

Ubiquitous Association in Ut-Ma'in

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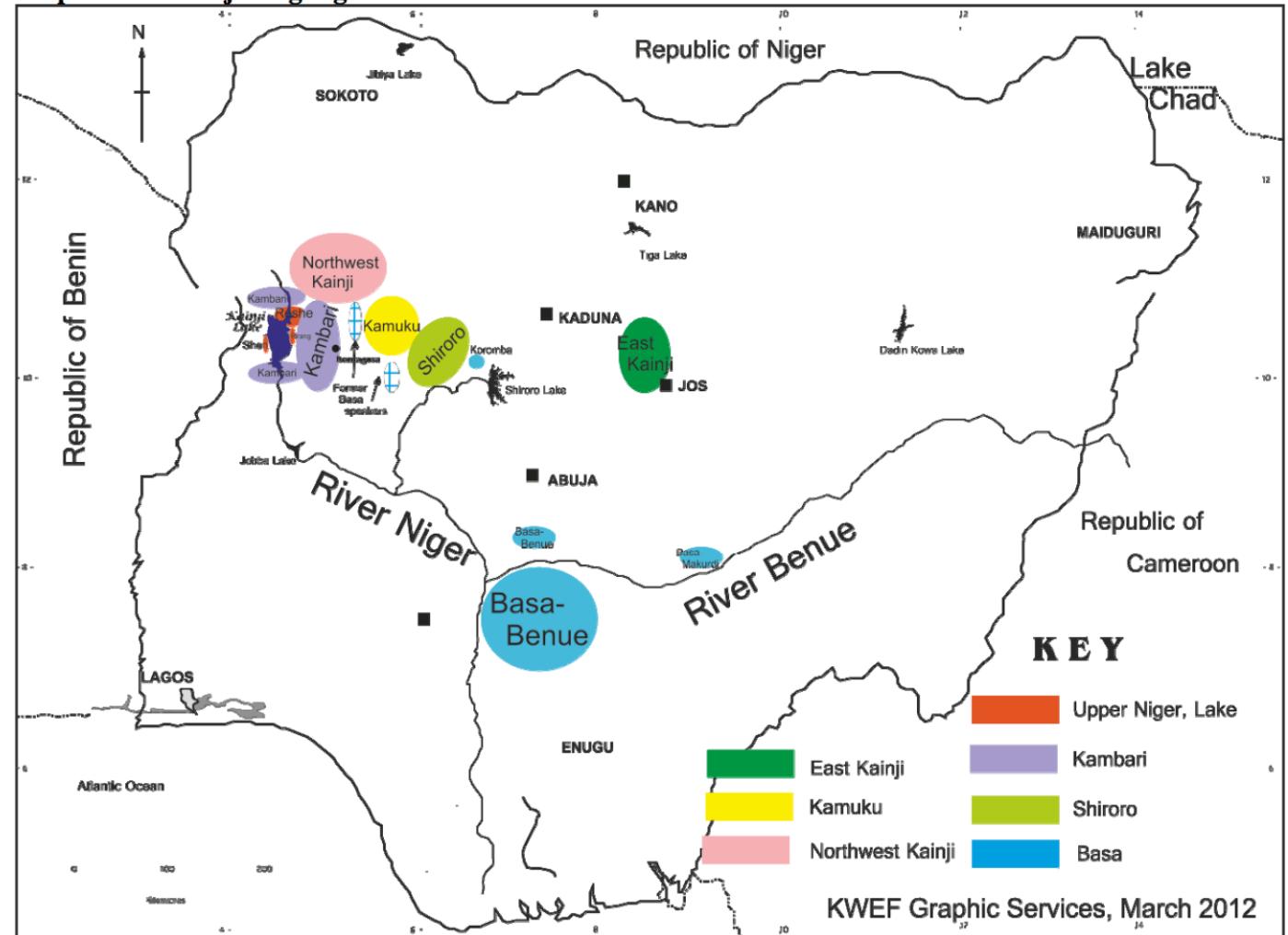
Ut-Ma'in

Northwest
Kainji

Kainji
(East) Benue-
Congo
Niger-Congo

Watters (2018); Blench (2018)

Map 1. The Kainji languages



Eastern Benue-Congo Location

Watters (2018:3)

