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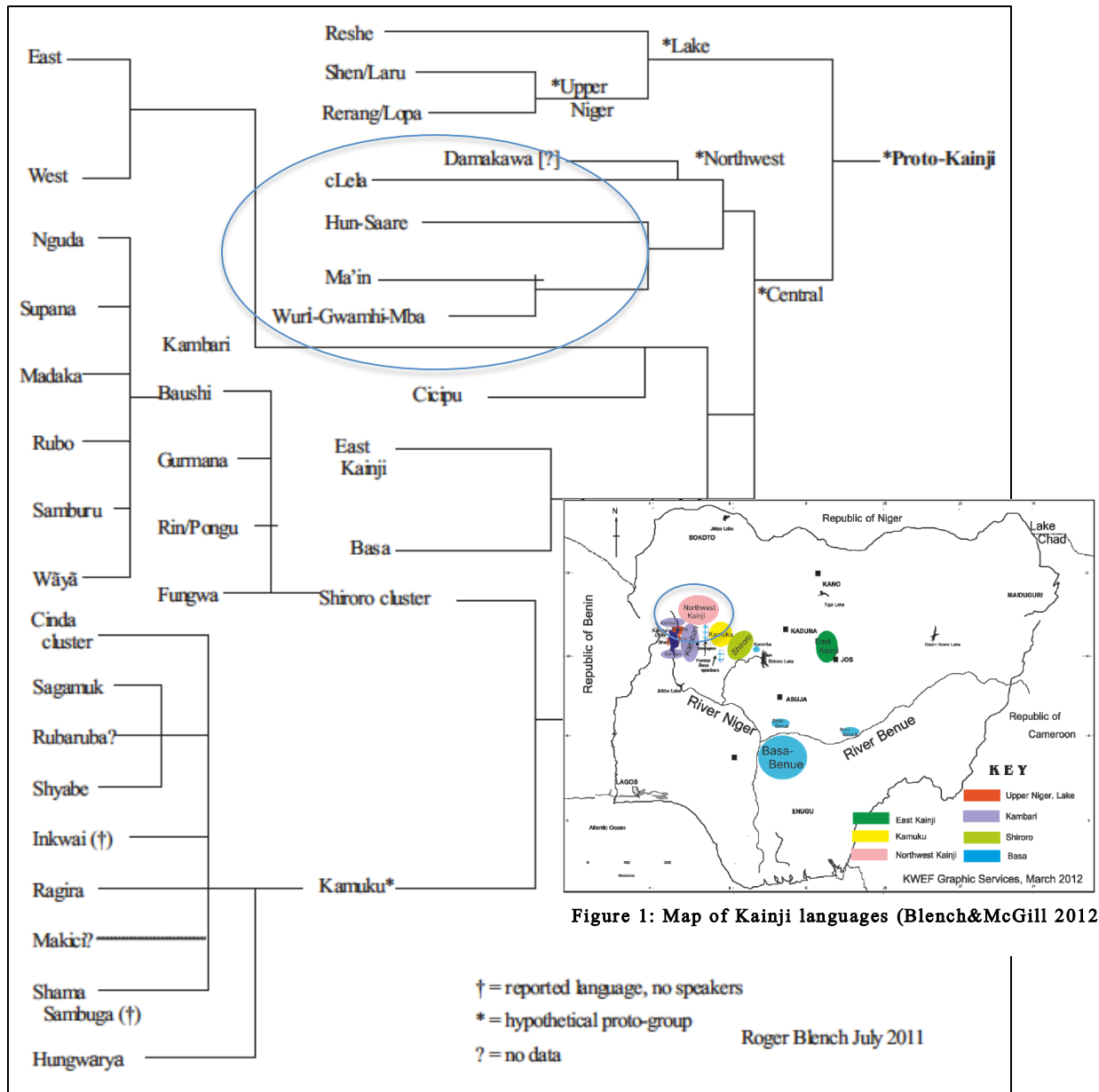rpaters3oregon.edu

The associative phrase in Ụt-Ma'in

1   Introduction

- Ụt-Ma'in (Fakanci) [gel] is a Kainji language spoken in Kebbi State and Niger State, Nigeria, by approximately 36,000 speakers (Regnier 1992:7).
- Most closely related are Gwamhi-Wuri-Mba [bga], C'Lela (Dakakanci) [dri] and Ụt-Hun (Dukanci) [dud]. These form a group known as Northwest or Duka cluster.

