Discussion of verbal categories and classification in Ut-Ma'in

0　　Classification and sociolinguistic background

• Ut-Ma'in [ɔtʰ.māʔ.īn], (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)

• In the Northwest West Kainji Cluster, which includes Gwamhi-Wuri-Mba [bga], C'Lela
(Dakakanci/Dakakari) [dri] and Ut-Hun (Dukanci/Dukawa) [dud].

• Ut-Ma'in noun classes for reference

Class Label	Agreement Pronoun	Noun Prefix	Examples C-N	Gloss	Semantic characteristics (generalizations)
C1U	ú/wá	ū-	ū-mákt	'barren woman'	human
C1∅	wá	∅-	∅-hámət	'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	ɔ̄s-	ɔ̄s-bòʔ	'dreams'	long, mostly inanimate
C5	dɛ́	ɔ̄r-	ɔ̄r-hí	'head'	round, mostly inanimate
C6	tɔ́	ɔ̄t-	ɔ̄t-kɔ́k	'calabashes'	default plural, nominalizer
C6M	mɔ́	ɔ̄m-	ɔ̄m-nɔ̀ːg	'oil'	mass, diminutive pl
C7U	já	ū-	ū-ná	'ox'	animate
C7∅	já	∅-	∅-tʃãmpá	'man'	human
CAUG	á	ā-	ā-bà	'big lake'	augmentative pl
CDIM	ɛ́	ī-	ī-gʷá	'tiny (p. of) grass'	diminutive sg

1　　Basic clause structure[1]

• 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 ɔ̄m (3) vs. object form mɛ́
(2), tone on other pronouns, and unmodified nouns as subject position (4a) vs. object (4b).

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[1]

(1)   S   V-TAM   OBL_LOC
        hɔ̄ːb-ɔ̄t   dâudā   hā-ːg   ɔ́   mɛ́=nὲ
        friend-C6   Dauda   go-PST   LOC   1SG.ACC=PL
        'Dauda's friends went with me.' (06.10.20 L9)[2]

(2)   A   V   O   OBL_LOC
        nā   gʲín   mɛ́   ɔ́   zán
        3PL.NPERS   hate   1SG.ACC   LOC   outside
        'I am hated outside (Lit: They hate me outside.)' (2005.11.FSC L47)

(3)   A   V-TAM   R   O   OBL_TEMP
        ɔ̄m   jā-ːg   wɔ́n   ɔ̄m-àp   gʲɔ̄p
        1SG.NOM   give-PST   3SG.ACC   C6M-meat   yesterday
        'I gave him/her meat yesterday.' (13.08.Bk1 L29)

(4a)   S   V-TAM   (4b)   A   V-TAM   O
        fàr-s-ɔ̀   hɛ̄ː-g   ɔ̄m hɛ̄ː-g   ɔ̄s-fàr
        tree.sp-C4-ASSOC   fall-PST   1SG fall-PST C4-tree.sp
        'Shea butter trees fell'   'I cut down the shea butter trees.'

(5)   wɔ̄n   nák   ɔ̀r-tɔ́m   sók.
        3SG   know.PST   C5-hoeing   well
        'He knew hoeing very well.' (2006.12.20 L4)

(6)   nɛ̄t-ɔ̄t=ín   rɛ̄   r-gá   ɔ́   t-tʃʷā=nὲ
        people-C6=2PL.INCL.POSS   eat   C5-cooked.grain   and   C6-soup=with
        'Our (incl.) people eat cooked grain and soup.' (2006.10.20 L22)

(7)   A   V-TAM   O
        wā   mā-ːg   ū-kúr
        C1.3SG   build-PST   C3U-room
        'He built a room.' (2006.12.04 L27)

(8a)   wɔ̄n   rɛ̄ːstὲ   r-gá   (8b)   ɔ̄m   rɛ̄ːstὲ
        3SG   eat.PRF   C5-yam   1SG   eat.PRF
        'He has eaten all the cooked grain.'   'I have eaten (everything).'
        (there is none left).   (13.08.Bk1 L23&24)

(9a)   ɔ̄m   zɔ̀ŋ-tὲ   gʲɔ̄p   (9b)   ɔ̄m   zɔ̀ŋ-tὲ   ɔ́   gʲɔ̄p
        1SG   prepare-PRF   yesterday   1SG   prepare-PRF   C3.ACC yest.
        'I have prepared yesterday.'   'I have prepared it yesterday.'

