A comparative morphology of non-productive Tarok affixes and stems for suggested Proto-Tarokoid reconstruction of some lexemes[1]

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Abstract

Tarok synchronic data show a great reduction in the complexities of its morphology to simple monosyllabic stems. This stands out as a sore thumb. Therefore the existence of CV(C) and NV(C) affixes in the language requires an explanation. A comparison is made using detailed data from one member of the Tarokoid group in the light of cognate evidence from the Plateau language family of East Benue-Congo in order to reconstruct some Proto-Tarokoid lexemes. An in-depth look at Tarok provides a frame for the study of other members in a bottom-up fashion to complement Blench's monograph which is the only attempt in Proto-Tarokoid reconstruction.[2]

Our methodology is simple. A search is made of Tarok and Tarokoid cognates in Sibomana (1980, 1981a,b), the Plateau Language Survey Wordlists by Roger Blench[3], his drafts of dictionaries of Plateau languages and my reservoir of mother language knowledge of Tarok to provide evidence on the structure of non-productive affixes. The paper adduces evidence that the preponderance of such affixes in Tarok and Tarokoid cannot be attributed to mere re-invention of the system, but the presence of relics of an elaborate system before the break-up of the sub-family. Cognate evidence for these CV(C) and NV(C) affixes is used to postulate also that some of the synchronic stems and N- and V- prefixes are the result of erosion of longer segments.

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[2] Tarok is regarded as the most conservative member of the Tarokoid grouping in terms of the richness of its noun classes.
[3] http://www.rogerblench.info/Language/Niger-Congo/BC/Plateau/PlOP.htm

1. Introduction

The Tarokoid languages of Plateau of linguistic terminology are so far five comprising the Kwang cluster[4], Sur, Yangkam, Pe and Tarok. Tarok is the better-studied member of the sub-family, spoken by over a quarter of a million in their homeland located in southeast Plateau state.[5] According to Blench (in progress a) the Tarokoid languages share a very high number of cognates that are not exclusive to them but there is still a strong basis for setting up the sub-family. He asserts further that,

> The overall coherence of Tarokoid according to the canons[6] of conventional historical linguistics is no easy task. Although there are a significant numbers of apparently cognate lexemes attested across all five languages, it is hard to detect a regular relationship.

He concluded that,

> This is likely to be the result of highly idiosyncratic morphological histories prior to the break-up of the group.

The cited work in progress is the only attempt on the reconstruction of Proto-Tarokoid phonology, morphology, syntax, history, internal structure and justification for the existence of the group.

However, the attempt here is to provide more data to shape the final outcome the reconstruction. A search is made for Tarokoid cognates in the above cited work, Robinson (1976), Sibomana (1980, 1981a,b), Longtau 1993, 2008, Plateau Language Survey Wordlists by Roger Blench, drafts of his dictionaries and Tarokoid reconstruction monograph, as well as my reservoir of mother language knowledge of Tarok to understand the structure of noun affixes and verbal extensions. Can these be relics of proto forms before the break-up of the sub-family into the individual languages or mere re-analysis? It is suggested that the preponderance of parallel of cognates in other branches of Plateau and Benue-Congo is a pointer to a widespread diachronic system. Their diversity in Plateau may be construed by some as evidence for renewals rather than diachronic proto features. However, because of the wide swathe where the affixes are concurrently found, we are tempted to conclude otherwise.

The commentary columns of this paper constitute the main discussion and analysis. The cognate evidence in roots or stems is the starting point in validation of the status of the affixes. The goal is not to find cognates in affixes *per se* but the priority is to establish the morphology of the affixes in Tarok for comparative studies using stem cognates for realistic extrapolations where their meaning show correspondence. Evidence of non-productive nominal prefixes and stems is first provided. Further evidence is also provided for non-productive verbal extensions and stems. These are used to set up suggested proto-Tarokoid lexemes. Tarok polysyllabic stem morphologies are interpreted using the analytical frame that monosyllabic stems are now basic

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[4] Vaghat, Bijim, Ya and Legeri may be members of this cluster with more field work.
[5] Federal Republic of Nigeria: Legal Notice on the Publication of the Details of the Breakdown of the National and State Provisional Totals of 2006 Census. Official Gazette, 2006, 24 (94): B176-98. The figure for Wase LGA 1/3 of whose population is Tarok estimated at 50,000 is added to the estimates for Langtang North and South to give a figure of 246,948.
[6] This would include such principles as regular sound correspondences, isoglosses and innovations.

(Longtau 2007a) and deviations are analysed and inferences made in defining the preliminary affixes of Proto-Tarokoid.
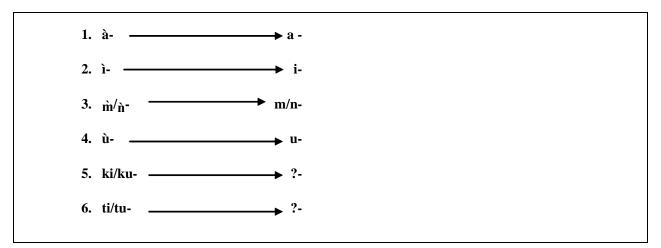
Summaries from Blench (in progress a) as Table 1 here give a bird's eye view of prefixes and suffixes:

Table 1: Nominal prefix systems (actual and reconstructed) for each Tarokoid language

Kwang Cluster		Sur		Pe		Yangkam		Tarok	
Prefix[7]	Suffix	Prefix	Suffix	Prefix	Suffix	Prefix	Suffix	Prefix	Suffix
ø-/à-	–a	bi-/a-	-k(y)i	ø-/a-	-di/-ti	ø-/a[8]	-Vk	m̀-/ǹ-	-ci
ǹ-/á-	–mV	i-/a-	-ri/ryi	ø-/i-	-li	ø-/sə	-ot	a-/agá	-dar
kì-/à-	–sV	ki-/a-	-ʃi	ì-/i-	-si	ø-/su	-tV	i-/igá	-ri/-li
ø-/ki-	-dar	mu-/a-		ù-/a-		ø-/bə		N/Ngá	
ø-/í-		n-/a-		tì-/a-		a/ø-		ì-/i-	
		ti-/a-				i/ø-		ù-/o-	
		tu-/a-				N-/ø-			
		u-/a-				t-/ø-			
						s-/ø-			

On the basis of cognate evidence he proposed a potential Proto-Tarokoid noun pairing thus:

Table 2: Proposed Proto-Tarokoid Noun pairing by Roger Blench

1. à- ⟶ a -

2. ì- ⟶ i-

3. m̀/ǹ- ⟶ m/n-

4. ù- ⟶ u-

5. ki/ku- ⟶ ?-

6. ti/tu- ⟶ ?-

Similarly, his summary on proto status of Tarokoid verbs is thus:

'The inventory of possibly verbal extensions in Proto-Tarokoid is potentially quite large;

-ci
-dar (-dər, -dɨr, -tar, -tɨr, -tər)

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[7] His insights on the use of tone for number distinction irregular nouns and fossil prefixes are not captured in this column.
[8] The use of reduplication as an additional plural marking is not captured here.

