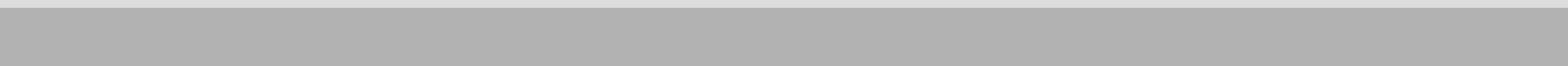


# Ubiquitous Association in Ut-Ma'in

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CANIL COLLOQUIUM

JULY 28, 2020





U̇t-Ma'in

Northwest  
Kainji

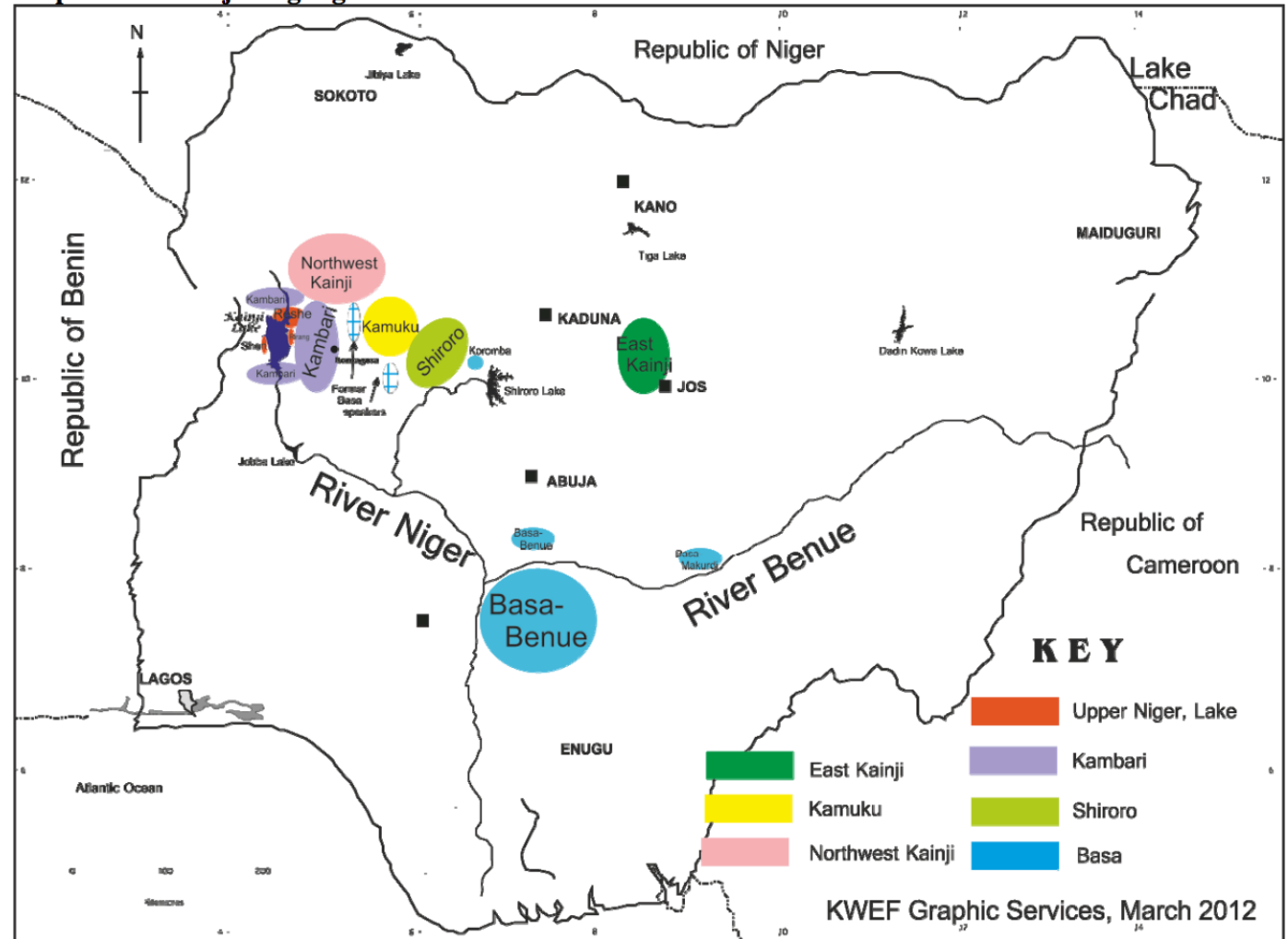
Kainji

(East) Benue-  
Congo