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[2] Examples references are from original data collection unless otherwise notes. Original data is referenced as
Smith (2007) or by date, book number (Bk) or story name, and line number (L). Dates are gives as
year.month.day; day is excluded in some references.

(13.08.Bk1 L 33&34)

(10)   S   V$_{\text{AUX-TAM}}$ C-V$_{\text{HEAD}}$

          ɔ̄m   ɔ́-g   ū-mā

          1SG   PROG-PST   C3U-build

          'I was building.' (2006.12 L18a)

 (11)   A   V$_{\text{AUX-TAM}}$ V$_{\text{HEAD}}$-C-ASSOC-C-O

          ɔ̄m   ɔ́-g   mā -d - ̀- u-kúr

          1SG   PROG-PST build-C5-ASSOC-C3U-room

          'I was building a room.' (2006.12 L18b)

2   Ṵt-Ma'in Main Clause Intransitive Constructions

	Simple		Complex	
	Function	Form	Function	Form
1	-Habitual -Timeless -Seq. Chain	V	Progressive	ɔ́ C-V
			Future	dɛ́ C-V
2	Past	V-*g/k*	Past Progressive	ɔ́-*g* C-V
3	Perfect	V-*(ɔ̄s)tɛ̀*	Deontic	dɛ́-tɛ́ C-V

3   Ṵt-Ma'in Main Clause Transitive Constructions

	Simple			Complex		
	Function	Form		Function	Form	
		V	Complement		V	Complement
1	-Habitual -Timeless -Seq. Chain	V	C-N	Progressive	ɔ́ V-C	C-N
				Future	dɛ́ V-C	C-N
2	Past	V-*g/k*	C-N	Past Progressive	ɔ́-*g* V-C	C-N
3	Perfect	V-*(ɔ̄s)tɛ̀*	C-N	Deontic	dɛ́-tɛ́ V-C	C-N

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4   Enclitics? Extras?

Function	Form
Direction(al)/Distance	*=ɔ̄n*
Exclusive subject	*=ɛ́*
Plural Subject, 'with'	*=nɛ́*

- Direction(al)/Distance

(12)   *wá*   *rɛ́-g=ɔ́n*   *ɔ̄t-rʷā.*
       3SG   eat-PST=DIR   C6-yam
       'He ate yams (from some far away place).' (06.12 L12.7)

• Exclusive subject (contrastive focus?) - use of *mɛ́* 1SG.ACC form for 1SG pronoun "subject"

(13)   *ú*   *jɔ̄n=ɛ́*   *hɔ̀g-d-ɔ̀-m-ɛ́ʔ*
        C7.ACC   leave=EXCL   hear-C5-ASSOC-6M-shame
        '(Only) he leaves ashamed./He is the only one leaving in shame.' (13.08.GK L117)

(14)   *wā shít wá zɔ̄ wá hʲáné à, kò wárɔ̀ tɔ̀, ná wárɔ̀ wá?*

       (a)   *wā*   *shít*   *wá*   *zɔ̄*   *wá*   *hʲán=ɛ́*   *à,*
                 3SG.NOM   ask   3SG.ACC COMP   3SG.ACC   see=EXCL   Q
                 'He (the big king) asked him (the man) saying, "Did he see?"'

       (b)   *kò*   *wár-ɔ̀*   *tɔ̀,*   *nā*   *wár*   *wá?*
                 or   explain   C6.PN   3PL.NPERS   explain   3SG.ACC
                 'Or explaining it, (did) someone tell him?' (13.08.GK L62-66)

5   Frequency of nominal Ụt-Ma'in verbs in citation from (Smith 2007:103-143)

Class Label	Agreement Pronouns	Number of Tokens	% of 334 nominal(ized) verbs	Example		Semantic characteristics of noun class (generalizations)
6	*tɔ*	241	72.2%	*ɔ̄t-tʃʷàr*	'swallow'	default plural, NLZ
5	*dɛ*	46	13.8%	*ɔ̄r-hɛ́ː*	'fall'	round, mostly inanimate
4	*sɛ*	26	7.8%	*ɔ̄s-vɔ́k*	'greet'	long, mostly inanimate
6M	*mɔ*	13	3.9%	*ɔ̄m-hʲán*	'see'	mass, dim. pl
3U	*ɔ*	8	2.4%	*ū-mā*	'build'	inanimate/aug. sg

