

TAROK PLURAL VERBS

**[DRAFT CIRCULATED FOR COMMENT -NOT FOR CITATION WITHOUT REFERENCE TO
THE AUTHOR**

Roger Blench
Kay Williamson Educational Foundation
8, Guest Road
Cambridge CB1 2AL
United Kingdom
Voice/ Ans 0044-(0)1223-560687
Mobile worldwide (00-44)-(0)7847-495590
E-mail rogerblench@yahoo.co.uk
<http://www.rogerblench.info/RBOP.htm>

Cambridge, 31 May, 2012

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. Introduction	1
2. Background to Tarok.....	2
3. Morphology of Plural Verbs	3
3.1 General.....	3
3.2 Regular sound-change between final consonants	3
3.3 The extension -ci	4
3.4 Suppletive plurals.....	5
3.5 Multiple plurals	6
4. Plural verbs in use.....	6
4.1 Action repeated many times.....	6
4.2 Describing an action with multiple subjects	6
4.3 Describing an action with multiple objects	6
4.4 Describing an action conducted over a long time.....	6
4.5 Transitivity change.....	6
4.6 Plurality in verbal nouns	6
5. Semantic linkages	7
6. Historical interpretation	7
References	8
Appendix Tables.....	9

TABLES

Table 1. Final –r/l alternation with –ŋ in Tarok plural verbs	3
Table 2. Verbs with -ci extension	4
Table 3. Singular plural pairings in Tarok verbal nouns.....	7
Table 4. Pe/ Tarok -ci suffix cognates.....	7

1. Introduction

The East Benue-Congo languages constitute a very large family of languages spoken in Nigeria and Cameroon but extending through to the remainder of Eastern and Southern Africa, when the Bantu languages are included. They retain in various stages of completeness many features now ascribed to Niger-Congo as a whole, such as noun-classes marked by affixes with concord and verbal extensions (Williamson & Blench 2000). A feature whose present distribution is somewhat unclear is the 'plural' or 'pluractional' verb. Verbs have at least two morphologically distinct forms, one of which can be derived from the other by more or less transparent processes, except in rare cases of suppletion. Plural verbs are a common feature both of East Benue-Congo languages and neighbouring Chadic languages. For Chadic, Newman (1990) has described the operation of both nominal and verbal plurality, while Carnochan (1970) presents a detailed study of Bacama. Although there are clearly interesting questions relating to the proximity of these two analogous systems and their inter-relations, this must be reserved for a broader study. Plural verbs also exist in Nilo-Saharan (see Keegan 1999 for Mbay examples) and in Gur (see Crouch 1998 and Blench *in press*) and in Degema (Kari 2000).

Within East Benue-Congo, plural verbs have been described principally from Plateau and Cross River families. The first description of plural verbs may be Bouquiaux' (1970) account of Berom. Izere has been the subject of at least two partial accounts (Wolff & Meyer-Bahlburg 1979; Gerhardt 1984), McKinney (1979) characterised Jju and more recently Aron (1996/7) has described plurality in verbs in Obolo, a Cross River language as well as providing some references to extra-African literature. Unpublished data on Tarok (Blench *n.d.*) and Berom (Blench *n.d.*) is also available. This relatively weak documentation derives from the fact that plural forms are often poorly known by younger or urban speakers. Whether, as Aron (1996/7) seems to think, this is evidence that they are disappearing or alternatively have always been gradually learnt as speakers grow older remains to be determined.

The exact definition of plural verbs is more than a little confusing, in part because they are almost always in now fragmentary systems and because the emphases of their use do indeed vary from language to language. In Izere and Fyem they have been described as 'continuous'; in Jju (Kaje) and Berom as 'plural' verbs and in some other texts as pluractional (Newman 1990). Aron (1996/7) contrasts 'distributive' (where the subject or object can be plural) with 'iterative' where an action is performed many times. Their uses can be described as follows;

1. Describing an action repeated many times
2. Describing an action with multiple subjects
3. Describing an action with multiple objects
4. Describing an action conducted over a long time
5. Any combination of these

The iterative use of the plural forms was led some researchers to associate these forms with an imperfect; if an action is undertaken many times it is presumably incomplete and thus contrastive with a completed form. However, in most languages where the verbal system has been described, aspect and plurality are distinct.

