

On the development of Ut-Ma'in Progressive Constructions

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Nigeria

Population	186,000,000 (2016)
Languages	520 (2017)

Ut-Ma'in

Northwest
Kainji

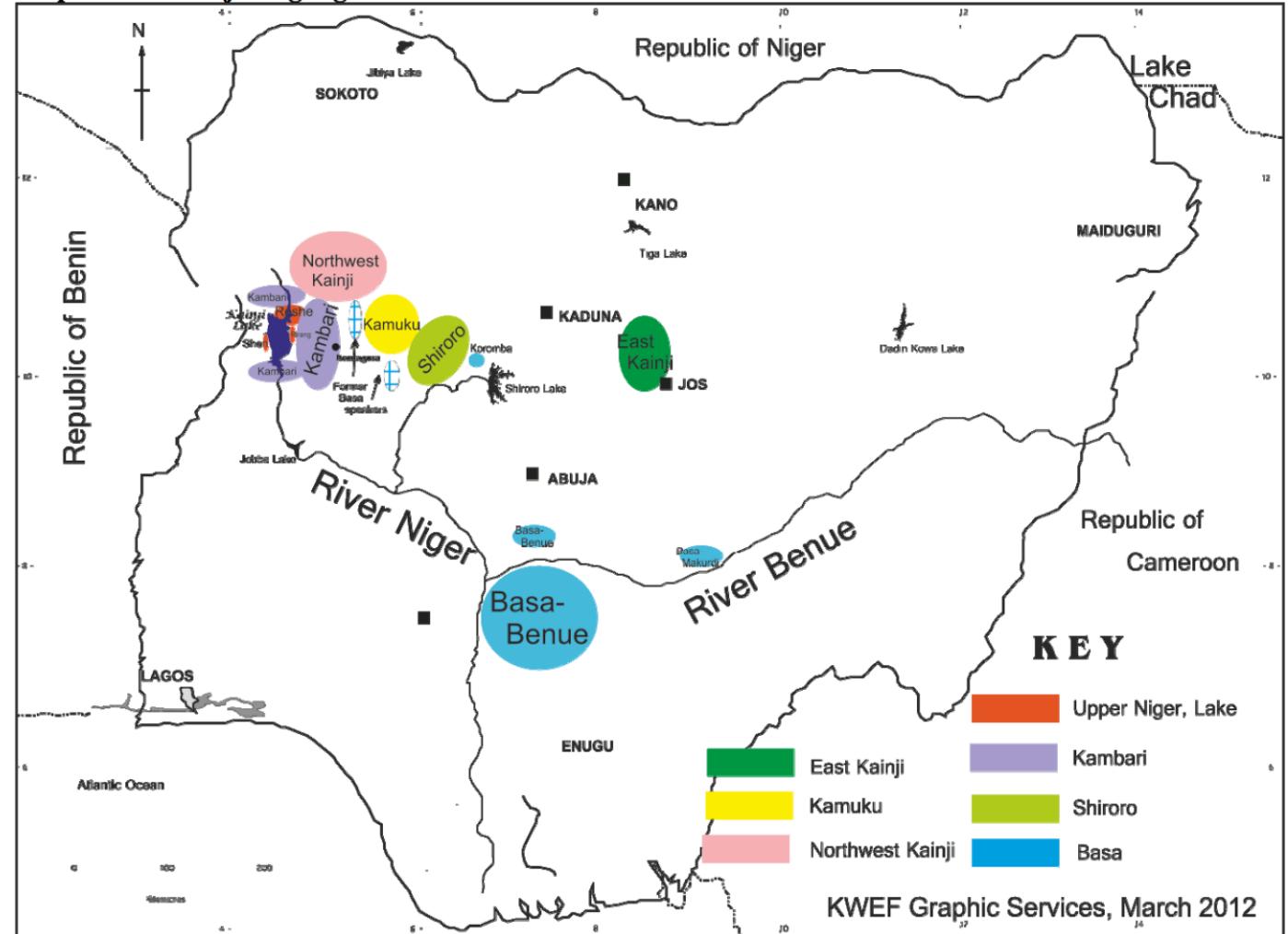
Kainji

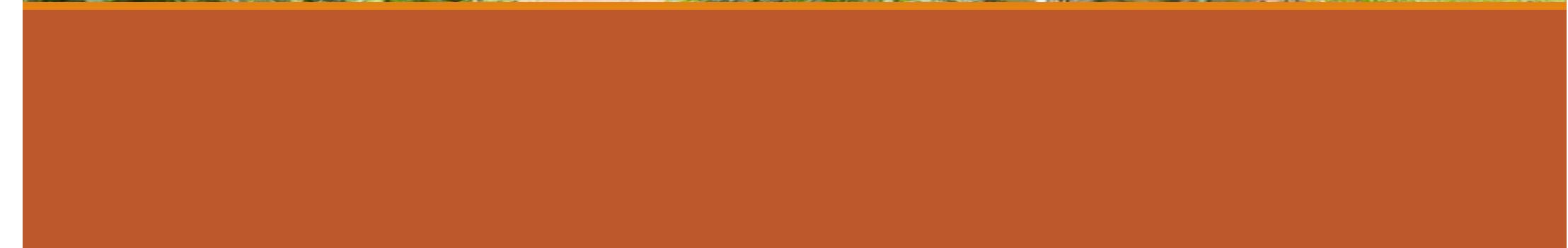
Benue-Congo

Niger-Congo

Blench (forthcoming)