Niger-Congo

Watters (2018); Blench (2018)

Map 1. The Kainji languages



# Eastern Benue-Congo Location

Watters (2018:3)

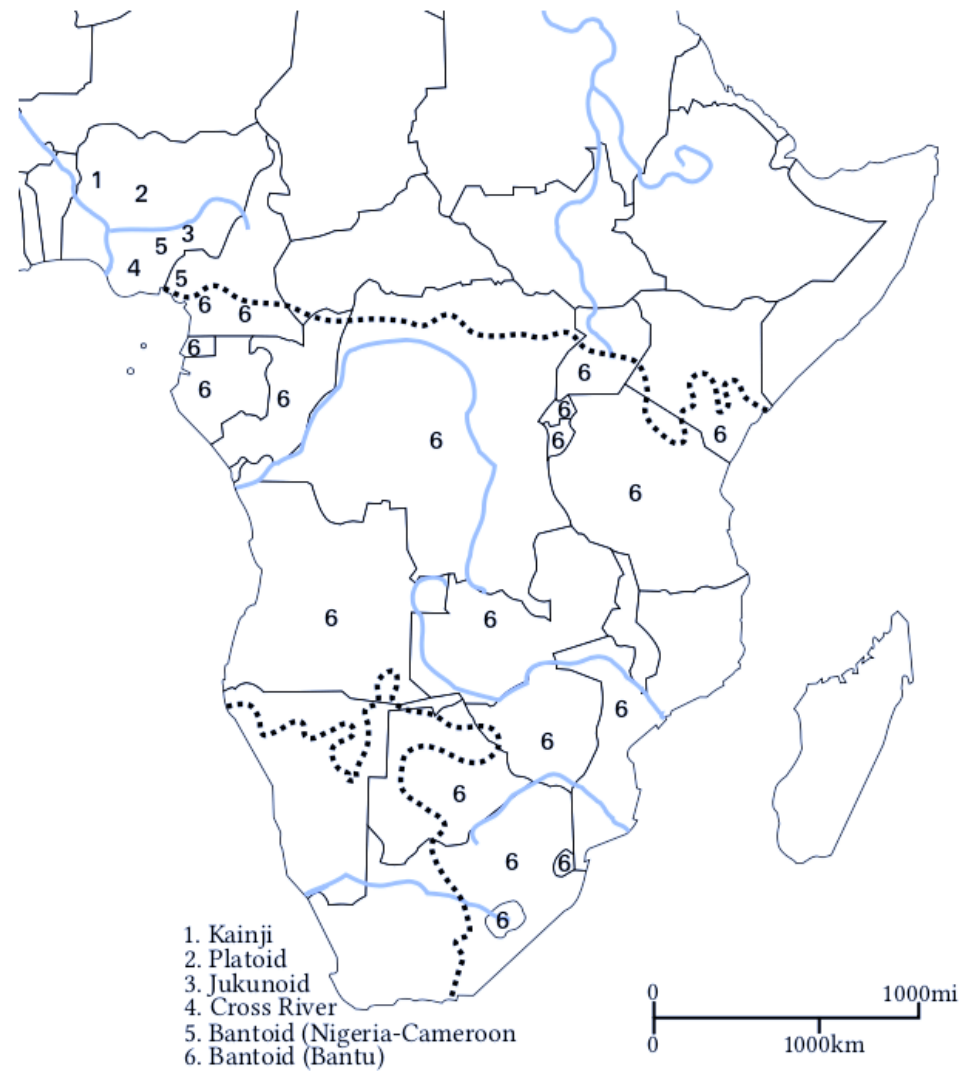


Figure 1: The locations of the five branches of EBC

# Eastern Benue-Congo Classification

Watters (2018: 5)