-di/-ti
-k(y)i
-ri/-li
-si/-ʃi

No sufficiently large set of correspondences between these extensions has been found to reconstruct either their meanings or indeed their equivalences.'

This statement warrants a closer look at the individual languages as a precursor to a definitive proto reconstruction for Tarokoid. The comparison of the morphology to the rest of Tarokoid is just one strand to build up the fuller picture as we look forward to when in-depth study of the sub-family will be undertaken.

2. Cognates in non-productive nominal prefixes in Tarok, Tarokoid and Plateau

The productive Tarok nominal prefixes are: a-, i-, N- and u-/o-. Their productivity is easy to demonstrate as in loan words. Table 3 is a summary of synchronic Tarok productive nominal plural strategy.

Table 3: Tarok noun singular and plural pairings

Singular	Plural
ù-	o-
ì-	i
i-	i or optional igá
m̀-/ǹ-	m-/n-
m-/n-	m-/n- or optional ŋgá
a-	a- or optional agá

The –gá plural marking strategy seems to be a recent innovation as demonstrated by the tendency for young people to collapse all plural markings by employing a single marker ogá (Blench et al., 2016).

It can be said that there are no true CV(C)- and NV(C)- prefixes in Tarok since even such segments need to carry an additional productive prefix: a-, i-, N-, u- or o- and the appropriate tone.[9] The relative richness and complexity in Tarok noun pairings may be a pointer to the fact that the language has retained more of the Proto-Tarokoid configurations than the other members. However, the evidence of its non-productive affixes in Tarokoid and Plateau is a pointer that we need to look beyond the 'complexity' of Tarok if it is to be posited historically.

In this paper the non-productivity of affixes is conclusive only for Tarok. However, we postulate that such affixes constitute the Proto-Tarokoid system. Our deductions are based on the following assumptions:

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[9] Throughout this paper, only tones of Tarok examples may be regarded to have been marked accurately.

a) Tarok has the most conservative functional nominal affix and tonal systems as compared to the other Tarokoid members.

b) A non-productive affix is established for Tarok if cognates of stems are found in the other Tarokoid languages, Plateau and elsewhere.

c) Longer affixes other than simple V or C found in other Tarokoid languages but not Tarok is considered as a relic already lost in Tarok.

d) Clear cases of innovations in Tarok make it easy to see affix relics that have been retained in other Tarokoid languages.

e) The retention of a Plateau, Benue-Congo or Niger-Congo root or affix in Tarok but not in the other Tarokoid languages is a good case for reconstruction to Proto-Tarokoid.

2.1 Comparative morphology of Sur/Tarok non-productive noun prefixes

Sur has a reduced singular and plural noun pairing as compared to Tarok. This excerpt from Blench's wordlist is a useful summary. He opined that:

Sur has completely lost any functioning affix system, perhaps under the influence of Angas. Sur nouns simply add the prefix **à**- to mark pluralisation. No exceptions to this were recorded, even for persons. It does, however, retain clear traces of the former prefix system, as well as some suffixes which could possibly indicate a period of interaction with Adamawa languages.

The role of **a-** as a plural marker is widespread; and it seems to be a principal affix shortening device in Plateau (Longtau, 2015). There is no doubt that the **a-** is a regional prefix found throughout Plateau and southern Jukunoid (Storch, 2012). The fact that this plural formation strategy cuts across Tarokoid and Plateau; it should easily become a prime candidate for a reconstruction to Proto-Plateau. However, doing so will be premature because it is also found in Gbari, a Nupoid language. This will therefore suggest that it is a recent spread in Plateau and not an early device reconstructible to Proto-Plateau level.

Table 4a compares non-productive prefixes in Sur and Tarok to corroborate the presence of CV(C)- and NV(V)- relics.

Table 4a: Non-productive CV(V)/NV(V) Tarok prefixes on stem cognates with Sur

Sur prefix	Sur	Gloss	Tarok	Corresponding Tarok prefix cognate	Commentary and parallel in Plateau[10]
bi-	**bi-ʃi**	"fire"	**ʃi** "to burn"	**ø**	The noun/verb stems are not true cognates technically speaking but it can be seen that they are in the same semantic domain. Cognates of the Tarok verb **ʃi** "to burn" are found in Shall as **fi-**

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[10] The cognate evidence in the commentary column are from Blench's 'Reconstructing Proto-Plateau', Plateau Survey Wordlists, manuscripts of drafts of dictionaries in Plateau and Jukunoid languages; and my Tarok mother language speaker's knowledge.

Sur prefix	Sur	Gloss	Tarok	Corresponding Tarok prefix cognate	Commentary and parallel in Plateau[10]
					ʃi, Hasha **wu-ʃi**. On the basis of this, it would appear Tarok had verbal prefixes and in fact I suspect the Sur cognate is a verbal segment and not a noun. A further Tarok example of pre-verb segment in the same area of meaning: **bi-**ʃi 'to aggravate a wound/emotion'. Table 2 treats verbal affixes in Tarok more formally. A suggested form for "to burn" in Proto-Tarokoid is *bi-ʃi. The cognates in Bille a Bantoid language **gi-ʃe** and just ʃi in a Chadic language Guruntum are similar to Tarok, meaning "to burn" cited here only for the sake of completeness. However, the more widespread Plateau cognates for "fire" are **la/ra/ru** in Kulu, Kuturmi, Shall, Idũ, Ninzo and **wur/wu-ru/wu** Anib, Bu, Ce respectively. The cognates for 'fire' in Tarok and the Jukunoid languages Hone and Jibu are **a-pir** and **pyírù** respectively (Storch 2012: 218). The **–ru** element is clear in both cognates.
ki-/ku	ki-ʃi	"head"	i-ʃí	ø	The stems for 'head' in Pe, Kwang and Tarok are found i-**tu**, ʃu and i-ʃi. The –ki- prefix seems to have been dropped in all three. However, Bezeen a Jukunoid language has **kìʃi** and Eloyi a Plateau language has **ré-ʃí**. Suggested form for Proto-Tarokoid will be *ikì-ʃí. The stem is also found in the simple form in several Benue-Congo languages.
	ki-lerem	"tongue"	aɓí-lím	ø	The stem for "tongue" in Tarok has a disyllabic VCV- prefix **a-ɓí-** almost corresponding to the clear CV- elements in **di-lum** in Kulu, **ba-lem** (plural) in Berom, **di-lɛm** in Ganang. The **ba-** prefix in Berom corresponds to Tarok, while the **di-** in Kulu and Ganang and **ti-lem** in Pe are anagolous to the **ki-/ku-** in Sur. Iten is simply **ì-lɛm.** Kulu **bè-nʃú** "saliva" that is cognate with Tarok **ǹ-ʃi** "saliva" is in a way in the same domain of meaning with "tongue". The same goes for Nyengkpa (Yeskwa): **anʃi** "saliva". Since [ɓ] does not reconstruct to Tarokoid, a

