Language and Culture Archives

Bartholomew Collection of Unpublished Materials

SIL International - Mexico Branch

© SIL International

NOTICE

This document is part of the archive of **unpublished** language data created by members of the Mexico Branch of SIL International. While it does not meet SIL standards for publication, it is shared "as is" under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike license (http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/4.0/) to make the content available to the language community and to researchers.

SIL International claims copyright to the analysis and presentation of the data contained in this document, but not to the authorship of the original vernacular language content.

AVISO

Este documento forma parte del archivo de datos lingüísticos ***inéditos*** *creados por miembros de la filial de SIL International en México. Aunque no cumple con las normas de publicación de SIL, se presenta aquí tal cual de acuerdo con la licencia "Creative Commons Atribución-NoComercial-CompartirIgual" (http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/4.0/) para que esté accesible a la comunidad y a los investigadores.*

Los derechos reservados por SIL International abarcan el análisis y la presentación de los datos incluidos en este documento, pero no abarcan los derechos de autor del contenido original en la lengua indígena.

PARAMETERS OF OJITLAN CHINANTEC PREDICATE STRUCTURE

Paul Smith
Summer Institute of Linguistics

An understanding of Ojitlan Chinantec (OC) predicate structure involves viewing simultaneously a number of contrastive features in a complex interplay between word, phrase, clause and colon levels.[1] Further complicating the picture is the fact that formal features of one grammatical category may be skewed in relation to another category. Parameters of OC predicate structure here discussed are gender, voice, person-number, mood, and aspect.

1. Gender plays a very significant role in the OC predicate, in that it is so closely related to voice distinctions. Verbs are formally distinguished as neutral, inanimate, or animate, according to their agreement with the gender of actor or goal as determined by the voice of the clause. Neutral verbs may take either inanimate or animate actor/goal; inanimate verbs take inanimate actor/goal, and animate verbs take animate. Verbs in reflexive voice agree with the gender of the actor. Verbs in active voice agree with the gender of the goal. In case of two goals, gender agreement is with goal 2, i.e., the indirect object. Passive verbs agree with the gender of the passive goal. Thus, when we speak of an animate verb we refer to a verb which may be in reflexive, active, or passive voice; it shows agreement with animate actor, or gaol, as required. Similarly, we may speak of such constructions as active inanimate and inanimate reflexive. The former has a verb in active voice which shows agreement with inanimate goal; the latter has inanimate actor and the verb is in reflexive voice. (Actor precedes verb and goal follows verb in these notations.) The following examples illustrate gender agreement in reflexive, active, and passive voice: e2 ka3 ta?3 ko3l the rock fell (reflexive); e2 ka?-ta?3 ta?3 tsa2 the person fell; e2 chi4 kuT2 the water is good; e2 chi4 tsa2 the person is good. e2 ka3-kxT-pa3 tsa2 ?ma2 the person hit the tree

(active); e2 ka3 pa3 tsa2 Po31 the person hit Paul; e2 ka3-kwo3 tsa2 ku31 the person gave money; e2 ka3-kwĪ3 tsa2 ha?3 the person gave an animal; e2 ka3-two?3 tsa2 ?na2 ku31 the person gave you money. e2 ŋa4 two1 ku31 the money was given (passive); e2 ŋa4 kwĪ1 ha?3 the animal was given.

In spite of irregularities, nasalization of the verb stem generally marks gender agreement with an animate actor/goal[2]. For verbs with two goals, stem-final glottal stop marks agreement with the gender of goal 2, which is always animate. Thus animate verbs usually have either nasalization or a stem-final glottal stop, or both. Nevertheless, exceptions occur, such as: e2 ka3-tʌ2-a2 tsa2 the person took the person to live with him. A large percentage of neutral verbs in our data have a nasal consonant. For example: e2ñi?24-a2 tsa2 he stretches the person; e2 ñi?24-a2 śĪ1?mĪ2 he stretches the cloth.

