

1 Classification and sociolinguistic background

- Ūt-Ma'in [ʊt̪.māʔ.ɪn], (Fakanci; ISO 639-3 gel); 36,000+ speakers (Regnier 1992:7)
- 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)
- Northwest West Kainji Cluster- Gwamhi-Wuri-Mba [bga], C'Lela (Dakakanci/Dakakari) [dri] and Ūt-Hun (Dukanci/Dukawa) [dud].

2 Basic clause structure

- Consistent SVO word order (SV/AVP/AVRP); obligatory overt S/A argument (noun or pronoun); optional only in the imperative.
- TAM marking suffixed to verb stem; no person/number/noun class agreement marking on verbs.
- Some indication of case marked arguments in 1SG pronoun subject **ām** (3) vs. object form **mé** (2), tone on other pronouns, and unmodified nouns as subject position (4a) vs. object (4b).

(1) *hā:bōt dāudā hā:g éménè.*

S		V-TAM	OBL _{LOC}	
<i>hā:b-ōt</i>	<i>dāudā</i>	<i>hā-:g</i>	<i>é</i>	<i>mé = nè</i>
friend-C6	Dauda	go-PST	LOC	1SG.ACC = with
'Dauda's friends went with me.' (06.10.20..9)				

(2) *nā g^ɪín mé èzán*

A	VTAM	P	OBL _{LOC}	
<i>nā</i>	<i>g^ɪín-Ø</i>	<i>mé</i>	<i>é</i>	<i>zán</i>
3PL.NPERS.NOM	hate-NPST	1SG.ACC	LOC	outside
'I am hated outside (Lit: They hate me outside.)' (05.11.FSC..24)				

(3) *ām jā:g wón āmàp gǐp*

A	V-TAM	R	P	OBL _{TEMP}
ām	<i>jā-:g</i>	<i>wón</i>	<i>ām-àp</i>	<i>g^ɪp</i>
1SG.NOM	give-PST	3SG.ACC	C6M-meat	yesterday
'I gave him/her meat yesterday.' (13.08.Bk1..29)				

(4a) *fārsè hē:g*

S-CM	V-TAM
<i>fār-sè</i>	<i>hē-:g</i>
tree ² -C4.NOM	fall-PST
'Shea trees fell' (Smith 2007:22)	

(4b) *ām hē:g āsfār sēm wór*

A	V-TAM	CM-P
<i>ām</i>	<i>hē-:g</i>	<i>ās-fār-s-è-m-wór</i>
1SG.NOM	fall-PST	C4-tree-C4-ASSOC-C6M-length
'I cut down the tall shea trees.' (Smith 2007:76)		

² The root *fār* refers to the shea tree and is glossed in the interlinear simply as 'tree'.

(5a) *ām śg mādūkúr*

A V_{AUX.TAM} V-*d* -ASSOC-C-P
ām ś-g mā-d-`-u-kúr
 1SG PROG-PST build-C5-ASSOC-C3u-room
 'I was building a room.' (2006.12..18)

(5a) *wā mā:g ūkúr*

A V-TAM P
wā mā:-g ū-kúr
 C1.NOM build-PST C3-room
 'He built a room.' (06.12.04..27)

3 Suffixing verb morphology

Verb Root	Suffix 1	Suffix 2	Suffix 3
	-Ø 'NPST' -g / -k 'PST'	-(ēs)tè 'COMPL' -é 'EXCL.S' -ōʔsè 'PERFECT'	-ōn 'DIST'

- Obligatory suffix 1:

- Hypothesis 1: **Tense**: past vs. non-past
- Hypothesis 2: **Aspect**: factitive vs. perfective

(6) *nētōtín rē ārgá ś ttʃwā nè.*

A V P
nēt-ōt=ín rē-Ø r-gá ś t-tʃwā=nè
people-C6=2PL.INCL.POSS eat-NON.PST C5-cooked.grain and C6-soup=with
 'Our (incl.) people eat cooked grain and soup.' (06.10.20..22)

(7) *wān nāk ārtóm sók.*

A V_{TAM} P OBL_{MANNER}
wān nāk ār-tóm sók.
 3SG.NOM know.PST C5-hoeing well
 'He knew hoeing very well.' (2006.12.20..4)

- Optional suffixes 2 and 3: **Aspect**: completive, exclusive subject (contrastive focus?), distal
- Completive**

(8a) *wān rē-Ø-:stè r-gá*
 3SG.NOM eat-Ø-COMPL C5-yam
 'He ate all the yams (there are none left).'

