

THE NOUN CLASS SYSTEM OF UT-MA'IN,
A WEST KAINJI LANGUAGE OF NIGERIA

by

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ABBREVIATIONS

A	Adjective
AGT	Agentative
AssocP	Associative phrase
C	Class element
D	Definite article
Dem	Demonstrative modifier
FUT	Future tense
HAB	Habitual aspect
IMPERF	Imperfect aspect
Indef	Indefinite article
M	Modifier
N	Noun
NP _[POSS]	Possessive pronoun
O	Object
PRES	Present progressive aspect
PST	Past tense
RelC	Relative clause
Q	Quantifier

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ABSTRACT

This present work provides a comprehensive overview of the noun class system of ut-Ma'in, a Benue-Congo (West Kainji) language of Northwestern Nigeria. The ut-Ma'in language is characterized by a complex noun classification system and a robust agreement system that permeates the language. While an understanding of the noun classes is essential to an understanding of the language as a whole, discussion includes the division of nouns into thirteen distinct classes, marked by prefixes on the nouns themselves and by agreement elements on other clause constituents. The relationship of the noun classes of ut-Ma'in to historical reconstruction work available for the noun class systems of both Proto-Benue-Congo and Proto-Kainji is explored, and the robust noun class agreement system that affects numerals, quantifiers, the associative construction, the pronoun system, the indefinite and definite articles, adjectives, and the interrogatives “which?” and “what?” is described.

Of particular interest to the reader are the semantic properties that characterize the noun classes and the noun class pairings; these semantic characteristics also serve as the primary criteria for the assignment of a noun to a particular class or class pairing. Also of interest are the varied forms of the associative markers and the use of both prefixes and suffixes to mark agreement on clause constituents.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In northwestern Nigeria, the ɥ-Ma'in language employs a complex system of noun classification that is driven by the semantic characteristics of the nouns. Because these noun classes permeate the language, understanding them and the grammatical constructions of which they are a part is essential to understanding the structure of ɥ-Ma'in as a whole.

1.1 Purpose of this study

In this study, I describe the noun classes and associated agreement system of the Benue-Congo language ɥ-Ma'in¹, specifically the Ror variety. ɥ-Ma'in is spoken in northwestern Nigeria, with approximately 36,000 speakers in both Kebbi State and Niger State (Regnier 1992:7). This study looks at the noun in citation form as well as the phenomena that occur as the noun interacts with other noun phrase elements and other clause constituents. It includes how the noun is marked for class, agreement as seen in the noun phrase, and how the noun of a particular class may be referenced anaphorically in a discourse.²

¹ The current ɥ-Ma'in orthography uses the underlined “ɥ” to represent the near close-mid central vowel [ɤ]. The glottal stop [ʔ] is indicated by the apostrophe “ ’ ”. Therefore, the language name is pronounced [ɤt-māʔin], and the language name is spelled “ɥ-Ma'in.”

² This work relies heavily on wordlist and data collected at the UMCA Bible School in Tungun Magajiya, Rijau L.G.A., Niger State, Nigeria. Data was collected from Ror speakers who work with the ɥ-Ma'in Language Development Project, based in Tungun Magajiya between February 2006 and March 2007. The wordlist was collected under the IRB Project # IRB-200601-006.

Chapter 1 includes an introduction and general information about the language with a brief description of appearances of ɥt-Ma'in in the literature. Chapter 2 provides an overview of the phonology and grammar of ɥt-Ma'in. Chapter 3 introduces the thirteen noun classes and explains how the numbering system relates to Proto-Benue-Congo. Chapter 4 presents the content of the noun classes and discusses how the individual classes pair together; attention is also given to unpaired classes. Chapter 5 discusses agreement targets within the noun phrase and discusses how the pronoun system reflects the noun classes. Finally, Chapter 6 concludes the study and provides a summary of the findings.

1.2 Language information

The name of the language under consideration is not straight forward. The speakers of the Ror language variety are known as Fakkawa to the Hausa, the language itself is known to the Hausa as Fakkanci.³ Temple (1922) is the first to mention the ɥt-Ma'in clans. There they are referred to as the Adoma, a subgroup of the Lelna; their language is listed as Kelinchi (Blench n.d.:11). Harris (1938) discusses the Ror and related clans as a subgroup of the Dakarkari (Lelna). Rowlands (1962:78) states that

some confusion arises because the name Dakarkari is used in English to cover a number of groups speaking dialects related to ci-Lela who live in the same area. These are Kəri-ni,...Lyase-ne,...Pəku-nu,...Wipsi-ni,...Geeri-ni.

Rowlands (1962:78) lists these language varieties by their C'Lela⁴ name, and all but Lyase-ne are now known as varieties of what the *Ethnologue* (Gordon 2005b) codes as the language [ge]. The language name listed in the *Ethnologue*, Kag-Fer-Jiir-Koor-Ror-Us-Zuksun, reflects

³ The name Fakkanci comes from the town named Fakai, the first town of these related clans along the main road. The political district is also known as Fakai District (Regnier 1992:3).

⁴ C'Lela, pronounced [tʰlɛla], is the language name of the Lelna people. The term Lela is also used to refer to both the people and their language.

the various clan autonyms, and the code [gel] is taken from the Geeri-ni or Jiir variety that is known as Gelawa in Hausa.

Blench & Crozier (1992:62) refer to the group as the Kag cluster and classify the language as Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo and consider it to be part of the Northern group of the Benue-Congo subgroup Western Kainji, as seen in Figure 1, taken from Regnier (1992:12).

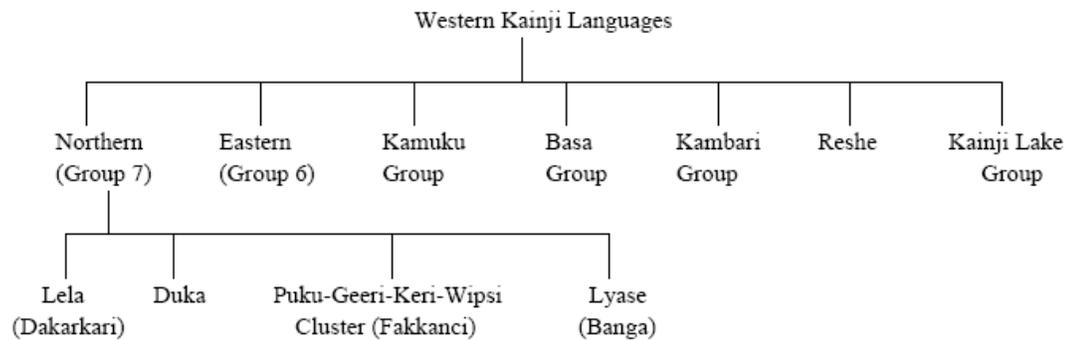


Figure 1: Language relationships

The eight known clans are listed in Table 1 with their C'Lela name, Hausa name, autonym, and language name. As reported by Regnier (1992:4), the autonym of each clans language variety may be derived by adding the *ət-* prefix to the root of the clan name which produces forms such as *ət-Kag*, *ət-U*s, etc. Two clans, the Ror and Koor, use instead suffix their clan name to the stem *ət-mā* (identical to the word meaning 'salt'). Therefore, a Ror man calls his speech variety *ət-ma-ror*, whereas a Koor man calls his speech variety *ət-ma-koor*.

Table 1: ɥt-Ma'in clan/dialect names (modified from Regnier 1992:4)

C'Lela name	Hausa name	Autonyms	Language variety name
Pək-nu	Fakkawa	Kag-ne	ət-Kag
Pək-nu	Fakkawa	əs-Uṣ	ət-Uṣ
Geeri-ni	Gelawa	Jiir	ət-Jiir
Wipsi-ni	Zussun/Zusu	a-Zuksun	ət-Zuksun
Wipsi-ni	Kukumawa/Kukunawa	əs-Fər	ət-Fer
Keri-ni	Kelawa	Ker-ni	ət-Ker
əd-Gwan	Fakkawa/Tuduwa	a-Ror	ət-ma-Ror
??	Kulu	a-Koor	ət-ma-Koor

In the year 2000, a small group that represented the different clans chose the name ɥt-Ma'in (*ət-māʔin*) as a cover term for the purposes of unity and language development (Heath et al. 2004). Though this name is not yet in common use, the meaning clearly represents the common language shared by all eight clans. Following The first person inclusive pronoun, *ín*, replaces the clan name and results in the word *ət-māʔin*. The singular Class 5^s word *ər-māʔin* is used by all eight clans as a word meaning 'customs and traditions'. This word existed previously without a plural form, but the *ər-* prefix is often the singular of the Class 5/6 singular/plural pair *ər-/ət-*. This new term, *ət-māʔin*, can be understood as the application of the plural Class 6 prefix, previously not applied, to the root meaning 'customs, tradition'.

Regnier (1992:11) proposes that the Ror variety can serve as "the standard for the written form of a language." Regnier bases his proposal on the following evidence;

- Ror is probably the largest dialect, second perhaps to Kag;
- The Kag clan are historically considered outsiders who learned Ror;
- Other clans exhibit a high degree of accepted understanding of Ror;
- Other clans exhibit a high degree of predicted understanding of Ror;
- The Ror variety is centrally located and other clans have thought to have significant comprehension of the Ror variety as measured by contact patterns.

⁵ The term noun class or class is defined in section 1.4.

Based on Regnier's (1992) proposal, the Ror variety is reported here. In hope that this study will further the development of the *ut-Ma'in* language as a whole, the term *ut-Ma'in* will be used to reference the language throughout this work.

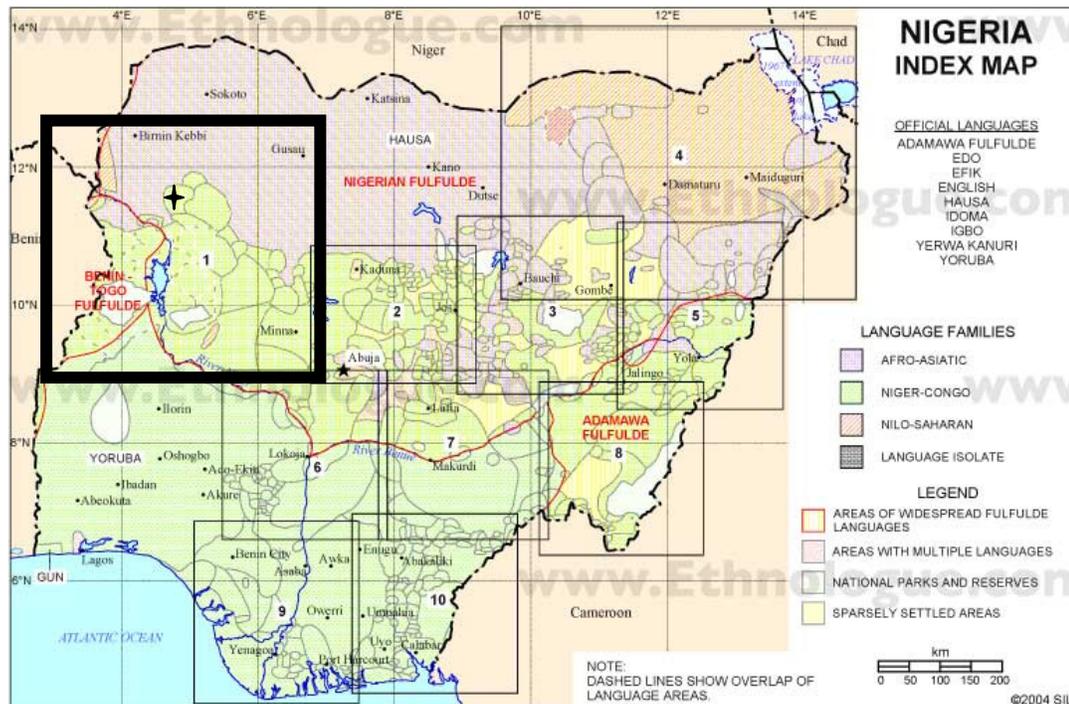


Figure 2: Languages of Nigeria (Gordon 2005c)

ut-Ma'in is spoken in Fakai District, Zuru L.G.A., Kebbi State, Nigeria. Although some groups have moved south of Kontagora, Niger State, in search of farm land, they maintain use of the language and maintain contact with the well established Kebbi groups.

The main *ut-Ma'in* language area is marked by a star (◆) in the area outlined by a thick black line in the upper left corner of Figure 2. This area is enlarged in Figure 3, where a star (◆) again marks the language area (also numbered 17). The related languages Duka (Hun-Saare), numbered 16, and Dakarkari (C'Lela), numbered 19, are to the south and east respectively.

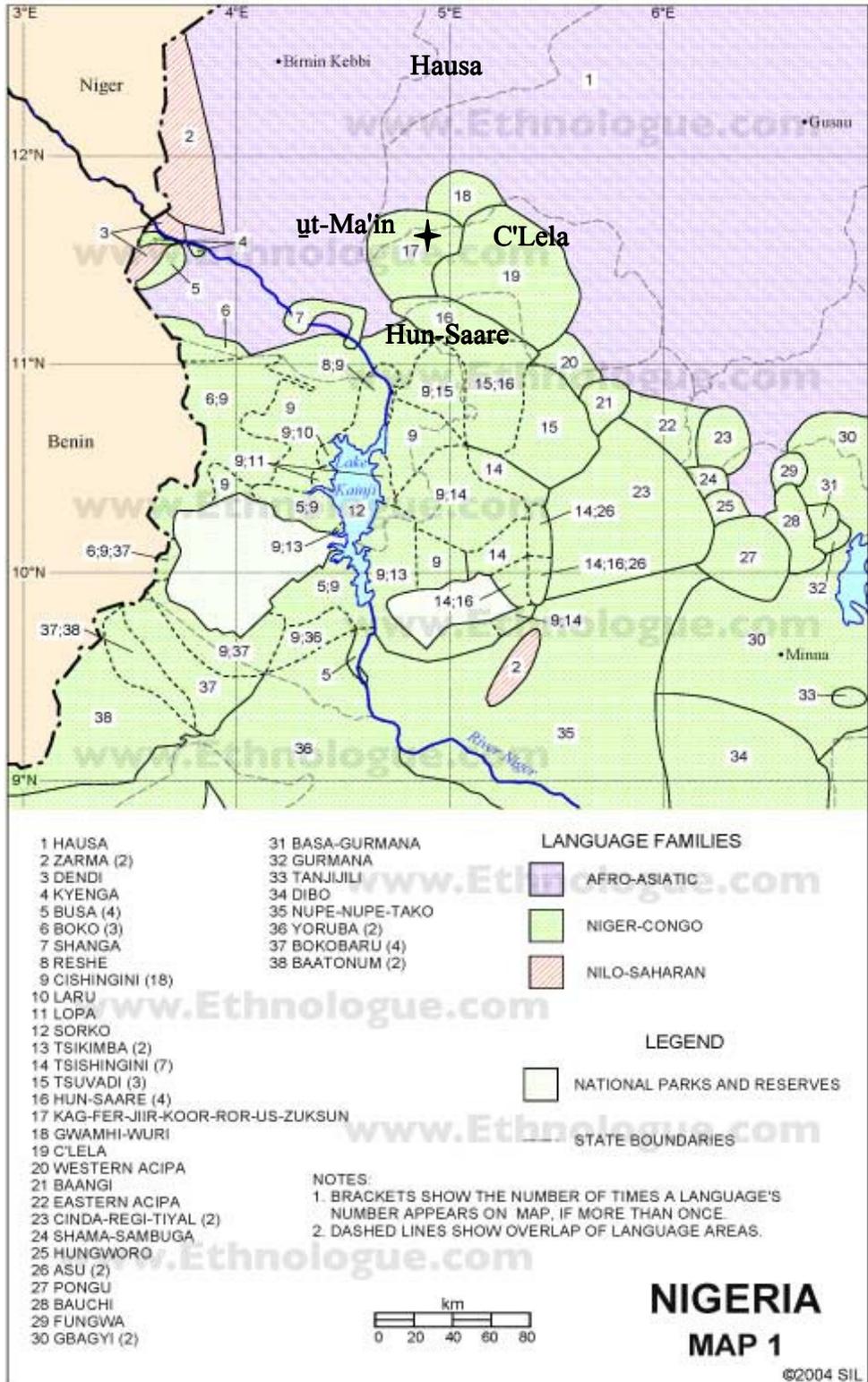


Figure 3: Language area (Gordon 2005d)

Many villagers remain monolingual in *ūt-Ma'in*. Those who are proficient in multiple languages likely still use *ūt-Ma'in* as their language of choice in their homes and villages. The extent of bilingualism in Hausa is not assessed in Regnier's survey report, but, undoubtedly, those who live in the towns along the main roads have a higher proficiency in Hausa as they interact with speakers of other languages daily using Hausa as their language of wider communication (Regnier 1992:10). The *ūt-Ma'in* language area is in close proximity to the homeland of the Hausa. Hausa, the trade language used across northern Nigeria, is the language of choice when interacting with a member of another nearby language group or at gatherings where multiple language groups are represented. English,⁶ the language of education and government, is the language of choice when interacting with southerners or expatriates.

The speakers of *ūt-Ma'in* share cultural similarities with their neighbors, the Lelna (speakers of C'Lela), with regard to their traditional religion, food preparation and the crops they grow. These close cultural ties may be the reason that some anthropologists in the first half of the twentieth century included the speakers of *ūt-Ma'in* as a subgroup when describing the Lelna. Similar to the Lelna, the people farm a variety of crops including guinea corn, millet, maize, acha,⁷ groundnuts (peanuts), beans, sugar cane and cotton. Other activities include the brewing of alcohol, blacksmithing, mat making, smelting and the making of pottery to supplement farming income. Various elements of the traditional religion, such as wrestling and bride service⁸ continue to be important to the culture (Dettweiler & Dettweiler 2005:7).

⁶ Many Nigerians are also proficient in the English based Nigerian Pidgin.

⁷ Acha is the name of a grain called *fodio* (*Digitaria exilis*) in other parts of West Africa.

⁸ Meek (1936:64) describes this as "marriage by agricultural service." CAPRO (1995:223-234) describes this as "gulmo", possibly a term related to the Hausa word *golo* 'testicles'. At age twelve a boy begins to assist the girl's father with the weeding and the harvesting of crops. An annual festival is held to celebrate the completion of

1.3 ʉt-Ma'in and the Northern West Kainji in the literature

References to ʉt-Ma'in and all published research, as well as descriptive works in progress, are summarized below. Rowlands (1962) includes a short wordlist from three varieties: Fakawa (Kag), Kelawa (Ker-ni) and Zusu (Zuksun). Regnier's (1992) survey report includes a list of 281 words with data from five dialects. In Regnier's report, *Papers in ət-Kag* by Clement Tuko is listed as "to appear", and no copy is available at this time. Keating (2003) provides a preliminary phonology of the Ror variety of ʉt-Ma'in, and Heath et al. (2004) drafted a descriptive grammar of the Ror variety that is still under revision by the ʉt-Ma'in Language Development Project.

For the closely related Duka (Hun-Saare) language, Bendor-Samuel et al. (1973) describes both phrase and clause level structures, where there is a limited discussion of the noun class system. Heath & Heath (2002) have written an unpublished grammar of the Kir-Ho variety of Duka (Hun-Saare). For the closely related C'Lela language, Hoffman (1967) describes the noun class system. Dettweiler (2001) describes some aspects of the vowel harmony system of C'Lela, and Dettweiler (2006a & 2006b) describes the phonology and grammar of the Zuru variety.

1.4 Terminology

A **NOUN CLASS**, as defined by Aikhenvald (2000:17,19), is a noun categorization device that

- is realized outside of the noun itself within a head-modifier noun phrase
- is realized as agreement markers on modifiers such as adjectives
- may also be realized outside of the noun phrase
- is most often marked by affixes
- usually contain references to inherent properties of nouns

"gulmo" at which a boy is "shown the gods and taught endurance." (CAPRO 1995:226)

Where Aikhenvald (2000:19) uses ‘noun class’ as a cover term for noun class and gender, Corbett (1991:44) uses ‘gender’ as a cover term for gender and noun class. To add to the confusion, in the Bantu tradition the term noun class refers to the individual class of a noun and the particular set of noun class agreement markers that occur on other clause constituents, and gender refers to the pairing of noun classes into singular/plural sets.

In order to avoid the confusion of the term gender, I use **NOUN CLASS** to refer to the individual class in which a particular noun occurs and the particular set of noun class agreement markers that occur on other clause constituents. Chapter 3 discusses the noun classes of ʉt-Ma'in. I use noun class **PAIRINGS** to refer to sets of two noun classes that occur with the same noun root, where one class prefix marks the singular and a second distinct class prefix marks the plural. These pairings provide insight into the semantic characteristics that unify groups of nouns in ʉt-Ma'in. Chapter 4 discusses all noun class pairings that occur in the data corpus.

UNPAIRED CLASSES refer to nouns that do not make a singular plural distinction. The term single class genders is avoided. Unpaired classes and their content are discussed in Chapter 4.

AGREEMENT TARGETS are the constituents that occur with agreement marking as triggered by the class of a noun (Corbett 1991:145). Most agreement targets in ʉt-Ma'in occur with agreement marked by an affixed class element. Some targets occur with a prefix that marks class agreement, and others are marked with a suffix. Chapter 5 discusses the various agreement targets, the morphology that occurs with each and how the noun that occurs with each construction is marked for class. Corbett (1991:105) treats agreement as synonymous with ‘concord.’ In order to avoid confusion, I avoid the term concord.

CHAPTER 2

PHONOLOGY AND GRAMMAR OVERVIEW

2.1 Phonology overview

This section provides a brief overview of the speech sounds used in ut-Ma'in. Some discussion of phonological alternations, with focus on those alternations that occur as a result of noun class phenomenon are also included.

2.1.1 *Phonetic inventory*

The inventory of vowels is discussed first, followed by a discussion of the inventory and distribution of the consonants of ut-Ma'in. Similar to other West Kainji languages, ut-Ma'in has a symmetric eight vowel system, as shown in Figure 4.

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i		u
Near Close-Mid		ə	
Close-Mid	e		o
Open-Mid	ɛ		ɔ
Open		a	

Figure 4: Vowels

In (1), examples of all eight vowels are shown. Most examples are nouns in which the vowel in focus occurs as part of the noun stem. One exception is the adjective *rīm-jà* 'black', in which the vowel in focus, [i], occurs in the adjective stem.

(1)

Contrast	Example	Gloss	Example	Gloss
/i/ and /e/	<i>ḡr-kìḡg</i>	‘stump’	<i>rīm-jà</i>	‘black’
	<i>ḡr-kèḡḡi</i>	‘frontier’	<i>ḡs-rēm</i>	‘speech, discourse’
/i/ and /ε/	<i>kīt</i>	‘side (of something)’	<i>ḡr-kés</i>	‘hatching’
	<i>két</i>	‘harvesting maize’	<i>ḡr-kik</i>	‘shortness’
/e/ and /ε/	<i>ārké</i>	‘going’	<i>ū-tè?</i>	‘arriving’
	<i>ḡr-híkè</i>	‘(moving) away from’	<i>ḡt-è?</i>	‘laying (eggs)’
/ə/ and /a/	<i>ū-kə?</i>	‘pimple’	<i>ḡs-kàr</i>	‘horns’
	<i>ū-kā?</i>	‘skin (of man)’	<i>ḡt-ḡkə?</i>	‘cutting open’
/u/, /o/, /ɔ/	<i>ū-kū?</i>	‘shell (of turtle)’	<i>ḡt-kūt</i>	‘thighs’
	<i>ḡr-kō?</i>	‘frog’	<i>ḡs-kót</i>	‘thorn trees’
	<i>ḡs-kɔ?</i>	‘silk, hair (of maize)’	<i>ḡt-kɔ?</i>	‘crests (of birds)’

All vowels may occur in lengthened form, as shown in Figure 5. Sometimes the length is lexical, but often it occurs as a result of verb inflection for tense/aspect.

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i:		u:
Near Close-Mid		ə:	
Close-Mid	e:		o:
Open-Mid	ɛ:		ɔ:
Open		a:	

Figure 5: Long vowels

Below are example contrasts for lengthened vowels.

(2)

Contrast	Example	Gloss	Example	Gloss
/i/ and /i:/	<i>ḡt-rìst</i>	‘abandoning’	<i>ḡt-pìs</i>	‘corn cobs’
	<i>ḡt-rì:s</i>	‘porcupines’	<i>ḡt-ì:s</i>	‘sinking’
/e/ and /e:/	<i>ḡr-ēr</i>	‘arrow’	<i>ḡt-rèst</i>	‘dropping’
	<i>é:r</i>	‘eight’	<i>ḡr-ē:s</i>	‘standing’
/ε/ and /ε:/	<i>ḡm-rég</i>	‘trying’	<i>ḡr-hé?è</i>	‘falling’
	<i>ḡm ré:g</i>	‘I succeeded’	<i>hē:g</i>	‘fell’
/ə/ and /ə:/	<i>ḡr-p’ákót</i>	‘flower’	<i>ḡt-zəm</i>	‘spoiling(intr)’
	<i>ū-kót</i>	‘chicken’	<i>ḡt-tám</i>	‘chewing’
/a/ and /a:/	<i>ī-tār</i>	‘tiny stone’	<i>ḡt-kàs</i>	‘tracks (animal)’
	<i>tār</i>	‘tax’	<i>ḡt-tà:s</i>	‘villages’
/u/ and /u:/	<i>ḡr-kūg</i>	‘trunk (of tree)’		
	<i>ḡm-hú:g</i>	‘dust’		
/o/ and /o:/	<i>ū-dòr</i>	‘nape of neck’	<i>ḡm-hóg</i>	‘hearing’
	<i>ū-kò:r</i>	‘valley’	<i>ḡr-gó:g</i>	‘axe’
/ɔ/ and /ɔ:/	<i>ḡr-kót</i>	‘crest (of bird)’	<i>ḡt-dòg</i>	‘wilderness (pl)’
	<i>ū-kót</i>	‘guinea fowl’	<i>ḡs-tò:g</i>	‘prayers’

Two contrasts are shown for each vowel set, except for the contrast /u/ and /u:/. The vowel /u/ occurs very infrequently in noun stems and further examples are not available.

ut-Ma'in has thirty seven consonants as shown in Figure 6. Aspiration of plosives is common but not contrastive. E.g., the noun *ər-kót* 'crest (of bird)' can occur as *ər-k^hót^h* with no contrast in meaning. Labialized consonants and palatalized consonants contrast with their non-labialized and non-palatalized counterparts.

	Bilabial		Labiodental		Alveolar		Alveopalatal		Velar			Glottal	
Plosive	p b	p ^l b ^l			t d				k g	k ^w g ^w	k ^l g ^l	(ʔ)	
Affricate								tʃ dʒ	tʃ ^w dʒ ^w				
Fricative			f v	v ^l	s z	s ^w z ^w		ʃ				h	h ^l
Nasal	m	m ^l			n		n ^l		(ŋ)				
Trill					r	r ^w	r ^l						
Approximant							j			w			
Lateral Approximant					(l:)								

Figure 6: Consonants

Non-contrastive consonants occur in parentheses in Figure 6. The glottal plosive [ʔ] can occur stem initially without contrast to vowel initial segments and often occurs between a vowel prefix and a vowel initial stem. Section 2.1.4 discusses [ʔ] in relation to long vowels and resyllabification of roots. Section 3.1 discusses the free variation between [ʔ] and other consonant prefixes within the noun class system. The alveolar nasal [n] occurs as a velar nasal [ŋ] before velar plosives. In fast speech, the long lateral approximant [l:] occurs when two

alveolar trill [r]'s come together across a morpheme boundary. This phonetic variation is discussed more fully in section 3.1.

The alveolar fricatives and alveolar plosives do not currently have a palatalized form. Historically, there may have been [tʲ], [dʲ], and [sʲ]. Perhaps today these occur as the alveopalatals [tʃ], [dʒ], and [ʃ]. The consonant [nʲ] could be interpreted as [ɲ], but at a morpheme boundary, when [n] occurs as the final segment of the first morpheme and [j] occurs as the first segment of the second morpheme, the result is [nʲ] and not [ɲ], as shown in (4a.). This behavior reflects what happens when a [t] and [j] occur at the morpheme boundary; [t] and [j] occur as the sequence [ʔj]⁹ and not as the affricate [tʃ], as shown in (4b.). This indicates that [nʲ] has maintained its alveolar point of articulation and has not shifted to alveopalatal point of articulation. Also, by positing the segment [nʲ], symmetry is maintained with [mʲ] and [rʲ].

- (3)
- | | | |
|-----------------|--|------------|
| <i>ū-n'áʔ</i> | | 'gift' |
| <i>ōr-n'ō:w</i> | | 'mushroom' |
- (4)
- | | | | | |
|----|----------------------|---|--------------|----------|
| a. | <i>ín-jā</i> | → | <i>in'a</i> | (*ijna) |
| | Dem-C7 ¹⁰ | | | |
| b. | <i>ját-jà</i> | → | <i>játjà</i> | (*játjà) |
| | big-C7 | | | |

All consonants occur stem initially except [ʔ], [ɲ] and [l:] the Examples of all consonants that occur in stem initial position are shown in (5).

⁹ [t] is often realized as [ʔ] before consonants. See section 3.1 for further discussion.

¹⁰ The abbreviation C7 refers to Class 7. This type of notation, C followed by the class label, is used in both prose and examples.

(5)

/p/	<i>ṡr-pás</i>	‘ford (n)’	/m/	<i>ū-mák</i>	‘kidney’
/b/	<i>ū-bár</i>	‘loincloth’	/n/	<i>ū-nát</i>	‘wound’
/pʲ/	<i>ū-pʲá:t</i>	‘moon’	/nʲ/	<i>ū-nʲá?</i>	‘gift’
/bʲ/	<i>ū-bʲás</i>	‘broom’	/mʲ/	<i>ṡt-mʲòg</i>	‘twist (v)’
/t/	<i>ṡr-tàkə̀n</i>	‘beginning’	/r/	<i>ū-rán</i>	‘scar’
/d/	<i>ū-dàk</i>	‘ground’	/rʷ/	<i>ū-rʷág</i>	‘elephant’
/tʃ/	<i>ū-tʃám</i>	‘anvil’	/w/	<i>ū-wár</i>	‘body’
/dʒ/	<i>ū-dʒán</i>	‘excema’	/j/	<i>ṡm-jár</i>	‘health’
/tʃʷ/	<i>ū-tʃʷár</i>	‘throat’	/f/	<i>ū-fá?</i>	‘snake’
/dʒʷ/	<i>ū-dʒʷá:k</i>	‘horse’	/v/	<i>ū-ván</i>	‘knife’
/k/	<i>ū-kā?</i>	‘skin (of man)’	/vʲ/	<i>ṡt-vʲə̀n</i>	‘wringing out’
/g/	<i>ū-gāp</i>	‘a slap’	/sʷ/	<i>ṡt-sʷà</i>	‘drinking’
/kʲ/	<i>ṡt-kʲèr</i>	‘peircing’	/zʷ/	<i>ṡt-zʷà</i>	‘roasting’
/gʲ/	<i>Ø-gʲèŋk</i>	‘crooked’	/ʃ/	<i>ū-ʃák</i>	‘sesame seed’
/kʷ/	<i>ū-kʷám</i>	‘iron’	/h/	<i>ū-hṡ</i>	‘hole’
/gʷ/	<i>ū-gʷāb</i>	‘toe’	/hʲ/	<i>ū-hʲṡ</i>	‘guinea corn’

A subset of consonants can occur word finally, as shown in (6).

(6)

/p/	<i>ū-sáp</i>	‘sword’	/m/	<i>ū-ʔám</i>	‘pus’
/b/	<i>ū-gʷáb</i>	‘bamboo’	/n/	<i>ū-kán</i>	‘ladder’
/t/	<i>ṡr-fát</i>	‘life’	/r/	<i>ū-wár</i>	‘body’
/k/	<i>ū-mák</i>	‘kidney’	/w/	<i>ṡr-nʲṡ:w</i>	‘mushroom’
/g/	<i>ṡr-mág</i>	‘debt’	/s/	<i>ṡm-bás</i>	‘urine’
			/z/	<i>ṡr-kʷáz</i>	‘wrist’

Consonant clusters that can occur stem finally include [nd], [mb], [st], [ks], [kt] and [nt], as shown in (7). The consonant clusters [ks] and [kt] occur only once in the corpus in word final position. For all other word final consonant clusters two examples are shown.

(7)

/nt/	<i>ū-rə̀nt</i>	‘mosquito’	<i>ū-gə̀nt</i>	‘eggplant’
/nd/	<i>ṡr-kʷə̀nd</i>	‘hoe’	<i>ū-sə̀nd</i>	‘pestle, pounding stick’
/mb/	<i>ū-kàmb</i>	‘stem, stalk’	<i>ṡr-kʷə̀mb</i>	‘okra’
/st/	<i>ṡt-də̀st</i>	‘chosing’	<i>ṡt-rìst</i>	‘abandoning’
/ks/	<i>ṡt-bàks</i>	‘remembering’		
/kt/	<i>ū-mákt</i>	‘barren woman’		

Stem medial consonants are shown in (8).

(8)					
/p/	<i>ū-rāpēt</i>	‘dew’	/m/	<i>Ø-bómós</i>	‘widow’
/b/	<i>ū-bəbés?</i>	‘ulcer’	/n/	<i>ēt-hēnō</i>	‘relatives’
/t/	<i>Ø-nētá</i>	‘woman’	/r/	<i>ēr-pórá</i>	‘wooden stool’
/k/	<i>ēr-pákót</i>	‘flower’	/j/	<i>ēr-vējē</i>	‘breath’
/g/	<i>ū-régès</i>	‘necklace’	/s/	<i>ēm-bəsər</i>	‘diarrhea’
			/ʃ/	<i>tʃāfī</i>	‘few’
			/ʔ/	<i>ēm-fʔēt</i>	‘smoke’

2.1.2 Tone Melodies

ūt-Ma'in has three phonetic tone levels: high (H), mid (M) and low (L). Falling tones only occur on syllables with a heavy coda. In this work, tones will be marked as in (9).

(9)

High	´	Mid	-
Low	`	Falling	^

Falling tone does not occur in open syllables or in closed syllables that have a short vowel and a plosive in the coda. Falling tones can occur where a vowel is followed by an [r] or [s] as shown in (10a.), where a long vowel is followed by a single consonant as in (10b.), where a vowel is followed by a nasal as in (10c.), as well as where a vowel is followed by a nasal and another consonant as in (10d.). In the corpus, only one root *ēt-pōst* ‘strain (food)’ occurred with a falling tone in a coda of a single vowel followed by two consonants as in (10e.).

(10)

	Coda	Example	Gloss
a.	VC	<i>ū-tʃ^wār</i>	‘throat’
		<i>ēr-dá.kəs</i>	‘palm (hand)’
b.	V:C	<i>ēt-kâ:k</i>	‘phlegm’
		<i>ēr-tʃ^wân</i>	‘shoot (new plant)’
c.	VN	<i>ēt-v^lân</i>	‘blow nose’
		<i>ēs-gôm</i>	‘illness’
d.	VNC	<i>ēr-dôns</i>	‘announcement’
		<i>ū-sônd</i>	‘pestle, pounding stick’
e.	VCC	<i>ēt-pōst</i>	‘straining (food)’

Eighty-eight noun roots with two syllables occur in the corpus. All possible level tone patterns occur, though LM and HM occur infrequently. The tone melodies that occur on two syllable nouns are shown in (11) with their frequency.