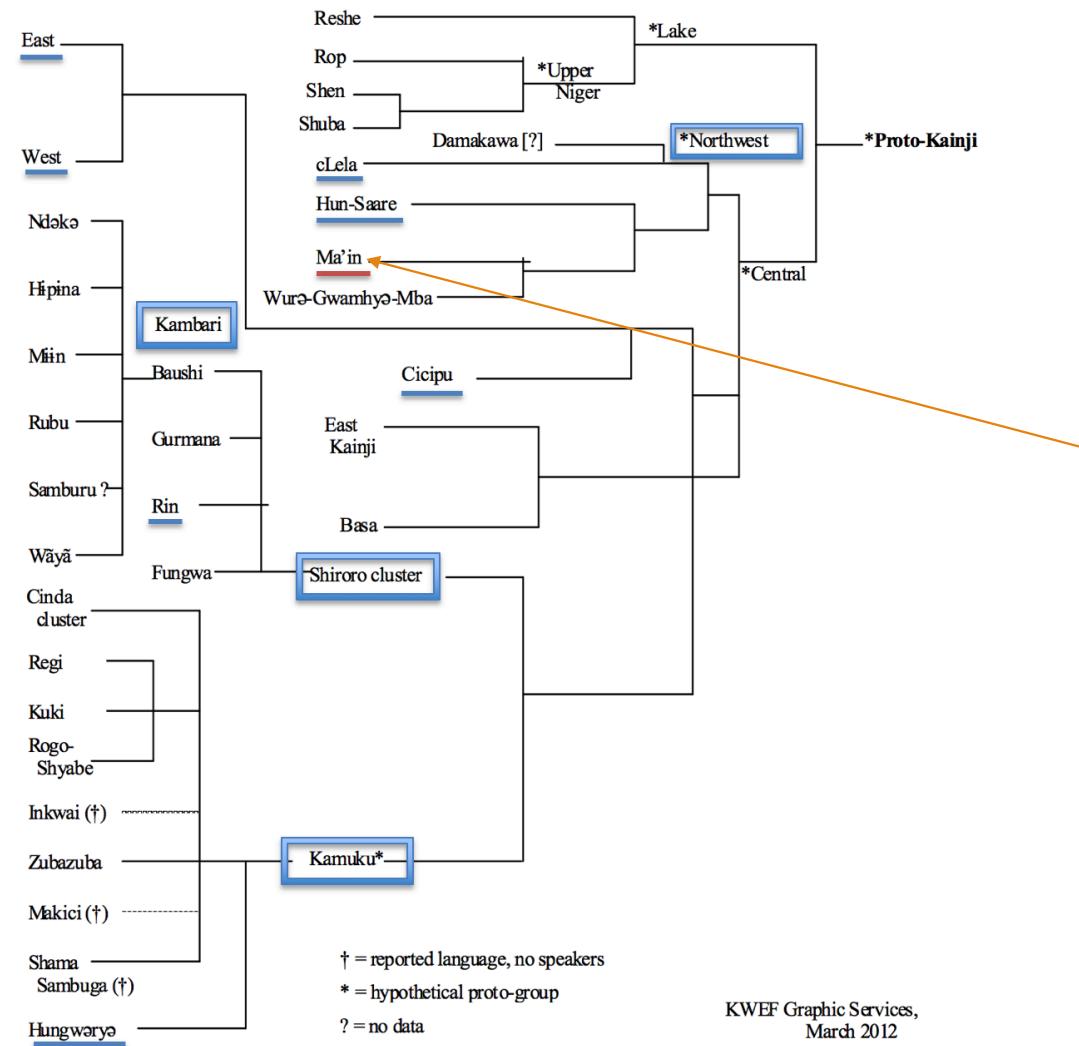
Map 1. The Kainji languages



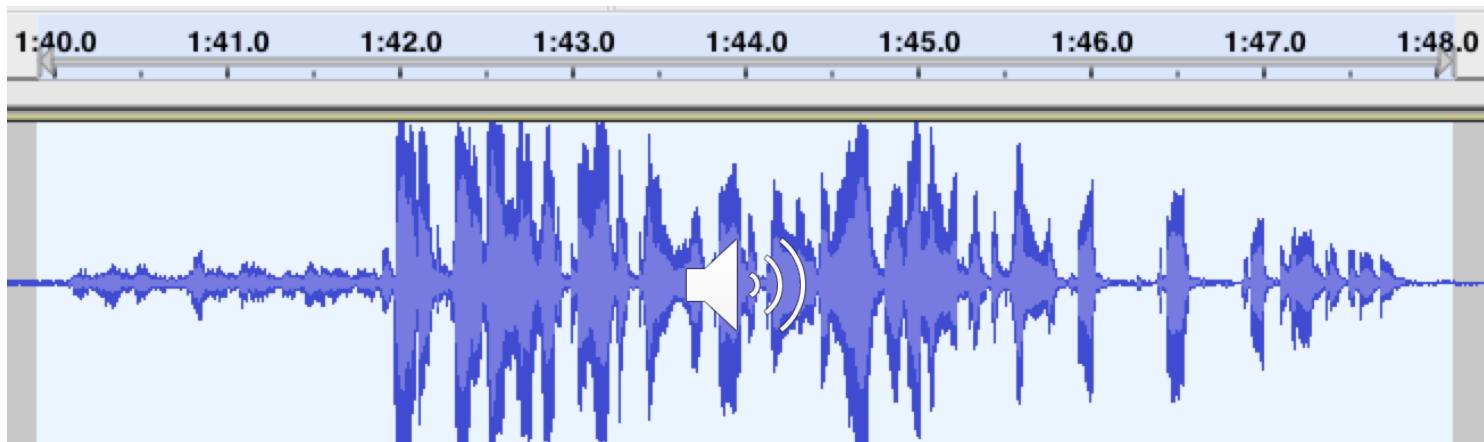


Kainji Sub-Classification

Blench (forthcoming)



Ut-Ma'in Progressive 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.

Ut-Ma'in Progressive 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-̄* *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 *̄t-gàp* 'C6-hit'/'hitting')



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

Preliminaries

1. Noun class language
2. 14 distinct morphosyntactic patterns related to noun marking and agreement marking

Class Label	Number	Noun Prefixes	Noun Suffixes	Agreement Prefix	Agreement Suffixes	Pronoun
1	SG	u-	-Ø	u-/w-/ Ø-	-wa	wa
1Ø	SG	Ø-	-Ø	u-/w-/ Ø-	-wa	wa
2	PL	Ø-	-Ø	Ø-	-ε	ε
2N	PL	Ø-	(-nè)	Ø-	-ε	ε
3	SG	u-	-u	u-/ Ø-	-ɔ	ɔ
3Ø	SG	Ø-	-Ø	u-/Ø-	-ɔ	ɔ
4	PL	s-	-s	s-	-sε	sε
5	SG	r-	-d	d-	-dε	dε
6	PL	t-	-t	t-	-tɔ	tɔ
6M	MASS/DIM PL	m-	-m	m-	-mɔ	mɔ
7	SG	u-	-j	j-	-ja	ja
7Ø	SG	Ø-	-j	j-	-ja	ja
DIM	SG	i-	??	i-	-i	i
AUG	PL	a-	??	a-	-a	a

Table 1: Noun class morphological system (Smith 2007:100)

Preliminaries

1. Noun class language
2. 14 distinct morphosyntactic patterns
3. Noun class encodes class and number, some semantic tendencies transparent with sg/pl pairs