An aspect of verbal plurality that is contrastive with nominal plurals is that speakers do not generally connect forms systematically, particularly when plurals are suppletive. Thus speakers can easily cite noun-class affix pairings but are not usually aware of verb pairings, although they usually recognise them when pointed out. This is even more the case where there are triplets, multiple plurals to one singular form. As a consequence there are sometimes borderline cases when the relationship between a singular and a plural form can be in doubt especially where the semantics are no longer transparent.

As yet unpublished data on two Plateau languages suggest that these systems can be very rich. Hasha (=Yashi) probably has the most elaborate system of verb plurals yet recorded for a Plateau language, made

all the more surprising by the apparent borrowing of its strategies from nearby Chadic languages¹. Every verb has a plural form, predictable from the singular through the application of rules for forming nominal plurals. Fyem has a quadripartite system, generating distinct forms for plural subjects and repeated actions and combinations of both of them².

The source of plural verb formation strategies is as yet unclear. In most languages so far studied, the diversity of forms suggests that these are remnants of a morphologically and semantically complex system that has undergone semantic re-ordering. The most likely hypothesis is that the verbal plurals are former semantically diverse verbal extensions that have undergone erosion and restructuring. However, the comparative evidence is not yet available to provide concrete underpinning to such a speculation. The existence of verbal plurals, such as those in Hasha, that are formed by analogy with the nominal system shows that the morphological routes to these formations can be diverse.

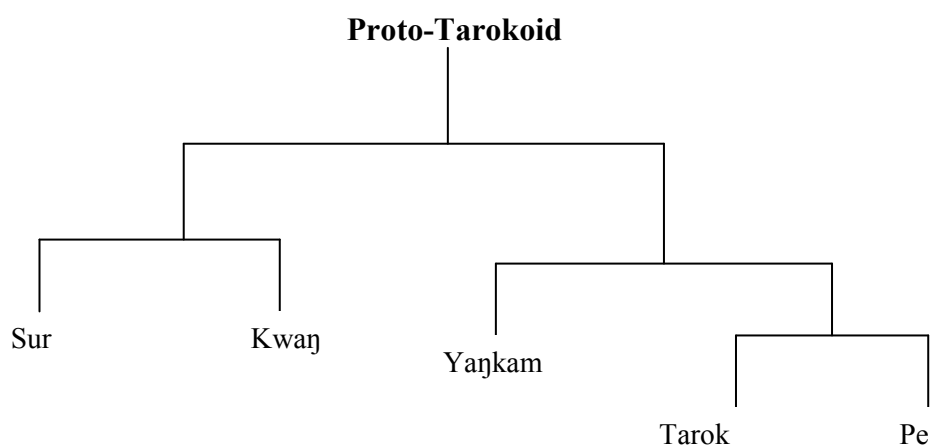
This paper describes the system of plural verbs in Tarok, a Plateau language of east-central Nigeria. Tarok appears to have a residual system of such plurals, exhibiting quite some morphological diversity. By and large, there seems to little cognacy with similar systems reported for the central Plateau languages such as Berom and Izere, despite considerable semantic similarity. Historically it would be valuable to compare Tarok systematically with its nearest relatives, such as Pe and Yangkam, but little information on these languages is currently available. The paper describes the morphology of plural verbs and then explores some of the semantics of plurality, concluding with some historical speculations.

2. Background to Tarok

The Tarok [=Yergam] people live primarily in the region around Langtang in south-east Plateau State, Nigeria. Tarok was first described by Fitzpatrick (1911). Robinson (1976) is a brief exploration of possessive morphology. 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, 2007, 2008) has analysed the implications of the classification of Tarok for the interpretation of oral tradition and elaborated a formal phonology.

Tarok is the most widespread of the five languages currently considered to fall within Tarokoid, one of the branches of Plateau (Blench in press). These languages, all spoken in SE Plateau State, are Sur, the Kwan cluster, Yangkam, Pe and Tarok. Of these, only Tarok has any significant published descriptive literature. Figure 1 shows the internal structure of Tarokoid;

Figure 1. Internal structure of Tarokoid



¹ R.M. Blench, electronic ms. *The Hasha language and its affinities*. Hasha speakers seem to have borrowed from Sha, a neighbouring Ron language.

