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CONTINUATIVE ASPECT AND THE DATIVE CLITIC IN KAMBERA*

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Marian Klamer

1 INTRODUCTION

Kambera is an Austronesian language of the Sumba-Bima group of Central Malayo-Polynesian languages, spoken by approximately 150,000 speakers on the eastern part of the island of Sumba in Eastern Indonesia. Klamer (1994) provides a detailed description of the language. This paper discusses one of the most salient constructions in Kambera: the continuative aspect construction. This construction is illustrated in (1).

(1)   Laku **-nggu** **-nya**
       go   -1sG   -3sD
       'I am going.'

The sentence in (1) shows that in this construction the subject is marked with the genitive enclitic *-nggu* '1st person singular (I, my)', while the second clitic, the dative *-nya* '3rd person singular (him/her/it)' does not seem to have a referential function at all. This is quite a remarkable situation, because if a pronominal clitic does not have a referential function, why does it occur at all?

The aim of this paper, then, is to discuss the nature of the dative third person clitic *-nya* in continuative aspect constructions like (1). Is it true that *-nya* does not have a referential function, i.e. is an 'empty morpheme', or does it mark a verbal argument after all? To find the answer to this question, we must look at two other constructions in Kambera that are formally similar to the continuative construction.

Firstly, we will look at transitive nominal clauses - clauses with an agent that is marked with a genitive enclitic (here *-nggu*) and a patient marked with a dative clitic (here *-nya*), as illustrated in (2):

(2)   Palu **-nggu** **-nya**
       hit   -1sG   -3sD
       'I hit him.'

In this construction, the dative clitic *-nya* marks the verbal complement, which I will refer to as the (direct) object. The term (direct) object refers to the syntactic

relation between a transitive predicate and its less-agentive/controlled argument.

Secondly, we will look at clauses with a possessed nominal predicate, as in (3). In such clauses, the possessor is marked with a genitive enclitic (-*nggu* is the possessor of *mbapa* 'husband') . The NP *mbapa-nggu* constitutes the nominal predicate of the matrix clause and the clause has no copular verb:

(3) [Mbapa   -**nggu**]_{NP} -**nya**
     husband   -1sG   -3sD
     'He (is) my husband.'

In constructions like the one in (3), the dative clitic -*nya* marks the only argument of the non-verbal predicate, which in Kambera are always marked with a clitic from either the accusative or the dative paradigm. Without giving further motivation, I will use the term 'subject' to refer to the grammatical relation between an intransitive predicate (including non-verbal ones) and its single argument, as well as to the relation between a transitive predicate and its most agentive/controlling argument.

Having established this, we can compare the nature of the dative clitic in the continuative construction in (1) - where it does not seem to have a referential function - with its object-marking function illustrated in (2) and its subject-marking function in (3). This will be the content of, respectively, section 4 and 5 below.

The paper is organized as follows. First I will present the facts about Kambera pronominal cliticization that are relevant for the discussion in section 2. Then, in section 3, the characteristics of the Kambera continuative aspect construction will be discussed. Section 4 and section 5 discuss constructions that are formally related to the continuative aspect construction. Section 6 contains a discussion of the findings which are summarised in section 7.

2 PRONOMINAL CLITICIZATION IN KAMBERA

Kambera is a head-marking language (Nichols 1986) in the sense that it has rich morpho-syntactic marking on the head of the clause, the verb: pronominal, aspectual and/or modal clitics together with the verb may constitute a complete sentence. Definite verbal arguments are marked for person, number and case (Nominative (N), Genitive (G), Dative (D), Accusative (A)) by prominal clitics attached to the verbal complex. In addition to pronominal cliticization, arguments can be expressed by (adjoined) NPs, which are then used for disambiguation or emphasis, discourse saliency or contrastivity. The NPs, including the full pronouns, are optional and do not show case marking. Basic word order is SVO: subject NP - verb/verbal complex *plus clitics* - object NP (Klamer 1996c).

The unmarked way to express a subject in a simple declarative sentence is with a nominative proclitic. This is shown in (4). In this sentence, the verb *tambuta* 'drop out' is intransitive and its subject *na ài* 'the tree (lit. the wood)' is marked on the verb with the nominative proclitic *na-* (the brackets indicate the optionality of the NPs).

