pai also denotes the completion of the event,
therefore taking rather perfective meaning.

(4.19)  koomeet² khui pai dai² ʔiik¹ khruu² diŋu, khau⁴
K. chat go(CONT) get more moment single 3hum
kɔ² lap¹ pai thin² hai² wiʔ³ phaat² noɔn khɔ³ ʔərai
COMM asleep go leave CAUS V. lie think what
tɔː¹ ʔərai ruoi² puai¹ yuu¹ taamlampanŋ
connect what aimlessly stay alone
‘Komet went on chatting for a moment and then fell asleep, leaving
Vibhat lying alone, thinking aimlessly.’ (LR:85)
In past time contexts, \textit{pai} is often replaced by \textit{maa}, which expresses a kind of perfect (cf. below). As seen in (4.17) and (4.18), \textit{pai} can be used in imperative (and prohibitive) contexts. It is rarely used in negated contexts.

\textit{yaj}

As a full verb, \textit{yaj} has been replaced in Standard Thai by \textit{yuu} \textsuperscript{1} ‘be at, stay’ and \textit{mii} ‘there is, have’, but it is found as a full verb in some related languages such as Aiton in Assam.

In Thai, \textit{yaj} has a wide range of meanings, including ‘still, yet, anyway; towards; have you ... yet?, not yet (as answer)’. Here its use as a ‘persistive’ aspect marker will be discussed. As such it is closely related in use to the temporary marker \textit{yuu} \textsuperscript{1}, with which it often combines.

As persistive marker, \textit{yaj} expresses an old situation that still holds at the time of reference. It is therefore the opposite of \textit{leeu} \textsuperscript{3} which expresses a new situation (cf. below). In this function \textit{yaj} is not readily compatible with punctual verbs and duratives expressing situations without possible right limit, like \textit{koo} \textsuperscript{1} ‘be old’. It does not make sense to speak of a state as still holding, if there is no possibility for it to end. ‘He is still old’ sounds odd at the very least. Where \textit{yaj} occurs with verbs of these restricted classes, its natural interpretation is ‘anyway’. In this case the clause is usually preceded by the comment marker \textit{ko} \textsuperscript{2}.

\begin{align*}
\text{(4.20) } & \text{thuuj}^4 \text{ co } \text{d} \text{x} \text{ym} \text{ chaa}^3, \text{ko}^2 \text{ yaj } \text{thuuj}^4 \text{baan yuu}^1, \\
& \text{although PROS walk slow COMM PERS reach house TMPR} \\
& \text{‘Even though he walks slowly, he still reaches the house.’}
\end{align*}

With other verb classes, \textit{yaj} expresses that the situation remains unchanged for the time being:

\begin{align*}
\text{(4.21) } & \text{khaus}^4 \text{ yaj } \text{tham } \text{naan yuu}^1 \text{ thii}^2 \text{ d} \text{x} \text{ym}. \\
& \text{3hum PERS do work TMPRLOC original} \\
& \text{‘He still works at the same place (as before).’}
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{(4.22) } & \text{saam}^4 \text{ sip}^1 \text{ yaj } \text{ suei}^4. \\
& \text{thirty PERS pretty} \\
& \text{‘At thirty, she is still beautiful’ (Lyrics from a popular Thai song)}
\end{align*}

The interpretation as ‘unchanged situation’ also holds in negative sentences, as can be seen in (4.23).

\begin{align*}
\text{(4.23) } & \text{khaus}^4 \text{ yaj } \text{maa}^2 \text{ maa lyyi}. \\
& \text{3hum PERS NEG come EMPH} \\
& \text{‘He hasn’t come yet.’}
\end{align*}
The negative $yay\ mai^2$ freely combines with durative (4.24) and punctual (4.25) verbs, but is not used with duratives that lack a conceivable starting point or state preceding them.

(4.24) $su\ u^2\ tue\ nii^3\ yay\ chai^3\ dai^2\ yuu^1$, $yay\ mai^2\ kau^1$.  
shirt CL$_{body}$ this PERS use POT TMPR PERS NEG old  
‘This shirt is still good, it isn’t old yet.’

(4.25) $ke\ eu^2\ bai\ nii^3\ yay\ mai^2\ teek^1$.  
glass CL$_{round}$ this PERS NEG break  
‘This glass isn’t broken yet.’

The negative construction $yay\ mai^2$ in (4.24) must be analyzed as ‘the state of not being old persists’ or ‘it is still the case that it is not old’. The scope of the negative $mai^2$ in Thai is always only the verb or verbal compound immediately following it, while the scope of $yay$ includes the whole clause following it. In other words, $yay$ cooccurs with negated verbal expressions, but it is not negatable itself.

$yay$ can not be used in imperative and prohibitive clauses.

$kamla\ y$  
One of the few TAM markers that have no verbal origin is $kamla\ y$, a loan from Khmer. The development of $kamla\ y$ is obscure. In Khmer, $kamla\ y$ ‘strength’ is the nominalisation of the stative verb $khlay$ ‘strong, loud’. In Thai, the nominal form $kamla\ y$ is used in the sense of ‘strength, power’. Very recent is its use as a progressive marker. It is not found in older literature and in the dialects it is considered Bangkokian influence (cf. Rungrueangsri 1991:78). Many educated Thais see $kamla\ y$ as newly introduced means to translate the English continuous forms, with which it shares many features and of which it is a standard translation. Today $kamla\ y$ competes and cooccurs with the ‘real Thai’ TAM markers $yuu^1$ and $ca^2l$, which it tends to replace in some modern styles.

Most typically, $kamla\ y$ occurs with verbs denoting dynamic situations and processes, but its use is not restricted to these. There are actually only very few verbs in Thai that do not cooccur with $kamla\ y$, e.g. $ruu^3$ ‘know sth.’, $ruu^3$ $cak^1$ ‘know so.’ and $luu\ um$ ‘forget’. A possible explanation for this restriction is that these verbs lack a conceivable process that $kamla\ y$ can focus on.

The marker $kamla\ y$ focuses on a shorter, more specific period that $yuu^1$. It is therefore not compatible with underspecified time expressions or extended periods of time and can not have a habitual reading. The focus with $kamla\ y$ is clearly on the present moment, and it usually implies a dynamic (cf. Greek $dynamis$ ‘power, strength’, $kamla\ y$ ‘id.’) rather than a stative situation. Whenever used with verbs denoting otherwise rather stative situations, the
implication is that the situation holds only for the very restricted period under consideration.

(4.26) phom⁴ kamlaŋ yaak¹ maa tham ṇaan thii² nii² baan².
1sm PROG DES come do work here also
‘Right now, I would like to come and work here, too.’ (LR:344)

The focus on a dynamic process is particularly obvious with durative verbs with prominent left limit (‘initiotransformatives’). Whereas yuu¹ focuses on the state, kamlaŋ rather chooses the action leading to the state. In (4.27) the focus on the process is reinforced by the V2 cha₃ cha₃ ‘slowly’. Both (4.28) and (4.29) are theoretically ambiguous.

(4.27) prətuu baan² kamlaŋ prəyt¹ cha₃ cha₃.
door house PROG open slow:RDP
‘The house door is opening slowly.’

(4.28) rot³ mee kamlaŋ coɔ₁ naa² rooŋriən.
bus PROG park front school
‘The bus is parking in front of the school building.’ (less natural:
‘The bus is parked right now in front of the school building.’)

(4.29) khau⁴ kamlaŋ sai¹ kaαιkkeŋ yuu¹.
3hum PROG wear pants TEMP
‘He is putting on his pants.’ (rare: ‘He is wearing pants right now.’)

With punctual verbs, kamlaŋ or kamlaŋ co indicates that the event is imminent, similar to the use of the English continuous form. The focus is on the process leading up to the event.

(4.30) ton² maa₃ nii³ kamlaŋ taai.
tree this PROG die
‘This tree is dying/going to die.’

With duratives lacking prominent limits, kamlaŋ usually expresses a limited period for which the state holds, implying that it has not been before and will not be so later, i.e. it adds initial and final limits to the verb, similar to the English use of the continuous form. In some contexts with duratives that otherwise have a rather stative interpretation, kamlaŋ results in a reading as ‘increasing degree of state at the moment under consideration’, while in other contexts it merely limits the state temporally. Compare the different interpretations of the duratives with kamlaŋ in (4.31) - (4.34)
(4.31) thaai¹ ruup² reu noí¹ si³¹, kamlaŋ lóo¹ (yuu¹).
take picture fast little IMPER PROG handsome TMPR
‘Hurry up, take the picture now, I’m just being handsome.’
[temporary state]

(4.32) ?au², maa kin khaau² kan, keŋ kamlaŋ rōo³ (yuu¹).
INTJ come eat rice REC curry PROG hot TMPR
‘Hey, come and eat now, the food is hot.’ [temporary state]

(4.33) dek¹ kamlaŋ too ko² təŋ² kin khaau² yəŋ³.
child PROG big COMM must eat rice a.lot
‘The child is growing up, so he has to eat a lot.’ [increasing degree]

(4.34) loon¹ kamlaŋ suaí⁴, phuu² chaai ko² ləŋ² choo².
3f PROG pretty person male COMM CONS like
‘She is being pretty, therefore men like her.’ [temporary state]
‘She is getting pretty, therefore men like her.’ [increasing degree]

Whereas in (4.33) only the interpretation as ‘getting taller, growing up’ is possible, in (4.34) we have two alternative readings, given the fact that ‘be pretty’ is a state that may end some day, while ‘be tall, big’ is bound to remain unreverted for the rest of one’s life.

kamlaŋ and yuu¹
Boonyapatipark dedicates a whole chapter of her study to the similarities and differences between the two forms (1983:107 ff.). She comes to the conclusion that the difference is one between “progressive” (kamlaŋ) and “continuative” (yuu¹). I accept Boonyapatipark’s distinction, but prefer labeling yuu¹ as “temporary” rather than “continuative” aspect marker.

Although they are, at first sight, similar in meaning and are often both treated as progressive markers, yuu¹ and kamlaŋ exhibit some important differences. For instance, kamlaŋ is not compatible with time expressions like ‘until, up to’. Only yuu¹ can be used in these constructions.

(4.35) phom⁴ (*kamlaŋ) rōo yuu¹ con thun⁴ thien².
1sm (PROG) wait TMPR until reach noon
‘I’ve been waiting until noon.’

As noted above, with durative verbs with prominent initial limit, kamlaŋ focuses on the dynamic event (cf. (4.28) above), while yuu¹ focuses on the ensuing state, though the alternative readings can be construed with an adequate context.
(4.36) rot$^3$ coot$^1$ yuu$^1$ naa$^2$ baan$^2$.
car park TMPR face house
‘The car is parked in front of the house.’
less natural: ‘The car is parking in front of the house.’

In (4.37), kamlaŋ is used in combination with yuu$^1$ to indicate a dynamic situation that holds only for a restricted time (but reoccurs every day).

(4.37) khun mee$^2$ lau$^2$ waa$^2$ thuk$^3$ wan diʔ chan$^4$ ce khui
PREF mother tell SUB every day 1f hon PROS chat
khon diu muon$^4$ kamlaŋ len$^2$ yuu$^1$ kap$^1$ khrai baan$^3$ khon.
CL_hum single same PROG play TMPR with who some
‘My mother told me that every day I would chat alone, just as if I were playing with someone.’ (PL:23)

With punctual verbs, only kamlaŋ, but not yuu$^1$ can be used. The verb ruu$^3$ ‘know’, on the other hand, is not compatible with kamlaŋ, but very well with yuu$^1$, while both ruu$^3$ caʔ$^1$ ‘know so.’ and luuum ‘forget’ are compatible with neither. These restrictions need further investigation.

4.2 The ‘perfective’ marker

The perfective aspect views the situation from outside as a unit, without considering its internal structure. Typically the perfective markers focus on limits (situation changes) rather than on the state or situation. This marker covers only parts of the perfective spectrum. Other auxiliariers with (partly) perfective function include the ingressive marker khun$^2$ maa and the reliniquitive marker wai$^3$.

dai$^2$
As a full verb, dai$^2$ means ‘get, receive’. It is used as postverbal auxiliary expressing potentiality or successful outcome of the activity expressed by the main verb. This use, which can be seen in (4.39) is a grammaticalisation of its meaning ‘get’.

(4.38) khau$^4$ dai$^2$ þaŋ phoc$^2$ duon laʔ$^3$ haa$^2$ phan baat$^1$.
3hum get money father month DISTR five thousand Baht
‘He gets five thousand Baht from his father per month.’

(4.39) khau$^4$ ?au naʔ$^4$suu$^4$ dai$^2$.
3hum take book get(>POT)
‘He can take the book.’
The use of ดาตี่ as V2 has been expanded to verbs the semantics of which are not related to the meaning ‘get’, resulting in a purely potential reading:

(4.40) ข้ามพ่อดูน้า ดาตี่.
3hum go look movie POT  ‘He can go to the movies.’

In preverbal position, the meaning of ดาตี่ is rather different. Usually it is described as a marker for “past tense” (Thonglor 1987:247; Royal Institute:310; Bisang 1992:349). The exact use of the preverbal marker ดาตี่ needs more detailed investigation. It is clearly not restricted to past tense contexts, as its cooccurrence with the prospective marker ไท outright shows:

(4.41) บอกนาตี่แล้วถึง ดาตี่ รู้ว่า ไท.
tell EMPH good PROS get know RLPQ some  ‘It’s just as well if you tell me, so I can keep it in mind.’ (LR:492)

In this example, ดาตี่ seems to express a possibility to do something, rather than the successful execution of the action, which is expressed by the postverbal ดาตี่.

The use of the preverbal ดาตี่ is especially interesting with durative verbs with prominent initial limit, where it makes a distinction between the action and the ensuing state. ดาตี่ regularly refers to the action, not the state. Compare the different meanings of the sentences in (4.42)

(4.42)a. ตีเข้ามา ได้ ยัง
with rice warm Q  ‘Is the food warm yet?’; ‘Have you warmed up the food yet?’

b. ได้แล้ว ถึง ได้ ยัง.
warm NSIT PERS NEG warm ‘It’s warm already.’ / ‘It’s not warm yet.’

c. ได้ ได้แล้ว ถึง ได้ ยัง.
get warm NSIT PERS NEG get warm ‘I have warmed it up already.’ / ‘I haven’t warmed it up yet.’

As the use of ดาตี่ with verbs with prominent initial limit shows, ดาตี่ chooses the first boundary of the situation, not the state. Choosing the initial situation change is probably the main function of ดาตี่, adding a connotation of potentiality. If the initial limit is not a prominent one, ดาตี่ adds prominence to it merely by choosing it, as can be seen in sentences with verbs with a rather stative meaning.

---

10 These interpretations are also possible in (4.42b), but not vice versa.
(4.43) khøyən⁴ riən naʔ³, co dai² keŋ¹.
diligent learn EMPH PROS get clever
‘Study diligently, so you’ll be clever.’ (‘in order to get clever’)

dai² is very frequent in negated sentences. The exact function of mai² dai² as opposed to the simple mai² is not clear (cf. Bisang 1992:349). Note that dai² is sometimes used in prohibitive clauses, especially in poetic or sentimental contexts, but it does not occur in imperative clauses. dai² with negated verbs is especially common in connection with the prospective marker caʔ² as in co dai² mai² maa ‘so I won’t have to come’.

4.3 The ‘perfect’ markers

The perfect is an aspect category that expresses a past situation with present relevance. Comrie speaks of an aspectual category ‘perfect’(1995:56ff) but divides it into ‘perfect of result’, ‘experiential perfect’, ‘perfect of persistent situation’ and ‘perfect of recent past’. Of these types, Thai expresses the ‘experiential’ regularly with the marker khrrːi, while the orientation verb maa ‘come’ is used to express the ‘perfect of persistent situation’ and ‘recent past’, and leeɯ³ is used, among other functions, to cover the ‘resultative’.

In Johanson’s terminology, the ‘perfect’ forms part of the class of ‘postterminality’, which is, however, less restricted than the ‘perfect’ (Johanson 2000:177). The label ‘postterminal’ probably covers the functions of the following markers more adequately than ‘perfect’, although the use of ‘terminal’ is a potential source for misunderstandings due to its closeness to terms like ‘terminative’, which imply a crucial right limit.

leeɯ³

One of the most discussed TAM markers of Thai is leeɯ³, which is used in a wide range of functions. Earlier studies of the Thai verbal system describe leeɯ³ in a variety of ways.¹¹

¹¹ In his Shan and English Dictionary, Cushing describes the corresponding Shan verb/auxiliary in the following way:
yau⁴ v. *yiu⁴ to be done, finished; v.part. denoting the past; also the completion of the beginning of an act, as, mad⁴ yau⁴ ‘he is coming.’ (Cushing 1914:528)
A particle with similar function is also found in Burmese. Okell describes it as follows:
pi/pa - Verb sentence marker [...] indicates arrival at the point of fulfilment in relation to a given time, hence translatable as ‘is V-ing now, has V-ed, is V-ed by now’. [...] pi is used with verbs when the action or state they express is regarded as having a point of fulfilment or realisation which is approached by degrees with the passage of time. Further, this progress is considered in relation to a certain point of time, usually the time of speaking. pi indicates that at or before this time (‘by now’) the point of fulfilment has been reached. (Okell 1969:382f)
Boonyapatipark treats the TAM marker \textit{leeu}³ as “a marker of perfectivity” (1983:158) and states that

\textit{leeu}³ indicates that a crucial amount of some activity has been carried out, a crucial point of a situation has been reached (not necessarily the completion point), i.e. a change to or arrival at a new situation has come about, at the time of reference. (ibid.)

She arrives at three different functions of \textit{leeu}³, which are quoted and summarised by Bisang (1992:358):

1. Full verb ‘finished’
2. TAM marker
   a. Completive
   b. Inchoative
   c. Imminent
   d. New situation.
3. Conjunctival verb (sequential marker)

A summary of earlier treatments of \textit{leeu}³ is given by Boonyapatipark (1983:149ff).

\textit{leeu}³ as a full verb. As a full verb, \textit{leeu}³ is not used in Standard Thai anymore, except for some idiomatic expressions. That \textit{leeu}³ does not have full verbal character anymore is shown by its incompatibility with the negation marker \textit{mai}²: *\textit{yan mai}² \textit{leeu}³ ‘not finished yet’.

\textit{leeu}³ as TAM marker. The original meaning of \textit{leeu}³ as ‘finish’, though not in current use anymore, is still known to native speakers. Many of its present functions are more or less easily explained on the basis of this original meaning. Generally \textit{leeu}³ denotes the new (but expected) situation after a limit has been transgressed (hence the label ‘new situation’\textsuperscript{12}). In unmarked contexts, it is the most prominent limit of the verbal expression that has been transgressed. The limit that has been passed can be purely temporal, transformative or quantitative, as will be seen below. Although \textit{leeu}³ needs a limit, it does not itself focus on this limit, but on the ensuing state of affairs. Therefore \textit{leeu}³ is not compatible with specific time adverbials. Where it cooccurs with time expressions like ‘at 3 o’clock’ (usually in topic position), the statement is that at this time the situation has come into being. The transgression of the limit itself can not be selected with specific time adverbials in \textit{leeu}³-clauses.

\textsuperscript{12} An alternative term would be ‘transgressive’ marker, indicating that any limit has been transgressed.
The interpretation as ‘compleitive’ is the most natural one with punctual verbs. As the event does not have temporal extension, leeu⁴ here indicates that the event (transformation) has taken place.

(4.44) khau³ thoo maa book¹ waa² thuŋ⁴ chiŋmai¹ leeu³.
3hum telephone come tell SUB arrive Ch. NSIT
‘He called to say that he is in Chiangmai now.’

The same holds for situations with a prominent final limit, where leeu³ usually refers to the completion of the situation:

(4.45) khau⁴ tham kaanbaan² set¹ leeu³.
3hum do homework finish NSIT
‘He has finished his homework.’

(4.46) phom⁴ haa⁴ ᵅyn cvv leeu³.
1sm look.for money find NSIT
‘I have found the money (I was looking for).’

With durative situations that do not suggest a telic reading, leeu³ usually refers to the completion of either the act itself or of its beginning, resulting in translations that sound like ‘progressive’ in English.

(4.47) khau⁴ tham ṇaan leeu³.
3hum do work NSIT
‘He has worked.’ or ‘He is working now.’
(= ‘He has started working.’)

(4.48) chan⁴ mai² khit¹ mii rook¹, khrɔəŋ² khruo, phrɔ⁴ chan⁴ mii 1sfam NEG think have CEXP family because 1sfam have yuu¹ leeu³.
TMPR NSIT
‘I don’t intend to have a family, because I’ve got one already.’
(LC:145; ML:88)

If a verbal expression includes a prominent initial limit, leeu³ usually indicates that this limit has been transgressed.

(4.49) khau⁴ nāŋ² to³ leeu³.
3hum sit table NSIT
‘He is sitting at the table (now).’

In sentences including a quantitative expression, leeu³ indicates that this quantity has been reached or transgressed by the time of reference, as in (4.50).
Notice that the position of ้leeu³ is either after the verb phrase (verb + object), or after the quantifier phrase (numeral + classifier). The difference is one of emphasis.

(4.50)  phom⁴  kin  heēmbvkkv²  ้leeu³  sōn⁴  chin³/sōn⁴  chin³  ้leeu³  
        1sm  eat  hamburger  NSIT  two  CL_piece two  CL_piece NSIT  
        ‘I have eaten two hamburgers (so I am full now).’

The use of ้leeu³ is restricted in contexts where the event occurs later than expected. (4.51) is ungrammatical if we speak of the Monday following the Saturday he promised to come.

(4.51)  *khau⁴  bōk¹  waa²  cə  maa  wānsau⁴,  leʔ  wāncan  
        3hum  tell  SUB  PROS  come  Saturday  and  Monday  
        khau⁴  maa  ้leeu³.  
        3hum  come  NSIT  
        ‘He said that he would come on Saturday, and he came on Monday.’

The inapplicability of ้leeu³ here is due to the fact that there is a word denoting events that occur later than expected, phuŋ⁴ ‘just now’, which would be used in this case. ้leeu³ does not indicate a ‘preocitive’ event, although its standard translation into English as ‘already’ might suggest this. If someone says at 7 p.m.

(4.52)  phom⁴  kin  khaau²  ้leeu³. 
        1sm  eat  rice  NSIT  
        ‘I have eaten.’, ‘I am eating now.’

there is no necessary implication of his eating occurring earlier than expected. Even after landing at Bangkok airport with a delay of over an hour, the Thai announcement on Swissair flights is normally

(4.53)  saai⁴kaanbin sōwis³ʔee  dai²  nam  than²  suu¹  
        airline  Swissair  get  lead  2hh  ALL  
        thaa²ʔaakaat¹sōyaan  krùŋtheep²  rīp²rōi³  ้leeu³.  
        airport  Bangkok  perfect  NSIT  
        ‘Swissair has brought you now to Bangkok airport.’ (Swissair flights to Bangkok)

This announcement merely states that the new situation of having arrived is fully here now, independent of expectations about the time.

We have treated yan as a marker expressing that an old situation persists, that no change has occurred yet, although one might be expected. ้leeu³, on the other hand, indicates that a change has taken place and a new situation has
arisen. In this function leeu is the functional opposite of the persistive marker yan, which is shown very neatly in questions like (4.54).

(4.54)a. khau maa (leeu ruum) yan?
    3hum come (NSIT or) PERS
    ‘Has he come yet?’ or ‘Is he here yet?’

b. maa leeu/ yan (mai maa).
    come NSIT / PERS (NEG come)
    ‘Yes.’ / ‘No.’

Denoting a situation after a situation change (‘new situation’), leeu is incompatible with verbs referring logically to original situations that are not preceded by any other situation. A sentence like *khaup pen dek leeu ‘he is a child now’ is not possible in a natural setting (though very well so in a supposed science fiction novel, where people are born old and grow young). The contrastive factor of ‘new situation as opposed to old situation’ is rather dominant, so that leeu-clauses rarely introduce new information, but express only that an expected situation has started or fully developed. Its use is thus mostly restricted to the change into an expected situation, although a few other examples can be found. The sentence (4.55) can only be uttered, if the arrival of Chai was expected by at least the speaker himself. (4.56) can be used to express surprise about Chai’s earlier than expected arrival, not about his coming as such.

(4.55) dii na?, chai maa leeu.
    good EMPH Chai come NSIT
    ‘Good, Chai has come now.’

(4.56) pleek dii na?, chai ko maa leeu.
    strange good EMPH Chai COMM come NSIT
    ‘How strange, Chai is already here.’
    *‘How strange, Chai has come, too.’

The new situation has arisen definitely, though it is not necessarily the completion of an action. A helpful translation is ‘it is now the case that ... (it was not the case before)’.