² R.M. Blench, electronic ms. *The Fyem language and its affinities*.

The other Tarokoid languages are known only from extended wordlists, but there is some evidence that the relax verbal extensions under discussion can be reconstructed to a level deeper than Tarok itself.

The paper uses the phonological analysis proposed in Longtau (1993, 2008) 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	ɔ
ŋ	ŋ

Three level tones plus rising and falling glides are noted with mid-tone unmarked.

3. Morphology

3.1 General

The great majority of Tarok pluractional verbs are of the form CVN. All other forms are rare and probably represent compounding of two CVC verbs or the persistence of non-productive verbal extensions. The only plural verbs not in the CVC class are those with a CVCCV singulative, where the final CV is always the affix **–ci**. Plural verb morphology can be divided into the following classes;

- those that exhibit final consonant alternation between singular and plural with optional change of V₁
- those with a **–ci** suffix to indicate a singular form
- those where the singular and plural stems are quite distinct, i.e. suppletive.

Tarok permits some verbs to exhibit two plurals, perhaps to distinguish iteratives from subject/object plurality (§3.5) and these can combine the categories listed above.

3.2 Regular sound-change between final consonants

The most common singular/plural alternation is **–r/l** with **–ŋ** as shown in Table 1;

Table 1. Final –r/l alternation with –ŋ in Tarok plural verbs			
Sing	Meaning	Plural	Meaning
cir	to run (single subject)	ciŋ	to run (multiple subjects)
fôr	to climb down (single subject)	fôŋ	to climb down (multiple subjects)
gbál	to kill (single object)	gbáŋ	to kill (multiple objects)
pal	to cross	paŋ	to cross (multiple s. and/or o.)
tár	to enter	táŋ	to enter (multiple subjects)
tár	to pour away	táŋ	to pour away (multiple subjects)
tul	to pop	túŋ	to pop (multiple objects)
yál	to keep upright	yáŋ	to keep upright (multiple objects)
yíl	to fill	yíŋ	to fill (multiple objects)

In two cases the stem vowel changes as well;

cér	to put	cóŋ	to put (either many things or in many places)
tal	to stand	toŋ	to stand (multiple subjects)

Not all verbs with r/l in final position obey this rule as the following suppletives illustrate;

nar⁺	to stretch out (single items)	pál⁺	to spread out (many things)
gəl	to cut off (single object)	ken	to cut off (multiple objects)
kér	to crown	kép	to crown (multiple objects)
tur⁺	to extract	zəp	to extract

3.3 The singulative extension -ci

The most common extension is **-ci**, always occurring suffixed to verbs of CV(C) shape. **Table 2** shows all the **-ci** verbs so far identified with their CV(C) equivalents where these exist. The tone on the **-ci** is unpredictable. Many verbs with a **-ci** extension no longer have a CVC equivalent, or else the semantic shift is such that the link can no longer be identified with certainty. Question marks indicate that the relationship between the CVC verb and the **-ci** form is uncertain.