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Figure 1: Map of Kainji languages (Blench&McGill 2012)

Figure 1: Internal classification of Kainji languages (McGill&Blench 2012:95)

2 Classification and state of documentation of Kainji languages within Niger-Congo, Benue-Congo

- Kainji language (Kamberi) included in the Benue-Congo subdivision of Niger-Congo (Greenberg 1966)
- Kainji a separate branch of Benue-Congo (Williamson 1989)
- Niger-Congo, Benue-Congo, East Benue-Congo, Central Nigerian, Kainji (Williamson & Blench 2000)
- ≈60 Kainji languages (McGill&Blench 2012:97); a new language, Damakawa, was first reported in 2008 (McGill 2008)

3 Basic clause structure

- Strict SVO order
- Obligatory overt S/A argument (noun or pronoun)
- TAM marking suffixed to verb stem; no person/number/noun class agreement marking on verbs
- Head initial

(1) *hɔ̄:bɔ̄t dâudā hā:g ɔ́ménè.*

S		V	OBL$_{LOC}$	
hɔ̄:b-ɔ̄t	*dâudā*	*hā-:g*	*ɔ́*	*mɛ́=nè*
friend-C6	Dauda	go-PST	LOC	1SG.OBJ=with

'Dauda's friends went with me.'

(2) *ɔ̄m jā:g wɔ́n ɔ̄màp gjɔ̄p*

A	V	R	P	ADV
ɔ̄m	*jā-:g*	*wɔ́n*	*ɔ̄m-àp*	*gjɔ̄p*
1SG.SUBJ	give-PST	C1.3SG	C6M-meat	yesterday

'I gave him/her meat yesterday.'

(3) *nā gʲín mɛ́ ə̀zán*

A	V	P	OBL$_{LOC}$	
nā	*gʲín*	*mɛ́*	*ə̀*	*zán*
3PL.INDEF	hate	1SG.OBJ	LOC	outside

'I am hated outside (Lit: They hate me outside.)' (SFC 2005:L24)

4   The Associative within the Noun Phrase

4.1   Noun/Noun Association

(4)   N   [ASSOCP   ]

      N   [C- ASSOC   C-N   ]

      fàr sə̀m wə́r

      fàr   *s-ə̀*   *m-wə́r*

      shea butter tree   C4-ASSOC   C6M-length

      'tall shea butter/shea butter trees of length'

(5)   N   [ASSOCP   ]

      N_1 Assoc   [N_2 Assoc N_3]

      N_1 C_1-Assoc   [N_2 C_2-Assoc C_3-N_3]

      fàr   *s-ə̀*   *rān*   *t-ə̀*   *m-wə́r*   *hē:g*

      tree   C4-ASSOC   leaf   C6- ASSOC   6M-length   fall.PST

      'trees of long leaves fell/trees of leaves of length'

- Distinct from possession

(6) N_1 NP[POSS]

      N_1 -C_1 NP[POSS]

      fàr-ə̄s   *ró*   *hē:g*

      tree-C4   2.SG.POSS   fall.PST

      'your trees fell'

- Distinct from adjectives
  - Only eight known adjectives

(7)   *sə̀*   'good'   *pús*   'white'

      jə̀   'bad'   *rīm*   'black'

      ját   'big'   *dʒás*   'red'

      rèk   'small'   *pò*   'new'

(8)   N₁   A

        N₁-C₁   A-C₁

        fàr-ə̀s   *ját-sè*   *hɛ̄:g*

        tree-C4   big-C4   fall.PST

        'big trees fell'

(9)   a.   b.

        N₁   C₁-Assoc   C₂-N₂   N₁-C₁   A-C₁

        bə́   *m-ə̀*   *t-ūt*   *bə́-m*   *pò-mɔ̀*

        water   C6M-Assoc   C6-old   water-C6M   new-C6M

        'old water'   'new water'

Table 1: Comprehensive overview of the noun class system of Ʋt-Ma'in (Smith 2007:102)

