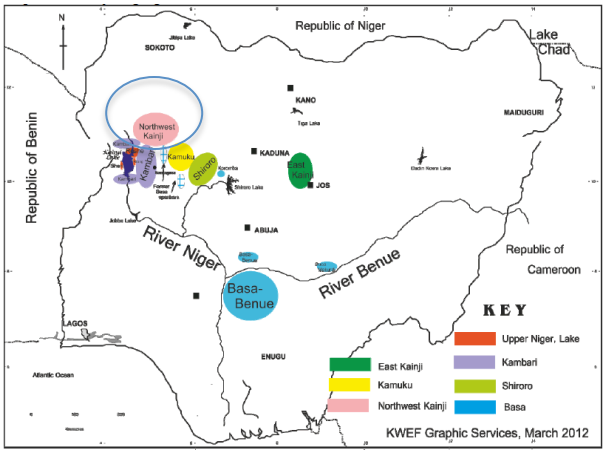

Figure 1: Map of Kainji languages (Blench&McGill 2012)

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 the Duka cluster.

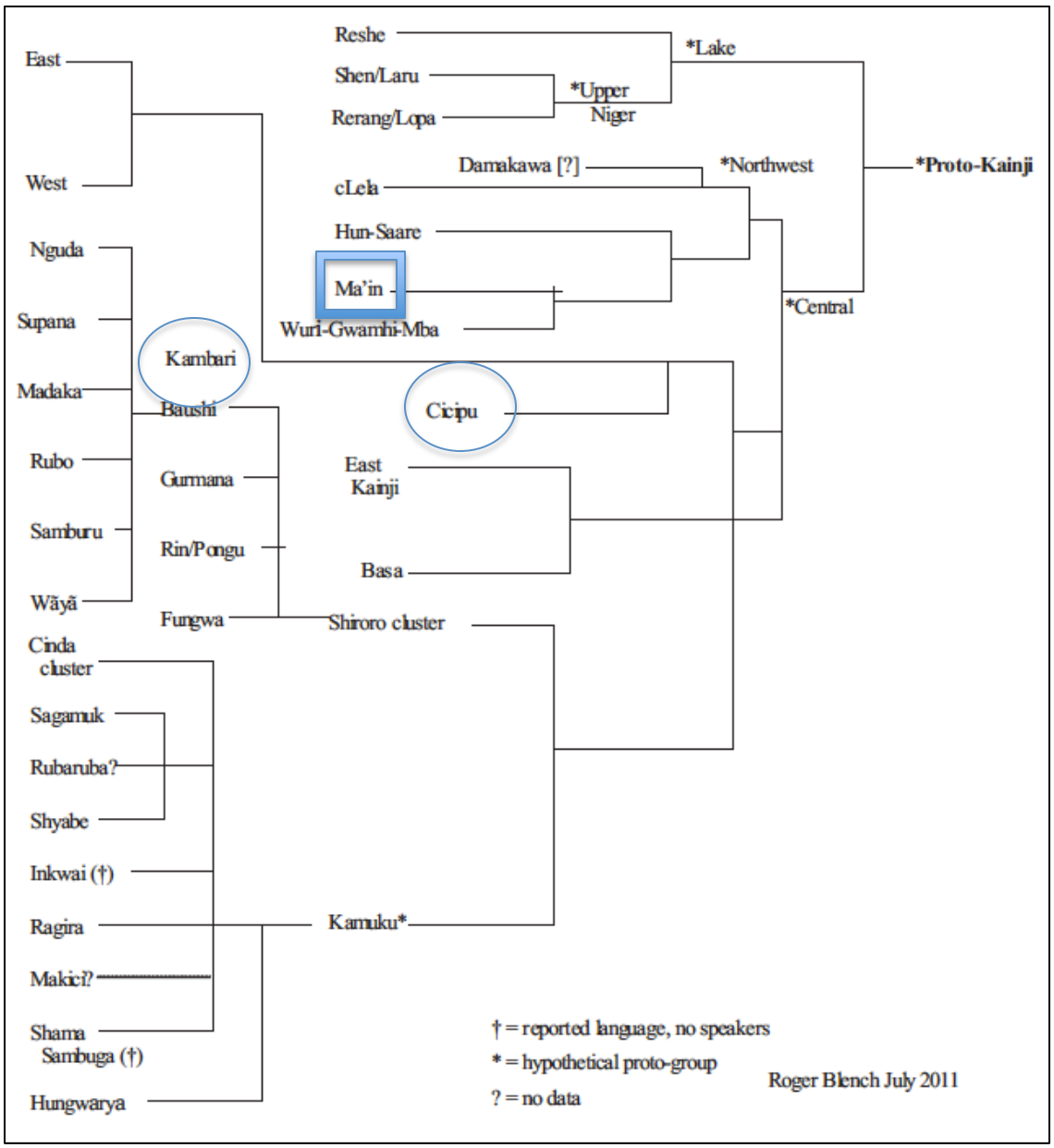

Figure 2: Internal classification of Kainji languages (McGill&Blench 2012:95)

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

- Consistent SV/AVRP word order
- Obligatory overt S/A argument (noun or pronoun); optional only in the imperative (see Appendix8).
- TAM marking suffixed to verb stem; no person/number/noun class agreement marking on verbs (except possibly plural subject marking on a plural imperative).

(1) *hɔ̄ːbɔ̄t dâudā hāːg ɔ́mɛ́nɛ̀.*

S		V-TAM	OBL_{LOC}	
hɔ̄ːb-ɔ̄t	*dâudā*	*hā-ːg*	*ɔ́*	***mɛ́*=*nɛ̀***
friend-C6	Dauda	go-PST	LOC	1SG.ACC=PL

'Dauda's friends went with me.' (06.10.20..9)

(2) *ɔ̄m jāːg wɔ́n ɔ̄màp gjɔ̄p*

A	V-TAM	R	P	ADV
ɔ̄m	*jā-ːg*	*wɔ́n*	*ɔ̄m-àp*	*gjɔ̄p*
1SG.NOM	give-PST	C1.3SG	C6M-meat	yesterday

'I gave him/her meat yesterday.' (13.08.Bk1..29)

(3) *nā gʲín mɛ́ ɔ̀zán*

A	VTAM	P	OBL_{LOC}	
nā	*gʲín*	***mɛ́***	*ɔ̀*	*zán*
3PL.INDEF	hate.NON.PST	1SG.ACC	LOC	outside

'I am hated outside (Lit: They hate me outside.)' (05.11.FSC..24)