As the change into the new situation has been completed, leeu often also has a connotation of ‘irreversible situation’. It is this connotation that is expressed in sentences where obviously new information is conveyed in a leeu -clause, as shown in (4.57) and (4.58).
(4.57)  nān maalīmaan yañ mai² ruu³ ruñey² līyī, waa²
PREF Mali 3s PERS NEG know matter EMPH SUB
mēe² man com naam³ taai leeu³.
mother 3s drown water die NSIT
‘Mali doesn’t even know yet that her mother has drowned (and
died).’ (PL:127)

(4.58)  tēe¹ wi³ phaat² ko² leē hen⁴ ruu⁵ dii si⁴ leeu³.
but V. COMM look see R. IRVS NSIT
‘But Vibhat had already seen Ruedi (it was too late for her to hide).’
(LR:211)

In (4.58), the irreversibility of the situation is reinforced by the marker si⁴
(lit. ‘waste, get lost, break down’).

In WH-questions, the use of leeu³ is restricted. It occurs only in questions
about a quantity that has been reached by the time of asking. The quantifier
here sets a limit on which leeu³ can focus. As WH-words like khrai ‘who’ are
focal themselves, leeu³ can not put additional focus on the limits of the verbal
expression.

(4.59)a.  *khrai maa leeu³?
who come NSIT
‘Who has come?’

b.  maa kan kii¹ khon leeu³?
come REC how.many Cl_hum NSIT
‘How many people have come so far?’

(4.60)a.  *khun ?aaan¹ ?ərai leeu³?
2hon read what NSIT
‘What have you read?’

b.  ?aaan¹ kii¹ naa² leeu³?
read how.many page NSIT
‘How many pages have you read so far?’

In imperative clauses, leeu³ has to be replaced by diəu⁴ nii³ ‘now’ or some
similar expression. In prohibitive sentences, ?iik¹ ‘more, further’ is used instead
of leeu³.

In negated clauses, leeu³ retains its reading as ‘new situation has arisen’. The
interpretation of mai² kin leeu³ ‘not eat leeu³’ is ‘the new situation is: I don’t
eat.’. Depending on the context, different translations result in English. If the
speaker has already eaten something, the natural translation is ‘I don’t eat
anymore (I did before)’. If he hasn’t started eating yet, we get ‘I don’t want to
eat anymore (I lost the appetite I had before)’. In this case, kin ‘eat’ again
suggests prospective interpretation.
The most puzzling property of *leeu*³ is probably that in many instances it can have future reference (Boonyapatipark’s ‘imminent’ reading). In this case it is usually, but not necessarily, combined with the prospective marker *ca?¹* and/or an adverbial referring to the future.

(4.61) *diao*⁴ *wansau*¹ *man ko*² *klap¹ maa *leeu*³. *pai*
   moment Saturday 3s COMM return come NSIT go
   khit⁴thon⁴-hkhit¹thun⁴ *man thammai? *diao⁴ *liik¹ *wan *scoη⁴
   (rhyme-)miss 3s why moment more day two
   wan *man ko*² *klap¹ maa *leeu*³.
   day 3s COMM return come NSIT
   ‘On Saturday he will come back. Why do you miss him now? In only
   one or two days, he will be back.’ (PL:60)

The adverbial *diao*⁴ ‘(in a) moment’ is often used to transpose a situation into the near future. The use of *leeu*³ here reinforces the (emotional) nearness of the return of the person. This undertone of *leeu*³ can be noted frequently, though it is not part of its semantics. The most plausible explanation of expressions where *leeu*³ is used in the sense of ‘near future, imminent event’ is again that ‘prospectivity’ does not have to be marked overtly, as seen above. A possible translation of (4.61) would then be ‘it is the case now (it was not so before) that he is coming back soon...’. We have here another piece of evidence for the ‘prospective phase’ of verbal expressions.

*leeu*³ as sequential marker. If *leeu*³ stands between two verbal expressions, the normal reading is ‘A is finished, B follows’, i.e. as sequential marker. Also intonationally a restructuring of the sentence has taken place, *leeu*³ being usually preceded rather than followed by a pause. This development is shown in examples (4.62) through (4.64), with changing position of intonational pauses indicated by commas.

(4.62) *mui⁴ dai² roη³haai² pai*leeu³,khwaam-ruu³stuk¹ thii² *pat¹*
   when get cry go NSIT NML-feel ATTR stuff
   nen² yuu¹ nai cai khoi² banthau loŋ
   compressed TMPRin heart gradually relieve DIR/down
   dai² maak².
   POT much
   ‘After she had cried, the feeling that had been stuffed in her heart
   gradually grew easier.’ (LR:328)

(4.63) *thak³sinaa naa² deŋ* *leeu*³ *siι².*
   T. face red SEQ pale
   ‘Thaksina’s face first turned red and then white.’ (LR:326)
(4.64) ล่าว ยืน นิ่ง ยุ้ย ยิ้ม หุ่น เลือก เหลือง ยึด ตัว เข้า "เวลา เข้า ซุ่ม ลอย ".
Exclaim shout INGR SUB PREF bandit retreat
‘Loi stood still for a second, then shouted, “Bandit retreat!”’ (LC:34; ML:21)

After it is established as a sequential marker, เลือก can stand in sentence initial position as in (4.65):

(4.65) เลือก ที่มา คุ้ม คุ้ม ผู้ที่ที่ที่มา น้ำมัน ตาไว ตาย แต่ เลือก
SEQ why suddenly 3s reach drown water die POT
EMPH EMPH
‘And how can she so suddenly come to drown?’ (PL:127)

Conclusions for เลือก. Leaving away the very marginal use of เลือก as a full verb, we get two main functions, which cannot be clearly kept apart, viz. เลือก as a TAM marker and as a sequential conjunction. The four interpretations listed by Boonyapatinpark for the TAM marker เลือก can be united under the broad cover term ‘new situation’, from which the other readings can be deduced by contextual means. There seems to be no difference in the interpretation of เลือก with the different verb classes as postulated by Boonyapatinpark. The context, linguistic as well as extra-linguistic, remains the main factor of decision.

Using the postulated structure of Thai verbs, we can state that เลือก indicates that any boundary has been passed and focuses on the ensuing state. It corresponds to Johanson’s ‘postterminal’ marker, whereas it must be stressed that we are not talking here of critical boundaries or transformations. The context is the main factor determining which limit is the one that has been passed. To unambiguously indicate that it is the final boundary that is in focus, usually a completive V2 such as เหลือง ‘finish’ or a definite object is added. A phasal auxiliary like เหลือง ‘begin’ clearly puts focus on the initial limit.

If no overt marker is present, the normal interpretation is dependent on the semantics of the verbal expression. The reading as imminent future probably has its origin in the above mentioned inherent notation of ‘intention’ or ‘prospectivity’ of an action, which can result in readings as ‘imminent action, imminent event’. The interpretation of เหลือง เหลือง เหลือง as ‘he is going to speak right now’ would then be explained as ‘it is now a fact that he has the intention to speak’. The use as a sequential marker can be explained as ‘final boundary has been passed’, i.e. a new situation/event can follow.
maa

The orientation verb *maa* ‘come, motion towards centre of attention’ is used in the temporal perspective to express that a situation extends towards the centre of interest, i.e. the present time. It therefore acquires a perfect reading in many instances. It has to be noted though, that the spatial dimension, whenever available, is the dominant one. In the temporal dimension, *maa* expresses a situation that has started at some point in the past and has present relevance, though it does not necessarily have to persist at the present time. Some illustrating examples are given in (4.66) and (4.67) below.

(4.66)  luuk² tham ?ẹrai maa? suə² puən² mot¹.  
  child do what PERF shirt dirty all  
  ‘What have you done, son? Your shirt is all dirty.’

(4.67)  seem⁴  ᵇyəm²  ruu³cak¹ phin maa teɛ¹ yaŋ  dek¹.  
  Sem start know Phin PERF since PERS child  
  ‘He had known her since they had played together as children.’  
  (LC:46; ML:28)

*maa* is compatible with specific time expressions like ‘at noon’ as well as with ‘since ...’, i.e. *maa* can focus both on the situation change and the ensuing situation. If the verbal expression lacks prominent limits, the use of *maa* is restricted. It is in this case compatible only with time expressions like ‘since ...’ and ‘for ... time’ but not with specific time expressions.

(4.68)  khau⁴ ruəi maa taŋ²teɛ¹ (*toon) tham ŋañ  boorisat¹ nan³.  
  ʒhum rich PERF since (TEMP) do work company that  
  ‘He has been rich since he started working for that company.’

(4.69)  lən¹ suə four maa naan leɛu³.  
  ʒf pretty PERF long.time NSIT  
  ‘She has been pretty for a long time.’

The interpretation as an orientation verb is preferred in sentences like (4.70):

(4.70)  “wan nii mii ?ẹrai mai¹maï¹ maa hai² duu ruu⁴ plaau¹?”  
  day this have what new:RDP come FIN look or NEG  
  “mii, teɛ¹ mai² daï² ?au maa.”  
  have but NEG get take come  
  ‘“Have you got anything new to show me today?” “Yes, I do, but I didn’t bring it along.”’  
  (LR:335)
As with most (or probably all) TAM markers, it has always to be kept in mind that for native speakers of Thai, we are dealing here with one morpheme with different uses, not with a group of homophonous morphemes. The translations and glosses often obscure this fact, as no handy cover term is usually available in English. In its use as perfect marker, *maa* cannot occur in imperative and prohibitive clauses.

### 4.4 The prospective marker

The prospective is the future analogue to the perfect. According to Trask (1996:223), the prospective “differs from other aspects of the future in that it does not necessarily express either a prediction or an intention”. Comrie (1995:64) states that the prospective is a form “where a state is related to some subsequent situation”, that is the present situation carries the seeds for the subsequent situation, without necessarily being imminent or near future. The ‘futurity factor’ of the prospective is relative, i.e. we are not talking about absolute future time reference.

**caʔl**

The origin of *caʔl* (and its colloquial preclitic form *ca*, which is used in normal speech) is not clear. A more formal variant is *caʔl*, which occurs frequently in older texts. One might think of a connection with Burmese *saɿ*, spelt <ca>, ‘begin, start’, which has also been borrowed into Mon where it is used mostly as an auxiliary with ingressive meaning.

Thai *caʔl* is not used as a full verb, and it does not have verbal characteristics. The standard Dictionary of the Royal Institute lists it as ‘verbal auxiliary’ (*kham chuat ʔ kəriyaa*), not as ‘auxiliary verb’ (*kəriyaa chuat ʔ*) like, for example, *toŋ ʔ* ‘must’. The semantic range of *caʔl* is wide, including the notion of ‘future, intention, supposition, plan, habituality’. In this *caʔl* is not unlike the English ‘will, would’, by which it may well have been influenced. A possible cover term for *caʔl* might be ‘irrealis’ as very often it does not refer to an actual situation. In the present study I prefer Boonyapatipark’s label as ‘prospective aspect’ (Boonyapatipark 1983:215ff), as this seems to most adequately cover the functions of *caʔl*. The marker *caʔl* freely combines with a large number of other TAM markers, often without any conceivable change in meaning. Like the other TAM markers, *caʔl* is not obligatory in Thai sentences.

The prospective function of *caʔl* is particularly evident in the following sentences, the third of which does not refer to future tense:

---

13 It is not absurd to see some English influence in the Thai aspect markers, as popular literature in Thailand started only at the beginning of the 20th century, when translations of English novels were published. Other English influences in Thai syntax include probably the progressive marker *kamlay* and the extended use of the (originally only adversative) passive (cf. Foley 1997:415).
(4.71) nuik³ buor¹ khun² maa ca khaai⁴ si⁴ kɔ⁲ dai².  
think bored INGR PROS sell IRVS COMM POT
‘If I get bored of them, I can always sell them off.’ (LR:76)

(4.72) thaa² haak¹ dai² pen mïo khun phoŋ, ca pen thaaŋ thii²  
if get be wife PREF P. PROS be way ATTR 
kau² khaou² pai suu¹ kamosit¹ nai sap³ som⁴ bat¹ thii² ton 
step DIR_in go ALL ownership in treasure ATTR self 
uuik³ yaak¹ dai² yuu¹ thuuk³ wan. 
think DES get TMP Re every day 
‘[S]he thought that getting to be Phong’s wife would be a step 
towards possession of the wealth she hankered after.’ (LC:91; ML:55)

(4.73) heet'kaan beep¹ nii³ ca kyrt¹ khtun² thuk khran³  
event manner this PROS be born INGR every time 
thii² phom klap¹ baan² phom⁴ ca yuu¹ kin lau² phuut² 
ATTR 1sm return house 1sm PROS stay drink alcohol speak 
khui kap¹ luŋ con duuk¹. 
chat with uncle until late night  
‘These events would occur every time I came home. I would sit and 
drink whisky, chatting with the old man until late at night.’ (PL:58)

In the above examples the prospective is explained by the fact that first a 
certain situation has to occur (‘I feel bored’, ‘be Phong’s wife’, ‘I came 
home’) which then leads to a subsequent situation (‘I can sell’, ‘attain 
ownership of the riches’, ‘I sit and drink’).

In other examples a firm determination is expressed:

(4.74) phruŋ² nii³ chan⁴ ca rak³ khun taoŋ¹ pai.  
tomorrow 1fam PROS love 2hon whole CONT 
‘Tomorrow, I will love you forever.’ (from a popular Thai song)

The prospective marker does not occur in imperative and prohibitive 
clauses, but is combinable with negated verbs, resulting in readings like ‘will 
never’.

4.5 Combinations of aspect markers

Combinations of two or more aspect markers are possible. Figure 14 shows the 
possibilities of combinations. It has to be noted that up to four markers can be 
combined to express a situation.
Figure 3: Combinability of aspect markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M2</th>
<th>yuu\textsuperscript{1}</th>
<th>pai</th>
<th>yan</th>
<th>kamlaŋ</th>
<th>dai\textsuperscript{2}</th>
<th>leəu\textsuperscript{3}</th>
<th>maa</th>
<th>caʔ\textsuperscript{1}</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yuu\textsuperscript{1}</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pai</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yan</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamlaŋ</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dai\textsuperscript{2}</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leəu\textsuperscript{3}</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maa</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>caʔ\textsuperscript{1}</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

M1 stands for the first marker in the combination, M2 for the second one. From figure 3 it is evident, for example, that kamlaŋ and caʔ\textsuperscript{1} combine only as kamlaŋ caʔ\textsuperscript{1} V, but not as * caʔ\textsuperscript{1} kamlaŋ. dai\textsuperscript{2} as second member of a compound is usually possible if it stands in postverbal position, where it has potential value.

The most common combinations have been mentioned in the discussion of the main aspect markers above. Some of the possible combinations of aspect markers have acquired unpredictable idiomatic meanings. These are presented in the following paragraphs.

**yuu\textsuperscript{1} leəu\textsuperscript{3}**

One of the most frequent combinations is yuu\textsuperscript{1} leəu\textsuperscript{3}, which deserves special attention. Besides its expected meaning, this combination very often indicates that a situation is inevitable. In (4.75), the interpretation can be deduced from the components:

(4.75) khau\textsuperscript{4} saaŋ\textsuperscript{2} baan\textsuperscript{2} yuu\textsuperscript{1} leəu\textsuperscript{3}.

3hum build house TMRNSIT

‘He is now building a house.’

In (4.76), on the other hand, the interpretation is idiomatic:

(4.76) pai duu naŋ\textsuperscript{4} kan mai? thaa\textsuperscript{2} liŋ\textsuperscript{3} ko\textsuperscript{2}

go look movie REC Q if invite COMM

pai yuu\textsuperscript{1} leəu.

go TMRN NSIT

‘Shall we go to the movies together?’ ‘If you invite me, of course I’m going.’
The expression \textit{pai yuu} \textit{l} \textit{eeu}\textsuperscript{3} here has future reference, indicating the intention of the speaker. We have here a clear example of a verb expressing an intention rather than an actual activity. We can analyse the clause as 'it is now the case that I intend to go'. It is interesting to notice that \textit{yuu} \textit{l} \textit{eeu}\textsuperscript{3} can cooccur with verbs that are not possible with \textit{yuu}\textsuperscript{1} alone, i.e. punctual verbs. The normal reading in this case is again 'of course, inevitably' with a strong connotation of imminence, which may or may not be indicated by \textit{co}:

(4.77) \begin{tabular}{l}
\textit{rawan na}\textsuperscript{3}, \textit{luuk\textsuperscript{2}poon}\textsuperscript{1} (\textit{co}) \textit{teek}\textsuperscript{1} \textit{yuu}\textsuperscript{1} \textit{l} \textit{eeu}\textsuperscript{3}. \\
careful EMPH balloon PROS burst TMPR NSIT
\end{tabular}

'Be careful, the balloon is going to burst any moment!'

The combination \textit{yuu} \textit{l} \textit{eeu}\textsuperscript{3} obviously has gone some distance towards lexicalisation and should probably be treated (and glossed) as a distinct morpheme.

\textit{maa l} \textit{eeu}\textsuperscript{3} \textit{vs. pai l} \textit{eeu}\textsuperscript{3}

The perfect indicates that a situation has occurred in the past and remains relevant in the present. This is in Thai usually expressed by the combination of \textit{maa} and \textit{l} \textit{eeu}\textsuperscript{3}. The present relevance is overtly indicated by the use of \textit{maa}, which denotes a 'motion towards the centre of interest', both spatially and temporally. In a sentence like (4.78), \textit{maa} indicates that the direction of the act of giving was towards the speaker, therefore is relevant.

(4.78) \begin{tabular}{l}
\textit{kha}\textsuperscript{4} \textit{hai}\textsuperscript{2} \textit{na}\textsuperscript{4}\textit{s} \textit{wu}\textsuperscript{4} \textit{maa l} \textit{eeu}\textsuperscript{3}. \\
3hum give book come NSIT
\end{tabular}

'He gave me/you a book.'

The use of \textit{pai} instead of \textit{maa} maintains the perfect reading, but it cancels the relevance of the act to the speaker. The act of giving was directed away from the speaker, i.e. the object given is gone, as in (4.79).

(4.79) \begin{tabular}{l}
\textit{phom}\textsuperscript{4} \textit{hai}\textsuperscript{2} \textit{na}\textsuperscript{4}\textit{s} \textit{wu}\textsuperscript{4} \textit{pai l} \textit{eeu}\textsuperscript{3}. \\
1sm give book go NSIT
\end{tabular}

'I gave you/him a book.'

In both examples, the orientation verbs have spatial as well as temporal function. In other cases, only the temporal factor is relevant, as seen in (4.80a, b).

(4.80) a. \textit{kha}\textsuperscript{4} \textit{kin} \textit{kha}\textsuperscript{2} \textit{maa l} \textit{eeu}\textsuperscript{3}.

\begin{tabular}{l}
3hum eat rice come NSIT
\end{tabular}

'He has eaten.' (⇒ he is full now)
b. khau⁴ kin khaau² pai leu³.
3hum eat rice go NSIT
‘He has eaten.’ (⇒ the food is gone)

Here again the use of pai indicates that the event has occurred and its result is not relevant to the speaker anymore, except maybe for the disturbing fact that there is no food left for him to eat.

5 Conclusion

We have shown that the verbs of Thai do have some traits of aktionsart, though most of the aspectual burden is carried by the context and by verbal compounds/auxiliaries. The verbal semantics are underspecified, with only two formally distinct classes, viz. PUNCTUAL and DURATIVE verbs. There is a category of stative verbs which can be established by language internal formal means, but it seems to be of restricted relevance in a discussion about aspect in Thai, as in most cases the statives behave like other non-punctual verbs. Restrictions in the cooccurrence of aspect markers with verbal expressions are in most cases purely pragmatic ones and can be removed if an adequate (if sometimes unnatural) context is created. The basic structure of Thai verbs that has been proposed is

\[ (/)------(\bar{X}) \quad \text{for durative verbs, and} \]
\[ \bar{X} \quad \text{for punctual verbs.} \]

What are called initiotransformatives in other studies do not constitute a separate class, but rather a group of duratives with prominent initial limits. An adequate context can suggest initiotransformative-like readings for most verbal expressions. The same goes for telicity, which is established by the context of the situation described rather than the verb itself.

We have seen that the aspect markers do more than just select a given phase or boundary of the verb structure. Like phasal auxiliaries they can add phases and/or boundaries to the verbal expression and very often they have a modal connotation as summarised in fig. 4.
Figure 4: Summary of Thai aspect markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>marker</th>
<th>punctual verb</th>
<th>durative verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yuu</td>
<td>(not available)</td>
<td>situation going on at point of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reference,</td>
<td></td>
<td>right limit not reached yet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pai</td>
<td>away from centre of interest,</td>
<td>continuing action, away from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>centre</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yay</td>
<td>completion, irreversible</td>
<td>of interest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamlaj</td>
<td>iterative; ‘still, anyway’</td>
<td>persisting situation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dai</td>
<td>event imminent</td>
<td>situation in progress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leeu³</td>
<td>get to, potential</td>
<td>get to, inchoative-potentia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maa</td>
<td>event has taken place or is imminent</td>
<td>(new) situation has started</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>occurred, still relevant</td>
<td>or ended or is imminent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca²⁴</td>
<td>prospective</td>
<td>occurred, still relevant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>prospective</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Aspect is not an obligatory category in Thai, i.e. no overt aspect marking has to be present in a given sentence. This, together with the open verb structure, often leads to ambiguity which can be removed by contextual means, both linguistic and extra-linguistic.

I have restricted the discussion of the Thai aspect system in this study to the formal means, i.e. the aspect markers and verb categories. Further investigation is needed especially in the field of pragmatics. As the imperfective is generally associated with background information and the perfective with actual events, we may expect that in Thai the common distinction of topic and comment be used to express aspectual differences. In this connection the ‘comment marker’ ka² deserves special attention. This marker has probably developed from an older topic marker by reinterpretation and new intonational structuring. Typical translations of ka² are ‘therefore, then, too, still, anyway’. As a comment marker, ka² introduces a new situation even if this is not indicated by any other formal means. Examples are given in (5.1) and (5.2).

(5.1) yuu¹ yuu¹ khau⁴ ka²³ maa ncoon kap¹ nuu⁴, leeu³ run² khun² stay:RDP 3hum COMM come sleep with 1shon SEQ dawn DIRup
ncoon³ saau⁴ khau⁴ pai foon³, khau⁴ ka²³ lyri top¹ nuu⁴ younger.sister 3hum go accuse 3hum COMM CONS slap 1shon
khian² nuu⁴, hit 1shon
‘He just came and slept with me, and next morning his sister went off and told, so [Khun Nai] slapped and thrashed me.’ (LC:97; ML:59)
Like most aspects of Thai grammar, the use and function of the comment marker, also regarding the expression of aspeccual distinctions, needs more in-depth study. There might very well turn out to be a more important distinction than the primary aspect markers and verb categories along the lines of topic/given situation and comment/new situation. We can, of course, not postulate that the verbal expression in the comment clause always indicates a perceptive situation. The contrary is seen in (5.3), where the old situation of ‘being asleep’ persists in spite of the dynamic action expressed in the topic clause.

As the classical Thai literature for many centuries consisted only of poems with very restrictive rules for rhymes using a very condensed language, overt aspect marking is found only rarely in classical texts. In the more verbose spoken language, ambiguity is, whenever felt necessary, removed by using overt markers or adverbials. Only with the introduction of secular prose in the form of short stories and novels written in a language closer to the spoken idiom at the beginning of the 20th century did Thai writers start feeling that the use of overt markers with more or less consistency was necessary. As the genre of secular literature arose under Western influence, it is not surprising that some americanisms have found their way into the Thai language by this way, starting from the formal written language and later expanding into the spoken language (cf. footnote 13).

References

Thai sources:


Tense-aspect flip-flop and a somewhat elusive gram type

Karen H. Ebert
University of Zurich

Abstract
A remarkable feature of Kiranti languages (Tibeto-Burman, Eastern Nepal) is that there are markers which indicate past in one language, nonpast in another. Moreover, there are certain tense-aspect forms that seem to have both perfect and progressive meaning. I shall first discuss the possibility of explaining the flip-flops and the ambiguous forms on the basis of aktionsarten and a reinterpretation of resultatives. When taking into account negative forms (section 4) it seems more adequate to postulate a different gram type (in the sense of Bybee & Dahl 1989, Bybee et al. 1994). In section 5 I shall present some related data from Burmese and Mandarin. In the next section I try to work out the difference between a perfect and the gram type we are dealing with, for which I use the preliminary term NEWSIT. The last section brings us back to where I started. My hypothesis is that the tense-aspect flip-flop can best be explained as originating from a reinterpretation of a NEWSIT marker.