(4) (Na ài)   **na**- tambuta dàngu amung
     ART wood 3sN- drop out with   root
     'That tree is uprooted.'
     (lit. that tree it is dropped out with root)

In (5) the verb *palu* 'hit' is transitive, the subject *na tau wútu* 'the fat man' is marked on the verb with the nominative proclitic *na-*, the object with the accusative enclitic -*ka*.

(5) (Na tau   wútu) **na**- palu -**ka** (nyungga)
     ART person be.fat 3sN- hit   -1sA   I
     'The big man hit me.'
     (lit. the big man he-hit-me I)

In (6) the double object (applicative) verb *kei.ng* 'buy something for someone' has two object arguments: a patient ('direct object') and a recipient ('indirect object'). The dative clitic -*ngga* now marks the recipient, while the (patient) NP *rí* 'vegetable' is not cliticised on the verb because it is indefinite.

(6) (I Ama)   na- kei -**nja** rí
     ART father 3sN- buy -3pD   vegetable
     'Father buys them vegetables.'

In addition, it is also possible to cliticize both the indirect *and* the direct object, as illustrated in (7):

(7) (I Ama)   na- kei- **ngga** -**nya**
     ART father 3sN- buy   -1sD   -3sD
     'Father buys it for me.'
     (lit. Father he buys me it)

Sentence (7) shows that there are two 'slots' for object clitics, both following the verb; first, the indirect object is marked with a dative clitic followed by another dative clitic marking the direct object. This is remarkable, because the second dative clitic refers to a direct object (patient), which is usually marked with an accusative clitic, as we saw in (5) above.[2]

Finally, in (8) the basic function of the genitive clitic which usually marks the possessor is illustrated. A possessed NP is not necessarily definite (cf. (8a)) and the possessive clitic attaches to the phrase rather than to the head noun (cf. (8b-c)).

(8) a. Ningu uma -**nggu**
         be.here house -1sG
         'I have a house.'
         (lit. (here) is a house of mine)

b. Na uma -nggu
    ART house -1sG
    'My house.'

c. Na uma bidi -nggu
    ART house new -1sG
    'My new house.'

Apart from marking a possessor, a genitive enclitic is often used to mark subjects as well. This was illustrated in (2), where the possessive enclitic *-nggu* marks the subject of *palu* 'hit'. I will refer to clauses with such genitive subjects as 'nominal clauses'. They will be further discussed in section 4 below.

3 CONTINUATIVE ASPECT CONSTRUCTION

The focus of this paper is to determine the role of the dative clitic in continuative aspect constructions. As we have seen, in a continuative aspect construction two pronominal clitics are attached postverbally: a genitive and a dative, in that order. In the sentences (9)-(12) the clitics in bold constitute the continuative aspect construction. The examples show that the continuative construction is used for both activity verbs, such as *laku* 'go' and *pabanjar* 'talk', and stative verbs, such as *manjú* 'be hungry' and *poki* 'be blind'.

(9) Laku -nggu -nya
     go   -1sG -3sD
     'I am going.'

(10) Ka paba-banjar -du -da -nya -ka nú
     CNJ pa.RDP-talk -EMP -3pG -3sD -PRF DEI
     'So they were talking/talked[3] for a while.'

(11) Manjú -ma -nggu -nya ina
     be.hungry -EMP -1sG   -3sD mother
     'I am (feeling) hungry, mum.'

(12) Poki   -na -nya? Mm, poki   -na -nya
     be.blind -3sG -3sD yes be.blind -3sG -3sD
     'Is he blind?' 'Yes, he is blind.'

The function of the genitive-dative clitic construction is aspectual in the sense that it is used to express the fact that the event or state expressed by the predicate continues or endures - hence its name.

The sentences in (13) illustrate the use of the intransitive[4] verb *mutung* 'burn with fire' in clauses with various aspectual and temporal properties. The

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[3] Kambera has no tense marker(s); in this sentence the remote deictic element *nú* 'there/then' forces the past interpretation.