- Some indication of case marked arguments in 1SG pronoun subject ***ə̄m*** (2) versus object form ***mɛ́*** (3), and with unmodified nouns in subject position (4a), compare (5)

(4a) ***fə̂rsə̀*** *hɛ̄ːg*
S-CM V-TAM
fə̂r-s-ə̀ *hɛ̄-ːg*
tree-C4-ASSOC fall-PST
'Trees fell' (Smith 2007:22)

(4b) *ə̄m* *hɛ̄ːg* ***ə̄sfə̂r*** *sə̀m wɔ́r*
A V-TAM CM-P
ə̄m *hɛ̄ː-g* *ə̄s-fə̂r-s-ə̀-m-wɔ́r*
SG fall-PST C4-tree-C4-ASSOC-C6M-length
'I cut down the tall trees.' (Smith 2007:76)

(5) **farəkə̀jatɔ́** zə̄ wā nɔŋgə̀ wə̄n hɔ́də̀tbàʔàs
A VTAM P[REPORTED SPEECH]
farək ə̀-jat-ɔ́ zə̄ [wā nɔŋ-g wə̄n hɔ̀-d-ə̀-t-bàʔàs]
king ASSOC-big-C3.AUG say.NON.PST 3SG do-PST 3SG kill-C5-ASSOC-C6-offense
'The big king said (that) he should forgive him.' (13.08.GK..2:38)

4 Suffixing verb morphology

- Verb marking includes suffixed past/perfective markers whose range of meanings including "affectedness" of patient, location of event, or "exclusiveness" of agent among other things
- Verb extensions - Kainji languages not listed separately as subgroup with verb extensions in Williamson & Blench (2000) summary of Niger-Congo languages. Verb extensions are said to be widespread in Central Nigerian, including pluractionals
- Pluractional *il* and causative *is* attested in Cicipu (McGill 2009:209)