Some inanimate reflexives and active inanimate verbs have nasalized vowels and many have stem-final glottal stop. Often such irregular verbs have lexical meanings which preclude their occurrences with animate actor or goal. When these forms derive[3] to animate verbs, they may show a vowel or tone subatitution, or both. e2 ?ne3-a2 ku31, he wants money, as contrasted with e2 ?na2-a2 tsa2mĪ3, he wants the woman, shows the substitution of a for e.

2. Basic verbs (underived from other verbs) may be reflexive or active voice. Passive voice is a transformation of active voice; the goal of an active voice predicate becomes the passive goal of a passive predicate (goal 2 becomes the passive goal in transforms of active with two goals). e2 ?e24-a2 hu1 the person teaches words (active) becomes e2 tsa2 ?e1 hu1 words are taught (passive). e2 ka3-?eĪ3-a2

Aux.mo. + Tone 1

comp aux mo + tone 1

tsa2 hu^{1} he taught the person words becomes e2 ŋa4 ?e?^{1} tsa2 hu^{1} the person was taught words. Besides reflexive voice, there is a reflexed form of active voice which is formed on the clause level by the use of reflexive particles ?ñe3 myself, ?ro3 ourselves, ?ña?4 yourself, ?ma?3 yourselves, ?ñè?2 himself, and ?ma3 themselves. When one of these reflexive particles is present, the active verb is directed toward the actor: e2 ka2-hĪ?3-a2 ?ñe?2 he killed himself.

Passive voice usually has tone 1. We have, however, examples of passive with other tones: e2tsa4 ?ro3l it will be put away; e2 tsa4 ho3 it will be spread out. Some verb stems have alternation of margin or vowel in reflexive/active voice person-aspect declensions (see chart__) the passive form of these stems is predictable. In verbs which have marginal alternation between palatalized and non-palatalized consonants, passive voice has the form with palatalization. In verbs which have vowel alternation, passive voice has high/front vowels. Thus in the verb ?i^{m}/ī^{T} to count inanimate objects (^{T} stands for person-aspect tone) the passive form has the front vowel i: e2 li3 ?i^{1} ku3l money can be counted: in the verbs kya^{T}/ka^{T} to take inanimate object/s the passive form has margin ky: e2 li3 kya^{1} ku3l money can be taken.

3. A further parameter, mood (indicative, interrogative, imperative, or hortatory), is expressed on phrase, clause, or colon level. Indicative and interrogative mood are characterized either by an item preposed to the verb on the clause level or a clause preposed to the verb on the colon level. Affirmative ~~imperative and~~ hortatory has initial ~~Negative imperative and negative hortatory have~~ negative particle a4 preceding the verb on the phrase level; certain negative imperatives have a preposed negative clause on the colon level.

Items which express indicative mood by preceding the verb are actor an

goal phrases, time, location, and manner phrases, negative particle sa3 and particle e2, clause introducer, which occurs whenever one of these items is not preposed to the verb. e2 is optional when sa3 precedes the verb. Illustrations of these constructions are given here in the order of their listing above: tsa2 ʔi3 ka3-hʌ̃3 that person saw; ku3l ka3-ka3-a2 money he took; che3 ka3-ka3-a2 ku3l yesterday he took money; i^{1} hna2 ka3-ka3-a2 ku3l there he took money; ŋa?2 ka3-ka3-a2 ku3l very much (intensifier) he took money; sa3 ka3-ka3-a2 ku3l he did not take money; e2 ka3-ka3-a2 ku3l he took money. An example of a clause which may precede the verb in a colon structure is a4 sya32 there is not any, as in the following illustration: a4 sya32 ka3-ka3-a2 ku3l he did not take money.

Interrogative mood predicates are divided into content questions and yes-no questions. The former require preposed (in relation to the verb) interrogative particles or phrases such as ʔe2 what? ʔa2 hi?^{1} where? lī?3 when, etc.: ʔe2 nī2 what is that? ʔa2 hi?^{1} ka3-ñi?3l ʔni2 where did you go? lī?3 kwa?3 ʔni2 when did you arrive?

