

TAROK ADJECTIVAL MORPHOLOGY

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ABSTRACT

The category ‘adjective’ in many African languages is often said to be nearly empty, with the qualification of nouns etc. carried out using other strategies. However, Tarok, an East Benue-Congo language of central Nigeria, has a large array of adjectives formed in different ways. These are;

1. Prefixed simple reduplicated verbs, usually –CVCV, –CVCCVC, –CVVCVV or –CVCVCCVCVC
2. Prefixed -CV(C)CV(C) forms with no corresponding verb
3. Diverse forms with no directly corresponding verb
4. Numerals
5. Invariant forms that precede the head noun and appear usually in insults

The paper describes these in some detail in terms of their morphology and semantics; syntax is reserved for a second paper. Dagara, a Gur language described by Delplanque seems to share a number of characteristics with Tarok. Comprehensive lists of the ‘diverse forms’ and ‘insultatives’ are appended to the paper.

RESUMÉ

La classe ‘adjectif’ en beaucoup de langues Africaines est souvent, on dit, une classe vide. Les langues ont des autres stratégies pour la qualification des noms etc. Néanmoins, le Tarok, langue Benoué-Congo de l’Est de Nigeria Centrale, montre une grande diversité d’adjectifs forme en façons varies. Ceux sont;

1. Des verbes simplement redouble avec des préfixes, normalement –CVCV, –CVCCVC, –CVVCVV or –CVCVCCVCVC
2. Des formes -CV(C)CV(C) avec préfixe mais sans verbe correspondante
3. Formes diverses sans verbe correspondante
4. Numéraux
5. Formes invariantes qui précède le nom-tête et se montre généralement en des injures

Le communication décrivent ces catégories en détaille, avec des exemples de morphologie et sémantique; le syntaxe est réservé à une autre communication. Le Dagara, une langue Gur décrit par Delplanque semble partager des caractères avec le Tarok. Des listes compréhensives des ‘formes diverse’ et des ‘insultatives’ sont en annexe.

0. INTRODUCTION

Compared with Indo-European, many of the world's other languages are often considered relatively poor in adjectives. This has been the subject of a study by Dixon (1977) while Welmers (1973) presents an overview of the situation for African languages. Studies of qualifiers in African languages were uncommon until recently, but the main references are; Manessy (1964) for Gur languages, Lanham (1971) for Zulu, Takizala (1974) for Kijunga, Hagège (1974) for West Africa, Madugu (1976) for Yoruba, Stanley (1982) for Tikar, Omamor (1986) for the Western Delta of Nigeria, Madugu (1986) for Nupe, Bliese & Gignarta (1986) for Konso, Omoruyi (1986) for Edo, Banti (1988) for East Cushitic, Moshi (1992) for Chaga, Korshunova and Uspensky (1993) for Hausa. Platiel (1997) has edited a volume of papers on qualifiers in African languages, including studies of Kasim (Bonvini 1997), Dagara (Delplanque 1997), Bafia (Guarisma 1997), Mankon (Leroy 1997), Tupuri (Ruelland 1997) and Yoruba (Sachnine 1997).

The general pattern is for inventories of Niger-Congo languages to have very small numbers of true adjectives. Noun qualification is achieved through a variety of other strategies, notably stative nouns, ideophonic reduplicated forms and noun-noun collocations. Hoffmann (1978:37), discussing Ten, a Plateau language of Central Nigeria, observes;

‘Ten, like many other languages in this area, has a few true adjectives that qualify nouns, but must be brought into class agreement with the noun they qualify’

Sachnine (1997:262) claims that Yoruba has but five true adjectives, Leroy (1997:184) cites nine for Mankon, Guarisma (1997:76) lists just the three colour terms for Bafia. The most extreme claim is made for the Gur language, Kasim, where Bonvini (1997:9) states that no such category exists.

The situation in Tarok, a Plateau language of east-central Nigeria, seems to be at odds with these accounts. Tarok has a great variety of adjectives, diverse both in form and derivation. One class is so striking and numerous that it has been discussed separately (Blench, in prep). With this in mind, this paper¹ sets out to describe Tarok adjectives and to draw out the possible implications for other African languages. The paper describes the categories of qualifiers in Tarok and discusses their morphology. A second paper will explore issues such as ordering within the sentence and tonal concord. An Appendix gives examples of the adjectives so far identified in each category. The work reported in this paper was carried out in Nigeria in 1992-2011.