Intransitive		Tense/ Aspect	Possible source of Verb morphology	Cognate forms in Kainji/ [Benue-Congo]	Examples
S	V	NON.PST/ HAB			
S	V-g / -k	PST		C'Lela *-kV* PERF	1, 4a, 8a, 8b
S	V-tɛ̀	PST(.CAUS???)	*ə̄r-tɛ́* 'arrive'		9a
S	V-gə̄n	PST.DIST	PK locative **ən*	Duka *-n* DIST	
S	V-tə̄n	PST.DIST	PK locative **ən*	Duka *-n* DIST	11
S	V-ə̄stɛ̀	PST.COMPL		Duka *-sətɛ* PERFECT	13b
S	V-ə̄ʔsɛ̀	PST(.CAUS???)		[Degema *-ɛsɛ^{i}*]	
S	V-ɛ̀	PST.EXCL			17b, 19

Table 1: Ut-Ma'in verb suffixes - intransitive

Transitive			Tense/ Aspect	Possible source of Verb morphology	Cognate forms in Kainji/ [Benue-Congo]	Examples
A	V	P	NON.PST/ HAB			3, 5, 6
A	V-g / -k	P	PST		C'Lela *-kV* PERF	2, 4b
A	V-tɛ̀	P	PST(.CAUS???)	*ə̄r-tɛ́* 'arrive'		9b
A	V-gə̄n	P	PST.DIST	PK locative **ən*	Duka *-n* DIST	10
A	V-tə̄n	P	PST.DIST	PK locative **ən*	Duka *-n* DIST	12
A	V-ə̄stɛ̀	P	PST.COMPL		Duka *-sətɛ* PERFECT	13, 14, 15
	V-ə̄ʔsɛ̀		PST(.CAUS???)		[Degema *-ɛsɛ*]	16
A	V-ɛ̀	P	PST.EXCL			17

Table 2: Ut-Ma'in verb suffixes - transitive

4.1 Habitual/ Non-Past

(6) *nɛ̄tə̄tín rērgá ɔ́ʔtʃʷānɛ̀*

A	V	O		
nɛ̄t-ə̄t = ín	rē-∅	r-gá	ɔ́	t-tʃʷā = nɛ̀
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)

4.2 *-k* Past

- *-k* PST; occurs with only a few verbs in data. *-k* replaces final consonant of stem.
- occurs with *ə̄t-nàp* 'know', *ə̄t-hɔ̀g* 'hear'

(7) *wə̄n nák ə̀r-tɔ́m sók.*

3SG know.PST C5-hoeing well

'He knows hoeing very well.' (2006.12.20..4)

(8a) *ə̄m hɔ̀k gjə̄p*

1SG hear.PST yesterday

'I heard yesterday.' (13.08.Bk1..33)

(8b) *ə̄m hɔ̀-ːg gjə̄p*

1SG kill-PST yesterday

'I killed yesterday' (13.08.Bk1..33)

4.3 *-tɛ̀* Past

- *-tɛ̀* PST with the verb *ə̄s-zɔ̀ŋg* 'prepare'; there is no other past form of this verb

- occurs in data with words meaning ‘see’, ‘do’, ‘remove’, ‘break’, ‘spoil’, ‘lose’; for some it is the only attested past form

(9a) *ɔ̄m zɔ̀ŋgtɛ̀ gjɔ̄p*

S	V-TAM	ADV
ɔ̄m	*zɔ̀ŋg-tɛ̀*	*gjɔ̄p*
1SG	prepare-PST	yesterday

‘I prepared yesterday.’ (13.08.Bk1..33)

(9b) *ɔ̄m zɔ̀ŋgtɛ̀ ɔ́ gjɔ̄p*

S	V-TAM	ADV	
ɔ̄m	*zɔ̀ŋg-tɛ̀*	*ɔ́*	*gjɔ̄p*
1SG	prepare-PST	C3.3SG	yesterday

‘I prepared it yesterday.’ (13.08.Bk1..33)

4.4 *-gɔ̄n* and *-tɔ̄n* distal past suffixes

- *-gɔ̄n* distal PST with the verb *ɔ̄t-rɛ* ‘eat’

(10) *ɔ̄m rɛ́gɔ̄n sāp ɔ́zwɔ̄gɔ̄r*

A	V-TAM	P	OBLLOC	
ɔ̄m	*rɛ́-g-ɔ̄n*	*sāp*	*ɔ́*	*zwɔ̄gɔ̄r*
1SG	eat-PST-DIST	rice	LOC	Zuru.town

‘I ate rice at Zuru (before coming here)’ (13.08.Bk1..21)

- *-tɔ̄n* distal PST with the verb *ɔ̄t-nàːs* ‘spoil’

(11) ɔ̄m nāːs-t-ɔ̄n

‘I spoiled something (far away).’ (13.08.Bk1..45)

(You spoiled something and you came back and you are telling someone.)