Sur prefix	Sur	Gloss	Tarok	Corresponding Tarok prefix cognate	Commentary and parallel in Plateau[10]
					suggested Proto-Tarokoid form for "tongue" can be ***iki-lerem/iti-lem**. This is also a Benue Congo as well as a Proto Niger-Congo root.
	kə-laɣan	"blacksmith"	**unim ga a-la** "man works iron"	ø	'To work iron' in Tarok is **la** but the noun is **a-la**. It has a simple V- that may be as a result of erosion and vowel quality change. The Sur stem seems to be already a melded compound word. However, these Tarok examples seem to exhibit CV- prefixes comparable to Sur**: uki-ka** "granny", **ika-ka "**family **orim** festival", **nkə-ka** "secondary setts of tubers". The k- prefix is also found in Hyam in the cognate for "yam" is **ke-ve** and Tarok **ìvíŋ**. The suggested Proto-Tarokoid reconstruction for 'to monger' is ***ki-la**.
	ki-ler	"bed"	**a-lyar** "mud bed and partition in a woman's room"	ø	The Tarok stem cognate is evidence of CV- erosion and replacement at the same time. A Proto-Tarokoid form for bed can be ***iki-ler**.
	ku-ʃol	"tail"	**a-swál**	ø	The Tarok stem cognate is an evidence of CV- erosion and vowel replacement at the same time. Note also that the vowel of **ku-** is responsible for the labialization in Tarok. A *bona fide* **ku-** prefix in Tarok is found in **akú-lóm** "oil palm" which is **ku-ring** in Ake. According to Blench (2009) the root for oil is widespread in Benue-Congo. A reconstruction of Proto-Tarokoid for tail will be ***iku-ʃol**. Cf. Iten **i-hwel** "tail". Cf. Izere **àkù-sɔm** "chameleon" that has the same configuration with Sur for both the prefix and stem.
mu-	**mu-tuŋ**	"hyena"	**n-tuŋ**	ø	It is plausible to suggest that the **n-** in Tarok was an NV- prefix similar to Bantu **mu-** which has contracted to n-/m-/ŋ- but other examples are quite scarce. In Tarok, the personification **ùǹtuŋ** "Mr. Hyena" is a reflex of a longer NV prefix. Cf. Mada suffix in **tə̄rmvū** "hyena". A Proto-Tarokoid reconstruction for hyena

Sur prefix	Sur	Gloss	Tarok	Corresponding Tarok prefix cognate	Commentary and parallel in Plateau[10]
					could be *mmu-tuŋ.
n-/m-/ŋ-	ǹ-tap	"duiker"	ì-tép	ø	The stem is the same but the prefix is a simple V- in Tarok. The explanation in the previous example is relevant and subsequent replacement of N- with i- might have taken place too. Suggested Proto-Tarokoid form for duiker is *in-tep.
	n-ʃyɔk	"guinea fowl"	ìrù-sòk	ø	This cognate in Tarok carries an unexpected CV- prefix (i-ru-) if it is not a compound word. Consider Kamanton ʃok, Kulu lɛ-nsok, Vaghat has ʃék. Consider also similar cognate with –ru- in Tarok: squirrel in Tarok ìri-tɔ̀k, Ayu ìtɔ̀k, Berom bè-rók, Ndun mèbǎ-tɔk, Horom rurek. A suggested Proto-Tarokoid reconstruction for guinea fowl will be *iru-nshyok.
	n-kwaŋ	"ladder"	ǹ-gwàŋ	N-	The Tarok N- prefix corresponds to the Sur prefix but sound correspondence may be at work too in the k/g of the stems. A reconstruction of 'ladder' in Proto-Tarokoid will be *n-kwaŋ.
ti-/tu	ti-ʃi	"fonio"	ìbì-ʃĭ	ø	The connection in the Sur and Tarok stem cognates is strong but the prefixes are different. Parallels for both prefix types are found in Plateau. The Pe cognate iti-sa represents the CV- prefix in Sur better than the Tarok one. The –bi- prefix in Tarok has parallel for similar nouns in Berom bè-rók, Ndun mèbǎ-tɔk "guinea fowl". However, a suggested reconstruction for *fonio* in Proto-Tarokoid is *iti-ʃi. More examples in Plateau corresponding to Sur ti- are Izere ìtsí-tsìŋ "fly" and Ganang di-tsi "egg". The Izere form fits the reconstruction.
	ti-kat	"head-pad"	akár	ø	Cf. Hasha ikar/kikar, Pe tikat, Kulu ikal, Ce kikara. A reconstructed form will be *ati-kat for this a widespread Plateau root, but also found in Jukunoid. Prefix erosion and replacement had taken place in Tarok.
	tu-kurum	"knee"	ì-ríŋ	ø	Prefix erosion and replacement have taken place in Tarok for this pan-world

Sur prefix	Sur	Gloss	Tarok	Corresponding Tarok prefix cognate	Commentary and parallel in Plateau[10]
					root. A suggested Proto-Tarokoid form is ***itu-kuruŋ**.
	tu-kubi	"bone"	**a-kúp**	**ø**	Prefix erosion and replacement have taken place in Tarok for this widespread Plateau and Niger Congo root. A suggested Proto-Tarokoid form for bone is ***atu-kubi**.
	tu-kum	"corpse"	**a-kúm**	**ø**	Prefix erosion and replacement have taken place in Tarok for this widespread Plateau and Niger Congo root. A suggested Proto-Tarokoid form for corpse is ***atu-kum**.
	tù-kwá	"skin"	**a-wá**	**ø**	Prefix erosion and replacement has taken place in Tarok. There is also weakening of the stem consonant in Tarok. A suggested Proto-Tarokoid form for skin is ***a-tukwa**. Another Tarok word more close to the proto-form is the compound: **akwámʃí** "allergy to cold weather", literally 'your skin will burn (at the fireplace)'. Cf. Shall **kwa** "skin".
	tu-rum	"heart"	**ì-tun**	**ø**	Suffix loss has taken place in Tarok but consonant loss in Sur. Therefore a suggested Proto-Tarokoid form for heart is ***itun-rum**. Cf. Cara **itu**, Eloyi **itu** "heart".
gi-	**gi-ʒam**	"money"	**a-tʃàm** "metal/coin"	**ø**	The Tarok current term for 'money' is the Jukunoid word for cowry **m̀-bwày**, an early medium of exchange. Yangkam has the same prefix shape as Sur: **bi-ɲuk**. Prefix erosion and replacement has taken place in Tarok. A suggested Proto-Tarokoid form for money is ***igi-tʃam**. Cf. Fyem **gyam,** Horom **tìcɛ̀t,** Pe **i-tsesit** "money/metal". Metal is a Plateau root (Longtau 2007b).
	gi-gyak	"fruit-bat"	**ìgì-gyàk** "edible giant criket"	**igi-**	The Tarok stem is not cognate with Sur but the prefixes are. Therefore a suggested Proto-Tarokoid form for fruit-bat is ***igi-gyak**. Cf. Hasha **agak/gɔ́-gak** "fruit-bat", but **àryìkyat** "giant-criket" The prefix of the plural form for fruit-bat is similar to Sur. Cf. the prefix of these languages: Kulu **gù-toŋ** "ear"; Kulu **gɛ-sùm** "hare", **dì-pɛ́p** "fats". Tarok does