(11)

Tone Melody	No.	% of 88
LL	26	29.5%
LM	1	1.1%
LH	7	8.0%
ML	4	4.6%
MM	28	31.9%
MH	5	5.7%
HL	8	9.0%
HM	1	1.1%
HH	8	9.0%

Three-syllable and four-syllable stems for nouns do occur. Because of the low number of multiple syllable words in the corpus, some of these may contain multiple roots that have acquired new meaning over time. For example, the word *ū-ándàkà* ‘ancestor’ contains stem initially what occurs elsewhere as the agentive derivational prefix *á-*. The second part of the stem may be from *ū-dàk* ‘land’, a C3 noun with the meaning ‘ground’. It is then possible to understand that the current form *ū-ándàkà* was once a longer phrase or a derived noun meaning ‘people of the ground’, which developed into the meaning ‘ancestor’. The noun then re-entered the noun class system in Class 7 with the *ū-* prefix.

Examples of other three and four syllable nouns are shown in (12).

(12)

Root Melody	Example	Gloss
HHL	<i>ā-t-kógórò</i>	‘beer made at harvest’
MHL	<i>ū-kāráṅkù</i>	‘fingernail’
LHL	<i>ū-sòṅólò</i>	‘bedbug’
HMM	<i>ū-íṅgōgōr</i>	‘ant’
MMM	<i>ū-kērmēfī</i>	‘spark’
LLLL	<i>ū-kàskàrètò</i>	‘cattle egret’
HHLH	<i>ū-fándárnàkí</i>	‘chameleon’
HHMM	<i>ū-kótíndākā</i>	‘gecko’

Tone sequences are essential to certain grammatical constructions, but are presumed to occur in predictable patterns. Tone melodies important to noun class constructions are discussed in Chapter 5. Though not in the scope of this study, the verb system relies on tone for some tense/aspect distinctions. Further research is needed to investigate to what extent the verb system relies on tonal changes and tone sequences.

2.1.3 *Word internal vowel harmony*

There is some remnant of a vowel harmony system. Currently word internal vowel harmony operates in two constructions impacted by the noun class system. This harmony is based on the feature specification for back of the noun class element that is affixed to the stem. The class specific prefix *CM-* triggers harmony of the root vowel in the indefinite article *CM-kēn* ‘some, other’. For example, the indefinite article occurs as *wà-kēn* in Class 1, *è-kēn* in Class 2, and *ǎ-kēn* in Class 3. See section 5.6 for further discussion of the indefinite article. The class marking on the near-demonstrative modifier also triggers harmony with the vowel of the near-demonstrative modifier form. The vowel is only specified for height. The feature backis controlled by the specifications of the particular noun class element. For example, the near-demonstrative modifier occurs as *ín* with Class 1, *ún* with Class 3, and *múm* with Class 6m. See section 5.2 for further discussion of the demonstrative modifiers.

Hoffman (1967:242) reports active word internal vowel harmony for C’Lela in the formation of animate plurals with the suffix [-nV], in which the vowel of the suffix harmonizes with the height of the final vowel of the root. *ut*-Ma’in uses a similar suffix to mark human plurals, however there is no evidence of vowel harmony in this construction. Example (13) shows the *-nè* suffix in *ut*-Ma’in not affected by the vowel of the root.

(13)

Root final vowel	Singular	Plural	Gloss
/i/	<i>Ø-mā́rímá́rí</i>	<i>Ø-mā́rímá́rí-nè</i>	‘the dead’
/ɛ/	<i>ū-bé́b</i>	<i>Ø-bé́b-nè</i>	‘giant’
/ə/	<i>Ø-h’ów</i>	<i>Ø-h’ów-nè</i>	‘theif’
/a/	<i>Ø-tǎ́mpá</i>	<i>Ø-tǎ́mpá-nè</i>	‘man’
/ɔ/	<i>Ø-tók</i>	<i>Ø-tók-nè</i>	‘slave’

2.1.4 Resyllabification of roots

Some noun roots that occur with a long vowel [V:], where V is any vowel, may be resyllabified by the insertion of a glottal stop [ʔ]. For example, the Class 5 noun *ǎ́r-kó:t* ‘cloud’ can alternately occur as *ǎ́r-kóʔót*. There is no change in meaning associated with this resyllabification and there is no evident contrast. This re-syllabification often occurs when a consonant prefix occurs on a noun root that contain a lengthened vowel.

The root *tā:r* ‘stone’ occurs in all classes that designate inanimate objects (i.e., all classes except Classes 1, 2 and 7 which are reserved for animate nouns). The variety of prefixes that can occur with the noun root produces an alternation in the noun root between a lengthened vowel [V:] and the glottal stop alternative [VʔV]. With a vowel class prefix, the root maintains its lengthened vowel form, as seen with Classes 3, DIM and AUG in (14).

(14)

Class	Example	Gloss
3	<i>ū-tā:r</i>	‘huge stone’ ¹¹
DIM	<i>ī-tā:r</i>	‘tiny stone’
AUG	<i>ā-tā:r</i>	‘huge stones’

With a consonant in the class prefix, the root’s syllable boundaries are redefined, as seen with Classes 4, 5, 6 and 6m in (15).

¹¹ Variation in meaning is related to the class prefixes, and is not related to the phonetic variation in the root. See section 3.3 for further discussion of semantic variation within the noun class system.

(15)

Class	Example	Gloss
4	<i>ḡs-tāʔar</i>	‘long stones’
5	<i>ḡr-tāʔar</i>	‘stone’
6	<i>ḡt-tāʔar</i>	‘stones’
6m	<i>ḡm-tāʔar</i>	‘gravel’

2.1.5 Consonant prefixes and the near close-mid central vowel

In citation form, all consonant noun class prefixes occur with the near close-mid vowel [ə] preceding the consonant. The vowel is always present in citation form and in careful (slow) speech, but it is often dropped in fast speech.

The near close-mid vowel [ə] is contrastive with other vowels in noun roots as discussed in example (1). This contrast is demonstrated again in (16).

(16)

<i>ḡt-káʔát</i>	‘sandals, shoes’
<i>ḡt-kəʔət</i>	‘clouds’

But this near close-mid [ə] also serves as the epenthetic vowel to break up consonant clusters. In (17), the noun root may occur as *mákt* or *mákót*. Either one, with its prefix, gives the meaning ‘barren woman’. There is no change in meaning or contrast between the forms. When the vowel [ə] occurs to aid the pronunciation of a word, it bears a tone identical to that of the previous syllable.

(17)

Singular		Plural	
<i>ḡ-mákt</i>	‘barren woman’	<i>mákt-nè</i>	‘barren women’
OR		OR	
<i>ḡ-mákót</i>		<i>mákót-nè</i>	

Dettweiler (2001) analyzes the near close-mid vowel [ə] as epenthetic in consonant prefixes for C'Lela, since the vowel occurs either to the right or left of the consonant to aid in pronunciation.

A class marker prefix is often incorporated into the same syllable with what immediately precedes it, but never into the initial syllable of the noun to which it is prefixed. [The epenthesis of the near-close central vowel]... is phonologically

predictable. This epenthesis is C'Lela's main strategy for resyllabifying words and phrases in which morphological processes have produced clusters of three or more consonants. (Dettweiler 2001:4, 20)

As a result of Dettweiler's analysis, the C'Lela Language Development Project has chosen not to write the vowel [ə] with prefixes. For the Duka (Hun-Saare) language, Heath & Heath (2002:8) analyze the vowel [ə], transcribed there as [ɨ], as having full vowel status in the prefixes and analyzes the prefix as a VC sequence. As a result of this analysis, they have chosen to write the vowel [ə] with prefixes.

The status of this vowel has not yet been determined for the ʉt-Ma'in language. The ʉt-Ma'in Language Development team has chosen to write the vowel with the noun class prefixes and noun class suffixes. Since the vowel occurs with consonantal noun class prefixes in the citation form, I have included it with all transcriptions of individual words. In Chapter 5 I write examples as they are pronounced.

2.2 Grammar overview

This section provides a brief overview of the syntax and morphology of ʉt-Ma'in. Discussion begins with the basic clause structure and typological expectations, and then a discussion of the syntax and morphology within the noun phrase follows. See Chapter 5 for further discussion of specific grammatical constructions related to the noun class system.

2.2.1 General

ʉt-Ma'in has basic SVO clause order, as seen in (18). The noun subject *∅-tʃāmpá* 'man' occurs first as the subject, followed by the verb *mā:g* 'built' and the object *ū-kúr* 'room'.

(18)

S	V	O	
<i>tʃāmpá-j-ə</i>	<i>mā:g</i>	<i>ū-kúr</i>	'a man built a room'
man-C7-Assoc	build.PST	C3u-room	

Greenberg's universals posit that a VO language is likely to have certain other features. A main clause order of VO suggests other phrases will be head initial which suggests prepositions, head initial noun phrases, and prefixed morphology. *ʉt-Ma'in* exhibits these features as shown in Table 2.

Table 2: Greenberg's Universals (adapted from Payne 1997:72)

Greenberg's Universal	Parameter	Correlation
1	main clause	VO
3,4	adpositions	prepositions
17	head noun and modifier	N-M
24	head noun and relative clauses	N-RelCL
27	affixes	prefixes

In Chapter 3, I show that most nouns in citation form occur with a prefixed class marker. And as expected, class elements are prefixed to quantifiers (including numerals), demonstrative modifiers, the associative marker, the indefinite article, the interrogative 'which' and the relative pronoun. But the class element is suffixed to adjectives. Another unexpected trend is the suffixing of class elements to the head noun when a noun occurs alone in the subject position, discussed in section 5.13, or when a noun occurs with an adjective or a possessive pronoun, discussed in section 5.9 and section 5.12.

Table 3 displays some of the morphology associated with the noun class system. A review and discussion of all noun class related morphology occurs in section 5.13.

Table 3: Noun phrase morphology

	Modifier	Head Noun			Modifier			Example	Gloss
Quantifier Phrase		C-	N		C-	Q		<i>ās-fār ās-bē:t</i>	‘all the trees’
Indefinite Article	C-Indef		N					<i>sèkēn fār sē</i>	‘some trees’
Associative Phrase			N		C-	AssocP		<i>fār s-ə-m-wār</i>	‘trees of length/ tall trees’
Adjective			N	-C		A	-C	<i>fār-əs jāt-sè</i>	‘big trees’
Possessive Pronoun			N	-C		NP _[POSS]		<i>fār-əs ró</i>	‘your trees’
Definite Article			N	-C		D		<i>fār-əs sē</i>	‘the trees’
Demonstrative Modifier			N	-C	C-	Dem		<i>fār-əs sínsē</i>	‘these trees’

2.2.2 The noun phrase

When no modification occurs with the head noun, the associative marker occurs between the noun subject and the verb, phonologically suffixed to the noun stem.

- (19)
- | | | |
|------------|------------|-------------|
| N | AssocP | |
| <i>fār</i> | <i>s-ə</i> | <i>hē:g</i> |
| tree | C4-Assoc | fall.PST |
- ‘trees fell’

In contrast the noun in object position occurs with its prefix as seen in (20).

- (20)
- | | | |
|-----------|-------------|---------------|
| | | N |
| <i>ām</i> | <i>hē:g</i> | <i>ās-fār</i> |
| 1.sg | fall.PST | C4-tree |
- ‘I fell (caused to fall) trees’

Within the noun phrase only the optional indefinite article (Indef) precedes the head noun. All other modifiers follow the head noun. A noun can be modified by either a relative clause (RelC) or by a combination of other modifiers.

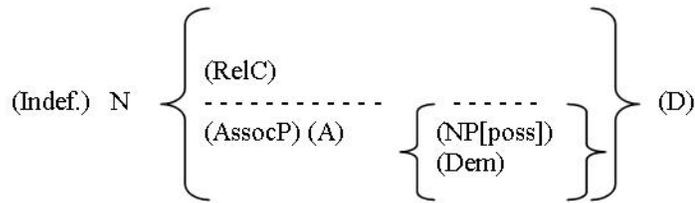


Figure 7: Noun phrase structure

If a noun phrase is fully expanded, all modifiers can co-occur with these exceptions. The indefinite article (Indef) and the demonstrative modifier (Dem) may not co-occur. The demonstrative modifier (Dem) and the possessive pronoun (NP_[POSS]) may not co-occur.

Examples of expanded noun phrases are shown in (21), (22) and (23).

(21)

N	D	
<i>fâr-âs</i>	<i>sē</i>	<i>hē:g</i>
tree-C4	C4.D	fall.PST
‘the trees fell’		

(22)

Indef.	N	AssocP	A	NP _[POSS]	D	
<i>sēkēn</i>	<i>fâr</i>	<i>s-â m-wôr</i>	<i>jât-sê</i>	<i>ró</i>	<i>sē</i>	<i>hē:g</i>
C4-Indef	tree	C4-Assoc	C6m-length	big-C4	2. sg.poss	C4.D fall.PST
‘some of your big tall trees (lit. big trees of length), they fell’						

(23)

N	AssocP	A	Dem	D	
<i>fâr</i>	<i>s-â m-wôr</i>	<i>jât-sê</i>	<i>s-ín</i>	<i>sē</i>	<i>hē:g</i>
tree	C4-Assoc	C6m-length	big-C4	C4- Dem	C4.D fall.PST
‘these big tall trees, they fell’					

All modifiers are optional. As seen in Figure 7, the associative phrase (AssocP) occurs to the immediate right of the head noun. Then, the adjective (A), possessive noun phrase, (NP_[POSS]), and demonstrative modifier (Dem) follow in that order. The definite article, identical to the subject pronoun, occurs following the head noun, but in an expanded noun phrase the use is anaphoric and is analyzed as a separate noun phrase. This is especially apparent when a

quantifier is present. The head noun with its class prefix occurs first, followed by the quantifier¹² with a class agreement prefix. The subject pronoun occurs immediately before the verb.

(24)

<i>ḡs-fār</i>	<i>ḡs-tán</i>	<i>sē</i>	<i>hē:g</i>
C4-tree	C4-five	C4	fall.PST
‘five trees, they fell’			

All noun phrase constituents, except the NP_[POSS], are marked for agreement with the class of the head noun. Chapter 5 gives a detailed description of the class marking that occurs with each constituent.

¹² When a noun occurs with a quantifier these two constituents are analyzed as a sequence of noun phrases, as opposed to the occurrence of the quantifier within the noun phrase. See discussion in section 5.13.

CHAPTER 3

NOUN CLASSES

The number of noun classes in any given language is determined by the criteria used to distinguish them. If you count only the prefixes that occur on the nouns themselves, there are seven classes in ut-Ma'in. But you gain a clearer picture if you take into account not only the noun prefixes but also the unique patterns of agreement that are apparent on other clause constituents.

There are thirteen distinct agreement patterns found in ut-Ma'in. Each one manifests itself with a prefix on the noun¹³ as well as with agreement marking on a number of targets. Three of the classes occur with *ū-* as the noun prefix, e.g. *ū-mákt* 'barren woman', *ū-bù* 'house' and *ū-nín* 'tooth'. If you only consider the prefix on the noun, these three would seem to belong to the same class. However, if you look at the pronouns that agree with each of these *ū-* prefix nouns you discover three different pronouns. The noun *ū-mákt* 'barren woman' requires *wa*, *ū-bù* 'house' requires *ɔ*, and *ū-nín* 'tooth' requires *ja*. These three different agreement elements show that these nouns, in fact, belong to three distinct classes.

Section 3.1 includes the labels that will be used for noun classes in ut-Ma'in as well as examples of each class. Labels could be applied randomly, however there are certain similarities that make it possible to trace ut-Ma'in classes back to the classes of the proto-

¹³ Some occur with a null *∅*-prefix.

language. To this end, section 3.2 discusses these labels in relation to other closely related languages and to Proto-Benue-Congo. Section 3.3 reviews the assignment of noun class labels.

3.1 Numbering of classes in ut-Ma'in

There are thirteen distinct noun classes in ut-Ma'in. Even though three classes share the same \bar{u} -prefix, each is distinguished by the unique combination of agreement elements required by the different classes. Similarly, four classes have a null \emptyset -prefix on the noun, but these four classes can again be distinguished by the agreement elements.

Table 4 shows the thirteen distinct noun classes. The first column gives a reference label that will be used to label each class. The second column shows the prefix that occurs on the nouns of that class. The third column shows the object pronoun that agrees with each class, and the fourth column provides examples from each class. All noun prefixes have been marked with mid-tone, as they occur in citation form.

Table 4: ʉt-Ma'in noun classes

Class	Noun Prefix	Object Pronoun	Examples	
1u	<i>ū-</i>	<i>ú/wá</i>	<i>ū-mákt</i>	'barren woman'
			<i>ū-rāg</i>	'stupid person'
1∅	<i>∅-</i>	<i>wá</i>	<i>∅-hámòt</i>	'visitor'
			<i>∅-z^wàr</i>	'young man'
2	<i>∅-</i>	<i>é</i>	<i>∅-ná</i>	'oxen, bovines'
			<i>∅-h'ṣ</i>	'guinea corn (pl)'
			<i>∅-règèr</i>	'stars'
3u	<i>ū-</i>	<i>ó</i>	<i>ū-bù</i>	'house'
			<i>ū-k'óm</i>	'arm'
			<i>ū-sēp</i>	'song'
3∅	<i>∅-</i>	<i>ó</i>	<i>∅-bò?</i>	'dream'
			<i>∅-ḡāb</i>	'heart'
			<i>∅-s^wás</i>	'entrance hut'
4	<i>ṣ-</i>	<i>sé</i>	<i>ṣ-bò?</i>	'dreams'
			<i>ṣ-rā</i>	'muscle'
			<i>ṣ-bà:t</i>	'medicine'
5	<i>ṣ-</i>	<i>dé</i>	<i>ṣ-kók</i>	'calabash'
			<i>ṣ-ḡāb</i>	'liver'
			<i>ṣ-hí</i>	'head'
6	<i>ṣ-</i>	<i>tó</i>	<i>ṣ-kók</i>	'calabashes'
			<i>ṣ-ís</i>	'eyes'
			<i>ṣ-rīn</i>	'charcoal'
6m	<i>ṣ-</i>	<i>mó</i>	<i>ṣ-nò:g</i>	'oil'
			<i>ṣ-h'ṣ</i>	'blood'
			<i>ṣ-h'ṣrèg</i>	'sand'
7u	<i>ū-</i>	<i>já</i>	<i>ū-ná</i>	'ox, bovine'
			<i>ū-tṣān</i>	'feather'
			<i>ū-nín</i>	'tooth'
7∅	<i>∅-</i>	<i>já</i>	<i>∅-tṣāmpá</i>	'man'
			<i>∅-mārímarí</i>	'the dead'
			<i>∅-r'ám</i>	'cripple (n)'
AUG	<i>ā-</i>	<i>á</i>	<i>ā-kók</i>	'huge calabashes'
			<i>ā-bà</i>	'big lake'
			<i>ā-ràndí</i>	'strong thread'
DIM	<i>ī-</i>	<i>é</i>	<i>ī-kók</i>	'tiny calabash'
			<i>ī-g^wá</i>	'tiny (piece of) grass'
			<i>ī-ràndí</i>	'thread'

For Classes 1u, 3u and 7u, words occur with the prefix *ū-*. Classes 1∅, 3∅ and 7∅ occur with the null ∅- prefix. Both Class 1u and Class 1∅ take the same agreement pattern, demonstrated by the object pronoun *wá*, as shown above. Class 3u and 3∅ take *o* agreement marking, and Classes 7u and 7∅ take *ja* agreement marking. It is in the combination of the prefix and the agreement pattern that the different classes are made apparent. But the occurrence of similar agreement patterns also points to the close relationship between the two classes. For this reason, classes with identical agreement patterns are labeled with the same number, and the character that follows distinguishes the prefix form (i.e., the label Class 3u is used for nouns with the *ū-* prefix, while the label Class 3∅ is used for nouns with the null ∅- prefix).

Some phonetic variation occurs in the noun prefixes as given in the above chart. The C4 prefix¹⁴ *ās-* can occur phonetically as [āʔ]. This occurs before roots with an initial consonant and seems to be in free variation with *ās-*. The *əʔ-* prefix often occurs with roots that have an initial alveolar or alveopalatal fricative or affricate, as shown in (25) below.

(25)

<i>əʔ-sóʔ</i>	~	<i>ās-sóʔ</i>	‘dens, holes’
<i>əʔ-zāg</i>	~	<i>ās-zāg</i>	‘weeds’
<i>əʔ-fār</i>	~	<i>ās-fār</i>	‘bones’
<i>əʔ-dòr</i>	~	<i>ās-dòr</i>	‘nape of neck(pl)’
<i>əʔ-tʃ^wā</i>	~	<i>ās-tʃ^wā</i>	‘soup, broth’
<i>əʔ-dʒ^wà</i>	~	<i>ās-dʒ^wà</i>	‘splinter, sliver (n)’

The C5 prefix *ār-* phonetically occurs as [ā] before roots with an initial [r]. The root *rì:s* occurs in Class 5 as *ār:rì:s* ‘porcupine’. The [r] of the C5 prefix and the root initial [r] coalesce to form a long lateral [l:]. The plural C6 form *ār:rì:s* ‘porcupines’ shows that the root contains an initial [r]. Other examples are shown in (26) below.

¹⁴ “C” will be used as an abbreviation for Class when using class to identify a class element. For example “Class 4 prefix *ās-*” will be written as “C4 prefix *ās-*” with no change in the meaning.

(26)

Singular	Plural	Gloss
<i>ḡl:ém</i>	<i>ḡt-rém</i>	‘language’
<i>ḡl:én</i>	<i>ḡt-rén</i>	‘trap’
<i>ḡl:wāʔ</i>	<i>ḡt-r^wāʔ</i>	‘yam’
<i>ḡl:ḡr</i>	<i>ḡt-rḡr</i>	‘mountain’

The C6 prefix *ḡt-* phonetically occurs as [ḡn] before roots with an initial [n]. The root *nét* occurs in Class 6 as *ḡn:ét* ‘human beings’. The [t] of the C6 prefix and the root initial [n] coalesce to form a long nasal consonant [n:]. The singular C1 form *ḡ-nét* ‘human being’ shows the root initial [n]. Other examples are shown in (27).

(27)

Singular	Plural	Gloss
<i>ḡ-nát</i>	<i>ḡn:át</i>	‘wound’
<i>ḡ-nú</i>	<i>ḡn:ú</i>	‘mouth’
<i>ḡ-nəm</i>	<i>ḡn:əm</i>	‘thing’

The C6 prefix can occur as [ḡʔ] before roots with an initial consonant and seems to be in free variation with *ḡt-*. Examples in (28) show all root initial consonants that occur in the corpus that allow the free variation of the class marker *ḡt-* with *ḡʔ-*.

(28)

<i>ḡʔ-túr</i>	~	<i>ḡt-túr</i>	‘cooking pots’
<i>ḡʔ-dēn</i>	~	<i>ḡt-dēn</i>	‘fishing nets’
<i>ḡʔ-tʃəməs</i>	~	<i>ḡt-tʃəməs</i>	‘(clay) stools’
<i>ḡʔ-dʒór</i>	~	<i>ḡt-dʒór</i>	‘upper arms’
<i>ḡʔ-sāg</i>	~	<i>ḡt-sāg</i>	‘graves’
<i>ḡʔ-zúp</i>	~	<i>ḡt-zúp</i>	‘forests’
<i>ḡʔ-s^wà</i>	~	<i>ḡt-s^wà</i>	‘noses’
<i>ḡʔ-z^wḡ:n</i>	~	<i>ḡt-z^wḡ:n</i>	‘dry season’
<i>ḡʔ-ʃēbrō</i>	~	<i>ḡt-ʃēbrō</i>	‘co-wife, fellow wife’
<i>ḡʔ-dʒór</i>	~	<i>ḡt-dʒór</i>	‘clubs, cudgels’
<i>ḡʔ-tʃ^wḡ</i>	~	<i>ḡt-tʃ^wḡ</i>	‘loads, burdens’
<i>ḡʔ-ḡ^wḡn</i>	~	<i>ḡt-ḡ^wḡn</i>	‘knees’
<i>ḡʔ-káp</i>	~	<i>ḡt-káp</i>	‘shoulders’
<i>ḡʔ-gḡnt</i>	~	<i>ḡt-gḡnt</i>	‘Adam’s apple (as seen from outside)’

The C6m prefix *ḡm-* usually occurs unchanged regardless of the consonant in root initial position. For example, in *ḡm-fḡʔḡt* ‘smoke’, the class prefix maintains its shape. In one instance, *ḡm-* occurs as [ḡn-] before [f] as seen in (29) below.

(29)

ḡn-fḡ? ‘swelling (n)’

3.2 Noun classes in relation to Proto-Benue-Congo

I have drawn from Williamson’s (1989:38-39) presentation of Proto-Benue-Congo (hereafter PBC) and Gerhardt’s (1989:372) work on Proto-Kainji (hereafter PK) to help determine the number labels used for each class. The noun classes of *ūt*-Ma’in, Duka (Hun-Saare) and C’Lela (Dakarkari) are similar enough so as to help draw conclusions as to their relationship as a cluster to the proto-languages. Williamson presents the noun classes of Proto-Benue-Congo in relation to the wider context of Niger-Congo. I have focused only on the classes that occur in Proto-Benue-Congo and of which traces are apparent in *ūt*-Ma’in, Duka and C’Lela.

I will discuss specifically how *ūt*-Ma’in classes map to PBC classes, but comparison with the other two Northern group languages can also be helpful. The class labels, i.e., 1, 2, 3 etc., are not based on synchronic behavior¹⁵, rather the noun classes in *ūt*-Ma’in that directly reflect a historical connection to PBC noun classes are marked with the same label. This historical association is not apparent for other classes. Discussion begins with *ūt*-Ma’in classes that have the most clear historical connections, then class mergers and splits are discussed. Finally, I discuss the use of arbitrarily assigned class labels that are necessary as a result of class splits and mergers.¹⁶ The class labels also relate to the Bleek-Meinhof system (Welmers 1973:163) used for Bantu languages in that odd numbers are predominantly used to label singular classes and even numbers to label plural classes. When a class label is arbitrarily assigned, this pattern

¹⁵ Synchronic behavior of the noun classes in singular/plural pairs is discussed in Chapter 4.

¹⁶ PBC Classes 2, 4, 6, 6b, 7, 8, 11 and 12 are not presently realized in *ūt*-Ma’in.

is maintained in that odd numbers are used for singular classes, and an even numbers are used for plural classes.

Tables 5, 6 and 7 display the different noun classes of these three languages as they relate to both PBC and PK. The relationship between ut-Ma'in classes, and more generally the classes of the Northern group, to a particular PBC class was determined by the comparison of phonological shapes and by identification of similar semantic content.¹⁷ For each of the three Northern group languages, both the noun class prefix and the agreement pronoun is shown. Row one gives the class number of PBC. Row two indicates whether the class is typically used for singular (sg) or plural (pl), as well as what class(es) it potentially pairs with. Though a one to one correspondence is implied by the pairing of singular and plural classes in PBC, the pattern does not hold for the daughter languages. See section 4.1 and following for a fuller discussion of how the singular and plural classes of ut-Ma'in pair together. Row three of each table gives examples of the typical content of the particular class in PBC.

¹⁷ A fuller discussion of the semantic content of noun classes, and more specifically of noun class pairings, may be found in Chapter 4.

Table 5: Noun classes 1- 6 of Proto-Benue-Congo and Proto-Kainji

PBC	Class label	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Pairing	sg of 2	pl of 1	sg of 4	pl of 3	sg of 6	pl of 5
	Content	humans		tree, fire, tail, broom, road		egg, head, name, eye, tooth	
Language							
PBC		ù-	ba-	ú-	í-	li-	a-
PK		bu-	ba-	u-	í-	ri-	a-
ɥt-Ma'in		u-/∅-		u-/∅-		ər-	
agreement		wa		ɔ		dɛ	
Duka		∅-		o-		ər-	
agreement		wə		ɔ		dɛ	
C'Lela		∅-		v- ¹⁸		d-	
agreement		u		və		də	

Classes 1u and 1∅ of ɥt-Ma'in can be traced back to PBC C1 prefix **ú-* by the occurrence of a labial consonant [w] apparent in the agreement element and a high back vowel [u] apparent in the noun prefix. Williamson (1989:38-39) states that nouns referring to humans make up the semantic content of PBC Class 1. This content is the same for ɥt-Ma'in. See the discussion of the semantic content of certain class pairings in section 4.1. For ɥt-Ma'in, the label Class 1u is used for the class marked by the noun prefix *u-* that occurs with *wa* agreement marking. Class 1∅ is used for words taking *wa* agreement marking that occur with a null ∅- prefix.

Classes 3u and 3∅ of ɥt-Ma'in can be traced back to PBC C3 **ú-* by the occurrence of the high back vowel [u]. De Wolf (1971:174) also attests this in Duka (Hun-Saare) and links the *ɔ* to PBC Class **ú-*, to which Williamson gives the label Class 3. For ɥt-Ma'in, the label Class 3u is used for the class marked by the noun prefix *u-* that occurs with *ɔ* agreement marking. Class 3∅ is used for words taking *ɔ* agreement marking that occur with a null ∅- prefix.

Class 5 can be traced to PBC C5 prefix **li-* by the occurrence of the alveolar [r] in the noun prefix and the alveolar plosive [d] in the agreement marker.

¹⁸ C'Lela [v-] class occurs infrequently and almost always takes its plural from [s-] class.

As seen in Table 6, a recognizable labial nasal [m] links C6a prefix **ma-* of PBC to what will be labeled Class 6m in ʉt-Ma'in.

Table 6: Noun classes 6a-10 of Proto-Benue-Congo and Proto-Kainji

PBC	Class label	6a	6b	7	8	9	10
	Pairing	none	none	sg of 8	pl of 7	sg of 10	pl of 9
	Content	liquids	mass nouns	neck, thorn		animals	
Language							
PBC	ma-	a-	ki-	bi-	ì-	í-	
PK	N/ma/na-		?	?	bì-	í-	
ʉt-Ma'in	əm-				u-/∅-	∅-	
agreement	mɔ				ja	ɛ	
Duka	əm-				o	∅-	
agreement	mɔ				jo		
C'Lela	m-	a ¹⁹			∅-	∅-/[-nV]	
agreement	mə	a			ù	nə	

Many languages within Benue-Congo have maintained a class pairing that is used for most animals. In Proto-Benue-Congo this class Pairing is 9/10. Semantically, the Northern group languages have a class pairing that contains animals, which matches the PBC semantic content. It is difficult to see the link between the phonetic form of the prefixes if you look back through PK,²⁰ in which Gerhardt (1989:372) presents the bilabial form **bi-*. But the PBC prefix is given as only the high front vowel **i-*. The link could then be made to PBC by the occurrence of the palatal semi-vowel [j]. For ʉt-Ma'in, the label Class 7u will be used for the class marked by the noun prefix *u-* that occurs with *ja* agreement marking. Class 7∅ is used for words taking *ja* agreement marking that occur with a null ∅- prefix.

PBC Class 10, with prefix **í-*, is given as the plural of 9. In ʉt-Ma'in, Class 2 is used for most animate plurals. This seems to suggest the merger of PBC Classes 2 and 10. I list them in

¹⁹ C'Lela class prefix *a-* occurs on a very small set of noun roots including the following (always the singular): hand, God, heaven, face, journey, land of, roof, death. This class is not apparent in either ʉt-Ma'in or Dukawa.

²⁰ Gerhardt (1989:372) cites De Wolf (1968). De Wolf's reconstruction of Proto-Kainji does not take into account languages now classified as the Northwest group (Blench 2004) within Western Kainji.

Table 7 under PBC 10, as the front vowel [ɛ] of ɥt-Ma'in is close to the front vowel [i] of both PK and PBC. Because of the merger with PBC 2, Class 2 will be used as the label in ɥt-Ma'in

Table 7: Noun classes 11-13 of Proto-Benue-Congo and Proto-Kainji

PBC	Class label	11	12	13	13a
	Pairing	sg of 12	sg of 13	pl of 3, 12	
	Content				
Language					
PBC		lu-	ka-	ti-	
PK			ka-	si-	
ɥt-Ma'in				əs-	ət-
	agreement			sɛ	tɔ
Duka				əs-	ət-
	agreement			se	tɔ
C'Lela				s-	tʃ-
	agreement			sə	tʃə

Williamson (1989:39) gives the PBC C13 prefix as **ti-*. For PK, Gerhardt (1989:372) gives the same class as **si-*. This class is marked phonetically by an alveolar consonant. Both refer to a plural class that occurs with an alveolar consonant in the prefix. In ɥt-Ma'in, and the other Northern group languages, there are two distinct plural classes with an alveolar consonant as part of the prefix. Both [t] (or [tʃ] in the case of C'Lela) and [s] occur. Potentially, this branch of Western Kainji experienced a split of PBC/PK Class 13. De Wolf (1973:174) mentions these two distinct classes that occur in Duka (Hun-Saare). There he links the [s] class to PBC class **ti-*, for which Williamson labels PBC Class 13. He labels the [t] class simply X. For ɥt-Ma'in, the label Class 4 will be used for *əs-*, and the label Class 6 will be used for *ət-*.

3.3 Summary and discussion

In summary, ɥt-Ma'in Classes 1u, 1Ø, 3u, 3Ø and 5 relate directly back to their PBC counterpart. Class 6m relates back to PBC Class 6a. Class 2 represents a merger of PBC Class 10 and PBC Class 2. Class 4 and Class 6 represent a split of PBC Class 13, and Classes 7u and

7∅ relates back to PBC Class 9. Table 8 summarizes all classes in ũt-Ma'in with reference to their potential link to Proto-Kainji and Proto-Benue-Congo class labels.

Table 8: Summary of class numbers

Class Label	Noun Prefix	Object Pronoun	Examples		PBC Class Label
1u	<i>ũ-</i>	<i>ú/wá</i>	<i>ũ-mákt</i>	'barren woman'	1
1∅	<i>∅-</i>	<i>wá</i>	<i>∅-hámèt</i>	'visitor'	1
2	<i>∅-</i>	<i>é</i>	<i>∅-ná</i>	'oxen, bovines'	merge of 10 and 2
3u	<i>ũ-</i>	<i>ś</i>	<i>ũ-bù</i>	'house'	3
3∅	<i>∅-</i>	<i>ś</i>	<i>∅-bò?</i>	'dream'	3
4	<i>ās-</i>	<i>sé</i>	<i>ās-bò?</i>	'dreams'	split from 13
5	<i>ār-</i>	<i>dé</i>	<i>ār-kók</i>	'calabash'	5
6	<i>āt-</i>	<i>tś</i>	<i>āt-kók</i>	'calabashes'	split from 13
6m	<i>ām-</i>	<i>mś</i>	<i>ām-nò:g</i>	'oil'	6a
7u	<i>ũ-</i>	<i>já</i>	<i>ũ-ná</i>	'ox, bovine'	9
7∅	<i>∅-</i>	<i>já</i>	<i>∅-tjāmpá</i>	'man'	9

There are two classes, given in Table 4 in section 3.1, that have not been discussed in relation to PK and PBC. These are AUG and DIM, and they will be referenced by their abbreviation, rather than by a number. These are repeated from Table 4 in (30).