1 Flip-flops
Two of the southern Kiranti languages have a suffix -e, which follows all person and number markers. In Athpare it indicates past, in Camling nonpast/imperfective (see Ebert 1997b:26). The following examples illustrate the identical morphological build-up of Camling nonpast and Athpare past forms. For full paradigms and details of formation see Ebert (1997a,b).

(1)  a. CAMLING NPT
khat-e  ‘he goes’
khata-c-e  ‘they (d) go’
go-d-NPT
tyok-u-m-e  ‘we see it’
see-3P-1/2pA-NPT

   cf. PT
   khata
   khata-ci
   tyok-u-m

Aktionsart and aspectotemporality in non-European languages.
b. ATHPARE PT
   khad-e  ‘he went’
   khad-a-c-e  ‘they (d) went’
   go-PB-d-PT
   nis-u-m-e  ‘we saw it’
   see-3P-1/2pA-PT
   cf. NPT
   khat-yuk
   khat-ci-ci (<*-ci-t-ci)
   go-d-NPT:[copy]
   nis-u-m-t-um
   see-3P-1/2pA-NPT-[copy]

Stem + a constitutes a past base (PB) in Athpare, a finite base in Camling (cf. NPT khata-ce). In Bantawa, for example, a following the stem is the (only) past marker. In all cases this a is elided by a following vowel.

Some languages, spreading from the north to the southeast of the Kiranti area have a suffix -t, sometimes following person markers, sometimes the stem. This suffix stands for past tense in Thulung and Khaling, for nonpast in Athpare (see 1b) and Dumi. Without going into details, the flip-flop can be demonstrated with some examples from Dumi and Thulung.

(2) a. DUMI NPT
   yœm-t-ini  ‘they will beat him’
   beat-NPT-3p
   a-yum-t-ɔsi  ‘they, will beat me’
   1eP-beat-NPT-d
   yœm-ki-t-a  ‘we, will beat him’
   beat-1p-NPT-e
   cf. PT
   yœmd-ini
   a-yum-ɔsi
   yœm-ka
   beat-1pe

b. THULUNGT PT
   yal-mi-d-i  ‘they beat him’
   beat-3p-PT-[i]
   yal-ŋi-d-i-ci  ‘they, beat me’
   beat-1s-PT-[i]-d
   yal-t-o-ko  ‘we, beat him’
   beat-PT-[o]-1e
   cf. NPT
   yal-mi
   yal-ŋi-ci
   yal-ku

A zero-marked form is a past in Camling\(^1\) and Dumi, a nonpast in Thulung, Khaling, Limbu and Bantawa. Figure 1 gives an overview of the past and nonpast markers in eight out of the thirty Kiranti languages (with their relative geographical position).

\(^1\) Actually the Camling past form is morphologically identical with the Bantawa past form. But as root + a is also the base for the nonpast in Camling, a cannot be regarded as a past marker. Cf. for details Ebert (1997b: 24f).
Δ Mt. Everest

Khaling, Thulung
PT: -t
NPT: Ø

Dumi
PT: Ø
NPT: -t

Limbu
PT: \(\sqrt[+]{a}/ε\)
NPT: Ø

Camling
PT: \(\sqrt[+]{a}\) -Ø
NPT: \(\sqrt[+]{a}\) -e

Bantawa
PT: \(\sqrt[+]{a}\)
NPT: Ø

Belhare
PT: \(\sqrt[+]{he}\)
NPT: -t, -yuk

Athpare
PT: \(\sqrt[+]{a}\) -e
NPT: -t, -yuk

Figure 1: Past and nonpast markers

The question I shall pursue here is: How can a marker come to indicate such contrary notions? I shall concentrate on Camling and Athpare, but also mention some forms from Belhare and from Limbu. For a somewhat fuller picture, the tense and aspect forms relevant for the discussion are presented in Table 1.\(^2\) Note that, except in Limbu, perfect and progressive are not distinguished in negation, a fact to which I shall come back in section 4.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ASPECTOTEMPORAL MARKERS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PERG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“negPROG”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“negPERF”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2 Aktionsart

When dealing with Kiranti languages, one notices that often a past or a perfect is used where we translate with a present. This can mostly be ascribed to the aktionsart of the verb, which differs from that of the English translation equivalent. Explicit aktionsart tests have been carried out only for Belhare by Bickel (1996) and to a much lesser extent for Camling by myself. Sometimes we can infer the aktionsart from use in context. Most Kiranti languages have no or at most a handful of stative verbs. States, also those described by adjectives in English, are usually conceived as the result of the entrance into the situation. Thus Athpare ings- means only ‘fall asleep’ (not ‘sleep’); mitt- means ‘come to want’. The state of sleeping or wanting has to be described with a resultative-perfect (3a). Sometimes, especially before a nominalizer and in subordinate clauses, the past is used (3b).

(3)  

ATHPARE

a. ings-ese  ‘s/he sleeps’  
mitt-ese  ‘s/he wants’

b. ka-sak was-e-n-i?  
your-hunger come.up-PT-NML-Q  
\[\text{Are you hungry?}\]  -  
as-sak was-ese.  
\[\text{my-hunger come.up-PERF}\]

The Limbu verbs limd- ‘sweet’ and soos- ‘itch’ refer to the moment of perception, which has often passed when the sensation is communicated. If the translations given in van Driem (1987:89-91) are exhaustive, these verbs have only ingressive aktionsart, i.e. they mean ‘come to taste sweet, be perceived as sweet’, etc.

(4)  

LIMBU PT  \[\text{NPT}\]

limd-é  ‘it tastes / tasted sweet’  
soos-é  ‘it itches /itched’

lim  ‘it will taste sweet’  
soo  ‘it will itch’

For other verbs, van Driem gives two translations for the nonpast form. These verbs are ingressive-phasal, i.e. they have both the change of state and the resulting situation as part of their lexical meaning (symbolized $\otimes$------).

(5)  

lakt-é  ‘it is / was boiling’  
lak  ‘it is boiling / will boil’

There is no generally accepted term for these verbs. The abbreviation ISTA (inchoative-stative or ingressive-stative) used by Breu and Sasse (e.g. Sasse 1991) has gained some currency among German-speaking scholars. Breu changed to “inceptively stative” in a later publication (1994). I have used “two-phase verbs” in Ebert (1995), a term taken from Arabic and Turkic linguistics.
This term was criticizing by Bickel (1996), because it suggests that the lexical meaning contains two phases in the sense of nonpunctual situation. Bickel restricts “two-phase verbs” to lexemes with the aktionsart structure \[-\otimes---\] (e.g. English hide). It is often preferable to speak of initiotransformatives (cf. Johanson 1971, 2000:58ff). This term leaves open whether there is a phase before the transformation or not, which is often difficult to decide.

‘come to the boil / boil’ is one of the verbs that we encounter again and again in Asian languages with initiotransformative aktionsart. Others that typically belong to this group are ‘fall asleep / sleep’, ‘put on / wear’, ‘grasp / hold’, ‘mount / ride’, postural verbs like ‘sit down / sit’, and a verb for ‘become / be’. For some of the verbs which are typically ingressive or initiotransformative we get the following correspondences between Athpare and Camling.

\[(6) \quad \text{ATHPARE} \quad \text{CAMLING} \quad \text{CAMLING}\]
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{lis-e (PT), lis-eše (PERF)} & \text{hin-š-e (NPT)} & \text{‘is’} \\
\text{lis-e} & \text{tir-e} & \text{‘must’} \\
\text{tug-e, tug-eše} & \text{tik-e, tuk-öše (PROG)} & \text{‘it hurts’}
\end{array}
\]

The Athpare verbs behave as would be expected for progressives: the present situation is referred to by a perfect or a past. But if Camling –e is a nonpast / imperfective marker, we must be dealing with stative or activity verbs in this language. Perhaps these morphological equivalences can lead us toward an explanation of how the tense flip-flop originated.

### 3 A possible scenario

The following development seems plausible:

- –e originally marked a resultative;
- Camling ingressive verbs changed aktionsart; i.e. the postterminal phase, to which the resultative applied at an earlier stage (I), was reinterpreted as a phase that is part of the lexical meaning (II).

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{I} \quad \otimes \\
\text{tik-e} \\
\uparrow \\
\text{II} \quad \otimes---\ \\
\text{tik-e} \\
\uparrow \\
\text{‘it hurts/hurt’}
\end{array}
\]

A verb form like tike could then be understood as resultative of the ingressive meaning component ‘come to hurt’ or as actualis (probably independent of temporal reference) of the stative meaning component ‘hurt’. Such developments are attested for a number of languages. The ingressive meaning may become marginal or disappear totally, e.g. Swahili -lala ‘fall asleep’ → ‘sleep’ (Drolc 2000:102), German sitzen ‘sit down, sit’ → ‘sit’. Think also of
English is tired, which has a resultative form, but is lexicalized as a stative predicate. This step was not taken in Camling, at least not with the verb tik-. The past form tika is used for expressing pain just after it was perceived.

Of the two interpretations of tike in stage II, the actualis interpretation won out and later developed into an imperfective; a new actualis (progressive) form was introduced. In Athpare, the putatively resultative form in -e developed along the well-known path, attested in numerous languages, towards a perfect and then a past.

\[ -\text{nas} \rightarrow \text{PERF} \rightarrow \text{PT} \]

Camling

Athpare

\[ -\text{es} \rightarrow \text{ACTUALIS} \rightarrow \text{IPFV/NPT} \]

(SE-)Camling

NW-Camling

Figure 2: A possible scenario

Interestingly, the Camling periphrastic form with the second verb \( \text{nas} \) - 'keep' goes in both directions. It is used as a resultative, referring to the resultant state (7a) and — less often — with perfect meaning, referring to an event in the past (7b).

(7) **CAMLING**

a. khupsa-panam-chu-ci jhara chya-\( \text{nas} \)-ko raicha barahari-wa.
get.up-TEMP her-hand-Ns all tie-RES-NML REP rope-INST

'When she got up, her hands were all tied up with a rope.' (Jh2.62)

b. ira hubuma kha\( \text{nas} \)-yu-ko hola.
one rainbow see-RES-3P-NML maybe

'Maybe she has seen a rainbow.' (Nir1.267)

Moreover, some speakers of the northwestern Camling dialect use it as a progressive.

(8) **NW-CAMLING**

a. de ta-\( \text{nal-e-nas-e} \)?
what 2-do-NPT-PROG-NPT

'What are you doing?'
b. hakapo chacamaci əspa sunpuwa-da waŋa-ŋasa-c-e.
two boys now tree-LOC climb-PROG-d-NPT
‘Two boys are climbing the tree just now.’ (LSN 3.3)

The grammaticization as a progressive is only in its beginning. It is documented in several sentences of the Linguistic Survey of Nepal (LSN) questionnaires, from which (8a,b) are quoted, but it does not occur in the narratives I collected in the northwestern Camling area.

In many cases what at first seemed to be a progressive turned out to be a resultative. This is especially evident with examples from the southeastern dialect, which has a fully grammaticized progressive marked by -ups or -ōs. The ŋas-forms in the following examples from southeastern narratives can therefore only be resultatives.

(9) SE-CAMLING
a. kap-ghicro-da a-ma sor bo ŋabd-e-ŋas-e.
your-neck-LOC my-mother louse PART stick-NPT-RES-NPT
‘A louse is sticking [= is stuck] to your neck, mother.’ (Bal1.38)

b. khana mina bo ta-khus-yi-ŋas-yo?
you person PART 2-hide-3P-RES-3P:NPT
‘Are you hiding [= have you hidden] someone?’ (Bal6.76)

I have chosen these examples because they can be translated into English by a progressive or by a resultative-perfect,3 due to the initiotransformative character of the English verbs. Thus the affinity of the two meanings becomes plausible.

The progressive in the northwestern dialect could have developed via reinterpretation of resultatives. On the other hand, the ŋas-forms are used also with continuative meaning, e.g. lodyu-ŋasyu ‘he kept telling’, and the development from continuative to progressive is a plausible path, too.

4 Negative forms

We have seen that one of the Camling periphrastic forms translates both into a resultative-perfect and a progressive. When we look at negated periphrastic forms across Kiranti languages, we realize that these notions systematically go together. Most descriptions of Kiranti languages deal with negative forms simply as negations of positive forms. But the negative systems are organized differently (to various degrees in the individual languages). In Camling and

---

3 The possessive resultative interpretation of (9b) might be a bit difficult to get; but take: She always has a bottle of whisky hidden in her desk.
Athpare one single negative form correlates with positive resultative and progressive.

(10) CAMLING
ta-khat-e-ṇas-e  ‘you are gone’
2-go-NPT-RES-NPT
ta-khat-uṇs-e  ‘you are going’
2-go-PROG-NPT
mi-khai ta-ṇas-e  ‘you are not gone / are not going’
NEG-go 2-TAM-NPT

The negated form can be understood literally as ‘you remain without going’. Athpare and Belhare have negative forms with the aspectivizer verb kett-. It is not attested as a full verb in those languages, but Limbu has the cognate kett- ‘attain’. The Athpare negative corresponds in form to the progressive (11a); (11b) and (c) show the same form in the negation of a perfect and a past.4

(11) ATHPARE
a. choṅs-u-gett-u
sell-3P-kett-3P
‘s/he is/was selling it’

choṅs-u-n-gett-u-n-na
sell-3P-NEG-kett-3P-NEG-NML
‘s/he is not selling / hasn’t sold it’

you C. 2-go-PERF-NML-Q no go-NEG-1s-kett-NEG-1s-NML
‘Have you been to Calcutta?’ - ‘No, I haven’t.’

c. khan biha a-lis-e-n-i? - li-ni-ṇ-get-ni-ṇ-na
you marriage 2-become-PT-NML-Q become-NEG-1s-kett-NEG-1s-NML
‘Are you married?’ - ‘No.’

Belhare uses kett- as a progressive marker only with a subgroup of motion verbs (Bickel 1996:131f; 2000). In the negated form, kett- translates as ‘yet’.

---

4 k becomes voiced in a voiced environment; consonant clusters are reduced before a consonantal suffix. Negative clauses are as a rule nominalized in Athpare (cf. Ebert 1997a:54-62) — (11b) is the translation of a Nepali sentence with two perfects: timi kalkatta ga-eko chow? āhā, ahile pani ga-eko chayna.
(12) **BELHARE**

a. khat-ke
go-kett

's/he is going (now)'

b. kam n-cok-ket-ni
work NEG-do-kett-NEG

's/he is not yet working / has not worked yet'

According to Bickel, *kett-* selects the initial or the only boundary; hence his term "inceptive". To my understanding this would yield the meaning 'he is setting out'. A plausible alternative seems that *khat-ke* means 'he has set out, has started walking'. By pragmatic inference this yields the interpretation 'he is going'. Such postlimal verb forms can develop into imperfectives or real progressives, especially with motion verbs. The negative form states that an expected situation has not yet come into existence at reference time.

Negative forms which level out aspecto-temporal distinctions are also found in other Kiranti languages, though they do not seem to be as systematized as in the ABC languages (Athpare, Belhare, Camling). For Thulung, Allen (1975: 88) reports a converbal negative form. To the question 'Have you eaten?' one can answer in the negative only with *mi-pe-thiŋa* bu-ŋa (NEG-eat-CONV be-ls), and not with the regular past form *mi pewwa*. The Limbu form described as "negative perfect" in the grammar is often used in the negation of a past form.

(13) **LIMBU**

you(s) maize 2-sow-3P-Q NEG-sow-CONV be-1s:NPT

'Did you sow the maize?'

(′No, I didn’t.’

(van Driem 1987: 180)

b. po:kς-ɛ-i: me-bo:ks-ɛ-ŋi: - meŋ-bo:ŋ-ʔe: wa:
become-PT-Q NEG-become-PT-NEG-Q NEG-become-CONV be

'Is it [the egg] done or not?'

′It isn’t.’ (180)

Limbu does have regularly negated past forms, as (13b) shows. What are the conditions, then, for the use of the converbal negation? I think that the negation in (13a) and (b) has to be understood in the sense of 'not yet'. The person will sow the maize later, and the egg will be done. Indeed, five of the

---

5 The term "inceptive" is used in African linguistics for tense-aspect forms with the meaning 'already'; cf. Schadeberg (1990), Neukom (1995:89). I find the term rather unhappy, as it is likely to be understood as marking the beginning of a situation ('he started to ...').

6 This development has occurred in Arabic; cf. Ebert (2000:770) for Maltese.

7 The suffix *-thiŋa* is obscure. The form does not occur anywhere in the Thulung texts; the negative converb of subordinate clauses has the shape NEG-STEM-σa.

8 In fact, I found not a single occurrence in the Limbu grammar where the converbal form negates a perfect.
fifteen examples presented in the grammar are translated with the help of *not yet*. In most others *yet* could be inserted, as in (13a,b), where it would even yield a better translation.

Under certain circumstances, which remain unclear so far, the Limbu converbal form can negate a progressive. In the texts in the appendix to the Limbu grammar I found the following sentence:

(14) mund-ε-το way-ε-i mem-mun-ʔe: way-ε-i?
    run-PT-SIM be-PT-Q NEG-run-CONV be-PT-Q
    ‘Was it [the watch] working or was it not?’ (361)

According to van Driem (1987:158), the construction *-rə + wa:-* (as in (14)), a “spatially defocused continuous”, lacks a negated counterpart and uses negated simplicia instead. This statement is clearly contradicted by (14). Though apparently rare, this negative fits nicely into the overall pattern.

The negative forms raise some doubt on the validity of the scenario envisaged in the previous section. One would have to assume that all the periphrastic negatives started out as resultatives and developed in two directions. But do they really have two meanings?

I found two types of formations in compound negatives, which have a broader scope than corresponding positive forms. The Limbu, Thulung and Camling forms consist of a negative converb followed by an auxiliary; Athpare and Belhare have a compound verb construction with the second verb *kett- (< ‘attain’)*. The two types are atemporal in different ways. The negative converb is neutral as to sequentiality or simultaneity, which are marked in positive converbal forms. 9 In the periphrastic formation a negative converb combines with a tense-marked auxiliary. A literal reading would be ‘is/was without V-ing’, ‘is/was was without having V-ed’.

The Athpare and Belhare forms — both the asserted and the negated ones — contain no tense markers and apply in any temporal context. They express that the situation is ‘attained’ or not ‘attained’ at reference time. The different translations as perfect or progressive are due to the structure of English; there are no two meanings in Athpare or Belhare. With the original meaning of *kett-* in mind, it is easy to see how the combination with an ingressive verb yields the reference to a resulting situation. The Athpare positive forms focus on this situation, leaving an actualis (“progressive”) reading. In Belhare, this step was carried out only for a subgroup of motion verbs.

In both groups we sometimes find an additional meaning component which we can translate by *yet*. This component is strong in Limbu and Belhare, but not in Athpare. Due to the scarce information it is not possible to draw any conclusions about Thulung and Camling. 10

9 Either true converses or finite marked verbs followed by a simultaneous or sequential suffix.
10 The Camling negative form, though produced freely in interrogation, occurs only twice in my text corpus. The Thulung form does not show up at all in the texts I consulted.
5 Looking around

Looking for similar phenomena in other Sino-Tibetan languages I came upon Burmese *pi*, which is used when an event or state “is regarded as having a point of fulfilment or realization which is approached by degrees with the passage of time” (Okell 1969:383). Others have called it a “past” or a “perfect” marker. To my mind the best description is presented by Allott: “*pi* shows that a different situation, indicated by the verb, has really been reached” (1965: 290). This seems to be the positive counterpart of the Kiiranti negative forms.

*pi* is a sentence final particle in opposition to other final markers, mainly *te* for realis, *me* for irrealis, and *hpì* in negative statements. It is often translated with the help of *already* or *now*.

(15) BURMESE
   a. bamasakà totolei ta?-pi.
      Burmese quite.a bit know-pi
      ‘They know quite a bit of Burmese already.’
      four-ten-nine-unit-year-in-while-from independence get-pi
      ‘We already had [got] independence in 1949.’ (Okell 1969:385)

*pi* indicates that a goal or a certain limit has been reached. With activity verbs “the point of fulfilment is an activity” (Okell 1969:383).

(16) hpa?-pi ‘he is reading now, he has begun to read’
    hsu-pi ‘it is boiling now, it has begun to boil’

The *pi* forms imply that the situation described was in some sense expected. *hsu-pi* ‘it is boiling (now)’ would be said if one has been waiting for it. A more neutral way of expressing the fact is *hsu-nei-te* (boil-stay-REALIS). We can summarize that *pi* is a marker indicating a new situation which was somehow expected.

Descriptions of Mandarin sentence-final *le* and the examples given in the literature are similar to those presented for Burmese *pi*. Li et al. (1982) have summarized its meaning as “current relevance in relation to reference time”. They argue that *le* can be seen as a variant of the category perfect, sharing its core meaning. But many uses are difficult to reconcile with the notion of perfect in European languages, e.g.

---

11 There is a verb *pi* 'finish', from which *pi* probably developed. *pi* itself is used in compound verbs as a telicizer, parallel with a number of other auxiliaries; cf.
   we-pi-pi ‘he has bought one now’
   hpa?-lai?-pi ‘he has read it through’
(17) MANDARIN
    a. wǒ zhīdào le.
        I  know  le
       ‘Oh, yes, now I know.’ [speaker went to a wrong room first and now remembers]
    b. Xiǎo Huáng kuài yào lái le.
        little H.  fast  will  come  le
       ‘Little Huang is about to arrive.’ [so hide the gifts! ....]
(Li et al. 1982:37)

As with Burmese pi there is often an expectation involved; cf. the following minimal contrast:

(18) a. wǒmen èr-shí-si-ge.
        we  two-ten-four-CL
       ‘We are 24.’ [to a waiter]
    b. wǒmen èr-shí-si-ge le.
       ‘We are 24 now.’ [in the bus after waiting for the last two, who were still missing] (Li et al. 1982:29)

The criterion “current relevance in relation to a reference time” seems too vague to define a perfect. It is unclear how uses like those in (17a,b) and (18b) could be reconciled with the minimal consensus that with the perfect reference time is different from event time (cf., among others, Bybee et al. 1994:54). It seems doubtful whether sentence final le is an aspecto-temporal marker at all. Its position at the end of the sentence is different from that of e.g. perfective le and the experiential perfect marker guo, which follow the verb. The term “perfect” seems unhappy also in the light of an example like (18b), which does not even contain a verb.

6 Already, perfect and NEWSIT

The forms in question are often translated with the help of already or not yet. Perfect and already go together well, of course (cf. Bybee et al. 1994:54). Often the particle does not really add any information to the perfect. But already combines with all sorts of verb forms, not just with perfects. And as we have seen, Burmese pi, Mandarin le and the Kiranti negative forms in section 4 translate into various tense-aspect forms, not just perfects. Let us see, whether a closer look at the notion of ALREADY can help us in our understanding of the Kiranti forms and possibly also of the Burmese and Mandarin particles.

The particle already (like its counterparts still, yet) is notoriously difficult to describe (cf. Lübner 1989, König 1991:139-153 for some recent accounts).
Let us first look at English *already* and its German translation *schen*. These particles apply (in their ‘aspectual’ readings) to a state after and often close to a boundary. With telic predicates, for example, *already* and *schen* together with a perfect express that the final boundary has been transgressed before reference time.

(19) a. She has already written the letter. / Sie hat den Brief schon geschrieben.

    b. She had already written the letter. / Sie hatte den Brief schon geschrieben.

With activities, which are conceived as having both an initial and a final temporal boundary, *already* applies, with different tenses, to a phase after either boundary.\(^{12}\)

(20) a. We are already eating. / Wir essen schon.

    b. We have eaten already. / Wir haben schon gegessen.

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{write letter} & \text{eat} & \text{eat} \\
\text{ALREADY} & \text{ALREADY} & \text{ALREADY} \\
\downarrow & \downarrow & \downarrow \\
\text{----×} & / & /
\end{array}
\]

**Figure 3: ALREADY and aktionsart**

The negation of *already, not yet*, applies to a phase before either boundary.

(21) a. We are not yet eating. / Wir essen noch nicht.

    b. We have not yet eaten. / Wir haben noch nicht gegessen.

There is also a presupposition that (the hearer knows that) the situation \(\Sigma\) did not hold at some time shortly before reference time \(t_R\). The interrelation between ALREADY, its counterpart STILL and negation can be summarized as in Table 2.