Table 2. Verbs with -ci extension

Non-extended	Gloss	Extended	Gloss
bwat ⁺	to bruise many times	bwatcí	to bruise once
byáp [?]	to press down	bwàtci	to be over the top (Hill Tarok)
dàŋ	to cover	byaci	to press, to compress
dàp	to pull	fákci	to snap (single object)
đəŋ	to roll, to push	dàŋci	to cover completely
gəl	to cut	dàpci	to pull sharply, to inhale
ghám	to cry out loud (anyone)	demci	to insist on
ká	to make a fence around	đəŋci	to thank
kak ⁺	to crack	đəŋci	to roll over
kàp	to bite	fákci	to embrace
kúm	to gore repeatedly	gəlci	to cut once, to cut down
kwat ⁺	to break off pieces of brittle material to form a specific shape (as a snail-shell, calabash), to scoop out something (e.g. water) in small quantities	ghámci	to cry out intensely and suddenly (babies)
		káci	to entangle, to trap
		kàkci	to tear off, to rip off
		kàpci	to take a single bite
		kuci	to bend down
		kùci	to be constipated
		kúmci	to hit a person with a horn (used of animals)
		kwatci	to take absolutely everything out of a container (only used for liquids and grains)
lwaŋ	to smear	lapci ⁺	to feel weak
lìm [?]	to sweat	lapci ⁺	to bring down a vessel and serve a liquid (arch.)
má	to be tight	lwaŋci ⁺	to stamp on, to mash
mək	to sip several times, to lick several times	limci	to cover completely by water
mám	to be inarticulate	máci	to strangle, to close tightly
		máŋci	to keep watch (s.t. immobile)
		məci	to scrape off hairs (as in tanning)
		məkci ⁺	to sip s.t. once
nan ⁺	to squash repeatedly	mámci	to keep quiet
nyam ⁺	to grind wet grains	myàŋci	to pinch
paŋ ⁺	to be tight	myaŋci ⁺	to take a small piece
ram ⁺	to bite repeatedly (as a dog)	nakci	to sprint
		namci ⁺	to be slim
		namci ⁺	to squash
		nyamci	to crush once [dictionary?]
súŋ [?]	to set in ground	páŋci	to keep watch (s.t. mobile)
tat ⁺	to kick	pàŋci	to become trapped
		ramci ⁺	to bite on something hard unexpectedly
		sokci	to shake food with oil
		soŋci ⁺	to be sitting down (only of a large person)
		súŋci	to perform jumping dance
		tàtci	to be piled up, to lie prone
		tàtci	to slap

Non-extended	Gloss	Extended	Gloss
tók	to pour out	tatcí	to scoop up a little quantity of s.t., to spare
toŋ⁺	to trample	tókci	to pour out in small quantities
vat	to come off in pieces	toŋcí	to step on
		vatcí	to rip off (lid of sealed container, bark of tree)
		wací	to take everything
wat⁺ [?]	to make a final action	wáci	to strangle, to close tightly, to conclude
wur⁺	to gather many objects	wúci	to take everything
		yapci	to squat
yèp	to take in small mouthfuls	yepci	to gulp down
		yíci	to stretch out
yì	to rest	yici⁺	to reach a satisfying stage
zəp⁺	to overturn many objects	zəpci	to overturn, to brood eggs, to cover completely

A puzzling case is the following pair. **ḡún** and **ḡákcí** are treated as a suppletive pair of verbs marking number. Whether **ḡún** is related to **ḡák** via some now obscure morphological process is unclear.

ḡákcí	to break in two, to snap
ḡún	to break multiple objects or a single object in many places, to harvest

In some pairs, **-ci** functions as an intensifier. For example;

kak⁺	to break	kàkci	to tear off, to rip off
vát	to come off in pieces	vátci	to rip off
wur⁺	to gather objects	wúci	to take everything

The variability of the tone on **-ci** suggests the possibility that more than one extension was originally involved and that the distinction has been neutralised.

Some verbs combine the **-ci** extension in the singular with a second, suppletive plural;

gèlci	to be cut off single object, to be cut down, to do something without preparation
gəl	to cut off, cut down
ken	to cut many times (e.g. tribal marks), to be pricked (by inoculation needle), to peck at, to take many bites, to chop down

3.4 Suppletive plurals

The system has clearly undergone considerable re-interpretation over time. The verb **wur⁺** is both a singular in relation to one verb and a plural in relation to another undergoing a minor semantic change.

nar	to stretch out (single items, such as bedding)	pál	to spread out (many things, such as grains)
námci	to break something that is delicate and contains a fluid	nan	to break repeatedly
uza	námci iwu he broke the eye(ball)		

The last group shows that the regular sound change does not apply to all verbs. Verbs of similar shapes may not exhibit the same feature.