Sur prefix	Sur	Gloss	Tarok	Corresponding Tarok prefix cognate	Commentary and parallel in Plateau[10]
					not just retain the prefix but the stem cognate is assigned to a different fauna.
u-	**u-rom**	"husband"	**ù-rìm** "living dead"	**u-**	Nunku has a cognate to that of Sur with a CV prefix: **lə-lə́m**. The Sur cognate is a widespread word for 'man'. For Proto-Tarokoid ***urom** the **u-** is an humanoid class maker and the CV(V) prefix has already eroded.
i-	**i-yo**	"flying ant"	**ǹ-yèyè**	**ø**	Tarok uses diverse prefixes for the Sur **i-** as here and the example with "hunger" below. Prefix replacement has taken place in Tarok. Evidence for a Proto-Tarokoid reconstruction is weak because the cognates may be ideophones. This example is not CV(C)-/NV(C)- but is included only for stem evidence.
	i-ʃum	"termite"	Cf. **i-ʃomʃom**[11] "type of honey fly"	**i-**	The prefix here is a *bona fide* V and this termite type reconstructs in Proto-Tarokoid as ***i-ʃum**. A more widespread root for termite in Tarok is **–nantan**, Pe **ka-tan**, Horom **ɗi-tàn**, Sur **namburna**, Kwang **nànbùrnà**. This example is not CV(C)-/NV(C)- but is included only for stem evidence. The prefix is regarded as both productive and non-productive.
	y-yɔŋ	"hunger"	**a-yáŋ**	**ø**	The Sur **i-** has been replaced by **a-** in Tarok. Cf. Ayu **iyoŋ**, Kulu **iyoŋ**, Atakar **j-jòŋ** and Hasha **yuŋ**. Pe **i-mwat** and Yangkam **mwər** share a different cognate. A reconstruction of hunger in Proto-Tarokoid will be ***i-yoŋ**. The Cara **ki-vɔŋ** "hunger" may suggest an erosion of the prefix in Proto-Tarokoid to **i-**.

Source: Blench's 'Tarokoid Reconstruction and classification' for some of the prefix evidence

The prefix in Sur word for "bow" **ki-ta** is of interest to us. The Tarok word and prefix for bow **ì-ʤáŋ** are not cognate with Sur. However, other Tarokoid examples: Yangkam **taa** "bow", Kwang **tà** "bow", Vaghat **kìtàmípár** "bow" makes it easy to propose a Proto-Tarokoid reconstruction for bow as ***iki-ta**. However, Tarok examples involving CV- prefix with an additional V- which are not necessarily cognates can be cited to show how **ki-** has been preserved in Tarok: "shea tree": Tarok **iki-ni/iti-ni**, Ake **ki-kyi**, Iten **nìnkeng**; and Tarok **ìki-kòk** "falcon".

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[11] The formation of noun from noun through repetition has been noted in Tarok in Longtau (ined). The new noun shares a component of meaning with the original noun. For example ìtìŋ "gum" (tooth) when repeated becomes ìtìŋtìŋ "fangless snake".

The NV- is also found in these cognates in Plateau, elsewhere and Tarok but not Sur: **mmí-ʃám** cf. Jibe **ǹ-sam**, Eloyi **kò-ʃámá**, Ake **ʃima**, Jili **shámá** "louse"; **ìmì-myàŋ** "dew" cf. Izere **nà-miŋ** "dew"; **iɲi-ɲàŋ** "scorpion" cf. Kuteb **ki-naŋ**; and **m̀byál** "breast" cf. Kuteb **ku-byaen** "breast". The **–mb-** NV prefix seems to be common in Tarok as in **m̀ɓì-ɓyàk** "a swallow", **m̀ɓi-lìm** "fruit-bat". In Ganang the **ka-** prefix seems to have parallel as N- in Tarok in the following cognates: **ka-buŋ** "dust", Tarok **m̀-ɓwáŋ**; **ka-ben** "ground", Tarok **m̀bín**. The Plateau parallels in particular would support a reconstruction of **mu-** to Proto-Tarokoid.

The principal –CV- and –NV- affixes established so far for Tarok, though non-productive, but are diverse. These are: **ìgì-**, **ibi-**, **iru-**, **aɓí-**, **iti-/iki-**, **tu-** and **mu-**. A simplification of the morphology in Tarok through prefix erosion and replacement as compared to Sur is common. These co-exist with single V- and N- prefixes and form plural just the same way through tones and **–ga-** particle. The presence of such single V- and N- prefixes is one layer that must be sorted out first before the status of -V-/N- can be established and used in elaborate reconstructions.

Such prefixes can arise due to syllable insertion or reduplication as in this example that Sur and Tarok share due to Chadic influence. In Hasha the process is very productive. The word for lungs in Sur and Tarok are **fufwak** and **avìràk** respectively. Blench (Sur wordlist ms) noted that forms including **fu-** are very common and may include a phonaesthetic element; and in Mambiloid, e.g. Somie it is **fùfú.** The Tarok form **ǹfùfú** exists in young people's speech but it means foams in adult speech. True elders would refer to the term for lungs as **vràk** without the epenthetic vowel. Similar consonant clusters[12] in the speech of Tarok elders are: **ŋ̀gràk-jlí** "earwig" vs **ŋ̀garàk-jìlí**, **ìklàp** "arrow shaft" vs **ìkìlàp**, **srak** "to melt" vs **sɨrak**, **ùparm** "two" vs **ùparɨ́m**, **srok** "loosely" vs **sorok**, **krap** "fittingly" vs **kɨrap** etc. The epenthetic vowels are diverse including [i], [u], [o] etc. and not just [ɨ]. False prefixes can arise also as a result of reduplication of monosyllabic verbs and adverbs as in these examples: **ìkɨ̀kə̀p** "kite" formed from **kə̀p** "to bite" and **m̀pɨpyàk** "immature seeds of pulses" from **pyàkkap** "softly".