- *-tɔ̄n* distal PST with the verb *ɔ̄t-tá* ‘shoot’

(12) *kɔ́ná dàrīdàŋgjɔ̀ tátɔ̄n ɔ̄màndí " tàr: " sémɛ́ tɛ̄kɔ́ nɔ̀m ɔ́ hɔ̀g bɛ̂:t*

ADV	A	V-TAM	P	[OBLLOC	]			
kɔ́ná	*dàrīdàŋg-jɔ̀*	*tá-t-ɔ̄n*	*ɔ̄m-màndí …*	*[sɛ́-mɛ́*	*tɛ̄k-ɔ́*	*nɔ̀m*	*ɔ́*	*hɔ̀g bɛ̂:t]*

there spider-C7 shoot-PST-DIST C6M-thread… until-inside middle-ASSOC things COP hear all

‘There the spider shot (from far) the thread until (it was) in the middle of all the living things.’ (05.11.FSC..13)

4.5 *-ɔ̄stɛ̀* PST completive

- *-ɔ̄stɛ̀* PST completive with the verb *ɔ̄t-rɛ* ‘eat’

(13a) wɔ̄n rē:stɛ̀ r-gá
3SG eat.it.all C5-yam
'He ate all the yams (there are none left).'

(13b) *ɔ̄m* *rē:stɛ̀*
1SG eat.PST.COMPL
'I ate (everything).' (13.08.Bk1..23)

- *-ɔ̄stɛ̀* PST completive with the verb *ɔ̄t-jà* 'give'
- cf. the past tense form *jā:g*

(14) *ɔ̄m* *jā:stɛ̀* *ɔ̄màp*
1SG give.PST.COMPL C6M-meat
'I have given all of the meat (there is no meat left).' (13.08.Bk1..29)

- *-ɔ̄stɛ̀* PST completive with the verb *ɔ̄s-vɔ̄k* 'greet'
- This is the only past tense form of *ɔ̄s-vɔ̄k* 'greet'

(15) *ɔ̄m* *vɔ̄k-ɔ̄stɛ̀* wɔ́n *gjɔ̄p*
1SG greet-PST.COMPL 3SG yesterday
'I greeted him/her yesterday.' (13.08.Bk1..25)

4.6 -ɔ̄ʔsɛ̀ PST (causative?)

- Is *-ɔ̄ʔsɛ̀* a distinct morpheme from *-ɔ̄stɛ̀*? In elicitation, speakers sometimes alternate between pronunciations. However, for some roots a distinction in meaning occurs.
- cf. (10b) above; *rē:stɛ̀* and *rɛgəʔse* are both from the root *ɔ̄t-rɛ* 'eat'; *rɛgəʔse* occurs with the *-g* and the *-ɔ̄ʔsɛ̀*
- cf. (4a) and (4b) where no morphology marks the causative form

(16) Yɛ̱sɔ̱ rɛ̱gu̱ssɛ̱ u̱t-nɛ̱t u̱t-kɔ̱k u̱t-shik u̱t-yu̱r u̱ ɔ̱p [5,000]
Jɛsɔ rɛ-g-əʔse ət-nɛt ət-kɔk ət-ʃik ət-jər ə ɔp
Jesus eat-PST-CAUS C6-people C6-hundred C6-twenty C6-two and ten
'Jesus fed 5,000 people.' (2008.Ruka.35 - no tone marked)

4.7 -*ɛ́* PST exclusive subject

- occurs in data with the following verbs: ɔ̄t-nàp 'know', ɔ̄t-hɔ̀g 'hear', ɔ̄m-hján 'see', ɔ̄s-zɔ̀ŋg 'prepare', ɔ̄t-nɔ̀m 'do', ɔ̄r-tʃwá 'enter', ɔ̄t-nà:s 'spoil' among others
- use of *mɛ́* 1SG.ACC form for 1SG pronoun "subject"

(17a) *mɛ́* *náp-ɛ́* *wá*
1SG.ACC know-EXCL C1.him
'(Only) I know him.'(13.08.Bk1.39)

(17b) *mɛ́* *náp-ɛ́*
1SG.ACC know-EXCL
'(Only) I know.' (13.08.Bk1.39)

(18a) **ə̄m nápɛ́ wá*

(18b) **ə̄m nápɛ́*

(19) u yu̱n-e̱ ho̱g-du̱ m-e̱
u jən-ɛ hɔg-d-ə-m-ɛ
C1.3SG leave-EXCL hear-C1- ASSOC-6M-shame
'(Only) he leaves ashamed./He is the only one leaving in shame.' (13.08.GK..2:42)

Note: *mɛ́* also occus in two imperfective constructions - future and present equative.