CLASS LABEL	NOUN AFFIXES	AGREEMENT PRONOUNS	SEMANTIC TENDENCIES	# IN 2007 WORDLIST	# LOANS IN 2007 WORDLIST
1Ø/2	wa-/a-	wá/é	agent nominalizations	29	-
1/2N	ū-/Ø-	wá/é	'barren woman'/'fool'	2	-
1/6	ū-/āt-	wá/tó	'grandchild'	-	1
1Ø/6	Ø-/āt-	wá/tó	humans	6	-
3/2	ū-/Ø-	ś/é	'giant'	1	-
7Ø/2N	Ø-/Ø-	já/é	humans	4	-
7/2N	ū-/ne	já/é	'prostitute'/'witch'	2	-
5/2	ēr-/ Ø-	dé/ é	'puff adder'	1	-
5/6	ēr-/ āt-	dé/tó	mostly inanimate/round	139	8
7/2	ū-/Ø-	já/é	animals/fruit/crops	77	6
3/6	ū-/āt-	ś/tó	inanimate / kinship terms	61	3
3Ø/6	Ø-/āt-	ś/tó	'entrance hut'/'fish trap'	2	-
3/4	ū-/ās-	ś/sé	inanimate / long	10	2
3Ø/4	Ø-/ās-	ś/sé	'heart'/'dream'/'island'	3	-
5/4	ēr-/ās-	dé/sé	'thatch' / 'arrow'	2	-
7/4	ū-/ās-	já/sé	non-food plants / long	72	11
7/6	ū-/āt-	já/tó	'feather'/'iron'/'baby sling'	4	4
3/AUG	ū-/ā-	ś/á	augmentative	4	-
DIM/4	ī-/ās-	í/sé	'argument'	1	-
DIM/6M	ī-/ām-	í/mó	diminutive	6	-
2	Ø-	é	'beer', 'money', 'beach'	3	-
3U	ū-	ś	seasons/directions/descriptive	19	2
4	ās-	sé	speech acts	19	-
5	ēr-	dé	emotions/boundaries/age	25	1
6	āt-	tó	non-count nouns	40	-
6M	ēm-	mó	mass nouns/liquids/powders	78	-
7U	ū-	já	'eczema'	1	-

Table 2: Semantic tendencies of noun classes in Ut-Ma'in

Preliminaries

1. Noun class language
2. 14 distinct morphosyntactic patterns
3. Noun class encodes class and number
4. Class marking has case function

	A-C	V	C-O
(1)	<i>tʃāmpā-jə</i>	<i>mā-g</i>	<i>ū-kír</i>
	man-C7.SUBJ	build-PST	C3.OBJ-hut
	'A man built a hut.'		
	S-C	V	
(2)	<i>tʃāmpā-jə</i>	<i>már-g</i>	<i>(gjēp)</i>
	man-C7.SUBJ	die-PST	yesterday
	'A man died (yesterday).'		

Preliminaries

1. Noun class language
2. 14 distinct morphosyntactic patterns
3. Noun class encodes class and number
4. Class marking has case function
5. Class pronouns marked for case function via tone
 - Mid tone = Subject
 - High tone = Object

	A	V	O
(3)	a. <i>nā</i>	<i>hó-g</i>	<i>ū-gʷār</i>
	NPERS.SUBJ	kill-PST	C7-goat
	‘Someone killed the goat.’		
	A	V	O
b.	<i>nā</i>	<i>hó-g</i>	<i>já</i>
	NPERS.SUBJ	kill-PST	C7.OBJ
	‘Someone killed it.’		

Preliminaries

1. Noun class language
2. 14 distinct morphosyntax patterns related to noun marking and agreement marking
3. Noun class encodes class and number, some semantic tendencies transparent with sg/pl pairs
4. Class marking has case function
5. Class pronouns marked for case function via tone
6. Verbs in basic clauses do NOT mark agreement with arguments

	A	V	O		
(6)	[fàrèk-Ø ūn-wā] king-C1 DEM-C1	fāk	[nēt-ət]	tó	t-bē:t] call.PST person-C6 C6.DEF C6-all

‘This king called all of the people.’

Intransitive Progressive

1. Progressive Auxiliary marked for TNS
2. Verb marked with prefix

	S	V	
(7)	<i>wā</i>	<i>már-g</i>	(<i>gjēp</i>)
	C1.3SG.SUBJ	die-PST	yesterday
	'He died (yesterday).'		

	S	AUX	V
(8)	<i>wā</i>	<i>ž-g</i>	<i>ət-mär</i>
	C1.3SG.SUBJ	PROG-PST	PROG-die
	'He was dying.'		

	S	AUX	V
(9)	<i>wā</i>	<i>ž</i>	<i>ət-mär</i>
	C1.3SG.SUBJ	PROG	PROG-die
	'He is dying.'		

Intransitive Progressive

1. Progressive Auxiliary marked for TNS
2. Verb marked with prefix
3. FIVE prefixes used in the Intransitive Progressive

(9) a.	wā	ž-g	ū-swá:t
	C1.3SG.SUBJ	PROG-PST	PROG-fast
‘He was fasting (from food).’			
b.	wā	ž-g	əs-vək
	C1.3SG.SUBJ	PROG-PST	PROG-greet
‘He was greeting.’			
c.	wā	ž-g	ər-ʃə?ət
	C1.3SG.SUBJ	PROG-PST	PROG-sit
‘He was sitting.’			
d.	wā	ž-g	ət-swà
	C1.3SG.SUBJ	PROG-PST	PROG-drink
‘He was drinking.’			
e.	wā	ž-g	əm-hā
	C1.3SG.SUBJ	PROG-PST	PROG-walk
‘He was walking.’			

Ut-Ma'in

Nominalization

by means of class marker
as source

- Prefix on Intransitive Verb

CLASS LABEL	NOUN AFFIXES	AGREEMENT PRONOUNS	# N IN 2007 WORDLIST	# V _{NZD} IN 2007 WORDLIST
3U	ū-	ó	19	26
4	əs-	sé	19	26
5	ər-	dé	25	46
6	ət-	tó	40	241
6M	əm-	mó	78	25

Table 4: Distribution of Ut-Ma'in Nominalized Verbs in various noun classes
(based on Smith 2007 and Paterson 2012)

NOMINALIZED	PAST TENSE	GLOSS
<i>əm-tòr</i>	<i>tór-óg</i>	'be cold'
<i>ər-tóm</i>	<i>tōm-əg</i>	'hoe'
<i>əs-tóm</i>	<i>tōm-əg</i>	'send'
<i>ə?-tám</i>	<i>tám-ág</i>	'touch'

Transitive Progressive

1. Progressive Auxiliary marked for TNS
2. Object of Verb marked with prefix and low tone
3. TWO prefixes used in the Transitive Progressive

	S	AUX	S-V
(13)	$\bar{ə}m$	$\acute{\circ}-g$	$\bar{ə}s\text{-}\bar{ə}k$
	1SG.SUBJ	PROG-PST	PROG-greet
	'I was greeting.'		
	A	AUX	V s- ` -O
(14)	$\bar{ə}m$	$\acute{\circ}$	$\bar{v}\bar{k}$ s- ` - u-nəŋgən
	1SG.SUBJ	PROG	greet OBJ-OBJ-C7-old.man
	'I am greeting the old man.'		
	A	AUX	V d- ` -O
(15)	$w\bar{ə}$	$\acute{\circ}$	$gw\bar{ə}$ d- ə - wén
	C1.SUBJ	PROG	rescue OBJ-OBJ-3SG.HUM.OBJ
	'He is rescuing him.' (SJ 2017.08 ConvReVYPear)		