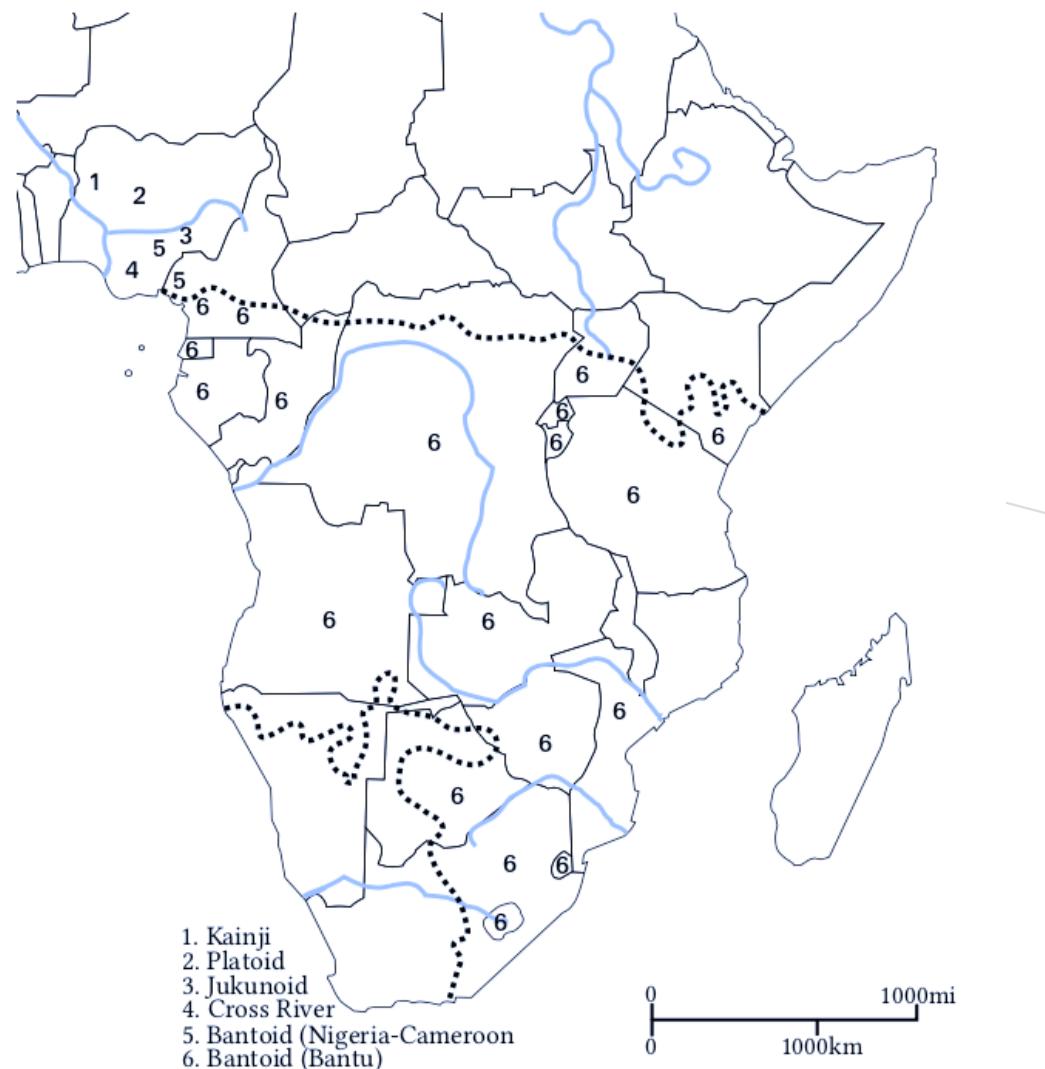


Figure 1: The locations of the five branches of EBC

Eastern Benue-Congo Classification

Watters (2018: 5)