Abbreviations

1	1ST PERSON		NLZ	NOMINALIZER
2	2ND PERSON		NP	NOUN PHRASE
3	3RD PERSON		NPERS	NON-PERSONAL
A	AGENTLIKE ARGUMENT OF A BIVALENT OR TRIVALENT CLAUSE		NOM	NOMINATIVE
ACC	ACCUSATIVE		NPAST	NON-PAST TENSE
ASSOC	ASSOCIATIVE MARKER		O	OTHER ARGUMENT OF A BI- OR TRI- VALENT CLAUSE
AUG	AUGMENTATIVE (USED WITH CAUG - AUGMENTATIVE CLASS MARKER)		OBL	OBLIQUE
AUX	AUXILIARY VERB		P	PATIENT/ P ARGUMENT OF A BI- OR TRI- VALENT CLAUSE
C	CLASS MARKER (PLUS CLASS NUMBER LABEL GIVEN AS A NUMBER: 1-7)		PRF	PERFECT
COP	COPULA		PL	PLURAL
DIM	DIMINUTIVE (USED WITH CDIM - DIMINUITIVE CLASS MARKER)		PROG	PROGRESSIVE ASPECT
DEF	DEFINITE ARTICLE		PST	PAST TENSE
EQU	EQUATIVE		R	RECIPIENT ARGUMENT OF A TRI- VALENT CLAUSE
FUT	FUTURE TENSE		REL	RELATIVIZER
INDEF	INDEFINITE		S	SINGLE ARGUMENT OF A MONOVALENT CLAUSE
IDEO	IDEOPHONE		SG	SINGULAR
L	LINE (NUMBER) OF TEXT		SUB	SUBORDINATE (CLAUSE)
LOC	LOCATIVE		TAM	TENSE/ASPECT/MODALITY
N	NOUN		TEMP	TEMPORAL
			V	VERB

Noun class 3 [ɔ]

ūsʷàb	swim	0160
tàrímàk	jump (v)	0161
ūgāp	slap (v)	0168b
ʃɔ́g	(be) sated	0180
ūsʷáːt	(be) thirsty, thirst (v)	0181
nɛ́n	grow up	0247
ūsa	want, desire (v)	0287
ūhàr	quarrel	0508
ūmàŋg	resolve, settle (dispute)	0513
ūhʲūw	steal	0517
ūʔɔ́r	shave (v)	0565
ūmā	build	0685b
ūmaŋg	mend, repair	0704
ūtèʔ	weave	0731
kɔ́w	sow, plant	0748
kɛ́t	harvest (maize) (v)	0757
ūkíwò	feed (animals)	0772
bák	hunt (v)	0775
māsɔ̄dʒán	fish (v)	0799
ūsàʔ	need (v)	0807
ʃás	barter, exchange (of goods)	0819
ūkámè	(be) engaged, (be) betrothed	0941
ūdók	bury	0954
ūbɔ̀k	ruminate, chew cud	1040
ūzər	soar	1073
ūkɔ̄r	sharpen (knife)	1538

Noun class 4 [sɛ]

ɔ̄swár	cough (v)	0112
ɔ̄síkɘs	grunt (from effort)	0117
ɔ̄shùnd	perspire, sweat	0123
ɔ̄stēgɘr	limp	0157
ɔ̄sdòròg	think	0252
ɔ̄skán	cry, weep	0272
ɔ̄svɔ́k	greet (v.)	0443
ɔ̄sfág	call (someone)	0444
ɔ̄sbī	lie (v)	0452
ɔ̄stônd	swear	0460
ɔ̄ʔsɔ́ksē	bring up (a child)	0495
ɔ̄stɔ́m	send (someone)	0500
ɔ̄ʔzɔ̀ŋ	prepare (food to cook)	0591
ɔ̄ʔsʷɔ̄mɔ̄r	pluck (feathers)	0602
ɔ̄srʲāb	haggle, negotiate a price	0826
ɔ̄skɔ̄n	beg (for money)	0831
ɔ̄skêːr	whistle (v)	0882
ɔ̄snɔ̄kɔ̄m	stretch	1445