(13.08.Bk1..23&24)

(8b) *ām rē-Ø-:stè*
 1SG.NOM eat-Ø-COMPL
 'I ate (everything).'

(9a) *ām zāṅgtè gjāp*

S V-TAM OBL_{TEMP}
ām zāṅg-Ø-tè gjāp
 1SG.NOM prepare-NPST-COMPL yesterday
 'I prepared yesterday.' (13.08.Bk1..33)

(9b) *ām zāṅgtè ś gjāp*

A V-TAM P OBL_{TEMP}
ām zāṅg-Ø-tè ś gjāp
 1SG.NOM prepare-NPST-COMPL C3.ACC yest.
 'I prepared it yesterday.' (13.08.Bk1..33)

- **Past plus completive**

- (10a) *ǫm tʃ^wa:g* (10b) *ǫm tʃ^wagtè*
ǫm tʃ^wa-!g *ǫm tʃ^wa-g-tè*
 1SG.NOM enter-PST 1SG.NOM enter-PST-COMPL
 ‘I entered’(13.08.Bk1..41) ‘I entered (every place)’ (13.08.Bk1..41)

- **Past plus distal**

- (11) *wā rɛ-g-ǫn ǫt-r^wā.*
 C1.NOM eat-PST-DIST C6-yam
 ‘He ate yams (from some far away place).’ (06.12..12.7)

- **Non-past plus completive plus distal**

- (12a) *ǫm nā:stè* (12b) *ǫm nā:stǫn*
 S V-Sx1-Sx2 S V-Sx1-Sx2-Sx3
ǫm nā:s-Ø-tè *ǫm nā:s-Ø-tǫn*
 1SG.NOM ruin-NPST-COMPL 1SG.NOM ruin-NPST-COMPL-DIST
 ‘I ruin (something)’ ‘I ruin (something) far away.’
 (and it is completely destroyed) (and it is completely destroyed)
 (13.08.Bk1..45) (13.08.Bk1..45)

- **Exclusive subject (contrastive focus?)**

- use of *mɛ* 1SG.ACC form for 1SG pronoun “subject”

- (13a) *mɛ náp-Ø-ɛ wá* (13b) *mɛ náp-ɛ*
 1SG.ACC know-NPST-EXCL C1.ACC 1SG.ACC know-NPST-EXCL
 ‘(Only) I know him.’(13.08.Bk1.39) ‘(Only) I know.’ (13.08.Bk1.39)
 (14a) **ǫm nápɛ wá* (13.08.Bk1.39) (14b) **ǫm nápɛ* (13.08.Bk1.39)

- (15) *ú jǫn-Ø-ɛ hǫg-d-ə-m-ɛ*
 C1.3SG.ACC leave- NPST-EXCL hear-C5-ASSOC-6M-shame
 ‘(Only) he leaves ashamed./He is the only one leaving in shame.’ (13.08.GK..2:42)

- (16) *wā shít wá zǫ wá h^jánɛ à, kò wárə tǫ, ná wárə wá?*

- (a) *wā shít wá zǫ wá h^ján-Ø-ɛ à,*
 3SG.NOM ask 3SG.ACC COMP 3SG.ACC see-NPST-EXCL Q
 ‘He (the big king) asked him (the man) saying, “Did he see?...’

- (b) *kò wár-ə tǫ, ná wár-ə wá?*
 or explain-ASSOC C6 3PL.NPERS explain-ASSOC 3SG.ACC
 ‘Or (did) someone tell him about it?’ (13.08.GK..1:44,45)

4 Imperfective auxiliary constructions - Aux + Nominalization

One argument semantics			Tense/Aspect	Possible sources for Auxiliaries and nominal marking
S	AUX	Semantic Verb		
S	ǝ-Ø	C-V	PRES.PROG	current equative verb: ǝ ‘be’
S	ǝ-g	C-V	PST.PROG	current equative verb + PST: ǝ-g ‘be-PST’
S	dé-Ø	C-V	FUT	ǝt-dé?é ‘travel, go’
S	dé-Ø	t-V	FUT.INCEPT	NOUN CLASS 6 marking
S	Ø	t-V	FUT	NOUN CLASS 6 marking