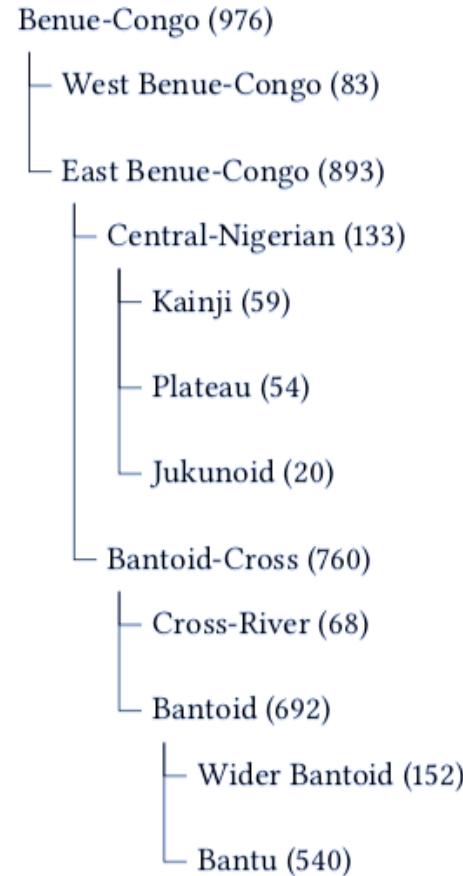
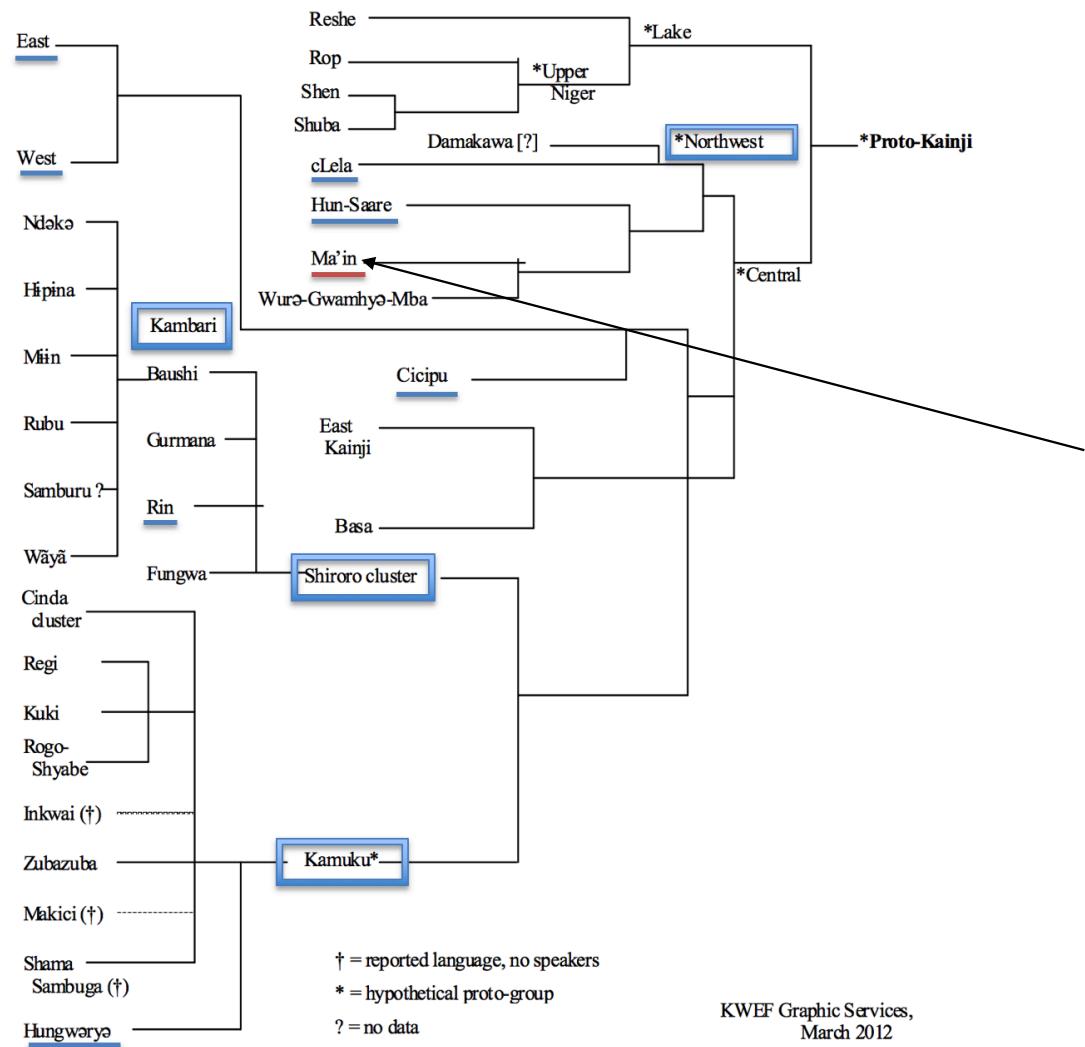


Figure 2: The external and internal classification of East Benue-Congo



Kainji Sub-Classification

Blench (2018)



Simplified noun class and agreement morphology

Based on Smith (2007: 100) and Blench (2018:76)