When a true longer affix exists elsewhere in Plateau, it takes precedence in reconstructing the proto-form than the simplified one. Another inference we can make from the onset is that most of the cognates are mainly Plateau roots and have been preserved throughout Tarokoid. Therefore, it is valid to state that the fossilised forms are not being rebuilt but have simply been preserved to clear any doubt. Blench (in progress a, n.d. 34) posits that:

> From the point of view of morphology, the branches of Jukunoid in touch with Tarok have conspicuously lost their nominal and verbal morphology, whereas Tarok has retain progress (or rebuilt) these features more visibly than the other members of Tarokoid.

The gradual simplification of languages by stripping them of complicated segments and tones is a trend the world over and Bantu which has innovated in the direction of very rich classes and genders may be an exception. That notwithstanding, we see that Sur still has a large number of affixes that are non-productive in Tarok.

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[12] This is the first time ever that consonant clusters are described in Tarok. Even Longtau (1993) missed it.

Table 4b is a small selection of Tarok nouns with non-productive prefixes from Longtau et al. (in progress) not covered by the cognate evidence adduced above but have some corroborating evidence in Plateau. Time and space will not permit a full listing from that source because it will require examining a large amount of data.[13] Again, our priority is to establish cognate evidence mainly in stems or roots and not just the prefixes.

Table 4b: Other potential unproductive Tarok noun prefixes and parallels in Plateau

CV(C)-/NV(C)-Prefix	Tarok	Gloss	Reflex in other Plateau languages
iri-	**iri-zàŋ**	"redness"	Cf. Kulu **ù-síŋ**
arì-	**arì-gbɔ̀k**	"grasshopper"	Cf. Izere **ri-gbang**
ita-	**ìtá-súm**	"chameleon"	Cf. Izere **àkù-sɔm**, Vaghat **lìːʃém**
ìɲì-	**ìɲì-ɲáŋ**	"scorpion"	Cf. Ganang **a-ɲaŋ**
imi-/ma/mu	**amú-lók**	"courtyard"	Cf. Vaghat **ŋòkmálɔ̀k** which seems to be a compound for **lòk** means house but to build is **lók**. Tone is crucial here. To build in Ayu **lok**, in Gworok **nók** and **nɔk** in Izere. **lok** is a Niger - Congo root often meaning 'to weave , sew', as the case with Tarok, lòk "to weave". However, we can analyse amu- as the first element of a compound: **?** + **house** in Tarok, if **nʒi** 'house' is an innovation.
	m-ɓwaŋ	"dust"	Cf. Iten **nì-buŋ**
itu-	**itu-la**	"duck"	Cf. Hasha **tɔ́-fànyè** "ducks" uses a similar prefix as a plural marker.
	itu-lum	"tamarind"	Pe **itum**, Sur **ndum** Yangkam **dum**
ugu-	**ùgù-rùm**	"cripple"	Vaghat **gúː-rúm**

2.2 Comparative morphology of Kwang and Tarok non-productive affix cognates

Kwang has a highly reduced singular and plural noun pairing when compared to Tarok. The **à-** prefix is the sole plural marker. Table 5 provides examples of CV(C)- and NV(C)- affixes between Tarok and Kwang. The main point of the comparison is that the array of affixes in Kwang is indicative that Tarok diachronically was equally diverse.[14]

Table 5: Comparative Tarok noun/verb stem cognates with Kwang

CV(V)/ NV(C) Affixes in Kwang	Kwang Examples	Gloss	Comparable cognate in Tarok		Commentary
			Affix	Stem	

CV(V)/ NV(C) Affixes in Kwang	Kwang Examples	Gloss	Comparable cognate in Tarok		Commentary
			Affix	Stem	
be-[15]	be-leŋ	"yesterday"	ø	ǹ-lám	Cf. Ninzo **nârè**, Rukul **irε**, Ningye **ryεŋ**, Kulu **ùlé**
ki-	ki-jɛn	"bush"	ø	ǹ-zàm	Cf. Ninkyob **ʒé**, Bu **iʒə**, Ninzo **i-ʒuʒú**, Ake **asã**, Jijili **ise** for 'farm'.
ɗ-	ɗ-yɛ̀n	"farm"	ø	a-ɲín	Cf. Ce **kí-ɲík**, Tesu **ayi**, Tarok **and** Rigwe **kèyí**
	dì-ʃìl	"tear"	ø	m̀-bíl	Cf. Ndun **memil,** Rukul **màŋʒèl,** Ayu **ayil, mə̀shi**
tu-	tù-tùrà/ àtùtùrà	"hill"	ø	a-ɗur	Tarok cognate with plural form. Cf. Mada **gbù**, Ningye **nkugbu**, Numana **vɔ́rgbò**
ø	wàŋ/ áwàŋ	"hole in the ground"	ø	a-wàŋ-gaŋ	Cf. Rukul **u-wyaŋ**
le-	lè-ʃɛ̀m	"chameleon"	ø	ìtá-súm	Cf. Ndun **nsim**, Mada **ntə̄nāntsò,** Izere **ákusò̱m**
ndu-	ndu-rum	"catfish"	ø	aɓu-lam	
-ma	gún-ma	"bent"	ø	gə́n-təl/ gɔ́-lər	Cf. Hasha **kɔ̀ŋgwèt,** Toro **dɛŋgɛrɛ,** Ndun **gɛlir,**
	káp-mà	"divide/share"	ø	kap-ci	Cf. Ninkyob **gàb and** Rukul **kap.**
	na-ma	"give"	ø	ná	Cf. Ninkyob **nog**, Horom **nɛ**, Fyem **ni.**
-dar	mɛ̀n-dàr	"twist"	-dar	myan-dar	Mada **kan** is cognate to Tarok **kandar** 'to twist' as a synonym. The verb is the same domain of meaning with 'to weave/plait' in Ndun **lak** and Ayu **yálǎk.** Another root in Tarok is **yi asang** 'to make a rope' is cognate to Shall **yishe** 'to twist'.
-ha	lɔ̀g-hà	"weave"	ø	lòk	Cf. Mada **lō**, Hasha **nɔ̀k**, Ndun **lak**, Nunku **lə̀k**, Ayu **lok** 'plait' and Vaghat **lɔ́ɣà**.
-a	mɛ̀r-à	"swallow"	-kən	mə-kən	This is -V but included here because of the scarcity –V in Kwang. Cf. Hasha **mɛ̀rɛ̀k/mɛ̀mɛ̀rʃe** like Tarok has a different suffix -ʃe. Toro **mara**, Ndun **menyɛmìn**, Kulung **mel** 'neck' and Mada **mre**.
i-	í-yá	"have"	ø	ya	This is V- but included here because of the scarcity of V- in Kwang.