- (30)
- | | | |
|-----|--------------|-------------------|
| AUG | <i>ā-kók</i> | 'huge calabashes' |
| DIM | <i>ī-kók</i> | 'tiny calabash' |

There is some discussion regarding the placement of the diminutive class in PBC. Both PBC C7 and PBC C19 are under consideration. Welmers (1973:166) mentions that Bantu²¹ Classes 7/8 may have diminutive significance. If that is true for PBC as well, ũt-Ma'in Class DIM might be placed under PBC Class 7. This would entail the loss of the velar consonant [k]. De Wolf (1971:170-171) discusses the problematic **pi-* class, mentioning that its "meager attestation might be due to the special [diminutive] status in PBC." Williamson(1989:39) does

²¹ Bantu languages are considered a sub-family within Benue-Congo on the same level as Kainji (Gordon 2005a).

not include the **pi-* class as described by De Wolf in her chart of the classes of PBC, but rather specifically for Proto-Bantu, labeled by Williamson (1989) as 19. Either location, PBC Class 7 or Proto-Bantu Class 19, would require the deletion of the consonant and leave the high front vowel [i].

The phonetic shape of the Class AUG *a-* prefix in ut-Ma'in may correspond to PBC Class 6. In ut-Ma'in, AUG is used as the augmentative plural form. This would match the plural nature of the PBC Class 6.

CHAPTER 4

NOUN CLASS SEMANTICS AND PAIRINGS

Most nouns occur in a singular/plural pair, one class indicates singular another indicates plural. Following the classic Bantu numbering system, odd numbers are used for singular classes and even numbers for plural classes. When both a singular and a plural class can occur with the same noun stem, that stem is said to belong to a noun class **PAIRING**. These pairings will be discussed in section 4.1.

Nouns that do not make a distinction between singular and plural occur with only one class prefix and are said to belong to **UNPAIRED CLASSES**. Classes 2, 3u, 3Ø, 4, 5, 6, and 6m are used as unpaired classes. Only one noun occurs in Unpaired Class 7u. These unpaired classes are discussed in section 4.2.

Individual classes exhibit certain core semantic characteristics that are further specified when the class pairings are considered. Class 1u and 1Ø nouns refer to humans, Class 2 nouns refer to animates, Class 3u and 3Ø nouns refer to inanimate objects, Class 4 nouns refer to objects considered long, Class 5 nouns refer to round objects. Class 6 is the most common plural form and may be the class that nominalizes verbs. Class 6m nouns refer to liquids and other non-countables. Class 7u and 7Ø nouns refer to a subset of animates that have an observable life cycle. Classes DIM and AUG nouns are derivations from other classes to specify the size as markedly smaller or larger, respectively. The semantic characteristics of each class pairing and each unpaired class are discussed throughout the following sections.

4.1 Noun class pairings

In the sections below, each pairing attested in the data corpus²² is listed with examples of class content and a discussion of the semantic characteristics of the pairing. Figure 8 presents a diagram of all attested pairings.

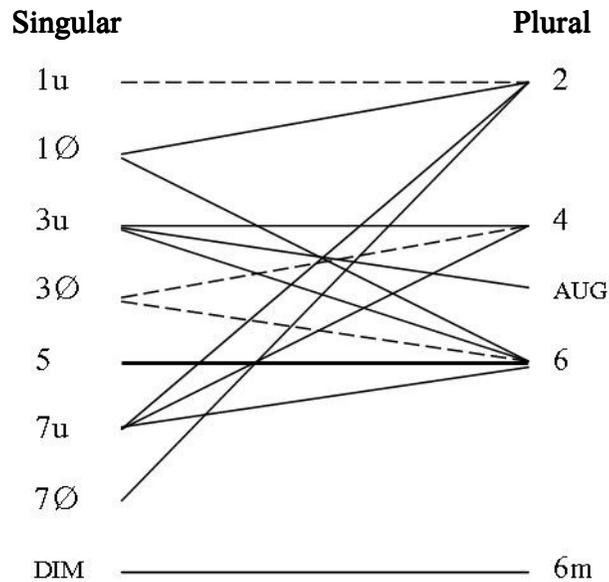


Figure 8: Noun class pairings

The most common noun class Pairing 5/6 is represented in the diagram by a thick connecting line. Pairings 7u/2, 7Ø/2, 7u/4, 7Ø/4, 3u/6 and 3Ø/6 occur frequently and are represented in the diagram by solid connecting lines. Pairings that occur fewer than five times are represented by dotted lines. Pairings that occur fewer than three times are not included unless it is the only pairing in which a class occurs; for example, Pairing 1u/2 occurs with only two nouns, but is included in the diagram to show how Class 1u fits into the system.

²² Most examples in Chapter 4 have been taken from the corpus of 604 nouns. The count of 604 nouns does not include any loanwords or compounds formed using the associative construction (as described in section 5.3.)

Numerical counts given in the discussion below are for single root pairings. Items with identifiable multiple roots (e.g., compound forms) are omitted from the counts. Loanwords are also not included in the counts, but available examples of loanwords are included as they give further insight to the semantic characteristics of each group. An (H) in the gloss of a loanword indicates its original language as Hausa. Though some words appear as if they have been borrowed directly from English, most of these come by way of Hausa. These will be indicated as (H/E). Discussion begins with the most common pairings and then moves on to the least common.

4.1.1 Pairing 5/6 (*ṣr-/ṣt-*)

By far the noun class Pairing 5/6 is the largest pairing. Nouns occur with the noun class prefixes *ṣr-/ṣt-* and object pronouns *dé/tó*. There were one hundred and thirty-nine nouns in the corpus within this pairing.

(31)

Class 5 Singular	Class 6 Plural	Gloss
<i>ṣr-kôr</i>	<i>ṣt-kôr</i>	‘basket’
<i>ṣr-nàm</i>	<i>ṣn:àm (ṣt-nàm)</i>	‘round thing’
<i>ṣr-dú</i>	<i>ṣt-dú</i>	‘well (n)’
<i>ṣr-dʒór</i>	<i>ṣt-dʒór</i>	‘club, cudgel’
<i>ṣr-gē</i>	<i>ṣt-gē</i>	‘egg’
<i>ṣr-hō</i>	<i>ṣt-hō</i>	‘sun/day’
<i>ṣr-bàn</i>	<i>ṣt-bàn</i>	‘crowd/swarm’
<i>ṣr-pʼákót</i>	<i>ṣt-pʼákót</i>	‘flower’

Many round or spherical objects are included in Pairing 5/6. Specific spherical body parts and spherical plants/foods can be seen in (32).

(32)

Class 5 Singular	Class 6 Plural	Gloss
<i>ḡr-hí</i>	<i>ḡt-hí</i>	‘head’
<i>ḡr-ís</i>	<i>ḡt-ís</i>	‘eye’
<i>ḡr-gēkēs</i>	<i>ḡt-gēkēs</i>	‘neck’
<i>ḡr-gá?</i>	<i>ḡt-gá?</i>	‘mush food/tuwo’
<i>ḡr-nḡw</i>	<i>ḡt-nḡw</i>	‘mushroom’
<i>ḡl:wā? (ḡr-r^wā?)</i>	<i>ḡt-r^wā?</i>	‘yam’

Most of these nouns are inanimate, though a number of animals do occur in Pairing 5/6.

The majority of animals occur in Pairing 7u/2 (see section 4.1.2). Animals that occur in Pairing 5/6 are characterized by their round shape.

(33)

Class 5 Singular	Class 6 Plural	Gloss
<i>ḡr-gòròp</i>	<i>ḡt-gòròp</i>	‘dove’
<i>ḡl:is (ḡr-r:is)</i>	<i>ḡt-r:is</i>	‘porcupine’
<i>ḡr-kār</i>	<i>ḡt-kār</i>	‘tortoise’
<i>ḡr-fák</i>	<i>ḡt-fák</i>	‘turtle’
<i>ḡr-z^wá</i>	<i>ḡt-z^wá</i>	‘maggot’

Loanwords that occur in Pairing 5/6 include inanimate objects like ‘plate’, ‘bucket’ and ‘drum’. Animals include ‘pig’ and ‘leech’. Foods include ‘banana’, ‘pineapple’ and ‘tomato’.

(34)

Class 5 Singular	Class 6 Plural	Gloss
<i>ḡr-fēréntì</i>	<i>ḡt-fēréntì</i>	‘plate’ (H)
<i>ḡr-bōkítì</i>	<i>ḡt-bōkítì</i>	‘bucket’ (H/E)
<i>ḡr-gòṅgú</i>	<i>ḡt-gòṅgú</i>	‘drum’ (H)
<i>ḡr-àlédè</i>	<i>ḡt-àlédè</i>	‘pig’ (H)
<i>ḡr-mádàmbōrò</i>	<i>ḡt-mádàmbōrò</i>	‘leech’ (?)
<i>ḡr-àjàbà</i>	<i>ḡt-àjàbà</i>	‘banana’ (H)
<i>ḡr-abarba</i>	<i>ḡt-abarba</i>	‘pineapple’ (H)
<i>ḡr-tùmátùr</i>	<i>ḡt-tùmátùr</i>	‘tomato’ (H/E)

4.1.2 Pairings 7u/2 (\bar{u} -/Ø-) and 7Ø/2 (Ø-/Ø-)

Pairing 7u/2 is marked on the noun with the prefix set \bar{u} -/Ø-; the object pronouns are *já/é*. Seventy-seven nouns occur in Pairing 7u/2, including most animals – mammals of all sizes, birds and insects.

(35)

Class 7u Singular	Class 2 Plural	Gloss
<i>\bar{u}-sór</i>	<i>Ø-sór</i>	‘hare’
<i>\bar{u}-r^wág</i>	<i>Ø-r^wág</i>	‘elephant’
<i>\bar{u}-nō</i>	<i>Ø-nō</i>	‘bird’
<i>\bar{u}-jāg</i>	<i>Ø-jāg</i>	‘crow’
<i>\bar{u}-wàp</i>	<i>Ø-wàp</i>	‘earthworm’
<i>\bar{u}-rènt</i>	<i>Ø-rènt</i>	‘mosquito’

When I elicited the names of animals, the plural was often given first, perhaps signifying the more marked nature of the singular form. The plural Class 2 has a Ø- prefix, the singular Class 7u a \bar{u} - prefix.

(36)

Class 7u Singular	Class 2 Plural	Gloss
<i>\bar{u}-sɔʔ</i>	<i>Ø-sɔʔ</i>	‘dog’
<i>\bar{u}-mús</i>	<i>Ø-mús</i>	‘cat’
<i>\bar{u}-tə̀rə̀m</i>	<i>Ø-tə̀rə̀m</i>	‘warthog’
<i>\bar{u}-zūr</i>	<i>Ø-zūr</i>	‘lion’
<i>\bar{u}-kār</i>	<i>Ø-kār-nè</i>	‘prostitute’
<i>\bar{u}-bōn</i>	<i>Ø-bōn-nè</i>	‘witch’

This marked singularity is in contrast to the Pairing 7Ø/2 used for humans. The singular and plural forms both occur with the Ø- prefix, but the plural is marked by an additional suffix *-nè*. Two exceptions are *\bar{u} -bōn* ‘witch’ and *\bar{u} -kār* ‘prostitute’, which both occur with the \bar{u} - prefix. In the singular they occur with the \bar{u} - prefix and in the plural they occur with the *-nè* suffix. This may suggest that the subgroup 7Ø/2 is operating within the Pairing 7u/2 and not separate from it. Other plural nouns that do not occur with the *-nè* suffix and refer to humans are discussed in section 4.1.6.

Only four nouns occur in the corpus in Pairing 7Ø/2; all refer to humans, as shown in

(37). This pairing triggers the same *já/sé* agreement triggered by Pairing 7u/2.

(37)

Class 7Ø Singular	Class 2 Plural	Gloss
<i>Ø-tfāmpá</i>	<i>Ø-tfāmpá-nè</i>	‘man’
<i>Ø-nētá</i>	<i>Ø-nētá-nè</i>	woman’
<i>Ø-r'ám</i>	<i>Ø-r'ám-nè</i>	‘cripple’
<i>Ø-mārímárí</i>	<i>Ø-mārímárí-nè</i>	‘the dead’

There are also a number of crops included in this pairing, as seen in example (38).

(38)

Class 7u Singular	Class 2 Plural	Gloss
<i>ū-h'ḡ</i>	<i>Ø-h'ḡ</i>	‘guinea corn’
<i>ū-sàp</i>	<i>Ø-sàp</i>	‘rice’
<i>ū-g^wḡn</i>	<i>Ø-g^wḡn</i>	‘ground-nut’
<i>ū-fák</i>	<i>Ø-fák</i>	‘sesame seed’

Certain inanimate body parts with a visible growth cycle are also included. For example,

ū-gḡg ‘molar tooth’ occurs in Pairing 7u/2; other examples are shown in (39).

(39)

Class 7u Singular	Class 2 Plural	Gloss
<i>ū-nín</i>	<i>Ø-nín</i>	‘tooth’
<i>ū-ḡó</i>	<i>Ø-ḡó</i>	‘finger’
<i>ū-kāráṅkù</i>	<i>Ø-kāráṅkù</i>	‘fingernail’

From the variety of semantic content in this pairing, it seems that all are items which change (shape/length/height) over time and have a visible life cycle. Other examples include *ū-k^hērḡfī* ‘spark’ and *ū-règèr* ‘star’. One possible exception may be *ū-zór* ‘sourness’. Given the semantic cohesiveness of other items in Pairing 7u/2, it may be that speakers of ʉt-Ma'in apply the same criteria to *ū-zór* as well.

Loanwords that occur within the Pairing 7u/2 include only animals not native to the area, like *ū-jímínà* ‘ostrich’. Other examples are demonstrated in (40) .

(40)

Class 7u Singular	Class 2 Plural	Gloss
<i>ū-rākūm</i>	<i>Ø-rākūm</i>	‘camel’ (H)
<i>ū-dzāṅkā</i>	<i>Ø-dzāṅkā</i>	‘horse’ (H)
<i>ū-k^wānā</i>	<i>Ø-k^wānā</i>	‘bat’ (H) ²³
<i>ū-pāṅgà</i>	<i>Ø-pāṅgà</i>	‘hawk’ (H) ²⁴
<i>ū-kórkótò</i>	<i>Ø-kórkótò</i>	‘louse’ (H)

4.1.3 Pairing 7u/4 (*ū*-/*ṣs*-)

Pairing 7u/4, marked by the prefixes *ū*-/*ṣs*- and the object pronouns *já/ṣé*, is characterized by items with relative length or cycle, or things that have a ridge or an edge. Seventy-two nouns occur in the Pairing 7u/4. Inanimate examples from the pairing are given in (41).

(41)

Class 7 Singular	Class 4 Plural	Gloss
<i>ū-bór</i>	<i>ṣs-bór</i>	‘boundary’
<i>ū-fān</i>	<i>ṣs-fān</i>	‘road’
<i>ū-tór</i>	<i>ṣs-tór</i>	‘tail’
<i>ū-nòm</i>	<i>ṣs-nòm</i>	‘long thing’
<i>ū-rⁱàp</i>	<i>ṣs-rⁱàp</i>	‘whip’
<i>ū-hóm</i>	<i>ṣs-hóm</i>	‘crevice’
<i>ū-kòr</i>	<i>ṣs-kòr</i>	‘valley’
<i>ū-rōkórōm</i>	<i>ṣs-rōkórōm</i>	‘rainbow’
<i>ū-pⁱā:t</i>	<i>ṣs-pⁱā:t</i>	‘moon, month’
<i>ū-hāk</i>	<i>ṣs-hāk</i>	‘year’

Some body parts are also included here, including *ū-tf^wâr* ‘throat’, *ū-hí* ‘hair (of head)’, *ū-fār* ‘bone’ and *ū-rā* ‘muscle’. Others can be seen in (42).

²³ The Hausa word is *kwana* ‘to pass the night’.

²⁴ The Hausa word is *manga* ‘hawk’.

(42)

Class 7u Singular	Class 4 Plural	Gloss
<i>ū-dòr</i>	<i>ās-dòr</i>	‘nape of neck’
<i>ū-gòg</i>	<i>ās-gòg</i>	‘voice box, larynx’
<i>ū-ƒà̀n</i>	<i>ās-ƒà̀n</i>	‘hair (of body)’
<i>ū-gàs</i>	<i>ās-gàs</i>	‘side (of body)’
<i>ū-kòkò̀n</i>	<i>ās-kòkò̀n</i>	‘elbow’
<i>ū-mák</i>	<i>ās-mák</i>	‘kidney’
<i>ū-tên</i>	<i>ās-tên</i>	‘gall bladder’

Only two animals occur in Pairing 7u/4 as seen in (43); interestingly, they are both characteristically long.

(43)

Class 7u Singular	Class 4 Plural	Gloss
<i>ū-tò̀ngè̀n</i>	<i>ās-tò̀ngè̀n</i>	‘guinea worm, thread worm’
<i>ū-rò̀mbìn</i>	<i>ās-rò̀mbìn</i>	‘millepede’

All trees and grasses (non-food) as well as plant-related words are included in Pairing 7u/4. Examples can be seen in (44).

(44)

Class 7u Singular	Class 4 Plural	Gloss
<i>ū-té</i>	<i>ās-té</i>	‘tree’
<i>ū-kót</i>	<i>ās-kót</i>	‘thorn-tree’
<i>ū-rókó̀s</i>	<i>ās-rókó̀s</i>	‘tamarind tree’
<i>ū-g^wá</i>	<i>ās-g^wá</i>	‘(blade of) grass’
<i>ū-g^wáb</i>	<i>ās-g^wáb</i>	‘bamboo’
<i>ū-fè?</i>	<i>ās-fè?</i>	‘branch’
<i>ū-fāb</i>	<i>ās-fāb</i>	‘(piece of) bark’
<i>ū-gōr</i>	<i>ās-gōr</i>	‘root’
<i>ū-kàmb</i>	<i>ās-kàmb</i>	‘stem/stalk’

Loanwords in Pairing 7u/4 include clothing words like *ū-tò̀gò* ‘shirt’ and clothing related words like *ū-ārdzihū* ‘pocket’, as well as other domains as seen in (45).

(45)

Class 7u Singular	Class 4 Plural	Gloss
<i>ū-rézà</i>	<i>ās-rézà</i>	‘razor’ (H/E)
<i>ū-mágógí</i>	<i>ās-mágógí</i>	‘tooth stick, toothbrush’ (H)
<i>ū-k^wálbá</i>	<i>ās-k^wálbá</i>	‘bottle’ (H)
<i>ū-hítíl:ā</i>	<i>ās-hítíl:ā</i>	‘lamp, torch’ (H)
<i>ū-lōdžì</i>	<i>ās-lōdžì</i>	‘sickle’ (H)
<i>ū-k^wèmpí</i>	<i>ās-k^wèmpí</i>	‘fishhook’ (H)
<i>ū-mōlō</i>	<i>ās-mōlō</i>	‘harp’ (H)
<i>ū-tābà</i>	<i>ās-tābà</i>	‘(leaf of) tobacco’ (H/E)
<i>ū-kòtòrkò</i>	<i>ās-kòtòrkò</i>	‘bridge’ (H)

4.1.4 Pairing 3u/6 (*ū-/ā-*) and 3Ø/6 (*Ø-/ā-*)

Sixty-one nouns occur in the Pairing 3u/6, with the prefixes *ū-/ā-* and the object pronouns *ó/í*. The Pairings 3u/6 is characterized by mostly inanimate objects that are not otherwise characterized by roundness or length.

(46)

Class 3u Singular	Class 6 Plural	Gloss
<i>ū-nòm</i>	<i>ān:òm (ā-t-nòm)</i>	‘thing’
<i>ū-dāk</i>	<i>āt-dāk</i>	‘ground/country/ethnic area’
<i>ū-jō</i>	<i>āt-jō</i>	‘rain’
<i>ū-kúr</i>	<i>āt-kúr</i>	‘room’
<i>ū-tà:s</i>	<i>āt-tà:s</i>	‘village’
<i>ū-tól:è</i>	<i>āt-tól:è</i>	‘market’
<i>ū-rān</i>	<i>āt-rān</i>	‘leaf’
<i>ū-só?</i>	<i>āt-só?</i>	‘cave’

Body parts in this pairing include *ū-kóm* ‘arm’, *ū-sók* ‘upper chest’ and *ū-jō* ‘face’. Other examples appear in (47). The semantic properties that distinguish these body parts from those in other classes have not been fully explored.

(47)

Class 3u Singular	Class 6 Plural	Gloss
<i>ū-tó</i>	<i>āt-tó</i>	‘ear’
<i>ū-nú</i>	<i>ān:ú (ā-t-nú)</i>	‘mouth’
<i>ū-kūt</i>	<i>āt-kūt</i>	‘thigh’

There are also a number of kinship terms like *ū-ēsō* ‘father’ included in Pairing 3u/6.

(48)

Class 3u Singular	Class 6 Plural	Gloss
<i>ū-ēsō</i>	<i>ēs-t-ēsō</i>	‘father’
<i>ū-īnō</i>	<i>ēs-t-īnō</i>	‘mother’
<i>ū-kóm̄rò</i>	<i>ēs-t-kóm̄rò</i>	‘in-law’ ²⁵
<i>ū-fēbrō</i>	<i>ēs-t-fēbrō</i>	‘fellow-wife, co-wife’

Only three loan words occur in this pairing, *ū-àk^wàtí* ‘box’, *ū-zàrtò* ‘saw (n)’ and *ū-lēmbú* ‘garden’ borrowed from Hausa.

Pairing 3Ø/6 has two members given in (49). These occur with a Ø- prefix on the singular form, but they also trigger the C3 *ś* object pronoun. In the plural they resemble other Class 6 nouns and trigger the C6 *tś* object pronoun.

(49)

Class 3Ø Singular	Class 6 Plural	Gloss
Ø- <i>p^ś</i>	<i>ēs-t-p^ś</i>	‘entrance hut’
Ø- <i>s^wás</i>	<i>ēs-t-s^wás</i>	‘fish trap’

4.1.5 Pairing 3u/4 (*ū-ēs-*) and 3Ø/4 (Ø-*ēs-*)

Pairing 3u/4 is marked on nouns by the singular C3 prefix *ū-* and the plural C4 prefix *ēs-*. Class 3 triggers the object pronoun *ś* and Class 4 triggers the object pronoun *sé*. Ten nouns occur with the Pairings 3u/4. Body parts include *ū-gár* ‘jaw’ and *ū-ná* ‘leg’. All are inanimate, with some idea of length (or line) as a feature. The remainder of the Pairing 3u/4 nouns can be seen in (50).

²⁵ More specifically, the husband’s parents or the wife’s husband.

(50)

Class 3u Singular	Class 4 Plural	Gloss
<i>ū-úʒ</i>	<i>ēs-úʒ</i>	‘bead’
<i>ū-gāʔ</i>	<i>ēs-gā</i>	‘plait, braid’
<i>ū-pân</i>	<i>ēs-pân</i>	‘facial incisions, tattoo’
<i>ū-pāmā</i>	<i>ēs-pāmā</i>	‘work’
<i>ū-dʒōr</i>	<i>ēs-dʒōr</i>	‘sewing’ ²⁶
<i>ū-tō:g</i>	<i>ēs-tō:g</i>	‘prayer’
<i>ū-wés</i>	<i>ēs-wés</i>	‘odor, smell’
<i>ū-sóʔ</i>	<i>ēs-sóʔ</i>	‘island’

Only three nouns occur with the Pairing 3Ø/4. These can be seen in (51).

(51)

Class 3Ø Singular	Class 4 Plural	Gloss
<i>Ø-čāb</i>	<i>ēs-čāb</i>	‘heart’
<i>Ø-bòʔ</i>	<i>ēs-bòʔ</i>	‘dream’
<i>Ø-k^wár</i>	<i>ēs-k^wár</i>	‘island’

Two loanwords occur in Pairing 3u/4. Both inanimate objects are shown in (52).

(52)

Class 3u Singular	Class 4 Plural	Gloss
<i>ū-lábári</i>	<i>ēs-lábári</i>	‘news’ (H)
<i>ū-fīngì</i>	<i>ēs-fīngì</i>	‘fence’ (H)

The noun *ū-lábári* ‘news’ refers to information shared person to person, as opposed to the evening television show or even the written “news” of a newspaper. This relationship to spoken words links it to other speech words, found in Unpaired Class 4. (See section 4.2.5 for further discussion).

No loan words occur in Pairing 3Ø/4.

²⁶ The gloss ‘sewing’ may not be the best; likely it is a noun associated with the action of sewing. I elicited this pair when asking for the word ‘sew’ (v).

4.1.6 Pairing 1Ø/6 (Ø-/ḡt-)

There are six nouns that occur in the corpus in Pairing 1Ø/6 with a Ø- prefix in the singular. The plural takes the Class 6 ḡt- prefix. All six of the nouns denote human beings. None of the human plurals employ the -nè suffix, indicating that the -nè suffix is reserved for the distinction between human and non-human in Class 2. (See section 4.1.2 and section 4.1.7 for discussion.)

(53)

Class 1Ø Singular	Class 6 Plural	Gloss
Ø-nét	ḡn:ét (ḡt-nét)	‘person’
Ø-má:n	ḡt-má:n	‘in-law’ ²⁷
Ø-bómós	ḡt-bómós	‘widow’
Ø-hḡ:b	ḡt-hḡ:b	‘friend’
Ø-hāmḡt	ḡt-hāmḡt	‘guest’
Ø-fārḡk	ḡt-fārḡk	‘chief’ ²⁸

No loan words occur in this class pairing.

4.1.7 Pairing 1u/2 (ū-/Ø-) and 1Ø/2 (Ø-/Ø-)

Two nouns occur in Pairing 1u/2 and are shown in (54). In the singular form they occur with the ū- prefix and trigger the wá object pronoun. Three nouns occur in Pairing 1Ø/2 and are shown in (55). In the singular form they occur with a null Ø- prefix and trigger the é object pronoun. Nouns in both pairings occur with a null Ø- prefix and employ the plural suffix -nè that is used only for nouns that refer to human beings, also discussed in section 4.1.2.

²⁷ More specifically, the wife’s parents or the daughter’s husband.

²⁸ This word *fārḡk* ‘chief’ may be borrowed from Arabic.

(54)

Class 1u Singular	Class 2 Plural	Gloss
<i>ū-mákt</i>	<i>Ø-mákt-nè</i>	‘barren woman’
<i>ū-rāg</i>	<i>Ø-rāg-nè</i>	‘stupid person’

(55)

Class 1Ø Singular	Class 2 Plural	Gloss
<i>Ø-pó</i>	<i>Ø-pó-nè</i>	‘blind man’
<i>Ø-h’ó^w</i>	<i>Ø-h’ó^w-nè</i>	‘thief’
<i>Ø-tók</i>	<i>Ø-tók-nè</i>	‘slave’

The number of items in this class pairing is relatively small, but there is a very productive derivational process that feeds nouns into the Pairing 1Ø/2. The derivational prefix, *wá-* in the singular and *á-* in the plural, is added to a noun (or verbal noun²⁹) preceding the nouns inherent class prefix to derive an agent closely associated with the noun. In example (56) the noun *ū-bòr* ‘boundary’ occurs with the prefix *wá-* ‘AGT’. This results in the form *wá^wbòr* meaning ‘neighbor’, and the application of the plural prefix *á-* results in the form *ásbòr* ‘neighbors’.

(56)

<i>wá</i>	+	<i>ū-bòr</i>	→	<i>wá^w-bòr</i>	‘neighbor’
AGT	+	C3-boundary		AGT-C3-boundary	
<i>á</i>	+	<i>ās-bòr</i>	→	<i>á-s-bòr</i>	‘neighbors’
AGT	+	C4-boundary		AGT-C4-boundary	

Twenty-nine such derivations are attested in the data corpus. These derivations are considered in Pairing 1Ø/2 because they trigger the object pronouns *wá/é*. Other examples are given below.

²⁹ Verbal nouns occur distributed throughout the unpaired classes. See section 4.2, and following, for discussion.

(57)

Class 1Ø Singular	Class 2 Plural	Gloss	
<i>wá-^wbū</i>	<i>á-^wbū</i>	‘master’	from <i>ū-bū</i> ‘house’
<i>wá-s-kón</i>	<i>á-s-kón</i>	‘beggar’	from <i>ōs-kón</i> ‘begging’, ³⁰
<i>wá-r-hí</i>	<i>á-r-hí</i>	‘intelligent person’	from <i>ū-hí</i> ‘head’
<i>wá-^wg’èr</i>	<i>á-^wg’èr</i>	‘coward’	from <i>ū-g’èr</i> ‘fearing’
<i>wá-m-h’án</i>	<i>á-m-h’án</i>	‘fortune-teller’	from <i>ōm-h’án</i> ‘seeing’
<i>wá-m-hā</i>	<i>á-m-hā-nè</i>	‘traveler’	from <i>ōm-hā</i> ‘going’

4.1.8 Pairing DIM/6m (*ī-/ōm-*)

The noun class Pairing DIM/6m is a derivational option for the speaker to categorize some inanimate object as markedly small. There are six examples in the corpus, but presumably many other inanimate objects can occur within this pairing.

(58)

Class DIM Singular	Class 6m Plural	Gloss
<i>ī-g^{wá}</i>	<i>ōm-g^{wá}</i>	‘tiny grass’
<i>ī-ràndí</i>	<i>ōm-ràndí</i>	‘thread’
<i>ī-tā:r</i>	<i>ōm-tā?ār</i>	‘tiny stone’
<i>ī-k^{wām}</i>	<i>ōm-k^{wām}</i>	‘tiny iron (piece of)’
<i>ī-bà</i>	<i>ōm-bà</i>	‘tiny lake’
<i>ī-nòm</i>	<i>ōm-nòm</i>	‘tiny thing’

Noun roots normally found in other classes can take the prefix *ī-* in the singular, *ōm-* in the plural, and trigger the object pronouns *é/mó*, to indicate a diminutive size.

4.1.9 Pairing 7u/6 (*ū-/ōt-*)

The Pairing 7u/6 has only four members in the data corpus, and the content is varied. The singular form occurs with the *ū-* prefix and triggers the *já* object pronoun. The plural form occurs with the *ōt-* prefix and triggers the *tó* object pronoun.

³⁰ The ʉt-Ma'in words for ‘begging’, ‘fearing’ and ‘seeing’ occur here as verbal nouns within the noun class system. See sections 4.3 and 6.1.2 for further discussion of verbal nouns

The two nouns, *ū-nēŋgēn* ‘elder’ and *ū-tfān* ‘feather’, fit with the semantics of Pairing 7u/2 in that they grow/change over time. The other two nouns, *ū-hāp* ‘baby sling’ and *ū-k^{hw}ām* ‘iron’, do not seem to fit that pattern.

(59)

Class 7u Singular	Class 6 Plural	Gloss
<i>ū-nēŋgēn</i>	<i>ōn:nēŋgēn (ōt-nēŋgēn)</i>	‘elder (male)’
<i>ū-hāp</i>	<i>ōt-hāp</i>	‘baby sling’
<i>ū-tfān</i>	<i>ōt-tfān</i>	‘feather’
<i>ū-k^wām</i>	<i>ōt-k^wām</i>	‘iron (piece of)’

The four loan words that belong to Pairing 7u/6 appear in (60). These provide more evidence of the similarity of Pairing 7u/6 with the semantic content of Pairing 7u/2.

(60)

Class 7u Singular	Class 6 Plural	Gloss
<i>ū-kúrúamá</i>	<i>ōt-kúrúamá</i>	‘deaf person’
<i>ū-bísá?</i>	<i>ōt-bísá?</i>	‘animal’
<i>ū-tōlòtōlò</i>	<i>ōt-tōlòtōlò</i>	‘turkey’
<i>ū-māgánā</i>	<i>ōt-māgánā</i>	‘maize, corn’

4.1.10 Pairing 3u/AUG (*ū-/ā-*)

Noun class Pairing 3u/AUG is a derivational option for speakers who wish to indicate marked increase in size. Inanimate objects that normally occur in another noun class pairing can occur here with the singular C3u prefix *ū-* and the plural CAUG prefix *ā-*. The object pronouns that occur with these words in Pairing 3u/AUG are *ś* in the singular and *á* in the plural.

(61)

Class 3u Singular	Class AUG Plural	Gloss
<i>ū-ràndí</i>	<i>ā-ràndí</i>	‘strong thread’
<i>ū-tā:r</i>	<i>ā-tā:r</i>	‘large rock’
<i>ū-bà</i>	<i>ā-bà</i>	‘big lake’
<i>ū-nòm</i>	<i>ā-nòm</i>	‘big thing’

The four examples given in (61) are the only nouns attested in the corpus that occur with the Pairing 3u/AUG. Presumably, many other inanimate objects could occur with Pairing 3u/AUG to emphasize an increased size.

4.1.11 Pairing 5/4 (*ḡr-/ḡs-*)

The Pairing 5/4 contains only two nouns, which both appear in (62). The singular form occurs with the C5 prefix *ḡr-* and triggers the object pronoun *dé*, and the plural form occurs with the C4 prefix *ḡs-* and triggers the object pronoun *sé*.

(62)

Class 5 Singular	Class 4 Plural	Gloss
<i>ḡr-g^{wá}</i>	<i>ḡs-g^{wá}</i>	‘thatch’
<i>ḡr-ḡr</i>	<i>ḡs-ḡr</i>	‘arrow’ ³¹

These two nouns seem to exhibit a combination of the roundness characteristic Pairing 5/6 and the length characteristic of Pairing 3u/4. Suggesting that there may be semantic characteristics associated with the individual classes as well as the class pairings. In traditional ũt-Ma'in culture, all buildings are round and covered with a certain grass thatch. The grass thatch must be a long variety to cover the roof. Similarly, arrows are round and long.

4.1.12 Pairing 3u/2

Only the noun *ḡ-béḡb* ‘giant’ occurs in the Pairing 3u/2. This is probably due to the augmentative and human qualities inherent in the word’s meaning. The augmentative is reflected in the use of C3u singular prefix *ḡ-* (from the Pairing 3u/AUG), and the human quality is reflected in the use of the C2 null *∅-* prefix with the human suffix *-nè* (which occurs with Pairings 7∅/2, 1u/2 and 1∅/2). Class 3u and Class 2 pair together here to mark the unique characteristics of this noun.

³¹ This word *ḡr-ḡr* ‘arrow’ does not include the ‘arrow head’.

(63)	Class 3u Singular	Class 2 Plural	Gloss
	<i>ū-béb</i>	<i>Ø-béb-nè</i>	‘giant’

4.1.13 Pairing 5/2

Only one noun in the data corpus occurs in Pairing 5/2, as seen in (64). The singular form takes a *ū-* prefix similar to other animals in Class 7u, but triggers *dé* object pronoun similar to Class 5. It may be that this word can trigger agreement marking in either Class 7u or Class 5. Further elicitation is necessary to determine the flexibility of this noun in regards to the agreement system. This combination of classes only occurs with this word and may be the result of elicitation pressure. This pattern may also be a reflection of a particular speakers preference.

(64)	Class 5 Singular	Class 2 Plural	Gloss
	<i>ū-dəp</i>	<i>Ø-dəp</i>	‘puff adder’

The combination of these two classes seems to bring together the roundness characteristic of Class 5 from Pairing 5/6 and the animacy characteristic of Class 2 from Pairing 7u/2. It is likely that the shape of this snake dictates that it take *də* agreement from Class 5. Other snakes occur in Pairing 7u/2.