Class Label	Number	Noun Prefix	Noun Suffix	Agreement Prefix	Agreement Suffix	Pronoun
1	SG	<i>u-</i>	<i>-Ø</i>	<i>u-/w-/ Ø-</i>	<i>-wa</i>	<i>wa</i>
1B	SG	<i>Ø-</i>	<i>-Ø</i>	<i>u-/w-/ Ø-</i>	<i>-wa</i>	<i>wa</i>
2	PL	<i>Ø-</i>	<i>-Ø</i>	<i>Ø-</i>	<i>-ε</i>	<i>ε</i>
2B	PL	<i>Ø-</i>	<i>(-nε)</i>	<i>Ø-</i>	<i>-ε</i>	<i>ε</i>
3	SG	<i>u-</i>	<i>-u</i>	<i>u-/ Ø-</i>	<i>-ɔ</i>	<i>ɔ</i>
3B	SG	<i>Ø-</i>	<i>-Ø</i>	<i>u-/Ø-</i>	<i>-ɔ</i>	<i>ɔ</i>
4	PL	<i>s-</i>	<i>-s</i>	<i>s-</i>	<i>-sε</i>	<i>sε</i>
5	SG	<i>r-</i>	<i>-d</i>	<i>d-</i>	<i>-dε</i>	<i>dε</i>
6	PL	<i>t-</i>	<i>-t</i>	<i>t-</i>	<i>-tɔ</i>	<i>tɔ</i>
6B	MASS/DIM PL	<i>m-</i>	<i>-m</i>	<i>m-</i>	<i>-mɔ</i>	<i>mɔ</i>
7	SG	<i>u-</i>	<i>-j</i>	<i>j-</i>	<i>-ja</i>	<i>ja</i>
7B	SG	<i>Ø-</i>	<i>-j</i>	<i>j-</i>	<i>-ja</i>	<i>ja</i>
DIM	SG	<i>i-</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>i-</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>i</i>
AUG	PL	<i>a-</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>-a</i>	<i>a</i>

Organization of this talk

Defining associative

The modifying associative within the noun phrase

- Form
- Function

The associative as relative pronoun within the noun phrase

The associative marking goal an within a nominalized verb phrase.

The associative marking the object of a verb within a nominalized verb phrase that is the complement to an auxiliary construction.

The associative marking the nominative form of nouns in certain morphosyntactic environments.

Welmers' (1963) Associative

A grammar of almost any Bantu language will attest a morpheme *a* in a variety of **constructions involving association, usually of a preceding noun with a following noun or pronoun.** ... These morphemes have frequently been labelled 'possessive', with reference to one of their more obvious uses, or genitive, with the implication that more than literal possession may be involved; the variety of constructions in which they are found makes the more neutral term '**associative**' preferable.

-Welmers (1963: 432)

Ut-Ma'in Nouns in citation form [ClassPrefix-Root]

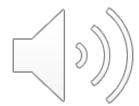
554	ring (finger)	7u/4	ūkʷà:t	əskʷà:t
806	possessions	6	ətkʷèm	

Smith (2007: 116, 122)

626	basket	5/6	ərkô:r	ətkô:r
1255	place	5/6	ərbé	ətbé

Smith (2007: 118, 132)

Ut-Ma'in Associative



kwàt=[j-è=t kwèm]

ring = AG7-ASSOC = C6 wealth

‘ring of wealth’



bé=[d-è kó:r-é=t=tó:]

place = AG5-ASSOC basket-C6 = C6.DEF

‘place of the baskets’

Paterson (2019: 81)

Ut-Ma'in Associative Construction

	Associative Construction
	Head [AssocP]
SIMPLE MODIFIER	$N_{HEAD} [AG_{HEAD}\text{-ASSOC} = C_{MOD}\text{-}N_{MOD}]$
COMPLEX MODIFIER	$N_{HEAD} [AG_{HEAD}\text{-ASSOC} = [NP_{MOD}]]$

Paterson (2019: 88)