In yes-no questions the item on which the interrogation is focused is brought to clause-initial position. If the item is a particle, a tone 1 is substituted for its basic tone. When the question focus falls on a noun or adverb which does not have a tone 1 in its basic form, or when the focus falls on the completive clitic ka3- a tone 1 is superimposed on the basic tone or tone glide. If the item in focus already has a tone 1 as basic, intonation marks interrogative mood, with the entire clause raised in pitch. Note the following example of tone substitution as interrogative mood marker: e2 ka3-hro?-a2

sɪ^{1}ʔn̄i3 he made a house; e^{1}ka3-hmo3-a2 sɪ^{1}ʔn̄i3 did he make a house? The following illustrations have superimposed tone 1 to indicate yes-no questions: e2 ka3-lɪ̄3-ta^{1} the work was finished; ka^{13}-lɪ̄3 ta^{1} finished was the work? e2 ka3-la3-a2 to2 he bought a banana; to12 ka3-la3-a2 a banana he bought? Next, an example of intonation as marker of yes-no question: e2 ka3-la3-a2 hu?^{1} he bought a pineapple; ↑hu?^{1} ka3-la3-a2↑ a pineapple he bought?

Affirmative imperative mood, which occurs in second person only, is marked by verb tone and obligatory verb-actor order. Negative imperative is marked by negative particle a4 plus verb tone, with the same obligatory verb-actor order as the affirmative form. For verbs with do auxiliary, negative imperatives are marked by negative clause a4 hma3 don't do preposed to the verb on the colon level. The following are examples of affirmative imperative mood: hʌ31 ʔni2 look! kwa?2 ʔni2 go home! The negatives of these are expressed as follows: a4 hʌ2 ʔni2 don't look! a4 kwa?3 ʔni2 don't go home! Finally, note these examples of forms with do auxiliary: hma^{1} rʌ?2 ʔni2 make it green; a4 hma3 hma^{1} rʌ?2 ʔni2 don't make it green! hma^{1} ?i3 ʔni2 tsa2 convince the person! a4 hma3 hma^{1} ?i3 ʔni2 tsa2 don't convince the person!

OC has two remote (spatially) imperatives, exclusive and inclusive. This seems to involve considerations of aspect on the phrase level. Thus we might say that imperative mood has two aspects, non-remote and remote. (For a complete description of aspects in other moods, see section 5.) Exclusive remote imperative is second person only, and has auxiliaries kwa3 and ña2, go and come, respectively,

in the affirmative; a4 kwa3 and a4 ña3 give negative forms. Main verb tones are the same in affirmative and negative remote exclusive as tones for affirmative imperative, non-remote, as seen in the following examples: kwa3 hʌ31 ?ni2 go (you, exclusive) and see! a4 kwa3 hʌ31 ?ni2 don't go and see! ña2 hʌ31 ?ni2 come and see! a4 ña3 hʌ31 ?ni2 don't come and see! Remote imperative, inclusive, includes the speaker with the second person addressee; this form commands the addressee to accompany the speaker. It is indicated by the auxiliary ma3, which means roughly let's go! ma3 occurs only with first person plural main verbs with anticipatory aspect, or it may occur with second person singular or plural pronouns without main verb: ma3 ne1 hna?1 let's go see! ma3 le?1 hna?1 let's go bathe! ma3 ?na2 come on you! (plural).