- Future 1 (cf. Table 4)

(20a) mɛ́ *ə̄t-nàp*
1SG.ACC C6-know
'I will know.' (13.08.Bk1..36)

- Future 2

(20b) *ə̄m* *dɛ́* *ə̄t-náp*
1SG.NOM COP.FUT C6-know
'I will know.' (13.08.Bk1..36)

- Present Progressive

(21b) *ə̄m* *ɔ́* *náp-d-ə̀* *ɔ́*
1SG.NOM COP.PRES.PROG know-C5 C3.it
I know it/ I am knowing it.' (13.08.Bk1..36)

- Equative

(21) mɛ́ ɔ́ ə̄r-kōʔ
1SG.ACC COP C5.frog
'I am frog.' (05.11.FSC..23) '

(22) *ɔ́dàʔɔ́* *ràndí-mə̀* *ɔ́* *fə̀n-ù-rī*
now spider.web-C6M COP.PRES.PROG road-C7U-1SG.POSS
'Now the spider web is my road.' (FSC 2006.20)

5 Outstanding questions:

- Distribution and co-occurrence of verb suffixes
- Function of seemingly overlapping forms

> Productive non-Bantu NC extensions include aspect (e.g. pluractional, completive). Concerning the last point, in much of the Plateau and neighboring groups of Niger-Congo within Nigeria, ". . . those [verbal extensions] with syntactic functions have been lost, while aspect-like VEs are still present" (Gerhardt 1988:5). Pluractionality marking is widespread in both Nigeria and Cameroon and, where occurring, often uses suffixes which look like the derivational suffixes found in Bantu and elsewhere in Niger-Congo, e.g. in the Grassfields Bantu language Kom, where individual verbs mark the pluractional by means of different suffixes…" (Hyman 2007: 161)

- Hyman's (2007) question of the origin of verbal extensions: from verbs (also from nouns?) or from adpositions? Evidence from Moore is very similar to noun class morphology.
- Ụt-Ma'in data may offer evidence toward a noun class morphology source for verbal extensions.

6 Appendix: Nouns

6.1 Characteristics of noun marking in Ụt-Ma'in

- Singular/Plural forms are in separate classes marked by a prefix on the noun stem.

	C-ROOT	C-ROOT
(23)	*ɔ̄r-ís*	*ɔ̄t-ís*
	C5-eye	C6-eye
	'eye'	'eyes'

- Some classes are not identifyable from the noun prefix.
- There are three classes that begin with the noun prefix *u-*, and yet require different agreement markers. There are an additional three classes that have no noun prefix, but require the three distinct agreement markers.

(24)	CLASS	EXAMPLE	GLOSS
	1U	*mákt-ú dʒás-wà*	'a red barren woman'
	1∅	*hɔ̄ːb-∅ dʒás-wà*	'a red friend'
	3U	*rān-ū dʒás-ɔ̀*	'a red leaf'
	3∅	*sʷás-∅ dʒás-ɔ̀*	'a red entrance hut'
	7U	*kēz-ū dʒás-jà*	'a red antelope'
	7∅	*tʃāmpá-∅ dʒás-jà*	'a red man'