Table 26: Attested forms of the ASSOC C

		NOUN CLASS OF DEPENDENT (ie., ASSOCIATED) NOUN							
		C1	C2	C3	C4	C5	C6	C6M	C7
NOUN CLASS OF HEAD NOUN	C1								
	C2				$\emptyset\text{-}\dot{\sigma}=s$	$\emptyset\text{-}\dot{\sigma}=r$	$\emptyset\text{-}\dot{\sigma}=t$	$\emptyset\text{-}\dot{\sigma}=m$	$\emptyset\text{-}^{\circ}=u$
	C3		$\emptyset\text{-}\dot{\sigma}=\emptyset$	$\emptyset\text{-}^{\circ}=u$	$\emptyset\text{-}\dot{\sigma}=s$	$\emptyset\text{-}\dot{\sigma}=r$	$\emptyset\text{-}\dot{\sigma}=t$	$\emptyset\text{-}\dot{\sigma}=m$	$\emptyset\text{-}^{\circ}=u$
	C4		$s\text{-}\dot{\sigma}=\emptyset$	$s\text{-}^{\circ}=u$	$s\text{-}\dot{\sigma}=s$	$s\text{-}\dot{\sigma}=r$	$s\text{-}\dot{\sigma}=t$	$s\text{-}\dot{\sigma}=m$	$s\text{-}^{\circ}=u$
	C5		$d\text{-}\dot{\sigma}=\emptyset$	$d\text{-}^{\circ}=u$	$d\text{-}\dot{\sigma}=s$	$d\text{-}\dot{\sigma}=r$	$d\text{-}\dot{\sigma}=t$	$d\text{-}\dot{\sigma}=m$	$d\text{-}^{\circ}=u$
	C6		$t\text{-}\dot{\sigma}=\emptyset$	$t\text{-}^{\circ}=u$	$t\text{-}\dot{\sigma}=s$	$t\text{-}\dot{\sigma}=r$	$t\text{-}\dot{\sigma}=t$	$t\text{-}\dot{\sigma}=m$	$t\text{-}^{\circ}=u$
	C6M		$m\text{-}\dot{\sigma}=\emptyset$	$m\text{-}^{\circ}=u$	$m\text{-}\dot{\sigma}=s$	$m\text{-}\dot{\sigma}=r$	$m\text{-}\dot{\sigma}=t$	$m\text{-}\dot{\sigma}=m$	$m\text{-}^{\circ}=u$
	C7	$j\text{-}^{\circ}=u$	$j\text{-}\dot{\sigma}=\emptyset$	$j\text{-}^{\circ}=u$	$j\text{-}\dot{\sigma}=s$	$j\text{-}\dot{\sigma}=r$	$j\text{-}\dot{\sigma}=t$	$j\text{-}\dot{\sigma}=m$	$j\text{-}^{\circ}=u$

Paterson 2019a: 87

Welmers' (1963) Associative – Swahili Examples

material:	<i>nyumba za mawe</i>	'houses made of stone'
contents:	<i>chupa ya maji</i>	'a bottle of water'
place of origin:	<i>mtu wa Utete</i>	'a person from Utete'
place of use:	<i>saa ya mkono</i>	'wrist-watch' (clock for the arm)
time of use:	<i>chakula cha asubuhi</i>	'breakfast' (food for morning)
function:	<i>miti ya kujengea</i>	'sticks for building'
possessor:	<i>kisu cha Hamisi</i>	'Hamisi's knife'

-Welmers (1963: 433)

Semantics of Ut-Ma'in Associative

FUNCTION OF MODIFIER	FORM	GLOSS
possessor	kéŋg=j-à=r-swà	'bridge of nose' Lit: 'frontier of nose'
	zwār=d-`=u-ʃá	'beauty of face'
	swā=d-`=u-rwág	'elephant's trunk' Lit: 'nose of elephant'
material	jèn à=r-rwáb	'bed made of clay'
	réñ=d-à=m-dáp	'trap made of sap'
contents	dù=d-à=m-bó	'well of water'
place of origin	nētá=j-`=u ?íbò	'Igbo woman' Lit: woman of Igbo-land'
place of use	nòm=d-à=r-hí	'hat' Lit: 'thing of head'
time of use	rè=t-à=m-rím	'evening meal' Lit: 'eating of darkness'
function	bé t-à=r-ʃɔ́ɔt	'places of sitting'
	kʷàt=j-à=t kwèm	'ring of wealth'
property	bé m-à=t-üt	'old water' Lit: 'water of old'
size/shape	fär s-à=m wér	'tall shea-butter trees' Lit: 'shea-butter trees of length'
ordinal number	kó:r d-`=u-tɔ́tɔ́rsè	'third basket'
idiomatic	kán=s-à=ké:t	'dawn' Lit: 'crying of chickens/roosters'
	bé=m-à=t-rān	'green' Lit: 'water of leaves'

Adapted from Appendix F in Paterson (2019: 263ff)