Hortatory has auxiliary kwa1 let the actor do... plus main verb in first or third person form, singular or plural. There are also non-remote and remote aspects of hortatory mood. Non-remote hortatory has the main verb with anticipatory aspect: kwa1 hʌ4-a2 let him see, may he see; kwa1 hʌ14 hna4 may I see. Negative non-remote hortatory has particle a4 before the auxiliary: a4 kwa1 hʌ4-a2 may he not see. Go and come auxiliaries which form hortatory remotes are in anticipatory aspect: ña1 go, first person singular, tsa1 go, first person plural, tsa4 go, third person, hya1 or hña1 come, first person singular and plural, hya4 or hña4 come, third person, singular or plural. The main verb in remote hortatory has the same tone as completive aspect. The following are examples of affirmative and negative remote hortatory: kwa1 tsa4 hʌ3-a2 may he go and see; a4 kwa3 tsa4 hʌ3-a2 may he not go and see; kwa1 hya1 ne1 hna?1 may we come and see; a4 kwa1 hya1 ne1 hna?1 may we not come and see.

4. For those aspects marked on the word level, the formal marking of aspect is inextricably bound with the marking of person-number. Forms of imperative and negative imperative seem to be an extension of the word level aspect-person-number system. The parameter of mood is, therefore, partially relevant here as well.

Person-number combinations which occur in OC are first singular, first singular-dual, first plural, second singular, second singular-dual, second plural, third singular, third singular-dual, third and plural. These are not found consistently throughout the predicate system, but occur in sets which are relevant to predicate classes which are described in the concluding section of this paper.

Word-level aspects are Stative, Habitual, anticipatory, and Completive (hereafter abbreviated SHAC). SHAC aspects are considered basic in an intricate system. Stative is exclusively a reflexive voice aspect; it patterns as a basic aspect in certain areas of the system, while HAC aspects are basic in others. In one predicate subclass HAC-person- paradigms are expressed by phrase constructions and in another subclass they are expressed on the word level for singular persons and on the phrase level for plural. Other aspects, expressed on the phrase level, are described in section 5.

Word-level HAC aspects are marked by tone substitution on the verb plus clitic ka3- for completive. In addition, word-final glottal stop marks second person (except in exclusive imperative, where only second person occurs) in all verbs which do not have final glottal stop in all other persons, in which case, of course, the contrast is neutralized.

Some verbs also have alternation of stem margin, or nucleus, or both, in partial correspondence to person distinctions. (See stem alternation charts at the end of this section.)

In relation to the aspect-person system, QC verbs are of two types. Type I verbs are monosyllabic. Type II are disyllabic.

Due to the high degree of irregularity of HAC person-aspect tone allomorphs, they are classified as field structures in matrices. Aspects are arrayed in columns and persons in rows.[fn.] Verbs with only inanimate forms have third person only. Their aspect tone patterns occur within certain matrices.

MATRIX FOR PERSON-ASPECT TONE CLASSES I AND II (TYPE I VERBS)

(chart 1)

T=Tone

This one or two tones on a single vowel. Tones of imperative and negative imperative determine numerous subclasses under each major class.

Tones within dotted lines are generally predictable and will not be given in the matrices unless there is a departure from the expected occurrences. (Anticipatory aspect, second person, and anticipatory and completive aspects, first person plural, are marked by tone 1 unless noted differently. Second person completive has the same tone as imperative, and always has final glottal stop.)

Tone class I, subclass 2, has tone 2 for H marker on second person. Subclass 3 has tone 3 for H second person. Each matrix represents a further (a, b, c, etc.) subclassification, each of which has imperative-negative imperative subclasses, as indicated in the vertical listings on the right margin of each matrix. Tone class II is divided into subclasses which are based on the same criteria as those given for class I.

A sampling of these classificatory matrices is given here, with illustrations; the complete charts of aspect-person tone field structures are given in appendix 1.