The Tarok people live primarily in the region around Langtang in south-east Plateau State, Nigeria. Tarok was first described by Fitzpatrick (1911). The principle scholarly publications on the Tarok language are by Leo Sibomana (1980, 1981a,b) who provides a useful summary of the phonology, noun-classes and verbal system. Longtau (1991, 1993, 2008) has analysed the implications of the classification of Tarok for the interpretation of oral tradition and elaborated a formal phonology.

The paper uses the phonological analysis proposed in Longtau (1993) but not the standard Tarok orthography, which has a misleading use of IPA symbols. The examples in this paper are written in a phonemically giving IPA symbols their conventional (1993) values.

IPA	Tarok orthography
ɪ	ə
ə	ḁ
ŋ	ñ

Three level tones are noted with mid-tone unmarked.

¹ Thanks to Bruce Connell, Kay Williamson (†) and an unnamed reviewer for comments on the first draft of this paper. Giorgio Banti sent an offprint of his paper on adjectives in Cushitic and kindly drew my attention to Platiel (1997).

1. OVERALL CLASSIFICATION OF QUALIFICATION

An adjective is taken to mean a word whose primary function is to qualify a noun and which forms part of an open semantic set. Possessives are excluded and demonstratives are treated only in passing, although, as will be seen, they function syntactically in a similar way to true adjectives.

1.1 CONSTRUCTIONS WITH ADJECTIVAL FUNCTIONS

As with many African languages, the functions of adjectives in English are often performed by stative verbs. Thus, 'red', 'sweet', 'dry' etc. can be expressed by noun + adjectival verb. For example;

inyín bán	teeth which are red	i.e.	red teeth
mámíng sám	gruel which is sour	i.e.	sour gruel

Sometimes verbs can enter more complex constructions;

cwàt	to be alone
ùwà cwàt ùyiyen pù ùzìng	lit. he alone is his child of one i.e. he is an only child

A small class of verbal nouns can be used with genitive constructions to perform similar functions;

ùyen	ùga	nrí-iwú
child	of	playfulness
playful child		

ìpiri	iga	ñcír-ashár
horse	of	running-leg
fast horse		

ìpaŋ	iga	ñdòŋ-akò
stone	of	roughening quernstone
roughening stone (used on quernstones)		

These are confined to a set of conventional expressions, largely with human nouns and must always take a verbal noun as a complement.

A highly distinctive class of words in Tarok are words describing odours (Blench and Longtau 1995). These words do not show concord and retain a fixed tone pattern making them more like nouns than adjectives. However, they have no noun-class prefixes. They resemble those adjectives in English that would typically follow the verb 'to smell'. For example;

vúvón	rotten	á nìŋ⁺ vuvón	it smells rotten
--------------	--------	--------------------------------	------------------

These words show no concord features, and the number and class of the subject do not influence them.

Some adjectives have corresponding noun-like forms, with prefixes, which precede the head-noun and appear to qualify it but do not show concord. These are dealt with below under §2.2.2.

Tarok adjectives Roger Blench and Selbut Longtau Draft circulation version
Adverbs commonly take on adjectival functions;

kpaktak⁺ wholly, all

m⁺ **mən⁺** **wò** **ki⁺** **ìgwàk** **mi⁺** **pə⁺** **kpaktak⁺**
I love you with heart mine adv. aux. all
I love you with all my heart

bùtbùt wide

asəl **na⁺** **gà** **tá** **pə⁺** **bùtbùt** **bu⁺** **lar⁺** **kót**
path it goes is enough adv. aux. wide you lost not
The path is so wide you won't get lost.

caga attractive

ilùkwàn **bu** **và** **a** **caga** **bét**
shirt your that it attractive very
your shirt is very attractive

When the auxiliary **pə** is dropped, some forms can take on appearance of invariant adjectives. They are, however, adverbs, as shown below;

bìlím flickering Only used in the figurative expression **nsàl-bìlím** 'flickering light'
taktirak infinite, unending Only used in **isim taktirak**, 'time unending'

1.2. TRUE ADJECTIVES

Apart from this, there are true adjectives, i.e. which can function only as noun qualifiers. Tarok has five classes of adjective;