\(^{12}\) *be writing a letter* behaves like an atelic actional phrase: *She is already writing the letter*. This fact may be of some consequence for the unclear status of the English progressive.
# Table 2
## ALREADY and STILL

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Presumption</th>
<th>Assertion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ALREADY (p)</td>
<td>(\neg \Sigma \text{ at } t &lt; t_R)</td>
<td>change: (\Sigma \text{ at } t_R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>already</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALREADY (\neg p)</td>
<td>(\Sigma \text{ at } t &lt; t_R)</td>
<td>change: (\neg \Sigma \text{ at } t_R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not anymore</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\neg\text{ALREADY} (p))</td>
<td>(\neg \Sigma \text{ at } t &lt; t_R)</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not yet</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STILL (p)</td>
<td>(\Sigma \text{ at } t &lt; t_R)</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>still</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STILL (\neg p)</td>
<td>(\neg \Sigma \text{ at } t &lt; t_R)</td>
<td>no change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>still not</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\neg\text{STILL} (p))</td>
<td>(\Sigma \text{ at } t &lt; t_R)</td>
<td>change: (\neg \Sigma \text{ at } t_R)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no longer (?)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Already* indicates that a new situation has come about, but *not yet* (i.e. \(\neg\text{ALREADY} \(p\)\)) denies this. A corresponding new situation marker is *not anymore* (ALREADY \(\neg p\)). As becomes clear from Table 2, *already* signals a change, whereas *still* signals that there is no change. The expression of continuation (no change) is different from negating the operator *already*. European languages are not very systematic in expressing the six possibilities.\(^{13}\) Whereas the difference between *not yet* and *still not* (i.e. lingering in a prelimal stage) seems clear enough in English, the opposition between *not anymore* and *no longer* is less so. Morphologically German *noch nicht* seems to express *still not*, but it is the translational equivalent of English *not yet* (\(\neg\text{ALREADY}\)), whereas *still not* is German *noch immer nicht*.

Burmese admits of more consistent expressions. A negated verb + *pi* indicates the new situation of ALREADY \(\neg p\). Persistence of a situation is expressed by the auxiliary *thèì*.

\[(22) \quad \text{V - } pi \quad \text{ALREADY } p \quad \text{‘already, now’ (new situation)} \]
\[\quad \text{NEG - V - } pi \quad \text{ALREADY } \neg p \quad \text{‘no longer’ (new situation)} \]
\[\quad \text{V - }thèì \quad \text{STILL } p \quad \text{‘still’ (no new situation)} \]
\[\quad \text{NEG - V - }thèì \quad \text{STILL } \neg p \quad \text{‘not yet’ (no new situation)} \]

However, this neat system does not show up in the colloquial style, where instead of NEG-V-*pi* we find an expression with the auxiliary *tó*, used in the same position as *thèì*.

\(^{13}\) For a detailed account see van der Auwera (1998).
The choice between ALREADY and STILL depends on expectations. In using ALREADY the speaker seems to imply that the change was expected to occur at \( t_R \) or shortly thereafter. Most authors assume that the event takes or took place earlier than expected. The validity of this claim has been questioned by Klein (1994:146) on the basis of examples like (24)

(24)  Anne was already in the bathtub, as I had expected.

The apparent contradiction dissolves when we realize that the expectation can be the speaker’s or that of the cultural environment. In every speech community there are standard times for events to occur. (20a-b) are, without further context, odd at different times of the day. In Switzerland (20a) would not normally be uttered by people eating their lunch at 2 o’clock. And (24) would probably not be uttered if the speaker did not in some sense think that it was early for a bath, or that Anne was quick to get there. So there is an expectation involved.

Expectation of the event is also implied by Burmese \( pi \) and Mandarin \( le \), but there is not always the sense of ‘relatively early’. Often at last is a suitable translation, which is the contrary of ‘relatively early’; therefore, ‘early’ cannot be a feature of the prototype. The common denominator of ALREADY, \( pi \) and \( le \) is that they mark a new situation which is in some way expected. I will tentatively call them NEWSIT markers. I hold that the resulting verb forms or phrases are not perfects. The perfect is a postterminal form. It is therefore not applicable to statives, nor to atelic verbs in general.\(^{14}\) It is totally excluded for events taking place at reference time. These restrictions do not hold for the NEWSIT forms, which can apply to any situation following a limit, whether inherent or temporal, whether initial or final. In a language without tense, NEWSIT + activity verb (we ALREADY eat) has two possible interpretations (see Figure 3). This is, to my mind, the origin of the tense-aspect flip-flop.

\(^{14}\) I am speaking of the gram type, not of forms called “Perfect” in individual languages, which sometimes have developed much broader uses.
7 Back to where I started

My hypothesis is that Athpare and Camling *e was originally a NEWSIT marker. Tense is a recent phenomenon in Kiranti languages. Several layers can be detected in the morphology of verbal systems of different Kiranti languages. I restrict myself here to closely related southern and southeastern languages and to affixes related to tense-aspect.

layer I: stem + a
layer II: -e, -t
layer III: periphrastic formations

The Camling past forms have only the suffix a of layer I, which is moreover also present in some nonpast forms (cf. (1a)). In Limbu (a ~ e) and in Bantawa it is a past marker, in opposition to the unmarked nonpast forms.\(^{15}\) It is not very likely that this was its original function. The same a (underlying the same elision rules) appears in the imperative — even in northwestern Kiranti languages, which have no past marker a. I suppose that earlier Kiranti had no tense at all, but systems more similar to what we find in Burmese.

The next layer contains additional markers. The NEWSIT marker *e (or some earlier form of it) was added to the end of the person-marked verb. The form developed temporal connotations (possibly under the influence of Indo-Aryan) leading in Athpare to a past paradigm, in Camling to an actualis and then to an imperfective and nonpast interpretation. The history of -t remains to be investigated.

Perfect and progressive markers constitute layer III. The forms are mostly periphrastic and have different shapes in closely related languages.

The notion of NEWSIT is still there in Kiranti languages, though not in the paradigms that developed from *e. It shows up in negative forms, which tend to be more conservative. In some languages the meaning component not yet is prominent. It seems natural that a NEWSIT meaning develops from verbs like ‘finish’ or ‘attain’ and that a persistive meaning (still) develops from verbs like ‘keep’, ‘stay’. The data from Kiranti are far too scarce for a clear statement, but at least in Belhare we have the meaning component ‘already’ / ‘not yet’ (<‘attain’). Working with Kiranti languages is often like prehistoric digging. There are numerous layers, and the latest are adaptations to Indo-Aryan. What one finds are often only scattered sherds of earlier patterns.\(^{16}\) However, in-depth investigations, like Bickel’s analysis of Belhare, could bring more to light. Kiranti negative paradigms also have to be compared to negation patterns in other South Asian languages; at least some Dravidian languages show a

---

\(^{15}\) Due to the elision of a before a vowel suffix, about half of the forms of the past and nonpast paradigms are identical in both languages.

\(^{16}\) I have tried to show this for inverse systems (Ebert 1993, 1997b:21-24) and for nonfinites (1999).
strong preference for a perfect form in the negation of a past (cf. Ebert 1996:22).

NEWSIT is a more widespread gram type, at least in Asia. Jenny (this volume) independently arrives at the same conclusion for Thai leeur̂, again a “perfect” marker according to some authors (cf. Howard 2000). After the presentation of this paper at the workshop, Dahl provided me with unpublished data from the Papuan language Kuot, on which Eva Lindström is presently working; Kuot seems to have a NEWSIT marker, too. The “inceptives” of Bantu languages (cf. Schadeberg 1990) should perhaps also be reconsidered in this light.

This paper is a first attempt at coming to grips with flip-flop phenomena in Kiranti languages, and it lead me to the postulation of a new gram type. Details and individual differences still need to be investigated, as does the theoretical status of the markers involved. But whatever evidence or counterevidence linguists will come up with, to call the NEWSITs “perfect” does not further our understanding of these forms.

References


Languages without tense and aspect

Östen Dahl
University of Stockholm

1 Introduction

Is a human language without tense and aspect possible?

It is commonly assumed that tense and aspect have an essential role to play in language, in the sense that these categories encode information that is crucial for the proper functioning of discourse. The attention paid to them in most grammars seems to confirm this assumption, and most people find it hard to imagine a language that lacks these categories completely. In my 1985 survey of tense and aspect systems, all languages that I studied had at least some markers that fit the characterization of the “cross-linguistic tense-aspect categories” I was looking at. Quite a few languages did lack inflectional tense-aspect marking, but in those cases there were always at least some periphrastic constructions instead. In Bybee et al. (1994: 119), another typological survey of tense, aspect and modality, it is mentioned more in passing that at least one of the languages in the sample, !Kung (!Xu) seems to lack tense and aspect marking altogether.¹ Indeed, the source, Snyman (1970), does state the following (p. 146):

Unlike many other languages the !Xu verb is not inflected nor can it form tenses by means of auxiliary verbs. The time and the degree of completeness of the action are established by means of adverbs.

Regrettably, however, there are no connected texts in Snyman’s book and it is therefore a bit difficult to verify these statements. In addition, a grammar of a closely related (or maybe even identical) language, Ju’hoan, Dickens (ms.), mentions at least two tense-aspect markers, koh, an optional past marker, and ki, an imperfective marker showing that an action is “continuous or habitual or unfinished”. The latter, to judge from the examples in the grammar, is used fairly systematically. A morpheme ku does figure in Snyman’s treatment (p.

¹ In this connection, Bybee et al. (1999:119) talk of Car – a dialect of Nicobarese – as a language which lacks inflectional and periphrastic tense-aspect but has at least one derivational affix characterized as ‘completive’. However, their source for Car – Braine 1970 – also mentions a “continuative” suffix -haka used with non-intrinsic states and the like.

Aktionsart and aspectotemporality in non-European languages. 
148) but it is frankly acknowledged that “all attempts to establish the function
or meaning of this frequently used pre-verbal element failed”. Thus, the
evidence available so far does not give reliable support for assuming that
!Kung, under whatever name, is a language without tense and aspect.
In this paper, I shall instead look at some other languages that lack or come
close to lacking tense and aspect as grammatical categories. The languages in
question belong to an area that has been more or less a white spot on the
linguistic map for a long time, namely the part of New Guinea iconically
named Vogelkop or Bird’s Head.
All the languages of the Bird’s Head are so-called ‘Papuan’ (also known as
‘non-Austronesian’) languages, the genetic unity of which has never been
demonstrated. Most of them are traditionally subsumed under the grouping
“West Papuan languages”, the nature of which is also under dispute. In the
words of Reesink (1998, 604), the languages of the Bird’s Head are
characterized by “lexical diversity and structural similarity”. Among structural
properties shared by all or some of the languages in the area Reesink mentions
SVO word order and prepositions, verb sequencing (serial verb constructions),
sentence-final negatives\(^2\), an instrumental verb prefix, an inclusive-exclusive
distinction and dual marking in pronouns, and gender. Most pertinently for our
concerns here, however, Reesink (1998: 618) notes the absence of “Tense-
Mood-Aspect marking on the verb” as a general feature of Bird’s Head
languages\(^3\), although with a “possible exception” concerning future marking in
the East Bird Head’s language, which I shall return to later. Another highly
relevant feature is general presence of what Reesink calls a sentence-final
“phasal aspect marker”.

2 TMA non-marking in Maybrat

As a result of a large-scale research project conducted by Dutch linguists,
grammars of a number of Bird’s Head languages have appeared at the turn of
the millennium. Below, I shall concentrate on one of those languages, Maybrat,
also referred to as Mai Brat, Ayamaru, Ajamaru, and Brat, as described in Dol
(1999), which, in addition to the grammatical description also contains fairly
long transcripts of narratives and conversations in Maybrat.
Verbal morphology in Maybrat, like in other languages in the area, is fairly
simple: forms consist of the verb stem and, in most cases, a prefix marking the

\(^2\) It may be noted that sentence-final negation, particularly in SVO languages, is quite a rare
phenomenon (Dahl 1979). Reesink mentions that it is also found in the Austronesian
languages in the Cenderawasih Bay (directly south-east of the Bird’s Head).

\(^3\) The group that Reesink is referring to is somewhat vague in his text; he repeatedly uses
expressions like “all these languages” and “the languages under consideration” without making
it clear whether he is talking about all languages in the Bird’s Head area or only a subset of
them.
person and number of the subject (some verbs do not take prefixes). The same
prefixes are also used as possessor markers on nouns and as agreement markers
on “adjectival verbs” used attributively. They are thus by far the most salient
element of Maybrat inflectional morphology. There are a few ablaut-like verb
stem alternations correlated with subject marking. Dol mentions one
improductive derivational affix -i- that creates transitive verbs out of
intransitives. A process that may be somewhat more relevant to tense and
aspect is reduplication, which I shall return to below. In general, however, it
seems safe to say that Maybrat lacks inflectional and derivational tense and
aspect – thus confirming Reesink’s generalization about “lack of TMA
affixation”.

A somewhat trickier question is whether Maybrat also lacks periphrastic
tense-aspect constructions. In support of a positive answer to the question, it
can readily be seen that a wide variety of contexts in which such constructions
might be expected to show up entirely lack any kind of morphemes which
might be interpreted as temporal or aspectual markers.4

Thus, the following sentences illustrate reference to on-going activities in
the present (where English has present progressive) and generic/habitual
statements, respectively.

(1) tuo t-awe ku y-hai awiáh mi y-awiá
 I 1s-say child 3m-die taro so.that 3m-cry
 ‘I think the child is hungry so that he is crying.’ (1999: 136)

(2) Wuon rae mati m-ait pofit m-siar
 Wuon people and.then 3u-eat ginger 3u-many
 ‘In Wuon the people eat lots of ginger.’ (1999: 254)

In the following two sentences from a narrative we can see that present and
past states are expressed in the same way, without any marking:

(3) y-me m-hai awiah. “t-akut Siwa k-tuo t-hai awiah.”
 3m-mother 3u-die taro. 1s-boy Siwa EMPH-I 1s-die taro
  ‘His mother was hungry. “My child Siwa, I’m hungry.”’ (1999:330)

(4) shows a series of events in a narrative, equally non-marked. This could,
however, be seen as an example of a serial verb construction, which will be
discussed below.

---

4 As is not entirely uncommon in reference grammars, a large part of the examples in Dol
(1999) are translated using the English simple present. This makes it rather difficult to
determine what temporal and aspectual interpretation is intended. The running texts at the
end of the volume do not have this problem.
(4) Y-aru  pron  y-wian  aya.
    3m-cut  bamboo  3m-scoop  water
    Y-ama  y-ros  ø-sawiah  aya  m-pe.
    3m-come  3m-stand  ø-cook  water  3u-boil
    'He cut a bamboo and scooped water. He came and got up and cooked
the water until it was hot.' (1999:331)

(5)-(6) show a predictive and a modal reference to the future – again
without markings.

(5) tuf  ru  m-api  m-ama
    three  bird  3u-big  3u-come
    'In three days the big aeroplane (lit. the big bird) will come.' (1999:123)

(6) p-mo  Mosún  fe  p-mo  ora  à?
    1p-go  Mosun  NEG  1p-go  garden  Q
    'Shall we go to Mosun or shall we go to the garden?' (1999: 203)

In (5), the time reference is indicated simply by the numeral tuf ‘three’,
interpreted as ‘three days’. Compare (7), which is the corresponding statement
about the past:

(7) ti  tuf  ru  m-api  m-ama
    ago  three  bird  3u-big  3u-come
    'Three days ago the big aeroplane (lit. the big bird) came.' (1999:124)

Notice here ti ‘ago’, which removes the potential ambiguity between past and
future time reference. Dol glosses ti as “PAST”, which may give the impression
that it is some kind of tense marker. However, this is the only example in the
book where this morpheme is used, suggesting that it is in fact specific to this
kind of temporal adverbial expression and that ‘ago’ is a more appropriate
glossing.

Finally, it may be noted that imperative sentences do not differ
morphologically from indicative ones, as is illustrated by (8). There is a special
prohibitive marker mai which is different from the usual sentence negation fe
(this is cross-linguistically extremely common).

(8) n-aît!
    2-eat
    'Eat!' (1999:207)
3 Temporal adverbs

Let us now turn to some potential counterexamples to the claim that Maybrat and the other Bird’s Head languages have no tense and aspect.

The section on adverbs in the chapter on word classes in Dol (1999) contains two sub-sections called “Temporal adverbs” (p. 122-124) and “Aspect adverbs” (p. 125-126). Similarly, the section on adverbials in the chapter “The Clause” contains two sections labeled “Time” (p. 169-172) and “Aspect” (p. 176-181).

“Temporal adverbs” include words such as is ‘yesterday’, ore ‘today, now’, tian ‘formerly, in the past’, pose ‘a long time ago’. A few examples of complex time adverbials such as Hari Minggu tuf ‘in three weeks [lit. after three Sundays]’ are also given. There is a widespread idea (reflected in the quotation from Snyman 1970 above) that languages that lack grammatical tense somehow compensate this by an extended use of time adverbials. On the whole, this idea has no empirical foundation but rather builds on a mistaken view of the functions of adverbials on one hand and tense morphemes on the other. Tense morphemes relatively seldom give information about the location of states and events in time that is not derivable from the context, and are in fact largely communicatively dispensable. The Maybrat texts in Dol (1999) do not, in general, contain more time adverbials than would be expected in any language, and their existence does not really pose a threat to the claim that Maybrat does not have tense and aspect. A relatively frequent phenomenon in narratives, however, is what Dol refers to as “coordinators” indicating sequentiality, which I shall return to below.

4 “Aspect adverbs”

Quoting the common definition of aspect as referring to the internal temporal structure of an event, Dol says that in Maybrat, “aspect is expressed through adverbs” (1999:125), and enumerates the following “aspect adverbs” in Maybrat: fawen ‘long time’, oh ‘already’, sai ‘just’, twat ‘always’, u ‘again’, wia ‘before’, yoyo ‘continuously’, tipuo ‘immediately, straight away’, fares
'still', *ewa* ‘often, always’, *tipuo* ‘immediately, straight away’. Some examples:

(11) ait y-atak twat
    he 3m-angry always
‘He is always angry.’ (1999:176)

(12) ku ø-kiniah y-awia yoyo
    child ø-small 3m-cry continuously
‘The small child cries continuously.’ (1999:177)

As can be seen from the list, the delimitation of aspect adverbs from the temporal ones is not always self-evident. Apparently, the decisive criterion is syntactic: time adverbs are said to always occupy the first position in the sentence, whereas aspect adverbs come after the verb and the object\(^5\) (except *tipuo* ‘immediately’ which also occurs sentence-initially).

In spite of Dol’s claim that aspect is expressed by adverbs in Maybrat, there is little to suggest that the words enumerated so far have any grammaticalized function as aspect markers; rather, they are used in roughly the same way as the adverbs in English that are used as their glosses. There are three possible exceptions to this claim: *fo*, *oh* and *fares*.

*Fo* is the only aspect adverb for which a gloss is used that is not an adverb in English. *Fo* is said to be related to a homophonous proximal demonstrative and is glossed as ‘INCEP’ for ‘inceptive’ or ‘beginning to’, thus a function for which one would rather expect an auxiliary. Cf. (4) above,

(13) au m-amø aya fo
    she 3u-go water INCEP
‘She is beginning to go to the water now.’ (1999:178)

*Oh* ‘already’ attracts suspicion in view of the fact that grammaticalization of words meaning ‘already’ into tense-aspect markers is known from other languages. Thus, in many languages words meaning ‘already’ are also used when English has a perfect. In the material that I used in my 1985 book such uses could be found at least for the following languages: Afrikaans, Javanese, Indonesian, Karaboro, Bugis Makassar, Sundanese, Yoruba\(^6\).

In fact, *oh* is mentioned by Reesink as a marker of ‘phasisl aspect’:

---

\(^5\) At least, this is what is said in the chapter on word classes (p. 125). In the chapter on clause syntax (p. 176), however, it is stated that aspect adverbs may also precede the object, with a possible change in scope relations.

\(^6\) Although already is mentioned as a source for perfects in Dahl (1985), the phenomenon escaped my notice in most of the languages enumerated here.
“All these languages have a sentence-final phasal aspect marker, translatable in most cases as ‘already’: Moi se, Tehit wale, Maybrat oh, Abun re, Mpur pa, Hatam tu/su, Sougb hop, Meyah foh.” (Reesink 1998: 617)

Words meaning ‘already’ typically show up in two types of context: in sentences describing states or on-going activities at the point of reference, as in John is here already, and combined with verbs referring to an event that precedes the point of reference, as in John has arrived already. However, in both cases, the focus tends to be on a situation at the point of reference, as can be seen from the near-equivalence of the sentences just cited. The difference between the two constructions lies in whether the situation is directly indicated by the verb (as in John is here) or given as the result of a previous event (as in John has arrived).

Maybrat oh is not different in this regard – we find both types of cases:

(14) pi Hermanus y-anes oh
    man Hermanus 3m-old already
    ‘The man Hermanus is already old.’ (1999, 161)

(15) ku m-ait po-iit oh
    child 3u-eat thing-eat already
    ‘The child has eaten already.’

(16) au m-amó aya oh
    she 3u-go water already
    ‘She’s already left for the river.’ (1999, 178)

In the strongest ‘reading’ of already, it conveys the meaning that the situation described is expected to hold but only at a later point in time. (We are astonished that John arrived so early.) But in the following sentence the arrival of the other guests is not implied to be unexpectedly early, it is merely contrasted against our own late appearance:

(17) We were half an hour late for the party. The other guests had arrived already.

Likewise, in an example like the following, what is important is that you need not read a book twice:

(18) I won’t buy that book because I have read it already.

It is not too far-fetched to assume that the grammaticalization of ‘already’ into perfect-like markers goes via examples like the ones above. However, as
argued in Ebert (this volume), the markers in question usually have a wider
distribution than an analysis as perfects would imply – sometimes they seem to
mean little more than suggesting that something has not always been the case.
It may be more adequate to treat them as a separate gram type (“NEWSIT”).

The question now is whether the “phasal aspect markers” found in the
Bird’s Head languages in general and in Maybrat are examples of this gram
type. We may note, to begin with, that the fact that a “new situation” is
described is not sufficient for Maybrat $oh$ to be used. See e.g. (3) above, which
would seem to be more or less a paradigm case.

If grammaticalization from ‘already’ has taken place, we would expect it to
be used in situations where $already$ is not appropriate in English. Most
examples with $oh$ in Dol (1999), however, are translated using $already$. For the
examples given without a context, it is hard to judge to what extent such a
translation is warranted, but there is at least one place in the connected texts
where $already$ seems somewhat out of place in the translation:

(19) fai m-api pria m-akus fai m-api oh
    woman 3u-big all 3u-leave woman 3u-big already
    m-ana m-poh kpor kaka
    3u-head 3u-white back bend
    ‘A very old woman, she was left behind, the woman was already old, her
    hair was white, her back was stooping.’ (1999:332)

Interestingly enough, there is a very similar example from Hatam. The
context is also a narrative, about a snake which magically became young after
having been old:

(20) wou di-no wer andig su-a
    snake REL-3s near old already-QUOT
    ‘That snake had been rather old.’ (Reesink 1999:144)

There are a number of further examples from Reesink (1999) where $su/tu$ is
used without a counterpart in the English translation. Some of them are
somewhat cryptic:

(21) sop cin je-ni ji-kwei leu munggwom-nya ikieba tu
    woman pair 2p-this2p-come from child-p toddler already
    ‘You two women you come. Because the children have already grown
    up.’ (Reesink 1999:170)

(22) … njinta tam nye tu
    food suppress 1p already
    ‘…we’re fed up with the food’ (Reesink 1999:171)
(23) nye-ni mpe di ni-mahan tu...
   we-this time REL 1pe-adolescent already
   ‘when we were growing up...’ (Reesink 1999:207)

(24) lene da-ni cem di-ma wer mang tu
   then 1s-this also 1s-get near many already
   ‘Then I too got some [pigs], a few.’ (Reesink 1999:208)

Still, for both Maybrat and Hatam, the evidence that ‘already’ has really
been grammaticalized as something like NEWSIT is somewhat scanty. In
Abun, another of the languages mentioned by Reesink as having a “phasal
aspect marker”, the grammar (Berry and Berry 1999:123) explicitly treats the
morpheme in question (re) as a perfect marker, as in

(25) Fredik mu mo Dom
   F. go LOC D.
   ‘Fredik went/is going to Dom.’

(26) Fredik mu mo Dom re
   F. go LOC D. PERF
   ‘Fredik has gone to Dom.’ (is still there)

(27) Fredik mu mo Dom mo re
   F. go LOC D. LOC PERF
   ‘Fredik has been to Dom.’