Source: Blench's 'Tarokoid Reconstruction and classification' for some of the prefix evidence

2.3 Comparative morphology Tarok non-productive noun prefixes with Pe stem cognates

According to Blench (in progress a) Pe as compared to Tarok has a much reduced nominal prefix system. There are only two plural prefixes, a- and i-, and only ì- can be paired

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[15] The cognate evidence in the commentary column are from Blench's 'Reconstructing Proto-Plateau', Plateau Survey Wordlists, manuscripts of drafts of dictionaries in Plateau and Jukunoid languages; and my Tarok mother language speaker's knowledge.

with Tarok i-. Table 6 shows all the possible comparable singular/plural pairings. Our main interests for Tarok are the relics of CV(C)- and NV(C)- affixes.

Table 6: Comparative non-productive Pe and Tarok affixes

Pe Affixes	Pe	Gloss	Tarok	Tarok Affixes
u-/a-	ù-liŋ/a-liŋ	root	a-liŋ	a-
	ù-lom/a-lom	day	alum	
	ù-tsel/a-tsel	road	asəl	
igi-	ì-gigyaŋ	bow	ì-ʤìʤáŋ "young people's speech"	i-
tì-/a-	tì-yin/a-yin	name	a-ɗin	a-
	tì-wap/awap	grave	a-wap	
	tì-ci/aci	egg	a-ci	
	tì-kat/a-kat	headpad	a-kar	
-di/-ti	kum-di	count	kúŋ	ø
	roŋ-di	bite	rəm-ci	-ci
	taŋ-di	chew	səm	
	ɓwak-ti	break/snap in two	ɓik-ci	-ci
	dap-ti	drag/pull	dap-ci	-ci
	kap-ti	tear	kak-ci	-ci

Sources: Blench (in progress a)

The closeness between Pe and Tarok compared to the other Tarokoid languages is clear from the above table.

2.4 Comparative morphology of Tarok and Yangkam cognates

The traditions of origin of Yangkam, Tarok and Pe are intertwined. Sur traditions allude to a Yangkam connection when they claim they came from the direction of Amper. It is also expected that there should be close affinity between Tarok and Yangkam. A section of Tarok of Nacang used to observe a socio-religious festival called *mpwak-ntung* 'hunting hyena' together with Yangkam (Jemkur et al. 2005; Longtau 2012). Pe and sections of Tarok celebrate the annual festival of *Imalkan* together with Ghang and Tummwat. Our interpretation is that these are vague references to relationship in the distant past.

Yangkam morphology is very simplified. Our interest here is to show that Tarok which is the most conservative in the sub-family had gone the same way as the rest in simplifying affixes that were longer segments but now unproductive. Table 7 is a comparative Tarok and Yangkam affixes. Generally speaking, Yangkam has deleted the vowel prefixes found elsewhere in Tarokoid but Tarok had retained some simpler affixes.

Table 7: Comparative non-productive Tarok affixes and Yangkam stems

Yangkam Affixes	Examples	Gloss	Tarok cognate	Tarok Affixes
ø	vun	child	o-ván "children"	o-
ø	gum	war	ì-kùm	i-

Yangkam Affixes	Examples	Gloss	Tarok cognate	Tarok Affixes
ø	**toŋ**	ear	**a-ʧwáŋ**	**a-**
ø	**noŋ**	mouth	**a-nùŋ**	**a-**
a-	**a-wak**	snake	**a-wù**	a-
N-	**n-not**	sore/wound	**a-núnur**	**a-**
	n-nap	basket	**a-nàp**	**a-**
	m-byep	fat/grease	**m̀-bìp**	**m-**
ɓi-	**ɓi-na**	work	**i-nók**	**i-**
pi-	**pi-mi**	land	**m̀-bin**	**m-**
	pi-nzə	back	**a-sìm**	**a-**
	pi-ʃin	buttocks	**ì-dʒìlí**	**i-**
tə-	**tə-rak**	rag	**a-ryákryák**	**a-**
	ta-xap	shoe	**a-kwàp**	**a-**
se-	**se-pip**	forest	**ì-pìpà** "grass"	**i-**
za-	**za-ɣa**	ribs	**ǹzà-kín**	**nza-**
mi-	**mi-lum**	lightning	**amí-lám**	**ami-**
gə-	**gə-roŋtoŋ**	riverbank	**a-koŋkoŋ**	**a-**
-ak	**yir-ak**	to awaken (s.o.)	**yen-dəl**, Sur **yem**	-dəl
	mar-ak	millet	**ì-màr**	ø
-ok	**wur-ok**	to blow (flute etc.)	**ɓúr**	ø
-uk	**tur-uk**	to come out (of room)	**tur** 'remove'	ø
	ton-uk	baobab	**ì-tuŋ**	ø
-te	**dok-te**	to sieve	**ɗok**	ø
-ta	**ka-ta**	to tear	**kàk-ci**	**-ci**
-a	**ŋ-gel-a**	tail	**ǹ-gə̀l**	ø
-soŋ	**goŋ-soŋ**	wall (of a room)	**a-gúŋ**	ø
-ɣam	**ka-ɣam**	in-laws	**o-ká**	ø
-ɣam	**ka-ɣam**	ancestors	**o-kà**	ø

Sources: Blench in progress a and additions from my mother language speaker's knowledge

3.0 Comparative morphology Tarok suffixes and Plateau

Sibomana (1980, 1981b) described **–ci** as an adverbial suffix in Tarok. Longtau (1993) listed Tarok noun stems with the –ci ending and claimed that no meaning could be assigned to the morpheme. However, there is now evidence for more fossilised non-productive noun suffixes in Tarok nouns. Table 8 is an exploratory list.

Table 8: Sample non-productive Tarok noun suffixes and parallel in Plateau

Tarok nominal extensions	Tarok	Gloss	Reflex in other Plateau
-sok	**ìkók-sók**	"chest"	Cf. Vaghat **kɔ̀k** "chest" and Shall **kukmin**.
	ìgàp-sòk	"village weaver bird"	Cf. Sur **gwal** "weaver bird"
-ci	**ùgbə́p-cí**	"ten"	Cf. Sur **zup**

	ìgə̀p-cí	"spoon"	Cf. Pe **saktiŋ**
	akòk-cì	"bark"	The **kok-** element is the semantic domain as chest/trunk. Cf. Shakara **akuk** 'bark of a tree'. In view of this, the meaning of 'from' can be assigned to –ci. Bark will mean a product from the 'chest'.
-ɗiŋ	ùʃát-ɗíŋ	"three"	
	ùnè-ɗíŋ	"four"	
-kwan	ìlù-kwàn	"cloth"	Cf. Sur **lulu** "cloth", Vaghat **luŋ** "cloth"
	ìlə̀-kə̀n	"butterfly, spider, spider web"	
-dər	ìlə̀-də́r	"thorny bush"	
	ìlàn-də̀r	"type of creeper"	
-lam	ití-lám	*"Daniellia oliveri"*	Ayu **ìtup**

The empty slots in the commentary column have not been analyzed as compound words but as suffixes. An examination of more Plateau wordlists may fill in the gaps.