3.5 Multiple plurals

Tarok, like Obolo and Berom, permits rare cases of multiple plurals. However, these do not show any consistency in morphology or even semantics. The verb forms for ‘to carry off’ are entirely different for each type of plurality;

yár	ìkòkàp yár iya irugu mi	the hawk carried away my chick
wur ⁺	ìkòkàp wur ivan irugu mi	the hawk carried away my chicks
tán	ìkòkàp tán ivan irugu mi	the hawk came and carried my chicks many times
	kér	to prick, to poke with a knife
	kép	to prick, to poke with a knife
	táp	to stab repeatedly, to gore

4. Plural verbs in use

4.1 Action repeated many times

4.2 Describing an action with multiple subjects

cér to put pl. coŋ to be scattered about in groups (as clouds, dishes), to be clumped, clustered

ilùlù coŋ The clouds are in clumps

4.3 Describing an action with multiple objects

uza pāl ìmar
she spread out millet (grains)
she spread out the millet to dry

4.4 Describing an action conducted over a long time

4.5 Transitivity change

kpán ‘to work out a situation’

uZum ya pa ònàp va i kpán kát.
Hare saw that matters which will work out not
Hare saw that things would not work out

4.6 Plurality in verbal nouns

Tarok has a productive process of creating verbal nouns with homorganic tone-bearing nasal prefixes. Where these prefixes are applied to verbs or verb phrases with plural forms, comparable pairs of verbal nouns exist. Table 3 gives some examples of these;

Table 3. Singular/plural pairings in Tarok verbal nouns

sg.	pl.	gloss
cír	cíng	running
gbál	gbáng	killing
gbál-anùng	gbáng-anùng	quarrelling
kpang	wur	sweeping, clearing ? fishing

5. Semantics

One aspect of verbal plurality in Tarok is the way plural forms come to have broader or more fine-grain meanings implicit in, but not used in the singular. These expansions of meaning usually come about through a perception of physical or visual analogy. A consequence of this is that unrelated singular forms can converge on a single plural verb which then serves a variety of singular forms. An example of a general singular verb developing a highly specific plural form is;

rú to fall, fail, drop

has the plural

tàk 1. to fall many times or many people fall 2. to make a burrow and heap up the soil on the surface (rodents)

wur –a busy word

Humpty-Dumpty observed that words had to be paid extra for doing more and **wur** appears to be a particularly busy word. It is the plural of at least three separate singular verbs;

kpán	to catch s.t., to hold, to arrest, to work out (a situation)	wur	to go fishing
kpaŋ	to sweep, to weed	wur	~ (multiple objects or repeatedly)
yár	to carry, to pick or take or select, to follow, to assist s.o. place s.t. on the head, to smother	wur	~ (many people or objects)
yár	to begin the same song	wur	to begin different songs

6. Historical interpretation

Tarok has a significant number of plural verbs, although many less proportionately, than more central Plateau languages such as Berom and Izere. Their morphology appears to be quite different from the other described Plateau languages which depend on infixing and suffix alternation. Suppletives and sound-change are significantly more common, while somewhat surprisingly, the suffix that does appear, -ci, is most often a singulative. In Pe, the language most closely related to Tarok, the -ti suffix on verbs regularly corresponds to -ci in Tarok (Table 4);

Table 4. Pe/ Tarok -ci suffix cognates

Gloss	Pe	Tarok
Tear (cloth etc.)	kapti	kàkci
Snap in two	wakti	íkci
Drag	dapti	dàpci

This suffix also resembles those found in Kuteb and probably is found more widely in Jukunoid languages.

The other aspect of Tarok plural verbs is that on the whole they stay within the single semantic frame of reference. this is rather in contrast to Berom and Izere, where transitivity changes and passive/antipassive distinctions are made by verbs within the same morphological framework. Tarok verbs stay with plurality of multiple subjects and objects and iterative meanings. This tends to suggest not an old and morphologically unified system such as in Central Plateau but a system with a strong semantic underlay, made up from differing elements within the language.