In the last example, the addition of the locative particle mo is said to yield an
experiential interpretation. Re is also used, however, in the sense of ‘already’
with statives, as in

(28) su ré Fredik ré kem mo-ré re
   with DET F. DET lives LOC-DET PERF
   ‘now this Fredik already lives here.’ (Berry and Berry 1999:72)

In addition, Abun has another aspectual particle, it, with a related meaning.
Berry and Berry give the following minimal pair for re and it (glossed
‘completive aspect’), which they say both translate into Indonesian sudah:

(29) an ma re
    he arrive PERF
    ‘He has arrived.’ (1999:124)
(30) an ma it
   he arrive COMPL
   ‘He has finally arrived.’ (1999:124)

_Already_ is used when a change has unexpectedly taken place at a time when it was not expected. The mirror-image would be when you expect a change and it does not take place. This is the niche of words like English _still_ and _yet_ and Maybrat _fares_, Hatam _yo_ and Abun _tō_ (glossed as ‘incompleitive aspect’ in Berry & Berry 1999:126). Combined with negation and event verbs, the latter may convey meanings equivalent to English negated perfects, e.g.

(31) **MAYBRAT**
    m-e pitis fe fares
    3u-give money NEG yet
    ‘She hasn’t given money yet.’ (Dol 1999:181)

(32) **HATAM**
    lene ni-ngat mbrei hi big-yo
    then lpe-see foreigner other not-yet
    ‘And we had not yet seen any foreigner.’ (Reesink 1999: 73)

(33) **ABUN**
    men yo mu nde tō
    1p NEG go NEG INCMP
    ‘We are not going yet.’ (Berry & Berry 1999:126)

Also here it is questionable if any significant grammaticalization can be demonstrated.

Dol concludes the section on aspect adverbials in Maybrat by saying that the verb _m-arak_ ‘it is empty’ “can also function as an aspect adverbial meaning ‘after’”. In the example given, _m-arak_ looks more like a clause connector, but this may depend on the translation.

(34) pae m-ataiah ania m-arak
    twosome 3u-make.love each.other 3u-empty
    pae m-e m-amoh amah
    twosome 3u-return 3u-go house
    ‘After the two have made love, they return to the house.’ (1999, 178)

_M-arak_ also functions as an ordinary adjectival predicate, as in _Tapam rae m-arak_ ‘the land was empty of people’.
5 Sequentiality marking

In Maybrat there are a number of different constructions in which two or more verbs or verb complexes are combined to form one sentence, ranging from clear cases of clausal coordination to tighter serial verb constructions. At least two phenomena are of potential relevance for the topic of this paper. One is the expression of sequentiality by designated clausal coordinators, another is the potential emergence of periphrastic constructions with aspectual meanings.

Dol mentions three coordinators “that can express sequentiality”, *mati*, *na* and *m-nan*, with which the ordering of events is always iconic:

(35) p-mo aof  mati  p-fat aof
1p-go sagotree and.then 1p-fell sagotree
‘We are going to the sagotree and (then) we will fell the sagotree.’
(1999: 252)

(36) m-aût na  m-kai apàn
3u-climb and.then 3u-meet snake
‘They climbed and then they found a snake.’ (1999: 256)

(37) ana  m-amò  Sorong
3u-go Sorong
m-nan  ana  m-e  m-ama  pefo  ù
3u-enough they 3u-return 3u-come here again
‘They are going to Sorong. After that they will return and come here again.’ (1999:258)

In the texts, however, the Indonesian loan *terus* is equally frequently used in this function:

(38) kiyit  fnia  m-ai  terus  hamit
cloth woman 3u-hit and.then bundle
‘Women hit the cloths and then they put them in a bundle.’ (1999:311)

*Mati* can also follow an NP, as in ex. (2) above and then probably has the function of a topic marker.

It may be said that the sequential coordinators help to create the temporal structure of the discourse in a way similar to tense markers. Many languages have special verb forms or special markers that are used in narratives to indicate sequence. It should be noted, however, that the Maybrat sequential coordinators are not grammaticalized in the sense of being obligatory. (35) is equally grammatical without *mati*:
(39) p-mo aof p-fat aof
    1p-go sagotree 1p-fell sagotree
  'We are going to the sagotree and (then) we will fell the sagotree.'
  (1999: 252)

Maybrat has a variety of constructions that may be characterized as “serial verbs”. At least some of these may have aspectual import. Thus, position verbs like -ros ‘stand’, -hu ‘stay’ and -hren ‘sit’ combine with other verbs in examples like the following, which are analogous to progressive constructions in various other languages:

(40) ø-hren y-kias po-mna
    ø-sit 3m-tell NOM-tell.tale
  'He sits and tells a tale.' (1999: 84)

It is somewhat difficult to judge exactly what the role of this construction in the language is – there are hardly any examples in the texts. Considerably more frequently one encounters another serial verb construction, in which the first element is a verb of motion, e.g. -amo ‘go’ or or -ama ‘come’, as in (41):

(41) y-pat Tenau Kosetiah y-ama y-hu Tenau Rarir
    3m-from Tenau Kosetiah 3m-come 3m-live Tenau Rarir
  'From Tenau Kosetiah he came to live at Tenau Rarir.' (1999: 280)

This may be seen as a device to express ingressive events – and consequently some kind of perfective aspect – in an unambiguous way. What is unclear is whether there is any bleaching of the meaning of the motion verbs. It does seem that these verbs are sometimes used rather redundantly in the texts. On the other hand, at least one of the most frequent verbs in the serial verb constructions, -ros, is used ambiguously in the sense of ‘stand’ and ‘get up’, which means that it does not really distinguish the “progressive” and the “perfective” cases.

6 Repeated verbs

Repetition of a verb or verb stem with an iconic interpretation is common, and takes two different forms, full repetition and stem reduplication. Full repetition means that a verb is repeated together with its person prefix in order to indicate an action with a long duration, as in:

(42) ana m-amó m-amó m-amó m-amó
    they 3u-go 3u-go 3u-go 3u-go
  'They go for a very long time.' (1999: 277)
Reduplication (Dol 1999: 64), where only the verb stem is repeated, appears to have a more lexical character, although its semantics is rather similar. It is sometimes accompanied by vowel alternations:

(43)  \textit{m-fok} ‘they fall spontaneously’; \textit{m-fok-fok} ‘they roll’

(44)  \textit{krox} ‘they make a loud noise’; \textit{krox-krax} ‘they make a long loud noise’

7 Future marking

As noted above, Reesink (1998) mentions future marking in the East Bird’s Head languages as a possible exception to the absence of TMA marking in the Bird’s Head languages. Thus Meyah has forms such as \textit{di-Vm-ofij} [dumofij] ‘I will help’ where \textit{Vm} would be a future marking prefix (Gravelle 1999). Reesink says that Sough does as well, and possibly Hatam (which is not usually regarded as belonging to the EBH group). In Hatam, according to Reesink (1998: 618), the morpheme \textit{mV} is found before the inflected verb, that is, before the subject prefix, in constructions like (45):

(45)  gi-no i-hig ser yoni m-i-ndo bi-nyeni
      NOM-3S 1p-ask guard they POST-3p-show to-us
      ‘If we inquire, they will show (it) to us.’

Reesink (1998: 619) says that it is possible that this morpheme has been borrowed from Meyah “without incorporating it in the verb”. In Reesink (1999: 55), however, further details are given, which seem to indicate that the distribution of the morpheme is rather restricted. Although there are some examples such as \textit{mi-di-kwei} ‘I will come’ where an interpretation as a future marker is possible, Reesink says that \textit{mV} “is not a clear future tense marking, since many sentences referring to a future event do not use it at all”, and that its function in (45) and (46) suggests a gloss such as “posterior marking”:

(46)  noni yaimidyai mang bibor bi-nyeni mi-ni-kerjan
       he get work much very to-us POST-1pe-work
       ‘He gave us a lot of work to do.’

There are apparently also examples that suggest that \textit{mV} may have a nominalizing function (ibid.). The borrowing hypothesis seems a bit implausible under those circumstances.
8 Conclusions

The result of the survey of possible tense-aspect marking devices in Maybrat is that at best, a couple of them can be seen as borderline cases, and lacking further information, it is somewhat difficult to judge their status. In addition, the notion of “grammaticalized tense-aspect” may not be sufficiently well delimited in itself. What are the criteria for saying that a morpheme that is translated as ‘already’ is a grammaticalized tense-aspect marker? Intuitively, English already is not grammaticalized, so we would probably at least require that the marker in question has a considerably higher frequency than that word. But even if a morpheme has the wider definition of marking a new situation, it is not obvious that it falls under the traditional definitions of tense (e.g. “grammaticalisation of location in time”, Comrie 1985: 1) and aspect (e.g. “different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation’, Comrie 1976: 3).

Whatever decision will finally be reached on the borderline cases, it appears safe to say that Maybrat seems to do quite well without traditional core tense-aspect categories such as past, future, perfective and imperfective. Although some compensatory mechanisms are found to make up for this “deficit”, their use appears to be fairly restricted. This demonstrates that by and large, tense and aspect, as grammatical categories, are dispensable. In this context, it should be pointed out that this seems to be a general property of those grammatical categories that have inflectional expression in some language – for any such category, there is always some language that simply ignores it. As for tense and aspect, this may be less obvious than for others such as case and number, although it can be seen from the surveys in Dahl (1985) and Bybee et al. (1994) that it holds at least for the individual “gram types” (future, past, progressive etc.). The relative rarity of languages such as Maybrat suggests that tense and aspect do belong to the more pervasive ones among grammatical categories.

We saw that Reesink included the lack of inflectional TMA among the areal properties characterizing the Bird’s Head languages. His own description of Hatam suggests that it is comparable to Maybrat in lacking any clearly grammaticalized tense-aspect markers. The impression one gets of Abun, on the other hand, is that sentence-final particles are used in a more systematic fashion than in Hatam and Maybrat. Whether this difference between the languages is real or rather depends on the way the grammarians have chosen to represent the facts remains to be seen. Forthcoming descriptions of the languages in the area will hopefully give a clearer picture of the limits of the “no tense and aspect” phenomenon.

Casting the net more widely, it is obvious that there is a fairly large geographical region, comprising at least Indonesia and large parts of South East Asia, in which inflectional tense-aspect is more or less entirely lacking and periphrastic marking is relatively weakly developed. The languages discussed
in this paper may only be the extreme cases of a general tendency in this part of the world. However, it is noteworthy that in this respect they differ rather sharply from the other languages in the controversial Papuan grouping, which have in general been associated with rather complex tense-aspect systems, exhibiting among other things well-developed remoteness distinctions. In the standard presentation of Papuan languages, Foley (1986) gives the following statement about tense systems:

"The simplest possible tense system is that exemplified by Japanese, Yidiny ... or possibly English, in which events prior to the time of speaking (past) are contrasted with those simultaneous with or posterior to it (non-past). No known Papuan language has such a simple system." (p. 158)

This statement, which was written before the Bird’s Head languages were properly described, may, when read in retrospect, serve as an example of the dangers of areal generalizations. There may still be surprises lurking off the beaten track.

References


Ebert, Karen. This volume. Tense-aspect flip-flop and a somewhat elusive Gram type.


Turkic double verbs in a typological perspective

Éva Á. Csató
Uppsala University

1 Syntactic properties of Turkic double verbs

The aim of this paper is to outline some typological properties of Turkic double-verb constructions. I confine the subject to constructions consisting of two verbs, although there are Turkic languages of which serialization of more verbs is typical; see, for instance, Schöning (1998) on South Siberian Turkic.

I will first present Turkic double verb constructions and compare them with corresponding Russian, Bulgarian, Swedish and Hungarian ones. Double-verb constructions have, in many languages, served as a locus-for-change for grammaticalization processes giving birth to a number of actionality and viewpoint categories. I do not include here structures based on nominal forms of the lexical verb, such as infinitives, because these are not typical of Turkic.

1.1 Postverbs

The first type of double-verb constructions is construed as a combination of the converb form of a lexical verb and a following grammaticalized verb conjugated according to its position in the clause. See, for instance, the following example:

(1) NOGHAY
Murat qa'рит-ti bir kesek zaman qara-p tur-di.
Murat paper-ACC a short time look.at-CONV stand-PT
‘Murat was looking at the paper for a short time.’

In the expression qarap turdi in (1) both verbs can have lexical meanings. The meaning is ambiguous between a simple serial reading, such as ‘looked and stood’ (2) and a modifying one, according to which the converb modifies the meaning of the second, i.e. ‘looking s/he stood’ /‘stood looking’ (3).

---

1 Double verbs are also called compound verbs, paired verbs, postverb constructions, serial verbs, descriptive verbs, etc.
2 I thank André Hesselbück, Birsel Karakoç and Helena Bani-Shoraka for discussing with me, Mari, Noghay and Persian examples.
(2) Semantic relation of serial reading: \(\text{lexicalV} \& \text{lexicalV}\)

(3) Semantic relation of modification: \(\text{lexicalV} \Rightarrow \text{lexicalV}\)

\((\Rightarrow\) designates the direction of modification\)

The verb \(\text{tur-}\) is also used in Noghay as a so-called postverb, i.e. an auxiliary expressing a grammatical meaning, actionality (Aktionsart) or as the result of further grammaticalization, viewpoint. This Noghay verb is a viewpoint operator designating intraterminality (see Johanson 2000). Accordingly, \(\text{qarap turdi}\) in (1) can be, and normally is, interpreted as ‘was looking’. The grammaticalization of the postural verb has led to a reversed order of modification:

(4) Grammaticalized postverb construction: \(\text{lexicalV} \Leftarrow \text{postV}\)

Whereas the lexical convert \(\text{qarap} ‘\text{looking’ modifies the following lexical verb turdi ‘stood’ in reading (3) ‘looking s/he stood’, the postverb turdi ‘stood’ modifies the meaning of the lexical verb qarap ‘looking’ in reading (4) ‘standing s/he looked’ = ‘was looking’ (cf. Driussi 1993 for corresponding Cheremis constructions).

1.2 Hypotactic and paratactic constructions

In the Noghay example (1), the first verb is a non-finite form of the verb \(\text{qara-} ‘\text{look’}, namely a convert based on the suffix -(l)p. Thus, the construction manifests a subordinative syntax, the convert segment being syntactically dependent on the following verb form. Its meaning is, however, as shown above, ambiguous between a serial (2) and two different types of modifying readings (3) and (4).\(^3\)

In many Turkic languages, such CONVERB+V-constructions may alternate with the parataxis of two verbs bearing the same finite or non-finite suffixes. The variation seems to be free; no study has, however, been carried out to confirm this assumption. See the Uzbek example (5), in which the postverb \(\text{qål-}\) is used to specify the transformative reading of the lexical verb:

(5) **UZBEK**  
\(\text{Qח là-di} \quad \text{qål-di}\)  
\(\text{fall.asleep/sleep-DI.PT} \quad \text{remain:POSTVERB-DI.PT}\)

‘S/he fell asleep’. (Boeschoten 1998:365)

\(^3\) Accent can disambiguate the construction. See Demir 1993.
The same type of actional modification expressed by two finite verbs is to be found also in Standard Turkish and in Anatolian dialects, see Demir (1993).

(6) **TURKISH**

Unut-muṣ git-miṣ-im.
forget-POSTTERM.PT go-POSTTERM.PT-1s
'I have apparently totally forgotten it.'

Such paratactic constructions may exhibit the same semantic ambiguity as the ones based on the converb form of the first element. The order of the two verbs is significant and cannot be reversed. The lexical verb and the grammaticalized verb are adjacent; normally only some particles, such as da ‘also’ and the interrogative particle mi can intervene.

1.3 Preverb construction

There is another, less frequent, much less typical construction in Turkic. I will illustrate it with the help of Turkish examples. The verbs *tut-* ‘take hold of / hold’ and *al-* ‘take’ are used in a grammaticalized sense to denote ‘start doing, do suddenly, unexpectedly’.

(7) **TURKISH**

Tut-up çık-tı.
take.hold.of-CONV leave-PT
‘He left (with a sudden decision).’

The grammaticalized meaning of the verb *tut-* ‘get hold of’ in this construction is to denote that the event is ‘unexpected’ or ‘not appropriate’. A Turkish dictionary defines this use of *tut-* in the following way:

(8) “Bir tümcede eylemden önce ve eylemin kipinde ya da orta durumunda kullanıldığında o eylemin anlatıldığı işin çok beklenmediğini, umulmadığını ya da pek uygun düşmediğini halde yapıldığı anlatır.” (Püsküllüoğlu 1995)

‘When it precedes a verb, either in the same morphological form as the following verb or as a converb, it expresses that the action described by that verb is unexpected, not counted with or not regarded to be carried out in an appropriate way.’

Example (7) observes the semantic ambiguity typical of other Turkic double verb expressions, i.e. the lexical readings (2) and (3) and a postverb function (4). The direction of modification is, however, different, since the grammaticalized verb *tut-* precedes the lexical verb. Thus in addition to the postverb construction (4) one also has to reckon with a preverb construction (9)
in Turkic.

(9) Grammaticalized preverb construction: preV ⇒ lexicalV

Even this preverb construction, which I will call the ‘take-and’ construction, has a paratactic version, in which both verbs bear the same suffixes.

(10) Tut-tu  çık-ti.
take.hold.of-PT  leave-PT
‘He left (with a sudden decision).’

Turkic postverbs and preverbs represent two different grammaticalization processes. The syntactic properties of the typical Turkic postverb constructions are summed up in (11).

(11) Properties of the Turkic postverb constructions
   a. The order of the two verbs is fixed.
   b. In some languages more than two verbs can be serialized.
   c. The original lexical meanings of the grammaticalized verbs are not transparent any more.
   d. The two verbs must be adjacent (except for some particles, which may intervene).

The ‘take-and’ type preverb constructions have partly different syntactic properties.

(12) Properties of the Turkic preverb constructions
   a. The order of the two verbs is fixed.
   b. Only two verbs can be serialized.
   c. The original lexical meanings of the grammaticalized verbs are still transparent.
   d. The two verbs need not be strictly adjacent; see (13).

(13) Tut-up  sor-ma-yə  başla-dı.
take-CONV  ask.questions-INF-DAT  begin-PT
‘All of a sudden he started to ask questions.’

The typical Turkic postverb constructions have functioned as a locus-for-change where new viewpoint / aspectual categories arise. Preverb constructions, on the other hand, often undergo lexicalisation processes.

(14) dur-up  dinle-meden
     stand-CONV  take.a.rest-CONV.WITHOUT
‘nonstop’
(15) Al-dı yürü-dü.
take-PT walk-PT
‘S/he has gotten rich quickly.’

In the following I will discuss the properties of double verb constructions in some other European languages. Whereas Russian and Bulgarian double verbs share some properties with Turkic postverb constructions, Hungarian and Swedish ones are similar to Turkic preverb constructions.

2 Double verbs in Russian and Bulgarian

Weiss (1992, 1995, 2000) discusses the properties of Russian double verbs. According to him, colloquial Russian employs a number of these constructions.

(16) сид-ит дума-ет
sit-PRES:3s think-PRES:3s
‘S/he is thinking.’

(17) пош-ла лег-ла
go-PT:f go.to.bed-PT:f
‘She went to bed.’

Weiss (2000) enlists the following properties being characteristic of these constructions:

(18) a. Only one of the elements is accented, in unmarked case it is the second one,
    b. common argument structure,
    c. same morphological marking, either finite or non-finite.

The future auxiliary буду etc. precedes the construction and cannot be repeated:

(19) Ty (у меня) буд-еш сиде-ть молча-ть.
you by me will-2s sit-INF keep.silent-INF
‘You will sit and keep silent (by me).’

The order of the elements can be changed without changing the meaning:

(20) Ty бы лег-ла пош-ла.
you if go.to.bed-PT:f go-PT:f
‘You would go to bed.’
(21) Рассказывай садись.  
tell:IMPER sit:IMPER  
'Sit down and tell about it.'

The complement of the lexical verb may precede the auxiliary verb:

(22) Она на нас сто-ит смотр-ит.  
she at us stand-PRES:3s look-PRES:3s  
'She is (standing and) looking at us.'

It is, in principle, possible to serialize more than two verbs:

(23) Говор-ят хорошая картина.  
say-PRES:3p good movie  
Пойд-ем сход-им посмотреть-им.  
go-PRES:1p leave-PRES:1p see-PRES:1p  
'They say, it is a good movie. Let us go, leave and see it.'

(24) ходи-л се-л пи-л чай и смотре-л телевизор  
walk-PT sit down-PT drink-PT tea and watch-PT TV  
'He went, sat down, drank some tea and watched TV.'

The meaning of the constructions vacillate between denoting two events and one event. In the latter case the meaning of one of the verbs is ‘desemantized’ and the desemantized verb, e.g. *sidet* ‘sit’, *xodit* ‘walk’, *pajti* ‘go’, modifies the meaning of the lexical verb. Thus the properties of the Russian constructions can be summed up as follows:

(25) The syntactic properties of the Russian constructions  
a. No conjunction between the two verbs,  
b. the preferred order is AuxV LexV, but the order can be reversed without changing the meaning,  
c. more than two verbs can be serialized,  
d. in analytical constructions the auxiliary may not be repeated,  
e. the complement of the lexical verb may precede the auxiliary verb,  
f. the lexical verb can be a converb.

The fact that the order of the lexical verb and the grammaticalized verb is reversible in Russian is interesting because the order of the two segments is usually fixed in other languages. Converbs can be used in many of these constructions. The question arises whether these properties may be explained by presuming that Turkic postverbs have served as models, i.e. that they were copied from Turkic, maybe also via Finno-Ugric. It is a well-known fact that many languages, e.g. Mari, have copied Turkic postverbs (for the Mari /
Cheremis double verbs see Driussi 1993). In Cheremis, as in Turkic, the converb normally precedes the postverb, but Driussi mentions that the converse order also occurs (1993: 63-64).

Bulgarian double verbs exhibit another feature typical of Turkic constructions. The original lexical meaning of the grammaticalized postural verbs is not transparent any more, as shown by Kuteva (1999).

(26) **BULGARIAN**
Sedi i čisti po cjal den v kâstî.
sit:PRES:IPFV:3s and clean:PRES:PFV:3s along whole day in home
‘She cleans the house all day long. / She habitually cleans the house all day long.’ (lit. ‘sits and cleans’) (Kuteva 1999:195)

This property is very much reminiscent of the Turkic postverb constructions. Kuteva does not discuss this question.

3 Double verbs in Hungarian and Swedish

Both Hungarian and Swedish possess semi-grammaticalized double verb constructions based, for instance, in Hungarian on the verbs *fogja* ‘takes’ or the reflexive forms *fogja magát* ‘takes him/herself’ and *kapja magát* ‘gets her/himself’, in Swedish on *ta* ‘take’. Postural verbs are used to express actional modifications, e.g. durativity. Motion verbs add other types of semantic modifications. Examples (27)-(29) illustrate the use of the verb ‘take’ to denote an ingressive, sudden, unexpected event:

(27) **HUNGARIAN**
Kap-ta magá-t és el-men-t.
get-PT:DEF:3s self-ACC and away-go-PT:3s
‘All of a sudden s/he left.’

(28) **SWEDISH**
Jag ta-r och gö-r det.
I take-PRES and read-PRES it
‘I will simply do it.’

(29) **HUNGARIAN**
Fog-ta és megcsinál-ta.
take-PT:DEF:3s and do-PT:DEF:3s
‘S/he (took the initiative and) did it.’

Postural verbs express durativity in (30)-(33). (33) may also imply irritation.
(30) **HUNGARIAN**
Ül és mesél.
sit:PRES:3s and explain:PRES:3s
‘S/he is telling (stories).’

(31) **SWEDISH**
Han sitt-er och läs-er.
he sit-PRES and read-PRES
‘He is reading.’

(32) Han håll-er på och läs-er.
he hold-PRES on and read-PRES
‘He keeps on reading.’

(33) **HUNGARIAN**
Áll és csodálkozik.
stand:PRES:3s and wonder:PRES:3s
‘S/he is wondering.’

The motion verb denotes that the event will take place in the future in (34), negative affectedness in (35), that the event went on and on in (36). The reverse order of the same verbs in (37) expresses that the subject behaved in a pushy way.

(34) **HUNGARIAN**
Megy / szalad és feljelent.
go:PRES:3s run:PRES:3s and denounce:PRES:3s
‘S/he will denounce you.’

(35) **HUNGARIAN**
Jön (ne kem) és panaszkodik.
come:PRES:3s I:DAT and complain:PRES:3s
‘He will complain (and this will affect me in some way).’

(36) **SWEDISH**
Han gick på och prata-de.
he go:PT on and talk-PT
‘He went on talking.’

(37) **SWEDISH, reverse order**
Han prata-r och gå-r på.
he talk-PRES and go-PRES on
‘He keeps on talking (in a pushy way).’
In Hungarian, there is often a conjunction between the two verbs. It is, however, not obligatory:

(34') Megy feljelent.
go:PRES:3s  denounce:PRES:3s
'S/he will denounce you.'