1. Prefixed simple reduplicated verbs, usually –CVCV, –CVCCVC, –CVVCVV or –CVCVCCVCVC
2. Prefixed –CV(C)CV(C) forms with no corresponding verb
3. Diverse forms with no directly corresponding verb
4. Numerals
5. Invariant forms that precede the head noun and appear usually in insults

Classes 1-4 all follow the head noun, take V or N prefixes and, with the exception of numerals, show concord with the tone on the stem of the noun they qualify. These adjectives can therefore not be marked with tone in isolation. Examples of each type are as follows;

- | | | |
|----|----------------|---------------|
| 1. | -caŋcaŋ | sweet |
| 2. | -nìŋnìŋ | nonsensical |
| 3. | -rishan | spotted (cow) |
| 4. | -shadĩŋ | three |

where the preceding dash indicates a mutable concord prefix.

In class five, the adjectives are morphologically diverse, precede the head noun and do not agree with it. These are dealt with at greater length in a forthcoming paper (Blench, in prep) and are only briefly described here.

1.3 THE TAROK NOUN-CLASS PREFIX SYSTEM

2. ADJECTIVE CATEGORIES

2.1 REDUPLICATED ADJECTIVES DERIVED FROM VERBS

The principal category of adjectives is derived from CV(C) or CVV verbs by exact reduplication with the addition of a V- or N- prefix. Similar processes have been described for other Benue-Congo languages, for example in Edoid (Omamor 1986) and Yoruba (Sachine 1997:263). The prefixes show concord with the noun they qualify and in most cases the stems also exhibit tonal concord. Table 1 gives examples of this pattern of reduplicated adjectives;

Table 1. Common patterns of reduplicated adjectives

Verb	Gloss	Derived adjective	Gloss
bán	to be red	-banban	red
càŋ	to be sweet	-caŋcaŋ	sweet
dǎk	to be heavy	-dǎkdǎk	heavy
dǎn	to blacken	-dǎndǎn	black
fá	to germinate	-fafa	germinated
fír	to be faint, to lose colour	-fírfír	white
ken⁺	to be cut off	-kenken	maimed
mái	to be wayward	-maimai	wayward
mwal⁺	to be fat	-mwalmwal	fat
niŋ⁺	to smell	-niŋniŋ	nonsensical
ré	to send	-rere	sent
sat⁺	to cease	-satsat	infertile, barren
tà	to drop	-tata	dropped
tár	to enter	-tartar	hidden

In most cases there is a transparent relationship between the meaning of the verb and the corresponding adjective, but occasionally the primary meaning of the CVC verb has disappeared, as in the case of **sat**, which no longer has the sense of ‘to be infertile’. In other examples, the meaning of the reduplicated adjective can only be deduced through a knowledge of Tarok culture, for example in the case of **niŋ⁺** ‘to smell’. The idiomatic expression **ñnap-ñlâ bú nəŋ⁺ kə⁺ mi⁺ parí** lit. ‘your talk smells with me much’ i.e. ‘you are talking nonsense’ illustrates how the two ideas are connected in Tarok semantics.

Complete reduplications of longer verbs are also possible (Table 2);

Table 2. Reduplicated adjectives other than CV(C)

Verb	Gloss	Derived adjective	Gloss
biliŋ	to be dislocated	-biliŋbiliŋ	dislocated
gáli	to be watery	-galigali	watery
guluk	to be deep-set	-gulukguluk	deep-set
kukkuruk	to be thick	-kukkurukkukkuruk	thick
lúkút	to be soft	-lukutlukut	soft
mǎlám	to shine	-mǎlammǎlam	shining
pírik	to be foolish	-pírikpírik	foolish

In one case the source lexeme is not a verb but an adverb;

gíptiŋ	shortly	-gíptiŋgíptiŋ	short (inanimate objects)
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There is a smaller class of reduplicated adjectives with apparently similar derivations but for which no corresponding Tarok CVC verb exists synchronically. Table 3 shows some of these adjectives and the present-day verbs that correspond to them.