(Class I2a)

(I2b)

The verb ro?^{T} to wash serves to illustrate aspect person tone class I2a (31-3): ro?31 ?ni2 kwo?2 wash your hands; a4 ro?3 ?ni2 kwo? don't wash your hands; e^{1} ro?2 ?ni2 kwo?2 do you wash your hands? e2 ro?^{1} ?ni2 kwo?2 you shall wash your hands; e2 ka3-ro?31 ?ni2 kwo?2 you washed your hands; e2 ro?3 hna?^{1} kwo2 we wash our hands; e2 ro?^{1} hna?^{1} kwo2 we shall wash our hands; e2 ka3-ro?^{1} hna?^{1} kwo2 we washed our hands; e2 ro?24 tsa2 kwo? the person washes his hands; e2 ro?4 tsa2 kwo? the person shall wash his hands; e? ka?-ro?3 tsa? kwo2 the person washed his hands; e? ro?24 hna4 kwo24 I wash my hands; e2 ro?14 hna4 kwo24 I shall wash my hands; e2 ka3-ro?4 hna4 kwo24 I washed my hands.

(Class I3a)

(I3b)

?e^{T} to show, teach, point out illustrates I3a(1-2): ?e^{1} ?ni2 teach? a4 ?e2 ?ni2 don't teach! e2 ?e?3 ?ni2 you teach; e? ?e?^{1} ?ni2 you shall teach; e2 ka3-?e?^{1} ?ni2 you taught; e2 ?e3 hna?^{1} we teach; e2 ?e^{1} hna?^{1} we shall teach; e2 ka3-?e^{1} hna?^{1} we taught; e2 ?e24 tsa2 the person teaches; e2 ?e4 tsa2 the person shall teach; e2 ka3-?e3 tsa2 the person taught; e2 ?e24 hna4 I teach; e2 ?e14 hna4 I shall teach; e2 ka3-?e4 hna4 I taught.

Class II has 31 in HAC for first person singular

(Class II3a)

For an example of class II3a (31-31) note hña^{T} to wait for animate goal: hña31 ?ni2 hna3 wait for me; a4 hña31 ?ni2 hna3 don't wait for me; e^{1} hña?3 ?ni2 hna3 do you wait for me? e2 hña?^{1} ?ni2 hna^{3} you shall wait for me; e2 ka3-hña?31 ?ni2 hna3 you waited for me? e2 hña3 hna?^{1} tsa2 we wait for the person; e2 hña^{1} hna?^{1} ?ni2 we shall wait for you; e2 ka3-hña^{1} hna?^{1} ?ni2 we waited for you; e2 hña2-a2 tsa2 he waits for the person; ?ye4 hña2-a2 tsa2 tomorrow he shall wait for the person; e2 ka3-hña2-a2 tsa2 he waited for the person; e2 hña31 hna3 tsa2 I wait for the person; ?ye4 hña31 hna3 tsa2 tomorrow I shall wait for the person; che3 ka3-hña31 hna3 tsa2 yesterday I waited for the person.

Classes I-I, I-II, I-IA, and I-IIA correspond to disyllabic verbs. (The second number in these notations relates to classes I and II.) Each cell of the matrix has T-T; the hyphen shows syllable division. I-IA and I-IIA have six persons: first singular-dual, first plural, second singular-dual, second plural, third singular-dual, third plural. We analyze I-IA and I-IIA verbs as consisting of prefix PN. chi^{T}- or tya^{T}- plus verb stem. These prefixes mean singular-dual and plural, respectively. They do not merely carry number information, however, but seem to share person-aspect distinguishing tones with the verb stem. Consider, for example, the following: e2 chi2hni24-a2 ha?3 he encloses the animals (H aspect, see class I2a tone matrix), and e2 chi4hni2-a2 ha?3 (A aspect). In the first example unambiguous aspect is carried by tones 24 on the verb stem; in the second example, this information is carried by tone 4 on the prefix.

(Class I-I)

kye^{T}ts^{T} lay inanimate object down is an example of this class: kye3 tsI2 ?ni2 la^{l}pi3 lay the pencil down; a4 kye3tsI2 ?ni2 la^{l}pi3 don't lay the pencil down; e2 kye4tsI2-a2 la^{l}pi3 he shall lay the pencil down; e2kye^{l}tsI2 hna3 la^{l}pi3 I shall lay the pencil down; e2 ka3-kye4tsI2 hna2 la^{l}pi3 I laid the pencil down, etc

(class I-II)

e2 pa2lI?31 hna3 I roll it un; e2 pa^{l}lI?31 hna3 I shall roll it un; e2 ka3-pa4lI?31 hna3 I rolled it un, etc.