The grammaticalized verb precedes the lexical one, and this order cannot be reversed without changing the meaning. The two verbs share the subject. More than two verbs cannot be serialized. The complement of the lexical verb may precede the auxiliary verb only if it is topicalised. Interestingly, the transitive verb fogja ‘takes’ must be in the definite conjugation even when the object is indefinite:

(38) Fogja és ellop egy könyv-et.
take:PRES:DEF:3s and steal:PRES:INDEF:3s a book-ACC
'S/he simply steals a book.'

In Swedish, there is usually a conjunction between the two verbs. The preferred order is when the grammaticalized verb precedes the lexical verb. The order cannot be reversed without changing the meaning, compare the Swedish examples (36) and (37). The number of verbs is maximally two. The two verbs have a shared subject, the complements of the lexical verb cannot precede the grammatical verb. The grammatical verbs ta ‘take’ and hålla på ‘keep on’ cannot take any object. The original meanings of the grammatical verbs sitte ‘sit’, stå ‘stand’ are still transparent.

4 A sketch of a typological frame

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of double verbs</th>
<th>Meanings of the segments</th>
<th>Meaning of the construction</th>
<th>Syntactic type</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Postverb</td>
<td>lexicalV + grammaticalV</td>
<td>( \Leftarrow ) modifying</td>
<td>hypotactic, first segment is a verb</td>
<td>(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lexicalV + grammaticalV</td>
<td>( \Leftarrow ) modifying</td>
<td>paratactic</td>
<td>(5), (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preverb</td>
<td>grammaticalV + lexicalV</td>
<td>( \Rightarrow ) modifying</td>
<td>hypotactic, first segment is a verb</td>
<td>(7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>grammaticalV + lexicalV</td>
<td>( \Rightarrow ) modifying</td>
<td>paratactic</td>
<td>(10)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Whether the syntactic construction is hypotactic or paratactic is not of crucial importance in Turkic. This is due to the fact that the semantics of the construction is not dependent on the syntax; cf. Csató & Johanson (1993). As shown above, a hypotactic construction can have both a serial (lexicalV & lexicalV) and a modifying (lexicalV ⇒ lexicalV) reading; see (2) and (3) above.

This also applies to Russian. According to Weiss (1995), the paratactic double verbs in (39) and the corresponding converb construction in (40) are functional equivalents.

(39) сид-ит молч-ит
    sit-PRES:3s keep.silent-PRES:3s
    ‘sits and keeps silent’

(40) сид-ит молч-а
    sit-PRES:3s keep.silent-CONV
    ‘sits keeping silent’

Turkic languages predominantly employ postverbs. The preverb construction (10) is iconic in the sense that ‘take’ is used to designate ingressivity, ‘set about to’, ‘take the initiative to do’, ‘begin doing’. It has a vast areal distribution, being used in Scandinavian, Iranian, Turkic, Russian and Finno-Ugric languages, Baltic languages; see Larsson (1992). It is even found in languages such as Persian, which does not employ any other double verbs.

(41) SWEDISH
    Ta och fundera på det här!
    take:IMPER and think:IMPER on this
    ‘(Begin to) think about this!’ (Larsson 1992:90)

(42) FINNISH
    Meidän kissa otti ja kuoli.
    our cat take:PT and die:PT
    ‘Our cat died unexpectedly.’ (Larsson 1992:90)

(43) RUSSIAN
    Он взял и пошел.
    he take:PT and leave:PT
    ‘He left (with a sudden decision).’

(44) PERSIAN
    begir bešin (< benešin)
    IMPER:take:PRES IMPER:sit:PRES
    ‘Sit down!’
Hungarian and Swedish only employ preverb constructions, whereas the order of the two verbs in Russian seems to be freer: The two verbs may be scrambled.

5 Crosslinguistic features of double-verb constructions: the notions grammaticalized

The semantic notions grammaticalized in double-verb constructions are rather similar in many languages of the Eurasian linguistic area; see also Masica (1971). The most frequent notions grammaticalized in Turkic, Slavic (Russian and Bulgarian), Hungarian, and also Japanese (cf. Alpatov, unpublished paper) are given in (45):

(45) Notions grammaticalized by double verb constructions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACTIONAL PROPERTIES</th>
<th>non-dynamic ‘inessive’ sense, dynamic ‘illative’ sense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Dynamicity</td>
<td>transformativity vs. non-transformativity, ingressive, final, in-progress, performed from beginning to end</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) Phase structure</td>
<td>durative, instantaneous, sudden, uninterrupted, performed until this or another point in time, coincidental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) Temporal properties</td>
<td>uncontrolled, performed with uncertainty, performed consciously</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) Agentiveness</td>
<td>first-actant oriented, oriented towards others, reflexive, (causative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5) Affectedness</td>
<td>change of state, irrevocable / irreversible, performed in advance or in preparation, the doer anticipating the future necessity (as precondition for another event)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6) Manner</td>
<td>intensive, unforeseen or accidental occurrence, regularly occurring, singular occurrence, repetitive, propinquitive meaning (‘almost’), gradually developing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7) Motion</td>
<td>away from something, towards something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8) Emotional connotation</td>
<td>negative connotation (irritating), positive connotation (desiderative)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The verbs serving as the basis for the grammaticalization belong typically to certain semantic classes.

(46) Semantic classes of the lexical verbs grammaticalized as postverbs
   a. Postural verbs 'sit', 'stand', 'become' / 'be'
   b. Motion verbs 'go', 'run', 'move', 'come'
   c. Gestural verbs 'take', 'cast', 'give', 'send'
   d. Phasal verbs 'begin', 'finish'
   e. Perceptual verbs 'look', 'listen'
   f. Ability verbs 'know'

The set of auxiliary verbs and the set of the notions grammaticalized by them show great crosslinguistic similarities; see Ebert (2000). However, as pointed out by Johanson (2000), the same auxiliary can be used to convene different notions in different languages. One can, however, observe some tendencies.

Postural verbs, i.e. body position metaphors ('stand', 'sit', 'lie', etc.) are utilized in many languages to express grammaticalized actional modifications, such as durativity, e.g. Italian periphrases with stare 'be (situated)', Swedish sitta (och) 'sit (and)', Tatar tor- 'stand', utir- 'sit', yat- 'lie', Kalmyk kevt- 'lie'. The auxiliaries either preserve some of their lexical meanings, delimiting the action to certain body positions, or they are desemanticized and thus interchangeable.

6 Summary

Turkic double verb constructions observe typological properties shared by corresponding constructions in many Eurasian languages. An important parameter of a typological comparison is the order of semantic modification. In Turkic, semantic modification is a property independent of the syntactic hierarchy (hypotactic versus paratactic) of the two segments. Typologically dominant in Turkic is the postverb construction, which may be both hypotactic and paratactic. The grammaticalization of the postverbs have resulted in actionality and viewpoint markers, which are morphological modifiers of the lexical segment. The development of a preverbal construction is iconically motivated and may also be regarded to be contact-induced. Turkic languages have most probably influenced the development of double verb constructions in contact languages, such as Russian and Bulgarian.
References


Tense-aspect markers as viewpoint operators in Swahili discourse

Thomas Bearth
University of Zurich

1 Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to explore how the viewpoint category is grammaticalized in Swahili, and how it interacts with the tense-aspect (TA) system. After introducing the concept of viewpoint (Vp) and presenting initial

---

1 This paper has benefitted from research undertaken under the Swiss National Science Foundation grant nr. 1213-054020.98/1 on the theme “Topic, focus and counterevalue - a discourse typological study”. I am indebted to K. Geitlinger for granting me access to the Swahili archives compiled by her and for useful discussion of critical examples. Thanks also to K. Ebert and F. Zúñiga for helpful suggestions on moot points of the analysis. As usual, all remaining errors are mine.

2 The basic affirmative Swahili TA paradigm, which occurs in the main verbal predicate of the independent sentence, exhibits the following morphologically distinct categories: a-na-soma ‘s/he is reading’ (PROG); a-li-soma ‘s/he read’ (PT); a-me-soma ‘s/he has read’ (PF); a-mesha-soma ‘s/he had read’ (ANT); a-ta-soma ‘s/he will read’ (FUT). Unbounded situations are represented by two distinct forms. The so-called a-tense implies iterative or intermittent action: (a-a-sema ->) a-sema Kiswahili ‘s/he speaks (Swahili) (occasionally)’. The so-called hu-tense, which leaves the category of person unspecified, is used for describing an entity by its characteristic behaviour: hu-sema Kiswahili ‘he/she/|you/we etc. speak(s) Swahili / are speakers of Swahili’. However, the a-form is gradually becoming obsolete and is being replaced by the na-present. Even apart from this recent development, the latter form’s conventional designation as “progressive” - which will be used in this paper for lack of a fully acceptable alternative - appears to be a misnomer in the light of evidence from text-grammatical studies (Contini-Morava 1989, Wald 1997).

Negation is carried by the pre-initial marker h(a)- which combines with a reduced set of morphological distinctions: h-a-som-i ‘s/he is not reading/does not read’ (no boundary being necessarily implied: the subject may have read in the past or may read in the future, or s/he may not read at all); h-a-ku-soma ‘s/he did not / has not read’; h-a-ja-soma ‘s/he had not (yet) read’; h-a-ta-soma ‘s/he will not read’.

The dependent TA paradigm, which characterizes states-of-affairs as extensions of an already established situation, replaces the TA marker of the main paradigm by the markers -ki- and -ka-: a-ki-soma (SIM), a-ka-soma (SEQ). These will be discussed in section 3 below. They have no negative counterparts. The dependent TA marker -ki- is also used in pre-modifying clauses in order to express a condition.

Aktionsart and aspectotemporality in non-European languages.
evidence for its encoding through the Auxiliary (AUX) of the so-called Complex Verb Construction (CVC; cf. Schadeberg 1992:33ff.), I shall demonstrate the superiority of Vp as a descriptive category for predicting and explaining the regularities of the most characteristic alternations between certain TA markers in Swahili discourse. I will show that explanations based on grounding variables or on feature theory fail to predict these regularities even in the case of narrative discourse where they were apparently most successfully applied. After briefly surveying further facets of the CVC-based viewpoint paradigm, drawing in part on additional evidence from conversational texts, I will conclude with some typological observations on viewpoint grammaticalization.

2 The -kuwa-auxiliary: temporal “shifter” or viewpoint operator?

2.1 We shall first look at a few passages (sample texts A-B, D below) from M.S. Abdulla’s detective novel *Mzimu wa watu wa kale* (Abdulla 1982:1):

A. [The opening paragraph of the novel:]

1. Najum a-li-po-piga hodi nyumba-ni kwa Bwana Msar
   Najum 3sS-PT-TEMP:REL-beat h. house-LOC of Mister Msar
   Kikwaju-ni karibu na Mnazi Mmoja
   Tamarind-LOC near with Coconut One

2. a-li-itik-i-w-a na mtoto mdogo
   3sS-PT-answer-APPL-PASS-FV by child small

3. a-li-ye-kuwa a-ki-cheza mlango-ni.
   3sS-PT-3s:REL-be 3sS-SIM-play door-LOC

4. Wakati ule
   Time that

The final vowel -a, which generally characterizes verbs of Bantu origin, represents the modally unmarked case. It is replaced by -i in the unbounded negative, as shown above, and by -e in the optative: *a-som-e* ‘s/he should read’; *a-ka-som-e* ‘... so that s/he should read’. The negative counterpart of the optative is *a-si-som-e* ‘he should not read/... so that he does not read’.

Dialectal variation in the Swahili TA system is quite considerable. See Wald (1981) and note 29 below.

3 Throughout this paper, as noun morphology is irrelevant to its main argument, nominal class prefixes will not be shown as such in the examples. For similar reasons of notational economy, I generally abstain from providing full detail of verbal post-stem morphology.
5. Bwana Msa a-li-kuwa msala-ni a-ki-oga, 
Mister Msa 3sS-PT-be wash.house-LOC 3sS-SIM-wash

6. na-ye a-li-kuwa a-me-kwisha ku-agiza kuwa
   and-3s 3sS-PT-be 3sS-PERF-finish INF-leave.instruction that

7. ye yote a-taka-ye-kuja
   any one 3sS-FUT-3s:REL-come

8. a-Ø-na ruhusa ya ku-ingia ndani a-m-ngoje-e.
   3sS-[be]-with permission of INF-enter interior 3sS-3sO-wait.for-OPT

‘1. When Najum called “Hodi” [call to ask for permission to enter] at Mr. Msa’s home, at “Little Tamarind” [compound] near “One Coconut Tree” [quarter], 2. he was answered by a small child 3. who was playing at the door. 4. At this time, 5. Mr. Msa was in the wash-house taking a shower 6. and had left the instruction that 7. whoever would come 8. should be allowed to enter inside [the compound] and should wait for him there.’

At first glance, the various TA markers in this passage seem to lend themselves to a straightforward description as a means of mapping a sequence of narrated events onto the temporal structure of the initial narrative situation, and of locating the various states-of-affairs relatively to each other on the time axis. Classic tense-logic à la Reichenbach (1966), distinguishing between simultaneity, anteriority and posteriority in conjunction with transposed vantage points defined ultimately by reference to speaker time, would seem to be able to take care of all apparent complexities.

However, a closer look at the data leads to a number of less trivial observations:

1. The narrative segment contains three occurrences of the stative predicate -kuwa ‘be’, respectively in (A3), (A5) and (A6). Of these, only (A5) is motivated by the need to express an independent stative predicate for the purpose of identifying a location. In the two other cases (A3; A6), the predicate -kuwa seems to be NOTIONALLY REDUNDANT. Its status in these two cases is that of an Auxiliary (AUX, underlined in the examples) in a Complex Verbal Construction (CVC).

2. In terms of their morphological range, both AUX and the main verb are amenable to further specification by the TA paradigm. The multiplication of the two marker sets - less those combinations excluded by global constraints (see 2.3 and 8.3 below) - constitutes an auxiliary TA paradigm whose versatility is obtained by associating the two independently varying TA sets with a single lexical predicate. One of the main functions of this twin TA paradigm is, as will be shown, to host the category of viewpoint and its refinements.
3. In syntactic terms, the CVC is defined by the occurrence in immediate sequence\(^4\) of (i) the \(-kuwa\) auxiliary, which functions as Tense and viewpoint operator, and (ii) the main verb, which is solely responsible for the lexical content of the complex predicate.\(^5\) By virtue of this definition, (A5), which contains further lexical material intervening between \(-kuwa\) and the main verb, is excluded from the class of CVC. By contrast with (A3) and (A6), (A5) contains two separate lexical predicates whose combined TA configurations do not show, in spite of some overlap,\(^6\) the same variety as the twin TA paradigm of the CVC. On the other hand, the \(-kuwa\) predicate in (A5) shows similar viewpoint characteristics as the AUX of (A3) and (A6).

4. Within the primary time axis of the story, AUX establishes a point of temporal reference \(R_t\), relatively to which an event expressed by the CVC main predicate is situated on a secondary time axis whose values are defined with reference to \(R_t\). The event referred to by the lexical verb may thus be described, in purely temporal terms, as being anterior to \(R_t\) or as being simultaneous with \(R_t\). Thus, the events reported in (A3) and (A5) - the child playing at the door and Mr. Msa taking his shower - are roughly simultaneous with the appearance of Najum on Msa’s premises.

5. For all events reported in segment A, except for the reported speech in (A7-8), the time reference point \(R_t\) corresponds to the time frame initially set in (A1) and re-set by the deictically co-indexed adverbial phrase \(wakati\ ule\) (‘at that moment’) in (A4).

6. Action logic requires that the event described in (A6) - the delivery of the instructions on the basis of which Najum will be admitted to the interior of the compound - be terminated before his arrival, i.e. before the situation which defines the temporal reference point \(R_t\) arises. POST-TERMINALITY

---

\(^4\) This means that no lexical material may intervene between AUX and main verb. The apparent exception of the element \(tayari\) occurring in this position in (H2) and (H7) is explained by the reanalysis of this element as a TA-like operator. See note 36 below.

\(^5\) CVC auxiliation is recursive: a complex predicate may in turn integrate into a higher level CVC, as illustrated by the following example from the novel \(Kikulacho\ ki\ nguoni\ mwako\) by Peter Ngare (1975:27):

```
Tu-ngi-kuwa tu-ngi-li tw-a-pig-ana kabila kwa kabila.
1p-COND-be 1p-PERS-be 1p-HAB-fight-each.tribe against tribe
‘[If we had not been colonized,] we would still be fighting tribal wars against each other.’
```

The 1\(^{st}\) degree persistive AUX, constructed with the root alternate \(-li\)- ‘to be’ (cf. Schadeberg 1992:31), implicates the cancellation of a pragmatically presupposed boundary (implying the cessation of tribal wars). In turn, the 2\(^{nd}\) degree conditional AUX, marked as conditional, puts the 1\(^{st}\) degree persistive CVC into counterfactual mood: tribal wars did in fact cease when the British took over.

\(^6\) In both (A3) and (A5), the TA marker of the second verb is \(-ki\)- (cf. section 4).
defines a relation between two successive situations \( s_i < s_j \) such that the realization of \( s_j \) is materially or cognitively\(^7\) contingent upon the prior termination of \( s_i \). Post-terminality is expressed in Swahili by a periphrastic TA construction made up of the auxiliary predicate \(-kwisha\) - here \(-a-mesha-kwisha\) ‘he-had-finished’ -, followed by an infinitival verb form - here \(-ku-
agiza\) ‘leave instructions’ - assigning its lexical meaning to the predicate.\(^8\)

7. There is no TA correlate of TERMINALITY. Terminality also implies closure of a situation within a given span of activity, but, in contrast to post-terminality, is indeterminate in regard to overlap vs. non-overlap of successive actions occurring within that span. The effect of terminality where it obtains appears to depend on the lexical semantics of the verb, as in the case of \(-itika\) ‘respond to (a call)’ in (A2), in contrast to, for instance, \(-ongoza\) ‘lead’ in (B2) below.

The Auxiliary is thus not adequately described as a temporal “shifter” whose "job" it would be to make out-of-phase statements or background information fit into the chronology of the main narrative. Its most characteristic effect is that it re-creates, within the global narrative sequence, a secondary narrative space capable of accommodating a variety of locally relevant temporal and logical relations. This description suggests that its main function is that of a VIEWPOINT OPERATOR.

2.2 What is viewpoint (Vp)? One of the most clearly noticeable effects of Vp is the selection of a specific phase of the action represented by the verb in its scope. A viewpoint is anchored in a situation and attributed to a “viewer”. In narration, the “viewer” may be the narrator or a particular actor from whose viewpoint the story or part of the story is being told. This stipulation necessarily implies the selection of a specific phase of the action represented by the verb as being relevant to that specific situation, or as being cognitively salient for the attributee or subject of Vp.

For instance in (A3), the verb \(-cheza\) ‘play’ is doubtlessly to be classified as an activity (ACTI) verb, alongside with verbs such as ‘work’, which is used by Sasse (1991:37) to exemplify this category. The effect of AUX is to narrow down the segment of the event which is relevant to the story. It is irrelevant what the child did in the minutes before and after Najum’s coming.

The case of the verb \(-oga\) ‘take a bath or shower, wash one’s body’ in (A5) is different in that it implies a situation both protracted in time and oriented towards a change of state affecting the agent. Compared to \(-cheza\), it carries an

\(^7\) By cognitive contingency I mean that the perception or the ratification of the termination of the preceding action by the agent of the subsequent action is considered to be the prerequisite to the latter’s realization.

\(^8\) In its fully grammaticalized form, the perfect auxiliary verb construction \(-me-kwisha\ ku-VR\) reduces to the pluperfect \(-mesha-VR\), where \(-mesha-\) functions exactly like any other TA prefix. See note 2 above.
indisputable reference to its terminality. Native scholarly opinion and informant tests concur in insisting on the undetachability of the telic implicature from the meaning of the verb and oblige us, on the strength of Sasse’s criteria (1991:35f.), to classify it as an unambiguous case of a GTER (gradually terminative) verb, rather than as an activity verb carrying potential boundaries.\(^9\)

Obviously, however, the outcome of the action is of no relevance whatsoever to the development of the plot. The stative predicate, by co-indexing the current state of the main predicate action with a locus \(R_i\) on the matrix narrative sequence, focuses on the central part of the main action while defocusing its terminality. The characteristic effect of the \(VP\), as illustrated by this example, is not one of changing the inherent semantics of the verb, by selecting one of its components and invalidating the others, but of re-arranging its component parts along a scale of current relevance in accordance with the teleology of the ongoing discourse.\(^10\)

2.3 Inverting the perspective, we may ask: If the selection of a phase presupposes a viewpoint operation, does the adoption of a specific viewpoint also presuppose the segmentation of the event into phases? The answer is yes.

---

\(^9\) It is precisely by its inherent telic component that the simplex -oga ‘take a bath’ differs systematically from the applicative -ogelea ‘bathe (in), swim’. Both the definitions and the examples given in Bakhressa (1992:296) are clearly telic in the case of -oga, and explicitly locational and non-telic in the case of -ogelea. I am indebted to Mr. Omari Mwarape, a Swahili native speaker from coastal Tanzania, for his help in carrying out an acceptability test; it shows that even if -oga is used with a locational complement, it still imposes a functional interpretation, while in the absence of the functional component, only -ogelea is acceptable. Thus, ku-oga mtoni can only mean ‘wash one’s body in the river’, whereas in order to express the idea of taking a swim in the river ku-ogelea mtoni must be used. This evidence suggests that the telic component is inherent in the lexical semantics of the lexeme -oga, rather than being inferred from the particular narrative situation in which it happens to be inserted in (A5).

Application of the interruption test further corroborates this conclusion. The process denoted by -oga, if interrupted, cannot be referred to by a TA form implying global reference: Juzi, ni-li-kuwa ni-ki-oga a-ka-tokea kiboko ni-ka-kimbia ‘the_other_day, I was taking_a_bath it-then-came a_hippopotamus I-then-run_away’. Replacing the viewpoint construction ni-li-kuwa ni-ki-oga by the simple past is possible, but would necessarily imply that the hippopotamus appeared on the scene after the washing was brought to completion: Juzi, ni-li-(po-)oga a-ka-tokea ...‘the_other_day, (when) I-had-taken_my_bath ...’ Thus, apprehension of the process at a pre-terminal stage necessarily imposes the recourse to the viewpoint strategy with its potential for defocusing the terminality component.

\(^10\) For the primacy of the interaction with terminality in describing the viewpoint category and its significance for discourse meaning, see Johanson (2000:31): “Viewpoint operators offer different choices for envisaging and presenting events as such, for opening PERSPECTIVES ON THEM AND THEIR INTERNAL PHASE STRUCTURE, FOR VIEWING THEM IN RELATION TO THEIR LIMITS. (...) What is conceived of as one and the same event is PRESENTED IN DIFFERENT DIMENSIONS OF TERMINALITY” [emphasis TB].
We observe that, in Swahili, inherently global representations of states-of-affairs cannot be in the scope of a viewpoint operator.\textsuperscript{11} This is demonstrated most clearly by the ungrammaticality of the Past marker -\textit{li}- and the Consecutive marker -\textit{ka}- in the main verb of a CVC. Both markers conventionally implicate global reference to the designated event or action. Their exclusion from the CVC paradigm finds a plausible explanation in the conceptual incompatibility of global reference with the segmentation of the event into phases.\textsuperscript{12}

The fact that the Auxiliary cannot be construed with predicates carrying global reference is a strong indication that the selectional effect which posits a boundary internal to the event is indeed an essential component of the viewpoint operation associated with AUX.\textsuperscript{13}

3 The -\textit{ka-}/-\textit{ki-} alternation: Sequentiality and viewpoint

Let us now look at another episode gleaned from the same detective novel (Abdulla 1982:44):

\textbf{B.} [Mr. Msa, the Zanzibarian Sherlock Holmes, having discovered for himself the identity of the murderer, manages, while on his way to report his findings to the police, to keep his entourage mystified.]

1. Bwana Msa h-a-\textbf{ku-m-jibu} neno
   Mister Msa NEG-3sS-NEG:PT-3sO-reply word

2. ila a-li-ongoza njia,
   instead 3sS-PT-lead path

3. a-\textbf{ki-mw-ambia} Najum,
   3sS-SIM-3sO-tell Najum

\textsuperscript{11} This should not be interpreted to mean that global reference is indifferent to the viewpoint paradigm. To the contrary, it could be argued that global reference is the default option of the viewpoint category. What I am dealing with here are constraints affecting the grammatical operations associated with the viewpoint paradigm.