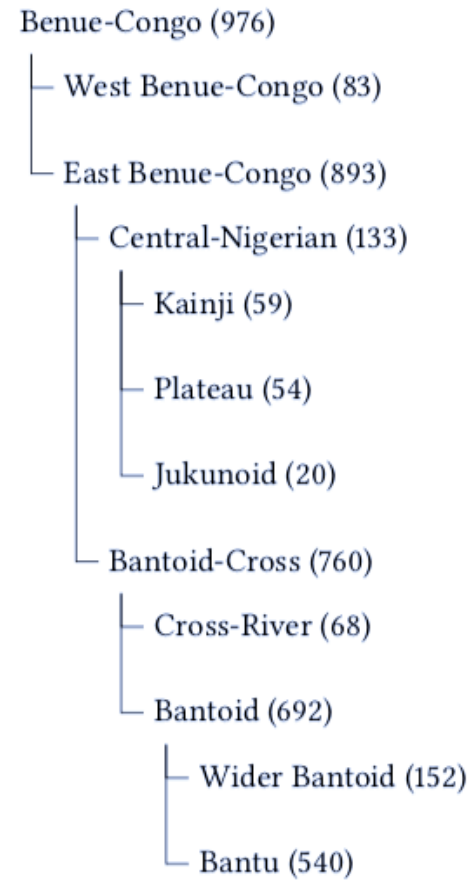
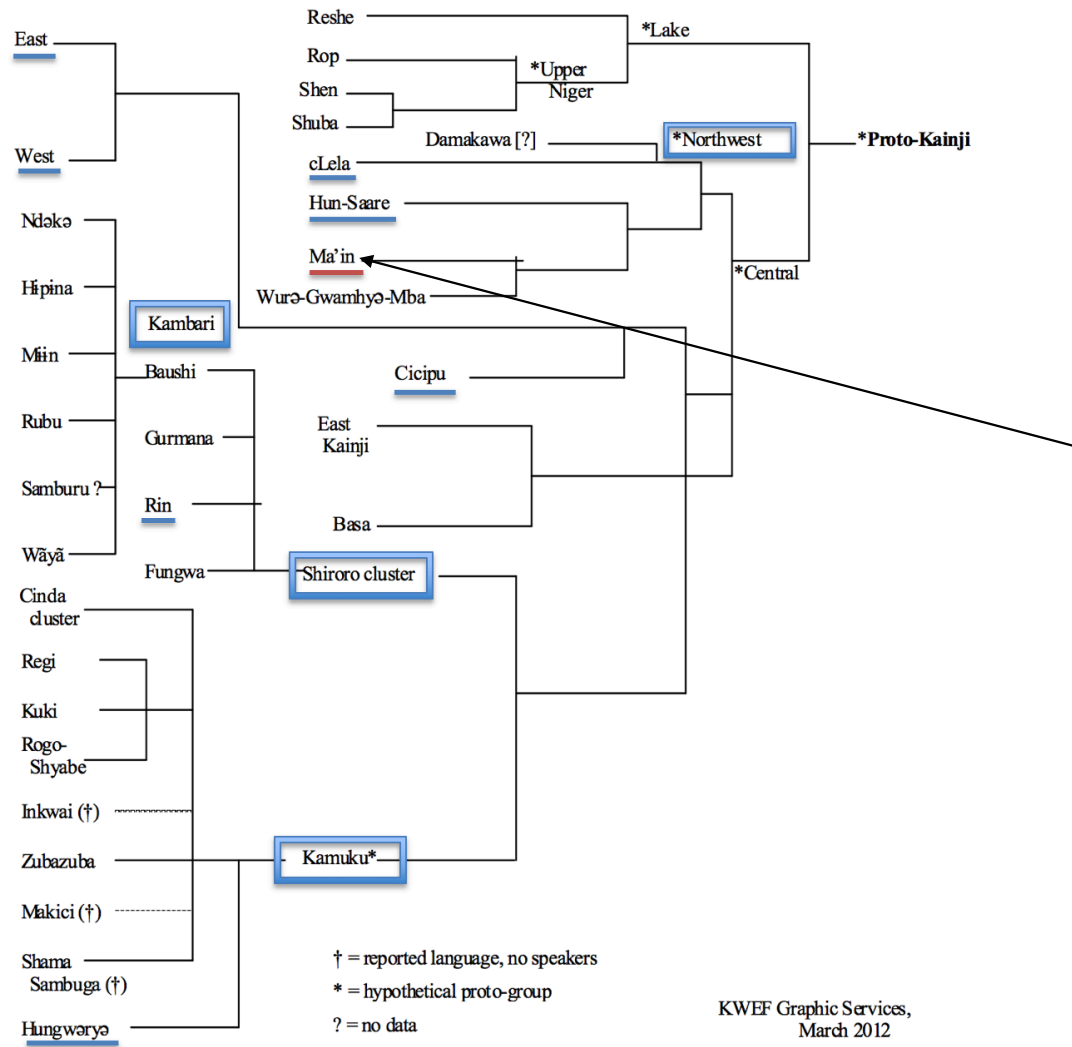