Table 3. Adjectives and verbs with present-day corresponding meaning

Extant adjective	Gloss	Present day stative verb with similar meaning	
-cumcum	large	mwál⁺	to be fat
		rúp	to be tall
-gangan	long	wan⁺	to be long
-kankan	well, fine	fen	to be fine, good
-matmat	old, ancient	gbak⁺	to be old
-wuwu	wet	shim	to soak

It seems likely that simple verbs such as **cum** and **mat** existed previously but have dropped out of the language.

2.2 IRREGULARLY FORMED ADJECTIVES

2.2.1 CANONICAL SHAPE

By 'irregularly formed' is meant adjectives whose canonical shape is other than regular reduplication but which still show concord with the noun they qualify. These are extremely numerous in Tarok and exhibit a variety of word-shapes almost as wide as those recorded for the language as a whole. Possible shapes so far identified are shown in Table 4;

Table 4. Canonical shapes of 'irregular' adjectives

Shape	Example	Gloss
CV	-ŋa	evil
CVC	-bək	infant stage, young
CVN	-fon	young
CVCV	-kpari	without a companion
CVCVC	-fwakan	smaller, younger
CVCVN	-gbatŋ	clean-shaven, hairless
CVNCV	-vŋva	which, whose (definite)
CVCCV	-lakci	empty
CVCCVN	-dalkən	unfermented (as of <i>kunnu</i>)
CVNCVN	-gbankum	raw, unripe (e.g. mangoes)
CVCCVCVC	-taktirak	uncountable

As complete a list as possible is given in Appendix TABLE A2.

One of these, **-ya**, is unusual in having a stem-consonant change between singular and plural forms. It shows a form of restricted concord, as follows;

iya	iva	iván	ivá
young	dog	young	dogs
nya	aci	aván	aci
small	egg	small	eggs
nya	ngbit	nván	ngbít
small	pot	small	pots

Notice that the **ñ-** and **a-** classes have partially merged, as other adjectives would show concord with the **a-** prefix in **nya aci**. The plural, **-van**, always has the same mid-high tone pattern regardless of the tone of the following noun. This adjective cannot be applied to the **u-** class for humans. The correct form corresponding to **-ya** is;

uyen	shózhà	ován	shozhà
young	soldier	young	soldiers

The noun-class prefix is deleted only in the singular of professions, such as teachers and doctors. All such words are loanwords either from English or Hausa, which may explain this irregular behaviour.

Related to these are the adjectives derived from the names of peoples, formed from the proper noun with a concord prefix. Thus;

-Duk Angas
-Tarok Tarok

For example;

ùnəm a⁺ có ùTarok wà lyát à?
man he that Tarok he really int.
is that man really a Tarok?

Like ideophones, these ‘irregular’ adjectives are rarely derived (or relatable) directly to other words in the language. Examples where a corresponding lexeme does exist are shown in Table 5;

Table 5. Examples of ‘irregular’ adjectives and related lexemes			
Example	Gloss	Derived adjective	Gloss
fon ⁺	to be young	-fon	young
d̥ilkit ⁺	to be round	-d̥ilkit	rounded
fəŋlɔp ⁺	lightly	-fəŋlɔp	honeyless (honeycombs)
kúlún	to stir up	-kúlún	murky

These could be analysed as regularly-derived adjectives except that they do not reduplicate in the same way as the examples in Table 1. All the source lexemes have level tone-patterns and with one exception the same vowel in both syllables.

Some examples suggest strongly the ghost presence of a verb that has now disappeared from the language. Consider;

-lakci empty
-l̥lak empty (of a liquid)

The suffix **-ci** is a common although no longer productive verbal extension and **l̥lak** would be one strategy for reduplicating a verb **lak**. However, synchronically, no verb such as **lak** exists.

2.2.2 PARTIAL NOMINALISATION

Adjective-like forms can also be generated by prefixing some of the irregular adjectives and then placing them before the head-noun which they qualify. However, the prefixes do *not* show concord with the noun. The tone is the same as the tone in isolation when the partial nominal follows the head noun. When it precedes the noun it is subject to tone-raising. To that extent they appear like standard nominalisations. However, unlike standard forms they cannot be head a phrase but *must* be bound to a head-noun. For example;

afəŋlɔp alimwa	seedless groundnut shell
afəŋlɔp irizhe	honeyless comb
agbim ⁺ awó	fingerless hand
agbim ⁺ ikù	blunt axe
agóm ánəm	sickly person
amu ⁺ mmáŋgoro	unripe mango

The probable explanation for the nominalisation with **a-** is that the original meaning was ‘fingerless’, i.e. it agreed with **awó**, hand and that it was later extended to the broader meaning ‘bluntness’. In support of this is

the fact that these nominal-like forms can only be used in a set range of expressions and cannot be applied freely to other nouns.