Two argument semantics			Tense/Aspect	Possible source of nominal marking
A	AUX	Semantic Verb		
A	ǝ-Ø	V _i - C _i -ASSOC- C _j -O _j	PRES.PROG	inherent class of root
A	ǝ-Ø	V - d -ASSOC- C _j -O _j	PRES.PROG	NOUN CLASS 5
A	ǝ-g	V _i - C _i -ASSOC- C _j -O _j	PST.PROG	inherent class of root
A	ǝ-g	V - d -ASSOC- C _j -O _j	PST.PROG	NOUN CLASS 5
A	dé-Ø	V _i - C _i -ASSOC- C _j - O _j	FUT	inherent class of root
A	dé-Ø	V - d -ASSOC- C _j -O _j	FUT	NOUN CLASS 5
A	Ø	V - t - ASSOC- C _j -O _j	FUT	NOUN CLASS 6

- Present progressive:**

- (17) ǝm ǝ-Ø ǝm-dʒā:s [Ūt-Ma'in]
 1SG.NOM PROG-NPST C6m-washing
 ‘I am washing up (the dishes).’ (2006.12..4)
- (18) ǝm el ǝn tʃ-sapto [C'Lela]
 1SG COP.PROG LOC C6-washing
 ‘I am washing up (the dishes).’ (Adapted from Dettweiler 2012:13)

- Equative (for comparison with Aux use above)**

- (19) ǝdà?ǝ rándímə ǝ fənùrī
 OBL_{LOC} NP V NP
 ǝdà?ǝ rándí-mə ǝ-Ø fən-ù-rī
 now spider.web-C6M.NOM be-NON.PST road-C7U-1SG.POSS
 ‘Now, the spider web is my road.’ (FSC 2006.20)

- **Past progressive:**

(20) S V_{AUX} C_i-V_i
ḡm ḡ-g ū-mā
 1SG.NOM PROG-PST C3U-build
 ‘I was building.’ (2006.12..18)

(21) A V_{AUX} V-*d* -ASSOC-C_i -O_i
ḡm ḡ-g mā -d- ` -u-kúr
 1SG.NOM PROG-PST build-C5-ASSOC-C3U-room
 ‘I was building a room.’ (2006.12..18)

- **Future:**

(22) S V_{AUX} C-V
ḡm dḡ-Ø ū-mā
 1SG FUT C3U-build
 ‘I will build .’ (2006.12..18)
 (interpretation: I am going to join someone who is already building)

(23) S V_{AUX} C-V
ḡm dḡ-Ø t-mā
 1SG FUT INCEP-build
 ‘I will (start the process of) building.’ (2006.12..18)
 (inceptive interpretation)

(24) S V_{AUX} C₁-V₁
ḡm dḡ-Ø s-vḡk.
 1SG FUT C4-greet
 ‘I will greet.’ (2006.12..19)

(25) A V_{AUX} V₁-*s* -ASSOC-C₂ -O₂
wḡn dḡ-Ø vḡk-s-ḡ-r-maṅg
 3SG FUT greet-C4-ASSOC-C5-old.woman
 ‘He will greet the old woman.’ (2006.12..18)

(26) A V_{AUX.TAM} V₁-*d* -ASSOC-C₂ -O₂
ḡm dḡ mā-d- ` -u-kúr
 1SG FUT build-C5-ASSOC-C3U -room
 ‘I will build a room.’ (2006.12..18)

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Abbreviations

A	AGENT-LIKE ARGUMENT OF A TRANSITIVE OR DITRIVALENT CLAUSE	O	OTHER ARGUMENT OF A TRANSITIVE CLAUSE
ACC	ACCUSATIVE	OBL	OBLIQUE
ASSOC	ASSOCIATIVE MARKER	P	PATIENT-LIKE ARGUMENT OF A TRANSITIVE OR DITRANSITIVE CLAUSE
AUX	AUXILIARY VERB	PL	PLURAL
C	NOUN CLASS MARKER	PROG	PROGRESSIVE ASPECT
COMP	COMPLEMENTIZER	PST	PAST TENSE
COMPL	COMPLETEIVE ASPECT	R	RECIPIENT ARGUMENT OF A TRIVALENT CLAUSE
FUT	FUTURE	S	SINGLE ARGUMENT OF A TRANSITIVE CLAUSE
INCEP	INCEPTIVE	SG	SINGULAR
LOC	LOCATIVE	TAM	TENSE/ASPECT/MODALITY
NLZ	NOMINALIZER	TEMP	TEMPORAL
NP	NOUN PHRASE	V	VERB
NPST	NON-PAST		
NPERS	NON-PERSONAL		
NOM	NOMINATIVE		