Ut-Ma'in nominalized verb forms Rebecca Paterson

Noun class 5 [dɛ] 5

ɔ̄rgə̀sɛ́	belch	0113
ɔ̄rzɔ́tɛ̀	wake up (intr)	0130
ɔ̄rʃɔ́ːt	sit	0150
ɔ̄rjínɛ̀	rise up (intr)	0151
ɔ̄lːɔ̀t	lie down	0152
ɔ̄rpɔ́ksɛ̀	stumble	0156
ɔ̄rgáp	slap (v)	0168
ɔ̄rēːs	stand	0169
ɔ̄rkākɔ̄s	bend down, stoop	0172
ɔ̄rsɔ̄kɔ̄t	squat	0175
ɔ̄rhúrɛ̀	rest	0185
ɔ̄rhɔ́nsɛ̀	hurt oneself	0207
ɔ̄rmát	bear (child), give birth	0244
ɔ̄rhátɛ̀	abstain	0291
ɔ̄rhɛ́ʔɛ́	fail	0298
ɔ̄rkʷɔ́p	obstruct	0322
ɔ̄rgóːnɛ̀	meet, encounter	0414
ɔ̄rʃɔ́ʔɛ̀	accompany	0415
ɔ̄rbɔ̄n	invite	0418
ɔ̄rʃɔ̄gə̀sɛ̀	imitate	0427
ɔ̄rwâːs	chat (v)	0438
ɔ̄rdōnsɛ̀	announce	0446
ɔ̄rʃɔ̀t	ask, request	0453
ɔ̄rségē	help	0492
ɔ̄ryɔ̄	dwell, inhabit	0526
ɔ̄rjúnē	move away, migrate	0529
ɔ̄rkèŋgì	frontier (of ethnic area)	0531
ɔ̄rná	grind	0600
ɔ̄rtʃɔ̄n	store (up)	0644
ɔ̄rtɔ́m	hoe (v)	0751

ɔ̄rvú	thresh, beat (grain)	0762
ɔ̄rdɛ́ʔɛ̀	travel, go on a trip (v)	0843
ɔ̄tèŋk	(be) lost	0846
ɔ̄rtɔ̄ːs	carry on head	0861
ɔ̄rjɔ̄nɛ̀	fly (v)	1071
ɔ̄rtʃɔ́zɔ̀n	land (v), alight	1074
ɔ̄ráp	sprout (v)	1246
nɛ́n	(be) ripe	1247
ɔ̄rté	arrive	1402
ɔ̄rhɛ́ʔɛ̀	fall (intr)	1411
ɔ̄rtʃɔ̄n	keep, save	1471
ɔ̄rkɔ̀b	lack (v)	1636

Ut-Ma'in nominalized verb forms

Noun class 6m [mɔ]

ɔ̄mzàp	shiver, tremble	0122
ɔ̄mkárkāt	(be) dizz	0126
ɔ̄mròːg	sleep (v)	0128
ɔ̄mhóg	hear	0134
ɔ̄mhā	walk	0154
ɔ̄mgèŋk	walk sideways (like a crab)	0158b
ɔ̄msɔ̀m	run	0159
ɔ̄mrɔ́t	(be) lying down	0177
márɔ́g	(be) dead	0251
ɔ̄msɛ́k	honour (v)	0283
ɔ̄mʃá	resemble	0426
ɔ̄mʃàt	gossip (v)	0451
ɔ̄mkʷɛʔ	grumble, complain	0467
ɔ̄msɛ́ʔ	deny	0470
ɔ̄mhóm	copulate, sexual intercourse	0487
ɔ̄mdúm	fight	0509
ɔ̄mdʒāːs	wash (clothes, utensils)	0737
ɔ̄mdér	winnow	0763
ɔ̄mːɛ́	milk (cows, goats) (v)	0773
ɔ̄mʃág	borrow	0832
ɔ̄mhʲān	divine, prophesy (v)	0914
ɔ̄mdʒà	flow	1480
ɔ̄mbàkɔ̀t	shine	1492
ɔ̄mhɔ̀k	enlarge	1508

Noun class 6 [tɔ]