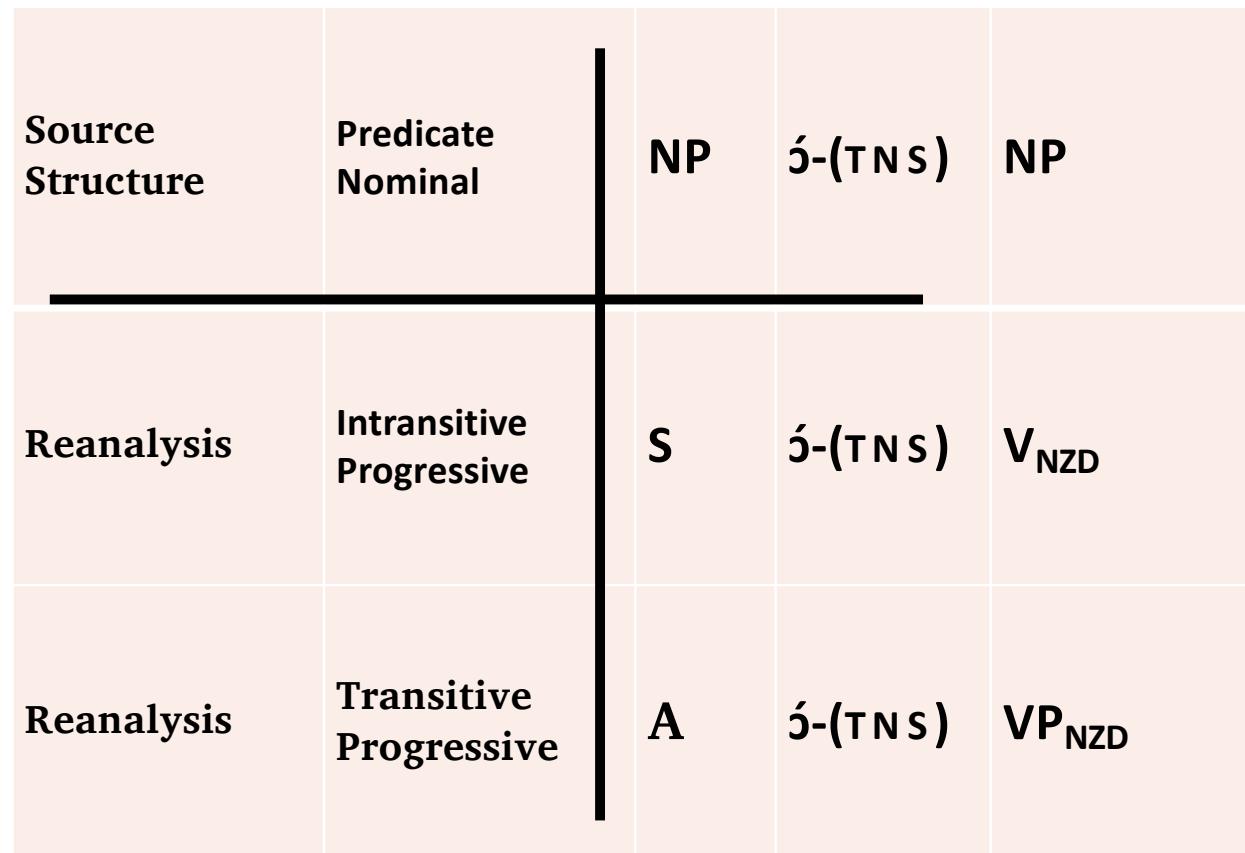
Ut-Ma'in Progressive Constructions

Intransitive Progressive	S	δ -TNS	\bar{u} -V
	S	δ -TNS	s -V
	S	δ -TNS	r -V
	S	δ -TNS	t -V
	S	δ -TNS	m -V
Transitive Progressive	S	δ -TNS	V d - ` - O
	S	δ -TNS	V s - ` - O

Figure 1: Schematic of the Progressive Constructions in Ut-Ma'in

Ut-Ma'in Predicate Nominal Construction as Source

- Word order
- Auxiliary < Copula
- “Subject” properties of first NP
- “Complement” properties of second NP



Predicate Nominal Constructions

Identification	NP	ጀ-(TNS)	NP
Attributive Predication	NP	ጀ-(TNS)	NP _{DESCR}
Location	NP	ጀ-(TNS)	NP _{LOC}

Figure 2: Summary of Predicate Nominal Constructions

Only Classes 3-6M

- (10) a. *wā* *ś-g* *ū-swát*
c1.3SG.SUBJ PROG-PST PROG-fast
‘He was fasting (from food).’
- b. *wā* *ś-g* *əs-vək*
c1.3SG.SUBJ PROG-PST PROG-greet
‘He was greeting.’
- c. *wā* *ś-g* *ər-ʃə?ət*
c1.3SG.SUBJ PROG-PST PROG-sit
‘He was sitting.’
- d. *wā* *ś-g* *ət-swà*
c1.3SG.SUBJ PROG-PST PROG-drink
‘He was drinking.’
- e. *wā* *ś-g* *əm-hā*
c1.3SG.SUBJ PROG-PST PROG-walk
‘He was walking.’

Recall...

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1. Noun class language
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2	PL	Ø-	-Ø	Ø-	-ε	ε
2N	PL	Ø-	(-nè)	Ø-	-ε	ε
3	SG	u-	-u	u-/ Ø-	-ɔ	ɔ
3Ø	SG	Ø-	-Ø	u-/Ø-	-ɔ	ɔ
4	PL	s-	-s	s-	-sε	sε
5	SG	r-	-d	d-	-dε	dε
6	PL	t-	-t	t-	-tɔ	tɔ
6M	MASS/DIM PL	m-	-m	m-	-mɔ	mɔ
7	SG	u-	-j	j-	-ja	ja
7Ø	SG	Ø-	-j	j-	-ja	ja
DIM	SG	i-	??	i-	-i	i
AUG	PL	a-	??	a-	-a	a

Table 1: Noun class morphological system (Smith 2007:100)