An inversion of this order is also possible, with the partial nominals preceding the head-noun. Some examples are;

alimwa akwàṅkwàṅ	unshelled groundnuts
ikaba aguguk⁺	unhusked rice
ṇnap-ṇlà afṇlèp	pointless talk
ṇmáṅgoro amù	generally unripe mangoes in a batch
ṇḃwàmluk (ipaṇ)	dark (cave)

There is a partial semantic logic to some of these examples. Compare, for example;

ikaba aguguk⁺	unhusked rice
aguguk⁺ ikaba	rice bran
ṇmáṅgoro amu⁺	generally unripe mangoes in a batch
amu⁺ ṇmáṅgoro	unripe mangoes

This pattern is not, however, regularly applied and cannot be predicted.

To demonstrate that no concord is operating, there is at least one case where a partial nominal precedes nouns with three different prefixes;

ṇguluk acwáṅ	very deep ear cavity
ṇguluk ikpaṅ	very deep calabash
ṇguluk ṇgbìt	very deep pot

2.2.3 DUPLICATE MEANINGS BETWEEN ADJECTIVE TYPES

Between the regular and irregular adjectives there is some duplication of meaning, most notably in the case of the colours. Some examples of these are shown in Table 6;

Table 6. Reduplicated adjectives corresponding to non-reduplicated forms					
Verb	Gloss	Reduplicated Adjective	Gloss	Irregular Adjective	Gloss
ḃán	to redden	-ḃanḃan	reddened	-rizaṅ	red
dīn	to blacken	-dīndīn	blackened	-libir	black
fīr	to whiten	-fīrfīr	whitened	-lifir	white
rìp	to be spotted	-rìprìp	spotted	-rishan	spotted (cow ^o)
yén	to be small	-yenyén	small	-ḃwakan	small

^oOther words for spotted animals are given in TABLE A2

The difference between them seems to be that reduplicated adjectives refer to processes or states that are somehow abnormal, the opposition of inherent versus acquired characteristics. Thus;

iva ilibir	a black dog	<i>but</i>	akpap'shí adīndīn	blackened hair
ùyen ùḃwakan	a small child	<i>but</i>	ùnīm ùyenyén	a short person
ìnà iḃwàkàn	a young cow	<i>but</i>	ìnà iyènyèn	a dwarf cow

A child is naturally small, whereas a short person is somehow outside the norm.

2.2.4 SEMANTIC FIELD OF IRREGULAR ADJECTIVES IN TAROK

Derived adjectives in Tarok cover a wide range of semantic fields; as wide as the verbs from which they are generated. However, the ‘irregular’ adjectives have a set of rather distinctive semantic fields. To date, some 85 such adjectives (including demonstratives and relatives) have been identified (Appendix TABLE A2). These have been categorised into broad semantic fields and assigned a code. The numbers and percentages falling into each category are given in Table 7;

Table 7. Proportions of irregular adjectives falling into various semantic fields
n=85

Class	Code	Number	Percentage
Demonstratives, relatives etc.	A	9	10.6
Colours	B	12	14.1
Shape, texture	C	7	8.2
Incomplete or defective	D	37	43.5
Good and evil	E	5	5.9
Miscellaneous	F	15	17.7

These results suggest a correlation between the use of irregular adjectives and the notion of incompleteness or defectiveness.

There is at least one African language where a nearly comparable diversity *has* been identified, Dagara, a Gur language described by Delplanque (1997). Of the class of true adjectives, Delplanque found that only 23% had positive connotations, while more than 60% were ‘*franchement negative*’. Many of the same ideas as those in Tarok appear in Dagara, notably unfinished states, rawness, absence of sauce, nudity etc. Were the demonstratives eliminated from the Tarok calculations the resulting percentages would be very similar. In the light of these similarities, it is strange therefore, that Bonvini (1997) reports that the related Kasim language shows no comparable category.