ClCClasslass ass Label	Person/Number	Indep — Subject Pronoun, Definite Article	Indep — Object Pronoun	Indep — Relative Pronoun	C-N, C-Q — Noun (Citation form) Quantifier	N-C — Noun w/ Modifier	C-Assoc, C-Dem — Associative, Demonstrative Modifier	C-hè — Which one?	jān-C — What?	A-C — Adjective	C-kɔ̄n — Indefinite Article
	1SG	ɔ̄m	mɛ́								
	2SG	bɔ̄	bɔ̄								
	3SG	wɔ̄n	wɔ̄n								
1Ʋ	3SG	ū/wā	ú/wá	wə̀	ū-	-∅	u-/w-/∅-	wə̀-	N/A	-wà	wà-
1∅	3SG	wā	wá	wə̀	∅-	-∅	u-/w-/∅-	wə̀-	N/A	-wà	wà-
	1PL INCL	ín	ín								
	1PL EXCL	īt	īt								
	2PL	nɔ̄	nɔ̄								
	3PL	ɔ̄n	ɔ̄n								
2	3PL	ɛ̄	ɛ́	ɛ̀	∅-	-∅	∅-	ɛ̀-	N/A	-ɛ̀	ɛ̀-
3Ʋ	3SG	ɔ̄	ɔ́	ə̀	ū-	-u	u-/∅-	ə̀-	-ɔ́	-ɔ̀	ɔ̀-
3∅	3SG	ɔ̄	ɔ́	ə̀	∅-	-u	u-/∅-	ə̀-	-ɔ́	-ɔ̀	ɔ̀-
4	3PL	sɛ̄	sɛ́	sə̀	ɔ̄s-	-əs	s-	sə̀-	-sɛ́	-sɛ̀	sɛ̀-
5	3SG	dɛ̄	dɛ́	də̀	ɔ̄r-	-ər	d-	də̀-	-dɛ́	-dɛ̀	dɛ̀-
6	3PL	tɔ̄	tɔ́	tə̀	ɔ̄t-	-ət	t-	tə̀-	-tɔ́	-tɔ̀	tɔ̀-
6M	3PL	mɔ̄	mɔ́	mə̀	ɔ̄m-	-əm	m-	mə̀-	-mɔ́	-mɔ̀	mɔ̀-
7Ʋ	3SG	jā	já	jə̀	ū-	-u	j-/∅-	jə̀-	-já	-jà	jà-
7∅	3SG	jā	já	jə̀	∅-	-u	j-/∅-	jə̀-	-já	-jà	jà-
AUG	3PL	ā	á	à	ā-	-∅	a-	à-	-á	-à	à-
DIM	3SG	ɛ̄	ɛ́	ì	ī-	-i	i-	ì-	-ɛ́	-ɛ̀	ɛ̀-

Table 2: Attested noun class combinations in the Associative Phrase

	N₂→									
N₁	1	2	3	4	5	6	6M	7	DIM	AUG
1										
2		X		X				X		
3		X	X		X	X		X		
4				X						
5		X	X		X			X		
6		X	X	X	X	X	X	X		
6M			X		X			X		
7				X	X			X	X	
DIM										
AUG										

Table 3: Associative Marker (VC/V) cliticized to head noun

Class Combination	N₁ = C₁-Assoc = C₂	N₂	Gloss	N₁	N₂
2 + 4	nə̀m = ∅-ə̀ = s	té	'evil spirits'	∅-nə̀m 'things'	ə̄s-té 'trees'
3ᴜ + 5	kʷə́k = ə-` = r	gē	'eggshell'	ū-kʷə́k 'shell'	ə̄r-gē 'egg'
3ᴜ + 6	nə̀m = ə-` = t	rè	'food'	ū-nə̀m 'thing'	ə̄t-rè 'eating'
2 + 7ᴜ	nín = ∅-` = u	fá?	'fangs'	∅-nín 'teeth'	ū-fá? 'snake'
3ᴜ + 7ᴜ	hə̀r = ∅-` = u	dʒán	'fisch scales'	ū-hə̀r 'hide (animal)'	ū-dʒán 'fish'
3ᴜ + 2	kʰáp = ə-` = ∅	dʒán	'fin'	ū-káp 'shoulder'	∅-dʒán 'fish(pl)'

Table 4: Associative Marker and class marker (CVC) spoken as separate word between two noun roots

Class Combination	N₁	C₁-Assoc = C₂	N₂	Gloss	N₁	N₂
4 + 4	rém	s-ə̀-s	vèr	'proverbs'	ə̄s-rém 'words'	ə̄s-vèr 'wisdom'
6M + 5	rè	m-ə̀-r	hí	'headache'	ə̄m-rè 'pain'	ə̄r-hí 'head'
7ᴜ + 6M	fə̀n	j-ə̀-m	hʲə́	'vein'	ū-fə̀n 'road'	ə̄m-hʲə́ 'blood'
5 + 2	bàn	d-ə̀-∅	ná	'herd'	ə̄r-bàn 'crowd'	∅-ná 'oxen'
6 + 2	káp	t-ə̀-∅	dʒán	'fins'	ə̄t-káp 'shoulder'	∅-dʒán 'fish(pl)'