Class Label	Agreement Pronoun	Noun Prefix	Examples C_1-N_1	Gloss	Semantic characteristics (generalizations)
C1U	*ú/wá*	*ū-*	*ū-mákt*	'barren woman'	human
C1∅	*wá*	*∅-*	*∅-hámə̀t*	'visitor'	human
C2	*ɛ́*	*∅-*	*∅-ná*	'oxen'	animate
C3U	*ɔ́*	*ū-*	*ū-bù*	'house'	inanimate/augmentative sg
C3∅	*ɔ́*	*∅-*	*∅-sʷás*	'entrance hut'	inanimate/augmentative sg
C4	*sɛ́*	*ə̄s-*	*ə̄s-bòʔ*	'dreams'	long, mostly inanimate
C5	*dɛ́*	*ə̄r-*	*ə̄r-hí*	'head'	round, mostly inanimate
C6	*tɔ́*	*ə̄t-*	*ə̄t-kɔ́k*	'calabashes'	default plural, nominalizer
C6M	*mɔ́*	*ə̄m-*	*ə̄m-nɔ̀ːg*	'oil'	mass, diminutive pl
C7U	*já*	*ū-*	*ū-ná*	'ox'	animate
C7∅	*já*	*∅-*	*∅-tʃ̄ampá*	'man'	human
CAUG	*á*	*ā-*	*ā-bà*	'big lake'	augmentative pl
CDIM	*ɛ́*	*ī-*	*ī-gʷá*	'tiny (p. of) grass'	diminutive sg

Table 1: Ụt-Ma'in noun classes

6.2 Verb classification within the Ụt-Ma'in noun class system

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

Table 2: Frequency of nominal(ized) Ụt-Ma'in verbs in citation form (wordlist of 1381 words)

Ụt-Ma'in Class Label	Ụt-Ma'in Prefix	Ụt-Hun Prefix	C'Lela Prefix
C6	*ɔ̄t-*	*ɔt-*[1]	*ʧ-*
C5	*ɔ̄r-*	*ɔr-*	*d-*
C4	*ɔ̄s-*	*ɔs-*	*s-*
C6M	*ɔ̄m-*		*m-*
C3U	*ū-*	*o-*	
CAUG[2]			*á-*

Table 3: Possible cognate nominal(izing) prefixes in Ụt-Ma'in, Ụt-Hun and C'Lela

7 Appendix: Additional/developing verb morphology

Intransitive			Tense/Aspect	Possible source of Auxiliary	Possible cognate forms in Kainji
S	COP	Semantic Verb			
S	*ɔ́*	C_1-V_1	PRES.PROG	current equative verb *ɔ́* 'be'	C'Lela *el* / *elló* COP
S	*ɔ́g*	C_1-V_1	PST.PROG	current equative verb + PST *ɔ́-g* 'be-PST'	
S	*dɛ́*	C_1-V_1	FUT	*ɔ̄t-dɛ́ʔɛ́* 'travel, go'	
S	*dɛ́*	*t*-V	FUT(.INCEPT?)	NOUN CLASS 6 marking	
S		*t*-V	FUT	NOUN CLASS 6 marking	C'Lela *t*-SUBJECT.PN FUT-PN

Table 4: Ụt-Ma'in verb morphology- auxiliaries plus emerging aspectual verb prefixes

	S	V_{AUX}	C_1-V_1	
(25)	*ɔ̄m*	*dɛ́*	*ū-mā*	'I will build .'
	1SG	FUT	C3U-build	(06.12..18)

(interpretation: I am going to join someone who is already building)

[1] No tone is marked in Heath and Heath (2002:68) for these forms.

[2] CAUG as a class label is included here to show which class the C'Lela prefix form is possibly cognate to in Ụt-Ma'in. In Ụt-Ma'in, CAUG is not currently known to take part in the nominalization process of verbs.

	S	V_{AUX}	C_1-V_1	
(26)	*ə̄m*	*dɛ́*	*t-mā*	'I will (start the process of) building.'
	1SG	FUT	C6-build	(06.12..18)
	(inceptive interpretation)			

Transitive			Tense/Aspect	Source V/O morphology
A	*ɔ́*	V_1- C_1-ASSOC- C_2 -O_2	PRES.PROG	inherent class of root
A	*ɔ́*	V_1- *d* -ASSOC- C_2 -O_2	PRES.PROG	NOUN CLASS 5 marking
A	*ɔ́g*	V_1- C_1-ASSOC- C_2 -O_2	PST.PROG	inherent class of root
A	*ɔ́g*	V_1- *d* -ASSOC- C_2 -O_2	PST.PROG	NOUN CLASS 5 marking
A	*dɛ́*	V_1- C_1-ASSOC- C_2 - O_2	FUT	inherent class of root
A	*dɛ́*	V_1- *d* -ASSOC- C_2 -O_2	FUT	NOUN CLASS 5 marking