Some Verbs - Occasionally No Class Prefix in Intransitive Progressive

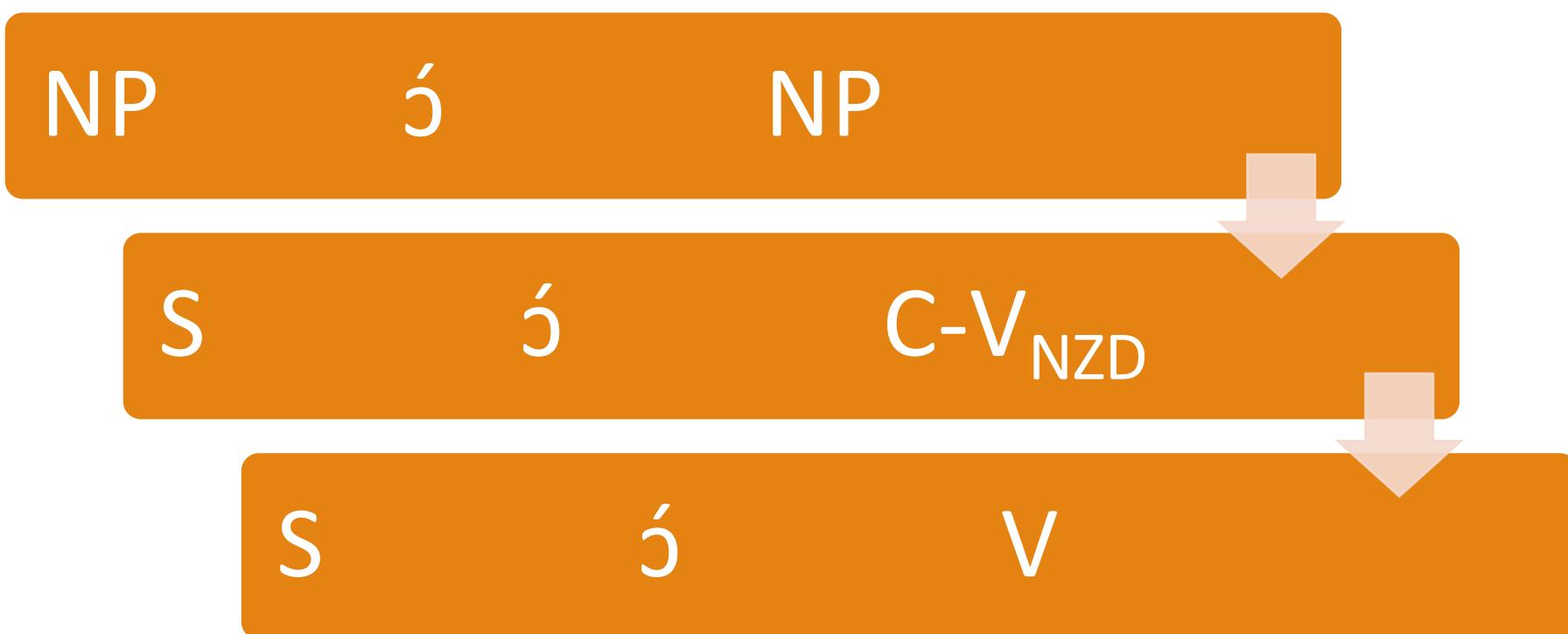
- (28) *bé t-ə-r sə?ət ́ mén ū-tát*
place C6.AG-ASSOC-C5 sit COP stomach C3-many
'places for sitting are many within (the banquet hall).' (GL 2008: c14 v22)
(cf. citation forms *ət-bé* 'c6-place' /'places' and *ər-sə?ət* 'c5-sit' /'sitting'
- (29) *wā ́ sə?ət*
1SG.SUBJ PROG sit
'He is sitting.' (GK 2013: 4)
- (30) *əkən ́ r-ʃə?ət ́ rɔrəl:é*
C2.some PROG C5-sit LOC mountain.C5.DEM
'Some people are living on that mountain.' (SS 2006)

Some Verbs No Class Prefix in Intransitive Progressive

- (31) *wā* *ś* *ríg* *ś-dàʔ-ś* *r-sō*
1SG.SUBJ PROG roam LOC-time-c3.DEF c5-nakedness
‘He is roaming now, naked.’ (PW 2013: 41)

- (32) *wā* *hə* *ət-ríg* *ś* *bé-də* *zá* *m-bś*
1SG.SUBJ GO.IR C6-roam loc place-c5.REL NEG.COP C6M-water
‘He goes roaming in the place that there is no water.’ (GL 2008: c11 v24)

Intransitive Progressive Change – nominalized status of V



Ut-Ma'in Progressive Constructions

Intransitive Progressive	S	δ -TNS	\bar{u} -V
	S	δ -TNS	s -V
	S	δ -TNS	r -V
	S	δ -TNS	t -V
	S	δ -TNS	m -V
Transitive Progressive	S	δ -TNS	V d - ` - O
	S	δ -TNS	V s - ` - O

Figure 1: Schematic of the Progressive Constructions in Ut-Ma'in

Ut-Ma'in Associative Construction

	Type of Nominal Head	[AssocP]
Source Structure	N_{HEAD}	[C-ASSOC-C N_{MOD}]
Reanalysis	$V_{NMLZ:HEAD}$	[C-ASSOC-C N_{MOD}]
Reanalysis	$V_{NMLZ:HEAD}$	[C-ASSOC-C N_{GOAL}]

Well-behaved Associative Constructions

(27) a. *ū-rān*
C3U-leaf
'leaf'

b. *ət-rān*
C6-leaf
'leaves'

c. *əs-ran*
C4-leaf
'cooked leaves'

(28) *rān t-ə-m wér hē-g*
leaf C6-ASSOC-C6M length fall-PST
'leaves of length fell'

(29) *rān s-ə-s tʃwā hē-g*
leaf C4-ASSOC-C4 soup fall-PST
'leaves of soup fell'

(30) *wà-kēn nēt wā wè gágén [nētá = j- ` -u ibò]*
C1-certain person C1.D C1.REL married woman=C7-ASSOC-C1 Igbo.person
'... a certain person who married an Igbo woman'

Well-behaved Associative Constructions

		NOUN CLASS OF MODIFIER NOUN							
		c1	c2 ³	c3	c4	c5	c6	c6M	c7
NOUN CLASS OF HEAD NOUN	c1								
	c2				Ø-à-s	Ø-à-r	Ø-à-t	Ø-à-m	Ø-`-u
	c3		Ø-à-Ø	Ø-`-u	Ø-à-s	Ø-à-r	Ø-à-t	Ø-à-m	Ø-`-u
	c4		s-à-Ø	s-`-u	s-à-s	s-à-r	s-à-t	s-à-m	s-`-u
	c5		d-à-Ø	d-`-u	d-à-s	d-à-r	d-à-t	d-à-m	d-`-u
	c6		t-à-Ø	t-`-u	t-à-s	t-à-r	t-à-t	t-à-m	t-`-u
	c6M		m-à-Ø	m-`-u	m-à-s	m-à-r	m-à-t	m-à-m	m-`-u
	c7	j-`-u	j-à-Ø	j-`-u	j-à-s	j-à-r	j-à-t	j-à-m	j-`-u

Table 5: Attested Forms of the Associative Complex

Associative Constructions with Nzd Verbs

- (32) *vək s-ə-s üt zá t-barəm dà.*
greet C4-ASSOC-C4 old NEG.COP FUT-change NEG
'The greeting of old will not change.' (SJ&SS 002 Dec 2006: 35)

- (33) *vək s-ə-t kom hatən net gɔmsəmga da*
greet C4.AG-ASSOC-C6 hand bring person disease.of.AIDS NEG
'Shaking hands does not bring a person AIDS.' (AIDS & you p 10)

- (34) *tʃàmpájə zɔŋtè hā m- ` - u-télkə*
man.C4.SUBJ prepare.PFR go C6M.AG-ASSOC-C3-market
'The man prepared to go to the market.' (SJ & SS 013 2006:16.1)

- (35) *hə:b-ət=rī hā:g ś tūl:ə-ù māhūtā*
friend-C6=1SG.POSS go-PST LOC market-C3 Mahuta.town.POSS
'My friend went to the Mahuta market' (SJ & SS 0?? 2006:???)