4.0 Comparative Tarok verbal morphology and Plateau

The evidence of CV- verbal prefixes in Shall, a Beromic language **fi-ʃi** and Hasha **wu-ʃi** "to burn" in Table 4a above calls for further investigation for their possible occurrence in Tarok so that we can confidently extrapolate for Tarokoid as a whole. The Shall and Hasha examples are not recorded as verbal nouns in the source data. V- and N- are the principal nominalising prefixes in Tarok. When we examine a large amount of data in Longtau et al. (in progress) and other sources, we can see some evidence of verbs with long affix segments but they still nominalise the same as simple verbs. Table 7a is just a sample:

Table 7a: Verbal affixes in Tarok with comparative Plateau evidence

Tarok verbal Affixes	Examples	Gloss	Cognate evidence in Plateau
mi-/mu-	**mi-lám**	"to shine"	Vaghat **mʷárà** "to shine", Horom **malaŋ** "smooth", Cara **muluk** "smooth", Fyem **melep** "lightning", Rukul **mililyu,** Ninkyob **ŋyɛ̀m ìɔr** "lightning".
gu-	**gú-túk**	"to pass by in large numbers"	**-tuk** is found throughout East Benue Congo for "night", cf. Berom **túrūk**, but also **tūk** 'day of 24 hours'. Also Izere **kâ-túk**, Cara **kituk**, Rukul **atuk**. Tarok has an extended meaning.
	gù-tùm	"to be unable to walk due to tiredness of limbs"	Cf. Vaghat **gú:rúm** "cripple".
-ci	**kú-cì** "to bend down"	"to kneel"	Cf. Ake **kuriʃi**
-kən	**mə-kən**	"to swallow"	Cf. Sur **mər-ək**, Kaɗung **mɛ̀r-à**, Yangkam **mər**.

The relics of Tarok verbal morphology are more diverse than Tarok nominal and quite complex with most likely parallels in Plateau but these will be the subject of a separate study. Hyman (2007) and Williamson et al. (2000) look at this at the phylum level. Table 7b is a small selection with examples (without repeating the above).

Table 7b: A selection of other verbal affixes in Tarok

Verbal Affixes	Examples	Gloss
-ʃi	wámʃí	to wash
-ləp	gəŋləp	to be half-awake/half-asleep
	vəŋləp	to be half-open/half-closed
-lup	kùllùp	to meddle/implicated
-lap	kwálláp	to be inhibited
-dəm	vəndə́m	to turn over
	wòndəm	to go round the longer way
-tuk	gútúk	to pass in large number

5. Conclusion

The morphological processes of non-productive affixes in Tarokoid are quite diverse. Though Tarok has more functional noun classes than the other Tarokoid languages, the non-productive prefixes are fewer. The Tarok verbal extensions are more complex than its nominal affixes. For any meaningful reconstruction of Proto-Tarokoid, Tarok provides the best direction to proceed when cognizance is taken of the non-productive prefixes that resulted from erosion of longer segments and replacement by sometimes unrelated ones. Chadic influence has profound effects on syllable creation due to insertion of epenthetic vowels.

We have demonstrated that the criteria for a Proto-Tarokoid and plausible Plateau reconstruction are not a simplistic examination of cognate evidence but a wide survey outside the grouping. The preponderance of Plateau roots in Tarokoid is indirect evidence that re-invention of noun classes and gender to mimic Bantu is not the motivation. The great diversity may be evidence of affix renewal (Blench in progress) but not in conformity with Bantu. Blench (in progress b) provide examples of relics from Sambe, a moribund language which its closest known relative Hasha has lost. It can be postulated that some Plateau languages and Tarokoid simply have a system that warrant more in-depth investigations beyond this initial stage paradigm.[16]

This paper has also shown that developing a framework for etymological studies of Tarokoid is possible. The Appendix to this paper provides a vast array of cognate evidence between Tarok and Vaghat whose membership of Tarokoid is yet to be fully investigated, albeit most are Niger-Congo roots. This is indirect evidence that it is plausible to consider the prefixes and stems as relics rather than rebuilt segments. If so, we can forge ahead in better understanding of East Benue-Congo and not be tied to the notion that concord number pairing or classes are canons.

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[16] Appendix A is work in progress for nominal and verbal Proto-Tarokoid suggested reconstructions.

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Appendix A: Suggested Reconstructions of some Proto-Tarokoid lexemes[17]