\textsuperscript{12} Of course, this must not be interpreted to mean that global markers cannot be used to express PHASES OF EVENTS. But then, this is done by means of lexical verbs referring to actional phase categories, such as ‘\textit{begin}’, ‘\textit{continue}’, ‘\textit{finish}’, etc., and by using periphrasis for constructing the phase as a predicate. An example is found in (H2) below: ... \textit{u-mesha-anza ku-ji-juu} ... ‘... you have already \textit{begun} to realize ...’.

\textsuperscript{13} The ban on -\textit{li-} and -\textit{ka-} main verbs seems to be the only well established grammatical constraint restricting the co-occurrence of tense-aspect markers in CVC sequences, apart from the “modality clash” described in Section 8 below which seems to restrict the occurrence of the future marker -\textit{ta-} in the main verb.
4. “U-na-jua we,
   2s-PROG-know you

5. sasa tw-end-e Polisi
    now 1p-go-OPT police

6. tu-ka-pig-e ripoti.”
    1p-SEQ-beat-OPT report

7. Wa-li-kwenda kimya kimya
    3p-PT-go quietly quietly

8. mpaka wa-ka-fika stesheni.
    until 3p-SEQ-arrive.at (police.)station

9. Njia nzima Bwana Msa a-li-kuwa a-ki-end
    path whole Mister Msa 3sS-PT-be 3sS-SIM-go

10. hali uso wake u-na-tazama chini,
    while face his c11-PROG-look down

11. a-na-pita
    3sS-PROG-pass

12. a-ki-vuta kiko chake tu.
    3sS-SIM-draw pipe his only

‘1. Mr. Msa did not answer, 2. but [simply] went ahead, 3. while he said: “4. You know, 5. now we have got to go to the police 6. and make a report.” 7. They walked in silence 8. until they arrived at the police station. 9. All along the way, 10. he kept his eyes fixed on the ground. 11. While he was proceeding, 12. he was constantly puffing at his pipe.’

Conventional tense logic accounts only partially for the distribution of TA markers and their effects on discourse meaning in this passage:
1. The markers -ka- and -ki- both take their temporal reference from the preceding predicate. An event E\textsubscript{j} connected by -ka- is always sequential (at least in narrative sequences)\textsuperscript{14} and is temporally post-indexed in regard to its

\textsuperscript{14} For Droel (ms., p. 3f.), following Contini-Morava (1989), the common semantic denominator of all uses of -ka-, including those occurrences - in non-narrative context - where the event to which the -ka-predicate refers does not stand in a relation of temporal consecution to the preceding predicate, is CONTINGENCY: “... dass ka eine Handlung markiert, die abhängig von einer vorhergehenden Handlung ist” (quoted and translated from Leonard 1980:217). For a non-narrative context which illustrates this point quite well, see (K3) below,
verbal antecedent: \( t_j > t_i \). The segment (B5-8) illustrates the use of -\( ka- \) and at the same time shows that it is not limited to narratives nor to past events: (B5-6) illustrates its use in a projected sequential action: "\( tw-end-e ~ Polisi tu-ka-pig-e ~ ripoti \) ‘let’s go and make a report’ (B7-8), on the other hand, illustrates its predominant narrative use: "Wa-li-kwenda mpaka wa-ka-fika stesheni ‘they went and (then) arrived at the (police) station’.

2. The marker -\( ki- \) is temporally co-indexed with its verbal antecedent \( E_i \), so that \( t_j = t_i \), as illustrated in (B2-3). The -\( ki- \) marked expression (B3) illustrates the embedding of a secondary, i.e. non-consecutive predicate into a narrative sequence by association with a primary narrative predicate (B2), which is itself part of the string of consecutive events. As implied by the temporal co-indexation, the primary narrative predicate provides the point of reference for the temporal insertion of the secondary predicate, in exactly the same way as for the AUX-mediated sequences in (A3) and (A6) above. The difference is simply that, in (B2-3), no auxiliary construction intervenes.

3. As a corollary of the absence of AUX, there are severe restrictions on the selection of the phase of the action referred to by the secondary predicate. At least in literary Swahili, only the TA marker -\( ki- \) may occur in the unauxiliated position of the temporally co-indexed second predicate, no TA markers carrying an inherent time-reference are admitted. In contrast to the CVC - as for instance in (A6) above -, direct embedding does not include options involving temporal shift.\(^{15}\)

4. It is not sufficient to define -\( ki- \) as a marker of simultaneity or of backgrounding, without also specifying its viewpoint characteristics, namely the selectional effects it has on the predicate it marks.\(^{16}\) These effects co-vary with the inherent actional properties of the -\( ki- \)-marked predicate (and possibly depend on the interplay with those of the dominant predicate). What seems to be the case is that with gradually terminative (GTER) and activity (ACTI) verbs, the terminal point is excluded from the scope of the -\( ki- \)-marked predicate, as illustrated respectively in (A3) and (A5) above.\(^{17}\) With totally terminative verbs (TTER), on the other hand, the actional property overrides the viewpoint-induced focus on the intraterminal phase: where the viewpoint operator \( a-ka-wa \) is “prefixed” to a description of irregular school attendance, thereby underlining the contingency of this kind of behaviour.

\(^{15}\) Colloquial forms of Swahili seem to admit at least some of these options, implicating the viewpoint operator in cases where is usually present in standard forms.

\(^{16}\) Hopper (1979:214), on the basis of evidence from an a-terminative situation encoded by the verb \( ka-pitta \) ‘pass through’, discounts the “aspectual” characteristics of -\( ki- \) in favor of its discourse function as a backgrounding marker. However, the intraterminal aspectual characteristics conventionally associated with -\( ki- \) appear most clearly in combination with verbs whose actional scope normally includes terminality.

\(^{17}\) Schadeberg's description of -\( ki- \) as “continuative” would seem to support this analysis (Schadeberg 1992:34).
this accounts for the global rather than intraterminal interpretation of the act of saying in (B3-6).  

The -*ka/-ki- alternation in Swahili narratives has served as a prototypical example of the grammaticalization of the putatively universal Foregrounding / Backgrounding opposition in the languages of the world (Hopper 1979:213f.). Surveying the -ki-markers in fragment B, one is at first inclined to see in their distribution a perfect illustration of the backgrounding function consistently claimed for -ki-. Indeed, none of the -ki-marked sub-sequences appears to be indispensable in order to maintain the cohesion of the event sequence - provided that the purpose of the latter is taken to be to describe the action of the detective following his discovery of the key evidence for solving his case. Both the comment made to his companion (B3-6) and his puffing the pipe (B12) would seem, from this perspective, to be merely incidental to the main narrated element that moves forward the story - Mr. Msa’s physical move in direction of the place where these findings must be reported. And (B3-6) in a very literal sense qualifies as a comment on what is happening, which, as far as narrative discourse goes, counts as a major distinctive of backgrounding (Hopper 1979:215).

The problem with this interpretation is that it is in blatant contradiction to the immediate context of the story: the sequence B is a directly consecutive not to the discovery of new evidence but to the insistent inquiries of Mr. Msa’s companion as to the identity of the murderer; these make up the whole preceding paragraph of the story. From the perspective of the local narrative context, then, fragment B reports Mr. Msa’s reaction to Najum’s impatient conjectures. From this perspective, (B3-6), in conjunction with (B1), is the prominent element of the story-line, and (B2) its background, rather than vice versa.

The two perspectives can be reconciled by considering that what -ki- does in (B3), is not to indicate the backgrounded status of Msa’s remark, but to synchronize two interwoven parallel strands of narrated action. In other words,

---

18 The question as to whether -ambia ‘tell somebody’ is to be classified as TTER or GTER needs further exploration. My inclination towards the former categorization rests on the following two observations: (i) to assert the act of saying implies necessarily, in the case of -ambia, the complete enunciation of what is being said; (ii) the obligatory coding of the addressee amounts to an obligatory reference to the perlocutive stage of the speech act.
19 See Drole (ms., p. 8-10) for further references.
20 Assigning grounding characteristics on the basis of independent criteria rather than on the basis of the distribution of the markers whose discourse-function one intends to define, is methodologically necessary to avoid the pitfall of circular reasoning. If the mere fact of the insertion of an event in the temporal sequence and its being marked by -ka- is taken to be sufficient evidence for its foregrounded status then the latter reduces to a mere tautology.
-ki- functions, at least in this case, in a similar way as stated above for AUX: as a viewpoint operator.²¹

4 The -ki-/na alternation: Viewpoint and cognitive structure

The segment (B9-12), which remains to be examined, is introduced by an Auxiliary whose scope, as evidenced by the time shift of all four main predicates, extends over the whole sequence.

Whereas the past tense marker of AUX in (B9) a-li-kuwa situates the whole sequence on the story-line, the sequence itself is characterized by alternation between the non-past TA prefixes -ki- and -na-: a-ki-endi ‘was going’ (B9) ... u-na-tazama chini ‘kept looking down’ (B10) ... a-na-pita ‘was proceeding’ (B11) ... a-ki-vuta kiko ‘was puffing his pipe’ (B12).

As to -na-, Contini-Morava (1989:68) defines it (i) by its tendency to include the point of reference in the predicated event, and (ii) by its preferential use (as against other so-called present tense markers) with verbs of activity. Without pursuing further the disputed issue of the semantic value and pragmatic use of -na-,²² what needs to be stressed is that the criteria proposed for -na- can equally well be applied to -ki-. Conventional tense-logic does not provide a reasonable motive for the alternation:

- All four dependent predicates denote inherently non-bounded, non-terminative actions.
- The temporal relation between the events denoted by the predicates and the matrix situation is one of intra-terminality (Johanson 2000:32): the temporal reference point represented by the Auxiliary is included in the process of realization represented by the main verb.

Still the two markers -ki- and -na- in non-initial predicates are not interchangeable at random - notwithstanding the existence of overlap in certain cases, where both may indeed be used. Among the hypotheses that have been

²¹ This would still leave open the question of a hierarchization of the parallel strands in terms of the Foregrounding/Backgrounding hierarchy as proposed by Hopper (1979) and others. Adopting such a hypothesis, however, would inevitably lead to redefining the terms of the grounding dichotomy. Arguing from the present example, the assignment of background status to (B3) can only be maintained on the basis of a dichotomy, operating at a very high level of the global organization of the narrative material, between elements directly feeding into the plot, and those parts of the story which, while no less essential to its cohesion, consist of reported conversation as in (B3-6), or constitute a parallel string of happenings, including for instance elements contributing to the progressive unveiling of the mystery or, to the contrary, to the detective's reluctance to disclose his insights. Apart from heuristic problems involved in determining what is to be regarded as foregrounded, respectively as backgrounded, the possibility of local ambiguity of foregrounded vs. backgrounded status, evident in the case of (B3), would make it impracticable to correlate the distinction with the informational status of individual predicates in their local context.

²² See Wald (1997:60ff.) for a fuller discussion.
advanced for explaining the difference of usage between the two markers, the one ascribing a backgrounding effect to -ki- has met broad approval (see Drobc (ms., p. 8-10) for a review of the literature). Bickel (1992:37) contrasts the two markers in an otherwise identical CVC construction:

(1) Ni-li-kuwa ni-ki-soma 1s-PT-be 1s-SIM-read ‘I was reading (when) ...’

(2) Ni-li-kuwa ni-na-soma 1s-PT-be 1s-PROG-read ‘I was reading.’

Basing his analysis on elicited speaker reaction, Bickel opposes the closure of (2) (the point that the speaker wants to make is that he was reading) to the incompleteness of (1) (the speaker intends to speak of something else he was doing while he happened to be reading).

While most discourse- or corpus-based work focuses on the function of -ki- in comparison with -ka- (see section 3), Wald (1997) concentrates on -na-, contrasting its condition of use with that of other “present tense” markers. A computation of evidence from synchronic and historical sources leads him to conclude that -na- has much more to do with the informational status of the clause in which it occurs than with fundamental aspectual characteristics such as progressive which have been traditionally associated with it. Wald’s observations on the semantic property which according to him guides the various uses of Swahili -na- is in line with the phenomenon, widely noted in Bantu languages, of focus categories being expressed in the TA paradigms. To the extent that evidence adduced by Wald in favor of what he terms the “pragmatic aspectual focus effect” (Wald 1997:59) of -na- in present-day Swahili should be confirmed, this would add strength to the claim associating -na- with foregrounding and contrasting it with the generally assumed backgrounding function of -ki-.

Yet on the other hand, the distribution of the markers -ki- and -na-, as observed in the segment (B9-12), does not support the backgrounding / foregrounding hypothesis, at least not as applying to the informational status of the individual events expressed by the predicates in which the markers appear. In terms of their informational weight, the predicates referring to Mr. Msa’s moving ahead (B9, B11) rank lowest. They do nothing more than take up the fact already stated earlier in the sequence (B2) that Msa walks to the police station. Repeated reference to a well-known and well-introduced state-of-affairs as in (B9) and (B11) is only plausible as background information

---

23 There is, incidentally, identity of subject between AUX and its associated main verb.
24 Hopper’s (1979:213-216) use of these terms is somewhat different. In narrative discourse, foregrounding is limited to “main line” events (p. 214) - non-sequential events are by definition backgrounded. The difference between -na- and -ki- would therefore be a further distinction within backgrounding material.
serving to situate that information which, in narrative terms, propels the action, or else characterizes it in a way relevant to the action: The latter is true of the equally well-known but not locally predictable behavioral stereotypes betraying the master detective’s intense rumination of his case: his gaze fixed on the soil (B10), and the manipulation of his pipe (B11).

Given the informational profile of the sequence, which assigns low communicative degree to (B9) and (B11), and high degree to (B10) and (B12), one would have predicted on the basis of the backgrounding/foregrounding hypothesis that the predicates of (B9) and (B11) would take the marker \(-ki\)-, whereas the communicatively prominent predicates of (B10) and (B12) would take the marker \(-na\)-. Clearly, this is not the case: \(-ki\)- appears with the low-degree predicate (B9) and the high-degree predicate (B12), whereas \(-na\)- marks the high-degree predicate (B10) and the low-degree predicate (B11).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BACKGROUND</th>
<th>FOREGROUND</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a-li-kiwa ...</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B9: ... a-ki-end</td>
<td>B10: ... u-na-tazama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B11: ... a-na-pita</td>
<td>B12: ... a-ki-vuta kiko chake tu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Given further the widespread consensus regarding the backgrounding effect of \(-ki\)-,\(^{25}\) its use in (B12) is particularly puzzling.\(^{26}\) I shall return to this question in a moment. Let us first examine the equally problematic prima facie low-status predicates referring to Mr. Msa’s movement. While the difference in TA-marking of (B9) and (B11) cannot be explained on the basis of the informational status of the predicates, the difference becomes natural if one takes into account the categorization of events in terms of viewpoint:

1. a-ki-end \(\text{‘he was going’}\) is not part of the cognitive domain constituted by the viewpoint operator, but its function is to co-determine the viewpoint itself. A necessary part of the definition of viewpoint as a discourse-pragmatically relevant category is its anchoring in the matrix discourse. In the default case, the domain of reference of viewpoint is specified by the antecedent predicate as is the case in (A3) and (A6), but in many cases viewpoint is insufficiently specified by the natural antecedent, and additional determination is required. Metaphorically speaking, not only the entity to which the viewpoint is attributed may shift (e.g. between narrator and actor), but the size of the window from which the view is being taken

---

\(^{25}\) E.g. Droelc (ms, 10) concludes on the basis of a complete inventory of the occurrences of \(-ki\)- in Kezilahabi’s novel Rosa Mistika: “Das mit \(\text{ki}\) markierte Verb beschreibt den Handlungshintergrund, der in der Übersetzung entweder einem konditionalen Bedingungssatz [...] entspricht oder die Art und Weise einer Handlung ausdrückt.”

\(^{26}\) At the limit, it could be argued that \(\text{tu}\) ‘only’ corresponds to what Bickel calls “downplaying.” But the narrative context provides no justification for this interpretation of \(\text{tu}\), which, also, is not conventionally implied. Still, one would then ask why the same criterion does not apply to (B10).
may also change, and correspondingly, the field of perception. In (B9), the
frame element njia nzima ‘on the whole way’ and the -ki-predicate a-ki-
enda ‘while he was going’ reinforce each other in extending the domain of
reference for which the segment (B10-12), being in the scope of the
viewpoint defined by (B9), is validated. The effect of the -ki-marked
predicate in (B9) is that it defines the temporal extension of R as co-
terminous with the duration of the action described by the verb. Thus, while
(B9) fulfills an ancillary function assigned to viewpoint, the sequence (B10-
12) constitutes its operational domain.\footnote{Narrative discourse theory
might consider this as an instance of setting. But one would also
have to note that the actions described in (B9-12) are not part of the “backbone” of the
narrative. The notion of a secondary line of action is neatly captured in terms of the additional
cognitive space created by viewpoint.}

2. The operational domain assigned to a given viewpoint operator is not
restricted to a single event, but may subsume a class of related but clearly
distinguishable activities. In the present case, we are dealing with a couple
of activities united by the common property of being the activities of Mr.
Msa on his way to the police station. (B11) a-na-pita ‘he is proceeding’
predicates a state-of-affairs which is structurally parallel to (B10) u-na-
tazama ‘it (Mr. Msa’s face) is looking’. In both cases, initial -na- marks the
entry point to a cognitive space licensed by the viewpoint operator. Both
activities are temporally co-terminous with each other as well as with the
domain of reference established by the viewpoint operator, both therefore
take -na- as initial TA-marker.

3. By stipulating that -na- marks the opening of a new cognitive space under a
given viewpoint, we assign the TA-marker its function as an operator of the
sub-sequence filling that space, rather than as an operator of the individual
predication in which it happens to surface. This makes it understandable that
the distribution of the markers, in cases of a certain degree of complexity,
no longer reflects the informational status of the individual predicates, and
may even, as illustrated by the failure of the foregrounding / backgrounding
hypothesis in the case of the subsequence (B11-12), directly contradict
hypotheses and assumptions based on less complex cases.

Returning now to the problem of the seemingly counter-intuitive occurrence
of -ki- in (B12), it will be recalled that TA markers carrying an inherent time
reference are only allowed to appear if licensed by an Auxiliary (cf. section 3,
point 3). Whereas the subsequence (B11-12) as a whole satisfies this criterion
in the same way as (B10) to which it is a sister, (B12) is, syntactically
speaking, a daughter of the node constituting the sub-sequence, and hence a
sister to (B11). Therefore the sequential constraint banning the informationally
stronger -na- from non- auxiliated predicates enforces the use of -ki- as the
While my argument so far was based on a detailed analysis of the viewpoint category and its categorial ramifications, it should have become clear that syntactic considerations also play a role in defining or delimiting the referential objects which lie in its scope. A syntax-based confirmation of the analysis of (B9-12) proposed on the grounds of its viewpoint characteristics comes from the insertion of the conjunction hali 'while' at the point of transition between (B9) and (B10-12). This transition point, according to the above analysis, sets apart the segment expressing the anchoring of viewpoint itself, from the material expressing the content which lies in its scope.

The result of the proposed analysis shows that the two elements marked by -na- are structurally aligned:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Alikuwa akienda} \\
\text{hali ... u-na-tazama} \\
\text{a-na-pita} \\
\text{a-ki-vuta kiko chake tu}
\end{align*}
\]

The following passage extracted from a different source (Suleiman 1969:400) further confirms that the interaction between viewpoint and structural criteria has a determining influence on the distribution of T-A markers in the extended discourse sequence:

\[\text{C. [The scene is part of the description of the hero’s tantalizingly long day full of ordinary things while he can hardly wait for the rendezvous with a mysterious lady who had asked him, Sadiki, to meet with her by the seaside at nightfall.]}\]

1. **U-li-kuwa** ni mchana wa saa nane, 
   \(\text{C3-PT-be COP daytime GEN hour eight}\)

2. Bahati mke-we Sadiki **a-li-kuwa** ka-shughulika 
   \(\text{Bahati wife-his Sadiki 3S-PT-be (3S)PERF-occupy}\)

3. a-ki-ingia jiko-ni na ku-toka 
   \(\text{3S-SIM-enter kitchen-LOC and INF-go.out}\)

4. huku a-na-i-tandika meza ya ku-l-i-a ...
   \(\text{while 3S-PROG-c9-set table GEN INF-eat-APPL-FV}\)

‘1. It was 2 o’clock p.m. 2. Bahati, Sadiki’s wife was busy 3. entering the kitchen and coming out again, 4. as she was setting the table ...’
The 3s perfect form *-\textit{ka}\textsuperscript{-28} is the operator positing the sub-sequence (C2b-3) in the scope of the viewpoint operator \textit{alikuwa} (C2a), whereas *-\textit{na}\textsuperscript{-} in (C4) posits the setting of the table as a separate object of cognition\textsuperscript{29} As pointed out in Drolc (ms., p. 10), -\textit{ki}-predicates often express the manner in which the matrix action is performed. Thus, (C3) specifies the generic state-of-affairs contained in the predicate ‘to be occupied at ...’ in (C2b). As in (B10-12), the alternation between the markers -\textit{ki}- and -\textit{na}- is well motivated in terms of their respective roles in the overall structure: -\textit{ki}- relates an embedded predicate to its matrix predicate; the effect of -\textit{na}- is that it constitutes the subsequence comprising both predicates as an operational domain of viewpoint. Cases like these, while offering some intuitive justification to the treatment of -\textit{na}- as foregrounding and of -\textit{ki}- as backgrounding, also show the need for an operational definition of grounding categories relating them explicitly to the hierarchical structure of the discourse.

5 Viewpoint and empathy

I hope to have shown in the preceding section that structural factors pertaining to the organization of larger discourse units tend to override considerations of informational prominence in the assignment of TA-markers to individual predicates. But there are other cases of alternation whose apparent arbitrariness cannot be resolved by invoking syntactic or structural criteria. A third excerpt from the detective novel will serve to illustrate this, using again the -\textit{ki}-/-\textit{na}- alternation as an example, and demonstrating that the viewpoint paradigm offers a plausible explanation for apparently paradoxical patterns of distribution (Abdulla 1982:46):

D. [At the police station, after having received Mr. Msa’s deposition, the inspector calls one of his men, ordering him to accompany him for verifying the facts on the scene.]

1. A-li-mw-ita mmoja katika wale askari
   3sS-PT-3sO-call one among those (police-)officers

\textsuperscript{28} In the Kiunguja dialect, a standard spoken predominantly in Zanzibar Town, \textit{ka}- is used or may be used in place of the 3s Perfect form \textit{a-me} ‘3sS-PF’ of Continental Standard Swahili.

\textsuperscript{29} This analysis is also well motivated by the immediate context of the story: Sadiki occupies the position of the observer following every gesture of his wife. On the other hand, it appears very likely that the alternation of the markers is forced by a structural constraint which either prohibits or disfavors serialization of -\textit{ki}- constructions. Finally the proposed segmentation is underscored by the connector \textit{huku} in (C4); its role as a structural discourse marker is comparable to that of \textit{hali} in (B10).
Tense-aspect markers as viewpoint operators in Swahili discourse

2. wa-li-o-kaa nje roshani-ni
   3p-PT-3p:REL-sit outside veranda-LOC

3. na kumbe a-li-tokea
   and lo! 3sS-PT-turn.out

4. kuwa ni yule a-li-ye-kuwa a-ki-sinzia
   that be:COP that.one 3sS-PT-3s:REL-be 3sS-SIM-doze

5. wakati wa-li-po-kuwa akina Bwana Msa
   time 3p-PT-TEMP:REL-be folks.of Mister Msa
   wa-na-ingia ndani, stesheni.
   3p-PROG-enter inside (police.)station

'1. He (the inspector) called one among the policemen 2. who were sitting outside (the police station) on the veranda, 3. and lo and behold, it turned out 4. to be the one who had been dozing 5. at the moment when Mr. Msa’s group had entered the building.'

The obvious question to address concerns the criterion that conditions the recourse to -ki- in (D4) and to -na- in (D5). Both segments are in CVC’s and are unquestionably backgrounded. Encoded as relative clauses, both refer to details which had been narrated shortly before and which are now rehearsed for no other obvious purpose than for unambiguously identifying the policeman in question. True, the highly marked verbal periphrasis with the surprise marker kumbe in (D3) suggests that some salient attribute of the personage - most likely his doziness - receives narrative prominence for some specific literary purpose. But even in this case, the foregrounding / backgrounding hypothesis would have predicted -na- in the predicate (D4) which expresses this salient property, and -ki- in (D5), since (D5) refers back to an already established state-of-affairs (cf. D8) which is being evoked here for the sole reason of connecting the salient fact with the sequence of events. The suggested distribution of the TA markers would have been expected all the more as, in terms of differences of degree of backgroundedness, the deeper embedded relative clause (D5) provides the background to the state-of-affairs described in the matrix relative clause (D4), which itself is part of the background to the ongoing story. In other words, even a relative view of foregroundedness within a backgrounded sequence would have assigned informationally high status to (D4) and informationally low status to (D5). The actual distribution of the two markers is again the inverse from what the application of the foregrounding/backgrounding parameter according to usually recognized criteria would let us expect.