Semantics of Ut-Ma'in Associative



FUNCTION OF MODIFIER	FORM	GLOSS
possessor	kóng-i-à-r-suwé zwär=d-`=u-ʃé	'bridge of nose' Lit: 'frontier of nose' 'beauty of face'
material	swa- u- -u-í-ag jèn ə=r-rwáb réñ=d-ə=m-dáp	elephant's trunk Lit. nose of elephant 'bed made of clay' 'trap made of sap'
contents	dù=d-ə=m-bé	'well of water'
place of origin	nētá=j-`=u ʔíbò	'Igbo woman' Lit: woman of Igbo-land'
place of use	nòm=d-ə=r-hí	'hat' Lit: 'thing of head'
time of use	rè=t-ə=m-rím	'evening meal' Lit: 'eating of darkness'
function	bé t-ə=r-ʃéʔé kʷàt=j-ə=t kwém	'places of sitting' 'ring of wealth'
property	bé m-ə=t-út	'old water' Lit: 'water of old'
size/shape	fàr s-ə=m wér	'tall shea-butter trees' Lit: 'shea-butter trees of length'
ordinal number	kó:r d-`=u-téterse	'third basket'
idiomatic	bé=m-ə=t-rān	'green' Lit: 'water of leaves'

Adapted from Appendix F in Paterson (2019a: 263ff)

Ut-Ma'in Relative Clause

RELATIVIZED LOCATION

	N _{HEAD}	REL	[A _{RC}	AUX _{RC}	VP _{NMLZ} -P _{RC}	OBLLOC]
(362)	əm	nák	bé	<u>d-ঃ</u>	[it dέʔté nòmdè tōrōm [Ø]]	dà

1SG.SUBJ know.PST place-C5-REL 1PL.EXCL DEON doing.of C6.meeting Ø NEG
'I did not know the place where we must meet.' (MN_SJ_Ror_2013:14.170-18.050)

Paterson (2019: 230)

Ut-Ma'in Action Nominals

443 greet (v.)

4

əsvék

Smith (2007: 113)

[V _{HEAD} [[AG _{HEAD} -ASSOC=C _{MOD}] _{AssocC} N _{MOD}] _{AssocP}] _{AssocCXN}				
[vək s-ə-s	ūt]	zá	t-barəm	dà.
greet AG4-ASSOC-C4	old	NEG.COP C6-change	NEG	

‘The greeting of old will not change.’

Paterson (2019: 91)

Ut-Ma'in Action Nominals

Type of Nominal Head	[AssocP]
N_{HEAD}	$[AG_{HEAD}\text{-ASSOC} = C_{MOD} \quad N_{MOD}]$
$V_{NMLZ:HEAD}$	$[AG_{HEAD}\text{-ASSOC} = C_{MOD} \quad N_{MOD}]$
$V_{NMLZ:HEAD}$	$[AG_{HEAD}\text{-ASSOC} = C_{GOAL} \quad N_{GOAL}]$
$V_{NMLZ:HEAD}$	$[AG_{HEAD}\text{-ASSOC} = C_{PATIENT} \quad N_{PATIENT}]$

Figure 16: ASSOCXNs with N_{HEAD} vs. $V_{NMLZ:HEAD}$ as head

Paterson (2019: 81)

Ut-Ma'in Auxiliary Constructions

	S	AUX	s-V
(240)	ām	ó-g	ās-vāk
	1SG.SUBJ	PROG-PST	C4-greet
	A	AUX	V s-` = P
(241)	ām	ó-g	vāk s-` = u-nēŋgēn
	1SG.SUBJ	PROG-PST	greet AG4-ASSOC=C7-old.man
	'I was greeting the old man.'		

Paterson (2019: 157, 158)

Ut-Ma'in Transitive Auxiliary Cxns

Paterson (2019: 81)

Associative Construction

Constructional contexts in which the Associative Marker is found:

- | | | |
|-------------|---|----------------------|
| Possession |  | “genitive” within NP |
| Properties: | | |
| material | | |
| contents | | |
| source | | |
| part-whole | | |
| etc. | | |
| 1a | | |
| 2a | Relative Clauses | |
| 1b | Object marker under certain morphosyntactic conditions | |
| 2b | Subject marker under certain morphosyntactic conditions | |

Chapter	Construction Label	Schematized Structure		
CH 5	BASIC VERBAL PREDICATION CXN	S/A	V (TNS)	(O)
	NEG BASIC VERBAL PREDICATION CXN	S/A	V(TNS)	(O) =da
CH 7	TYPE I: BASIC AUXILIARY CXN	S/A	AUX(TNS)	VP _{NMLZ}
	NEG TYPE I: AUXILIARY CXN	S/A	z	VP _{NMLZ} =da
	TYPE II: PROG+LEX CXN	S/A	=LEX	VP _{NMLZ}
	NEG II: PROG+LEX CXN	S/A	z=LEX	VP _{NMLZ} =da
CH 8	'WANT' SAME SUBJ PREDICATION CXN	A	=s-s	VP _{NMLZ}
	NEG 'WANT' SAME SUBJ PREDICATION CXN	A	z=s-s	VP _{NMLZ} =da
CH 9	TYPE III: LEXICAL AUX CXN	S/A	LEXAUX(TNS)	VP _{NMLZ}
	NEG TYPE III: LEXICAL AUX CXN	S/A	LEXAUX(TNS)	VP _{NMLZ} =da
CH 10	'Do' PREDICATION CXN	S/A	nm(TNS)	VP _{NMLZ}
	NEG 'Do' PREDICATION CXN	S/A	nm(TNS)	VP _{NMLZ} =da

The first column gives the chapter number where the constructions are described.