4.1.14 Pairing DIM/4

Only one word occurs in Pairing DIM/4. Presumably, the word occurs with the plural C4 prefix because many words related to speech occur in Unpaired Class 4 discussed in section (65). The DIM prefix may indicate that it denotes dispreferred behavior.

(65)	Class DIM Singular	Class 2 Plural	Gloss
	<i>ī-nàn</i>	<i>ās-nàn</i>	‘argument’

4.2 Unpaired classes

Classes 2, 3u, 3Ø, 4, 5, 6, and 6m occur as unpaired classes, with no distinction made for either singular or plural. These include such categories as mass nouns, non-countable nouns and abstract nouns.

Classes 3u, 3Ø, 4, 5, 6 and 6m, i.e., all unpaired classes except C2 and C7u, also contain words with verb-like meaning. These verb-like words occur with a noun class prefix that is identical to that of other nouns in the class; they can be modified like other nouns, and they require the same agreement marking on modifiers. Because of the morphological similarity to noun phenomena, these verb-like words will be called verbal nouns and will be considered within the noun class system in the discussion below. A brief discussion of verbal constructions is included in section 6.1.2. English glosses for verbal nouns include the *-ing* suffix in order to reflect the idea of activity. Verbal nouns are not included in the counts given for the unpaired classes, but examples of the verbal nouns that occur in each unpaired class are given at the end of each section.

All unpaired classes are discussed in the sections below in order from those with the most members, then moving on to the those with the fewest members.

4.2.1 Class 6m

Class 6m is by far the largest of the unpaired classes, with seventy-eight nouns occurring in the data corpus. The noun prefix associated with the class is *ǝm-*, and the object pronoun is *mɔ́*. Mass nouns, including words that denote liquids and diseases, occur here. E.g., *ǝm-tá* ‘tears’, *ǝm-àp* ‘meat’ and *ǝm-kúfákùtî* ‘fungal infection’. Other examples can be seen in (66).

(66)

Class 6m	Gloss
<i>ām-bá</i>	‘water’
<i>ām-zón</i>	‘light’
<i>ām-ká:ri</i>	‘rust’
<i>ām-óg</i>	‘juice’
<i>ām-g’óp</i>	‘night’

Four abstract nouns occur in C6m, as seen in (67).

(67)

Class 6m	Gloss
<i>ām-náp</i>	‘knowledge’
<i>ām-é?</i>	‘shame’
<i>ām-sék</i>	‘honor’
<i>ām-jǝ?</i>	‘wickedness’

Words that refer to the senses, like *ām-kǝ?* ‘bad smell’ and *ām-r’ábǝr* ‘softness’; and words that denote measurement, like *ām-wár* ‘length’ and *ām-dǝá?* ‘height’; and perception, as in *ām-rè* ‘pain’, *ām-hǝk* ‘largeness’ and *ām-hǝr* ‘speed’, are also included.

Twenty five verbal nouns occur in Class 6m. Examples are shown in (68).

(68)

Class 6m	Gloss
<i>ām-záp</i>	‘shivering’
<i>ām-àŋk</i>	‘working (for a salary)’
<i>ām-hóg</i>	‘feeling’
<i>ām-bàkǝt</i>	‘shining’

4.2.2 Class 6

Class 6 is marked by the prefix *āt-* on the noun and triggers the *tó* object pronoun. There are forty nouns found in the corpus, and examples of those can be seen in (69).

(69)

Class 6	Gloss
<i>ṣt-sàm</i>	‘fireplace’
<i>ṣt-kútáràṅk</i>	‘brain’
<i>ṣt-ṣní</i>	‘music’
<i>ṣn:íp (ṣt-níp)</i>	‘truth’
<i>ṣt-kógórò</i>	‘beer made at harvest’
<i>ṣt-mā</i>	‘salt’
<i>ṣt-kús</i>	‘clothing’
<i>ṣt-hót</i>	‘crossroads’
<i>ṣt-bómós</i>	‘mourning’

Several descriptive nouns occur in Class 6; including, *ṣt-mḍr* ‘nearness’. Others are shown in (70).

(70)

Class 6	Gloss
<i>ṣt-gàg</i>	‘bitterness’
<i>ṣt-nò:s</i>	‘heaviness’
<i>ṣt-rē?úrī</i>	‘blueness (color)’
<i>ṣt-gà?</i>	‘dryness’

Two hundred and forty verbal nouns occur in the data corpus in Class 6. Examples are shown in (71).

(71)

Class 6	Gloss
<i>ṣt-fṣr</i>	‘blowing (with mouth)’
<i>ṣt-b’ṣrṣn</i>	‘turning around’
<i>ṣt-màr</i>	‘dying’
<i>ṣt-dòròt</i>	‘ruleing over, dominating’
<i>ṣt-pṣst</i>	‘straining (food)’
<i>ṣt-m’ṣg</i>	‘twisting’

4.2.3 Class 3u and 3Ø

Class 3u is marked by the prefix *ū-* on the noun, and Class 3Ø is marked by the null *Ø-* prefix. Both 3u and 3Ø trigger the *ṣ* object pronoun. In the corpus, only four nouns occur in Class 3Ø, as seen in (72).

(72)

Class 3Ø	Gloss
<i>Ø-tār</i>	‘tax’
<i>Ø-hār</i>	‘game’
<i>Ø-t̄g</i>	‘sacrifice’
<i>Ø-gⁱóp</i>	‘tomorrow’

Nineteen nouns in the data corpus occur in Unpaired Class 3u. Nouns in this class include words used for time delineation, like *ū-sōt* ‘tomorrow’ and *ū-tf^wār* ‘harmattan (the season when dust is blown down from the Sahara)’.

(73)

Class 3u	Gloss
<i>ū-rā</i>	‘fire’
<i>ū-hār</i>	‘quarrel’
<i>ū-sèt</i>	‘day after tomorrow’
<i>ū-tát</i>	‘many’
<i>ū-dóm</i>	‘east/up’
<i>ū-tá?</i>	‘west/down’

When I attempted to elicit a plural for words like those in (73), I was only given a puzzled look, although it is possible that some of these words do occur in a plural form. These words are typically considered not to have a plural, but examples of the plural form of some nouns are included in (74). Words that cannot have a plural are marked by N/A in the plural column.

(74)

Singular	Plural	Gloss
<i>ū-rā</i>	<i>ōt-rā</i>	‘fire’
<i>ū-hār</i>	<i>ōs-hār</i>	‘quarrel’
<i>ū-sèt</i>	N/A	‘day after tomorrow’
<i>ū-tát</i>	N/A	‘many’
<i>ū-dóm</i>	N/A	‘east/up’
<i>ū-tá?</i>	N/A	‘west/down’

The use of *ū-tát* ‘many’ is discussed more fully in section 5.1.

To complete the inventory of C3u nouns, the remaining class members found in the corpus can be seen in (75). Only one loan word, *ū-gá:dò* ‘inheritance’, borrowed from Hausa, occurs in

Unpaired Class 3u.

(75)

Class 3u	Gloss
<i>ū-dāk</i>	‘country, ethnic area’
<i>ū-n'á?</i>	‘gift’
<i>u-as</i>	‘adultery’
<i>ū-kòp</i>	‘foam’
<i>ū-rē</i>	‘sky/god’
<i>ū-dà</i>	‘season’
<i>ū-tj^wēm</i>	‘darkness’
<i>ū-hó</i>	‘daytime’
<i>ū-tjâm</i>	‘thickness’
<i>ū-kōr</i>	‘sharpness’
<i>ū-hēn</i>	‘cleanliness’

Eighteen verbal nouns occur in Class 3u. Examples are shown in (76). Only one verbal loanword, *ū-k'íwò* ‘feed (animals)’ occurs in Class 3u, borrowed from Hausa.

(76)

Class 3	Gloss
<i>ū-mā</i>	‘building’
<i>ū-tè?</i>	‘weaving’
<i>ū-dók</i>	‘burying’
<i>ū-h'ūw</i>	‘stealing’

Eight verbal nouns occur in Class 3Ø and are shown in (77).

(77)

Class 3Ø	Gloss
<i>Ø-s^wàb</i>	‘swimming’
<i>Ø-ǰǰg</i>	‘(being) satisfied’
<i>Ø-úb</i>	‘(being) pregnant’
<i>Ø-nén</i>	‘growing up’
<i>Ø-k^hśw</i>	‘sowing, planting’
<i>Ø-két</i>	‘harvesting’
<i>Ø-bák</i>	‘hunting’
<i>Ø-ǰás</i>	‘bartering’

4.2.4 Class 5

Class 5 is marked with the *ār-* prefix on the noun, and it triggers the *dé* object pronoun. Twenty-five nouns occur in the data corpus in Unpaired Class 5, and examples of these are shown in (78).

(78)

Class 5	Gloss
<i>āl:ég (ār-rég)</i>	‘hernia (umbilical)’
<i>ār-bān</i>	‘invitation’
<i>ār-dōns</i>	‘announcement’
<i>ār-kèŋgì</i>	‘frontier (edge of ethnic area)’
<i>ār-mág</i>	‘debt’
<i>ār-māʔin</i>	‘tradition/custom’
<i>ār-tàkàn</i>	‘beginning’
<i>ār-màʔ</i>	‘end (n)’

A number of descriptive nouns occur here, including *ār-fā* ‘youth’ and *ār-wšʔ* ‘old age’, *ār-béb* ‘strength’ and *ār-z^wār* ‘beauty’. Other descriptive nouns can be seen in (79).

(79)

Class 5	Gloss
<i>ār-sō</i>	‘joy’
<i>ār-ón</i>	‘pity (n)’
<i>ār-fāb</i>	‘jealousy’
<i>ār-kāb</i>	‘hardship, distress’
<i>ār-sōʔ</i>	‘nakedness’
<i>ār-kik</i>	‘shortness’
<i>āl:āʔ (ār-rā)</i>	‘depth’

Forty six verbal nouns occur in Class 5. Examples are shown in (80).

(80)

Class 5	Gloss
<i>ār-pāksè</i>	‘stumbling’
<i>ār-héʔé</i>	‘failing’
<i>ār-k^wóp</i>	‘obstructing’
<i>ār-fátè</i>	‘sliding’
<i>āt-èŋk</i>	‘losing’

4.2.5 Class 4

Nouns that occur in Class 4 are marked with the prefix *ās-* and trigger *se* agreement. A total of nineteen nouns occur in this class, and examples are shown in (81).

(81)

Class 4	Gloss
<i>ās-kàt</i>	‘beard’
<i>ās-rèr</i>	‘beard (goatee)’
<i>ās-tʃ^wā</i>	‘soup, broth’
<i>ās-dʒ^wà</i>	‘splinter, sliver (n)’
<i>ās-héw</i>	‘dance (n)’
<i>ās-rān</i>	‘cooked leaves’
<i>ās-kóʔ</i>	‘silk, hair (of maize)’
<i>ās-ràndí</i>	‘heap of cotton from field’
<i>ās-vəjē</i>	‘air (breathed)’

As mentioned above in section 4.1.3, Pairing 7u/4 includes ‘length’ as a semantic characteristic; for example, consider the pair *ū-nəm/ās-nəm*. It is the plural C4 prefix *ās-* that implies ‘length’, as the singular C7u prefix *ū-* can have a broader range of semantic characteristics. The concept of relative length holds for the Unpaired Class 4 as well. For example, the root *k^wām*, meaning ‘iron’, that usually occurs in the Pairing 7u/6 can take the C4 prefix *ās-* to alter the meaning and imply ‘long iron’. Similarly, the root *gɔ* ‘seed’, that usually occurs in Pairing 7u/2, can occur with the Class 4 prefix. The resulting form *ās-gɔ* implies ‘the seed used for planting sweet potatoes or cassava’.

Five nouns related to speech occur in Unpaired Class 4. Examples include *ās-vēr* ‘wisdom’ and *ās-bī* ‘lie/falsehood’. Others can be seen in (82).

(82)

Class 5	Gloss
<i>ās-zəŋg</i>	‘plan (n)’
<i>ās-p’áp</i>	‘insult (n)’
<i>ās-rēm</i>	‘speech, discourse’

Other abstract nouns are given below in (83).

(83)

Class 5	Gloss
<i>ās-mēr</i>	‘hunger’
<i>ās-bà:t</i>	‘medicine’
<i>ās-gôm</i>	‘illness’

Twenty six verbal nouns occur in the data corpus in Class 4. Examples are shown in (84).

(84)

Class 4	Gloss
<i>ās-fág</i>	‘calling’
<i>ās-dòròg</i>	‘thinking’
<i>ās-nōkōm</i>	‘stretching’
<i>ās-vók</i>	‘greeting’

4.2.6 Class 2

Class 2 nouns occur with a null \emptyset - prefix. Only three nouns in the corpus occur in Unpaired Class 2, and these are shown below in (85).

(85)

Class 2	Gloss
<i>∅-kē?</i>	‘beer (traditional)’
<i>∅-fík</i>	‘money’
<i>∅-h'òròg</i>	‘beach’

4.2.7 Class 7u

Only one noun in the data corpus, *ū-džán* ‘eczema’, occurs in Unpaired Class 7.

4.3 Summary and discussion

In summary, it is helpful to look at nouns in terms of the noun classes within which they can occur. Recall Figure 8, repeated as Figure 9 below. Each set of noun class pairings marks a set of nouns marked to at least some degree by certain identifiable semantic qualities.

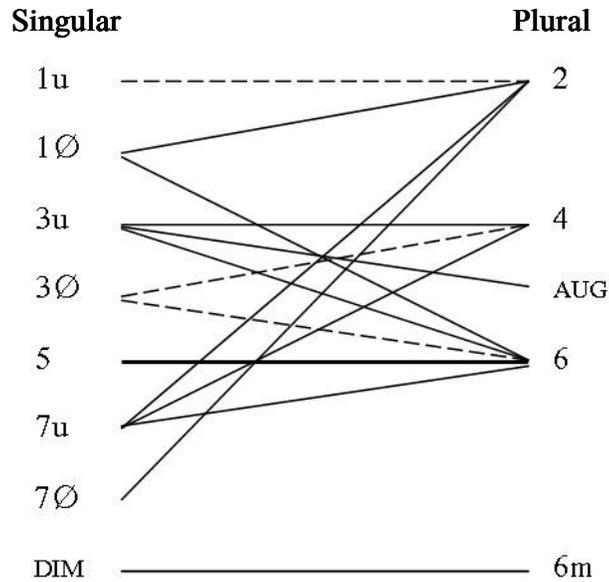


Figure 9: Noun class pairings

In section 4.1, pairings commonly used by *ut*-Ma'in speakers are presented along with common semantic traits that unify each pairing. Pairing 5/6, for example, has many nouns with spherical features. Pairings 7u/2 contains nouns that denote animates, and Pairing 7∅/2 contains only nouns that denote humans. Interestingly, the nouns that denote humans in Pairing 7∅/2 are more marked in their plural form by the additional *-nè* suffix, while animals in Pairing 7u/2 are more marked in their singular form by the presence of the *ū-* prefix. Pairings 3u/6 and 7u/4 contain mostly nouns that denote inanimate objects. Pairing 3u/4 contains only nouns that denote inanimate objects. Pairings 1∅/6 and 1u/2 contain only nouns that denote humans. It is unclear what semantic characteristics, if any, unify the nouns in Pairing 7u/6, as it contains only four nouns. Pairing DIM/6m is used derivationally to form diminutives. Pairing 3/AUG is also used derivationally to form augmentatives. Very few nouns occur in Pairings 5/4, 3u/2, 5/2 and DIM/4. Sometimes the semantic characteristics are clear, while at other times, they remain a mystery.

Table 9 gives a list of all singular/plural noun class pairings found in the data. Column two lists the agreement pronoun associated with each pairing. Column three lists the number of nouns that occur in that pairing in the data corpus. Column four lists the percentages of that pairing in relation to the total number of nouns (604) in the corpus. Column five lists identifiable semantic characteristics of each pairing.

Table 9: Frequency of nouns in class pairings

Class	Class Prefixes	Object Pronouns	Frequency	% of 604	Semantic characteristics/content
5/6	<i>ḡr-/ḡt-</i>	<i>dé/tó</i>	139	23.1%	mostly inanimate / spherical
7u/2	<i>ū-/∅-</i>	<i>já/é</i>	77	12.5%	animates / change over time
7u/4	<i>ū-/ḡs-</i>	<i>já/sé</i>	71	11.8%	inanimates / long edge / plants
3u/6	<i>ū-/ḡt-</i>	<i>ś/tó</i>	61	10.1%	inanimate objects
1∅/2	<i>∅-/∅-</i>	<i>wá/é</i>	27	4.5%	humans ³²
3u/4	<i>ū-/ḡs-</i>	<i>ś/sé</i>	9	1.5%	only inanimate objects
1∅/6	<i>∅-/ḡt-</i>	<i>wá/tó</i>	6	< 1.0%	humans
DIM/6m	<i>ī-/ḡm-</i>	<i>é/mó</i>	6	< 1.0%	diminutives
7u/6	<i>ū-/ḡt-</i>	<i>já/tó</i>	4	< 1.0%	change over time/‘baby sling’
7∅/2	<i>∅-/∅-</i>	<i>já/é</i>	4	< 1.0%	humans
3u/AUG	<i>ū-/ā-</i>	<i>ś/á</i>	4	< 1.0%	augmentatives
3∅/6	<i>∅-/ḡt-</i>	<i>ś/tó</i>	2	< 0.5%	inanimate objects
3∅/4	<i>∅-/ḡs-</i>	<i>ś/sé</i>	2	< 0.5%	only inanimate objects
1u/2	<i>ū-/∅-</i>	<i>wá/é</i>	2	< 0.5%	humans
5/4	<i>ḡr-/ḡs-</i>	<i>dé/sé</i>	2	< 0.5%	‘thatch’/‘arrow’
3u/2	<i>ū-/∅-</i>	<i>ś/é</i>	1	< 0.5%	‘giant’
5/2	<i>ḡr-/∅</i>	<i>dé/é</i>	1	< 0.5%	‘puff adder’
DIM/4	<i>ī-/ḡs-</i>	<i>é/sé</i>	1	< 0.5%	‘argument’

Section 4.2 presents seven noun classes that do not distinguish between singular and plural. Non-countable nouns, nouns that denote liquids, abstract concepts, descriptive nouns, and nouns that relate to perception and measurement characterize most of the content of the Unpaired Classes.

Table 10 lists all unpaired classes found in the data. Column two lists the agreement pronoun associated with each class. Column three lists the number of nouns that occurred in

³² All *wá/á* derivations are included in this count.

each unpaired class. Column four lists the percentages of the unpaired class in relation to the total number of nouns (604) in the corpus.

Table 10: Frequency of nouns in unpaired classes

Class	Agreement Pronouns	Frequency	% of 604
6m	<i>mo</i>	76	12.6%
6	<i>to</i>	39	6.5%
3u	<i>o</i>	24	4%
5	<i>de</i>	24	4%
4	<i>se</i>	19	3.2%
2	<i>e</i>	3	< 1.0%
7u	<i>ja</i>	1	< 0.5%

The semantic characteristics of a word are used as the primary basis for the assignment of loanwords to a particular unpaired class or class pairing. Loanwords are distributed throughout the pairings and unpaired classes, and typically, they align with semantic characteristics that define each group. This is in stark contrast to the assignment processes that are apparently active in many other noun class languages. For example, Corbett (1991:49), quoting Stroganova (1952:206-207) regarding modern Swahili, states that “the fact that genders are now largely formal is shown by the assignment of loanwords, which are allocated according to their form rather than their meaning.” All loan words in ũt-Ma'in seem distributed throughout the noun classes based solely on semantic characteristics. Nouns that denote humans are assigned to Pairing 1u/6, and nouns that denote animals are assigned to Pairing 7u/2. Nouns that denote animates are assigned to Pairing 7u/6. Nouns that denote inanimate objects, plants and long things are assigned to 7u/4, and nouns that denote round plants and animals are assigned to Pairing 5/6.

Other evidence for the semantic nature of the classes includes the possible manipulation of a noun stem. Bendor-Samuel et. al (1973:121) and McGill (n.d.:7) mention similar phenomena

in Duka and Cicipu respectively. The stem *tā?ār* ‘stone’ occurs with its most common form, that is Pairing 5/6, in example (86).

(86)	
<i>ōr-tā?ār</i>	<i>ōt-tā?ār</i>
C5-stone	C6-stone
‘stone’	‘stones’

When specified as rather large rocks, the noun stem *tā?ār* occurs in the Pairing 3u/AUG, as seen in example (87).

(87)	
<i>ū-tā:r</i>	<i>ā-tā:r</i>
C3u-stone	CAUG-stone
‘big stone’	‘many big stones’

When specified as small stones, the noun stem occurs in the Pairing DIM/6m, as in (88).

(88)	
<i>ī-tā:r</i>	<i>ōm-tā?ār</i>
CDIM-stone	C6m-stone
‘very small stone’	‘gravel’

One final occurrence of the noun stem *tā?ār* is with Unpaired Class 4. Here the word is specific to the long pointed stones used to form the base of a granary. The stones are placed as the foundation of the clay brick granaries constructed in traditional *ūt*-Ma'in homes. This Unpaired C4 noun can be seen in example (89).

(89)
<i>ōs-tā?ār</i>
C4-stone
‘long stones (used as base of granary)’

Certain nouns move between classes with no change of meaning. For example the noun roots *tʃāmpá* ‘man’ and *nētá* ‘woman’ can occur in Pairing 1Ø/2 and trigger *wá/é* object pronouns. Or, alternately, they can occur in Pairing 7u/6 and trigger *já/tʃ* object pronouns. Because these different forms do not result in different meanings, these nouns are said to be unstable.

Verbal nouns are distributed throughout six of the eight unpaired classes, but a majority, 67 percent, occur in Class 6. Of the 359 verbal nouns in the corpus, 241 occur in Class 6. Compare the relative size of the unpaired classes that contain verbal nouns in Table 11.

Table 11: Frequency of verbal nouns in unpaired classes

Class	Agreement Pronouns	Frequency	% of 359
6	<i>tɔ</i>	241	67.1%
5	<i>dɛ</i>	46	12.8%
4	<i>sɛ</i>	26	7.2%
6m	<i>mɔ</i>	13	3.6%
3u	<i>ɔ</i>	8	2.2%

The large number of verbal nouns that occur in Class 6 in contrast to the relatively small number in Classes 3u, 4, 5 and 6m may give some evidence as to the process of nominalization. Perhaps the verbal nouns that occur in Class 6 are the result of a derivational process in which the Class 6 noun class prefix *ɔ-* is applied to the verb stem. Verbal nouns in the other classes may in fact be more basically nouns. The distribution of verbal nouns throughout the noun class system has not been fully explored. Further research may reveal a semantic basis for their distribution.

CHAPTER 5

AGREEMENT TARGETS

The class of a noun triggers agreement marking on other constituents, or agreement targets, within the noun phrase as well as outside of the noun phrase (Corbett 1991:145). The object pronouns that represent the agreement marking for each class are reviewed in Table 12 below.

Table 12: Noun class prefixes and object pronouns

Class	Noun Prefix	Object Pronoun
1u	<i>ũ-</i>	<i>ú/wá</i>
1Ø	<i>Ø-</i>	<i>wá</i>
2	<i>Ø-</i>	<i>é</i>
3u	<i>ũ-</i>	<i>ó</i>
3Ø	<i>Ø-</i>	<i>ó</i>
4	<i>ṣs-</i>	<i>sé</i>
5	<i>ṣr-</i>	<i>dé</i>
6	<i>ṣt-</i>	<i>tó</i>
6m	<i>ṣm-</i>	<i>mó</i>
7u	<i>ũ-</i>	<i>já</i>
7Ø	<i>Ø-</i>	<i>já</i>
AUG	<i>ā-</i>	<i>á</i>
DIM	<i>ī-</i>	<i>é</i>

Numerals and other quantifiers, demonstrative modifiers, the associative marker, the definite and indefinite article, the relative pronoun and adjectives are marked for the class of the noun they modify. Class specific pronouns are used to reference nouns, previously mentioned, outside of the noun phrase but within the same discourse. The interrogatives ‘what?’ and ‘which?’ can also be marked for the class of the noun. The sections below demonstrate each of

these constructions as they relate to noun class marking. Most constructions are shown with the C4 noun *šs-fār* ‘shae-butter tree (pl)’, which is glossed as ‘tree’ throughout. Examples are then given for each class.

5.1 Numerals and other quantifiers

Numerals (1-19) and the quantifier *bēt* ‘all’ follow the head noun and agree with the head noun in class, marked by a prefix on the quantifier. The quantifiers *ū-tát* ‘many’ and *tjājī* ‘few’ occur in the same position following the noun but take no agreement marking. *ū-tát* ‘many’ maintains the C3u marking that is inherent to the word itself, while *tjājī* ‘few’ occurs with no overt class marking.³³ These two quantifiers occur in contrast to descriptive nouns used in the associative construction discussed in section 5.3, in which the associative marker occurs between the head noun and the descriptive noun. The quantifiers follow the head noun with no associative marker occurring between the head noun and quantifier.

The ūt-Ma'in numerical system is decimal, based on ten. Numerals one through one thousand can be seen in Table 13 as they are used in counting, i.e., not specified for class.

³³ Further investigation may show that *tjājī* ‘few’ is a member of Class 3Ø.

Table 13: Numerals 1-1000

Numeral	Gloss	Numeral	Gloss
<i>tʃā:n</i>	one (1)	<i>ōp ó ér</i>	eighteen (18)
<i>jā:r</i>	two (2)	<i>ōp ó dʒ^wō:r</i>	nineteen (19)
<i>tēt</i>	three (3)	<i>ōr-fīk</i>	twenty (20)
<i>ná:s</i>	four (4)	<i>ōr-fīk ū-gàn</i>	twenty-one (21)
<i>tán</i>	five (5)	<i>ōr-fīk ó jā:r</i>	twenty-two (22)
<i>fīfīn</i>	six (6)	<i>ōr-fīk ó tēt</i>	twenty-three (23)
<i>tà?èr</i>	seven (7)	<i>ōr-fīk ó ōp</i>	thirty (30)
<i>ér</i>	eight (8)	<i>ōt-fīk ōt-jā:r</i>	forty (40)
<i>dʒ^wō:r</i>	nine (9)	<i>ōt-fīk ōt-jā:r ó ōp</i>	fifty (50)
<i>ōp</i>	ten (10)	<i>ōt-fīk ōt-tēt</i>	sixty (60)
<i>ōp ó gān</i>	eleven (11)	<i>ōt-fīk ōt-tēt ó ōp</i>	seventy (70)
<i>ōp ó jā:r</i>	twelve (12)	<i>ōt-fīk ōt-ná:s</i>	eighty (80)
<i>ōp ó tēt</i>	thirteen (13)	<i>ōt-fīk ōt-ná:s ó ōp</i>	ninety (90)
<i>ōp ó ná:s</i>	fourteen (14)	<i>ōt-fīk ōt-tán</i>	hundred (100)
<i>ōp ó tán</i>	fifteen (15)	<i>ōt-fīk ōt-ōp</i>	two hundred (200)
<i>ōp ó fīfīn</i>	sixteen (16)	<i>ōt-kók ōt-tán</i>	five hundred (500)
<i>ōp ó tà?èr</i>	seventeen (17)	<i>ōt-kók ōt-ōp</i>	thousand (1000)

Numerals ten through nineteen employ the conjunction *ó* ‘and’ that produces forms such as *ōp ó tán* ‘fifteen (lit. ten and five)’. When used as a numeral meaning ‘twenty’, the root *fīk* occurs in Pairing 5/6 with the *ōr-/ōt-* prefixes. For numerals between twenty and one hundred this base becomes the head noun within the quantifier phrase. For example, consider the numeral *ōt-fīk ōt-tēt* ‘sixty (lit. three twenties)’. The first noun in its C5 singular form *ōr-fīk* means ‘twenty’, but here it is in the C6 plural form *ōt-fīk*. Notice that the numeral *ōt-tēt* ‘three’ agrees with the class of *ōt-fīk*, marked by the C6 *ōt-* prefix on the numeral. The root *fīk* is also used in the noun *ō-fīk* ‘money’ that occurs in Class 2; further investigation is needed, but perhaps there is some historical or cultural connection between the two ideas, ‘twenty’ and ‘money’.

The root *kók* normally occurs in Pairing 5/6, *ōr-/ōt-kók* ‘calabash’. For the numerals that are multiples of one hundred the plural C6 form is used with another numeral following it. For example, the numeral *ōt-kók ōt-tán* ‘five hundred’ is literally ‘five calabashes’. It seems that the extension of meaning from ‘calabash’ to ‘one hundred’ is not complete because the singular form *ōr-kók* is only used to mean ‘calabash’ and is not used for ‘one hundred’. Instead, the phrase *ōt-fík ōt-tán* ‘one hundred (lit. five twenties)’ is used.

When numerals one through nineteen modify a noun, they occur with agreement marking in the form of a prefix on the numeral. The prefix is identical to that of the head noun. In the structure, as seen in (90), the numeral occurs immediately after the noun.

(90)

N	NUMERAL		
C-N	C-NUMERAL		
<i>ōs-fār</i>	<i>ōs-tán</i>	<i>sē</i>	<i>hē:g</i>
C4-tree	C4-five	C4	fall.PST
‘five trees, they fell’			

The numeral *tʃō:n* ‘one’ is used in counting, but to modify a noun the numeral *gān* ‘one’ is used. Not surprisingly, this occurs with only the odd numbered singular Classes 1u, 1Ø, 3u, 3Ø, 5, 7u, 7Ø and DIM. For Classes 1Ø, 3Ø, and 7Ø, in which the noun has a null Ø-prefix, the numeral occurs as *Ø-gān* with a null Ø-prefix.

(91)

Class	Example Noun	Numeral	Gloss
1u	<i>ū-mákt</i> C1-barren.woman	<i>ū-gān</i> C1-one	‘one barren woman’
1∅	<i>∅-z^wār</i> C1∅-young.man	<i>∅-gān</i> C1∅-one	‘one young man’
3u	<i>ū-ʔúz</i> C3-bead	<i>ū-gān</i> C3-one	‘one bead’
3∅	<i>∅-k^wār</i> C3∅-island	<i>∅-gān</i> C3∅-one	‘one island’
5	<i>ār-p^lákót</i> C5-flower	<i>ār-gān</i> C5-one	‘one flower’
7u	<i>ū-ván</i> C7-knife	<i>ū-gān</i> C7-one	‘one knife’
7∅	<i>∅-nét</i> C7∅-person	<i>∅-gān</i> C7∅-one	‘one person’
DIM	<i>ī-bà</i> CDIM-lake	<i>ī-gān</i> CDIM-one	‘one small lake’

Numerals two through nineteen occur with the (even-numbered) plural Classes 2, 4, 6, and

AUG. In (92) the numeral *tán* ‘five’ is demonstrated with each class.

(92)

Class	Example Noun	Numeral	Gloss
2	<i>∅-rènt</i> C2-mosquito	<i>∅-tán</i> C2-five	‘five mosquitoes’
4	<i>ās-b^lās</i> C4-broom	<i>ās-tán</i> C4-five	‘five brooms’
6	<i>āt-bó</i> C6-town	<i>āt-tán</i> C6-five	‘five towns’
AUG	<i>ā-tā:r</i> CAUG-rock	<i>ā-tán</i> CAUG-five	‘five huge rocks’

The quantifier *bēt* ‘all’ occurs with all noun classes. With the (odd-numbered) singular Classes 1u, 1∅, 3u, 3∅, 5, 7u, 7∅ and DIM, it carries the meaning ‘whole’. Agreement is marked by a prefix on *bēt* that is identical to the prefix found on the head noun. In (93), the head noun occurs first followed by the quantifier and then the class specific definite article (see section 5.6 for further discussion).

(93)

N	ALL	D	
C ₁ -N	C ₁ -bēt	D	
<i>šs-fâr</i>	<i>šs-bēt</i>	<i>sē</i>	<i>hē:g</i>
C4-tree	C4-all	C4.D	fall.PST

‘all the trees fell’

An alternate word order occurs in (94). In order to give emphasis to the head noun, the noun is followed immediately by the definite article (D), and then by the quantifier *bēt* ‘all’.

(94)

N	D	ALL	
C ₁ -N ₁	D	C ₁ -bēt	
<i>šs-fâr</i>	<i>sē</i>	<i>šs-bēt</i>	<i>hē:g</i>
C4-tree	C4.D	C4-all	fall.PST

‘the trees, they all fell’

This quantifier can also function anaphorically to refer back to an established antecedent in a text. In such a case, *bēt* occurs with the appropriate agreement prefix.

(95)

<i>bš</i>	<i>m-ə</i>	<i>gəp</i>	<i>ū-bu</i>	<i>héməssē</i>	<i>ū-bēt</i>
water	C6m-Assoc	hit.PST	C3u-house	fall.PERF	C3u-whole

‘water hit the house having fallen completely’

When *bēt* ‘all’ modifies a noun in the object position, the definite article is not obligatory, as in (96), see section 5.13.

(96)

		N	ALL
		C ₁ -N ₁	C ₁ -bēt
<i>wšn</i>	<i>vəkhšstē</i>	<i>št-nēt</i>	<i>št-bēt</i>
3.sg	greet.PST	C6-people	C6-all

‘he greeted all of the people’

The quantifier *ū-tāt* ‘many’ does not bear any agreement marking and occurs with its inherent Class 7u noun class prefix. In (97) below, the noun *št-nēt* ‘people’ occurs in Class 6, yet the quantifier *ū-tāt* ‘many’ maintains its Class 7u prefix.

(97)

<i>št-nēt</i>	<i>ū-tāt</i>	<i>hā:n</i>
C6-people	C7u-many	came

‘many people came’

In (98), the noun *ḡs-fḡn* ‘roads’ occurs in Class 4, and again *ū-tát* ‘many’ maintains its Class 7 prefix.

(98)
ḡs-fḡn *ū-tát*
 4-roads 7u-many
 ‘many roads’

The quantifier *tǃǃǃ* ‘few’ also follows the noun it modifies, but this quantifier has no overt class marking and is not marked for agreement with the noun it modifies.

5.2 Demonstrative Modifiers

Demonstrative modifiers agree in class with the nouns they modify. There is a two way deictic distinction made in ǃt-Ma'in. The base of the “near demonstrative” is *VN*, where the V is a high tone high vowel and N is a nasal consonant. For classes with a consonantal element, the agreement element of the modified noun prefixes the demonstrative base. For classes that have a vowel prefix or a null \emptyset - prefix, there is a null \emptyset -prefixed agreement element.

An example of this appears in (99), in which the form of the demonstrative that modifies a C4 noun is *s-ín*. The demonstrative base *ín* occurs with the C4 *s*- prefix. The class specific definite article (D) always follows.

(99)

N	Dem	D	
N ₁ -C ₁	C ₁ -Dem	D	
<i>fār-ḡs</i>	<i>s-ín</i>	<i>sē</i>	<i>hē:g</i>
tree-C4	C4-DEM	C4.D	fall.PST
‘these trees fell’			

The quality of the vowel of the near demonstrative has two forms, [i] and [u] and is determined by whether the following definite article has the feature front or back. For the front vowel [e] of Classes 2, 4 and 5 and the semi-vowel [j] of Classes 7u and 7 \emptyset , the demonstrative base vowel occurs as the front vowel [i].