References

- Aron, U. 1996/7. The category of number in Obolo verbal morphology. *Journal of West African Languages*, XXVI(1):49-76.
- Bendor-Samuel, J. Skitch, D. & E. Cressman 1973. *Duka sentence, clause and phrase*. Zaria: Institute of Linguistics.
- Blench, R.M. 2002.
- Bouquiaux, Luc 1970. *La langue Birom (Nigéria septentrional) –phonologie, morphologie, syntaxe*. Paris : Société d'édition Les Belles Lettres.
- Fitzpatrick, J.F.J. 1911. Some notes on the Yergum, Montol, Garkawa and Ankwe languages. *Journal of African Studies*, 10:213-221 and 490.
- Gerhardt, L. 1971. Stammweiterungen in den Verben einiger zentralnigerianischer Klassenprachen. In *Afrikanischen Sprachen und Kulturen-Ein Querschnitt*. 95-101. Hamburger Beiträge zur Afrika-kunde, Band 14. Hamburg: Deutsches Institut für Afrika-forschung.
- Gerhardt, L. 1983. *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Sprachen des Nigerianischen Plateaus*. Glückstadt: Verlag J.J. Augustin.
- Gerhardt, L. 1984. More on the verbal system of Zarek (Northern Nigeria)*. *Afrika und Übersee*, 67:11-29.
- Longtau, Selbut R. 1991. Linguistic Evidence on the Origins of Peoples: The case of the Tarok people of Plateau State (Nigeria). *Afrika und Übersee*, 74:191-204.
- Longtau, Selbut R. 1993. A formal Tarok phonology. *Afrika und Übersee*, 76:15-40.
- Longtau, Selbut R. 2000. Tarok orthography. In: *Orthographies of Nigerian languages*, VI. E. Nolue Emenanjo ed. 76-97. Lagos: Nigerian Educational Research and Development Council.
- Longtau, Selbut R. 2007. An Exploration for Linguistic Evidence of Inter-Group Relations between Speakers of Tarok and other East Benue-Congo Languages in Prehistory. In *Convergence: English and Nigerian Languages. A Festschrift for Munzali A. Jibril*. Ozo-Mekuri Ndimele ed. 291-329. Festschrift Series No. 5, LAN.
- Longtau, Selbut R. 2008. *The Tarok language: its basic principles and grammar*. Kay Williamson Educational Foundation, Language Monograph Series 1. Jos: DART.
- Longtau, Selbut R. and R.M. Blench (in prep) *A dictionary of Tarok*.
- McKinney, C. 1979. Plural verb roots in Kaje. *Afrika und Übersee*, 82:107-117.
- Milroy, J. 1992. *Linguistic variation and change: on the historical sociolinguistics of English*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Newman, P. 1990. *Nominal and verbal plurality in Chadic*. Dordrecht: Foris publications.
- Robinson, J.O.S. 1976. His and hers morphology: The strange case of Tarok possessives. *Studies in African Linguistics*, Supplement 6: 201-209.
- Sibomana, Leo 1980. Grundzüge der Phonologie des Tarok (Yergam). *Afrika und Übersee*, 63:199-206.
- Sibomana, Leo 1981a. Tarok II: Das Nominalklassensystem. *Afrika und Übersee*, 64:25-34.
- Sibomana, Leo 1981b. Tarok III: Das Verbalsystem. *Afrika und Übersee*, 64:237-247.
- Voeltz, Erhard 1977, *Proto-Niger-Congo Verb Extensions*, Ph.D. UCLA.
- Williamson, Kay and R.M. Blench 2000. Niger-Congo. In: *African Languages*. B. Heine and D. Nurse eds. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wolff, Ekkehard & H. Meyer-Bahlburg 1979. Morphologie und Semantik der erweiterten Verbalstämme in der Sprache der Afuzare (Zarek). *Afrika und Übersee*, 62:1-32.