Table 5: Associative Marker (CV) spoken as separate word between two noun roots

6M + 3U	*bɔ́*	*m-` = u*	*dàk*	'brown'	*ɔ̄m-bɔ́* 'water'	*ū-dàk* 'ground'
6M + 7U	*mɛ́*	*m-` = u*	*zɔ́r*	'curdled milk'	*ɔ̄m-mɛ́* 'milk'	*ū-zɔ́r* 'sourness'
7 + 3U	*tɛ́*	*j-` = u*	*rā*	'firewood'	*ū-tɛ́* 'wood'	*ū-rā* 'fire'

(10)   *wàkɔ̄n zár nápdɔ̀rnú dá*

   wà-kɔ̄n   *zár*   *náp-d-ɔ̀-r-nú*   *dá*

   C1-here   NEG.COP   knowledge-C5-ASSOC-C5-beginning   NEG

   "There is no one who (has) knowledge of the beginning.

   (Lit: Someone does not (have) knowledge of the beginning. " (SFC 2005: L 27)

 (11)   *ú*   *jɔ̄n = ɛ́*   *hɔ̀g-d-ɔ̀-m-ɛ́ʔ*

     C7.OBJ   leave = FOC   hear-C5-ASSOC-6M-shame

     '(Only) he leaves ashamed.' (GK 2013: L 117)

Table 6: Distribution of verbals in noun classification system

Class	Agreement Pronouns	Frequency	% of 359 nominal(ized) verbs	Example		Semantic characteristics (generalizations)
6	*tɔ*	241	67.1%	*ɔ̄t-tʃʷàr*	'swallow'	default plural, NLZ
5	*dɛ*	46	12.8%	*ɔ̄r-hɛ́ː*	'fall'	round, mostly inanimate
4	*sɛ*	26	7.2%	*ɔ̄s-vɔ́k*	'greet'	long, mostly inanimate
6M	*mɔ*	13	3.6%	*ɔ̄m-hʲán*	'see'	mass, dim. pl
3U	*ɔ*	8	2.2%	*ū-mā*	'build'	inanimate/aug. sg

4.2 Noun / Relative Clause Association

   (12)   N₁   RELC

                         C₁-N₁   C₁-REL

     ɔ̄m   *hʲáŋ*   *ɔ̄s-fàr*   *s-ɔ̀*   *hɛ̄ːg*
     1SG.SUBJ   see.PST   C4-tree   C4-REL   fall.PST
     'I saw the tree that fell'

Table 7: Distribution of verbals in noun classification system

Class	REL	Example	Gloss
1U	wə̀	ɔ̄m hʲáŋ ū-mákt wə̀ hɛ̄:g	'I saw the barren woman who fell'
1∅	wə̀	ɔ̄m hʲáŋ ∅-fàrə̀k wə̀ hɛ̄:g	'I saw the chief who fell'
2	ə̀	ɔ̄m hʲáŋ ∅-rʷāg ə̀ hɛ̄:g	'I saw the elephants that fell'
3U	ə̀	ɔ̄m hʲáŋ ū-jɔ̄ ə̀ hɛ̄:g	'I saw the rain that fell'
3∅	ə̀	ɔ̄m hʲáŋ sʷás ə̀ hɛ̄:g	'I saw the entrance hut that fell'
4	sə̀	ɔ̄m hʲáŋ ɔ̄s-rʲàp sə̀ hɛ̄:g	'I saw the whips that fell'
5	də̀	ɔ̄m hʲáŋ ɔ̄r-ʃár də̀ hɛ̄:g	'I saw the water pot that fell'
6	tə̀	ɔ̄m hʲáŋ ɔ̄t-tɔ̄rə̀m tə̀ hɛ̄:g	'I saw the hail that fell'
6M	mə̀	ɔ̄m hʲáŋ ɔ̄m-óg mə̀ hɛ̄:g	'I saw the juice that fell'
7U	jə̀	ɔ̄m hʲáŋ ū-fè jə̀ hɛ̄:g	'I saw the branch that fell'
7∅	jə̀	ɔ̄m hʲáŋ tʃāmpá jə̀ hɛ̄:g	'I saw the man who fell'
AUG	à	ɔ̄m hʲáŋ ā-tāʔār à hɛ̄:g	'I saw the huge rocks that fell'
DIM	ì	ɔ̄m hʲáŋ ī-tāʔār ì hɛ̄:g	'I saw the tiny stone that fell'