(100)

Class	Dem	D
2	<i>Ø-ín</i>	<i>ē</i>
4	<i>s-ín</i>	<i>sē</i>
5	<i>d-ín</i>	<i>dē</i>
7u	<i>Ø-ín</i>	<i>jā</i>
7Ø	<i>Ø-ín</i>	<i>jā</i>

For the back unrounded vowel [ɔ] of the Classes 3u, 3Ø, 6 and 6m suffixes and the semi-vowel [w] of Classes 1u and 1Ø, the near demonstrative base vowel occurs as the back vowel [u], as seen in (101).

(101)

Class	Dem	D
1u	<i>Ø-ún</i>	<i>wā</i>
1Ø	<i>Ø-ún</i>	<i>wā</i>
3u	<i>Ø-ún</i>	<i>ō</i>
3Ø	<i>Ø-ún</i>	<i>ō</i>
6	<i>t-ún</i>	<i>tō</i>
6m	<i>m-úm</i>	<i>mō</i>

All near demonstrative forms are summarized in (102).³⁴

(102)

Class	Dem	D
1u	<i>Ø-ún</i>	<i>wā</i>
1Ø	<i>Ø-ún</i>	<i>wā</i>
2	<i>Ø-ín</i>	<i>ē</i>
3u	<i>Ø-ún</i>	<i>ō</i>
3Ø	<i>Ø-ún</i>	<i>ō</i>
4	<i>s-ín</i>	<i>sē</i>
5	<i>d-ín</i>	<i>dē</i>
6	<i>t-ún</i>	<i>tō</i>
6m	<i>m-úm</i>	<i>mō</i>
7u	<i>Ø-ín</i>	<i>jā</i>
7Ø	<i>Ø-ín</i>	<i>jā</i>

The use of this form of the demonstrative is limited to a certain discourse environment, i.e., to signal that new information immediately follows. In (103), the C7u noun *ī-ō* ‘dog’ is old information already known within the discourse. The new information presented is ‘fear of children’.

³⁴ No data is available for the near demonstrative forms of Classes DIM and AUG.

(103)

<i>ṣ-ú</i>	<i>Ø-ín</i>	<i>jā</i>	<i>g'ēr</i>	<i>Ø-jāg:</i>
dog-C7u	C7u-Dem	C7u.D	fears	C2-children

'this dog is afraid of children'

In order to introduce new information, such as when one identifies an item by pointing, there is a change in word order. In (104) the demonstrative *Ø-ín* 'C7u-Dem' occurs first immediately followed by the class specific definite article. The bare noun stem *ṣ* from the noun *ū-ṣ* 'dog' then occurs next, followed by another class specific definite article. This construction is similar to the indefinite article construction (see section 5.6) in that the bare noun stem occurs between the demonstrative and the definite article.

(104)

<i>Ø-ín</i>	<i>jā</i>	<i>ṣ</i>	<i>jā</i>
Dem-C7u	C7u.D	dog	C7u.D

'this (is) a dog'

When the demonstrative pronoun occurs at the beginning of the clause, the consonantal prefixed element for Classes 4, 5, 6 and 6m is optional, but the definite article always follows the demonstrative stem. For example, in (106) *m-úm* 'C6m-Dem' occurs as *úm* 'C6m.Dem'.

(105)

<i>úm</i>	<i>mṣ</i>	<i>bṣ</i>	<i>mṣ</i>
Dem.C6m	C6m.D	water	C6m.D

'this (is) water'

To indicate the "far demonstrative," the morpheme *jīt* is added to the end of the near demonstrative form. The far demonstrative for Class 4 is *s-ín sē jīt* 'there', as seen in (106).

(106)

<i>fār-ṣs</i>	<i>s-ín</i>	<i>sē</i>	<i>jīt</i>	<i>hē:g</i>
tree-C4	C4- Dem	C4.D	FAR	fall.PST

'those trees fell'

5.3 Associative constructions

When a noun is modified by another noun, the associative construction is used. The head noun occurs first followed by the associative marker with a prefixed class element that shows agreement with the class of the head noun. The noun that modifies the head noun follows the

associative marker. The associative marker is a low tone, carried by the near close-mid central vowel [ə]. If the second noun has the vowel [u] as a prefix, then the low tone is carried by the vowel [u].

If the head noun is clause initial, which is usually the subject position, the head noun occurs without its class prefix, as seen in (107). In a clause final position, which is usually the object position, the head noun occurs with its class prefix, as seen in (108).³⁵

(107)
fār *s-ə* *m-wór* *hē:g*
 tree C4-Assoc 6m-length fall.PST
 ‘the tall trees fell’

(108)
əm *h’áj* *ə̄s-fār* *s-ə* *m-wór*
 1.sg see.PST C4-tree C4-Assoc 6m-length
 ‘I saw the tall trees’

Example (109) shows the order of constituents for a clause initial associative construction. Here the head noun is marked with a subscript ‘1’. Class elements also occur with a subscript number to show agreement. The second noun and its class element are marked with a subscript ‘2’ to show agreement.

(109)
 N₁ Assoc N₂
 N₁ C₁-Assoc C₂-N₂
fār *s-ə* *m-wór* *hē:g*
 tree C4-Assoc C6m-length fall.PST
 ‘the tall trees fell’

In (110), one associative construction is embedded within another associative construction. The head noun *ə̄s-fār* ‘shea-butter tree’ occurs first, followed by the associative marker *s-ə* ‘C4-Assoc’. In the position of the second noun there is another associative construction with the C6

³⁵ The associative marker could be analyzed as a suffix on the noun root, but then a noun in the object position would be marked for class by both a prefix and a suffix. In this work, the associative marker is analyzed as a morpheme, syntactically separate from the noun stem, that occurs with a prefixed class agreement element.

noun *ḡt-rān* ‘leaf’ as the head, followed by the associative marker *t-ḡ* ‘C6- Assoc’. The descriptive noun *ḡm-wḡr* ‘length’ occurs last.

(110)

N ₁	Assoc	[N ₂	Assoc	N ₃]	
N ₁	C ₁ -Assoc	[N ₂	C ₂ -Assoc	C ₃ -N ₃]	
<i>fār</i>	<i>s-ḡ</i>	<i>rān</i>	<i>t-ḡ</i>	<i>m-wḡr</i>	<i>hḡg</i>
tree	C4-Assoc	leaf	C6- Assoc	ḡm-length	fall.PST
‘trees of long leaves fell’					

When asked to divide an associative phrase into words, speakers often attach the associative marker to either the first noun or to the class prefix of the second noun. This results in two phonological surface forms for the associative construction. A noun with an associative phrase modifier can occur as either (111) or (112), in which an equal sign (=) signifies phonological attachment and a pound sign (#) signifies a word boundary.

(111)

$$N_1 = C_1\text{-Assoc} = C_2 \# N_2$$

(112)

$$N_1 \# C_1\text{-Assoc} = C_2 \# N_2,$$

In (113) through (115), the associative marker (Assoc) and the class prefix of the second noun (C₂) are spoken attached to the stem of the first noun (N₁). The final two columns show the citation forms of the two nouns in the associative construction, i.e. N₁ and N₂. If the agreement prefix on the associative marker is null \emptyset - or C3 *ḡ*- and the class prefix of the second noun is a consonant, the affixed associative marker and second noun’s class element have the shape [ḡC], where C is a consonant.

(113)

Class Combination	N ₁ = C ₁ -Assoc = C ₂	N ₂	Gloss	N ₁	N ₂
2 + 4	<i>nḡm = ḡ-ḡ = s</i>	<i>té</i>	‘evil spirits’	<i>ḡ-nḡm</i> ‘things’ ³⁶	<i>ḡs-té</i> ‘trees’
3u + 5	<i>kʷḡk = ḡ-` = r</i>	<i>gḡ</i>	‘eggshell’	<i>ḡ-kʷḡk</i> ‘shell’	<i>ḡr-gḡ</i> ‘egg’
3u + 6	<i>nḡm = ḡ-` = t</i>	<i>rè</i>	‘food’	<i>ḡ-nḡm</i> ‘thing’	<i>ḡt-rè</i> ‘eating’

³⁶ The noun [ḡ-nḡm] ‘thing’ is used here in Class 2, to personify ‘things.’ [nḡm] generally occurs in classes denoting inanimate objects.

If the agreement prefix on the associative marker is null \emptyset - or C3 ϑ - and the class prefix of the second noun is the back rounded vowel [u]. The associative marker has the shape [ù].

(114)

Class Combination	$N = C_1\text{-Assoc} = C_2$	N_2	Gloss	N_1	N_2
2 + 7u	$nín = \emptyset\text{-} \acute{u} = u$	<i>fá?</i>	‘fangs’	$\emptyset\text{-}nín$ ‘teeth’	$\bar{u}\text{-}fá?$ ‘snake’
3u + 7u	$hòr = \emptyset\text{-} \acute{u} = u$	<i>džán</i>	‘fins’	$\bar{u}\text{-}hòr$ ‘hide (animal)’	$\bar{u}\text{-}džán$ ‘fish’

If the agreement prefix on the associative marker is C3 ϑ - and the class prefix of the second noun is null \emptyset -, the affixed associative marker has the shape [ə̃], as seen in (115).

(115)

Class Combination	$N_1 = C_1\text{-Assoc} = C_2$	N_2	Gloss	N_1	N_2
3u + 2	$k^háp = \vartheta\text{-} \acute{u} = \emptyset$	<i>džán</i>	‘fin’	$\bar{u}\text{-}káp$ ‘shoulder’	$\emptyset\text{-}džán$ ‘fish(pl)’

In (116) through (118), the associative prefix that agrees with the first noun (C_1), the associative marker (Assoc) and the class prefix of the second noun (C_2) are pronounced together as separate word between the noun stems. If the agreement prefix on the associative marker and the class prefix of the second noun are consonants, the associative marker has the shape [Cə̃C].

(116)

Class Combination	N_1	$C_1\text{-Assoc} = C_2$	N_2	Gloss	N_1	N_2
4 + 4	<i>rém</i>	$s\text{-}\acute{e}\text{-}s$	<i>vèr</i>	‘proverbs’	$\bar{\acute{e}}s\text{-}rém$ ‘words’	$\bar{\acute{e}}s\text{-}vèr$ ‘wisdom’
6m + 5	<i>rè</i>	$m\text{-}\acute{e}\text{-}r$	<i>hí</i>	‘headache’	$\bar{\acute{e}}m\text{-}rè$ ‘pain’	$\bar{\acute{e}}r\text{-}hí$ ‘head’
7u + 6m	<i>fèn</i>	$j\text{-}\acute{e}\text{-}m$	<i>h’ó</i>	‘vein’	$\bar{u}\text{-}fèn$ ‘road’	$\bar{\acute{e}}m\text{-}h’ó$ ‘blood’

If the agreement prefix on the associative marker is a consonant and the class prefix of the second noun is null \emptyset -, the the associative marker has shape [Cə̃].

(117)

Class Combination	N_1	$C_1\text{-Assoc} = C_2$	N_2	Gloss	N_1	N_2
5 + 2	<i>bàn</i>	$d\text{-}\acute{e}\text{-}\emptyset$	<i>ná</i>	‘herd’	$\bar{\acute{e}}r\text{-}bàn$ ‘crowd’	$\emptyset\text{-}ná$ ‘oxen’
6 + 2	<i>káp</i>	$t\text{-}\acute{e}\text{-}\emptyset$	<i>džán</i>	‘fins’	$\bar{\acute{e}}t\text{-}káp$ ‘shoulder’	$\emptyset\text{-}džán$ ‘fish(pl)’

If the agreement prefix on the associative marker is a consonant and the class prefix of the second noun is the high back rounded vowel [u], then the associative marker has the shape [Cù], as in (118).

(118)

Class Combination	N ₁	C ₁ -Assoc = C ₂	N ₂	Gloss	N ₁	N ₂
6m + 3u	<i>bś</i>	<i>m-` = u</i>	<i>dàk</i>	'brown'	<i>ǝm-bś</i> 'water'	<i>ū-dàk</i> 'ground'
6m + 7u	<i>mé</i>	<i>m-` = u</i>	<i>zśr</i>	'curdled milk'	<i>ǝm-mé</i> 'milk'	<i>ū-zśr</i> 'sourness'
7 + 3u	<i>té</i>	<i>j-` = u</i>	<i>rā</i>	'firewood'	<i>ū-té</i> 'wood'	<i>ū-rā</i> 'fire'

There is one combination of classes that results in a different tone on the near close-mid central vowel [ə]. When noun one is from a null class that would result in the null \emptyset -prefix occurring on the associative marker, and the class prefix on the second noun is null \emptyset , a high tone and near close-mid vowel [é] occurs between the two noun roots. Hoffman (1967:249) mentions, but does not explain, the tonal alternation within associative constructions of C'Lela. Data for this high tone marker in ũt-Ma'in is only available for C2 nouns as seen in (119).

(119)

Class Combination	N ₁	Assoc word	N ₂	Gloss	N ₁	N ₂
2 + 2	<i>gōb</i>	<i>é</i>	<i>ná</i>	bulls	\emptyset - <i>gob</i> 'male animal'	\emptyset - <i>ná</i> 'oxen'
2 + 2	<i>kāg</i>	<i>é</i>	<i>kśt</i>	roosters	\emptyset - <i>kag</i> 'male bird'	\emptyset - <i>kśt</i> 'chicken'

I collected no data for associative constructions that contain nouns from Classes DIM and AUG. Data from these classes would provide further information about the shape of the associative marker, particularly in the case of vowel class elements.

5.4 Subject pronouns

Pronouns are given below as they occur in subject position. A distinction is made between inclusive and exclusive first person plural, and an indefinite pronoun that is neither singular nor plural is used when the agent is unspecified or not in focus. The class specific pronouns occur as part of the pronoun system and are marked as third person. These class specific

pronouns are suppletive since there is no identifiable base to which a class element is prefixed.

All personal and class specific pronouns are listed in Table 14.

Table 14: Subject pronouns

Class	Person	Singular	Plural		Indefinite
			Inclusive	Exclusive	
	1	<i>ǝm</i>	<i>ín</i>	<i>īt</i>	
	2	<i>bō</i>	<i>nō</i>		
	3	<i>wǝn</i>	<i>ǝn</i>		<i>nā</i>
1u	3	<i>ū/wā</i>			
1∅	3	<i>wā</i>			
2	3		<i>ē</i>		
3u	3	<i>ō</i>			
3∅	3	<i>ō</i>			
4	3		<i>sē</i>		
5	3	<i>dē</i>			
6	3		<i>tō</i>		
6m	3		<i>mō</i>		
7u	3	<i>jā</i>			
7∅	3	<i>jā</i>			
AUG	3		<i>ā</i>		
DIM	3	<i>ē</i>			

In (120) the first and second person pronouns and the indefinite pronoun are shown in typical environments. The pronouns occur in subject position preceding the verbs *hē:g* ‘fall.PST’ and *nák* ‘know.HAB’.

(120)

Example	Gloss	Example	Gloss
<i>ǝm hē:g</i>	‘I fell’	<i>ǝm nák</i>	‘I know’
<i>bō hē:g</i>	‘you (sg) fell’	<i>bō nák</i>	‘you (sg) know’
<i>ín hē:g</i>	‘we (incl.) fell’	<i>ín nák</i>	‘we (incl.) know’
<i>īt hē:g</i>	‘we (excl.) fell’	<i>īt nák</i>	‘we (excl.) know’
<i>nō hē:g</i>	‘you (pl) fell’	<i>nō nák</i>	‘you (pl) know’
<i>nā hē:g</i>	‘they (indef) fell’	<i>nā nák</i>	‘they (indef) know’

In (121) third person pronouns, including all the noun class pronouns, are shown in the same environment, preceding the verb *hē:g* ‘fall.PST’.

(121)

Class	Example	Gloss	Noun Referent
	<i>wōn hē:g</i>	‘he/she fell’	any human referent (sg)
	<i>ōn hē:g</i>	‘they fell’	any human referent (pl)
1u	<i>ū/wā hē:g</i>	‘he/she fell’	<i>ū-mákt</i> ‘barren woman’
1∅	<i>wā hē:g</i>	‘he/she fell’	<i>∅-hō:b</i> ‘friend’
2	<i>ē hē:g</i>	‘they fell’	<i>∅-tòròm</i> ‘warthogs’
3u	<i>ō hē:g</i>	‘it fell’	<i>ū-rān</i> ‘leaf’
3∅	<i>ō hē:g</i>	‘it fell’	<i>∅-s^wás</i> ‘entrance hut’
4	<i>sē hē:g</i>	‘they fell’	<i>ōs-té</i> ‘trees’
5	<i>dē hē:g</i>	‘it fell’	<i>ōr-túr</i> ‘pot’
6	<i>tō hē:g</i>	‘they fell’	<i>ōt-p^jákót</i> ‘flowers’
6m	<i>mō hē:g</i>	‘it/they fell’	<i>ōm-bó</i> ‘water’
7u	<i>jā hē:g</i>	‘it fell’	<i>ū-kēz</i> ‘antelope’
7∅	<i>jā hē:g</i>	‘it fell’	<i>∅-tšāmpá</i> ‘man’
AUG	<i>ā hē:g</i>	‘they fell’	<i>ā-túr</i> ‘many huge pots’
DIM	<i>ē hē:g</i>	‘it fell’	<i>ī-túr</i> ‘tiny pot’

The third person pronouns *wōn* and *ōn* can be understood as coming from Class 1 and 2 nouns, historically *ū-ōn* and *∅-ōn*, that have been reanalyzed as pronouns. As a result, there are multiple pronoun options for pronouns that refer to humans. Nouns from Classes 1u (always human) can be referenced with the pronouns *wōn* or *wā* or *ū*, and Class 1∅ (always human) can be referenced with the pronouns *wōn* or *wā*. Class 7∅ nouns (always human) can be referenced with the pronouns *wōn* or *jā*, and there is some evidence that pronoun *wā* can also be used. Class 2 human nouns can be referenced with either the pronouns *ōn* or *ē*, but Class 2 non-human nouns are generally only referenced with the pronoun *ē*. These variations can be used by speakers to follow two or more referents through a discourse to minimize confusion.

5.5 Definite articles

When the class specific subject pronouns occur together with their noun referents, the discourse effect is one of specification. In (122), the head noun occurs first, with its class element suffixed. The class specific pronoun follows, shown as the definite article (D).

(122)

N		D	
N-C		D	
<i>fâr-òs</i>	<i>sē</i>	<i>hē:g</i>	
tree-C4	C4.D	fall.PST	
'the trees fell'			

Though this pronoun is often translated into English as ‘that’ or ‘those’, it differs significantly in form from the demonstratives seen in section 5.2. This use of the pronoun may be best understood as a definite article or determiner that specifies a particular and specific noun referent.

5.6 Indefinite articles

In contrast to the definite article presented in section 5.5, when the noun referent is unspecified, the indefinite article precedes the head noun. The indefinite article is formed by prefixing the appropriate low tone class element to the root *kōn* ‘there’. The bare noun root follows, followed by the definite article. In (123), the C4 indefinite article (Indef) *sè-kēn* precedes the C4 noun stem (N) *fâr* ‘tree’, and the mid-tone C4 definite article (D) follows.

(123)

Indef	N	D	
C- <i>kōn</i>	N	D	
<i>sè-kēn</i>	<i>fâr</i>	<i>sē</i>	<i>hē:g</i>
C4-Indef	tree	C4	fall.PST
'some trees fell'			

The [ɛ] and [ɔ] of the class element trigger vowel harmony with regard to backness on the vowel [ə] of *kōn*. For Classes 2, 4, 5 and DIM the agreement prefixes contain the front unrounded vowel [ɛ], so the root [kōn] surfaces as [kēn]. For Classes 3u, 3Ø, 6, and 6m, the agreement prefixes contain the back rounded vowel [ɔ], so the root [kōn] surfaces as [kōn]. In (124) the form of the indefinite article can be seen for each class. Notice that the low vowel [a]

of the agreement prefixes of Classes 1u, 1Ø, 7u, 7Ø and AUG have no affect on the vowel of the root *kən*.

(124)

Class	Example	Gloss
1u	<i>wàkən mákt wā</i>	‘a certain barren woman’
1Ø	<i>wàkən hámàt wā</i>	‘a certain visitor’
2	<i>èkən dʒán ē</i>	‘some fish’
3u	<i>àkən rān ɔ̄</i>	‘a certain leaf’
3Ø	<i>àkən bò? ɔ̄</i>	‘a certain dream’
4	<i>sèkən bò? sē</i>	‘some dreams’
5	<i>dèkən kók dē</i>	‘a certain calabash’
6	<i>tàkən rān tɔ̄</i>	‘some leaves’
6m	<i>mòkən nò:g mɔ̄</i>	‘a certain oil’
7u	<i>jàkən ná jā</i>	‘a certain ox’
7Ø	<i>jàkən r'ám jā</i>	‘a certain cripple’
AUG	<i>àkən kók ā</i>	‘some huge calabashes’
DIM	<i>èkən kók ē</i>	‘a certain tiny calabash’

This indefinite article is often used when a new character is introduced in a discourse. In

(125), the noun phrase containing the indefinite pronoun occurs in the object position.

(125)

<i>nā</i>	<i>nòmɡ</i>	<i>wà-kən</i>	<i>nēt</i>	<i>wā</i>	<i>wè</i>	<i>ɡáɡón</i>	<i>nētá</i>	<i>j-`</i>	<i>u-íbo</i>
3.indef	did	C1Ø- certain	person	C1Ø. D	C1Ø. Rel	married	woman	C7u.Assoc-	C1u- Igbo.person
‘there was a man who married an Igbo woman’									

At other times, the indefinite article occurs alone to refer anaphorically to unspecified members of a known group.

(126)

<i>è-kən</i>	<i>tàkən</i>	<i>ɔ̄s-rém</i>
C2-Indef	begin.PST	C4-talking
‘some (of them/people) began talking’		

5.7 Object pronouns

Object pronouns are shown in Table 15. The first and second person pronouns are identical to their subject pronoun counterparts except in the first person singular, where the subject

pronoun is *ɓm* and the object pronoun form is *mé*. The class specific pronouns are identical to their subject pronoun counterparts, except that in object position they occur with a high tone.

Table 15: Object pronouns

Class	Person	Singular	Plural	
			Inclusive	Exclusive
	1	<i>mé</i>	<i>ín</i>	<i>ít</i>
	2	<i>bɓ</i>	<i>nɓ</i>	
	3	<i>wɓn</i>	<i>ɓn</i>	
1u	3	<i>ú/wá</i>		
1∅	3	<i>wá</i>		
2	3		<i>é</i>	
3u	3	<i>ɔ</i>		
3∅	3	<i>ɔ</i>		
4	3		<i>sé</i>	
5	3	<i>dé</i>		
6	3		<i>tɔ</i>	
6m	3		<i>mɔ</i>	
7u	3	<i>já</i>		
7∅	3	<i>já</i>		

In (127) the first and second person pronouns are shown in a typical environment. They occur in the object position after the verb *tɔk* ‘push.over.PST’. The subject pronoun *wɓn* ‘3.sg’ and it can be translated as ‘he’ or ‘she’ because it is not specified for gender. For simplicity in the examples below, *wɓn* is glossed as ‘he’.

(127)

Example	Gloss
<i>wɓn tɔk mé</i>	‘he pushed me over’
<i>wɓn tɔk bɓ</i>	‘he pushed you (sg) over’
<i>wɓn tɔk ín</i>	‘he pushed us (incl.) over’
<i>wɓn tɔk ít</i>	‘he pushed us (excl.) over’
<i>wɓn tɔk nɓ</i>	‘he pushed you (pl) over’

The pronouns *wɓn* ‘3.sg’ and *ɓn* ‘3.pl’ can be used to reference any human noun in the discourse, or any person in the reality of a live discourse situation. The class specific pronouns are also used to reference nouns already established within a particular discourse. In (128) all third person pronouns are shown in object position after the verb *tɔk* ‘push.over.PST’. The final column lists an example noun referent for each pronoun.

(128)

Class	Example	Gloss	Noun Referent
	<i>wōn tōk wōn</i>	‘he pushed him/her’	any human referent (sg)
	<i>wōn tōk ōn</i>	‘he pushed them’	any human referent (pl)
1u	<i>wōn tōk ú</i>	‘he pushed her’	<i>ū-mákt</i> ‘barren woman’
1∅	<i>wōn tōk wá</i>	‘he pushed him’	<i>∅-hō:b</i> ‘friend’
2	<i>wōn tōk é</i>	‘he pushed them’	<i>∅-tòròm</i> ‘warthogs’
3u	<i>wōn tōk ó</i>	‘he pushed it’	<i>ū-rān</i> ‘leaf’
3∅	<i>wōn tōk ó</i>	‘he pushed it’	<i>∅-s^wás</i> ‘entrance hut’
4	<i>wōn tōk sé</i>	‘he pushed them’	<i>ōs-té</i> ‘trees’
5	<i>wōn tōk dé</i>	‘he pushed it’	<i>ōr-túr</i> ‘pot’
6	<i>wōn tōk tó</i>	‘he pushed them’	<i>ōt-p^lákót</i> ‘flowers’
6m	<i>wōn tōk mó</i>	‘he pushed it’	<i>ōm-bó</i> ‘water’
7u	<i>wōn tōk já</i>	‘he pushed it’	<i>ū-kēz</i> ‘antelope’
7∅	<i>wōn tōk já</i>	‘he pushed him’	<i>∅-tjāmpá</i> ‘man’
AUG	<i>wōn tōk é</i>	‘he pushed them’	<i>ā-túr</i> ‘many huge pots’
DIM	<i>wōn tōk á</i>	‘he pushed it’	<i>ī-túr</i> ‘tiny pot’

5.8 What?

When a person asks the question ‘what?’ the object can be specified for class, if the class of the object is known. The root *jān* ‘what?’ is followed by the appropriate high tone object pronoun suffixed to the root. If the class of the object is not known, C3u or C6 agreement pronouns are used. Therefore, the most commonly used forms are C3u *jān-ó* ‘what (singular non-human) thing?’ or C6 *jān-tó* ‘what (plural non-human) things?’.

Since this construction is only applicable to non-humans, it therefore does not occur with Classes 1u, 1∅ or 7∅, which contain only humans. The question word *wàná* ‘who?’ would instead be used for humans. All class forms are listed below in (129).

(129)

Class	Example	Gloss	Noun referent
2	<i>jān-é</i>	‘what things?’	<i>∅-nín</i> ‘teeth’
3u	<i>jān-ó</i>	‘what thing?’	<i>ū-rān</i> ‘leaf’
3∅	<i>jān-ó</i>	‘what thing?’	<i>∅-s^wás</i> ‘entrance hut’
4	<i>jān-sé</i>	‘what things?’	<i>ōs-té</i> ‘trees’
5	<i>jān-dé</i>	‘what thing?’	<i>ōr-túr</i> ‘pot’
6	<i>jān-tó</i>	‘what things?’	<i>ōt-túr</i> ‘pots’
6m	<i>jān-mó</i>	‘what thing?’	<i>ōm-g^lóp</i> ‘evening’
7u	<i>jān-já</i>	‘what thing?’	<i>ū-té</i> ‘tree’
AUG	<i>jān-é</i>	‘what thing?’	<i>ī-túr</i> ‘tiny pot’
DIM	<i>jān-á</i>	‘what things?’	<i>ā-túr</i> ‘many huge pots’

5.9 Adjectives

There are only eight known adjectives in ʉt-Ma'in, as shown in (130). Adjectives always occur with an agreement element suffixed to the adjective stem.

(130)

<i>sò</i>	‘good’	<i>pús</i>	‘white’
<i>jò</i>	‘bad’	<i>rīm</i>	‘black’
<i>ját</i>	‘big’	<i>dʒás</i>	‘red’
<i>rèk</i>	‘small’	<i>pò</i>	‘new’

Adjectives have no class marking of their own, but rather they occur with a suffix that marks agreement with the class of the noun they modify. Adjectives differ from nouns by this suffixed agreement element. In contrast to adjectives, descriptive nouns occur with their own inherent class marking. To describe something as ‘old’ the descriptive C6 noun *ɔ̄t-ūt* is used in an associative construction in (131a). In (131b), the adjective *pò* ‘new’ follows the noun and occurs with the C6m agreement element *-mò* suffixed to the adjective root.

(131)

a.			b.	
N ₁	C ₁ -Assoc	C ₂ -N ₂	N ₁ -C ₁	A-C ₁
<i>bó</i>	<i>m-ò</i>	<i>t-ūt</i>	<i>bó-m</i>	<i>pò-mò</i>
water	C6m-Assoc	C6-old	water-C6m	new-C6m
‘old water’			‘new water’	

When a noun is modified by an adjective, the head noun occurs first with its class element (-C₁) suffixed to the noun stem (N₁), and the suffix shares the same tone as the final syllable of the noun stem. The adjective stem (A) then follows with the low tone class agreement suffix (-C₁).

(132)

N ₁	A	
N ₁ -C ₁	A-C ₁	
<i>fâr-əs</i>	<i>ját-sè</i>	<i>hē:g</i>
tree-C4	big-C4	fall.PST
‘big trees fell’		

In (133) examples for each noun class are shown; the head noun occurs first with its class element suffixed, the adjective *dʒás* ‘red’ follows with the agreement element suffixed to the stem.

(133)

Class	Example	Gloss
1u	<i>mákt-ú dʒás-wà</i>	‘a red barren woman’
1∅	<i>hō:b-∅ dʒás-wà</i>	‘a red friend’
2	<i>tôrəm-∅ dʒás-è</i>	‘red warthogs’
3u	<i>rān-ū dʒás-ə</i>	‘a red leaf’
3∅	<i>s^wás-∅ dʒás-ə</i>	‘a red entrance hut’
4	<i>té-əs dʒás-sè</i>	‘red trees’
5	<i>túr-ór dʒás-dè</i>	‘a red pot’
6	<i>p^lákót-ót dʒás-tò</i>	‘red flowers’
6m	<i>bō-əm dʒás-mò</i>	‘red water’
7u	<i>kēz-ū dʒás-jà</i>	‘a red antelope’
7∅	<i>tʃāmpá-∅ dʒás-jà</i>	‘a red man’
AUG	<i>túr-á dʒás-à</i>	‘many huge red pots’
DIM	<i>túr-í dʒás-ì</i>	‘a tiny red pot’

5.10 Relative constructions

Relative pronouns have a base of *ə* with the noun class element prefixed. For Classes DIM and AUG, the Relative pronoun is a low tone on class element, i.e., *í* ‘CDIM-REL’ and *á* ‘CAUG-REL’. The head noun (N₁) occurs first with its noun class prefix (C₁-), and then the relative pronoun (REL) marked by a prefix (C₁-) for the class of the head noun follows as the head of the relative clause.

(134)

		N ₁	REL	
		C ₁ -N ₁	C ₁ -REL	
<i>ōm</i>	<i>h'áj</i>	<i>ōs-fār</i>	<i>s-ə</i>	<i>hē:g</i>
1.s	see.PST	C4-tree	C4-REL	fall.PST
'I saw the tree that fell'				

In (135) each a relative clause for each noun class is shown. The noun with its relative clause occurs in the object position of the sentence *ōm h'áj* _____ 'I saw _____'. In the object position, the nouns occur with their class prefix and the relative clause follows. Note that nouns that have a null \emptyset -prefix occur with *ə* as the relative pronoun form.

(135)

Class	REL	Example	Gloss
1u	wə	<i>ōm h'áj ū-mákt wə hē:g</i>	'I saw the barren woman who fell'
1 \emptyset	wə	<i>ōm h'áj \emptyset-fārək wə hē:g</i>	'I saw the chief who fell'
2	ə	<i>ōm h'áj \emptyset-r^wāg ə hē:g</i>	'I saw the elephants that fell'
3u	ə	<i>ōm h'áj ū-jə ə hē:g</i>	'I saw the rain that fell'
3 \emptyset	ə	<i>ōm h'áj s^wás ə hē:g</i>	'I saw the entrance hut that fell'
4	sə	<i>ōm h'áj ōs-r'áp sə hē:g</i>	'I saw the whips that fell'
5	də	<i>ōm h'áj ōr-sár də hē:g</i>	'I saw the water pot that fell'
6	tə	<i>ōm h'áj ōt-tərəm tə hē:g</i>	'I saw the hail that fell'
6m	mə	<i>ōm h'áj ōm-óg mə hē:g</i>	'I saw the juice that fell'
7u	jə	<i>ōm h'áj ū-fē jə hē:g</i>	'I saw the branch that fell'
7 \emptyset	jə	<i>ōm h'áj tǃāmpá jə hē:g</i>	'I saw the man who fell'
AUG	à	<i>ōm h'áj ā-tā?ār à hē:g</i>	'I saw the huge rocks that fell'
DIM	ì	<i>ōm h'áj ī-tā?ār ì hē:g</i>	'I saw the tiny stone that fell'

The form of the relative pronoun is identical to the associative marker for each class, but in this relative construction, the associative marker is linking the head noun to a clause.

5.11 Which?

In the interrogative construction meaning 'which one?', the noun stem (N₁) occurs first followed by the class specific form (C₁-) prefixed to relative pronoun (REL). The interrogative stem *hè* 'where?' follows. This class specific form is also identical to the relative pronoun (see section 5.10) and the associative marker (see section 5.3).

(136)

N ₁	WHICH
N ₁	C ₁ -REL-WHICH
<i>fār</i>	<i>s-ə-hè</i>
tree	C4- REL -where
	‘which tree?’

The interrogative can occur with or without the noun referent as seen in (137) below. For simplicity, the class forms are written below as the fully inflected class specific relative pronoun. E.g., the Class 4 form *s-ə* ‘C4-Assoc’ is written as *s-ə* prefixed to the interrogative stem *hè* ‘where’.

(137)

Class	Example	Gloss	Example	Gloss
1u	<i>mákt wə-hè</i>	‘which barren woman?’	<i>wə-hè</i>	‘which one?’
1∅	<i>fārək wə-hè</i>	‘which chief?’	<i>wə-hè</i>	‘which one?’
2	<i>dʒán ə-hè</i>	‘which fish?’	<i>ə-hè</i>	‘which ones?’
3u	<i>rān ə-hè</i>	‘which leaf?’	<i>ə-hè</i>	‘which one?’
3∅	<i>sʷás ə-hè</i>	‘which entrance hut?’	<i>ə-hè</i>	‘which one?’
4	<i>bò? sə-hè</i>	‘which dreams?’	<i>sə-hè</i>	‘which ones?’
5	<i>kók də-hè</i>	‘which calabash?’	<i>də-hè</i>	‘which one?’
6	<i>rān tə-hè</i>	‘which leaves?’	<i>tə-hè</i>	‘which ones?’
6m	<i>nò:g mə-hè</i>	‘which oil?’	<i>mə-hè</i>	‘which one?’
7u	<i>ná jə-hè</i>	‘which ox?’	<i>jə-hè</i>	‘which one?’
7∅	<i>tʃāmpá jə-hè</i>	‘which man?’	<i>jə-hè</i>	‘which one?’
AUG	<i>kók à-hè</i>	‘which huge calabashes?’	<i>à-hè</i>	‘which ones?’
DIM	<i>kók ì-hè</i>	‘which tiny calabash?’	<i>ì-hè</i>	‘which one?’