Figure 2: The external and internal classification of East Benue-Congo



# 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>-∅</i>	<i>u-/w-/∅-</i>	<i>-wa</i>	<i>wa</i>
1B	SG	<i>∅-</i>	<i>-∅</i>	<i>u-/w-/∅-</i>	<i>-wa</i>	<i>wa</i>
2	PL	<i>∅-</i>	<i>-∅</i>	<i>∅-</i>	<i>-ε</i>	<i>ε</i>
2B	PL	<i>∅-</i>	<i>(-nε)</i>	<i>∅-</i>	<i>-ε</i>	<i>ε</i>
3	SG	<i>u-</i>	<i>-u</i>	<i>u-/∅-</i>	<i>-ɔ</i>	<i>ɔ</i>
3B	SG	<i>∅-</i>	<i>-∅</i>	<i>u-/∅-</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>∅-</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.

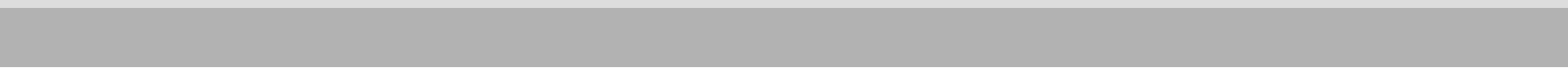
The associative marking the nominative form of nouns in certain morphosyntactic environments.

# Welmers' (1963) Associative

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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)



# Ụt-Ma'in Nouns in citation form [ClassPrefix-Root]

---

554	ring (finger)	7u/4	ūk <sup>w</sup> à:t	ēsk <sup>w</sup> à:t
-----	---------------	------	---------------------	----------------------

---

806	possessions	6	ētk <sup>w</sup> ə̀m	
-----	-------------	---	----------------------	--

---

Smith (2007: 116, 122)

626	basket	5/6	ērkô:r	ētkô:r
-----	--------	-----	--------	--------

---

1255	place	5/6	ērbé	ētbé
------	-------	-----	------	------

---

Smith (2007: 118, 132)



# Ut-Ma'in Associative

---



kwàt = [j-ə = t                      kwəm]  
ring = AG7-ASSOC = C6    wealth  
'ring of wealth'



bé = [d-ə                                      kó:r-ət = tó:]  
place = AG5-ASSOC            basket-C6 = C6.DEF  
'place of the baskets'

