Introduction

- Ut-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 (Dakanci) [dri] and Ut-Hun (Dukanci) [dud]. These form a group known as Northwest or the Duka cluster.
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 Appendix 8).
• 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) hə:bőt dəudə hə:g əmənə.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>V-TAM</th>
<th>OBL_LOC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hə:b-ət</td>
<td>dəudə</td>
<td>hə-ːg əm = nə</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

friend-c6  Dauda  go-PST  LOC  1SG.ACC = PL

‘Dauda’s friends went with me.’ (06.10.20..9)

(2) əm jəːg wən əməp ɡəʃp

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>V-TAM</th>
<th>R</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>ADV</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>əm</td>
<td>jə-ːg</td>
<td>wən əm-əp</td>
<td>ɡəʃp</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1SG.NOM  give-PST  C1.3SG  C6M-meat  yesterday

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

(3) nə ɡ'ɨn mə əzən

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>V-TAM</th>
<th>P</th>
<th>OBL_LOC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nə</td>
<td>ɡ'ɨn</td>
<td>mə</td>
<td>əzən</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ɘ̄m (2) versus object form ɘ̀m (3), and with unmodified nouns in subject position (4a), compare (5)

(4a)  fàrsè hē:tg  
S-CM  V-TAM
fàr-s-ɘ̀ hē:-tg  
tree-C4-ASSOC fall-PST
‘Trees fell’ (Smith 2007:22)

(4b)  ūm hē:-tg  ūs-fàr-s-ɘ̀-m-wôr
S  V-TAM CM-P

(5)  fàrokgèjatò  Zo wā nọnjè wön hŏd̥tbà?às
A  V-TAM  P[REPORTED SPEECH]
farok ɗ-jat-ɗ  zô  [wā nọnjè wön hŏ-d̥-t-bà?às]
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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Tense/Aspect</th>
<th>Possible source of Verb morphology</th>
<th>Cognate forms in Kainji/ [Benue-Congo]</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S V</td>
<td>NON.PST/HAB</td>
<td>ɘ̀-tè ‘arrive’</td>
<td>C’Lela -kV PERF</td>
<td>1, 4a, 8a, 8b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S V-g / -k</td>
<td>PST</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>9a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S V-tè</td>
<td>PST(.CAUS???)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S V-gùn</td>
<td>PST.DIST</td>
<td>PK locative *èn</td>
<td>Duka -n DIST</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S V-tôn</td>
<td>PST.DIST</td>
<td>PK locative *èn</td>
<td>Duka -n DIST</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S V-ôstè</td>
<td>PST.COMPL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>13b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S V-ôísè</td>
<td>PST(.CAUS???)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S V-è</td>
<td>PST.EXCL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>17b, 19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Ut-Ma’in verb suffixes - intransitive
### Transitive Tense/Aspect Possible source of Verb morphology Cognate forms in Kainji/ [Benue-Congo] Examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive</th>
<th>Tense/Aspect</th>
<th>Possible source of Verb morphology</th>
<th>Cognate forms in Kainji/ [Benue-Congo]</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A V P</td>
<td>NON.PST/HAB</td>
<td>ō̄r-te ‘arrive’</td>
<td>C’Lela -kV PERF</td>
<td>3, 5, 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A V-g / -k P</td>
<td>PST</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2, 4b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A V-tè P</td>
<td>PST(.CAUS???)</td>
<td>PK locative *ən</td>
<td>Duka -n DIST</td>
<td>9b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A V-gən P</td>
<td>PST.DIST</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A V-tən P</td>
<td>PST.DIST</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A V-əstə P</td>
<td>PST.COMPL</td>
<td></td>
<td>Duka -səte PERFECT</td>
<td>13, 14, 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V-əʔsə P</td>
<td>PST(.CAUS???)</td>
<td></td>
<td>[Degema -εsε ]</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A V-ə P</td>
<td>PST.EXCL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 2: Ut-Ma’in verb suffixes - transitive**

### 4.1 Habitual/ Non-Past

(6) nēt tin rērgā əʔtfʷānē

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>O</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nēt-ət = ín</td>
<td>rē-∅</td>
<td>r-gā</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ō̄t-nəp ‘know’, ō̄t-həg ‘hear’

(7) wōn nāk ō̄̄r-tōm sōk.