5.12 Possessive pronouns

The possessive pronouns occur with no noun class agreement marking. The head noun occurs first with its class element suffixed, and the tone of the suffix is identical to the tone of the final syllable of the noun stem. The possessive pronoun follows with no class agreement marking.

(138)

N ₁	NP _[POSS]		
N ₁ -C ₁	NP _[POSS]		
<i>fâr-əs</i>	<i>ró</i>	<i>hē:g</i>	
tree-C4	2.sg.POSS	fall.PST	
‘your trees fell’			

When both adjective and possessive pronoun occur in the same construction, the head noun with suffixed class marking occurs first followed by the adjective with suffixed class agreement marking and then the possessive pronoun with no class agreement marking, as seen in (139).

(139)

N ₁	A	NP _[POSS]	
N ₁ -C ₁	A-C ₁	NP _[POSS]	
<i>fâr-əs</i>	<i>jât-sè</i>	<i>ró</i>	<i>hē:g</i>
tree-C4	big-C4	2.sg.poss	fall.PST
‘your big trees fell’			

Because the adjective can occur between the head noun and the possessive pronoun, the class marking that is suffixed to the noun cannot be interpreted as prefixed to the possessive pronoun.

A paradigm of the possessive pronouns are shown in Table 16. The plural possessive pronouns are identical to the subject pronouns from section 5.4. The singular possessive pronouns are a set unrelated to the subject or object pronouns, and they are marked by the occurrence of the [r] consonant. Notice that the distinction between the second person singular and the third person singular is a tonal contrast.

Table 16: Possessive personal pronouns

Person	Singular	Plural	
		Inclusive	Exclusive
1	<i>rí</i>	<i>ín</i>	<i>īt</i>
2	<i>ró</i>	<i>n̄</i>	
3	<i>rò</i>	<i>ēn</i>	

Further investigation is needed to determine if there are class specific pronominal forms that occur in possessive constructions.

5.13 Summary and discussion

Table 17 summarizes the class agreement morphology that occurs with modified nouns in the subject position.

Table 17: Noun class morphology

Modifier	Morphology on Noun	Morphology on Modifier	Modifier	Head Noun	Modifier
Quantifier	prefix	prefix		C- N	C- Q
Indefinite Article	none	prefix	C-Indef.	N	
Associative Phrase	none	prefix		N	C- AssocP
Adjective	suffix	suffix		N -C	A -C
Possessive Pronoun	suffix	none		N -C	NP _[POSS]
Definite Article	suffix	suppletive		N -C	D
Demonstrative Mod.	suffix	prefix		N -C	C- Dem

The noun only occurs with its prefix when it is modified by a quantifier (Q). When a quantifier is used to modify a noun in the subject position, a subject pronoun must occur following it. Recall that when a subject pronoun occurs with a full noun the effect is one of specification or focus (see discussion in section 5.5). Both the noun and the quantifier occur with the noun class prefix and the class specific subject pronoun follows as a third noun phrase.

(140)

ōs-fār *ōs-tán* *sē* *hē:g*
C4-tree C4-five C4.D fall.PST
'five trees, they fell'

In the object position the pronoun is not obligatory, as shown in (141). The pronoun could occur to further specify the noun, but then the pronoun occurs following the noun with its suffixed class element as in (142). The numeral follows as a separate noun phrase.

(141)

wōn *vōk^hōstē* *ōt-nēt* *ōt-bēt*
3.sg greet.PST C6-people C6-all
'he greeted all of the people'

(142)

wōn *vōk^hōstē* *ōt-* *nēt-ēt* *tō* *ōt-bēt*
3.sg greet.PST C6- people-C6 C6.D C6-all
'he greeted all of those people'

A noun that occurs with any modifier other than a quantifier occurs either as a bare noun root or with a suffixed class element. With only a quantifier, the noun occurs with its prefix as it is in citation form, as shown in (141). If the noun occurs with other modifiers and a quantifier, the quantifier follows the definite article, the last element that can occur within a noun phrase. For this reason, I interpret the noun and quantifier to be a sequence of noun phrases rather than a single noun phrase. There is still a relationship between the noun and the quantifier that is marked by the agreement prefix on the numeral, but the structure seems to indicate these are separate phrases.

In a sentence with a simple one noun object, the noun object occurs with its class prefix. The class prefix has a mid tone as in the citation form. See the example below of the C3 noun *ū-kúr* 'room'.

(143)

wōn *mā:g* *ū-kúr*
3.s build.PST C3-room
'he built a room'

But when a single noun subject is used, its class prefix does not occur. The noun's class is marked by a suffix on the noun stem.

(144)

N_1

N_1-C_1 -Assoc

fâr-s-ð

hē:g

tree-C4-Assoc fall.PST

'trees fell'

This suffixed class element, *s-ð* 'C4-Assoc', is identical to the relative pronoun and the associative marker, and only occurs when there is only a single noun in subject position. If there is any expansion of the noun phrase, the suffix does not occur and the class of the noun is marked by other constituents of the noun phrase. Previously, this associative form may have been a prefixed class element marking agreement on the verb; currently, the associative form is suffixed to the noun stem which matches the phonological variations of the associative phrase discussed in section 5.3. No other construction occurs with this form immediately preceding the verb.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

6.1 Further research

The semantic properties of noun class pairings, the interaction of the verb system with the noun class system, the possible presence of a locative class and the varied morphology of noun class system morphology are all potential topics for further research.

6.1.1 Semantic categorization

The noun class pairings of singular classes and plural classes exhibit observable semantic properties. column one of Table 18 reviews all pairings that occur in the corpus, and column two displays the semantic properties that characterize the pairing. Pairings that contain humans are listed first, followed by pairings that contain animates, then pairings that contain inanimate objects. Finally, the diminutive and augmentative class pairings are listed.

For some pairings the majority of nouns are unified by a clear semantic characteristic, e.g., Pairing 5/6 contains round objects, including nouns that refer to round body parts. But other pairings contain body parts that are not as easily identified in regard to the characteristic that would group them together. Further investigation into the culture and semantic divisions given to noun classes and noun class pairings is needed to understand why certain nouns have been grouped together.

Table 18: Semantics of noun class pairings

Pairing	Semantic characteristics of content
1Ø/2	humans
1Ø/6	humans
1u/2	humans (possibly pejorative)
7Ø/2	humans
7u/2	animates / change over time
7u/4	long, mostly inanimate objects / plants
7u/6	change over time/‘baby sling’
5/2	‘puff adder’
5/4	‘thatch’/‘arrow’
5/6	mostly inanimate / spherical
3u/2	‘giant’
3u/4	inanimate objects
3u/6	inanimate objects
3Ø/4	inanimate objects
3Ø/6	inanimate objects
DIM/4	‘argument’
DIM/6m	diminutives
3u/AUG	augmentatives

6.1.2 The interaction of the verb system and the noun class system

Classes 2, 3u, 4, 5, 6, 6m and 7u occur as unpaired classes for nouns that do not make a singular/plural distinction. Verbal nouns occur in a subset of these unpaired classes, i.e. Classes 3u, 4, 5, 6, and 6m. Further research is needed to determine the full function of these verbal nouns in the language. Example (145) repeats the structure of a basic transitive clause from (18) in which the verb is followed by its noun object, and the noun object occurs with its noun class prefix. The verb aspect particles can also take a noun complement as shown in (146).

(145)

tʃāmpá-j-ə *mā:g* *ū-kúr*
man-C7-Assoc build.PST C3u-room
‘a man built a room’

(146)

wən *ɔ* *ū-dàridàng*
3sg PRES C7u-spider
‘he is a spider’

Consider the following paradigm of verbal constructions.³⁷ The first three occur with the main verbal idea in the nominal form following the verb aspect particle. The subject for each clause is the Class 4 pronoun *sē*.

(147)

a.	<i>sē</i>	<i>dé</i>	<i>ōr-hé?è</i>	‘they will fall’
	C4.they	FUT	C5-falling	
b.	<i>sē</i>	<i>ó</i>	<i>ōr-hé?è</i>	‘they are falling’
	C4.they	PRES	C5-falling	
c.	<i>sē</i>	<i>óg</i>	<i>ōr-hé?è</i>	‘they were falling’
	C4.they	IMPERF	C5-falling	
d.	<i>sē</i>	<i>hé</i>		‘they fall’
	C4.they	fall.HAB		
e.	<i>sē</i>	<i>hē-:g</i>		‘they fell’
	C4.they	fall.PST		

The verbal noun *ōr-hé?è* ‘falling’, that occurs in (147a-c), is identical to the form of the object of a simple transitive clause in (145) and the form of the noun complement of the verb particle *ó* in (146). The verbal noun occurs in the object position with the noun class prefix, while at the same time carrying the main semantic verbal idea. When the verb is in the habitual or unmarked aspect (147d), the main verbal morpheme occurs as the bare root. When the verb is in the past tense (147e), the main verbal morpheme occurs with the past tense marker *-:g* suffixed to the verb root.

If the verbal noun, when following a verb particle, is the main semantic verb of an intransitive clause, then that verbal noun occurs with the prefix of the noun class to which it belongs. For example, the C4 verbal noun that means ‘greeting’ occurs as *ōs-vók* when it occurs with one of the three verb particles, as seen in (148).

³⁷ I assume that this is an incomplete paradigm. More data is needed.

(148)

<i>wān</i>	<i>dé</i>	<i>ās-vók</i>	
3.sg	FUT	C4-greeting	‘he will greet’

If a verb particle plus a verbal noun is used in a transitive clause, the verbal noun occurs with its noun class prefix and the object of the main verbal idea occurs inside an associative construction marked for agreement with the class of the verbal noun, as seen in (149).³⁸ The associative construction in *ut*-Ma'in is reminiscent of, if not identical to, the associative construction described in section 5.3.

(149)

<i>wān</i>	<i>dé</i>	<i>ās-vók</i>	<i>s-ə</i>	<i>r-māŋg</i>	
3.sg	FUT	C4-greeting	C4-Assoc	C5-old.woman	‘he will greet the old woman’

Because the verbal nouns occur in only a subset of available noun classes, there may be restrictions within the verb system that are not apparent in the noun class system. Further research is needed in order to determine the extent to which the noun class system and the verbal system work in tandem and the extent to which the two systems overlap.

6.1.3 *Locative class*

There is a small set of words with locative meaning that occur with a high tone [é] that is prefixed to the stem. Further research is needed in order to understand how these locative words fit into the framework of the noun class system. Some of the stems can be related to other nouns. In Table 19, these locative words are listed with possibly related nouns in the second column.

³⁸ Crozier (1984:101) describing the Cishingini variety of Kambari states that the “associative construction is used extensively in nominalizations.”

Table 19: Locative words

Locative	Gloss	Source noun	Gloss
<i>ó:</i>	‘of’	??	
<i>ó-ḡ</i>	‘before’	<i>ū-ḡ</i>	‘face’
<i>ó-dím</i>	‘back’	??	
<i>ó-dóm</i>	‘above’	<i>ū-dóm</i>	‘up/east?’
<i>ó-tá?</i>	‘below’	<i>ū-tá?</i>	‘down/west’
<i>ó-kèn</i>	‘infront of’	??	
<i>ó-mé</i>	‘inside’	<i>ōr-mén</i>	‘stomach’
<i>ó-dò?</i>	‘outside’	<i>ōt-dò?</i>	‘burning’
<i>ó-tèk</i>	‘between/ in the middle of’	??	
<i>ó-ká</i>	‘like’	??	
<i>ó-hè</i>	‘where/place’	??	

6.1.4 Morphology of the noun class system

The citation form of the noun occurs with its noun class prefix, but when the noun occurs with modifiers the class element is suffixed to the noun stem. Recall the variety of noun class morphology, both prefixes and suffixes, shown in Table 20.

Table 20: Noun class morphology

Modifier	Morphology on Noun	Morphology on Modifier	Modifier	Head Noun	Modifier
N/A	prefix	N/A		C- N	
Quantifier	prefix	prefix		C- N	C- Q
Indefinite Article	none	prefix	C-Indef.	N	
Associative Phrase	none	prefix		N	C- AssocP
Adjective	suffix	suffix		N -C	A -C
Possessive Pronoun	suffix	none		N -C	NP _(POSS)
Definite Article	suffix	suppletive		N -C	D
Demonstrative Mod.	suffix	prefix		N -C	C- Dem

Hoffman (1967:252-253) discusses the possibility that the suffixed class elements that occur on nouns in C'Lela developed from agreement prefixes that historically occurred on the modifier following the noun. De Wolf (1971:180-182) follows Hoffman's proposal in his work on the noun class system of Proto-Benue-Congo in his attempt to explain the variety of prefixes and suffixes that occur as noun class marking within the Benue-Congo languages. Greenberg (1974:450-451) disagrees with both Hoffman (1967) and De Wolf (1971) though he does not fully state his reasons.

De Wolf (1971) proposes that the noun class system of Proto-Benue-Congo used prefixes to mark the class of a noun. This includes the idea that agreement elements on other clause constituents also occurred as prefixed class elements. The question is then, what process does a language undergo in order to make the shift from a prefixing to a suffixing language? A comparative study of the noun class morphology of ʉt-Ma'in, C'Lela and Duka might well provide insight into the current state of each language regarding prefixing or suffixing.

6.2 Summary

This present work provides a comprehensive overview of the noun class system of ʉt-Ma'in that is summarized in Table 21 below.

Table 21: Comprehensive overview of the noun class system of *ut-Ma'in*

Class Label	PBC Label	Person/Number	Indep	Indep	Indep	C-N, C-Q	N-C	C-Assoc, C-Dem	C-hè	jān-C	A-C	C- kōn
			Subject Pronoun, Definite Article	Object Pronoun	Relative Pronoun	Noun (Citation form) Quantifier	Noun w/ Modifier	Associative, Demonstrative Modifier	Which one?	What?	Adjective	Indefinite Article
		1sg	ḡm	mé								
		2sg	bḡ	bḡ								
		3sg	wḡn	wḡn								
1u	1	3sg	ū/wā	ú/wá	wḡ	ū-	-∅	u-/w-/∅-	wḡ-	N/A	-wà	wà-
1∅	1	3sg	wā	wá	wḡ	∅-	-∅	u-/w-/∅-	wḡ-	N/A	-wà	wà-
		1pl incl	ín	ín								
		1pl excl	ít	ít								
		2pl	nḡ	nḡ								
		3pl	ḡn	ḡn								
2	2&10	3pl	ē	é	è	∅-	-∅	∅-	è-	N/A	-è	è-
3u	3	3sg	ḡ	ó	ḡ	ū-	-u	u-/∅-	ḡ-	-ó	-ḡ	ḡ-
3∅	3	3sg	ḡ	ó	ḡ	∅-	-u	u-/∅-	ḡ-	-ó	-ḡ	ḡ-
4	13	3pl	sē	sé	sḡ	ḡs-	-ḡs	s-	sḡ-	-sé	-sḡ	sḡ-
5	5	3sg	dē	dé	dḡ	ḡr-	-ḡr	d-	dḡ-	-dé	-dḡ	dḡ-
6	13	3pl	tḡ	tó	tḡ	ḡt-	-ḡt	t-	tḡ-	-tó	-tḡ	tḡ-
6m	6a	3pl	mḡ	mó	mḡ	ḡm-	-ḡm	m-	mḡ-	-mó	-mḡ	mḡ-
7u	9	3sg	jā	já	jḡ	ū-	-u	j-/∅-	jḡ-	-já	-jà	jà-
7∅	9	3sg	jā	já	jḡ	∅-	-u	j-/∅-	jḡ-	-já	-jà	jà-
AUG		3pl	ā	á	à	ā-	-∅	a-	à-	-á	-à	à-
DIM	7~19	3sg	ē	é	ì	ī-	-i	i-	ì-	-é	-è	è-

The first three columns of Table 21 review the noun class labels, how the *ut-Ma'in* classes relate to Proto-Benue-Congo noun classes, and how the noun classes fit into the pronoun system. The second set of three columns reviews the subject, object and relative pronoun forms. The next two columns review the class marking that occurs on the nouns themselves, with both the prefix and the suffix for each noun class. Note that the noun class prefix is identical to the agreement prefix used with quantifiers. The final five columns review the agreement prefixes and suffixes that occur on other clause constituents.

Nouns are grouped together in each class on the basis of a certain set of semantic characteristics, as reviewed in Table 22, and these semantic characteristics are further specified when the singular and plural class combinations of a particular noun are taken into consideration.

Table 22: Review of the semantic characteristics of the noun class

Class Label	Subject Pronoun,	Noun (Citation form) Quantifier	Semantic Characteristics
	ōm		human
	bō		human
	wōn		human
1u	ū/wā	ū-	human
1∅	wā	∅-	human
	ín		human
	īt		human
	nō		human
	ōn		human
2	ē	∅-	animate
3u	ō	ū-	inanimate
3∅	ō	∅-	inanimate/augmentative sg
4	sē	ōs-	long, mostly inanimate
5	dē	ōr-	round, mostly inanimate
6	tō	ōt-	default plural, nominalizer
6m	mō	ōm-	mass, diminutive pl
7u	jā	ū-	animate
7∅	jā	∅-	human
AUG	ā	ā-	augmentative pl
DIM	ē	ī-	diminutive sg

While further work is still needed in a number of areas, this study has described the robust noun class system of ūt-Ma'in and provided a basic understanding of the function of noun classes in the language as a whole. This study of the noun classes of ūt-Ma'in should contribute to better understanding of this particular language, but may also provide insight into the noun class systems of closely related West Kainji languages

APPENDIX

SIL COMPARATIVE AFRICAN WORDLIST

This appendix contains the SIL comparative African wordlist (Snider & Roberts 2004) for the Ror variety of ʉt-Ma'in. Column one (labeled Ref.) references the number used in the original wordlist except where an alternate or additional word was given in the elicitation. If an alternate or additional word was given the number is left aligned and occurs with a letter (e.g. a or b) to distinguish it. Column two (labeled Gloss) shows the gloss from the original wordlist. Most words occur with noun class marking, shown in column three (labeled Class). Column four (labeled Main/Singular) contains the singular form of nouns and/or the main form of other categories of words. If a noun occurs in an unpaired class, that form is listed in column three. The final column (labeled Plural) contains the plural form of each noun as it was available. Italics are used on the entire row where a loanword is suspected. Note that many loanwords have been incorporated into the noun class system by the application of a noun class prefix. Plans exist to archive the digital files of this wordlist at the University of Jos, Nigeria.

	Gloss	Class	Main/Singular	Plural
1	body	3u/6	ūwár	ōtwár
2	skin (of man)	3u/6	ūkāʔ	ōtkāʔ
3	head	5/6	ōrhí	ōthí
4	forehead	5/6	ōrpōŋ	ōtpōŋ
5	face	3u/6	ūʃó	ōʃó
6	eye	5/6	ōrís	ōtís
7	eyebrow	5/6	kókə̀rís	kóktə̀rís
8	eyelid	3Ø/6	kāʔə̀rísə̀dóm	kāʔə̀rístə̀dóm
9	eyelash	3Ø/6	tʃápə̀rís	tʃáptə̀rís
10	pupil (of eye)	5/6	jádə̀:rísə̀rĩmdè	játə̀:rístə̀rĩmtò
11	nose	5/6	ōrs ^w à	ōʔs ^w à
12	bridge (of nose)	7Ø	kéŋjə̀rs ^w à	kéŋjə̀ʔs ^w à
13	ear	3u/6	ūtó	ōʔtó
14	cheek	5/6	ōrgə̀t	ōtgə̀t
15	mouth	3u/6	ūnú	ōn:ú
16	lip	5/6	ōrgə̀p	ōtgə̀p
17	tongue	5/6	ōl:ém	ōtrém
18	tooth	7u/2	ūnín	nín
19	molar tooth	7u/2	ūgə̀g	gə̀g
21	jaw	3u/4	ūgár	ōsgár
22	chin	5/6	ōl:ók	ōtrók
23	neck	5/6	ōrgəkəs	ōtgəkəs
24	nape of neck	7u/4	ūdòr	ōʔdòr
25	throat	7u/4	ūʃ ^w ár	ōstʃ ^w ár
26	voice box, larynx,	7u/4	ūgə̀g	ōsgə̀g
26b	Adam's apple (as seen from outside)	5/6	ōrgə̀nt	ōʔgə̀nt
27	hair (of head)	7u/4	ūhí	ōshí
28	beard (hair on cheeks)	4	ōskàt	
28b	beard (goatee)	4	ōsrə̀r	
29	hair (of body)	7u/4	ūʃàŋ	ōstʃàŋ
31	shoulder	3u/6	ūkáp	ōʔkáp
33	chest	3u/6	ūsók	ōʔsók
34	breast	5/6	ōrdé	ōʔdé
35	side (of body)	7u/4	ūgàs	ōsgàs
36	waist	3u/6	ūb ^l én	ót ^l b ^l én

	Gloss	Class	Main/Singular	Plural
37	navel	5/6	ōróp	ōtóp
40	stomach (internal)	5/6	ōrmên	ōtmên
41	womb	3u/6	ūzùm	ōʔzùm
42	back	3u/6	ūʃîn	ōʔʃîn
44	buttock	5/6	ōrnò	ōn:ò
45	anus	7Ø/4	hójòrnò	hósòrnò
46	penis	5/6	ōrzèr	ōʔzèr
47	testicle	5/6	ōl:ég	ōtrég
48	vagina	5/6	ōl:èt	ōtrèt
49	clitoris	7Ø/4	hójòl:èt	hósòl:èt
50	arm	3u/6	ūkóm	ōtkóm
51	armpit	3Ø/6	sóʔùkóp	sóʔòtkóp
52	upper arm	5/6	ōrɕ ^w āk	ōʔɕ ^w āk
53	elbow	7u/4	ūkòkôn	ōskòkôn
55	wrist	5/6	ōrk ^w áz	ōtk ^w áz
56	hand	3u/6	ūkòm	ōtkòm
57	fist	5/6	órk ^w ôr	ōtk ^w ôr
58	palm (of hand)	5/6	ōrdákôs	ōʔdákôs
59	finger	7u/2	ūɕó	ɕó
60	thumb	7Ø/2	ɕóʔùkíʃímì	
62	fingernail	7u/2	ūkārāŋkù	kārāŋkù
63	leg	3u/4	ūná	ōsná
64	hip	5/6	ōrkārʃó	ōtkārʃó
65	thigh	3u/6	ūkūt	ōtkūt
66	knee	5/6	ōrɕ ^w ôn	ōʔɕ ^w ôn
67	shin	7u/2	ūtêŋk	ōstêŋk
68	calf of leg	5/6	ōrtòk	ōʔtòk
69	ankle	5/6	ísdùná	ístùná
70	foot	5/6	bádùná	bátòsná
73	toe	7u/2	ūg ^w āb	g ^w āb
74	bone	7u/4	ūʃār	ōʔʃār
75	bone marrow	6m	ōm:èg	
76	skeleton	6	ōʔʃār	
77	skull	5/6	kókòdèrhí	kóktèrhí
79	spine, backbone	7Ø/4	ʃārùʃîn	ʃàrsùʃîn

	Gloss	Class	Main/Singular	Plural
80	rib	7Ø/4	ƿǻrjùgàs	ƿǻrsùgàs
81	brain	6	ǽtkútárǻŋk	
82	heart	3Ø/4	ǿǻb	ǽscǿǻb
82b	upper chest	5/6	ǽrgèn	ǽtg'èn
83	liver	5/6	ǽrǿǻb	ǽ'ǿǻb
84	kidney	7u/4	ǹmák	ǽsmák
85	lung	6	ǽthòk	
86	intestines	7Ø/2	ǻǻjùmèn	ǻǻgòmèn
87	bladder	5/6	ǽrdèndǽp	ǽ'dèndǽp
88	gall bladder	7u/4	ǹtèn	ǽstèn
89	muscle	7u/4	ǹrā	ǽsrā
91	vein	7Ø/4	fǽŋjǽmh'ǽ	fǽnsǽmh'ǽ
92	breath	5/6	ǽrvǽjǽ	ǽtvǽjǽ
93	saliva	6m	ǽmtá	
94	phlegm	6	ǽtká:k	
95	nasal mucus, snot	6	ǽth'ǻm	
96	earwax	6m	dámùtó	
97	tears (n)	6m	ǽm'ís	
98	blood	6m	ǽmh'ǽ	
99	bile, gall	6	ǽtgwà	
100	semen	6	ǽtbás	
101	urine	6m	ǽmbás	
102	excrement, faeces	6m	ǽmbàs	
103	blink	6	ǽtgǽpǽt	
104	wink (eye)	4	rémsǽís	
105	blow nose	6	ǽtv'ǽn	
106	breathe	4	ǽsvǽjǽ	
107	yawn	4	ǽshākǽt	
108	snore	4	ǽsk'ár	
109	pant	4	ǽsvǽjǽ dóm dóm	
110	blow (with mouth)	6	ǽtfǽr	
111	spit	6	ǽ'tǽpǽs	
112	cough (v)	4	ǽswár	
113	belch	5	ǽrgǽsé	
114	hiccough (n)	6	ǽthǽksè	

	Gloss	Class	Main/Singular	Plural
117	grunt (from effort)	4	ṣsíkṣ̀s	
119	urinate	6m	jàdṣ́mbás	
120	break wind, fart		fṣ̀rṣ̀fí	
121	defecate	6m	ṣ́mbàs	
122	shiver, tremble	6m	ṣ́mzàp	
123	perspire, sweat	4	ṣ́shùnd	
124	bleed	6m	wódṣ́mh'ṣ́	
125	coagulate, clot	6m	h'ṣ́:mṣ́mgágèṣ́n	
126	(be) dizzy	6m	ṣ́mkárkāt	
127	faint	6	ṣ́tb'ṣ́ṣ̀z	
128	sleep (v)	6m	ṣ́mró:g	
129	dream (n)	3Ø/4	bòʔ	ṣ́sbòʔ
130	wake up (intr)	5	ṣ́rzṣ́tè	
131	see	6m	ṣ́mh'án	
133	look at, watch	5	kádṣ́ṣ̀s	
134	hear	6m	ṣ́mhóg	
135	listen	6	ṣ́tèr	
136	smell (v)	6	ṣ́twṣ́ṣ̀è	
137	feel (passive)	6	ṣ́thṣ́g	
138	touch, feel (active)	6	ṣ́ʔtám	
139	taste	6	ṣ́trák	
140	eat	6	ṣ́trè	
141	bite (v)	6	ṣ́tjáb	
142	crunch	6	ṣ́twān	
143	chew	6	ṣ́ʔtṣ́:m	
144	gnaw	6	ṣ́thṣ́gèr	
145	swallow	6	ṣ́ʔtʃ'ṣ́àr	
146	choke	6	ṣ́ʔse:ŋk	
147	lick	6	ṣ́trṣ́kṣ́m	
149	drink	6	ṣ́ʔs'ṣ́à	
150	sit	5	ṣ́rʃṣ́:t	
151	rise up (intr)	5	ṣ́rjínè	
152	lie down	5	ṣ́l:ṣ́t	
152b	lie down	6	ṣ́trṣ́t	
153	turn round (intr)	6	ṣ́tb'ṣ́ṣ̀èṣ́n	

	Gloss	Class	Main/Singular	Plural
154	walk	6m	əmhā	
155	step (v)	5	wádùná	
156	stumble	5	ərpóksè	
157	limp	4	əstēgèr	
158	crawl	6	ətkùrùp	
158b	walk sideways (like a crab)	6m	əmgèŋk	
159	run	6m	əmsòm	
160	swim	3Ø	s ^w àb	
161	jump (v)	3Ø	tàrímàk	
162	kick	6	əʔdʒ ^w ə	
163	stamp (with foot)	6	əʔdʒáŋk	
165	wave (hand as a greeting) (v)	5	jádùkóm	
166	indicate, point (as with the finger)	6	ətògè	
167	clap (hands)	6	gápùdùkóm	
168	slap (v)	5	ərgáp	
168b	slap (n)	3u	ūgāp	
169	stand	5	ərē:s	
170	straddle	5	téʔdùná	
171	lean against (intr)	6	əʔtòst	
172	bend down, stoop	5	ərkākəs	
173	bow (as in greeting)	6	ətk ^w əg	
174	(be) seated	5	ʃótə̀n	
175	squat	5	ərsòkòt	
176	kneel	6	əthēdʒ ^w ón	
177	(be) lying down	6m	əmrót	
178	(be) hot (of person)	6m	əmdəŋk	
179	(be) hungry, hunger (v)	4	əsmēr	
180	(be) sated	3Ø	ʃóg	
181	(be) thirsty, thirst (v)	3u	ūs ^w át / s ^w átə̀mbó	
182	(be) drunk	5	kéʔ hó:g wə̀n	
183	(be) tired	6m	əmpò	
184	(be) sleepy	6m	hógdə̀mró:g	
185	rest	5	ərhúè	
186	(be) awake, alert	5	ūhōg	
187	wrinkle (on skin)	6	əʔs ^w ətə̀r	

	Gloss	Class	Main/Singular	Plural
188	pimple	3u/6	ūkò	òtkò
<i>190</i>	<i>(be) bald</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>sámkó / òrkòndà</i>	
191	(be) blind	6m	pó	
193	(be) thin	6m	òmgaʔ	
195	barren woman	1u/2	ūmákt	máktnè / mákòtnè
196	blind person	1Ø/2	pó	pónè
<i>197</i>	<i>deaf (mute) person</i>	<i>7u/6</i>	<i>ūkúrumá</i>	<i>òtkúrumá</i>
199	cripple (n)	7Ø/2	rʼám	rʼámnè
<i>200</i>	<i>dwarf</i>	<i>5/6</i>	<i>òrkìʔkáʔ</i>	<i>òtkìʔkáʔ</i>
201	giant	3u/ 2	ūbéb	bébnè
202	stupid person	1u/2	ūrāg	rāgnè
203	senile person	5	òrwóʔ	
204	mad person	1Ø/2	wá ^w dàk	
205	(be) healthy, (be) well	6m	òmjár	
206	(be) sick, (be) ill		kòbdòmjár	
207	hurt oneself	5	òrhónsè	
209	medicine	4	òsbà:t	
210	get well, recover	5	kúmdòmjár	
212	abscess	5/6	òrzup	òtzup
213	swelling	6m	ònfóʔ	
214	tumour	5/6	òrkòʔ	òtkòʔ
216	burn (n)	6	òʔdòʔ	
218	hernia (umbilical)	5	òl:ég	
219	ulcer (leg)	3u/6	ūbòbóʔ	òtbòbóʔ
220	wound, sore	3u/6	ūnát	òn:át
221	pus	3u/6	ūʔám	òtám
222	scar	3u/6	ūrán	òtrán
223	intestinal worm	6	z ^w átòmèn	
223b	guinea worm, thread worm	7u/4	ūtóngèn	òstóngèn
223c	worm	5/6	òrz ^w á	òʔz ^w á
224	illness, disease	4	òsgòm	
227	leprosy	6m	òmkīm	
229	fever (not malaria)	6m	dòngòmūwár	
230	pain (n)	6m	òmre	
230b	sharpness	6m	òmre	

	Gloss	Class	Main/Singular	Plural
231	give pain, hurt	6	əthónsè	
233	vomit (v)	6	ətg ^w àʔ	
234	stomachache, upset stomach	6m	rèmətmèn	
234b	sharpness of stomach	6m	rémətmèn	
235	headache	6m	rèmərhí	
235b	sharpness of head	6m	rémərhí	
236	diarrhea	6m	əmbə̀sə̀r	
237	scabies (the itch)	6	ətk ^w èʔ	
237a	excema	7u	ūdʒán	
237b	fungal infection	6m	əmkútʃákùtʃɪ	
238	life	5/6	ərfát	ətfát
240	menstrual period	6m	əmnə́tá	
241	(be) pregnant	6	ətmèn	
241b	(be) pregnant	3∅	úb	
242	miscarriage	6m	nàmətmèn	
242b	abortion	5	àzgətmèn	
243	labour (n), birth pains	6m	rèmətmèntərmát	
243b	sharpness of stomach of giving birth	6m	rémətmèntərmát	
244	bear (child), give birth	5	ərmát	
246	(be) young	5	ərfá	
247	grow up	3∅	nén	
248	(be) old (not young)	5	ərwóʔ	
249	die	6	ətmàr	
250	death	6m	ə̀m:à̀r	
251	(be) dead	6m	máróg	
251a	the dead	7∅/2	mā́rímárí	mā́rímárí̀nè
252	think	4	ə̀sdò̀rò̀g	
253	believe	5	jà̀dè̀dʒá̀b	
254	hope (v)	5	wá̀dè̀rís	
255	know (something or someone)	6	ə̀n:à̀p	
256	knowledge	6m	ə̀mná̀p	
257	wisdom	4	ə̀svēr	
259	(be) intelligent	1∅/2	wárhí	árhí
260	(be) stupid	5	kò̀bdè̀rhí	
262	learn	3u	ùis	

	Gloss	Class	Main/Singular	Plural
263	teach	6	ətkósè	
265	remember	6	ətbàks	
266	forget	6	kágmètó	
267	(be) happy, (be) joyful	5	ərsə	
268	rejoice	5	nómðərsə	
269	laugh	5	nómðən:əmós	
270	smile	6	ən:ómós tʃáʃɪ	
271	(be) sad	6m	nāməðdzáb	
272	cry, weep	4	əskán	
274	shame (n)	6m	əmɛʔ	
275	pity (n)	5	əróɲ	
276	fear (n)	3u	ūg ^l ər	
277	frighten	5	jádùg ^l ər	
278	startle, surprise	6m	mə̀rìm:ə̀	
279	(be) angry	DIM(i)	ídžáb	
280	calm (oneself)	5	džábə̀rkót	
281	(be) proud	6m	həkə̀mərí	
282	respect (v)	5	jádə̀mzég	
283	honour (v)	6m	əmsék	
284	love (v)	6	əʔtʃ ^w àn	
285	hate (v)	6	ətgə̀gə̀m	
287	want, desire (v)	3u	ūsa	
289	choose (tr), pick (tr)	6	əʔdə̀st	
290	hesitate	6	ətk ^w ə̀z	
291	abstain	5	ərhátè	
292	allow, permit	6	ətjáʔ	
293	forbid	6	əthò:z	
295	plan (n)	4	əʔzə̀ŋg	
296	try	6	ətrèg	
296b	try (n)	6m	əmrég	
298	fail	5	ərhéʔé	
302	(be) selfish	6	tʃ ^w ántə̀rhí	
303	(be) honest		wál:ən:íp	
305	(be) wicked	6m	əmjə̀ʔ	
307	(be) jealous	5	ərfə̀b	