Ut-Ma'in Associative Construction

	Type of Nominal Head	[AssocP]
Source Structure	N_{HEAD}	[C-ASSOC-C N_{MOD}]
Reanalysis	$V_{NMLZ:HEAD}$	[C-ASSOC-C N_{OBJ}]

Associative Constructions with Nzد Verbs

		NOUN CLASS OF SECOND NOUN					
NOUN CLASS OF HEAD ³¹		3	4	5	6	6M	7
	3	Ø- ` -u	Ø- ð -s	Ø- ð -r	Ø- ð -t	Ø- ð -m	Ø- ` -u
	4	s- ` -u	s- ð -s	s- ð -r	s- ð -t	s- ð -m	s- ` -u
	5	d- ` -u	d- ð -s	d- ð -r	d- ð -t	d- ð -m	d- ` -u
	6	t- ` -u	t- ð -s	t- ð -r	t- ð -t	t- ð -m	t- ` -u
	6M	m- ` -u	m- ð -s	m- ð -r	m- ð -t	m- ð -m	m- ` -u

Table 12: Associative Complex forms of the Transitive Progressive Construction

Only Classes 4 and 5 in Transitive Progressive

	S	AUX	S-V				
(13)	<i>əm</i>	́-g	<i>əs-vək</i>	(45)	<i>wā</i>	́-g	<i>əm-hɔg</i>
	1SG.SUBJ	PROG-PST	PROG-greet		C1.3SG.SUBJ	PROG-PST	C6M-hear
	'I was greeting.'				'He was hearing'		
(14)	A	AUX	V s- ` -O	(46)	<i>wā</i>	́-g	<i>ət-hɔg</i>
	<i>əm</i>	́	<i>vək</i> s- ` - u-nəŋgən		C1.3SG.SUBJ	PROG-PST	C6-hear
	1SG.SUBJ	PROG	greet OBJ-OBJ-C7-old.man		'He was hearing'		
	'I am greeting the old man.'						
(15)	A	AUX	V d- ` -O	(47)	<i>wā</i>	́-g	<i>hɔg-d-ə-m-é?</i>
	<i>wā</i>	́	<i>gwə</i> d- ə - wən		C1. 3SG.SUBJ	PROG-PST	hear-C5-ASSOC-6M-shame
	C1.SUBJ	PROG	rescue OBJ-OBJ-3SG.HUM.OBJ		'He was hearing shame/He was ashamed.' ⁵		
	'He is rescuing him.' (SJ 2017.08 ConvReVYPear)						

No Class Prefix: Low tone remains in Transitive Progressive

(45)

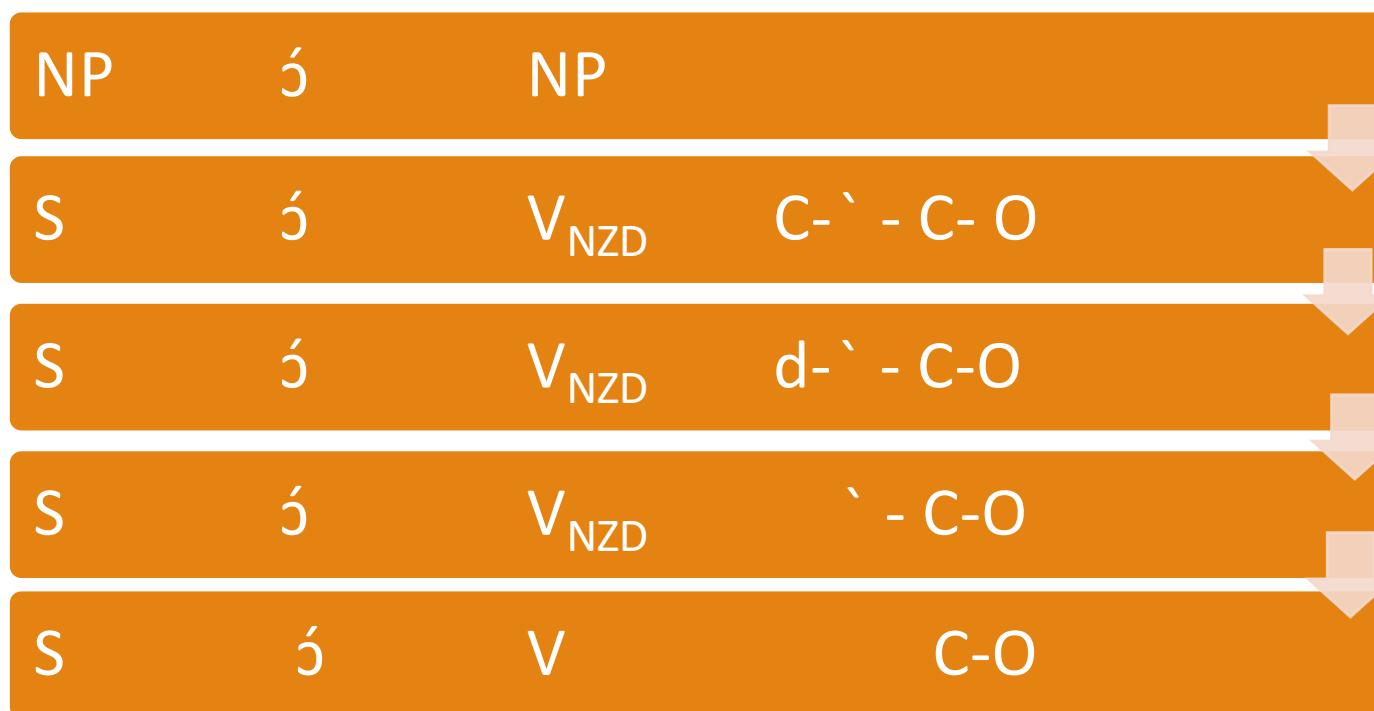
	SUBJECT	AUX	V_{NMZD}	SUBJECT	AUX	V	ASSOC	OBJECT
a.	<i>wā</i>	́	<i>t-zàŋg</i>	<i>wā</i>	́	<i>zàŋg</i>	̀	<i>t-tʃwə</i>
	c1.SUBJ	PROG	c6-prepare	c1.SUBJ	PROG	prepare	ASSOC	c6-loads
	'He is preparing (himself/dressing)'			'He is preparing the loads (travel bags)'				
b.	SUBJECT	AUX	V_{NMZD}	SUBJECT	AUX	V	ASSOC	OBJECT
	<i>wā</i>	́	<i>t-wàr</i>	<i>wā</i>	́	<i>wàr</i>	̀	<i>wá</i>
	c1.SUBJ	PROG	c6-tell	c1.SUBJ	PROG	tell	ASSOC	c1.OBJ
	'He is telling'			'He is telling him'				
c.	SUBJECT	AUX	V_{NMZD}	SUBJECT	AUX	V	ASSOC	OBJECT
	<i>wā</i>	́	<i>m-dzās</i>	<i>wā</i>	́	<i>dzās</i>	̀	<i>Ø-hjə</i>
	c1.SUBJ	PROG	c6M-wash	c1.SUBJ	PROG	wash	ASSOC	C2-guinea.corn
	'He is washing'			'He is washing the guinea corn'				