(13)

nā	nə̀mg	wà-kɔ̄n	nēt	wā	wə̀	gágɔ́n	nētá	jù	íbò
3.INDEF	did	C1∅-certain	person	C1∅.D	C1∅.REL	married	woman	C7U-Assoc-C1U	Igbo.person

'There was a man who married an Igbo woman'

(14)   *fàr=sə̀ hɛ̄-:g sɛ̄ ná-:g*

N	[RELCLAUSE	]	DEF	V
N	[C- ASSOC	V	]	
fàr	*s-ə̀*	*hɛ̄-:g*	*sɛ̄*	*ná-:g*
shea butter tree	C4-ASSOC	fall-PST	C4.DEF	spoil-PST

'the shea butter trees that fell rotted'

5 The Associative in the Main Clause

5.1 "Relative Clause form" used with unmodified noun subject

(15)   *fàr=sə̀ hɛ̄-:g*

N		V	
N	[C- ASSOC	V	]
fàr	*s-ə̀*	*hɛ̄-:g*	
shea butter tree	C4-ASSOC	fall-PST	

'shea butter trees fell'

(16) fàr-ə̀s   s-ín   sɛ̄   jìt   hɛ̄ːg
      tree-C4   C4-DEM   C4.D   far   fall.PST
      'those trees fell'

(17) tʃāmpá-j-ə̀   māːg   ū-kúr
      man-C7-ASSOC   build.PST   C3U-room
      'a man built a room'

(18) tʃāmpá   in-jā   māːg   ū-kúr
      man-C7   DEM-C7   build.PST   C3U-room
      'this man built a room'

(19) ɔ̄ʔū īnjā gʲēr jāːg

      ɔ̄-ū   īn-jā   gʲēr   jāːg
      dog-C7 DEM-C7   fear   children
      'This dog fears children.'

5.2 Associative marker used with transitive auxiliary constructions

(20) ɔ̄m ɔ́g ɔ̄svɔ̄k
      S   AUXV   [NOMV   ]
      ɔ̄m   ɔ́-g   ɔ̄s-vɔ̄k
      1SG.SUBJ   PROG-PST   C4-greet
      'I was greeting.'

(21) ɔ̄m ɔ́g vɔ̄k sə̀r máŋ
      S   AUXV   [NOMV   ]
                                         V   [C- ASSOC   C-N   ]
      ɔ̄m   ɔ́-g   vɔ̄k   s-ə̀   r-máŋ
      1SG.SUBJ   PROG-PST   greet   C4-ASSOC   C5-old.woman
      'I was greeting the old woman.'

(22) *ɔ̄m déʔté rē̄tɔ̀rgá ūsōt*

ɔ̄m	*déʔté*	*rē̄*	*t-ɔ̀-r-gá*	*ūsōt*
1SG.SUBJ	DEON	eat	C6-ASSOC-C5-cooked.grain	tomorrow

'I must eat cooked grain tomorrow.'

(23)

ɛ̀-kʰē̄n	*ɔ́*	*dʒàkʰ-s-ɔ̀-t-hí*	*ū-rɔ̄.*
C2-certain	PROG.PRS	raise- C4-ASSOC- C6-head	C3-god

'Some are raising their heads up to God.' (SFC 2005: L 75)

(24)

ɛ̀-kʰē̄n	*ɔ́*	*gáp-d-ɔ̀-t-tɔ́.*
C2-certain	PROG.PRS	slap- C5-ASSOC- C6-ear

'Some are slapping their ears.' (SFC 2005: L 76)

Abbreviations:

A: agent, ASSOC: associative, AssocP: Associative Phrase, Aux: auxiliary, C: class (followed by class label, a number and/or letter), D/Def: definite marker, Deon: deontic, Foc: focus, Indef: indefinite, Loc: locative, N: noun, Neg: negative, NomV: nominalized verb, NP: noun phrase, O/Obj: object, Obl: oblique, P: patient, PL: plural, Poss: possessive, Prog: progressive, PRS: present, PST: past, R: recipient, Rel: relativizer, RelC: Relative Clause, S/Subj: subject, SG: singular, V: verb

Data references:
GK - Gossip King Text
SFC - Spider, Frog, Chameleon Text

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