	Gloss	Class	Main/Singular	Plural
308	(be) shy	6m	ǝmɛʔ	
309	(be) courageous, (be) brave	5	wádə̀dʒáb	
310	coward	1Ø/2	wá ũgʷèr	áʷgʷèr
314	(be) patient	5	résdə̀dʒáb	
315	(be) impatient	5	kə̀bdə̀résdə̀dʒáb	
316	(be) restless, (be) unsettled	5	kə̀bdə̀rhúè	
317	(be) stubborn	5	kə̀bdə̀ hógdət̀	
319	hardship, distress	5	ǝrkə̀b	
321	suffer	5	sʷádə̀rkə̀b	
322	obstruct	5	ǝrkʷóp	
326	human being, person	1 Ø 2	nét	nétnè
327	self	5	híl:i	
328	man (male)	7Ø/2	tʃāmpá	tʃāmpánè
329	woman	7Ø/2	nētá	nētánè
330	white man	1Ø/2	wátó:tdʒázt̀	átó:tdʒázt̀
332	baby	5/6	ǝrjāʔ	ǝtjāʔ
333	twin	2	jà:gój̀èr	
334	child	3Ø/2	wáʔ	já:g
335	boy	5/6	jādə̀rtʃāmpá	jātə̀tʃāmpá
336	girl	5/6	jādə̀rnētá	jātə̀n:ētá
338	young man	1Ø/2	zʷàr	jāʔzʷàr
339	virgin	1Ø/2	gʷóp	jātɡʷóp
341	relative (by blood)	6	ǝthə̀nə̀	
341a	blood relations	5/6	ǝrmāŋg	ǝtmāŋg
342	ancestor	7u/2	ūʔándàkà	ándàkà
343a	parent	5/6	wármát	ármát
344	father	3u/6	ūʔə̀sə̀	ǝtə̀sə̀
345	mother	3u/6	ūʔínə̀	ǝtínə̀
346a	sibling (elder)	7Ø/6	jə̀ wó jà	tə̀ wó t̀
346b	sibling (younger)	5/6	də̀ fá dè	tə̀ fá t̀
352	cousin	1Ø/2	wàə̀gnòʔínə̀	
353	firstborn	5	máʔdùʃə̀	
<i>357</i>	<i>grandchild</i>	<i>1u/6</i>	<i>ūʃíkà</i>	<i>ǝʔíkà</i>
359	name	5/6	ǝrdím	ǝʔdím
360	namesake	1Ø/2	wàrdímri	àrdímri

	Gloss	Class	Main/Singular	Plural
361a	in-law, relative by marriage	3u/6	ūkómrò	ōtkómrò
361b	inlaw 2	1Ø/6	má:n	ōtmá:n
362	husband	1Ø/6	tʃãmpãrgə	tʃãmpátərgə
363	wife	1Ø/6	nētárgə	nētátərgə
364	fellow-wife, co-wife	3u/6	ũjēbrō	ōʔjēbrō
371	widow	1Ø/6	bómós	ōtbómós
373	orphan	3Ø/2	kòbèwáʔ	kòbèjá:g
374	fiancé (betrothed boyfriend)	1Ø	z ^w árí	
375	fiancée (betrothed girlfriend)	1Ø	g ^w əpóri	
377	tribe, ethnic group	5/6	əl:ém	ōtrém
378	clan	5/6	ōrkɔʔ	ōtkɔʔ
379	family	3u/6	ūbū	ōtbū
380	friend	1Ø/6	hə:b	ōthə:b
381	neighbour	1Ø/2	wá ^w bòr	ásbòr
384	guest, visitor	1Ø/6	hāmōt	ōthāmōt
387	traitor	7Ø/6	nétájò:	nétətjòtò
388	thief	1Ø/2	h ^l ów	h ^l ównè
389	guide (n)	1Ø/2	wáʔdòrt	áʔdòrt
390	messenger	1Ø/2	wátóm	átóm
391	crowd	5/6	ōrbàn	ōtbàn
392	chief, headman	1Ø/6	fàrək	ōtfàrək
393	elder	7u/6	ũnēŋgēn	ōn:ēŋgēn
394	master	1Ø/2	wǎ ^w bū	ǎ ^w bū
395	slave	3Ø/2	tók	tóknè
396	farmer	1Ø/2	wártóm	ártóm
397	fisherman	1Ø/2	wámàsédzàn	ámàsédzàn
398	hunter	1Ø/2	wábák	ábák
399	blacksmith	1Ø/2	wǎ ^w z ^w ā	ǎ ^w z ^w ā
400	potter	1Ø/2	wámáʔətúr	ámáʔətúr
401	weaver	1Ø/2	wǎ ^w tē	ǎ ^w tē
402	butcher (n)	1Ø/2	wǎ ^w pān	ǎ ^w pān:è
403	trader	1Ø/2	wá ^w sàʔ	á ^w sàʔ
405	beggar	1Ø/2	wáskón	áskón
406	soldier	1Ø/2	wámgāg	ámgāg
407	prostitute	7u/2	ūkār	kā:rnè

	Gloss	Class	Main/Singular	Plural
410	fetish priest	1Ø/2	wátò:g	átò:g
412	witch (female)	7u/2	übōn	bōn:è
413	fortune-teller, diviner	1Ø/2	wámh'án	ámh'án
414	meet, encounter	5	ōrgó:mè	
415	accompany	5	ōrʃóʔè	
418	invite	5	ōrbōn	
420	abandon	6	ōtrist	
422	drive away	6	ōtjàn	
424	(be) same	4	gānsé	
<i>425</i>	<i>(be) different</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>tʃʔbāmbām</i>	
426	resemble	6m	ōmʃá	
427	imitate	5	ōrʃōgəsè	
428	admire	5	tʃʷádədzáb	
429	benefit, suit	6	ōtkəmè	
430	language	5/6	ōl:ém	ōtrém
431	word	5/6	ōrgóm	ōtgóm
432	meaning (n)	5	hídəsrém	
433	say		ōzə	
434	voice (mouth)	3u	ūnú	
436	whisper (v)	4	rémsùtó	
437	shout (v), cry out	6	ōʔdzār	
438	chat (v)	5	ōrwâ:s	
439	mumble	4	təməsrém	
440	stutter	6	ōtbəbəg	
441	(be) eloquent	6	wāl:əsrémhónhón	
442	(be) silent	5	hōdəsràm	
443	greet (v.)	4	ōsvók	
444	call (someone)	4	ōsfág	
<i>445</i>	<i>say goodbye, take leave of</i>		<i>séwá:stē</i>	
446	announce	5	ōrdōnsè	
447	announcement	5	ōrdōns	
<i>448</i>	<i>news</i>	<i>3u/4</i>	<i>ūlábáři</i>	<i>ōslábáři</i>
449	explain	6	ōtwàr	
450	advise	6	ōth'òm	
451	gossip (v)	6m	ōmʃàt	

	Gloss	Class	Main/Singular	Plural
452	lie (n) (falsehood)	4	ōsbī	
453	ask, request	5	ōrʃət	
454	plead, implore	6	ōtkòṅ	
456	answer, reply (v)	4	ōʔʃās	
457	thank	6	ōtvām	
458	promise (n)	5	éstēdòsrém	
460	swear	4	ōstòṅd	
461	insult (v)	6	ōtpʲáp	
462	insult (n)	4	ōspʲáp	
463	slander (v)	5	nómdòsbí	
464	threaten	5	jádùgʲèr	
466	argument	DIM/4	īnàn	ōsnàn
467	grumble, complain	6m	ōmkʷéʔ	
470	deny	6m	ōmséʔ	
472	agree	6	ōtē:s	
476	bless, praise (someone)	3Ø	núsóʔò	
477	congratulate	5	ségēdòrsó	
479	tell, recount (story)	6	ōtwàr	
480	story (tale)	6m	ǰámòsrém	
481	proverb	6m	rémśòsvér	
482	speech, discourse	4	ōsrēm	
484	embrace, hug (v)	6	ōthāmòt	
485	caress (v)	6	ōtpàʔàt	
486	kiss (v)	6	ōtsʷò:t	
487	copulate, have sexual intercourse	6m	ōmhóm	
488	nurse, suckle (baby) (tr)	6	ōtwòròg	
489	tickle (v)	6	ōtkʷéʔé:l:ég	
490	spank (child)	6	ōtgáp	
491	whip (n)	7u/4	ūrʲáp	ōsrʲáp
492	help	5	ōrségē	
494	look after	6	ōtgʷàt	
495	bring up (a child)	4	ōʔsókśē	
495b	bringing up of a child (n)	5	ōrsókśē	
496	rule over, dominate	6	ōʔdòròt	
500	send (someone to do something)	4	ōstóm	

	Gloss	Class	Main/Singular	Plural
503	follow	6	əʔdər	
505	please, satisfy	5	hógdərz ^w ər	
506	annoy, disturb		nāmədʒáb	
507	deceive	6	ətpəʔət	
508	quarrel	3u	ūhàr	
509	fight	6m	əmdúm	
510	stab	4	əʔz ^w à	
511	kill, murder	6	əthò	
512	take revenge	6	ətmò:t	
513	resolve, settle (dispute)	3u	ūmàŋg	
514	intercede, mediate	6	ətmòt	
515	compromise	6	əthàb	
517	steal	3u	ūh ^l ūw	
518	rape	5/6	əl: ^l əpəg	ətr ^l əpəg
519	judge (v)	4	kúpdəsrém	
520	law	7u/4	ūbór	əsbór
522	(be) guilty	1Ø/2	wázán:íp	ázán:íp
523	(be) innocent	1Ø/2	wán:íp	án:íp
524	punish	5	jádər̀kòb	
525	penalty, punishment	5	s ^w ádər̀kòb	
526	dwell, inhabit	5	ərjə	
527	inhabitant, resident	1Ø/2	wárjə	árjə
528	bush dweller	1Ø/2	wárdəg	árdəg
529	move away, migrate	5	ərjúnē	
530	country, ethnic area	3u	ūdāk	
531	frontier (of ethnic area)	5	ər̀kəŋgì	
532	town, city	3u/6	ūbó	ətbó
533	village	3u/6	ūtà:s	əʔtà:s
535	market (n)	3u/6	ūtál:ə	əʔtál:ə
536	article of clothing, clothes	6	ətkús	
537	wear clothes	6	ətwàʔ	
539	undress	6	əthòst	
540	(be) naked	5	ərsòʔ	
541	hat	5	nòmdərhí	
542	<i>shirt</i>	7u/4	<i>ūtóʔgò</i>	<i>əstóʔgó</i>

	Gloss	Class	Main/Singular	Plural
<i>543</i>	<i>trousers</i>	<i>7u/4</i>	<i>ūwàndò</i>	<i>āswàndò</i>
544	loincloth	3u/6	ūbár	ātbár
545	robe (man's gown)	7∅/4	tó?gò ē tǎmpá	
546	cloth worn by a woman	7∅/4	tó?gò ē nētá	
547	baby sling	7u/6	ūhāp	āthāp
548	shoe, sandal	3u/6	ūká?át	ātká?át
549	bead	3u/4	ū?úz	ās?úz
550	string, thread (beads) (v)	4	ā?tǎw̄r	
551	bracelet	7u/4	ūk ^w á	āsk ^w á
552	necklace	7u/4	ūrègès	āsrègès
553	ankle ring, bangle	7∅/4	k ^w ájùná	k ^w ásùná
554	ring (finger)	7u/4	ūk ^w à:t	āsk ^w à:t
555	earring	5/6	nòmdùtò	nòmtùtò
556	pierce (ears)	6	ātk ^j èr	
558	plait, braid (hair)	3u/4	ūgā?	āsgā
559	(facial) incision(s), tattoo(s)	3u/4	ūpân	āspân
560	cane, walking stick	7∅/4	kòmǎjùmhā	kòmsumhā
561	bathe, wash oneself	6	ūnóngùzòr	
561b	bath (n)	3u	ūzòr	
562	apply (ointment), besmear	6	āttām	
563	wipe off (excreta)	6	ātkòk	
564	cut (hair)	6	ātkūp	
565	shave (v)	3u	ūr	
<i>566</i>	<i>razor</i>	<i>7u/4</i>	<i>ūrèzà</i>	<i>āsrèzà</i>
567	comb (n)	5	ārsà?	
<i>568</i>	<i>tooth stick, toothbrush</i>	<i>7u/4</i>	<i>ūmágógí</i>	<i>āsmágógí</i>
569	food	3∅	nòmètrè	
570	meat	6m	āmàp	
571	fat	6m	āmsém	
572	oil	6m	āmnò:g	
573	soup, broth	4	ā?tǎw̄ā	
574	pap, mushy food	5/6	ārgá?	ātgá?
<i>575</i>	<i>bread</i>	<i>5/6</i>	<i>ārbórédì</i>	<i>ātbórédì</i>
576	crust (n)	3u/6	ūkū?	ātkū?
577	flour	6m	ām ^h ì	

	Gloss	Class	Main/Singular	Plural
578	salt	6	ǫtmā	
579	breakfast	5	gɛʔǫrwən	
580	evening meal	3Ø/6	rɛʔǫmrím	rɛtǫmrím
581	feast	5/6	mǫrǫgdùrè	mǫrǫgtùrè
582	leftovers	5/6	gádàk ^w ókós	
583	spoil (food) (intr)	6	ǫʔzǫm	
584	mould (n)	6m	ǫmpú	
585	milk (n)	6m	ǫm:é	
586	curdled milk	6m	mémùzǫr	
588	beer (traditional)	2	kɛʔ	
588b	bear made at harvest time	6	ǫtkógórò	
591	prepare (food to cook)	4	ǫʔzǫng	
592	cut (tr)	6	ǫtk ⁱ ɛg ⁱ èr	
593	cut open (fruit)	6	ǫtǫkèr	
594	slice	6	ǫtp ⁱ ǫ:r	
596	mix (v)	6	ǫʔsāmē	
597	stir	6	ǫtrǫmǫs	
598	strain (food) (v)	6	ǫtpǫst	
599	pound	6	ǫʔdǫ ^w àʔ	
600	grind	5	ǫrná	
601	knead	6	ǫtrǫk	
602	pluck (feathers)	4	ǫʔs ^w ǫmǫr	
603	cook (v)	6	ǫtǫr ⁱ ǫs	
604	roast	6	ǫʔz ^w à	
605	fry	6	ǫtkâ:r	
607	(be) smoked	6	ǫtgâ:s	
608	boil (water), bubble up	6	ǫtkǫwàg	
609	ferment (alcohol) (v)	6	ǫtfǫ:n	
610	cooking pot (earthenware)	5/6	ǫrtúr	ǫʔtúr
610b	pot of clay	5/6	túl:ǫl: ^w áb	túrtǫl: ^w áb
611	metal pot	5/6	túl:ǫrk ^w ám	túrtǫrk ^w ám
612	pot (for water)	5/6	ǫrǫár	ǫʔǫár
<i>613</i>	<i>ladle</i>	<i>7Ø</i>	<i>gǫmbájǫtǫ^wá</i>	
615	grinding stone	5	tâ:rdǫrná	tâ:rtǫrná
616	upper grinding stone	5/6	ǫrné:t	ǫn:ét

	Gloss	Class	Main/Singular	Plural
618	pestle, pounding stick	7u/4	ūsōnd	ēsōnd
619	mortar, pounding pot	5/6	ōrdú	ēsídú
620	<i>plate</i>	<i>5/6</i>	<i>ōrfērentì</i>	<i>ētferéntì</i>
621	<i>bowl</i>	<i>5/6</i>	<i>ōrk^wánò</i>	<i>ōtk^wánò</i>
622	cup	3Ø/6	kókàmbó	kóktàmbó
623	<i>spoon (traditional)</i>	<i>7u/4</i>	<i>ūgòmbá</i>	<i>ēsgòmbá</i>
624	bag	5/6	ōrbā	ētba
625	<i>box</i>	<i>3u/6</i>	<i>ū?àk^wàtí</i>	<i>ētàk^wàtí</i>
626	basket	5/6	ōrkô:r	ētô:r
627	<i>bucket, pail</i>	<i>5/6</i>	<i>ōrbōkítì</i>	<i>ētbokítì</i>
628	calabash	3u/6	ūkók	ētók
629	<i>bottle</i>	<i>7u/4</i>	<i>ūk^wálbá</i>	<i>ēs^wálbá</i>
631	handle	7Ø/4	nòmjàfjəp	nòmjàfjəp
632	pour	6	ēsídà?às	
633	spill (liquid) (tr)	6	ētàzəg	
634	take out (from container)	6	ētɔgàs	
635	fill	6	ēs?jə?əs	
636	(be) full		jə:g	
637	(be) empty	6m	ēmzān	
638	(be) open	5	ōrhók	
639	open (tr)	6	ētūpūs	
640	close, shut (tr)	6	ētwbəg	
641	stop up	6	ēs?z ^w āpè	
642	cover (v)	6	ētɔgəb	
643	uncover	6	ēs?təkəs	
644	store (up)	5	ōrtjən	
645	bundle (n)	5/6	ōrgóg	ētóg
646	heap (n)	5/6	ōrk ^w əs	ōtk ^w əs
648	wrap up	6	ētərbəsè	
649	unwrap	6	ētùst	
650	pack (v)	6	ōtkārāgōstè	
651	strap (n)	7u/4	ūbár	ēsbar
653	rope	7u/4	ūho	ēshō
654	knot	7u/4	ūgór	ēsgór
656	tie (knot)	6	ētɔgəg	

	Gloss	Class	Main/Singular	Plural
658	tighten (tr)	6	əth'ə̄m	
660	loosen	6	ətwə̄z	
661	(be) loose, slack	6	əʔsə̄ròg	
662	compound, house	3u/6	ūbū	ə̄tbū
663	<i>hut</i>	<i>5/6</i>	<i>ə̄rbúkà</i>	<i>ə̄tbúkà</i>
664	wall	5/6	ə̄rsàr	ə̄tsàr
667	<i>window</i>	<i>5/6</i>	<i>ə̄rtàgà</i>	<i>ə̄ʔtə̄gà</i>
668	roof	5/6	ə̄rb'ām	ə̄tb'ām
668b	roof (v)		b'ām	
669	beam, rafter	5/6	ə̄rgó	ə̄tgó
670	floor	3Ø/6	dākùkúr	dāktùkúr
671	room	3u/6	ūkúr	ə̄tkúr
672	bedroom	3Ø/6	kúrə̄mrò:g	kúrtə̄mrò:g
673	kitchen	3u/6	ūsàm	ə̄ʔsàm
674	entrance hut	3Ø/6	p'ə̄	ə̄tp'ə̄
675	courtyard	3Ø	gónùbū	
676	<i>fence (n)</i>	<i>3u/4</i>	<i>ūʃiŋgì</i>	<i>ə̄ʔʃiŋgì</i>
678	granary	5/6	ə̄rb'á	ə̄tb'á
679	well (n)	5/6	ə̄rdù	ə̄ʔdù
680	bathing place	5/6	bédùzər	bétùzər
681	latrine, toilet	5/6	bédə̄mbàs	bétə̄mbàs
682	garbage dump	5/6	ə̄rbús	ə̄tbús
683	<i>garden</i>	<i>3u/6</i>	<i>ūlēmbú</i>	<i>ə̄tlēmbú</i>
684	<i>shelter (n)</i>	<i>5/6</i>	<i>ə̄lìmpà</i>	<i>ə̄trìmpà</i>
685	build	6	ə̄ʔdògòb	
685b	build	3u	ūmā	
687	mud block	5/6	ə̄rkúŋkú	ə̄tkúŋkú
688	thatch (n)	5/4	ūg ^w á	ə̄sg ^w á
	plaster (v)	6	ə̄tə̄pè	
691	paint (n)	6	ə̄ʔtə̄:m	
692	ladder	7u/4	ūkán	ə̄tkán
694	stool	5/6	ə̄rtʃə̄mès	ə̄ʔtʃə̄mès
	stool	5/6	ə̄rpóra	ə̄tpóra
695	wickerwork	3u/6	ūkāgə̄m	ə̄tkāgə̄m
696	bed	5/6	ə̄rbág	ə̄tbág

	Gloss	Class	Main/Singular	Plural
697	mat	3u/6	ūk ^w ākā	ōtk ^w ākā
698	<i>lamp, torch</i>	<i>7u/4</i>	<i>ūhítí:lā</i>	<i>ōshítí:lā</i>
699	fan (n)	7u/4	ūp ^l āk	ōsp ^l āk
700	bell	5/6	ōrpam	ōtpam
702	act, do	6	ōn:òm	
703	work (n)	3u/4	ūpāmā	ōspāmā
	work (for a salary)	6m	ōmāṅk	
704	mend, repair	3u	ūmaṅg	
706	hammer	7Ø/4	tʃāmjətkōm	tʃāmsətkōm
707	anvil	7u/4	ūtʃām	ōstʃām
712	wood	7u/4	ūté	ōsté
713	cut down (tree)	6	ōtk ^w ōp	
714	log	5/6	ōrkòṅ	ōtkòṅ
715	hollow out (log)	7u/4	ūʃàb	ōsʃàb
716	axe	5/6	ōrgó:g	ōtgó:g
718	<i>saw (n)</i>	<i>3u/6</i>	<i>ūzòrtò</i>	<i>ōʔzòrtò</i>
719	saw (wood) (v)	6	ōtk ^w ōpōr	
720	plank (n)	3u/6	ūbèkòr	ōtbèkòr
721	knot (in wood)	5/6	ōrkòʔ	ōtkòʔ
722	splinter, sliver (n)	4	ōʔdʒ ^w à	
723	chisel (n)	6	ōʔdòkōr	
725	sew	3u/4	ūdʒōr	ōs ^x dʒōr
726	needle	7u/4	ūbér	ōs ^x bér
727	thread (n)	6m	ōmràndí	
728	hem (n)	6	k ^w akdùkūs	
729	<i>pocket</i>	<i>7u/4</i>	<i>ūʔārdʒihū</i>	<i>ōsārdʒihū</i>
730	(be) torn	6	ōtkè:s	
731	weave	3u	ūtèʔ	
732	cloth	3u/6	ūkūs	ōtkūs
734	broom	7u/4	ūb ^l ās	ōsb ^l ās
735	sweep	6	ōtōpōs	
736	polish	6	ōthàr	
737	wash (clothes, utensils)	6m	ōmdʒā:s	
738	draw water	6	nákdòmbō	
739	fetch (firewood)	3Ø	sāʔāʔté	

	Gloss	Class	Main/Singular	Plural
740	dig	6	ōtkâw	
741	rubbish	5/6	ōrbús	ōtbús
742	cultivate, farm (v)	6	ōtg ^w á	
743	field	3u/6	ūtāk	ó?tāk
744	boundary (of field)	7u/4	ūbór	ōsbór
745	fertile soil	5/6	bér: sòdè	bét sòtò
746	(be) barren (of land)	5/6	dākəmāré	dāktəmāré
747	clear (land for planting)	6	ō?zōg	
748	sow, plant	3Ø	ków	
749	transplant	6	ō?sērē	
750	weed (v)	6	ō?zōg	
751	hoe (v)	5	ōrtóm	
752	hoe (n)	5/6	ōrk ^w ō:nd	ōtk ^w ō:nd
753	big hoe	5/6	k ^w ō:ndərjá?dè	k ^w ō:ndərjá?tò
754	<i>sickle</i>	<i>7u/4</i>	<i>ūlōdʒì</i>	<i>ōslōdʒì</i>
755	<i>machete, cutlass</i>	<i>5/6</i>	<i>ū?à?dā</i>	<i>ōs?à?dā</i>
756	harvest season	3Ø	dā?àkét	
757	harvest (maize) (v)	3Ø	két	
758	harvest, dig up (yams)	6	kâ ^w dətr ^w ā	
759	pick, pluck (fruit)	5	ōtkâ:	
760	harvest, collect (honey from hive)	5	tápdò só	
761	threshing-floor	5/6	bédərvú	bétərvú
762	thresh, beat (grain)	5	ōrvú	
763	winnow (n)	6	ōmdér	
764	winnow, throw in air (grain) (v)	6	ō?dʒàr	
765b	shell of groundnut	5/6	k ^w ókdòg ^w ə̀n	k ^w óktòg ^w ə̀n
766	husk (corn) (v)		kón	
768	herd (cattle, sheep) (n)	5/6	ōrbàn	ōtbàn
769	<i>herd, tend (cattle, sheep) (v)</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>g^wá?dət̄bisá</i>	
770	<i>cattle pen</i>	<i>3u/4</i>	<i>ūjĩngì</i>	<i>ō?jĩngì</i>
771	tether (sheep, goats) (v)	6	ōtgàg	
772	<i>feed (animals)</i>	<i>3u</i>	<i>ūkíwò</i>	
773	milk (cows, goats) (v)	6m	ōm:é	
774	castrate	5	vúdùg ^w ār	
775	hunt (v)	3Ø	bák	

	Gloss	Class	Main/Singular	Plural
776	stalk (v)	6	əʔdɔ̃bɔ̃rɔ̃sɛ̀	
777	chase (v)	6	ətbɔ̃z	
778	track (animal) (n)	5/6	ərkàs	əʔkàs
779	footprint (human)	3∅/6	bádùná	bátəsná
780	bow (hunting)	7u/4	ūtá	əstá
781	arrow	5/4	ərēr	əsēr
782	poison (on arrow)	6m	əmráb	
783	head of arrow	5/6	núdərēr	nútəsēr
784	quiver (n)	7u/4	ūpór	əspór
785	lance (spear) (n)	7u/4	ūsáp	əʔsáp
786	knife	7u/4	ūván	əsván
788	club, cudgel	5/6	ərɔ̃dʒər	əʔdʒər
790	birdlime (adhesive to catch birds)	5/6	réndəmdáp	réntəmdáp
791	trap (n)	5/6	əl:én	ətrén
792	set (trap)	5	nómdəl:én	nómdətrén
794	evade	6	ətkəsəm	
796	wound (animal)	6	əthənsɛ̀	
797	slaughter, kill (animal)	6	ətpàñ	
798	skin (animal) (v)	6	ətmòn	
798b	skin (of animal)	5/6	ərmón	ətmón
799	fish (v)	3∅	mäsəɔ̃dʒán	
800	fish dam	5/6	bàdəɔ̃dʒán	bàtəɔ̃dʒán
801	fish trap	3∅/6	s ^w ás	əʔs ^w ás
802	fishing net	3u/6	ūdēñ	əʔdēñ
<i>804</i>	<i>fishhook</i>	<i>7u/4</i>	<i>ūk^wəmpí</i>	<i>əsk^wəmpí</i>
806	have, possess	6	ətk ^w əm	
807	need (v)	3u	ūsàʔ	
808	get, obtain	6	əʔkúm	
809	give	6	əʔn ^í á	
810	return (tr), give back	6	ətmətən	
811	belongings	6	nòmətɾī	
812	owner	1∅	wə ɔ̃ʔtɛ̀	
813	rich man	1∅/2	wátk ^w əm	átk ^w əm
814	poor man	1∅/2	kəbənɛ̀t	kəbənɛ̀ʔnɛ̀
817	money	2	ʃík	

	Gloss	Class	Main/Singular	Plural
819	barter, exchange (of goods)	3∅	ʃás	
820	buy	6	ə̀tə̀	
821	sell	6	ə̀tbàb	
822	(be) scarce	6m	ə̀mkə̀ʃɪ̀n	
823	(be) expensive	3∅	tátə̀ʃíkũ̀nə̀m	
824	(be) inexpensive	5	kə̀bdə̀ʃíkũ̀nə̀m	
826	haggle, negotiate a price	4	ə̀sr'áb	
827	payment	6	ə̀ʔtə̀p	
829	gift	3u	ũ̀n'áʔ	
831	beg (for money)	4	ə̀skə̀n	
832	borrow	6m	ə̀mʃág	
833	lend	6	ə̀tmàg	
834	debt	5	ə̀rmág	
835	offer (v)	6	ə̀tj'àʔ	
836	accept, receive	6	ə̀tkàb	
837	refuse	6	ə̀tgə̀gə̀m	
838	tax (n)	3∅	tār	
<i>840</i>	<i>inheritance</i>	<i>3u</i>	<i>ũ̀gá:dò</i>	
842	journey, trip (n)	6m	ə̀mhā	
843	travel, go on a trip (v)	5	ə̀rdé'è	
844	traveler	1∅/2	wámhā	ámhā̀nè
845	wander	6	ə̀trɪ:g	
846	(be) lost	5	ə̀tèŋk	
847	path, road	7u/4	ũ̀fə̀n	ə̀sfə̀n
848	fork (in path)	5	mó'ðù̀fə̀n	
849	crossroads, intersection	6	ə̀thót	
850	cross (river)	5	ə̀tpàs	
851	canoe	7u/4	ũ̀hát	ə̀shát
854	bale out (canoe, boat)	6	ə̀tàn	
855	capsize	6	ə̀thə̀gə̀b	
856	bring	6	ə̀thà:tə̀n	
857	take (away), carry away	6	ə̀thàst	
858	send (something to someone)	6	ə̀ʔtə̀m	
859	carry (in arms)	6	dʒàksə̀n:ətə̀tkóm	
860	carry (child) on back	6m	sákə̀dèwà'ũ̀ʃɪ̀n	

	Gloss	Class	Main/Singular	Plural
861	carry on head	5	ər̩tɔːs	
862	headpad	5/6	ərát	ərát
863	load, burden (n)	6	ər̩tʃʷə	
864	load (v)	4	ər̩zɔŋg	
865	unload	5/6	ər̩tʃəst	
866	war	6m	əm̩gàg	
867	peace	5	ʃər̩dəm̩jār	
868	army	7Ø/2	wám̩gàg	ám̩gàg
869	spy (n)	1Ø/2	wáwəksənːēt	áwəksənːēt
871	sword	7u/4	ūsáp	ər̩sáp
872	gun	3Ø/AUG	téurā	téàurā
872b	firewood	7Ø/4	téjùrā	tétùrā
874	conquer, defeat	6	ər̩trèn	
875	(be) defeated	6	ər̩trè	
876	prisoner, captive	1Ø/2	tók	tóknè
877	plunder (a town)	6	kōsónòm̩tübó	
878	music	6	ər̩tɔní	
879	song	3u/6	ūsēp	ər̩sēp
880	sing	6	ər̩tfə	
882	whistle (v)	4	əskêr	
883	dance (n)	4	əshéw	
884	dance (v)	6	əthèw	
	<i>885 big(gest) drum</i>	<i>5/6</i>	<i>gòŋgūː jātò</i>	
	<i>886 small(est) drum</i>	<i>5/6</i>	<i>gòŋgūr rēkdè</i>	
	<i>887 talking drum</i>	<i>5/6</i>	<i>gòŋgūdàsrém</i>	
	long drum	7u/4	ūkír	əskír
	other drum	5/6	kilːəsta	kilːtəsta
	<i>other drum</i>	<i>3u</i>	<i>ukələŋgu</i>	
	<i>other drum</i>	<i>5/6</i>	<i>ər̩kàŋga</i>	<i>ət̩kàŋga</i>
	<i>other drum</i>	<i>5/6</i>	<i>ər̩zəʔka</i>	<i>ət̩zəʔka</i>
	<i>890 harp</i>	<i>7u/4</i>	<i>ūm̩ɔlɔ</i>	<i>əsm̩ɔlɔ</i>
892	horn (musical instrument)	7u/4	ūkàr	əskàr
895	play instrument	6	ər̩tʃəs	
896	blow (horn)	6	ər̩tʃər	
897	draw (picture)	6	ənːàk	

	Gloss	Class	Main/Singular	Plural
898	decorate	6	ōtmāng	
899	carve	6	ōʔʃāb	
900	play (child) (intr)	3∅	nómdəhōr	
901	game	3∅	hōr	
902	<i>tobacco pipe</i>	<i>5/6</i>	<i>kúdətābà</i>	<i>kútətābà</i>
904	<i>tobacco</i>	<i>7u/4</i>	<i>ūtābà</i>	<i>ōstābà</i>
906	God (supreme being)	3u	ūrō	
907	god (lesser), fetish (spirit)	3u/6	ūrōʔōmgīr	ōtrōʔōmgīr
908	demon, evil spirit	7∅/2	nòmjəsté	nòməsté
909	ghost (visible apparition)	7u/2	ūʔándākà	ándākà
910	soul, spirit (of living person)	5/6	ōrfát	ōtfát
911	spirit (of dead person) (invisible)	7u/2	ūʔándākà	ándākà
912	pray	3u/4	ūtō:g	ōstō:g
913	blessing	3∅/6	nú:sòʔò	nú:tsòʔò
914	divine, prophesy (v)	6m	ōmhʲān	
918	witchcraft	6m	ōmbōn	
922	poison (n)	6m	ōmráb	
924	amulet, charm, fetish	7u/4	ūkōmā	ōskōmā
925	protect by charm	5	é:dùwár	
927	(be) taboo	3∅/6	nòməmé	nòmtəmé
928	exorcise	6	rūtónòmjəsté	rūtónòməsté
929	sacrifice	3∅	tō:g	
931	dwelling place of the dead (spiritual)	5	bédərfódəmárimárinè	
		5	bédərfódəʔándākànè	
932	tradition, custom	5	ōrmāʔin	
933	feast (n)	5/6	ōrmòròg	ōtmòròg
934	naming ceremony (baby)	5/6	tēdòrdím	tēdòtdím
935	circumcision (male)	5/6	ōrpès	ōtpès
939	marry	5	nómdərgō	
940	marriage (state of wedlock)	5/6	ōrgō	ōtgō
941	(be) engaged, (be) betrothed	3u	ūkámè	
942	brideprice (for bride's family)	2	ʃíkəgòròm	
943	wedding (ceremony)	5/6	mòrògdərgō	mòrògdətgō
944	bride	1∅	gōpōrgō	
945	groom	1∅	tʃāmpáōrgō	

	Gloss	Class	Main/Singular	Plural
946	polygamy	3Ø	əʔʃəbrō	
947	adultery	6m	əmsʔ	
	adultery	3Ø	uʔas	
948	divorce (v)	5	jándənētá	
950	mourning	6	ətbómós	
952	condole, comfort (v)	3Ø/4	vókɱ:àr	
953	corpse	5/6	əruʔ	ətuʔ
954	bury	3u	ūdók	
955	grave	3u/6	ūsāg	əʔsāg
956	cemetery	5/6	bédùdók	bétùdók
<i>957</i>	<i>animal</i>	<i>7u/6</i>	<i>ūbīsáʔ</i>	<i>ətbīsáʔ</i>
958	ox (general term), bovine	7u/2	ūná	ná
959	bull	7Ø/2	gōbjùná	gōbóná
960	cow (female)	7Ø/2	sòjùná	sòóná
963	calf	7Ø/2	jádùná	játùná
964	herd (of cattle)	5/6	bàndəná	bàntəná
965	goat	7u/2	ūg ^w ā:r	g ^w ā:r
966	he-goat, billy goat	7Ø/2	gōbjùg ^w ā:r	gōbóg ^w ā:r
967	she-goat, nanny goat	7Ø/2	sòjùg ^w ā:r	sò:g ^w ā:r
968	kid	5/6	jádùg ^w ā:r	játùg ^w ā:r
969	sheep	7u/2	ūtʃáʔ	tʃáʔ
970	ram	7Ø/2	kāgjutʃáʔ	kāgótʃáʔ
971	ewe	7Ø/2	sòjutʃáʔ	sò:tʃáʔ
972	lamb	5/6	jádùtʃáʔ	játùtʃáʔ
973	flock (of sheep, goats)	5/6	bàndùbīsáʔ	bàntùbīsáʔ
974	chicken	7u/2	ūkó:t	kó:t
975	rooster (cock)	7Ø/2	kāgjúkó:t	kāgókó:t
977	chick	5/6	jádúkó:t	játúkó:t
<i>978</i>	<i>turkey</i>	<i>7u/6</i>	<i>ūtòlòtòlò</i>	<i>əʔtòlòtòlò</i>
979	guinea fowl	7u/2	ūkó:t	kó:t
980	duck	5/6	əràg ^w āg ^w á	ətāg ^w āg ^w á
<i>981</i>	<i>camel</i>	<i>7u/2</i>	<i>ūrākūm</i>	<i>rākūm</i>
982	horse	7u/2	ūdž ^w á:k	dž ^w á:k
983	stallion	7Ø/2	tʃāmpájùdž ^w á:k	tʃāmpátùdž ^w á:k
984	mare (female horse)	7Ø/2	nētájùdž ^w á:k	nētátùdž ^w á:k