Appendix Tables

Appendix Table 1. Singular/plural verb pairs in Tarok

Sing.	Gloss	Pl.	Gloss
bwatcí	to bruise once	bwat⁺	to bruise many times
ḡákí	to break in two, snap (single object)	ḡún	to break (multiple objects)
cer	to put, to serve (as a meal)	coḡ	to put (either many things or in many places) to be scattered about in groups (as clouds, dishes), to be clumped, to be clustered
cip	to wind round (single object) , to turban a chief	cìn	to wind round (multiple objects), to wrap grass around a thatching frame
cir	to run (single subject), to avoid, to escape, to blow (as breeze)	ciḡ	to run, to avoid, to escape, to blow (multiple subjects)
dàt	1. to line up [people or things] 2. to be in succession	kpàp	to arrange in a row or column
fér	to climb down (single subject)	fḡḡ	to climb down (multiple subjects)
gbál	to kill, destroy, finish, choke (single object)	gbánḡ	to kill etc. (multiple o.)
ḡàl(cí)	to cut off, cut down (single object), to do something without preparation	ken	to cut off, down (multiple objects) and etc.
kàp(cí)	to take a single bite, to make an incision to bring out pus, to chop down	ken⁺	to bite several times and etc., to chop down (multiple objects)
kér	to prick (for inoculation)	ken	to have been pricked (for inoculation)
kér, kḡp	to poke with a knife once	táp	to poke with a knife many times
kér	to turban a chief, to appoint a leader, to thatch	kḡp	to turban a chief, to thatch (multiple objects)
kpál	to take a serving of, to break something soft, to collapse, to dislocate	kpánḡ	~ (multiple objects or repeatedly)
kpán	to catch s.t., to hold, to arrest, to work out (a situation)	wur⁺	to go fishing
kpang	to sweep, to weed	wur	~ (multiple objects or repeatedly)
kúmci	to gore	kúm	to hit a person with a horn repeatedly (used of animals)
lèp	to hit, to slap, to become sick, to finish	nám	to beat many times, to flog
lèp iwàr	to give a danger signal (lit. to cry out "arrow!")	kan iwàr	to give a danger signal repeatedly
mandar⁺	to throw away	swánḡ	to throw away, discard (many things either at once or successively)
mar	to give birth, to head (cereals)	vak	to give multiple birth (animals and plants)
maḡ	to swallow once	maḡan	to swallow continuously
myandar⁺	to twist the lips in an expression of displeasure	myar⁺	to twist
[anùn]			
myàndàr	to walk or run with an exaggerated buttock movement, implying great effort without actually moving fast. Used by a speaker to insult someone moving away from them.	myar⁺	to twist
[ijili]			
myànḡci	to pinch, to take a small piece and give it to s.o.	myànḡ	to pinch several times and etc.
nak⁺	to store	mwak	to store many things

Appendix Table 1. Singular/plural verb pairs in Tarok

Sing.	Gloss	Pl.	Gloss
nál	to pour into narrow-necked container	náng	to pour (into many receptacles, or where many objects are being poured, as cereals)
nàl	to wash a cloth	wámshí	to wash clothes (plural object)
námčí	to break something that is delicate and contains a fluid, to squash	nan	to break, squash repeatedly
nàr	to stretch out (single items, such as bedding)	pál	to spread out (many things, such as grains), to be wrecked, to be destroyed, to be razed to the ground uza páł ìmar she spread out the millet to dry
pá	to ladle out liquid	ɖyaŋ	to fetch (liquid, money, grains)
pá ndəŋ	to fetch water	ɖyaŋ ndəŋ	to fetch water (several times)
pá	to put in/on, to wear	mwak	to wear (either many subjects or objects, i.e. wearing many clothes)
pàngèi	to become trapped in a tiny hole or space	pang	to become stuck in a tiny hole or space
pal	to cross over, to exchange	paŋ	to cross over (multiple s. and/or o.) to exchange (multiple s. and/or o.)
pátár	to pluck, to break off, to tear off	páŋ	~ (multiple s. and/or o.)
ru	to fall, to drop, to fail	ták	to fall repeatedly, to pile soil (as a rodent covering its burrow)
tám	to lick once	mək	to lick many times
tár	to enter	táŋ	to enter (multiple subjects)
tár	to pour away	táŋ	to pour away (multiple subjects)
tat⁺	to spit	ɖyaŋ	to wash with jet of water, to spit repeatedly
təl	to stop moving, to stand, to cease, to become	toŋ	to stand (multiple subjects)
toŋcí	to step on, to stamp on, to mash	tóŋ	to trample
túl	to pop, to pierce, to blast, to puncture, to break [egg], to defeat s.o. in an election or wrestling competition	túŋ	~ (multiple objects)
tur⁺	to remove, to extract, to take away forcefully, to take off (clothes)	zəp	to uproot (as harvesting groundnuts), to remove (multiple objects)
yál	to keep in a standing position	yáŋ	to keep in a standing position (many objects)
yár	to carry, to pick or take or select, to follow, to assist s.o. place s.t. on the head, to smother	wur	~ (many people or objects)
yár	to begin the same song	wur	to begin different songs
yár	to carry	tán	to fetch many times
yíl	to fill, to be full, to be many	yíŋ	to fill completely

Nouns in brackets following the verbs are obligatory complements.