ɔ̄tɔ̄pɛ̀	plaster (v)	
ɔ̄tmàs	chase and catch	
ɔ̄tgèpɔ̀t	blink	0103
ɔ̄tvʲɔ̄n	blow nose	0105
ɔ̄tfɔ̀r	blow (with mouth)	0110
ɔ̄ʔtɔ̄pɔ̀s	spit	0111
ɔ̄ʔdʒàr (shout)	groan (with pain)	0116
ɔ̄tbʲɔ̀z	faint	0127
ɔ̄tèr	listen	0135
ɔ̄twɔ̄sɛ̀	smell (v)	0136
ɔ̄thɔ́g	feel (passive)	0137
ɔ̄ʔtàm	touch, feel (active)	0138
ɔ̄tràk	taste	0139
ɔ̄trɛ̀	eat	0140
ɔ̄tjàb	bite (v)	0141
ɔ̄twān	crunch	0142
ɔ̄ʔtɔ̄ːm	chew	0143
ɔ̄thɔ̀gɔ̀r	gnaw	0144
ɔ̄ʔtʃʷàr	swallow	0145
ɔ̄ʔseːŋk	choke	0146
ɔ̄trɔ̄kɔ̀m	lick	0147
ɔ̄trɔ̀t	lie down	0152b
ɔ̄tbʲɔ̀rɔ̀n	turn round (intr)	0153
ɔ̄tkùrùp	crawl	0158
ɔ̄ʔdʒʷɔ̀	kick	0162
ɔ̄ʔdʒâŋk	stamp (with foot)	0163
ɔ̄tɔ̀gè	indicate, point	0166
ɔ̄ʔtɔ̀st	lean against (intr)	0171
ɔ̄tkwɔ̀g	bow (as in greeting)	0173
ɔ̄thēdʒwɔ́n	kneel	0176

ɔ̄thɔ́nsɛ̀	give pain, hurt	0231	ɔ̄tgáp	spank (child)	0490
ɔ̄tgwàʔ	vomit (v)	0233	ɔ̄tgʷàt	look after	0494
ɔ̄tkwɛ̀ʔ	scabies (the itch)	0237	ɔ̄ʔdòròt	rule over, dominate	0496
ɔ̄tmèn	(be) pregnant	0241	ɔ̄ʔdɔ̀r	follow	0503
ɔ̄tmàr	die	0249	ɔ̄tpɔ̀ʔɔ̀t	deceive	0507
ɔ̄n:àp	know (something or someone)	0255	ɔ̄thɔ̀	kill, murder	0511
ɔ̄tkɔ́sɛ̀	teach	0263	ɔ̄tmò:t	take revenge	0512
ɔ̄tbàks	remember	0265	ɔ̄tmɔ̀t	intercede, mediate	0514
ɔ̄ʔtʃwàn	love (v)	0284	ɔ̄thàb	compromise	0515
ɔ̄tgɔ̄gɔ̀m	hate (v)	0285	ɔ̄twàʔ	wear clothes	0537
ɔ̄ʔdɔ̀st	choose (tr), pick (tr)	0289	ɔ̄thòst	undress	0539
ɔ̄tkwɔ̀z	hesitate	0290	ɔ̄tkʲèr	pierce (ears)	0556
ɔ̄tjā̀ʔ	allow, permit	0292	ūnɔ́ŋgùzɔ̄r	bathe, wash oneself	0561
ɔ̄thò:z	forbid	0293	ɔ̄ʔtâ:m	apply (ointment), besmear	0562
ɔ̄trɛ̀g	try	0296	ɔ̄tkɔ̀k	wipe off (excreta)	0563
ɔ̄trìst	abandon	0420	ɔ̄tkūp	cut (hair)	0564
ɔ̄tkɔ̀mɛ̀	befit, suit	0429	ɔ̄ʔzɔ̀m	spoil (food) (intr)	0583
ɔ̄ʔdʒār	shout (v), cry out	0437	ɔ̄tkʲɛ̄gʲèr	cut (tr)	0592
ɔ̄tbɔ̀bɔ̀g	stutter	0440	ɔ̄tɔ̄kɔ̀r	cut open (fruit)	0593
ɔ̄twàr	explain	0449	ɔ̄tpʲɔ̄:r	slice	0594
ɔ̄thʲɔ̀m	advise	0450	ɔ̄trɔ̄mɔ̄s	stir	0597
ɔ̄tkɔ̀n	plead, implore	0454	ɔ̄tpɔ̂st	strain (food) (v)	0598
ɔ̄tvām	thank	0457	ɔ̄ʔdʒʷàʔ	pound	0599
ɔ̄tpʲâp	insult (v)	0461	ɔ̄trɔ̄k	knead	0601
ɔ̄tē:s	agree	0472	ɔ̄tɔ̄rʲɔ̄s	cook (v)	0603
ɔ̄twàr	tell, recount (story)	0479	ɔ̄ʔzʷà	roast	0604
ɔ̄thāmɔ̀t	embrace, hug (v)	0484	ɔ̄tkâ:r	fry	0605
ɔ̄tpà̀ʔàt	caress (v)	0485	ɔ̄tgâ:s	(be) smoked	0607
ɔ̄tswɔ̂:t	kiss (v)	0486	ɔ̄tkɔ̀wɔ̀g	boil (water), bubble up	0608
ɔ̄twɔ̀rɔ̀g	nurse, suckle (baby) (tr)	0488	ɔ̄tfɔ̂:n	ferment (alcohol) (v)	0609
ɔ̄tkʷɛ́ʔɛ́l:ɛ́g	tickle (v)	0489	ɔ̄tàzɔ̀g	spill (liquid) (tr)	0633