[4] *Mutung* is an intransitive verb only meaning 'burn with fire', i.e. it does not have the derived meaning of a physical sensation which the English translation has, neither is it transitive. Transitive 'burn' in Kambera is *tunu*, meaning 'roast, grill, burn something'.

continuative aspect marking of the subject in (13a) makes the aspect of the clause unbounded, continuous and non-completed compared to the (default) nominative marking of the subject in the sentences (13b-d):

(13) a. Mutung -na -nya na uma
         burn   -3sG -3sD ART house
         'The house is/was aflame/burning.'

     b. Na- mutung
         3sN- burn
         'It burns/is burned/is burning/will burn.' etc.
         (depending on context)

     c. Na- mutung -ka
         3sN- burn   -PRF
         'It is burned (down).'

     d. Na- mutung -pa   na uma hau
         3sN- burn   -IMPF ART house one. CLF
         'Still another house has burned (down).'

     e. Na- mutung na uma jàka u-   pajulu wàngu epi
         3sN- burn   ART house if 2sN- play   use   fire
         'The house will burn (down) when you play with fire.'

In the sentences (9)-(13a) the genitive clitic marks the subject, while the dative clitic - always the third person singular *-nya* in continuative aspect constructions - seems to be superfluous as it does not express a grammatical relation. How did the dative end up in this construction? How and why did this particular construction develop an interpretation of continuative aspect? A possible answer to both of these questions will be presented in the remainder of this paper.

4 STRUCTURAL AMBIGUITY WITH TRANSITIVE NOMINAL CLAUSES

As mentioned above, the continuative aspect construction is formally related to nominal clauses, more particularly, transitive nominal clauses. The genitive enclitic marking the subject of transitive clauses makes them resemble possessed NPs. The functional (semantic/ discourse) properties of nominal clauses are diverse and rather complex (cf. Klamer 1994:94-98). However, all nominal clauses share the property that they are unasserted propositions and/or do not express the main narrative line in discourse.

The sentences (14) and (15) illustrate some simple nominal clauses. In (14) the verb *mai* 'come' is intransitive and the genitive subject is *-na* '3s, his/her/its'. In (15) the verb *palu* 'hit' is transitive and the subject is genitive *-mu* '2s, your', while the object is marked with dative *-nya* '3s, it'.

(14)   Bidi   mai   -na
       newly come -3sG
       'Just now, he came.'

(15)   Palu bia   -mu -nya, nda nggàra ehi
       hit MOD -2sG -3sD NEG what   content
       'You just hit him, it doesn't matter.'

These sentences show that nominal clauses may be based on both intransitive and transitive verbs. Consider also the sentences (16)-(20) below, which show that the syntactic distribution of nominal clauses is diverse: they may either be a subordinate clause, as in (16), or a main clause, as in (17). Formally, they are verbal constructs with nominal external syntax. In addition to their subject being genitive, the nominal properties of these clauses are apparent from the following facts: (i) they may be specified for definiteness with the definite article *na* as in (16) and (18) (cf. indefinite (14), (17), (19)); (ii) they may be verbal arguments crossreferenced on the matrix verb, as in (16); (iii) they may be clefted as in (18) and (iv) they may be compared as in (19). However, the core of a nominal clause is verbal and its internal structure is clausal, as evidenced by the fact that it can contain negations, as in (17) and (20); *àmbu* in the latter example only negates propositions, not entities - and/or modal clitics, as *nda* does in (17).

(16)   Nda ku- pí   -nya, [na laku -mu] NPj
       NEG 1sN- know 3sG   ART go   -2sG
       'I didn't know that you're gone.'
       (lit. your going)

(17)   [...ba nda lalu pingu hàmu -a   -na [pa- kareuk]s]s
        CNJ NEG too know be.good -MOD -3sG CTR- talk
       '...for he cannot speak too well.'
       (lit. for he does not know too well to speak)

(18)   Jia   hàmu -ya, [na riki -na na ana -na nyuna] NPi
       EXIST good -3sA ART laugh -3sG ART child -3sG he
       'How his child laughed!'
       (lit. it is good the laughing of his child)

(19)   [Hama   pingu -mi] [dàngu ama -mu]
       be.same know -2pG with   father -2sG
       'You and your father are equally bright.'
       (lit. your (pl) knowing is the same as your (sg) father's)

(20)   Bita -nja da   mata -na ka àmbu peku ita -na -nja
       cover -3pD ART eye -3sG CNJ NEG be.able see -3sG -3pD
       da   ana -na
       ART child -3sG
       'Cover her eyes so that she won't be able to see her children.'