VP_{NMLZ} contains any objects within the nominalized phrase

Figure 1: Multi-verb constructions in contrast to basic verb constructions

Nominalization in predication

- When the expression has no expressed object, the form of the nominalization is straightforward.
- A nominalized verb occurs after an auxiliary with one of 5 noun class prefixes.
- The auxiliary conveys an aspectual or modal meaning and any tense marking.

Chapter 7

Progressive
Future

Chapter 8

Desiderative

Chapter 9

Future Obligation
Habitual
Telic
Continuative
Compleutive
Inchoative
Frequentative

- The main semantic idea of the clause is expressed by the nominalized verb.

Ubiquitous Association

External structure

Detailed Structure

-----Noun Phrase Construction-----

- | | | | |
|----|---------------------------|--|---|
| 1a | NP_{HEAD} | $[\text{NP}_{\text{MOD}}]_{\text{ASSOC}P}$ | $\text{ASSOC} = \text{NP}_{\text{MOD}}$ |
| 2a | NP_{HEAD} | $[\text{Finite Clause}]_{\text{REL}CL}$ | $\text{REL } [\text{Finite Clause}]$ |

-----Verb Phrase Construction-----

- | | | | | |
|----|----------------|---------------|----------------------------|--|
| 1b | SUBJ | AUX | VP_{NMLZD} | $\text{V}_{\text{HEAD }} \text{ASSOC} = \text{NP}_O$ |
|----|----------------|---------------|----------------------------|--|

-----Clause Construction-----

- | | | | |
|----|---------------------------|-------------|-----------------|
| 2b | NP_{SUBJ} | VP | N-SUBJ |
|----|---------------------------|-------------|-----------------|

Associative Construction

Examples of each use for Noun Class 6

- 1a NP_{HEAD}=ASSOC=NP_{MOD}
 tfáp=t-ə=r-ís
 feather=AG6-ASSOC=C5-eye
 'eyelashes' (lit: feathers of eye) (Smith 2007: 103)

- 2a NP_{HEAD} REL [Finite Clause]
 əm hjáŋ (ət)-tērəm tə [Ø hē:g]
 1SG.SUBJ see.PST C6-hail C6-REL Ø.SUBJ fall.PST
 'I saw hail that fell.' (Smith 2007: 88)

Associative Construction

Examples of each use for Noun Class 6

	<u>N-SUBJ</u>	<u>VP</u>	
2b	móŋgòr-tè	àzgè-s:-tè	mango.fruit-C6.SUBJ pour-REP-PFT ‘Mango fruit rolled out (of the basket).’ (PS PS Ror 2013:018)

			<u>V_{HEAD}</u>	<u>ASSOC=NP_{OBJ}</u>	
1b	ẽm	dét:é	rẽ	t-ã=r-gá	ū-sõt
	1SG.SUBJ	FUT.OBL	eat	AG6-ASSOC=C5-cooked.grain	C3-tomorrow

‘I must eat cooked grain tomorrow.’ (Paterson 2015: 229)

Forms of noun class 6 marking

	NP	VP	CL					
	Use 1a: “Genitive”	Use 2a: Relative Pronoun	Use 1b: OBJ Marker	Use 2b: SUBJ Marker	Object Pronoun	Subject Pronoun	Agreement suffix on Adjectives	Noun Citation Prefix
Class 6	=t-è=	tè	(=t-è=)	-tè	tó	tō	-tò	ət-/t-

Forms of the Associative Marker by noun class

	NP	VP	CL	
	Use 1a: “Genitive”	Use 2a: Relative Pronoun	Use 1b: OBJ Marker	Use 2b: SUBJ Marker
Class 1	(=è=) ¹	wè ²	--	-è
Class 2	=è=	è	--	-è
Class 3	=è=	è	--	-è
Class 4	=s-è=	sè	=s-è=	-sè
Class 5	=d-è=	dè	=d-è=	-dè
Class 6	=t-è=	tè	(=t-è=)	-tè
Class 6B	=m-è=	mè	(=m-è=)	-mè
Class 7	=j-è=	jè	--	-jè
Class DIM	=ì=	ì	--	-ì
Class AUG	=à=	à	--	-à