~~No Class Prefix: Low tone remains~~ Transitive Progressive

(46)

SUBJECT	AUX	V _{NMZD}	SUBJECT	AUX	V	ASSOC	OBJECT
wā	́	m-kārəntē	wā	́	kārántē	Ø	ū-rān
c1.SUBJ	PROG	c6M-read	c1.SUBJ	PROG	read	ASSOC	c3-paper
'He is reading'					'He is reading a paper'		

Transitive Progressive Change – marking of O and nominalized status of VP



	INHERENT AGREEMENT PREFIX	CLASS 5 AGREEMENT PREFIX	ASSOCIATIVE MARKER
Class 4 verbs	✓	*	✓
Class 5 verbs	✓	✓	✓
Most verbs from classes 3, 6, and 6M	*	✓	✓
Some verbs from classes 3, 6, and 6M	*	*	✓
At least one Class 6 verb	*	*	*

Figure 10: Progression of change in agreement marking in the
Ut-Ma'in Transitive Progressive Construction

<i>Source</i>	Predicate Nominal	NP	́	C-N
<i>Source</i>	Nominalized Verb			C-V
	Intransitive Progressive	S	́	C-V

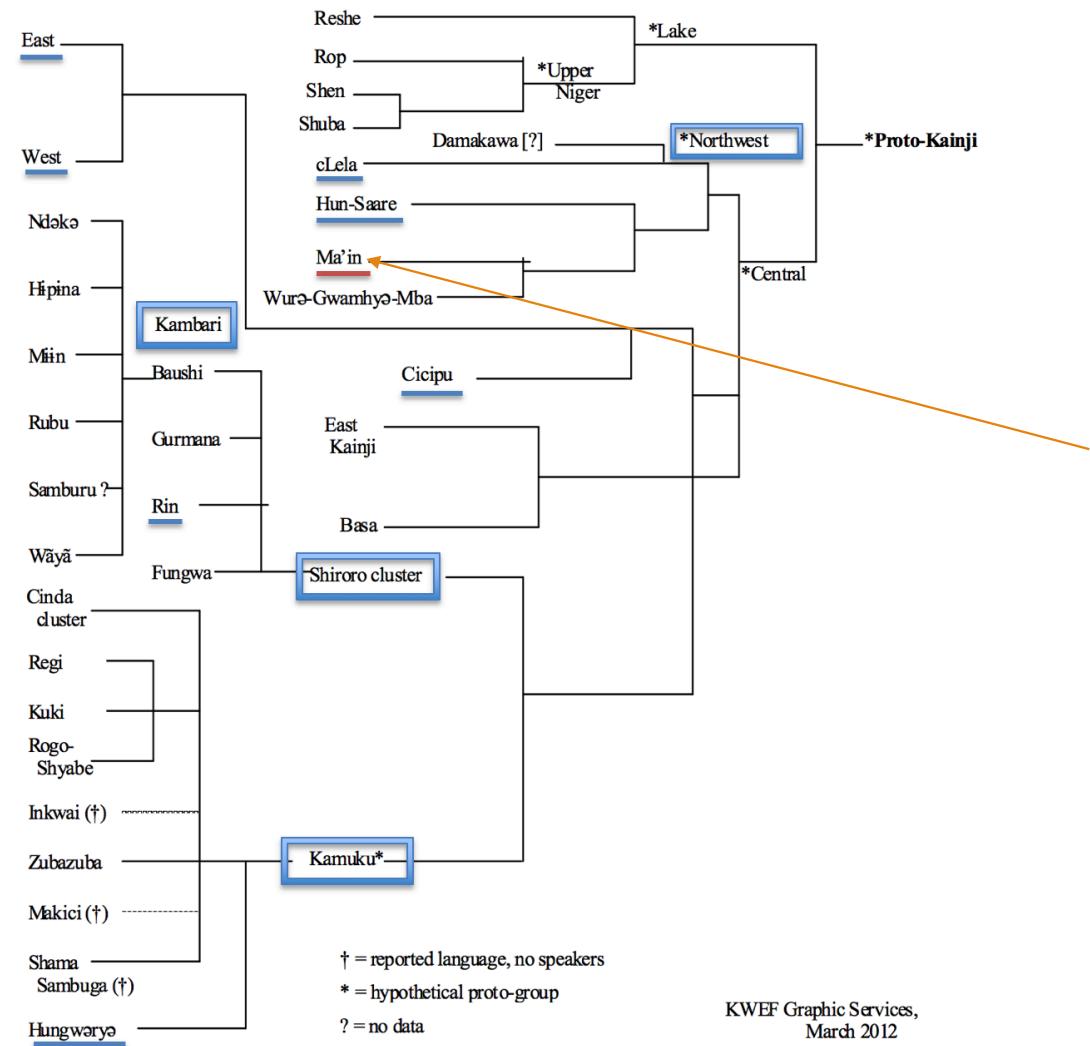
Figure 11: Schematic of the Intransitive Progressive

<i>Source</i>	Predicate Nominal	NP	́	NP
<i>Source</i>	Associative Construction			$N_{HEAD} [C\text{-ASSOC-}C N_{MOD}]$
	Transitive Progressive	S	́	$V_{HEAD} [C\text{-ASSOC-}C N_{OBJ}]$

Figure 12: Schematic of the Transitive Progressive

Kainji Sub-Classification

Blench (forthcoming)