# Ut-Ma'in Associative Construction

---

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

Paterson (2019: 88)

Table 26: Attested forms of the ASSOCC

		NOUN CLASS OF DEPENDENT (ie., ASSOCIATED) NOUN							
		c1	c2	c3	c4	c5	c6	c6M	c7
NOUN CLASS OF HEAD NOUN	c1								
	c2				$\emptyset-\partial=s$	$\emptyset-\partial=r$	$\emptyset-\partial=t$	$\emptyset-\partial=m$	$\emptyset-\acute{=}u$
	c3		$\emptyset-\partial=\emptyset$	$\emptyset-\acute{=}u$	$\emptyset-\partial=s$	$\emptyset-\partial=r$	$\emptyset-\partial=t$	$\emptyset-\partial=m$	$\emptyset-\acute{=}u$
	c4		$s-\partial=\emptyset$	$s-\acute{=}u$	$s-\partial=s$	$s-\partial=r$	$s-\partial=t$	$s-\partial=m$	$s-\acute{=}u$
	c5		$d-\partial=\emptyset$	$d-\acute{=}u$	$d-\partial=s$	$d-\partial=r$	$d-\partial=t$	$d-\partial=m$	$d-\acute{=}u$
	c6		$t-\partial=\emptyset$	$t-\acute{=}u$	$t-\partial=s$	$t-\partial=r$	$t-\partial=t$	$t-\partial=m$	$t-\acute{=}u$
	c6M		$m-\partial=\emptyset$	$m-\acute{=}u$	$m-\partial=s$	$m-\partial=r$	$m-\partial=t$	$m-\partial=m$	$m-\acute{=}u$
	c7	$j-\acute{=}u$	$j-\partial=\emptyset$	$j-\acute{=}u$	$j-\partial=s$	$j-\partial=r$	$j-\partial=t$	$j-\partial=m$	$j-\acute{=}u$

# 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 Ụt-Ma'in Associative

FUNCTION OF MODIFIER	FORM	GLOSS
possessor	kéng=j-ḡ=r-swà	'bridge of nose' Lit: 'frontier of nose'
	zwār=d-`=u-ḡ	'beauty of face'
	swā=d-`=u-rwág	'elephant's trunk' Lit: 'nose of elephant'
material	jèn ḡ=r-rwáb	'bed made of clay'
	rén=d-ḡ=m-dáp	'trap made of sap'
contents	dù=d-ḡ=m-b̄	'well of water'
place of origin	nētá=j-`=u ʔíbò	'Igbo woman' Lit: woman of Igbo-land'
place of use	nòm=d-ḡ=r-hí	'hat' Lit: 'thing of head'
time of use	rè=t-ḡ=m-rím	'evening meal' Lit: 'eating of darkness'
function	bé t-ḡ=r-ḡḡt	'places of sitting'
	kʷàt=j-ḡ=t kwòm	'ring of wealth'
property	bó m-ḡ=t-ūt	'old water' Lit: 'water of old'
size/shape	fār s-ḡ=m wór	'tall shea-butter trees' Lit: 'shea-butter trees of length'
ordinal number	kó:r d-`=u-tḡtḡrsè	'third basket'
idiomatic	kán=s-ḡ=kó:t	'dawn' Lit: 'crying of chickens/roosters'
	bó=m-ḡ=t-rān	'green' Lit: 'water of leaves'