3SG know.PST c5-hoeing well

‘He knows hoeing very well.’ (2006.12.20..4)

(8a) ō̄m hōk ɡjōp (8b) ō̄m hō-g ɡjōp

1SG hear.PST yesterday 1SG kill-PST yesterday

‘I heard yesterday.’ (13.08.Bk1..33) ‘I killed yesterday’ (13.08.Bk1..33)

### 4.3 -tè Past

- -tè PST with the verb ō̄s-zəŋ ‘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

\[(9a) \quad \text{ŋdm ñòŋtē gjōp} \quad \text{(9b) } \quad \text{ŋdm ñòŋtē ɔ tjōp} \]
S V-TAM ADV S V-TAM ADV
ñm ñòŋtē gjōp ñm ñòŋtē ɔ tjōp
1SG prepare-PST yesterday 1SG prepare-PST C3.3SG yesterday
‘I prepared yesterday.’ (13.08.Bk1..33) ‘I prepared it yesterday.’ (13.08.Bk1..33)

4.4 -gān and -tōn distal past suffixes
• -gān distal PST with the verb ɘt-re ‘eat’

\[(10) \quad \text{ŋm rēgān sāp ɔzwōgār} \]
A V-TAM P OBLLOC
ŋm rē-gān sāp ɔ zwōgār
1SG eat-PST-DIST rice LOC Zuru.town
‘I ate rice at Zuru (before coming here)’ (13.08.Bk1..21)

• -tōn distal PST with the verb ɘt-nās ‘spoil’

\[(11) \quad \text{ŋm nās-tōn} \]
‘I spoiled something (far away).’ (13.08.Bk1..45)
(You spoiled something and you came back and you are telling someone.)

• -tōn distal PST with the verb ɘt-tā ‘shoot’

\[(12) \quad \text{kōnā dārīdāŋjiō tātōn ŋmrāndī } " \text{tār; } " \text{sēmē tēkō nōm } ɔ \text{ hōg bēt} \]
ADV A V-TAM P [OBLLOC ]
kōnā dārīdāŋ-jiō tā-tōn ŋm-rāndī … [sē-mē tēk-ō nōm ɔ hōg bēt]
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 -ynchronously PST completive
• -ynchronously PST completive with the verb ɘt-re ‘eat’
(13a) wōn rē:stē r-gá
3SG eat.it.all C5-yam
‘He ate all the yams (there are none left).’

(13b) ūm rē:stē
1SG eat.PST.COMPL
‘I ate (everything).’ (13.08.Bk1..23)

-ōstē PST completive with the verb ūt-jā ‘give’
- cf. the past tense form jāg

(14) ūm jā:stē ūmāp
1SG give.PST.COMPL C6M-meat
‘I have given all of the meat (there is no meat left).’ (13.08.Bk1..29)

-ōstē PST completive with the verb ūs-vōk ‘greet’
- This is the only past tense form of ūs-vōk ‘greet’

(15) ūm vōk-ōstē wōn giāp
1SG greet-PST.COMPL 3SG yesterday
‘I greeted him/her yesterday.’ (13.08.Bk1..25)

4.6 -ōsē PST (causative?)
- Is -ōsē a distinct morpheme from -ōstē? In elicitation, speakers sometimes alternate between pronunciations. However, for some roots a distinction in meaning occurs.
- cf. (10b) above; rē:stē and regō?se are both from the root ūt-re ‘eat’; regō?se occurs with the -g and the -ōsē
- cf. (4a) and (4b) where no morphology marks the causative form

(16) Jesus re-g-o?se ut-net ut-kōk ut-shik ut-yur ʊ ʊp [5,000]
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 -ē PST exclusive subject
- use of mē 1SG.ACC form for 1SG pronoun “subject”
(17a) \( \text{mé náp-é wá} \) \( \text{1SG.ACC know-EXCL C1.him} \)
(17b) \( \text{mé náp-é} \) \( \text{1SG.ACC know-EXCL} \)
‘(Only) I know him.’ (13.08.Bk1.39) \( \text{‘(Only) I know.’} \) (13.08.Bk1.39)

(18a) \( *\text{mó nápé wá} \)
(18b) \( *\text{mó nápé} \)

(19) \( u \text{ yún-é hóg-du m-é} \)
\( u \text{ jón-é hóg-d-ò-m-é} \)
\( \text{C1.3SG leave-EXCL hear-C1- ASSOC-6M-shame} \)
‘(Only) he leaves ashamed./He is the only one leaving in shame.’ (13.08.GK..2:4)

Note: \( \text{mé} \) also occurs in two imperfective constructions - future and present equative.