Kainji Intransitive Progressive Constructions

Language Cluster		ISO 639-3 language code, autonym/ language name	SUBJECT	AUX	Loc	CLASS MARKER	VERB STEM
Northwest	gel	Ut-Ma'in - Ror / Fakanci	S	́		C-	V
	gel	Ut-Ma'in – Juur / Gelanci	S	ŕ		C-	V
	dri	C'Lela/Dakkakanci	S	?èl(:ó)	(́)n=	C-	V
	dud	Ut-Hun/Dukanci	S	r̩		C-	V
Kambari	awc	Cicipu/W Acipa	S	jó	á=	C-	V
	agw	Tsiwənci/Agwara	S	ì	à	C-	V
Kamuku	nat	Cahungwarya / Hungwere	S	jów(à)	nà	C-	V
Shiroro	png	Tarin/Pangu	S	nje	nə		V

Table 10: Intransitive Progressive Constructions across Kainji language clusters

Kainji Intransitive Progressive Constructions

Language Cluster	ISO 639-3 language code, autonym/ language name		SUBJECT	AUX	LOC	CLASS MARKER	VERB STEM	AGREEMENT MARKER	ASSOC MRK	OBJECT
Northwest	gel	Ut-Ma'in - Rør / Fakanci	S	ጀ			V	AG-	ጀ	O
	gel	Ut-Ma'in – Jiir / Gelanci	S	rጀ		C-	V	AG-	ጀ	O
	dri	C'Lela/Dakkakanci	S	ṛèl(:ó)	(ጀ)n=		V	AG-	(ጀn)	O
Kambari	awc	Cicipu/W Acipa	S	jó	(á=)	C-	V	AG-		O
	agw	Tsiwənci/Agwara	S	ì	à	C-	V			O
Kamuku	nat	Cahungwarya / Hungwere	S	jów(à)	nà	C-	V	AG-		O
Shiroro	png	Tarin/Pangu	S	njɛ	nə		V			O

Table 11: Transitive Progressive Constructions across Kainji language clusters

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Thank you!



Kainji Verbs (Possibly) Cognate with ó

Language Cluster		ISO 639-3 language code, autonym/ language name	Verb Form	Comments	Used with Nominal Predicate
Northwest	gel	Ut-Ma'in – Ror / Fakanci	ጀ	equative and locative copula; can take PST suffix; progressive auxiliary; cf. Ꭵró Existential Copula	Yes
	gel	Ut-Ma'in – Juur / Gelanci	rጀ	VERY FEW examples in glossed corpus; progressive auxiliary	Yes
	dri	C'Lela/Dakkakanci	èl:(ó)	locative copula; progressive auxiliary; distinct equative copula í	Yes
	dud	Ut-Hun/Dukanci	rò	has form [ɔ] following certain pronoun subjects; progressive auxiliary	Yes
Kambari	awc	Cicipu/W Acipa	jó	progressive auxiliary; locative copula; used in other constructions for comparative and possessive; can take PFV suffix and subject agreement prefix	Yes
	asg	Cishingini/Salka	ló	"attributive defective verb" (Crozier 1984:155); not used as copula, nor used in the Progressive; takes subject agreement prefix	Unknown
Kamuku	nat	Cahungwarya / Hungwere	jów(à)	locative and existential copula; progressive aux; takes subject agreement prefix; has suppletive past tense form	Yes
Shiroro	png	Tarin/Pangu	nje	locative and existential copula; progressive auxiliary	Yes

Table 6: Verbs (possibly) cognate with ó across four Kainji language clusters

Kainji Nominalization Prefixes

Language Cluster	ISO 639-3 language code, autonym/ language name		Nominalizer Prefixes from Noun Class System						
Northwest	gel	Ut-Ma'in/Fakanci	<i>u-</i>	<i>s-</i>	<i>r-</i>	<i>t-</i>	<i>m-</i>		
	dri	C'Lela/Dakkakanci	<i>u-</i>		<i>r-</i>	<i>tf-</i>	<i>m-</i>		
	dud	Ut-Hun/Dukanci		<i>s-</i>			<i>m-</i>		
Kambari	awc	Cicipu/W Acipa	<i>u-</i>				<i>má-</i>		
	agw	Tsiwənci/Agwara	<i>kù-</i>						
	aun	Tsigaushi/Auna	<i>ù-</i>						
	asg	Cishingini/Salka				<i>tsì-</i> ²⁶			
Kamuku	nat	Cahungwàrya / Hungwere				<i>tʃi-/tʃə-</i>	<i>ma-/mə-</i>	<i>bi-</i>	<i>i-</i>
Shiroro	png	Tarin/Pangu	<i>u-</i>						<i>i-</i>

Table 7: Nominalization Prefixes across four Kainji language clusters

Kainji Locative Markers

Language Cluster	ISO 639-3 language code, autonym/ language name		Locative Form	Comments
Northwest	gel	Ut-Ma'in/Fakanci	<i>šn</i>	Not locative marker in progressive cxn; = <i>šn</i> DISTAL verbal clitic, <i>š</i> locative preposition used elsewhere
	dri	C'Lela/Dakkanci	<i>šn</i>	Optionally used in progressive aux cxn
	dud	Ut-Hun/Dukanci	<i>šn</i>	No locative marker in progressive cxn; <i>šn</i> = used in 'definite future' cxn which also uses the <i>š</i> aux
Kambari	awc	Cicipu/W Acipa	<i>á-</i>	Used in progressive aux cxn; prefixes/fuses to CM of verbal noun
	agw	Tsiwənci/Agwara	<i>à</i>	Used in progressive aux cxn only in serial (Stark 2010:79)
Kamuku	nat	Cahungwaryā	<i>nà</i>	Used in progressive/continuative aux cxn
Shiroro	png	Tarin/Pangu	<i>nà</i>	Used in progressive/continuative aux cxn

Table 8: Locative Markers across Kainji language clusters

Kainji Associative Constructions

Language Cluster	ISO 639-3 language code, autonym/ language name		NOUN PREFIX	HEAD NOUN	AGREEMENT PREFIX	ASSOC MRK	MODIFIER NOUN
Northwest	gel	Ut-Ma'in – Ror / Fakanci		N _{HEAD}	AG-	ø =	NP _{MOD}
	gel	Ut-Ma'in – Juur / Gelanci	(C _i -)	N _{HEAD}	AG _i -	ø =	NP _{MOD}
	dri	C'Lela/Dakkakanci	(C _i -)	N _{HEAD}	AG _i -	(é)n =	NP _{MOD}
Kambari	awc	Cicipu/W Acipa	C _i -	N _{HEAD}	AG _i -		NP _{MOD}
Kamuku	nat	Cahungwarya / Hungwere	C _i -	N _{HEAD}	AG _i -	` =	NP _{MOD}
Shiroro	png	Tarin/Pangu	C _i -	N _{HEAD}		ná	NP _{MOD}

Table 9: Associative Constructions across Kainji language clusters