ɔ̄tgàs	take out (from container)	0634	ɔ̄tpàn	slaughter, kill (animal)	0797
ɔ̄twə̀bə̀g	close, shut (tr)	0640	ɔ̄tkʷə̀m	have, possess	0806
ɔ̄ʔzʷāpɛ̀	stop up	0641	ɔ̄ʔnʲā	give	0809
ɔ̄ʔtə̀kə̀s	uncover	0643	ɔ̄tmə̀tə̀n	return (tr), give back	0810
ɔ̄tə̀rbə̀sɛ̀	wrap up	0648	ɔ̄tɔ̀	buy	0820
ɔ̄tùst	unwrap	0649	ɔ̄tbàb	sell	0821
ɔ̄tkārāgɔ̄stɛ̀	pack (v)	0650	ɔ̄tmàg	lend	0833
ɔ̄tgàg	tie (knot)	0656	ɔ̄tjàʔ	offer (v)	0835
ɔ̄thʲə̂m	tighten (tr)	0658	ɔ̄tkàb	accept, receive	0836
ɔ̄twə̀z	loosen	0660	ɔ̄tgə̀gə̀m	refuse	0837
ɔ̄ʔsōrɔ̀g	(be) loose, slack	0661	ɔ̄trī:g	wander	0845
ɔ̄ʔdògòb	build	0685	ɔ̄tpàs	cross (river)	0850
ɔ̄ʔtà:m	paint	0691	ɔ̄tàn	bale out (canoe, boat)	0854
ɔ̄n:òm	act, do	0702	ɔ̄thɔ̀gɔ̀b	capsize	0855
ɔ̄tkʷɔ̄p	cut down (tree)	0713	ɔ̄thà:tə̀n	bring	0856
ɔ̄tkʷɔ̄pɔ̄r	saw (wood) (v)	0719	ɔ̄thàst	take (away), carry away	0857
ɔ̄tkè:s	(be) torn	0730	ɔ̄ʔtɔ̀m	send (something to someone)	0858
ɔ̄tōpōs	sweep	0735	ɔ̄trên	conquer, defeat	0874
ɔ̄thàr	polish	0736	ɔ̄trɔ̀	(be) defeated	0875
ɔ̄tkâw	dig	0740	ɔ̄tfɔ̀	sing	0880
ɔ̄tgʷá	cultivate, farm (v)	0742	ɔ̄thèw	dance (v)	0884
ɔ̄ʔzɔ̄g	clear (land for planting)	0747	ɔ̄tʔɔ̀s	play instrument	0895
ɔ̄ʔsɛ̄rɛ̄	transplant	0749	ɔ̄tfə̀r	blow (horn)	0896
ɔ̄ʔzɔ̄g	weed (v)	0750	ɔ̄n:àk	draw (picture)	0897
ɔ̄tkâ:	pick, pluck (fruit)	0759	ɔ̄tmāŋg	decorate	0898
ɔ̄ʔdʒàr	winnow, throw in air	0764	ɔ̄ʔʃàb	carve	0899
ɔ̄tgàg	tether (sheep, goats) (v)	0771	ɔ̄ʔʃán	bark (as dog) (v)	1037
ɔ̄ʔdɔ̄bɔ̄rɔ̄sɛ̀	stalk (v)	0776	ɔ̄thūm	growl	1039
ɔ̄tbɔ̄z	chase (v)	0777	ɔ̄tfə̂n	dive	1072
ɔ̄tkɔ̄sə̀m	evade	0794	ɔ̄ʔdə̀gə̀r	peck (tr)	1079
ɔ̄thɔ̀nsɛ̀	wound (animal)	0796	ɔ̄tɛ̀ʔ	lay (eggs)	1080