After this brief excursion on nominal clauses in Kambera, note that what is relevant

for the present discussion is only that intransitive nominal clauses formally differ from transitive ones in the absence vs. presence of an object marking clitic (e.g. (14) vs. (15)). This seems an extremely trivial observation, but recall that intransitive verbs in the continuative aspect construction (e.g.'s (9)-(13a)) *do* have an object clitic. At least, they have a clitic attached with the same shape as the third person singular dative clitic whose regular, standard function is to mark objects.

So far, we have seen three ways to mark an intransitive subject: with a nominative proclitic (e.g. (4)), with a genitive clitic (e.g. 14)) and with a combination of two clitics, a genitive and a dative (as in the continuative aspect construction in (9)-(12)). We have also seen that, though the continuative aspect construction is only used to mark the subject of intransitive verbs, it is formally similar to transitive nominal clauses.

Consider the contrasting sentences in (21). (21a) illustrates an intransitive nominal clause, (21b) a transitive (applicative)[5] nominal clause with an object clitic *-nya*, and (21c) an intransitive verb in the continuative aspect construction. The two clitics in the continuative aspect construction behave as one morpho-syntactic element.

(21) a.   Mbàda kanabu -na   -ka
          already fall   -3sG -PRF
          'It, has already fallen.'
          (e.g. coconut)

     b.   Mbàda kanabu -na, -nya, -ka
          already fall   -3sG -3sD -PRF
          'It, has already fallen on him,'
          (e.g. coconut falls on someone's head)

     c.   Kanabu -na -nya, -ka
          fall   -3sG -3sD -PRF
          'It, is falling.'

As the translation of (21c) shows, the dative clitic in this continuative construction is not considered to mark an object. Evidence for this is given in (22). These sentences contain the compound verb *hunju tobung* 'slaughter various animals' (lit. 'slaughter pigs and slaughter cows'). This compound verb must always have a plural object: it indicates the slaughtering of minimally one pig and one cow.

(22) a.   Hunju   tobu   -da, -nja,
          slaughter.pig slaughter.cow -3pG -3pD
          'They, were slaughtering them,'
          (pig and cow)

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[5] The intransitive verb *kanabu* 'fall' can be made applicative. Applicative formation adds an extra (applicative/indirect object) argument and makes the verb transitive, as illustrated in (i):

     (i) kanabu   'fall'   applicative *.ng* → kanabu.ng 'fall on X'

For a discussion of Kambera applicative formation and the relation between the nasal affix and the dative object clitic, see Klamer (1994:189-229).

b. * Hunju   tobu   -da_j -nya_k
   slaughter.pig slaughter.cow -3pG -3sD
   Intended reading: 'They_j were slaughtering it_k.'
   (pig and cow)

c. Hunju   tobung   -da   -nya
   slaughter.pig slaughter.cow -3pG -3sD
   'They were slaughtering.'

In (22a) the (obligatorily) plural object of the verbal compound is indeed marked with a plural clitic (-nja). The sentence in (22b) has a singular object clitic (-nya) and is therefore ungrammatical. Yet, sentence (22c) is grammatical, although it also features the singular object clitic, -nya. How can we explain this? What is the nature of the dative object clitic here?