(Class I-IA)

tya3hni$^{1}_{c}$?na2 kneel: (you plural); e2 ka3-chi^{1}hni$^{1}_{c}$ hna$^{3}_{c}$ we (two) knelt; e2 tya2hni3-a2 they (plural) kneel, etc.

(class I-IIA)

chi3 chi3l ?na2 follow: (you two); tya3tsI24 ?na2 follow! (you plural); e2 ka3-chi4chi3l hna3 I followed; e2 ka3tya3tsI3 hna?^{1} we(plural) followed, etc.

4.2 Stative aspect is very irregular. On adjectival verbs (see section __), the basic (adjectival) form gives stative aspect in predicate constructions with no verb auxiliaries present. For example: e2 tya2-a2, the person is white, is in stative aspect. Verbal stems, however, have considerable stem and tone variation in stative aspect, which, to date, we have been unable to organize into any predictable system. Note the chart below in which stative aspect on verbal stems shows in some examples the form of reflexive habitual and in other examples the passive or active form. (Verbal statives must with few exceptions be preceded by position-number-gender clitic, symbolized below as clp-. These clitics are described in section # 5.

(Chart)

5. Aspects HAC may enter into the formation of other aspects. S aspect may enter into the formation of other aspects only if it may occur without clp-, i.e. adjectival verbs are basically stative aspect and may enter into these formations, but verbal types, with clp- S aspect may not.

Verbal stems which belong to the semantic category of rest verbs, i.e., non-motion, have a more regular stative aspect, which is the only word-level aspect these verbs occur with. Tone glide 31 seems to mark plural stative rest verbs, with tone 1 or tone 3 marking singular: e2 tya?31-a2 they are present; e2 te?31 the solid inanimate objects are inside (a sub-parameter, shape/substance, is included in the lexical meaning of rest verbs with inanimate actor); e2 ?i^{1} the solid inanimate object is inside.

Motion verbs are another category. These have no stative aspect, of course, but occur with rest verbs in unusual coordinate phrases to form plural motion predicates with HAC aspects. These coordinate phrases consist of one auxiliary from motions verb class plus one from rest verb class. The motion auxiliary carries aspect. (see charts in 5.1) For example: e2 tso4-a2 he will go, and e2 tsa4 ta?31-a2 they will go. In the plural, tsa4 is an auxiliary form of tso4 go; ta?31 is an auxiliary of tya?31 to be present, animate. This set of examples refers to temporary movement. Other sets refer to permanent moves. Thus, we have a motion class sub-parameter of temporary versus permanent. Permanent motion forms are derived from temporary forms. From singular temporary to singular permanent, derivation is accomplished by adding stem-final glottal stop to the temporary form, plus or minus modification of stem vowel or tone. For inanimate actor (third person only) the glottal stop alone is all that is needed to change temporary motion verb into permanent verb. For example: e2 tso4 kwo^{1}ñi^{1} ko2 lʌ2 the bucket shall go for a little while; e2 tso?4 yi2 the letter shall go (permanently). Temporary motion verbs with animate actor are derived to permanent by the addition of stem-final glottal stop plus tone

or vowel substitution. For example: e2ñi31 hna3 I go (temporarily); e2 ñi?$^{14}_{C}$ hna4 I shall go (permanently). Here tone substitution accompanies glottal stop. In the following example, vowel substitution ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ occurs: e2 tso4-a2 he shall go (temporarily); e2 tsa?4-a2 he shall go (permanently). (See appendix for complete paradigms.) From plural temporary to plural permanent, derivation is by the substitution of the rest auxiliary by a special form. Thus, e2 tsa4 ta?31-a2 they shall go (temporarily) becomes e2 tsa4 ?na31-a2 they shall go (permanently).