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



# Semantics of Ụt-Ma'in Associative



FUNCTION OF MODIFIER	FORM	GLOSS
possessor	kóns=i-è-r-nyè	'bridge of nose' Lit: 'frontier of nose'
	zwār= <b>d-</b> `=u-ǰǰ	'beauty of face'
material	swa= <b>u-</b> `=u-r-ag	'elephant's trunk' Lit: 'nose of elephant'
	jèn ǰ=r-rwáb	'bed made of clay'
	rén= <b>d-ǰ</b> =m-dáp	'trap made of sap'
contents	dù= <b>d-ǰ</b> =m-bǰ	'well of water'
place of origin	nētá= <b>j-</b> `=u ʔíbò	'Igbo woman' Lit: 'woman of Igbo-land'
place of use	nòm= <b>d-ǰ</b> =r-hí	'hat' Lit: 'thing of head'
time of use	rè= <b>t-ǰ</b> =m-rím	'evening meal' Lit: 'eating of darkness'
function	bé <b>t-ǰ</b> =r-ǰǰǰt	'places of sitting'
	k <sup>w</sup> àt= <b>j-ǰ</b> =t kwòm	'ring of wealth'
property	bó <b>m-ǰ</b> =t-ūt	'old water' Lit: 'water of old'
size/shape	fār <b>s-ǰ</b> =m wór	'tall shea-butter trees' Lit: 'shea-butter trees of length'
ordinal number	kó:r <b>d-</b> `=u-tǰtǰrsè	'third basket'
idiomatic	bó= <b>m-ǰ</b> =t-rān	'green' Lit: 'water of leaves'



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

# Ut-Ma'in Relative Clause

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## RELATIVIZED LOCATION

			N <sub>HEAD</sub>	REL	[A <sub>RC</sub>	AUX <sub>RC</sub>	VP <sub>NMLZ</sub> -P <sub>RC</sub>	OBLLOC]		
(362)	ēm	nák	bé	<u>d-è</u>	[īt	déʔté	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)

# Ūt-Ma'in Action Nominals

---

443 greet (v.)

4

ōsvók

Smith (2007: 113)

---

[V<sub>HEAD</sub> [[AG<sub>HEAD-ASSOC</sub> = C<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>ASSOC</sub>

N<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>ASSOC</sub>P]<sub>ASSOC</sub>C<sub>XN</sub>

[vōk s-è-s

ūt]

zá

t-barōm

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

Figure 16: ASSOCCXNS with  $N_{\text{HEAD}}$  vs.  $V_{\text{NMLZ:HEAD}}$  as head

# Ut-Ma'in Auxiliary Constructions

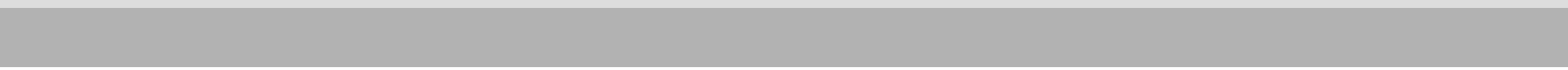
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	S	AUX	s-V	
(240)	ē̄m	ś-g	ē̄s-vē̄k	
	1SG.SUBJ	PROG-PST	C4-greet	
	A	AUX	V	s-` = P
(241)	ē̄m	ś-g	vē̄k	s-` = u-nē̄ŋgē̄n
	1SG.SUBJ	PROG-PST	greet	AG4-ASSOC = C7-old.man
	'I was greeting the old man.'			

# Ut-Ma'in Transitive Auxiliary Cxns


---

Paterson (2019: 81)



# Associative Construction

## Constructional contexts in which the Associative Marker is found:

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

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 <sub>NMLZ</sub>	
	NEG TYPE I: AUXILIARY CXN	S/A	<i>zá</i>	VP <sub>NMLZ</sub>	=da
	TYPE II: PROG+LEX CXN	S/A	<i>ś=LEX</i>	VP <sub>NMLZ</sub>	
	NEG II: PROG+LEX CXN	S/A	<i>zá=LEX</i>	VP <sub>NMLZ</sub>	=da
CH 8	'WANT' SAME SUBJ PREDICATION CXN	A	<i>ś=s-sà</i>	VP <sub>NMLZ</sub>	
	NEG 'WANT' SAME SUBJ PREDICATION CXN	A	<i>zá=s-sà</i>	VP <sub>NMLZ</sub>	=da
CH 9	TYPE III: LEXICAL AUX CXN	S/A	LEXAUX(TNS)	VP <sub>NMLZ</sub>	
	NEG TYPE III: LEXICAL AUX CXN	S/A	LEXAUX(TNS)	VP <sub>NMLZ</sub>	=da
CH 10	'DO' PREDICATION CXN	S/A	<i>nóm</i> (TNS)	VP <sub>NMLZ</sub>	
	NEG 'DO' PREDICATION CXN	S/A	<i>nóm</i> (TNS)	VP <sub>NMLZ</sub>	=da