Observe that in (22b) the object is explicit, while in (22c) it is left implicit. Another difference between these two sentences is that in (22b) the verb *tobu* 'slaughter cow' does not end in a velar nasal, whereas in (22c) it does. The full lexical and citation form of the verb *tobung* 'slaughter cattle' has a final nasal consonant. Kambera has a number of transitive verbs like this, i.e. ones that end in a velar nasal. These verbs always express their object with the (prenasalised) dative clitic (allomorph) and lose the final stem nasal in the process. In a sense, the final nasal of such a transitive verb is thus in complemetary distribution with a dative clitic that marks its object (see also Klamer 1994:202-208). This is the case in (22a), where the object is the dative plural, -nja. In (22b) the verb has also lost its final nasal as a result of the presence of the singular dative clitic, -nya. In (22c), however, we observe that with the dative clitic -nya the verb retains the final nasal. That is, the nasal is *not* in complementary distribution with the object clitic here, as it should be. We must therefore conclude that the dative clitic -nya in (22c) cannot be an object-marking clitic, as it was in (22a), but must be marking something else. If it were an object clitic, sentence (22c) would have been ungrammatical like (22b) because the compound verb *hunju tobung* 'slaughter pig and slaughter cattle' cannot have a singular object (-nya). Since (22c) is grammatical, it cannot be an ordinary transitive nominal clause. We may conclude that what we have here is a continuative aspect construction, similar to the constructions in (9)-(12).

In sum, we have established that, although the continuative construction may be structurally ambiguous with transitive nominal clauses, there is an important difference between the two constructions: the dative clitic in transitive nominal clauses is an object marker (as in (22a)) whereas in continuative constructions it is not (as in (22c)). This contrast is formally reflected in verbs ending in a final nasal consonant.

5 FORMAL RELATION WITH CLAUSES WITH A POSSESSED NOMINAL PREDICATE

If the dative clitic in continuative aspect constructions does not mark an object, what does it mark? To answer this question, we now consider another construction to which the continuative construction is formally related: clauses with possessed nominal predicates.

In Kambera, the argument of a non-verbal predicate is standardly marked with an accusative clitic and the language has no (overt) copular verb. This is shown by example (23), which illustrates a locational (PP) predicate, and by example (24), which illustrates a non-possessed nominal predicate.

(23) [Lai nú]_PP -kama
      LOC DEI   -1pA
      'We (are/were) over there.'

(24) Hurundandu -ya
      soldier   -3sA
      'He/it (is) a soldier.'

In (25), where *mbapa-nggu* is the possessed nominal predicate, the dative clitic -nya marks the subject of the clause:

(25) [[Mbapa -nggu]_NP]_predicate -nya
      husband -1sG   -3sD
      'He (is) my husband.'

Thus, clauses with a non-verbal predicate never contain an (overt) copular verb. Furthemore, in constructions where the nominal predicate is possessed, a dative clitic follows the genitive possessor and is used to mark the predicate's subject (instead of the usual accusative clitic). This clitic sequence is identical to the one we observed in continuative constructions. How do the two constructions relate to each other?

We saw that a clause with a non-possessed nominal predicate always has an accusative subject, as in (23)-(24). In (24), the lexical head of the predicate is a noun. However, a nominal predicate can also consist of a verb with a genitive subject. In other words, nominal clauses, as discussed in the previous section, may constitute nominal predicates too. This is shown in (26) below, where the predicate does not contain a noun, but the stative verb *tarahik* 'be slippery'.[6] In (26a), the nominal predicate is *tarahik-na_j [na anda]_j* 'the road's (being) slippery'. The subject NP of *tarahik* is *na anda*, marked on the verb with -na. This subject is contained in the nominal predicate that is predicated of the matrix subject -ya. (26b) shows the same verb being used in the continuative aspect construction.

(26) a. [Tarahik   -na na   anda] -ma -ya...
        be.slippery -3sG ART road -EMP -3sA
        'It (is because of) the road's (being) slippery...'

      b. Tarahik   -na -nya na   anda
        be.slippery -3sG -3sD ART road
        'The road is (being) slippery.'

Thus, there is an analogy between the clauses with nominal predicates in (24) and (25) and the nominal clause-predicate in (26a). Following this line of thought, we can assume that the continuative aspect construction in (26b) has a similar structure

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6 Kambera does not have a category of adjectives, for arguments see Klamer (1994:112, 116)

as well. In other words, the clitic *-nya* in (26b) can be seen as the subject of the nominalised predicate *tarahik-na*, as represented in (27). The subject *-na* of the verb *tarahik* is contained in the nominal predicate which is predicated of the matrix subject *-nya*.