Proto Affix[18]	Proto form	Gloss	Examples from real language
bi-	*bi-ʃi	"to burn"	Tarok **ʃi**, Shall as **fi-ʃi**, Hasha **wu-ʃi**, Bille a Bantoid language **gi-ʃe** and **ʃi** in a Chadic language Guruntum.
ki-/ku	*iki-ʃi	"head"	Sur **ki-ʃi**, Pe i-**tu**, Kwang **ʃu,** Tarok i-**ʃi**, Bezeen a Jukunoid **kìʃi** and Eloyi a Plateau language has **ré-ʃi**.
	*iki-lerem/iti-lem	"tongue"	Sur and Tarok, Kulu **di-lum**, **ba-lem** (plural) in Berom, **di-lɛm** in Ganang. Proto-Tarokoid reconstruction for "tongue" is a Benue Congo root and even Proto Niger-Congo.
	*ki-la	"to monger iron"	Tarok **a-la**, Sur **kə-laɣan** 'blacksmith'.
	*iki-ler	"bed"	Sur **kiler**, Tarok **alyár**.
	*iku-ʃol	"tail"	Sur **ku-ʃol**, Tarok **aswál**, Iten **i-hwel**.
mu-	*mmu-tuŋ	"hyena"	Sur **mu-tuŋ, Tarok ǹtúŋ,** Mada suffix in **tə̄rmvū**.
in-	*in-tep	"duiker"	Sur **ǹ-tap, Tarok ìtép**.
iru-	*iru-nshyok	"guinea fowl"	Sur **n-ʃyɔk, Tarok ìrusòk.**
n-	*n-kwaŋ	"ladder"	Sur **n-kwaŋ**, Tarok **ǹgwàŋ**.
ti-/tu	*iti-ʃi	"fonio"	Sur **iti-ʃi, Tarok ìbì-ʃí**, Pe **iti-sa**.
ati-	ati-kat	"head-pad"	Sur **ti-kat**, Tarok **akár,** Hasha **ikar/kikar**, Pe **tikat**, Kulu **ikal**, Ce **kikara**. This is a widespread Plateau root, but also found in Jukunoid.
itu-	*itu-kuruŋ	"knee"	Sur **tu-kurum, Tarok ìríŋ**. This is a pan-world root.
atu-	*atu-kubi	"bone"	Sur **tu-kubi, Tarok akúp.** A widespread Plateau and Niger Congo root.
	*atu-kum	"corpse"	Sur **tu-kum**, Tarok **akúm**.
	*a-tukwa	"skin"	Sur **tù-kwá, Tarok awá,** Shall **kwa** "skin".
-rum	*itun-rum	"heart"	Sur **tu-rum**, Tarok ìtun, Cara **itu**, Eloyi **itu** "heart". The –rum element may actual be part of a compound word.
igi-	*igi-tʃam	"money"	Sur **gi-ʒam,** Tarok atʃàm, Fyem **gyam,** Horom **tìcɛ̀t,** Pe **i-tsesit** "money/metal". Metal is a Plateau root (Longtau 2007b).
	*igi-gyak	"fruit- bat"	Sur **igi-gyak,** Hasha **agak/gɔ́-gak**.
u-	*u-rom	"husband"	Sur **urom**, Nunku **lə-lɔ́m**.
i-	*i-ʃum	"termite"	Sur **i-ʃum, iʃomʃom** 'sweat fly'.
	y-yɔŋ	"hunger"	The Sur **y-yɔŋ,** Ayu **iyoŋ**, Kulu **iyoŋ**, Atakar **j-jòŋ** and Hasha **yuŋ**, Cara **ki-vɔŋ**.

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[17] This is derived from Table 4a where the justification had been given.
[18] This is by far more comprehensive than the prefixes in Table 2.

Appendix: Comparative affix and stem cognates in Tarok and Vaghat

Vaghat Affixes	Vaghat	Gloss	Tarok Affixes	Tarok
ø	**pέl**	animal	i-	**i-ɓíl** "domestic animals"
-i	**gán-ì**	bracelet	i-	**i-kan**
ø	**ɲén**	bird	i-	**ì-ɲil**
-a	**púl-à**	to boil	ø	**fíl**
ø	**kúp**	bone	a-	**a-kúp**
a-	**àlíŋ**	cassava	a-	**alìŋ** "root"
li	**lìːʃém**	chameleon	i-	**ìtá-súm**
ø	**bér**	charcoal	a-/-vN and N-/-vN	**a-bírɔ́ŋ** "cinders", **m̀-biriŋ** "soot"
ø	**kɔ̀k**	chest	i- and -sok	**ìkók-sók**
ø	**nák**	clan	u-/o-	**ùnàl/onal** "relation(s)"
ø	**lúŋ**	cloth	i- and -kwaN	**ìlùkwàn**
gúː-	**gúːrúm**	cripple	ugu-	**ùgùrùm**
-zi	**gùn-zí**	crooked	ø	**gən**
-dik	**dìmdík**	dark (colour)	ø	**dĩn** "to be black/blacken"
a-	**ámè**	dew	imi-	**ìmì-myàŋ**
-na	**bàná**	to fasten	ø	**ɓam**
ø	**ɓēp**	fats	m-	**m̀-bìp**
ø	**ⁿdʲáŋ**	finger	**i-**	**ìfàŋ**
ø	**ʃèn**	guest	u-	**ùnìm-tʃìn**
ø	**kōŋ**	sorghum	i-	**ikùr**
ø	**ʃék**	guinea fowl	iru-	**ìrú-sòk**
a-	**àtʷál**	hail(stone)	adĩ-	**adĩɗal**
ø	**ʃû**	head	i-	**iʃí**
ø	**gàr**	head-pad	a-	**akár**
-let	**ⁿdéŋlèt**	heel	n-	**ǹdoŋ**
ø	**ɗɔ́h**	heart	i-	**ìtun**
-i	**lárì**	to hide	ø	**lar** "to disappear/vanish/lose"
ø	**ʃém**	iron/metal	a-	**atʃàm**
ø	**dék**	kidney	aru-	**arùsòk**
ø	**góh**	ladder	N-	**ǹgwàŋ**
-an	**náràn**	lean against	ø	**nàr**
ø	**tám**	leopard	i-/-CVN	**ìdà-míŋ**
ø	**kɔ́k**	mahogany	i-	**ìkò**
ø	**nám**	meat	i-	**ìɲám** "flesh/muscle"
di-	**dìːʃár**	mend	dəm-	**dəmʃí**
ø	**mús**	millet	i-	**ìmàr**
ø	**pέ**	moon/month	a-	**ape**
ø	**ɗùk**	mortar	a-	**atúm**
a-	**àbí**	mouse	i-	**ipi**

ø	**núŋ**	mouth	a-	**a**nuŋ
ø	**ⁿkōm**	navel	i-	**ìgúm**
ø	**núŋ**	noise	a-	**anùŋ**
la-	**là:bʷát**	okra	i-	**ìbwàm**
-su	**pélsù**	to open	ø	**bòl**
zu-	**zùzút**	owl	i-	**ìzìŋ**
-ʃá	**ɓʷáʃá**	peel	ø	**ɓwàl**
-vi	**ŋàlví**	poison	**a-/**ø	**akàl**
-l:àŋ	**píl:àŋ**	porcupine	**i-/**ø	**ìkpyá**
ka	**káʃì**	room	N-	**ǹʒí**
ø	**líŋ**	root	a-	**alìŋ**
-ul	**núɲùl**	to smell	ø	**nìŋ**
ø	**d͡ʒá**	snake	i-	**ìzwà**
ø	**gʷál**	snore	ø	**kpàl**
-ʃǐ	**lètʃǐ**	to spoil	ø	**làk**
ki-	**kìtáh**	to stalk	ø	**tá**
-bila	**ʃíbílà**	to stir	ø	**t͡ʃì**
-le	**váŋlèlè**	swing	-gìt	**yìŋgìt**
ø	**ʃól**	tail	a-	**aswál**
di-	**dì:dém**	termite	ø	**ìnàntàn**
ø	**lʲám**	tongue	aɓí-	**aɓílím**
ø	**ɲīn**	tooth	i-	**i ɲiin**
ø	**nòr**	wound	a-	**a(nú)nur**
-di	**gúmdì**	wrap	ø	**kúp** "fold"
ɓé-	**ɓélàŋ**	yesterday	N-	**ǹlám**