Uṯ-Ma'in nominalized verb forms

ɔ̄thɔ̀gɔ̀b	incubate, set (on eggs)	1081	ɔ̄tgàp	hit, strike	1446
ɔ̄tkùrùp	crawl (lizard)	1115	ɔ̄tvɔ̀	beat	1447
ɔ̄ʔtɔ̀t	sting (v)	1149	ɔ̄ʔtà:m	rub	1449
ɔ̄ʔtʃʷɔ̀n	shoot (new plant) (v)	1190b	ɔ̄tkʷà:t	scrape (v)	1450
ɔ̄trɔ̀gɔ̀m	grow (of plants)	1245	ɔ̄tkɔ̀:t	scratch (v)	1451
ɔ̄n:ɛ̀n	ripen, become ripe	1248	ɔ̄ʔdùp	pierce	1452
ɔ̄ʔzɔ̀m	(be) rotten	1250	ɔ̄tkɛ̀:s	tear (tr)	1453
ɔ̄tɛ̀stɛ̀	wait	1366	ɔ̄ʔʃàb	strip off (bark)	1454
ɔ̄tɛ̀:s	remain, stay	1403	ɔ̄trɔ̀mɔ̀s	shake (tr)	1455
ɔ̄n:à:r	go round, detour	1406	ɔ̄ʔsʷɔ̀tɔ̀r	squeeze	1456
ɔ̄tìrìg	roll	1414	ɔ̄n:ɔ̀m	create, make	1458
ɔ̄tjàr	spread (disease, fire)	1415	ɔ̄tjɔ̀:k	break (tr)	1460
ɔ̄tkɛ̀s	burst	1416	ɔ̄n:à:s	destroy, spoil	1461
ɔ̄tɛ̀ŋk	disappear	1417	ɔ̄n:àtɔ̀ʔsɛ̀	(be) ruined, (be) spoiled	1462
ɔ̄tɔ̀st	catch (object in air)	1424	ɔ̄ʔdàmɛ̀	join, put together	1463
ɔ̄tdɔ̀st	pick up	1425	ɔ̄tkàrgɔ̀ʔsɛ̀	accumulate	1464
ɔ̄ʔdʒàkɔ̀s	raise, lift	1427	ɔ̄tmɔ̀t	divide, separate (tr)	1466
ɔ̄ʔtʃɔ̀stɔ̀n	lower (tr)	1428	ɔ̄twà ʔ	put, place, set	1469
ɔ̄trɛ̀st	drop (tr)	1429	ɔ̄tjàsɛ̀	hide (tr)	1472
ɔ̄ʔdʒɔ̀rɛ̀	throw	1430	ɔ̄tùst	lose (tr)	1473
ɔ̄ʔtà	shoot (v)	1431	ɔ̄tgò:t	look for	1474
ɔ̄tbàrgɔ̀ʔsɛ̀	turn over (tr)	1433	ɔ̄tfɔ̀r	blow (of wind) (v)	1476
ɔ̄n:àk	pull	1434	ɔ̄thùrùp	blow away (intr)	1478
ɔ̄tfɔ̀k	drag	1435	ɔ̄twɔ̀	leak (v)	1482
ɔ̄ʔtɔ̀k	push	1436	ɔ̄tmʲɔ̀kɔ̀s	sprinkle	1483
ɔ̄tkɔ̀sɔ̀m	overtake, pass (tr)	1438	ɔ̄tsʷɔ̀k	smear (tr)	1484
ɔ̄tkɔ̀ŋsɛ̀	surround	1439	ɔ̄tjɔ̀bɔ̀ʔsɛ̀	dip	1485
ɔ̄tmʲɔ̀g	twist	1440	ɔ̄tmàs	soak	1486
ɔ̄tfɔ̀t	fold (v)	1441	ɔ̄tvʲɔ̀n	wring out	1487
ɔ̄ʔsɔ̀rɔ̀g	hang up	1443	ɔ̄tdʒànɛ	dry out (clothes)	1488
ɔ̄tbàrgɔ̀ʔsɛ̀	spread out (maize) (tr)	1444	ɔ̄tì:s	sink (v)	1490