Associative uses 1a and 1b (associates an NP to the head)

1a NP_{HEAD}=ASSOC=NP_{MOD}
fáp=t-ø=r-ís

feather=AG6-ASSOC=C5-eye

‘eyelashes’ (lit: feathers of eye) (Smith 2007: 103)

1b ūm dét:é rē t-ø=r-gá ū-sōt
1SG.SUBJ FUT.OBL eat AG6-ASSOC=C5-cooked.grain C3-tomorrow
‘I must eat cooked grain tomorrow.’ (Paterson 2015: 229)

Associative uses 2a and 2b (associates a non-NP to the head)

		<u>NP_{HEAD}</u>	<u>REL</u>	<u>[Finite Clause]</u>
2a	ēm hjáŋ <u>(ēt)-tērēm</u>		tè	<u>[Ø hē:g]</u>

1SG.SUBJ see.PST C6-hail C6-REL Ø.SUBJ fall.PST
‘I saw hail that fell.’ (Smith 2007: 88)

	<u>N-SUBJ</u>	<u>VP</u>
2b	<u>móŋgòr-tè</u>	<u>àzgè-s:-tè</u>

mango.fruit-C6.SUBJ pour-REP-PFT
‘Mango fruit rolled out (of the basket).’ (PS_PS_Ror_2013:018)

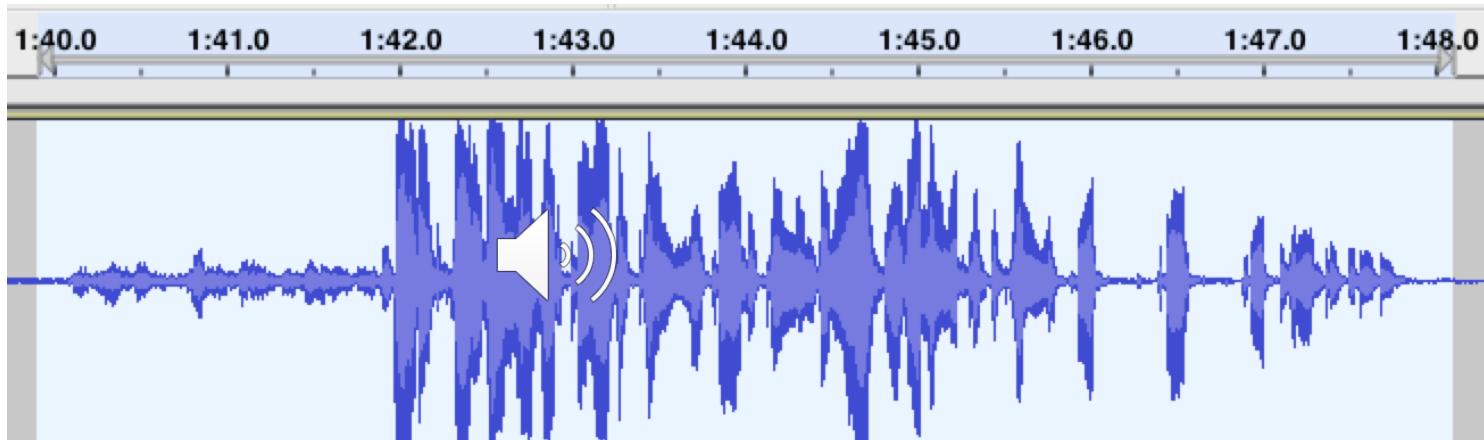


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Thank you!

Nominalization and Association in context



Sunday: They stood there? and also what did they do when they followed?

Mary: ... just when they followed him to that place and passed that way, one man had a stick he was beating it with this (stick)... kò? kò? kò?, he was beating it.

Nominalization in context

Sunday: They stood there? and also what did they do when they followed?

Mary: ... just when they followed him to that place and passed that way, one man had a stick he was beating it with this (stick)... *kò? kò? kò?*, he was beating it.

- a. *wā* *́* *gàp* *d-ə* *ínjā* *dé* *kò? kò? kò?*
c1 PROG hit AG5-ASSOC DEM.C7 C5 IDEO.HITTING
'he is hitting it' (2013.MP.PearStory_Ror_1:45-46)
(cf. citation form *ət-gàp* 'C6-hit'/'hitting')



- b. *wā* *́* *gàp* *d-ə* *dé*
c1 PROG hit AG5-ASSOC c5
'he is hitting it' (2013.MP.PearStory_Ror_1:47)