- Future 1 (cf. Table 4)
(20a) \( \text{mó ŋt-náp} \)
\( \text{1SG.NOM COP.FUT C6-know} \)
‘I will know.’ (13.08.Bk1..36)

- Future 2
(20b) \( *\text{mó dé ŋt-náp} \)
\( \text{1SG.NOM COP.FUT C6-know} \)
‘I will know.’ (13.08.Bk1..36)

- Present Progressive
(21b) \( *\text{mó ŋd ŋd-náp} \)
\( \text{1SG.NOM COP.PRES.PROG know-C5 C3.it} \)
I know it/ I am knowing it.’ (13.08.Bk1..36)

- Equative
(21) \( \text{mé ŋr-kō?} \)
\( \text{1SG.ACC COP C5.frog} \)
‘I am frog.’ (05.11.FSC..23)

(22) \( *\text{dàd ŋr-rändí-mò ŋd fōn-ù-rí} \)
\( \text{now spider.web-C6M COP.PRES.PROG road-C7U-1SG.POSS} \)
‘Now the spider web is my road.’ (FSC 2006.20)
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.
• Ṣt-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 Ṣt-Ma’in

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1U</td>
<td>mákt-ú  džás-wà</td>
<td>‘a red barren woman’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1Ø</td>
<td>hāš-b-Ø  džás-wà</td>
<td>‘a red friend’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3U</td>
<td>rān-ú  džás-ød</td>
<td>‘a red leaf’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3Ø</td>
<td>s’ās-Ø  džás-ød</td>
<td>‘a red entrance hut’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7U</td>
<td>kēz-ú  džás-jà</td>
<td>‘a red antelope’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7Ø</td>
<td>ŋāmpá-Ø  džás-jà</td>
<td>‘a red man’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 1: Út-Ma‘in noun classes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class Label</th>
<th>Agreement Pronoun</th>
<th>Noun Prefix</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>C₁-N₁</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Semantic characteristics (generalizations)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>c₁U</td>
<td>ú/wá</td>
<td>ü-</td>
<td>ü-mákt</td>
<td>‘barren woman’</td>
<td>human</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c₁Ø</td>
<td>wá</td>
<td>Ø-</td>
<td>Ø-hámðt</td>
<td>‘visitor’</td>
<td>human</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c₂</td>
<td>é</td>
<td>Ø-</td>
<td>Ø-ná</td>
<td>‘oxen’</td>
<td>animate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c₃U</td>
<td>ś</td>
<td>ü-</td>
<td>ü-bù</td>
<td>‘house’</td>
<td>inanimate/augmentative sg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c₃Ø</td>
<td>ś</td>
<td>Ø-</td>
<td>Ø-s“ás</td>
<td>‘entrance hut’</td>
<td>inanimate/augmentative sg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c₄</td>
<td>sē</td>
<td>寤s-</td>
<td>寤s-bòʔ</td>
<td>‘dreams’</td>
<td>long, mostly inanimate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c₅</td>
<td>dé</td>
<td>将士-</td>
<td>将士-hí</td>
<td>‘head’</td>
<td>round, mostly inanimate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c₆</td>
<td>tō</td>
<td>将士-</td>
<td>将士-kök</td>
<td>‘calabashes’</td>
<td>default plural, nominalizer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c₆M</td>
<td>mš</td>
<td>将士-</td>
<td>将士-n₃:ɡ</td>
<td>‘oil’</td>
<td>mass, diminutive pl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c₇U</td>
<td>já</td>
<td>ü-</td>
<td>ü-ná</td>
<td>‘ox’</td>
<td>animate</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c₇Ø</td>
<td>já</td>
<td>Ø-</td>
<td>Ø-tʃāmpá</td>
<td>‘man’</td>
<td>human</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cAUG</td>
<td>á</td>
<td>ā-</td>
<td>ā-bà</td>
<td>‘big lake’</td>
<td>augmentative pl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cDIM</td>
<td>ê</td>
<td>i-</td>
<td>i-g“á</td>
<td>‘tiny (p. of) grass’</td>
<td>diminutive sg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.2 Verb classification within the Út-Ma‘in noun class system