As a means of escaping from this dilemma, one could be tempted to follow Schadeberg’s suggestion (1992:35) to characterize the difference as one
between "process in action" (-na-) and "situation" (-ki-). Applied to (D4-5), these features would not only fit the description, but would provide a beautiful grammatical counterpart to the possibly intended literary effect opposing the irruption on the scene of the purpose-driven private detective, an event naturally marked with -na-, to the pathetic inertia of the public service agents which would naturally have elicited -ki-marking if Schadeberg's interpretation of the difference was adopted. His proposal would analyze the difference between the markers in terms of inherent semantic features associated with the predicates they represent - a view which to me seems difficult to maintain on both theoretical and empirical grounds\(^{30}\).

It appears to be falsified on empirical grounds (i) by the numerous occurrences of -ki- with dynamic predicates, as for instance in (C3) above, where the description of Bahati's energetic moves in going to and fro should, according to theory, have elicited -na- rather than -ki-, and (ii) by the fact that the assignment of -ki- and -na-, while not arbitrary, appears to be independent of lexical semantics in general, and of the state / activity dichotomy in particular.

We are still left with the unresolved problem of the apparently counterintuitive distribution of the two markers in (D4) and (D5). The solution of the puzzle requires that the variables associated with viewpoint be taken into consideration. Apart from its varying extension in time and space (cf. section 4 above), viewpoint may also vary as to its attribution to different discourse instances (e.g. narrator, various actors of the story, etc.). For the episode under review, there can be no doubt that it is being told from the viewpoint of the detective and his companions, not from the viewpoint of the police officers. In terms of overall empathy, the actor of (D5) clearly outranks the actor of (D4). It is the empathy relation - or attribution of viewpoint - which is reflected in the choice of the markers: the higher-ranking -na- for the predicate whose thematic argument is the focus of empathy, and the lower-ranking -ki- for the predicate associated with the argument disfavored in terms of empathy.

Returning to the beginning, we notice that (A3) shows a -ki-marked main predicate under the scope of AUX in a position which, measured by standards of grammatical correctness, would also have permitted the marker -na-. The choice of -ki- becomes clear in the light of the preceding hypothesis. The initial scene - as confirmed by the subsequent paragraphs - is wholly presented from the perspective of Najum (a relative of the victim who in the course of the novel, will become Mr. Msa's amanuensis). This imposes the choice of -ki-rather than -na- in those predicates which describe actions controlled by actors who are out-of-focus in the current episode (the child, Mr. Msa).\(^{31}\)


\(^{31}\) Similar reasoning could be applied to (A5). However, since (A5) is not a CVC, the -ki/-na-alternation, according to our tentative hypothesis, is ruled out in this case on structural grounds.
Throughout sections 3-5, it has been shown that -ki- is not simply a formal correlate of backgrounded material as has been claimed, and that the foregrounding / backgrounding dichotomy is unable to account in a straightforward and coherent way for the very characteristic predicate marker alternations involving -ki- in Swahili narrative discourse. For one thing, the occurrence of -ki- is subordinated to viewpoint, and its more specific values are defined in connection with Vp operations. Being associated with Vp, -ki- itself becomes part of the discourse manifestation of Vp. On the other hand, the alternations, highly characteristic of Swahili narrative discourse, in which -ki- represents the lower or unmarked value, have been shown to operate on quite heterogeneous domains, such as the discourse organization of cognitive space and such as empathy - and others perhaps -, whose common defining property is their dependency on viewpoint.

Foregrounding and Backgrounding are not, after all, genuine operational parameters, but intuitively appealing visual space metaphors in need of interpretation. If the metaphor is to be retained, the set of parameters with which it has been habitually associated, notably by Hopper, is certainly in need of revision. One important criterion which needs to be taken into account, highlighted in connection with the -ki-/ka-alternation (cf. section 3 above), is the tension or possible contradiction between globally and locally determined foregrounding effects.

6 Sequentiality, anteriority and viewpoint

We have started from the assumption that the kuwa-auxiliary verbal construction (CVC) serves primarily as a mechanism for representing temporal reference point shifts of the kind prototypically expressed by pluperfect. Following our exploration of a small sample of data, all taken from literary narratives, our preliminary conclusion is that management of shifting temporal reference points is indeed an important function of CVC’s, which crucially contributes to ensure the temporal cohesion of the narration. At the same time, we have come to the conclusion that the role of CVC’s in narrative texts cannot be reduced to that of a device for accommodating deviations from the preferential linear time sequence of the narrative, but that one of its main functions, quite independently of time shift, is the representation of viewpoint. The postulate of a distinct viewpoint category for explaining the form and use of CVC has in turn been conceptually justified via its licensing properties, mainly the fact that it allows cognitive space for independent developments to be embedded into the matrix discourse without being subject to the latter’s sequentiality constraints.

Time and space limitations do not allow me to fully exploit available data in order to try to answer questions triggered by these few observations made on a limited sample, which stand in fact for a much richer paradigm linked up with
viewpoint operations and its particular grammaticalizations in colloquial varieties of Swahili. I will limit myself to listing a few cases illustrating the versatility of the paradigm, mostly as an incentive for further research, before concluding on a note broadening the typological perspective on viewpoint.

6.1 First, we need to come back to the interaction between viewpoint and temporal shift in the CVC paradigm as a conditioning factor for its use in narrative discourse:

Combinations of tenses are constrained by the principle of iconic correspondence between time of narration and narrated time: the order of telling and the order of events must coincide, or - in weaker formulation - must not contradict each other. The insertion into the matrix event-line of a concomitant event such as the inspector’s ominous comment to his amanuensis on the way to the police station (B3-6), while momentaneously suspending the linear sequence of narration, does not disrupt it. These are exactly the conditions under which the unauxiliated -ki-construction (B2-3) can be used. By contrast, reference to an anterior event, for instance, means that the canonical order of narration would be disrupted and therefore obligatorily requires the Auxiliary construction.

Thus, when at the end of Suleiman’s story Siku ya arobaini the writer looks back to its beginning, the CVC’s are consistently being used to evoke and explain those events of the opening paragraph which had remained enigmatic (Suleiman 1969:403):

F.

1. Sadiki a-li-nas-w-a mtego-ni,
   Sadiki 3sS-PT-catch-PASS-FV trap-LOC

2. kwani ile baru a-li-yo-kuwa a-me-let-e-w-a
   because that letter 3sS-PT-c9:REL-be 3sS-PERF-bring-APPL-PASS-FV

3. i-li-kuwa i-me-toka kwa mke-we mwenyeve, Bahati.
   c9-PT-be c9-PERF-come.from from wife-his herself Bahati.

‘Sadiki was caught in the trap set for him, for that letter which had been handed to him [inviting him to a rendezvous with a mysterious female] had come from his own wife, Bahati.’

(F2-3) refers back to the moment at the very beginning of the story when the mysterious letter had been handed to Sadiki. Moving backwards on the time-line is a highly marked option in narrative mode, which makes recourse to a CVC verb form mandatory.
To conclude, however, from its obligatory use as a mechanism of compensation for the disruption of narrative canonical order, that the CVC should be seen as a sort of repair mechanism for mending violations of sequentiality constraints would be radically contrary to the facts of Swahili grammar and usage. The crucial observation here is that the CVC is used quite independently of the disruption of temporal cohesion, and is used even in many cases when no temporal shift at all occurs. This temporally redundant use of AUX is consistent with its proposed interpretation as being primarily a viewpoint operator.

6.2 What then conditions the recourse to viewpoint as a grammatical category in those cases where it is not made obligatory by temporal backshifting? Why is it for instance that the synchronous spin-off in segment C triggers viewpoint periphrasis (C2), while the shorter, but tense-logically analogous development in (D2) does not? The reason for the difference does not seem to have to be sought in inherent properties of the actions and their verbal representations: -kaa ‘sit’ is primarily an ISTA verb, but may be reduced to the global expression of a state, while -shugulika ‘be occupied’ oscillates between an ISTA-type and an ACTI-type use, both uses being attested.\(^\text{32}\) On the other hand, the protagonists involved are not carriers of empathy in their respective local contexts. The likely reason for choosing viewpoint grammar in the first case, but not in the second, is a difference in narrative function: Bahati’s activities are part of the plot, the policemen’s sitting on the verandah is not - it is mentioned for the sole purpose of identifying a personage by its habitual location.

7 Posteriority of viewpoint vs. posteriority of action

Posteriority on the event line is the default case of narrative sequence. As seen in section 3, it is normally expressed by the Consecutivity marker -ka-. Again, a strong argument for the distinctness of the viewpoint function of AUX can be based on the fact that AUX itself can “move forward” on the time line. In the following extract, a-ka-wa ‘and she was [...]’ displaces the relevant R\(_t\) one step beyond its referentially situated temporal anchor (i.e. the reported speech element in (G1)):

\(^{32}\) In (C2), this verb is construed according to the ISTA pattern. Its treatment as being of the ACTI type in (K1) may be conditioned by the multi-occurrence type of occurrence in the latter context (cf. section 9).
8 Double aspetual determination of single predicates and “empty” viewpoints

8.1 Outside the sequentiality constraints of narrative discourse, the “future” marker -ta- is used with the -kuwa-operator for establishing a posterior or fictitious viewpoint. “Pre-initiality” may serve as a convenient label for

---

33 The iterativity inherent in the action of passing the trophy from one person to the next may favor a CVC representation since the choice of CVC allows for the special phase-related focusing effect associated with -na- to be coded separately. However, it is quite normal for iterative action to be coded globally, using simply -ka-.

34 The necessity for distinguishing between anchor and deictic center has been established by recent research on deixis in general (cf. Bearth 1996, Bickel 1994).
capturing the common denominator for temporal and modal uses of -ta-. The following example is taken from an interview on marriage customs (*Swahili Archives*, Ndoa na talaka [Marriage and divorce], Z 98-3-3).

H. [The passage is part of general advice on how to proceed in seeking to marry a girl. Specifically it highlights the wisdom of being prepared in advance for being confronted with the request of an excessively high bride-price.]

1. Kwa hivyo na wewe mwenyewe toka mwanzo
   for this and you self from beginning
   kabla ya kw-enda
   before GEN INF-go

2. u-ta-kuwa tayarĩ\textsuperscript{35} u-mesha-anza ku-ji-jua kwamba
   2s-FUT-be already 2s-ANT-begin INF-REFL-know that

3. ni-ki-enda kule mahari ya-ta-kuwa ma-kubwa
   1s-COND-go there bride.price c6-FUT-be c6-big

4. kwa hivyo kabla si-ja-enda ni-anz-e
   for this before 1s:NEG-ANT:NEG-go 1s-begin-OPT
   ku-ji-andaa kabisa
   INF-REFL-prepare fully

5. kwa hivyo a-ki-fika tu a-ki-sema
   for this 3sS-SIM-arrive only 3sS-SIM-say

6. i-ta-kuwa h-u-na matatizo makubwa sana
   it-FUT-be NEG-2s-with problems big very

7. kwa sababu tayarĩ u-ta-kuwa u-mesha-ji-andaa toka mwanzo
   for reason (al)ready 2s-FUT-be 2s-ANT-REFL-prepare from beginning

‘1. Therefore, you yourself from the beginning before going there (to propose), 2. you will already have begun to tell yourself: 3. ‘If I am to go there, the bride-price will be high, 4. therefore, before I go, I must begin getting prepared as much as possible.’ 5. Therefore if he arrives there and starts speaking, right from the beginning, 6. there will not be much of a

\textsuperscript{35} *Tayarĩ*, an adverb of manner translated as ‘(be) ready’ has, in at least some varieties of Colloquial Swahili, come to be used as an approximate equivalent of ‘already’. In co-occurrence with -mesha-, it seems to strengthen the latter’s effect of post-terminality. Its “sandwich” position between AUX and Main verb is a strong indication of its de-semantization.
problem, 7. because already you will have prepared yourself from the beginning [...] .’

As can be seen from this passage, the extremes of the two scales, in this case pre-initiality of viewpoint and post-terminality of Event, may be combined and in fact be jointly assigned to a single predicate. And, as could easily be documented, any values in between may be freely selected and combined.

8.2 Even more strikingly, post-terminality of Event may be embedded in post-terminality of viewpoint. Evidence for this comes from the turn which, within the same conversation on matrimonial matters, follows immediately the preceding extract H, and which serves to illustrate the recommended circumspection in such matters from the perspective of the bride’s family. The current speaker introduces his turn with an explicit back-reference (I1) to the situation described by the previous speaker, Mw. Daudi, where the well prepared suitor arrives on the scene of the negotiation (H5-7):

I.

1. Mwalimu Daudi a-li-po-fika
   teacher D. 3sS-PT-place:REL-arrive

2. kwamba tayari wale wazee wa kike
   that (al)ready those old.ones GEN female
   na wazee wa kiume wa-mesha-kuwa wa-mesha-ju-ana
   and old.ones GEN male 3p-ANT-be 3p-ANT-know-REC

3. kwamba mwan-etu a-ta-olewa na fulani.
   that child-our 3sS-FUT-get.married with somebody.

‘1. The point at which Mw. Daudi has arrived [in his account of the suitor’s preparation], 2. already [at some indefinite point before] the old women and old men had had reached the point where they had been mutually informed 3. that one of their daughters will get married.’

The temporal matrix of segment I may be represented like this:

\[ R_t > [Vp > [Event] \]

The anterior AUX -mesha-kuwa locates the viewpoint from which the advanced state of the preparations of the bride’s family is presented at some indefinite point in time prior to \( R_t \), i.e. prior to the suitor’s arrival first evoked by Mw. Daudi in (H5-7) and anaphorically resumed in (I1) by the current speaker. The construction of a referentially empty Vp prior to \( R_t \), which in turn
has in its scope an event classified as anterior in respect to Vp, may seem extravagant. It is, however, justifiable on the grounds that Vp is clearly not attributed to the suitor whose activity constitutes R1. Knowledge about the preparedness of the bride’s family is not presented as part of the suitor’s preparedness in this context, but is presented as additional information to the theme of preparedness in matrimonial procedure from an undeterminate viewpoint whose locus is defined as being prior to the suitor’s appearance on the scene. In any case, the combination of post-terminality of viewpoint and post-terminality of event in a single predicate can hardly be interpreted otherwise than in terms of a heightened overall effect of post-terminality on the main predication referring to the concertation of the old men and women.

8.3 According to Schadeberg (1992:33ff.), the Future marker *-ta-* is excluded from the main verb of the CVC. Data accessible to me seem to confirm this to the extent that pre-initiality of a Vp-embedded event never seems to co-occur with terminality (whether global or segmented) of the viewpoint host: a perusal of close to a dozen sizeable conversations and monologues from Swahili Archives and from Swahili Corpus did not produce a single CVC combining an auxiliary Perfect (PERF), Anterior (ANT), Past (PT) or Sequential (SEQ) with a *-ta-* marked main verb. The likely reason for this apparently systematic co-occurrence restriction is what might be called a “modality clash”: the modal property of uncertainty which attaches to the future event (its being intended, desired or expected) enters in conflict with the presumption of certainty that accompanies Vp-neutral events whose assertion looks back on their termination. Markers inherently carrying mutually exclusive modal values cannot be integrated into a single predicate, as would be the case if *-ta-* occurred in the main verb slot of the CVC.

But it is of course quite normal and frequent to have this type of modal alternation mediated by a verb of cognition or of speaking, as is the case in (H3) above: they had INFORMED each other that X will get married.

On the other hand, as shown in (H2) and (H7), the co-occurrence restriction does not apply to the inverse combination of pre-initial *-ta-* marked AUX with a terminal and post-terminal main verb. This apparent asymmetry is easily explained: AUX functions as the locus of predicate OPERATORS, including those related to modality, whereas the main verb functions as its operational domain.

Also, the ban on main verb *-ta-* does not apply to events depending on a viewpoint not anchored in any kind of particular event or situation, as in the following purely fictive description of the unhappy fate of a person supposedly lacking motivation for travelling (Swahili Archives, Z 998-3):
J.

Sasa mtu kama yule a-na-kuwa a-ta-kaa pale pale. 
now person like that one 3S-PROG-be 3S-FUT-sit there there
‘Now a person like this [he is-being] he will stay always at the same place
(instead of getting instructed through travelling).’

9 From complexity to simplicity: the emergence of a new aspect

The habitual nuance of the -na-marked Auxiliary in segment J is not
accidental. The fully redundant double -na-marking of CVC’s is extremely
frequent in colloquial Kiunguja (the main dialect spoken in Zanzibar town) and
is clearly an emergent new verb form standardly expressing habitual states-of-
affairs. The following example stems from a discussion of hindrances to
efficient schooling of young children:

K.

1. Watoto wengi wa-na-kuwa wa-na-shughulika na uuvui
children many 3p-PROG-be 3p-PROG-be.occupied with fishing
zaidi kuliko kusoma
more than learning

2. Halafu vilevile wazee pia saa nyingine wa-na-kuwa
then also parents too hours others 3p-PROG-be
wa-na-changiwa.
3p-PROG-involved

3. Kwa hiyo mtoto a-na-weza a-ka-wa siku moja
for that child 3sS-PROG-can 3sS-SEQ-be day one
h-a-ja-end a-si-amb-iw-e kitu.
NEG-3sS-ANT-go 3sS-NEG-tell-PASS-OPT thing

c9-GEN second NEG-3sS-ANT-go

5. Mwisho mtoto a-na-kuwa h-a-end-i tena skuli
in.the.end child 3sS-PROG-be NEG-3sS-go-NEG again school

‘1. Many children are (pre)occupied with fishing more than with going to
school. 2. Then also the parents are involved. 3. Therefore a child cannot go
to school one day without being told anything. 4. The next day (s)he (again)
would not go. 5. Finally, (s)he does not go to school anymore.’
The double -na-construction in (K1-2) refers to general attitudes of children and parents (note the plural forms!). We can draw on previous observations in contrasting it with a specific fictive situation singled out in (K3) which is introduced by the sequential viewpoint marker a-ka-wa, exemplifying en passant again the non-narrative use of -ka-. This must suffice as a preliminary argument in favor of the hypothesis that principles of viewpoint assignment are essentially identical in narrative and non-narrative texts.

The redundancy of the time-reference in the double -na-marked predicate in (K1-2) may have favored, at least in Zanzibari Colloquial Swahili, its mutation to a regular Habitual.\(^{36}\) Another factor favoring this process is the gradual obsolescence of the old -a-present form which tended to be associated with Continuity and Habituality. The double -na-form, then, illustrates the potential of the CVC as a resource innovation potentially reshaping the primary tense-aspect paradigm via a process of re-grammaticalization of specific marker sequences generated by the twin paradigm.

10 Concluding remarks

The CVC with its characteristic twin TA paradigm conjunction appears to be a quite recent innovation in Swahili (for further reference to its history, see Droic 2000:98). Wald (1981, quoted in Droic 2000) considers it to be a borrowing from English auxiliary verb constructions. The latter hypothesis would seem to be inadequate for accounting for the use made of the CVC in Swahili discourse which, as far as its core function as the centerpiece of a full-fledged viewpoint grammar is concerned, has no obvious parallel in English verb morphology and its use in connected discourse. Moreover, the Swahili CVC differs from auxiliary predication in Germanic and many other languages by its formal characteristics, notably the conjunction of two finite predications, both deploying their full TA potential while representing a single notional predicate, but without anything remotely reminiscent of the reduction to participial status of the lexical verb.

I have no knowledge of anything comparable to the Swahili CVC and its extensive assignment to the discourse function of viewpoint in other Bantu languages. This may however be due, if not to sheer ignorance of relevant work, to the latter’s absence in less well known Bantu languages. However, at least in the wider Niger-Congo family, Swahili does not stand alone with its elaborate strategy of viewpoint construction through TA duplication. A similar, and no less elaborate system of viewpoint operators based on TA-conjunction

\(^{36}\) It also explains its compatibility with the main verb -ta-marker in J above, since Habitual by definition implies pre-initiality in the sense that no specific act or action is being asserted, only its potentiality.
has been described in detail for Toura narratives in Bearth (1986, ch. 4; 1997).\(^{37}\)

The integration of a grammatically distinct viewpoint category in the verbal systems of such languages as Swahili and Toura does not in itself constitute a claim to originality. The degree of grammatical differentiation and elaboration of this category may turn out to be much less unique than it seems, once what has been described for a few languages will have become part of a general heuristics in linguistic research. What seems to be a typological particularity, however, in both Toura and Swahili, but even more strikingly in the latter case, is its constitution as a full-fledged, morpho-syntactically autonomous auxiliary paradigm, drawing on the main TA paradigm as a resource, yet exploiting it, at least partially, on its own independent terms. The decompositional representation of primary TA operations and specific viewpoint operations accounts for a transparency of the categories and subcategories involved which seems to predestine Swahili as a field for further exploration of this still little known aspect of aspectuality.

References


\(^{37}\) The major difference compared to Swahili CVC’s is that, in Toura, the TA-marker functioning as viewpoint operator is hosted in tail-head linkage clauses rather than in an auxiliary predicate.
Tense and Aspect in the Languages of Europe. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 27-
187.
Linguistics 2/2. 209-226
Vandeweghe (eds.): Perspectives on Aspect and Aktionsart. Belgian Journal of Linguistics
6. 31-45.
Arbor: University Microfilms (Dissertation).
_______. 1997. The 0 tense marker in the decline of the Swahili auxiliary focus system.
Swahili Forum IV (= Afrikanistische Arbeitspapiere no 51). 55-82.

Swahili source texts

Publications.
Dar es Salaam/Nairobi/Kampala: Longman B.B.C. 22-26. Also in: G. Miehe et al. (eds.),
Swahili Archives. (Univ. of Zürich. Compiler: K. Geitlinger.)
Swahili Corpus (Univ. of Helsinki. Compiler: A. Hurskainen.)
   Von Europa bis Ozeanien - von der Antonymie zum Relativsatz.
   Gedenkschrift für Meinrad Scheller. 227 S.
   ISBN 3-9521010-3-6
   30 sfr.

    238 pp.
    ISBN 3-9521010-4-4
    30 sfr.

    The Structure of Kiranti Languages. Comparative Grammar and Texts.
    284 pp.
    ISBN 3-9521010-5-2
    30 sfr.

    Description grammaticale du nateni (Bénin). Système verbale,
    classification nominale, phrases complexes. 250 pp.
    ISBN 3-9521010-6-0
    30 sfr.

    Aspect, mood, and time in Belhare. Studies in the semantics-pragmatics
    ISBN 3-9521010-7-9
    30 sfr.

    Akitionsart and aspectotemporality in non-European languages.
    Proceedings from a Workshop held at the University of Zurich,
    ISBN 3-9521010-8-7
    30 sfr.


The book gives an overview of the basic grammatical structures of six Kiranti languages: Athpare, Bantawa, Camling, Khaling, Limbu and Thulung. The Athpare and Camling data are from the author's fieldwork in Nepal and presented here for the first time. Data on Bantawa and Khaling are mainly derived from unpublished texts. Special emphasis is given to some typologically interesting features: complex agreement patterns, inverse marking (in 2 langs.), grammaticalization of the vertical dimension (e.g. in locative case suffixes), degrees of finiteness in subordination and complex predicate formation. Due to the limited material there is little information on phonology and clausal syntax. The appendix contains 130 pages of texts with morphemic glosses.


In this in-depth analysis of the modal and aspectual system of Belhare (Tibeto-Burman, Nepal) close attention is paid to factoring out semantic entailments from generalised conversational implicatures, which allows a morphological analysis without zero morphemes. The aspectual system is described within a theory of aspect which attempts at typological adequacy and which allows a detailed assessment of the interaction of aspect marking with lexical Aktionsart (time schemata). The theory elaborates on earlier work by Breu and Sasse, and is compatible with the format of semantic representation proposed by Jackendoff as well with the representational format used in Role and Reference Grammar.


Contributions: Lars JOHANSON, The aspectually neutral situation type. • Johanna MATTISSEN, Tense and aspect in Laz. • Olivier ROOS, Mandarin Chinese -zhe. • Fernando ZÜÑIGA, A selection theory of Mapudungun aspect. • Mathias JENNY, The aspect system of Thai. • Karen H. EBERT, Tense-aspect flip-flop and a somewhat elusive gram type. • Östen DAHL, Languages without tense and aspect. • Eva Ā. CSATÓ, Turkic double verbs in a typological perspective. • Thomas BEATH, Tense-aspect markers as viewpoint operators in Swahili discourse.