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

VP<sub>NMLZ</sub> 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

Completive

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<sub>HEAD</sub>    [NP<sub>MOD</sub>]<sub>ASSOC<sub>P</sub></sub>

**ASSOC= NP<sub>MOD</sub>**

2a    NP<sub>HEAD</sub>    [Finite Clause]<sub>REL<sub>CL</sub></sub>

**REL [Finite Clause]**

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

1b    SUBJ    AUX    VP<sub>NMLZD</sub>

**V<sub>HEAD</sub> ASSOC= NP<sub>O</sub>**

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

2b    NP<sub>SUBJ</sub>    VP

**N-SUBJ**

# Associative Construction

## Examples of each use for Noun Class 6

1a  $\text{NP}_{\text{HEAD}}=\text{ASSOC}=\text{NP}_{\text{MOD}}$   
tʃáp=t-ǝ=r-ís  
 feather=AG6-ASSOC=C5-eye  
 ‘eyelashes’ (lit: feathers of eye) (Smith 2007: 103)

			$\text{NP}_{\text{HEAD}}$	<b>REL</b>	[Finite Clause]
2a	ǝm	hjáŋ	<u>(ǝt)-tǝrǝm</u>	<b>tǝ</b>	<u>[Ø hǝ:g]</u>
	1SG.SUBJ	see.PST	C6-hail	<b>C6-REL</b>	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	<u>mónǵòr-tǵ</u>		<u>àzǵè-s:-tè</u>
	mango.fruit-C6.SUBJ		pour-REP-PFT
	'Mango fruit rolled out (of the basket).' (PS_PS_Ror_2013:018)		

			<u>V<sub>HEAD</sub></u>	<b>ASSOC=</b>	<u>NP<sub>OBJ</sub></u>	
1b	<u>ǵm</u>	<u>dét:é</u>	<u>rē</u>		<u>t-ǵ=r-gá</u>	<u>ū-sǵt</u>
	1SG.SUBJ	FUT.OBL	eat		<b>AG6-ASSOC=C5-cooked.grain</b>	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-ǝ=	tǝ	(=t-ǝ=)	-tǝ	tó	tǔ	-tǝ	ǝt-/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	(=ə=) <sup>1</sup>	wə <sup>2</sup>	--	-ə
Class 2	=ə=	ə	--	-ə
Class 3	=ə=	ə	--	-ə
Class 4	=s-ə=	sə	=s-ə=	-sə
Class 5	=d-ə=	də	=d-ə=	-də
Class 6	=t-ə=	tə	(=t-ə=)	-tə
Class 6B	=m-ə=	mə	(=m-ə=)	-mə
Class 7	=j-ə=	jə	--	-jə
Class DIM	=i=	i	--	-i
Class AUG	=à=	à	--	-à