5.1 A number of auxiliaries, particles, and clitics may combine with a verb with one of the word-level aspects HAC to form further ind. and int. mood aspects: li3 abilitative/potential auxiliary; ka3-li3 completive abilitative/potential; auxiliary motion, i.e., go, come which we symbolize aux (m) in our formulae, has the following aspects:

(chart)

Continuing the list, we have ŋi3 auxiliary to walk about, and the particle ma$^{1}_{C}$ interrupted. The position-number-gender clitic which we write clp- has the following forms:

(chart)

Formulae for phrase-level aspects with HAC plus one or more of the above auxiliaries, particles, and clitics may be subsumed under six phrase types. First is the type / ma$^{1}_{C}$ / yh/a. In the formula, ma$^{1}_{C}$ means interrupted action; V stands for the main verb stem, and h/a represent habitual and anticipatory aspects on the main verb. ma$^{1}_{C}$ Vh is interrupted habitual aspect, and is exemplified by the following: e2 ma$^{1}_{C}$ hʌ24-a2 he was looking (but no longer is). ma1va is interrupted

anticipatory aspect. For example: e2 ma^{1}_{c} hʌ4-a2 he was going to look (but did not).

The second phrase type in the list of phrase-level aspects is stated formulaically as follows: ≠ ma^{1}_{c} ≠ li3 ≠ $V^{h/a}$. The reading li3 $\#V^{h}$ is for abilitative aspect: eʌli3 hʌ24-a2 he is able to look. li3 V^{a} is potential aspect: e2 li3 hʌ4-a2 he possibly may look. ma^{1}_{c} gives the interrupted forms of habitual and potential aspects: e2 ma^{1}_{c} li3 hʌ24-a2 he used to be able to look (but no longer is able); e2 ma^{1}_{c} li3 hʌ4-a2 he might have looked (but didn't).

Phrase type three has the formula ≠ ma^{1}_{c} ≠ clp- ≠ V^{h}. The reading clp-V^{h} is progressive aspect: e2 chi^{1}-hʌ24-a2 he is standing looking. ma^{1}_{c} clp-V^{h} is interrupted progressive: e2 ma^{1}_{c} chi^{1}-hʌ24-a2 he was standing looking.

The fourth formula is [≠ (ma^{1}_{c}) aux $(m)^{h/a}$][c/inc] ≠ V^{c} The main verb has completive aspect while the auxiliary motion verb may have HAC or incompletive. When C or incompletive occur on the auxiliary, ma^{1}_{c} does not occur. V^{c} has word-level completive aspect TONE form except that 1) a small number of verbs have unpredictable non-completive tone in third person forms; 2) when there is verb stem vowel alternation, V^{c} has high or front vowel in all persons, and in case of palatalized versus non-palatalized margin, V^{c} has the palatalized form. aux $(m)^{h}$ V^{c} is remote habitual aspect: e2 tsa2 hʌ3-a2 he goes to look, see. aux $(m)^{a}$ V^{c} is remote anticipatory aspect: e2 tsa4 hʌ3-a2 he shall go to look. Examples of interrupted remote habitual and interrupted remote anticipatory: e2 ma^{1}_{c} tsa^{2} hʌ3-a2 he used

to go to look; e2 ma^{1} tsa4 hʌ3-a2 he was going to go look. aux (m)^{c} V^{c} is completive remote: e2 $ka3\text{-}ñi^{1}_{c}$ hʌ3-a2 he went and looked (and returned aux (m)$^{inc}V^{c}$ is incompletive remote aspect: e2 $ŋa4_{c}$ hʌ3-a2 he went to look (but hasn't returned).

The fifth phrase type may be formulaically stated as follows: $\neq ma^{1}$ $\neq$ li3 $\neq$ aux(m)$^{h/a}$ V^{c}. The reading li3 aux(m)^{h} V^{c} is remote abilitative aspect: e2 li3 tsa2 hʌ3-a2 he is able to go look. li3 aux(m)^{a} V^{c} is remote potential aspect: e2 li3 tsa4 hʌ3-a2 he may go to look. Interrupted remote abilitative and interrupted remote potential are as follows: e2 ma^{1}_{c} li3 tsa2 hʌ3-a2 he used to be able to go look; e2 ma^{1}_{c} li3 tsa4 hʌ3-a2 he might have gone to look.