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Agreement Pronouns</th>
<th>Frequency nominal(ized) verbs</th>
<th>% of 359</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Semantic characteristics (generalizations)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>tō</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>67.1%</td>
<td>将士-tʃ“ár</td>
<td>‘swallow’ default plural, NLZ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>de</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>12.8%</td>
<td>将士-hé</td>
<td>‘fall’ round, mostly inanimate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>sē</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>7.2%</td>
<td>将士-vòk</td>
<td>‘greet’ long, mostly inanimate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6M</td>
<td>mč</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>将士-h‘án</td>
<td>‘see’ mass, dim. pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3U</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
<td>ü-mā</td>
<td>‘build’ inanimate/aug. sg</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Frequency of nominal(ized) Út-Ma‘in verbs in citation form (wordlist of 1381 words)
Table 3: Possible cognate nominal(izing) prefixes in Út-Ma'in, Út-Hun and C’Lela

7 Appendix: Additional/developing verb morphology

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

S  V_{AUX}  C_{1-V}\\
(25)  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 Út-Ma'in. In Út-Ma'in, CAUG is not currently known to take part in the nominalization process of verbs.
S  V\text{AUX}  C_1-V_1
(26)  ċm  dé  t-mā  ‘I will (start the process of) building.’
1SG  FUT  c6-build  (06.12..18)

(inceptive interpretation)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive</th>
<th>Tense/Aspect</th>
<th>Source V/O morphology</th>
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Table 5: Ut-Ma’in verbs - auxiliaries plus emerging verb morphology

S  V\text{AUX}  C_1-V_1
(27)  ċm  dé  ū-mā
1SG  FUT  c3u-build
‘I will build.’ (06.12..18)

A  V\text{AUX.TAM}  V_1-d-ASSOC-C_2-O_2
(28)  ċm  dé  mā-d- ‘-u-kūr
1SG  FUT  build-c5-ASSOC-c3u-room
‘I will build a room.’ (06.12..18)

S  V\text{AUX}  C_1-V_1
(29)  ċm  ċ  ū-mā
1SG  PRES.PROG  c3u-build
‘I am building.’ (06.12..18)

A  V\text{AUX}  V_1-d-ASSOC-C_2-O_2
(30)  ċm  ċ  mā-d- ‘-u-kūr
1SG  PRES.PROG  build-c5-ASSOC-c3u-room
‘I am building a room.’ (06.12..18)

S  V\text{AUX}  C_1-V_1
(31) ẽm  ẽg  ū-mā
1SG  PST.PROG  c3u-build
‘I was building.’ (06.12..18)

A  VAUX  V₁-d -ASSOC-C₂-O₂

(32) ẽm  ẽg  mā -d- `u-kūr
1SG  PST.PROG  build-c5-ASSOC-c3U-room
‘I was building a room.’ (06.12..18)

S  VAUX  C₁-V₁

(33) ẽm  dé  s-v₅k.
1SG  FUT  c4-greet
‘I will greet.’ (06.12..19)

A  VAUX  V₁-s -ASSOC-C₂-O₂

(34) ẽn  dé  vₖ₃-s-₅-r-mang
3SG  FUT  greet-c4-ASSOC-c5-old.woman
‘He will greet the old woman.’ (06.12..18)

(35) A  VAUX  V₁-s -ASSOC-C₂-O₂
ẽn  dé  vₖ₃-s-₅-r-mang
3SG  FUT  greet-c4-ASSOCMrk-c5-old.woman
‘He will greet the old woman.’

S  VAUX  V  C₅-ASSOC-C₁-O₁

(36) ḷ-kʰên  |  ᵇ  |  gáp  |  d-₃-t-tʰ₅.
C₂.INDEF  PRES.PROG  slap  C₅-ASSOC-c6-ear
‘Some (living creatures) are slapping/flapping ears.’

A  VAUX.  V₁  s-ASSOC-C₂-O₂

(37) ẽn  |  dé  |  vₖ₃  |  s-₅-r-mang
3SG  FUT  greet  c4-ASSOC-c5-old.woman
‘He will greet the old woman.’

8  Appendix: Imperative morphology

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Intransitive Tense/Aspect Possible source of Verb morphology Cognate forms in Kainji

| (S)  | V (low tone) | IMPER | NP clitic plural marker |
| (S)  | V-nè        | IMPER.COL |                           |
| (S)  | V-ñn        | IMPER.PL  | 3PL personal pronoun      |

| Transitive |   |   |   |
| (A)        | V (low tone) | P   | IMPER |
| (A)        | V-nè        | P   | IMPER.COL |
| (A)        | V-ñn        | P   | IMPER.PL |

Table 6: Ut-Main imperative forms

Abbreviations

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References


Paterson_FieldLing_Fall2013