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

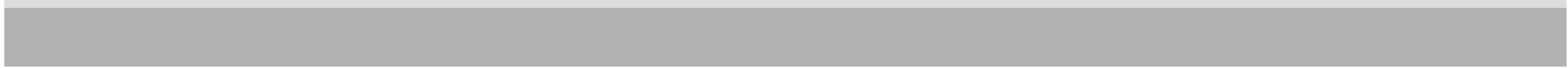
- 1a  $\underline{\text{NP}_{\text{HEAD}}}=\underline{\text{ASSOC}}=\underline{\text{NP}_{\text{MOD}}}$   
tʃáp=t-ǝ=r-ís  
 feather=AG6-ASSOC=C5-eye  
 ‘eyelashes’ (lit: feathers of eye) (Smith 2007: 103)
- 1b  $\underline{\text{V}_{\text{HEAD}}}$   $\underline{\text{ASSOC}}=\underline{\text{NP}_{\text{OBJ}}}$   
 ǝm                      dét:é                      rē                      t-ǝ=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<sub>HEAD</sub></u>	<b>REL</b>	<u>[Finite Clause]</u>
2a	ḗm	hjáń	(ḗt)-tērēm	ṭ	[Ø      hē:g]
	1SG.SUBJ	see.PST	C6-hail	<b>C6-REL</b>	Ø.SUBJ fall.PST
	‘I saw hail that fell.’ (Smith 2007: 88)				

	<u>N-SUBJ</u>	<u>VP</u>
2b	móngòr-ṭ	àzgè-s:-ṭ
	mango.fruit-C6.SUBJ	pour-REP-PFT
	‘Mango fruit rolled out (of the basket).’ (PS_PS_Ror_2013:018)	



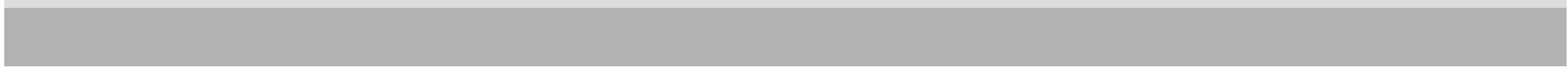


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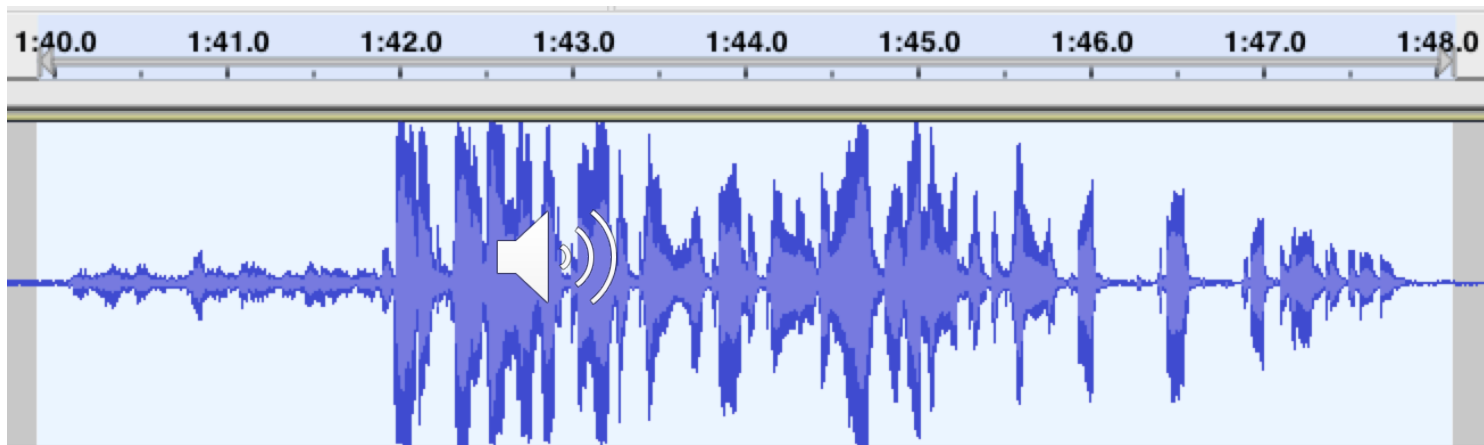
Thank you!

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# Nominalization and Association in context

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*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*     *ś*     *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*     *ś*     *gàp*     *d-ə*                     *dé*  
C1     PROG   hit     AG5-ASSOC     C5

‘he is hitting it’ (2013.MP.PearStory\_Ror\_1:47)