Phrase type six has the following formula: $\neq ŋ_{c}i3 \neq V^{h}$. This gives ambulatory progressive aspect: V^{h} is third person only. Tones are those of H aspect except for a number of verbs which have tone 1 in ambulatory progressive aspect: e2 $ŋ_{c}i3$hʌ24-a2 he walks about looking; e2 $ŋ_{c}i3$?lʌ?^{1}-a2 he walks about talking.

5.2 Adjectival verbs in stative aspect PN Rest may also enter into the formation of phrase-level aspects. This may be stated by the formula $\neq li^{h/c} \neq V^{s}$. The reading li^{h} V^{s} is potential stative aspect: e2 li3 te2 it can become white; e2 li3 $tya2_{c}$ tsa2 the person can become white. li^{c} V^{s} is completive potential stative: e2 ka3-lĩ3 te2 it became white; e2 ka3-lĩ3 $tya2_{c}$-a2 the person became white.

6. Contrastive groupings of features of OC predicate parameters already described results in four predicate classes: Abstract, Concrete, Spatial, and ~~Equative~~ Equative, which correspond roughly to their semantic labels.

Ecuative class is mentioned only briefly here as constituting a minor class. A predication of this class must have a noun or noun phrase from a restricted list occupying the verb slot; the nominal predicate must express a quality which may be acquired and which having been acquired becomes a permanent characteristic of the actor. Aspects are statives, potential stative, and completive potential stative. Nominal statives, as we may call them, require the adverb ma2 already preposed. For example: e2 ma2 tsa2ta4-a2 he is already old; e2 li3 tsa2ta4-a2 he can become old; e2 ha3-li2 tsa2ta4-a2 he became old.

Abstract class predicates have underived adjectival (that is, the form is the same as that which occurs when the adjective modifies a noun) or verbal stems, the majority of which stems (all adjectival and some verbal) are basically reflexive voice. Adjectival abstract predicates in reflexive voice have no HAC or remote aspects. As was mentioned in section 5.2 they have stative, potential stative, and completive potential stative, and interrupted forms of the same. Verbal stems may have HAC with class III tones; these have all aspects (except no remote aspects in reflexive). Derivation from reflexive voice to active voice in abstract predicate class is on the phrase level, and consists of the auxiliary hma^{2} to do, make plus main abstract class verb. The main verb form is identical in these paraphrastic active voice derivations and in the basic reflexive voice form. For example, e2 ?i3-a2 he believes, and e2 hma2 ?i3-a2 tsa2 he convinces the person. Abstract active voice predicates thus derived may have all the aspects described in 5.1. Abstract passives are formed by hma^{1} plus main verb: e2 li3 hma^{1} ?i3 tsa2 the person can be convinced.

Concrete predicates have no underived adjectival or nominal verbs PN, and

may be basically reflexive or active voice. Derivation is extensive from reflexive voice to active voice on the stem level, and also occurs, to a lesser degree, from active voice to reflexive voice. EAC aspects are basic in concrete class predicates. Concrete class has two person subclasses, one of which has four persons (first singular, first plural, second numberless, and third numberless), and the other subclass has six persons (first singular-dual, first plural, second singular-dual, second plural, third singular-dual and third plural).

Spatial predicate class is composed of underived rest and motion verbs, which have been mentioned under aspects in section 5._. Spatial predicates are exclusively reflexive voice. They occur in six persons, singular and plural of first, second, and third.

The three major predicate classes, with their respective derivation and transform patterns may be charted as follows:

(chart)

APPENDIX

ICNS CLASS CHARTS

STEM ALTERNATION CHARTS