ɔ̄tìːkɔ̀b	fade	1493
ɔ̄ʔdàpə̀s	light (fire) (v)	1496
ɔ̄trìmə̀s	quench, extinguish	1497
ɔ̄ʔdɔ̀ʔ	burn (intr), blaze	1498
ɔ̄tə̀ʔɛ̀	melt (intr)	1499
ɔ̄tfâp	singe	1500
ɔ̄ʔtàkə̀n	begin	1501
ɔ̄tjàgɛ̀	cease, stop	1505
ɔ̄ʔtàːs	finish, complete (v)	1506
ɔ̄trə̀ʔə̀t	deepen	1523
ɔ̄thɔ̀ŋgə̀ʔsɛ̀	flatten	1526
ɔ̄tfə̀ʔ	swell (intr)	1528
ɔ̄tjə̀ːns	straighten	1531
ɔ̄tkʷə̀g	bend	1533
ɔ̄ʔʃàb	sharpen, bring to point (arrow)	1539
ɔ̄trʲə̀ndə̀ʔsɛ̀	(be) blunt, dull	1540
ɔ̄thàr	make smooth	1543
ɔ̄trʲàbə̀rsɛ	soften	1547
ɔ̄tkɛ̀rɛ̀	(be) able (to)	1570
ɔ̄ʔsʷə̀r	add	1627
ɔ̄thàb	subtract, take away	1628
ɔ̄tròɡòm	increase (intr)	1629
ɔ̄tògòr	count (v)	1631
ɔ̄tsɛ̀ːp	arrange	1632

Rebecca Paterson

Some questions about "nominalization"

1. Noun and verb?

ɔ̄s-hɛ́w	dance (n)	0883
ɔ̄t-hɛ̀w	dance (v)	0884
ɔ̄r-tàkɘ̀n	beginning (n)	1502
ɔ̄t-tàkɘ̀n	begin	1501
ɔ̄nːɔ̀m /ɔ̄t-nɔ̀m/	create, make	1458

Class	Agreement	Word	Gloss (cf. 1385)	Semantics
3U	ɔ	*ū-nɔ̀m*	'thing'	inanimate (sg)
6	tɔ	*ɔ̄t-nɔ̀m*	'things'	inanimate (pl)
5	dɛ	*ɔ̄r-nɔ̀m*	'**round** thing'	round (sg)
6	tɔ	*ɔ̄t-nɔ̀m*	'**round** things'	round (pl)
7U	ja	*ū-nɔ̀m*	'**long** thing'	long (sg)
4	sɛ	*ɔ̄s-nɔ̀m*	'**long** things'	long (pl)
3U	ɔ	*ū-nɔ̀m*	'**big** thing'	big (sg)
AUG	a	*ā-nɔ̀m*	'**big** things'	big (pl)
DIM	i	*ī-nɔ̀m*	'**tiny** thing'	tiny (sg)
6m	mɔ	*ɔ̄m-nɔ̀m*	'**tiny** things'	tiny (pl)

7Ø	ja	*nɔ̀m-jɔ̀s-té*	animate (sg)
		thing -CL7Ø.ASSOC.CL4- tree	
		'evil spirit'	
		(Lit. '**animate thing** of the trees')	
2	ɛ	*nɔ̀m-ɔ̀s-té*	animate (pl)
		thing -CL2.ASSOC.CL4- tree	
		'evil spirits'	
		(Lit. '**animate things** of the trees')	

2. Different semantics OR same semanics, but different classification (of concept, of object??)

Class 5 [dɛ]	*nɛ́n*	(be) ripe	1247
Class 3 [ɔ]	*nɛ́n*	grow up	0247
Class 6 [tɔ]	*ɔ̄nːɛ̀n* /ɔ̄t-nɛ̀n/	ripen, become ripe	1248

3. Nominalization of "inflected forms" (and objects?, incorporated objects?)

ɔ̄t-hà-t-ɘ̀n	bring	0856
C6-[walk-PRF-DIR]		
ūnɔ́ŋgùzɔ̄r	bathe, wash oneself	0561
ū-nɔ́m-g-ù-zɔ̄r		
C3-[do-PST-C3-??]		