2.3 NUMERALS

Numerals have a regular adjectival form consisting of the count form with a concord prefix. Table 8 shows the adjectives derived from numbers;

Table 8. Tarok numerals

English	Count form	Adjectival
one	ùziŋ	-ziŋ
two	ùpàrìm	-parim
three	ùshádĩŋ	-shadĩŋ
four	ùnèdĩŋ	-nedĩŋ
five	ùtúkún	-tukun
six	ùkpídĩŋ	-kpídĩŋ
seven	ùfàŋshát	-fàŋshat
eight	ùnnè	-nè
nine	ùfàŋzĩŋtĩŋ	-fàŋzĩŋtĩŋ
ten	ùgbĩpci	-gbĩpci

2.4 INSULTATIVES

Some of the most common insults in Tarok use special adjectives that appear always to have a pejorative context. They qualify body parts and their precise meaning is often difficult to elicit beyond a general reference to shape or appearance. These are placed before the noun and do not show concord with it. Unlike other adjectives they have an invariant tone pattern. For example;

bílíp anùŋ thin mouth

To each of these corresponds a reduplicated adjective with a concord prefix which agrees with the head-noun. These reduplications have a tonal pattern derived from the fixed tone of the insultative and do not show tonal concord with the stem of the noun, in contrast to normal adjectives;

anùŋ aḃíḃpḃíḃp thin mouth

Insultative adjectives can also be used in predicative constructions;

anùŋ	fà	a⁺	ḃíḃp	kə⁺	na⁺
mouth	appears	it	thin	for	him
his mouth is very thin					

or in comparatives;

anùŋ pə⁺ ḃíḃp wa x a mouth as thin as x

The predicative construction is said to be softer or less insulting than the use of a bare qualifier, but neither would be used to someone's face except in an argument. This construction is considered more descriptive than insulting.

Insulting adjectives can usually only qualify a specific noun, although occasionally, as in the case of **ḃíḃp**, they have two applications. Common insulting adjectives are given in Appendix Table A3 together with the noun to which they apply. Examples are given where adjectives apply to more than one body part. These words appear to be unanalysable in Tarok, which may suggest they are loans, although there is no specific evidence for this.

3. CONCLUSION

African languages are often stereotyped as having a restricted set of basic adjectives. This is clearly not the case in Tarok. A noteworthy aspect of many Tarok adjectives is the precision and specificity of their semantic field - e.g. 'raw, unripe (locust beans)'. Very few Tarok adjectives can be easily mapped against the semantic categories of conventional Indo-European adjectives. Tarok, however, shows many parallels with the Gur language Dagara, suggesting that these ideas are deeply embedded in Niger-Congo languages. This may imply that some African languages are richer in adjectives than is generally suspected and that the processes of elicitation generates an illusory impression of poverty.

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APPENDICES

TABLE A1. EXAMPLES OF THE MOST COMMON ADJECTIVES SHOWING COMPLETE REDUPLICATION IN TAROK

Adjective	Gloss	Source	
		Tarok	Gloss
-bəŋbəŋ	bad	bəŋ ⁺	to be bad
-benben	good	bén	to be good
-caŋcaŋ	sweet	cəŋ	to be sweet
-duŋduŋ	old (women only)	?	
-dɛkdɛk	heavy	dɛk	to be heavy
-dɪndɪn	black	dɪn	to blacken
-famfam	arrogant	fam ⁺	to be rude
-fɪrfɪr	white	fər ⁺	to make white
-gbákgbàk	old	gbak ⁺	to be old
-kamkam	strong	kám	to be strong
-kènkèn	maimed	ken ⁺	to be cut off
-kərkər	oppressed	kər	to suppress
-kpərkpər	dark	kpər	to be dark
-kukkuk	locked, imprisoned	kùk	to imprison
-kúkú	dead, listless	kú	to die
-kùkù	weak	?	
-lárjár	alive	lár	to survive
-làrlàr	lost	làr	to lose
-máimái	wayward	mái	to be wayward
-marmar	legitimate (of a child)	mar ⁺	to give birth to
-matmat	old, ancient	?	
-mənəmən	beloved	mən ⁺	to love
-mətmət	obstinate	mət ⁺	to be obstinate
-nimnim	barren, impotent (animals)	ním	to beat ²
-niŋniŋ	strong-smelling, nonsensical	níŋ ⁺	to smell
-pakpak	jailed	pak ⁺	to imprison
-pikpik	cooked	pák	to cook
-rere	sent	ré	to send
-ruprup	tall	rúp	to grow
-saksak	improperly cooked (vegetables)	?	
-satsat	infertile	sat ⁺	to cease
-sursur	hot	sur ⁺	to be hot
-swáswá	protruding	swá	to protrude
-tantan	wise, clever	tàn	to be clever
-vyapvyap	spoilt, delinquent	vyàp	to spoil
-wəŋwəŋ	long	wəŋ	to be long
-wəŋwəŋ	roasted	wəŋ	to roast
-womwom	dry	wóm	to be dry
-worwor	called	wór	to call
-worwor	prepared as with charms	wòr	to bathe with herbs
-yakyak	elected, selected	yák	to choose
-yenyen	small, unimportant	yén	to be little