	Gloss	Class	Main/Singular	Plural
985	colt	5/6	jádùdz ^w ák	játùdz ^w ák
986	<i>donkey</i>	<i>7u/2</i>	<i>ūdžāṅkā</i>	<i>džāṅkā</i>
987	<i>pig</i>	<i>5/6</i>	<i>ṣrālédè</i>	<i>ṣtālédè</i>
988	boar (male pig)	5/6	tʃāmpádərālédè	tʃāmpátətālédè
989	sow (female pig)	5/6	nētádərālédè	nētátətālédè
990	piglet	5/6	jádərālédè	játətālédè
991	dog	7u/2	ūs?	ś?
992	pup	5/6	jádùś?	játə?ś?
993	cat	7u/2	ūmús	mús
994	kitten	5/6	jádumús	jádtəmús
995	elephant	7u/2	ūr ^w ág	r ^w ág
1000	warthog	7u/2	ūtərəm	tərəm
1001	monkey	7u/2	ūwám	wám
1003	hyena	7u/2	ūgòmər	gòmər
1005	antelope	7u/2	ūkēz	ūkēz
1010	rat	7u/2	ūrōg	rōg
1011	cane rat, cutting grass, grass cutter	7u/2	ūr ^l ōm	r ^l ōm
1016	hare	7u/2	ūsór	sór
1017	squirrel	7u/2	ūdərèg	dərèg
1018	porcupine	5/6	əl:ì:s	ṣtrì:s
1019	bat	7u/2	übòm	bòm
1020	<i>fruit bat</i>	<i>7u/2</i>	<i>ūk^wānā</i>	<i>k^wānā</i>
1021	wild cat	7∅/2	músjərdəg	músərdəg
1025	lion	7u/2	ūzūr	zūr
1026	hide (of animal)	3u/6	ūhər	ṣthər
1027	fur	3u/6	ūtʃān	ṣʔtʃān
1028	horn	7u/4	ūkàr	ṣskàr
1029	<i>hump (of cow)</i>	<i>5/6</i>	<i>ṣrtəzə</i>	<i>ṣttəzə</i>
1031	tail	7u/4	ūtór	ṣtór
1034	elephant's trunk	5/6	s ^w ādūr ^w ág	s ^w ātūr ^w ág
1036	den, lair, hole	3u/4	ūsó?	ṣʔsó?
1037	bark (as dog) (v)	6	ṣʔjān	
1038	bare, show (teeth)	5/	jákdənín	
1039	growl	6	ṣthūm	
1040	ruminates, chew cud	3u	übək	

	Gloss	Class	Main/Singular	Plural
1041	bird	7u/2	ūnō	nō
1042	crow	7u/2	ūjāg	jāg
1043	dove	5/6	ōrgòròp	ōtgòròp
1044	weaver-bird	7u/2	ūsât	sât
1047	cattle egret	7u/2	ūkòskòròtò	kòskòròtò
<i>1053</i>	<i>ostrich</i>	<i>7Ø/2</i>	<i>ujimina</i>	<i>jimina</i>
1055	eagle	7u/2	ūg ^w ám	g ^w ám
<i>1056</i>	<i>hawk</i>	<i>7u/2</i>	<i>ūpāṅgà</i>	<i>pāṅgà</i>
1057	vulture	7u/2	ūsāgrà	sāgrà
1058	feather	7u/6	ūtʃān	ōʔtʃān
1059	wing	3u/6	ūkáp	ōtkáp
1060	beak, bill	3u/6	ūgòp	ōtgòp
1061	crest (of bird)	5/6	ōrkót	ōtkót
1065	claw	7u/2	ūkārāṅkù	kārāṅkù
1066	egg	5/6	ōrgē	ōtgē
1067	eggshell	3Ø/6	k ^w ókòrgē	k ^w óktòtgē
1068	yolk (of egg)	5/6	ōrmèr	ōtmèr
1069	nest	5/6	ōrtòkòs	ōʔtòkòs
1070	flock (of birds)	5/6	bàndənō	bàntənō
1071	fly (v)	5	ōrjōnè	
1072	dive	6	ōtfōn	
1073	soar	3u	ūzər	
1074	land (v), alight	5	ōrtʃòzən	
1076	flap the wings	5	gápdòtkáp	
1079	peck (tr)	6	ōʔdògèr	
1080	lay (eggs)	6	ōtèʔ	
1081	incubate, set (on eggs)	6	ōthògòb	
1082	hatch	5/6	ōrkés	
1083	fish	7u/2	ūdžán	džán
1085	mudfish	7Ø/2	džánjètr ^w àbèr	džánètr ^w àbèr
1087	fish bone	7Ø/4	ʃārjùdžán	ʃārsùdžán
1088	fish-scale	3Ø/6	hòrùdžán	hòrtùdžán
1089	gill	5/6	s ^w ādùdžán	s ^w ātùdžán
1090	fin	3Ø/6	kápòdžán	káptòdžán
1091	crab	7u/2	ūàw	àw

	Gloss	Class	Main/Singular	Plural
<i>1094</i>	<i>snail</i>	<i>5/6</i>	<i>ū?ālkōtó</i>	<i>ōtālkōtó</i>
1095	snake	7u/2	ūfá?	fá?
1096	spitting cobra	7Ø/2	fá?úrímjà	fá?rímè
1097	puff adder	5/2	ūdèp	dèp
1098	python	7u/2	ūè?	è?
1099	green mamba	7Ø/2	fájəmkʷók	fá?əmkʷók
1100	lizard	7u/2	ūgə?	gə?
1101	agama lizard (red-headed)	7Ø/2	tʃikūgə?	
1102	chameleon	7u/2	ūfándárnàkí	fándárnàkí
1103	gecko	5/6	ūkótíndākā	kótíndākā
1104	monitor lizard	7u/2	ū?ún	?ún
1105	crocodile	7u/2	ūtú?	tú?
1106	frog	5/6	ərkō?	ətkō?
1107	toad	7u/2	ūtò	tò
1108	tortoise (land)	5/6	ərkā:r	ətkā:r
1109	turtle (water)	5/6	ərfák	ərfák
1110	fang (of snake)	7Ø/2	nínjùfá?	nínùfá?
1111	venom (of snake)	6m	rábmùfá?	
1112	shell (of turtle)	3u/6	ūkū?	ətkū?
1113	slither (snake)	3Ø	fəktùfá?	
1114	bite (snake)	6m	épmùfá?	
1115	crawl (lizard)	6	ətkùrùp	
1116	hiss	4	əstʃʷe?et	
1117	insect	7Ø/2	nómjùhóg	nómóhóg
	insect	7u/2	ū-zʷánd	zʷánd
<i>1119</i>	<i>louse</i>	<i>7u/2</i>	<i>ūkórktò</i>	
1120	bedbug	7u/2	ūsòŋlò	
1121	maggot (in rotten meat)	5/6	ərzʷá	ə?zʷá
1122	cockroach	7u/2	ūtʃàkəs	tʃàkəs
1123	ant	7u/2	ū?íŋgəgər	íŋgəgər
1124	army ant, soldier ant	7u/2	ūkap	kap
1126	termite	7u/2	ūhé?	hé?
1127	spider	7u/2	ū + E2165	dàridàŋg
1128	tarantula	5/6	ərandzi	ətandzi
1129	scorpion	7u/2	ūtót	tót

	Gloss	Class	Main/Singular	Plural
1130	dung beetle	5/6	ǝrbimbì	ǝtbimbì
1132	grasshopper	7u/2	ūíʔ	íʔ
1133	cricket	7u/2	ūr ^h àkàs	r ^h àkàs
1134	locust	7u/2	ūtàmskèrī	tàmskèrī
<i>1136</i>	<i>leech</i>	<i>5/6</i>	<i>ǝmádàmbōrò</i>	<i>ǝtmádàmbōrò</i>
1137	caterpillar	7u/2	ūsōk	sōk
1138	centipede	7u/2	ūrǝrǝmtǝn	rǝrǝmtǝn
1139	millipede	7u/4	ūrǝmbìn	ǝsrǝmbìn
1140	earthworm	7u/2	ūwàp	wàp
1141	fly (n)	7u/2	ūgíʔ	gíʔ
1142	mosquito	7u/2	ūrǝnt	rǝnt
1143	bee	7u/2	ūsǝʔ	sǝʔ
1144	mud wasp	7u/2	ūrátázùn	rátázùn
1145	dragonfly	7u/2	ūkàṅgárgó:g	kàṅgárgó:g
1146	butterfly	7u/2	ūp ^h áktín ^h p ^h àr	p ^h áktín ^h p ^h àr
1149	sting (v)	6	ǝʔtǝt	
1150	stinger	7u/4	ūtóróg	ǝstóróg
1151	spider's web	6m/6	ràndímùdàrìdàng	ràndítùdàrìdàng
1153	termite hill	5/6	ǝrsǝr	ǝʔsǝr
1154	beehive	5/6	ǝrgùs	ǝtgùs
1155	beeswax, bee-bread	5/6	ǝrkàkàs	ǝtkàkàs
1157	swarm (n)	5/6	ǝrbàn	ǝtbàn
1158	tree	7u/4	ūté	ǝsté
1162	baobab tree	7u/4	ūk ^w ók	ǝsk ^w ók
1164	shea-butter tree, shea-nut tree	7u/4	ūfàr	ǝsfàr
<i>1165</i>	<i>fig tree</i>	<i>7Ø/4</i>	<i>téjùlūmbā</i>	<i>tésùlūmbā</i>
1166	thorn-tree	7u/4	ūkót	ǝskót
	thorn tree (sp.)	7u/4	ūbâ:r	ǝsbâ:r
1167	tamarind tree	7u/4	ūrǝkós	ǝsrǝkó
1168	oil palm	7u/4	ūséʔ	ǝʔséʔ
1169	coconut palm	7u/4	ūk ^w àk	ǝsk ^w àk
1170	raffia palm	7u/4	ūkèrǝm	ǝskèrǝm
1173	grass	7u/4	ūg ^w á	ǝsg ^w á
	bundle of tied grass	5/6	ǝrg ^w á	ǝtg ^w á
	tiny grass	DIM/6m	īg ^w á	ǝmg ^w á

	Gloss	Class	Main/Singular	Plural
1174	bamboo	7u/4	ūg ^w áb	ōsg ^w áb
1176	weeds	7u/4	ūzōg	ōʔzōg
1177	leaf	3u/6	ūrān	ōtrān
	cooked leaves	4	ōsrān	
1178	branch (of tree)	7u/4	ūfèʔ	ōsfèʔ
1179	trunk (of tree)	5/6	ōrkūg	ōtkūg
1180	bark (of tree)	7u/4	ūʃāb	ōʔʃāb
1181	sap	6m	ōmdáp	
1182	stump	5/6	ōrkīŋg	ōtkīŋg
1183	root	7u/4	ūgōr	ōsgōr
1185	stem, stalk (of maize, millet, etc.)	7u/4	ūkàmb	ōskàmb
1186	silk, hair (of maize)	4	ōskóʔ	
1188	flower	5/6	ōrp ^j ákót	ōtp ^j ákót
1190	shoot (new plant)	5/6	ōrtʃ ^w ə:n	ōʔtʃ ^w ə:n
1190b	shoot (new plant) (v)	6	ōʔtʃ ^w ə:n	
1193	thorn	7u/4	ūhír	ōshír
1194	palm branch, frond	3Ø/6	kápùsé	káptùsé
1197	juice	6m	ōmóg	
1198	stone, pit	5/6	ōrkòŋ	ōtkòŋ
1200	corn cob	5/6	ōrpìs	ōtpìs
1201	kernel (of corn, maize)	7Ø/2	jàjòrh ^h ə	jàgòh ^h ə
1202	seed	7u/2	ūgó	gó
	seed (yam for planting)	5/6	ōrgó	ōtgó
	seed (sweet potato, cassava)	4	ōsgó	
1203	skin (of fruit)	3u/6	ūkāʔ	ōtkāʔ
1204	shell (of groundnut)	3u/6	ūk ^w ók	ōtk ^w ók
1205	corn husk (n)	3u/6	ūkòk	ōtkòk
1206	chaff	3u/6	ūkón	ōtkón
1207	fruit	5/6	jàdùté	jàtùsté
<i>1208</i>	<i>banana</i>	<i>5/6</i>	<i>ōràjàbà</i>	<i>ōtjàbà</i>
<i>1210</i>	<i>lemon</i>	<i>5/6</i>	<i>lémùdùzór</i>	<i>lémùtùzór</i>
<i>1211</i>	<i>orange</i>	<i>5/6</i>	<i>lémùdòmremōr</i>	<i>lémùtòmremōr</i>
<i>1213</i>	<i>pawpaw, papaya</i>	<i>5/6</i>	<i>ōrg^wándà</i>	<i>ōtg^wándà</i>
<i>1214</i>	<i>pineapple</i>	<i>5/6</i>	<i>ōrabarba</i>	<i>ōtabarba</i>
<i>1215</i>	<i>guava</i>	<i>5/6</i>	<i>ōrg^wébà</i>	<i>ōtg^wébà</i>

	Gloss	Class	Main/Singular	Plural
1218	<i>date</i>	5/6	<i>ūdàbínò</i>	<i>ōtdàbínò</i>
1219	<i>tomato</i>	5/6	<i>ōrtùmátùr</i>	<i>ōʔtùmátùr</i>
1220	<i>onion</i>	5/6	<i>ōràlbàsà</i>	<i>ōtàlbàsà</i>
1223	red pepper, hot pepper	7u/2	ūzàngáli	zàngáli
1224	okra	5/6	ōrk ^w ōmb	ōtk ^w ōmb
1225	egg-plant	7u/2	ūgònt	gònt
1226	mushroom	5/6	ōrn ^h ō:w	ōtn ^h ō:w
	mushroom (big)	5/6	ōrgàk	ōtgàk
1227	cassava, manioc	5/6	ōrzó	ōʔzó
1228	<i>cocoyam, taro</i>	5/6	<i>ōrmòṅkòní</i>	<i>ōtmòṅkòní</i>
1229	yam	5/6	ōl ^w āʔ	ōtr ^w āʔ
1230	<i>sweet potato</i>	5/6	<i>ōrkútùṅkù</i>	<i>ōtkútùṅkù</i>
1232	<i>maize, corn</i>	7u/6	<i>ūmāgánā</i>	<i>ōtmāgánā</i>
1233	millet (rainy season)	7u/2	ūnàt	nàt
1235	guinea corn	7u/2	ūh ^h ō	h ^h ō
1236	rice	7u/2	ūsàp	sàp
1237	groundnut, peanut	7u/2	ūg ^w ōn	g ^w ōn
1238	sesame seed	7u/2	ūfák	fák
1239	cola nut	5/6	ōrgoró	ōtgoró
1240	palm nut	7Ø/2	jàjùk ^w àk	jàtùk ^w àk
1241	sugar cane	7u/4	ūrèké	ōsrèké
1244	cotton (from field)	5/6	ōl:àndí	ōtràndí
	heap of cotton from field	4	ōsràndí	
	thread	DIM/6m	ìràndí	ōmràndí
	strong thread	3u/AUG	ūràndí	āràndí
1245	grow (of plants)	6	ōtrògòm	
1246	sprout (v)	5	ōráp	
1247	(be) ripe	5	nén	
1248	ripen, become ripe	6	ōn:èn	
1249	(be) unripe	5/6	ōrgòp	ōtgòp
1250	(be) rotten	6	ōʔzòm	
1251	(be) shrivelled, (be) wrinkled (fruit)	6	ōtr ^h à:m	
1253	blight (n)	6m	ōmbā:t	
1254	world	3u/6	ūdàk	ōʔdàk
1255	place	5/6	ōrbé	ōtbé

	Gloss	Class	Main/Singular	Plural
1257	grassland	3Ø/6	dàkòsg ^{wá}	dàktòsg ^{wá}
1258	forest	5/6	ərzúp	əʔzúp
1259	open place, clearing	5/6	ərkándà	ətkándà
1260	bush country, rural area	5/6	ərdòg	ətdòg
1261	ground, land	3u/6	ūdàk	əʔdàk
1262	mountain	5/6	əl:ər	ətrər
1263	summit, highest point	5/6	dóməl:ər	dómètrər
1265	valley	7u/4	ūkò:r	əskò:r
1267	pit	5/6	ūkúb	ətúb
1268	hole	7u/4	ūhə	əshə
1269	crevice	7u/4	ūhóm	əshóm
1270	cave	3u/6	ūsóʔ	əʔsóʔ
1271	rock (large)	3u/AUG	ūtā:r	ātā:r
	rock (average)	5/6	ərtāʔār	əʔtāʔār
1272	stone (small)	DIM/6m	ītā:r	
1273	gravel	6m	əmtāʔār	
1274	sand	6m	əmh ^h èrèg	
1275	dust	6m	əmhú:g	
1277	clay	5/6	əl: ^w āb	ətr ^w āb
1279	iron	7u/6	ūk ^w ām	ət ^w ām
	long iron	4	əsk ^w ām	
	tiny iron	DIM/6m	ík ^w ām	əmk ^w ām
1283	rust (n)	6m	əmká:rì	
1284	water	6m	əmbó	
1285	ocean, sea	6m	əmsá	
1286	lake	5/6	ərbà	ətbà
	big lake	3u/AUG	ūbà	ābà
	small lake	DIM/6m	ībà	əmbà
1287	pool	5/6	ərkapkin	ət ^w kapkin
1289	marsh		vab	
1290	spring	7Ø/4	fənjəmbó	fənsəmbó
1291	waterfall	5	róbdujè	
1293	river	7u/4	ūgí	əsgí
1294	current (river, stream)	5	bébdəmbó	
1295	riverbed (dry)	6	əthò	

	Gloss	Class	Main/Singular	Plural
1297	ford (n)	5/6	ǝrpás	ǝtpás
<i>1298</i>	<i>bridge</i>	<i>7u/4</i>	<i>ūkàtǝrkǝ</i>	<i>ǝskàtǝrkǝ</i>
1299	island	3Ø/4	k ^w ár	ǝsk ^w ár
1300	beach	2	h'ǝrǝg	
1301	wave	7Ø/4	hójǝmbó	hósǝmbó
1303	foam	3u	ūkǝp	
1304	slime (organic)	6m	ǝmǝátǝ	
1305	fire	3u	ūrā	
1306	flame	5/6	rémǝdūrā	rémǝtūrā
1307	spark	7u/2	ūkǝrmǝǝǝ	kǝrmǝǝǝ
1308	smoke	6m	ǝmfǝǝǝt	
1309	fireplace	6	ǝǝsǝm	
1310	firewood	5/6	tédūrā	tétūrā
1311	charcoal	5/6	ǝl:ǝn	ǝtrǝn
1312	ashes	6m	ǝmtǝ ^w ǝ?	
1313	sky	3u	ūrǝ	
1314	air (breathed)	4	ǝsvǝǝ	
1315	cloud	5/6	ǝrkǝt/ ǝrkǝǝt	ǝtkǝǝt
1316	rainbow	7u/4	ūrǝkǝrǝm	ǝsrǝkǝrǝm
1317	sun	5/6	ǝrhǝ	ǝthǝ
1318	moon	7u/4	ǝp ^l ǝ:t	ǝsp ^l ǝ:t
1320	new moon	7Ø/4	p ^l ǝ:tǝpǝǝ	p ^l ǝ:tǝspǝǝ
1322	star	7u/2	ūrǝgǝr	rǝgǝr
1327	noise, sound (n)	5/6	ǝrdǝm	ǝǝdǝm
1330	wind (n)	6m	ǝm:ǝ	
1331	harmattan	3u	ǝtǝ ^w ǝr	
1333	thunder	7u/4	ūkǝgǝgǝg	kǝgǝgǝg
1334	lightning	7u/4	ǝǝkǝt	
1335	rain	3u/6	ǝǝ	ǝtǝ
1337	hail	5/6	ǝrtǝrǝm	ǝǝtǝrǝm
1338	dew	3u/6	ūrǝpǝt	ǝtrǝpǝt
1339	flood (n)	3Ø/6	ǝǝǝjǝtǝ	ǝǝtǝǝjǝtǝ
1341	drought, famine	4	ǝsmǝr	
1342	season	3u	ǝdǝ	
1343	rainy season	3u/6	ǝgǝs	ǝtgǝs

	Gloss	Class	Main/Singular	Plural
1344	dry season	3u/6	ūz ^w ō:n	ōʔz ^w ō:n
1345	hot weather	3∅	dàʔəhünd	
1346	cold weather	3∅	dàʔəmtòr	
1347	light	6m	əmzón	
1348	sunshine	6m	zónmèrhō	
1349	moonlight	6m	zónmùp ^j ā:t	
1350	shadow	3u/6	ūr ^j ə̀n	ōtr ^j ə̀n
1351	darkness	3u	ūtʃ ^w ōm	
1352	time	3u	ūdà	
1353	now		ódàʔó	
<i>1354</i>	<i>before</i>		<i>kàndà</i>	
1359	again		tōmsō	
1360	sometimes		òkōndàʔó	
1363	always		ūdà ūbē:t	
1366	wait	6	ōtèstè	
1367	day	5/6	ōrhō	ōthō
1368	month	7u/4	ūp ^j ā:t	ōsp ^j ā:t
1369	year	7u/4	ūhāk	ōshāk
1370	today	3∅	ōjāʔò	
1371	yesterday	3∅	g ^j óp	
1372	day before yesterday	3∅	g ^j ópl:īndè	
1373	tomorrow	3u	ūsōt	
1374	day after tomorrow	3u	ūsèt	
1375	olden times	3∅	dàʔōdím	
1376	dawn (before sunrise)	4	kánsòkót	
1377	sunrise	5/6	r ^w óndèrhō	
1378	morning	5/6	ōrwə̀n	
1379	noon	3∅	ótèkūhó	
1382	dusk, twilight (after sunset)	6m	ōmrím	
1383	daytime	3u	ūhó	
1384	night	6m	ōmg ^j óp	
1385	thing	3u/6	ūndəm	ōn:ðm
	big thing	3u/AUG	ūndəm	āndəm
	tiny thing	DIM/6m	īndəm	ōmnðm
	round thing	5/6	ōrnðm	ōn:ðm

	Gloss	Class	Main/Singular	Plural
	long thing	7u/4	ūnòṃ	ōsnòṃ
1386	piece	5/6	ōrbōsā	ōtbōsā
1387	top		ódóm	
1388	bottom		tá	
1389	front (of something)		ʃó	
1390	back (of something)		dím	
1391	side (of something)		kīt	
1392	middle		tēk	
	inside		mé	
1393	edge (n)	6m	ōmvástè	
1394	point (n)	5/6	ōrnú	ōn:ú
1399	come		hā:né	
1400	go		ārké	
1402	arrive	5	ōrté	
1403	remain, stay	6	ōtè:s	
1404	leave (place)		hāmhà	
1405	return, go back		mōnē	
1406	go round, detour	6	ōn:à:r	
1407	enter, go in		tʃ ^w āné	
1408	come (or go) out, exit (v)		r ^w ōné	
1409	ascend, go up		dáʔ	
1410	descend, go down		tʃōsné	
1411	fall (intr)	5	ōrhéʔè	
1413	slide	5	ōrʃátè	
1414	roll	6	ōtírīg	
1415	spread (disease, fire)	6	ōtjàr	
1416	burst	6	ōtkès	
1417	disappear	6	ōtèŋk	
1418	speed (n)	6m	ōmhōr	
1420	(be) slow		tʃ ^w èntʃ ^w èn	
1421	hasten, hurry		nōm:hōr	
1422	take		kāb	
1423	snatch, seize	6	ōtr ^w òm	
1424	catch (object in air)	6	ōtòst	
	chase and catch	6	ōtmàs	

	Gloss	Class	Main/Singular	Plural
1425	pick up	6	ətdəst	
1426	hold	3∅	ʃíp	
1427	raise, lift	6	əʔdzàkəs	
1428	lower (tr)	6	əʔtʃəstən	
1429	drop (tr)	6	ətrèst	
1430	throw	6	əʔdzə̀rè	
1431	shoot (v)	6	əʔtà	
1433	turn over (tr)	6	ətbàrgəʔsè	
1434	pull	6	ən:àk	
1435	drag	6	ətfək	
1436	push	6	əʔtək	
1438	overtake, pass (tr)	6	ətkəsəm	
1439	surround	6	ətkə̀ŋgsè	
1440	twist	6	ətm'ə̀g	
1441	fold (v)	6	ətfət	
1443	hang up	6	əʔsə̀rə̀g	
1444	spread out (maize) (tr)	6	ətbə̀rgəʔsè	
1445	stretch	4	əsnəkəm	
1446	hit, strike	6	ətgàp	
1447	beat	6	ətvə̀	
1449	rub	6	əʔtà:m	
1450	scrape (v)	6	ətk ^w à:t	
1451	scratch (v)	6	ətkò:t	
1452	pierce	4	əʔdùp	
1453	tear (tr)	6	ətkè:s	
1454	strip off (bark)	6	əʔʃàb	
1455	shake (tr)	6	ətrəmès	
1456	squeeze	6	əʔs ^w ətə̀r	
1458	create, make	6	ən:əm	
1460	break (tr)	6	ətjò:k	
1461	destroy, spoil	6	ən:às	
1462	(be) ruined, (be) spoiled	6	ən:àtəʔsè	
1463	join, put together	6	əʔdàmè	
1464	accumulate	6	ətkàrgəʔsè	
1466	divide, separate (tr)	6	ətmət	

	Gloss	Class	Main/Singular	Plural
1469	put, place, set	6	ətwàʔ	
1470	leave (something somewhere)	6	ətjàgè	
1471	keep, save	5	ərtʃən	
1472	hide (tr)	6	ətjàsè	
1473	lose (tr)	6	ətùst	
1474	look for	6	ətgò:t	
1476	blow (of wind) (v)	6	ətfər	
1478	blow away (intr)	6	əthùrùp	
1480	flow	6m	əmdzà	
1482	leak (v)	6	ətwè	
1483	sprinkle	6	ətm ^h əkəs	
1484	smear (tr)	6	əts ^w ək	
1485	dip	6	ətjəbəʔsè	
1486	soak	6	ətmàs	
1487	wring out	6	ətv ^h ən	
1488	dry out (clothes)	6	ətdzàne	
1490	sink (v)	6	əti:s	
1491	drown (intr)	6m	əm:àrəmbó	
1492	shine	6m	əmbàkət	
1493	fade	6	əti:kəb	
1496	light (fire) (v)	6	əʔdàpəs	
1497	quench, extinguish	6	ətrìməs	
1498	burn (intr), blaze	6	əʔdòʔ	
1499	melt (intr)	6	ətəʔè	
1500	singe	6	ətfap	
1501	begin	6	əʔtàkən	
1502	beginning	5	ərtàkən	
1503	continue, resume	5	rədəʃə	
1504	end (n)	5	ərmàʔ	
1505	cease, stop	6	ətjàgè	
1506	finish, complete (v)	6	əʔtà:s	
1507	(be) big		játjà	
1508	enlarge	6m	əmhək	
1509	(be) small		rəkjà	
1510	diminish	6	əthàb	

	Gloss	Class	Main/Singular	Plural
1511	(be) high	6m	ḡmdʒáʔ	
1512	(be) low	3u	ūdàkūdàk	
1513	(be) long	6m	ḡmwóʀ	
1514	lengthen	6	ḡʔsʷḡʀ	
1515	(be) short	5	ḡrkik	
1517	(be) fat, (be) thick	3u	ūtʃàm	
<i>1518</i>	<i>(be) thin</i>		<i>ʃájà</i>	
1522	(be) deep	5	ḡl:āʔ	
1523	deepen	6	ḡtrḡʔḡt	
		6	ḡtrùʔùt	
1524	(be) shallow		dómdóʃm	
1526	flatten	6	ḡthḡḡgḡḡʔsḡ	
1528	swell (intr)	6	ḡtfḡʔ	
1529	(be) round	6m	ḡmnā:r	
1530	(be) straight	6m	ḡmkím	
1531	straighten	6	ḡtjḡ:ms	
1532	(be) crooked		gʲḡḡk	
1533	bend, crook, curve (n)	6	ḡtkʷḡg	
1534	(be) heavy	6	ḡtnḡ:s	
1535	weight	6m	ḡmnḡʔ	
1536	(be) light (not heavy)	5	kḡbdḡmnḡʔ	
1537	(be) sharp	6m	ḡmrḡ	
1538	sharpen (knife)	3u	ūkḡʀ	
1539	sharpen, bring to point (arrow)	6	ḡʔʃàb	
1540	(be) blunt, dull	6	ḡtrʲḡndḡʔsḡ	
1541	(be) rough	5	kḡbdḡmràḡg	
1542	(be) smooth	6m	ḡmràḡg	
1543	make smooth	6	ḡthàʀ	
1545	harden		gāgḡn	
1546	(be) soft	6m	ḡmrʲàbḡʀ	
1547	soften	6	ḡtrʲàbḡʀsḡ	
1548	(be) dry	6	ḡtgàʔ	
1550	(be) slippery	6m	ḡmvàtḡʀ	
1551	(be) sticky	6m	ḡmdápḡmdáp	
1552	(be) hot (objects)	6m	ḡmdḡḡg	

	Gloss	Class	Main/Singular	Plural
1553	(be) cold (objects)	6m	əmtòr	
1554	colour	5/6	ərgó	ətgó
1555	(be) white		púsò	
1556	(be) black		rīmjà	
1557	(be) red		jásò	
1558	(be) blue	6	ətrēʔúrī	
1559	(be) green	6m	bómətrān	
1560	(be) brown	6m	bómùdàk	
1561	(be) yellow	6m	bómətró	
1562	(be) dark (colour)	6m	bó:m rīm:ò	
1564	taste (n)	6	ətràk	
1565	(be) sweet	6m	əmrēmēr	
1566	(be) sour	7u/2	ūzér	zór
1567	(be) bitter	6	ətgàg	
1568	odour, smell (n)	3u/4	ūwós/wós	əswós
1569	stink, smell (bad)	6m	əmkòʔ	
1570	(be) able (to)	6	ətkèrè	
1572	strength	5	ərbéb	
1574	(be) great, (be) powerful		nómdərbəb	
1575	splendour, glory	6m	əmsék	
1576	(be) good		sòʔò	
1577	(be) bad		jòʔò	
1578	right, (be) correct		hónhón	
1579	truth	6	ən:íp	
1581	(be) wrong	5	kəbdəmhónhón	
1582	(be) beautiful	5	ərz"ər	
1583	(be) ugly		nòməzàsòʔòdā	
1584	(be) clean	3u	ūhēn	
1585	(be) dirty	6m	əmdzīgīn	
1586	(be) important		kəmgè	
1587	(be) amusing, funny	6	ən:əmōs	
1588	(be) new		pòʔò	
1589	(be) old (not new)	3u/6	ūʔūt	ətūt
1590	one (1)		tʃə:n	
1591	two (2)		jə:r	

	Gloss	Class	Main/Singular	Plural
1592	three (3)		tōt	
1593	four (4)		ná:s	
1594	five (5)		tán	
1595	six (6)		ʃiʃin	
1596	seven (7)		tàʔèr	
1597	eight (8)		é:r	
1598	nine (9)		dʒ ^w ō:r	
1599	ten (10)		ōp	
1600	eleven (11)		ōpōgān	
1601	twelve (12)		ōpōjō:r	
1602	thirteen (13)		ōpōtōt	
1603	fourteen (14)		ōpōná:s	
1604	fifteen (15)		ōpōtán	
1605	sixteen (16)		ōpōʃiʃin	
1606	seventeen (17)		ōpōtāʔèr	
1607	eighteen (18)		ōpōʔé:r	
1608	nineteen (19)		ōpōdʒ ^w ō:r	
1609	twenty (20)		ōrʃik	
1610	twenty-one (21)		ōrʃikūgān	
1611	twenty-two (22)		ōrʃikōjō:r	
1612	thirty (30)		ōrʃikōʔōp	
1613	forty (40)		ōʔʃikōtjō:r	
1614	fifty (50)		ōʔʃikōtjō:rōʔōp	
1615	sixty (60)		ōʔʃikōʔtōt	
1616	seventy (70)		ōʔʃikōʔtōtōʔōp	
1617	eighty (80)		ōʔʃikōn:á:s	
1618	ninety (90)		ōʔʃikōn:á:sōʔōp	
1619	hundred (100)		ōʔʃikōʔtán	
1620	two hundred (200)		ōʔʃikōtōp	
1621	five hundred (500)		ōtkókōʔtán	
1622	thousand (1000)		ōtkókōtōp	
1623	(be) first	5	ōrtākòn	
1624	(be) second		jōrōmsè	
1625	(be) third		tōtōrsè	
1626	(be) last		ōmvástè	

	Gloss	Class	Main/Singular	Plural
1627	add	6	əʔs ^w ər	
1628	subtract, take away	6	əthàb	
1629	increase (intr)	6	ətrògòm	
1631	count (v)	6	ətògòr	
1632	arrange	6	ətsè:p	
1633	(be) equal	4	əsgàn	
1635	enough	6	ətkòrè	
1636	lack (v)	5	ərkòb	
1637	(be) used up		tā:g	
1638	all		bē:t	
1639	many	3u	ūtát	
1640	few		tʃāʃi	
1641	half	3u/6	ūʔək	ətək
1643	everybody		kówàn	
1644	everything		kójàn	
1645	everywhere		kóhènè	
1646	nobody		zàwàkə̀n	
1647	nothing		zàʔòkə̀n	
1648	I		əm/mē	
1649	you (masc., sing.)		bō	
1650	he (human)		wə̀n	
1651	we (incl.)		ín	
	we (excl.)		īt	
1652	you (pl.)		nō	
1653	they (human)		ə̀n	
1654	here		ānè	
1655	there		ānèdʒít	
1656	far	6m	əmrā	
1657	near	6	ətmòr	
1660	east	3u	ūdóm	
1661	west	3u	ūtáʔ	
1662	up	3u	ūdóm	
1663	down	3u	ūtáʔ	
1664	forward (direction)		ə́ʃə́	
1665	backward (direction)		ə́dí́m	

	Gloss	Class	Main/Singular	Plural
1666	right (direction)		kómè?tʃwà?	
1667	left (direction)		kómèrbè:r	
1668	over, above		ódóm	
1669	under, below		ótá?	
1670	in front of, before		ókèn	
1671	behind		dím	
1672	beside		kīt	
1673	inside		ómé	
1674	outside		ódò?	
1675	between		ótèk	
1677	away from	5	õrhíkè	
1679	this (man)		ín'ā	
1680	that (man)		ín'ādzít	
1681	some (men)		èkèn	
1683	who?		wàná	
1684	what?		jànó	
1685	which (one)?		wèhè	
1686	where?		óhè	
1687	when?		dà?ðhè	
1688	why?		rémùjàn	
1689	how?		rènè	
1690	how many?		nènè	
1691	and		ó:	
1692	if		àbíté	
1693	because		rémù	
1694	<i>perhaps</i>		<i>ál:àdzídá</i>	
1695	really, truly	6	õn:íp	
1696	well (adv)	6m	õmjār	
1697	poorly		õrkòb	
1698	<i>only</i>		<i>kõwè'</i>	
1699	yes		è:	
1700	no		ò?ò	

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