(27)   [[Tarahik   **-na**]_{NP}]_{predicate}   **-nya**
         be.slippery   -3sG   -3sD
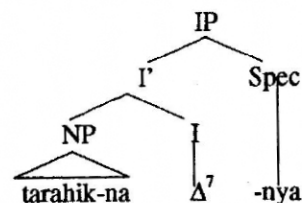
A continuative aspect construction as in (28) can thus be paraphrased as 'it (is) my going', which renders the interpretation of the continuative construction quite adequately. In addition, this analysis has two other advantages, both pertaining to the status of the dative clitic: (i) the dative clitic is not a meaningless empty morpheme, but has the real function of marking the matrix subject, and (ii) the fact that the dative clitic is always third person singular is now explained: it is used as an expletive subject (like *it* in *it rains*).

(28)   Laku   -nggu   -nya
         go   -1sG   -3sD
         'It (is) my going' → I am going

This analysis is probably correct from a diachronic point of view. However, there is some synchronic evidence that the genitive-dative clitic cluster is no longer part of a biclausal structure, but has been reinterpreted to mark one argument (rather than two). This evidence will be discussed in the remainder of this section.

Present-day scholarship on Kambera considers the genitive-dative cluster in a continuative aspect construction as an inseparatable unit: both clitics cannot be separated from each other, whereas in a clause with an ordinary possessed nominal predicate, they can. This is illustrated in (29) and (30), where the element separating the clitics is a full pronoun *nyungga* 'I' in (29) and an emphatic enclitic *-ma* in (30).

(29)   a.   * [Laku -nggu]   **nyungga**   -nya / -ya
               go   -1sG   I   -3sD / -3sA
               'Intended reading: I am going.'

     b.   [Mbapa   -nggu]_{NP}   **nyungga** -ya
               husband -1sG   I   -3sA
               'He (is) my husband.'

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⁷ As Kambera does not have (overt) copular verbs, one can assume an empty copular verb or none at all in this construction, but this is irrelevant to the issue at hand.

     c.   (Nyungga)   laku -nggu -nya   (nyungga)
              I   go   -1sG   -3sD   I
              'I am going.'

(30)   a.   * [Laku -nggu]   **-ma**   -nya
               go   -1sG   -EMP   -3sD
               'Intended reading: I am going.'

     b.   Jàka jia   -ha   da   banda, [banda -nda]_{NP} **-ma**   -nja
               if   EXIST -3pA   ART   cattle   cattle -1pG   -EMP   -3pD
               'About the cattle, they (are) our cattle (not yours).'

     c.   Laku   **-ma**   -nggu   -nya
               go   -EMP   -1sG   -3sD
               'I am going.'

Splitting up the clitic cluster is impossible in continutative aspect constructions, as shown in (29a) and (30a), but is possible in the construction from which (as we argued) the continuative aspect construction must have originated: a clause with a possessed nominal predicate, as shown in (29b) and (30b). Sentences (29c) and (30c) are the correct form for the intended readings given. Like any other subject NP, the full pronoun *nyungga* that is used for emphasis in (29) occurs before or after the verbal complex. The position of the emphatic clitic *-ma* in (30) is between the verb and the clitics that mark the verbal arguments (subject and object). This is the usual pattern when the clause has a verbal head.

To conlude: the fact that the genitive-dative cluster in continuative constructions cannot be split, suggests that nowadays this cluster is interpreted as one inseparable unit marking the subject of the clause.

6   DISCUSSION

We have seen that intransitive continuative aspect constructions show (i) (surface) ambiguity with transitive nominal clauses and (ii) are the result of the reanalysis of a biclausal structure (with an empty copula), as in (31a), into one clause, as in (31b):

(31)   a.   [[verb + subject]_S Δ subject]_S
     b.   [verb + subject]_S

This means that, if the meaning of the verb allows it, a sentence in Kambera may be analysed in three different ways, as is the case in (32):

(32)   a.   Kukah   -na_k   -nya_j -ka   yia
              rub   -3sG   -3sD   -PRF   then
              'He_k was rubbing it_j.'

     b.   [Kukah -na_k]   -nya_j -ka   yia
              rub   -3sG   -3sD   -PRF   then
              'It_j (was) [his_k rubbing].'

c. Kukah -**na** -**nya**$_k$ -ka yia
   rub   -3sG -3sD   -PRF then
   'He$_k$ was rubbing.'