TABLE A2. NON-REDUPLICATED ADJECTIVES IN TAROK SHOWING CONCORD PREFIXES

² The connection is that the testicles of a male animal are crushed and then wither, making the animal barren.

Column 1 shows the root of the adjective minus the prefix. Column 2 shows the noun-like form derived from it, where this exists. In most cases this is simply the meaning of the state or situation implied by the adjective. However, where the meaning has become distinct the form is bracketed and a fuller explanation is given below. Column 3 shows the gloss and Column 4 the semantic code (Table 7);

Form	Noun	Gloss	Code
-bángwál	?	young	D
-bək	ibək	infant stage, young	D
-but	—	unroofed (house)	D
-bim	—	without pubic hair (female genitals)	D
-bwákàn	—	unresolved (matter), unopened (house)	D
-bwat	—	smaller, younger	D
-bon	—	green (inanimate objects that would not usually be green, such as stones)	B
-calkat	—	young	D
-car	icar	smooth (stones, seeds), very bright (eyes)	C
-cilɪŋ	—	female	F
-dəlkən	—	without functioning legs	D
-difɪŋ	—	unfermented (as of kunnu)	D
-dulon	—	slimy	F
-dun	—	eating a lot (Hill Tarok only)	B
-dɪlkət	—	brown (describes sheep)	D
-dɪŋkili	—	uneaten (of certain foods)	C
-fəŋləp	afəŋləp	round	C
-gafak	—	round	D
-gban̄kum	—	honeyless, seedless	E
-gbatɪŋ	—	strange	D
-gbilam	—	raw, unripe (e.g. mangoes)	D
-gbiləŋ	—	clean-shaven, hairless	F
-gbim	agbim	early planted (crops)	B
-gbisak	—	light yellow (snails)	D
-gipɪŋ	—	fingerless or toeless, blunt	D
-gɪrgaŋ	—	not using charms or powers	D
-ghabal	—	using crude language	D
-ghap	—	raw (tubers, rice)	D
-guguk	aguguk	short (inanimate objects)	E
-guluk	nguluk	evil, strange	C
-gungur	—	very wide (applied to a pot mouth)	D
-guntur	—	uncovered (applied to any vessel that should be covered)	D
-gurum	—	unhusked rice	C
-halak	—	deeper than expected (cavity)	D
-kak	—	naked (the worst kind)	D
-kəŋləp	—	unroofed (house)	D
-katɪŋ	—	uncompleted (discussion)	D
-kin	ikin	lame	B
-kop	—	transparent, diaphanous	A
-kpakə	—	another	D
	—	light in weight	D
	—	naked, without soup	E
	—	good, reasonable, considerate	D
	—	not properly cooked (porridge)	D
	—	blue	B