Table 5: Ụt-Ma'in verbs - auxiliaries plus emerging verb morphology

	S	V_{AUX}	C_1-V_1
(27)	*ə̄m*	*dɛ́*	*ū-mā*
	1SG	FUT	C3U-build
	'I will build .' (06.12..18)		

	A	$V_{AUX.TAM}$	V_1-*d* -ASSOC-C_2-O_2
(28)	*ə̄m*	*dɛ́*	*mā-d-* `*-u-kúr*
	1SG	FUT	build-C5-ASSOC-C3u-room
	'I will build a room.' (06.12..18)		

	S	V_{AUX}	C_1-V_1
(29)	*ə̄m*	*ɔ́*	*ū-mā*
	1SG	PRES.PROG	C3u-build
	'I am building.' (06.12..18)		

	A	V_{AUX}	V_1-*d* -ASSOC-C_2-O_2
(30)	*ə̄m*	*ɔ́*	*mā-d-* `*-u-kúr*
	1SG	PRES.PROG	build-C5-ASSOC-C3U-room
	'I am building a room.' (06.12..18)		

	S	$V_{AUX.}$	C_1-V_1

(31) *ə̄m* *ɔ́g* *ū-mā*
1SG PST.PROG C3u-build
'I was building.' (06.12..18)

A V_{AUX} V_1-*d* -ASSOC-C_2-O_2
(32) *ə̄m* *ɔ́g* *mā -d- `-u-kúr*
1SG PST.PROG build-C5-ASSOC-C3U-room
'I was building a room.' (06.12..18)

S V_{AUX} C_1-V_1
(33) *ə̄m* *dɛ́* *s-və̄k.*
1SG FUT C4-greet
'I will greet.' (06.12..19)

A V_{AUX} V_1-*s* -ASSOC-C_2-O_2
(34) *wə̄n* *dɛ́* *və̀k-s-ə̀-r-maŋg*
3SG FUT greet-C4-ASSOC-C5-old.woman
'He will greet the old woman.' (06.12..18)

(35) A V_{AUX} V_1-*s* -ASSOC-C_2-O_2
wə̄n *dɛ́* *və̀k-s-ə̀-r-maŋg*
3SG FUT greet-C4-ASSOCMRK-C5-old.woman
'He will greet the old woman.'

S V_{AUX} V C5-ASSOC-C_1-O_1
(36) *ɛ̀-k^{h}ɛ̄n* | *ɔ́* | *gáp* | *d-ə̀-t-t^{h}ɔ́.*
C2.INDEF PRES.PROG slap C5-ASSOC-C6-ear
'Some (living creatures) are slapping/flapping ears.'

A $V_{AUX.}$ V_1 *s*-ASSOC-C_2-O_2
(37) *wə̄n* | *dɛ́* | *və̀k* | *s-ə̀-r-maŋg*
3SG FUT greet C4-ASSOC-C5-old.woman
'He will greet the old woman.'

8 Appendix: Imperative morphology

Intransitive	Tense/ Aspect	Possible source of Verb morphology	Cognate forms in Kainji
(S) V (low tone)	IMPER		
(S) V-nɛ̀	IMPER.COL	NP clitic plural marker	
(S) V-ɔ̄n	IMPER.PL	3PL personal pronoun	
Transitive			
(A) V (low tone) P	IMPER		
(A) V-nɛ̀ P	IMPER.COL	NP clitic plural marker	
(A) V-ɔ̄n P	IMPER.PL	3PL personal pronoun	

Table 6: Ụt-Ma'in imperative forms

9 Abbreviations

A	AGENTLIKE ARGUMENT OF A TRANSITIVE CLAUSE	NP	NOUN PHRASE
		NON.PAST	NON-PAST TENSE
ACC	ACCUSATIVE	P	PATIENT LIKE ARGUMENT
ASSOC	ASSOCIATIVE MARKER	OBL	OBLIQUE
AUX	AUXILIARY VERB	PERF	PERFECTIVE ASPECT
C	CLASS MARKER	PL	PLURAL
COP	COPULA	PROG	PROGRESSIVE ASPECT
COL	COLLECTIVE	PST	PAST TENSE
FUT	FUTURE TENSE	R	RECIPIENT ARGUMENT
INCEP	INCEPTIVE	SG	SINGULAR
LOC	LOCATIVE	TAM	TENSE/ASPECT/MODALITY
NLZ	NOMINALIZER	V	VERB

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[i] Kari (1995:158) as cited in Hyman (2007)