Sentence (32a) contains a transitive verb with a definite object that is marked with an object clitic on the verb. The homophonous sentence in (32b) is glossed as if it consists of a nominal clause predicating over the expletive subject -*nya*, while the same clause is interpreted in (32c) as a continuative aspect construction.[8]

Nominal constructions that have developed over time into constructions with particular aspectual functions (like 'continuative' or 'progressive') have been attested cross-linguistically (Heine & Reh 1984, Heine, Claudi & Hünnemeyer 1991, Heine 1994).

In Dutch, for instance, the progressive aspect is expressed by a copular verb followed by a PP-predicate containing an infinitival verb form preceded by an article and a preposition, as shown in (33). In English, the progressive form of the verb is used in nominalisations, as in (34).

(33) Hij is [**aan** [**het** rennen]$_{NP}$]$_{PP}$
    he is to   the run
    'He is running.'

(34) He is **running**, his **running**

In Diola Fogny (West-Atlantic, Niger-Congo), progressive aspect is expressed by both a nominal (*burɔk*) and a pronominal (*bO*) form of the verb:

(35) burɔk n -ən di bO   (Sapir 1965:113; Heine 1993:32)
    work I -am in it
    'I am working.'
    (lit. work I am in it)

In the Bantu language, Ewe, the progressive also exhibits nominal behaviour (Clements 1975, Heine, Claudi & Hünnemeyer 1991, Heine 1994).

The genesis of progressives like these can be considered a specific type of grammaticalization process which maps a basic cognitive structure into linguistic form (again, Heine, Claudi & Hünnemeyer 1991, Heine 1994). When we consider grammaticalization patterns across languages, it appears that when words or constructions are reinterpreted, the type of reinterpretation that takes place is not random, nor free, nor variable per language/person, but follows certain typical pathways and seems to be bounded by rules. The way this is often accounted for in grammaticalization studies is to assume that reanalysis follows certain universal, cognitive pathways: basic grammatical structures are the verbalisation of basic cognitive structures. As a new grammatical structure develops out of reanalysis, this shows a possible alternative way to map cognitive structure into linguistic structure.

Basic cognitive units are assumed to be the following (Heine, Claudi & Hünnemeyer 1991:32-32, Heine 1993:31):

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8 Ambiguities as in (32) are not common and only occur if a transitive verb has an implied/covert object. If the verb is interpreted as having an overt object, then it must be marked third person singular. Otherwise, there would be no ambiguity with the third person singular dative clitic in continuative aspect constructions. Finally, this sentence must not contain an additional object NP, because such an NP would force the transitive reading of the verb.

(36) **Basic cognitive units**
   (i) Concepts of concrete objects, processes and locations.
   (ii) Propositions expressing states/processes that are basic
       to human experience.

Linguistically expressed propositions follow certain basic conceptual structure called Event Schemas:

(37) **Some event schemas** (there are more, see Heine 1993:31)

Label	Conceptual form	Grammatical function
Location	"X is at Y"	progressive, continuative, ingressive
Motion	"X moves to/from Y"	ingressive, future, perfect, past
Equation	"X is Y"	progressive, resultative, perfect, future
Possession	"X has Y"	resultative, perfect, future
Action	"X does Y"	progressive, continuative, completive, perfect

As the third column in (37) shows, crosslinguistically the grammatical categorie Tense and Aspect in particular are typically expressed by making use of ever schemas like the ones mentioned. For example, recall that the Dutch and Diol Fogny progressives, illustrated above in (33) and (35) respectively, use locative PF to express progressive aspect, i.e. the progressive gets the formal expression of th event schema for Location. In languages where the Location schema is used for th genesis of progressive/continuative, this development goes hand in hand with th nominalization of the predicate, since only a nominalized verb can be a prop location for Y (for more discussion, see Heine 1993 and references cited there). I this respect, Dutch and Diola Fogny are quite unexceptional; the majority c languages studied until now use the Location, Motion or Action schema to expres continuous/progressive aspect.