Form	Noun	Gloss	Code
-kpari	ikpari	without a companion	D
-kpən	—	old (crop), stale, unused (drink)	D
-kpikip	—	thick (like cloth)	F
-kpiliŋ	ikpiliŋ	without husband or father	D
-kpilfik	—	unseasoned (cereals), raw, unripe (locust beans)	D
-kuluŋ	nkuluŋ	murky, stirred up (and thus spoilt)	D
-kyak	—	many	F
-lakci ^o	ilakci	empty, useless	D
-libir	—	black	B
-lifir	(ilifir)	white	B
-lilak	—	empty (of a liquid)	D
-luloŋ	—	raw (other foods) or not well cooked	D
-malin	imalin	naked (bearable)	D
-marim	—	multicoloured (dogs)	B
-mogo	—	angular, not rounded	C
-mulkut	—	unworked (e.g. a calabash)	D
-mulur	—	uncircumcised	D
-nimmo	—	a certain, describes s.t. indefinite	A
-ninən	ininən	good	E
-nal	inal	related	F
-nandir	nnandir	truthful	F
-naŋ	—	large, important	F
-ningbəŋ	—	big, great	F
-nungwan	(inungwan)	male	F
-ŋa	iŋa	evil	E
-pirik	mpirik	foolish	F
-pipe	—	new	F
-rizan	—	red	B
-rishan	—	spotted (cow)	B
-ro	(nro)	a certain	A
-rukwan	—	black and white mixed (sheep and goats)	B
-saŋlan	—	unseasoned (cooked food)	D
-sur	—	hot	F
-taktirak	—	uncountable	D
-vaksəlak	—	in great variety	F
-van	—	plural of -ya (see below)	
-vinglur	—	shapeless	
-viŋva	—	which, whose (definite i.e. the referent is somehow known to the listener)	A
-viŋvə	(nviŋvə)	which, whose (indefinite)	A
-vi(ŋ)co	—	that (remote from both hearer and speaker)	A
-vita	—	that (previously referred to and close to the hearer)	A
-vitə	—	this (close to the speaker)	A
-ya	—	young (of animals), small (objects)	F
-woŋ	—	empty	D
-zaŋziŋ	—	spotted	B
-ziŋtiŋ	—	the other	A
-zhakan	—	newly harvested (crops)	F
-zhip	—	in the state of giving birth for the first time	

^olakci can be optionally reduplicated when the meaning is ‘useless’ but not when it is ‘empty’

TABLE A3. INSULTING ADJECTIVES WITH THE NOUNS THEY USUALLY QUALIFY

balambu⁺ acwán	wide ears
baraŋgaŋ⁺ ishí	mis-shapen head
bīŋgaŋ⁺ igum	large navel
bototo⁺ alúr	wide nostrils
ḡákáp anuŋ	ducklike mouth with projecting lips
ḡákáp ashar	wobbling leg (i.e. s.o. who walks like a duck)
ḡálp anuŋ	thin mouth
ḡófó anuŋ	narrow mouth
cágá ishí	long head
cóbét anuŋ	narrow and long mouth
cógó anuŋ	narrow mouth
ḡáptál ikoksok	slightly protruding chest
ḡúktúl ijili	small buttocks
fiŋgúm iwu	half-open eyes
fukturok⁺	shortish and unattractive*
fyályaŋ igwál	thin arms
fyáŋgwúl icikpar	protruding back of the head
gálák iwu	open too wide (eyes)
gbəkəkə⁺ anuŋ	long mouth
gbəlar⁺ iwu	big, reddened eyes (like a witch)
gbəŋləŋ⁺ anuŋ	thick-lipped mouth (but implies vagina)
gbífi ifáŋ	short fingers
goktok⁺ iwu	deep-set eyes
guḡil⁺ isu	protruding forehead
kakrak⁺ ijili	desiccated buttocks
kəpsəl ishí	unkempt hair (lit. head)
kpaŋfiŋ ijili	porridge-like (i.e. hard) exposed buttocks
kpaŋgum⁺ isu	hard forehead
kpaŋkpilək⁺ anuŋ	thick (lips)
kpiŋkip ashar	thick leg (also hand, mouth)
mwákáp anuŋ	lips pressed inwards
myalalyaŋ⁺ awò	thin arms
nyímkwí acè	small penis
pákkín ishàk	short neck
rápjaŋ ashár	thin legs
ryákḡól afú	small stomach
ryákḡól ijili	small buttocks
shiwuli⁺ asəl-wù	small and swarthy face
súkswí mmyâr	bushy female pubic hair
swágá ashár	long legs
swálát awó	long and thin hands
táktái ishí	flat head
tálám ishí	shiny head
tálám isú	shiny forehead
tiŋgyáŋ afú	round, swollen belly
vuntur⁺ ijili	big buttocks
zháplák ijili	flat buttocks
zhígór afú	baglike belly

*only in **fukturok⁺ x** where x is the name of a person.