Kambera is slightly unusual in that it uses an Equational structure to expres continuative aspect ("X is Y" as in 'it is my going', e.g. (28)). However, there a other languages that use the same schema to express the progressive, such as th Bantu languages Nkore-Kiga (Taylor 1985) and Haya (Hyman & Watters 1984 Consider the Haya illustrations in (38). (38a) shows a basic copula construction while in (38b) the same copula element *ni* appears in the progressive aspect. Th only formal difference between the progressive in (38b) and the 'present habitual' i (38c) is the use of the copula *ni*. This copula is therefore functioning in (38b) as present progresive aspectual marker.

(38) a. Ni Kato   (Hyman & Watters 1984, Tom Güldemann, p.c.)
      COP Kato
      '(It) is Kato.'

b. Ni   -ba -mu -kom -a   ('present progressive')
    PROG -2pl -3sg -tie up -PRES
    'They are tying him up.'
    (lit. (It) is their tying him up)

c. Ba -mu -kom   -a   ('present habitual')
    2pl -3sg -tie up -PRES
    'They tie him up.'

Returning to the Kambera continuative aspect, there are two ways to analyse this construction synchronically. Either we analyse it as a cluster in which the first clitic (the genitive) marks the subject while the second clitic (the dative) has been reanalysed as an aspectual clitic marking continuative aspect, or we consider the complete clitic cluster to have only one referent: the subject of the verb.

An argument against the first analysis is that the dative clitic -nya is not productively used to mark aspect; except in the structure under discussion, it only marks verbal arguments. Kambera has three other clitics marking aspect: -ka 'perfective', -pa 'imperfective' and -i 'iterative'. The distributional properties of these clitics are distinct from those of the pronominal clitics (see Klamer 1994, 1996b). Therefore, I will not go as far as claiming that synchronically -nya is (already) a marker of continuative aspect, but conclude instead that at present Kambera employs a new disyllabic pronominal form - one that consists of a sequence of a genitive clitic and the dative clitic, -nya, and which is used to mark the subject of intransitive verbs in the continuative aspect. The paradigm of this pronominal form is given in (39):

(39) 1s   -nggunya
      2s   -munya
      3s   -nanya
      1p(inc)   -ndanya
      1p(exc)   -manya
      2p   -minya
      3p   -danya

We saw above that the dative clitic originally expressed the matrix subject of a nominal predicate (verb plus genitive subject) as some sort of expletive. However, reanalysis took place, followed by fusion of the biclausal structure into one clause (e.g.s (31a-b)). Therefore, in the paradigm in (39), the dative clitic has (most of) its semantic content because its referential function has become zero and/or is merged with the genitive clitic (the original embedded subject). In other words, the cluster as a whole no longer refers to two subjects of two distinct predicates but to one.

This new subject paradigm for subjects in continuative aspect involves an increase of phonological information: the pronominal markers of (39) are disyllabic and prosodically independent. In addition, it involves an increase of semantic information: the pronominal is no longer a marker of person/number only, but one that marks person/number of arguments of intransitive verbs in the continuative aspect.

7 CONCLUSION

In this paper we have considered in some depth a salient Kambera aspectual construction containing a dative pronominal clitic, which, in this construction, has no clear referential function. It was argued that the construction is formally related to a copula construction (based on an Equational event schema) and that it is the result of a diachronic process of reanalysis of a biclausal structure followed by the fusion of the two clauses into one. An obvious motivation for the reanalysis is the need for economy[9] (here the economy of cognitive processing) which prefers a simpler, monoclausal structure to a more complex one.

The synchronic result of the reanalysis is that the original grammatical relations are realigned with the morphemes that mark them (the pronominal clitics): a cluster of two inseparable clitics now marks one argument rather than two. The resulting pronominal form (e.g. (39)) is a special form to mark the subjects of intransitives in continuative aspect and is prosodically special because it is 'decliticised'. That is, it is a disyllabic prosodic word rather than a monosyllabic clitic. Such 'decliticizations' of originally bound forms, while not frequent phenomena, are reasonably well-known (Campbell 1991:295 and references cited there). They show that it is not necessarily the case that a structural simplification results in the formal reduction of that structure.

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[9] There are two fundamental principles that often play a role in diachronic change: a principle of economy (of lexical representation, cognitive processing, phonetic expression, etc.) and a principle of clarity. The trend of greater economy is restricted by the communicative function of language which entails clarity (see Hall 1992 and references cited there).