

The Toro language of Central Nigeria and its affinities

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This printout: August 30, 2010

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1. Introduction

This is an annotated wordlist of the Toro [=Turkwam] language, spoken in Turkwam village in Plateau State, Nigeria. The wordlist was collected by Roger Blench with the assistance of Selbut Longtau from Handiru Aveh and Yisus Akoman on the 8th of January 1999. Elicitation was cut short by illness, hence the occasional lacunae in the list; I hope to return and take additional data and thus leave the lines blank at present.

The wordlist was collected as a 'one-shot' exercise and the transcription must therefore be regarded as very preliminary. In general, tones are not marked, although the data was taped and they will be added when time permits. This analysis was prepared by Roger Blench, who added the comparative observations¹. This document is being circulated to scholars for comment.

2. Location, history and sociolinguistic situation

2.1 Nomenclature

Turkwam is a village northeast of Wamba with perhaps 2000 inhabitants. The correct name of the Turkwam is Toro (plural a-Toro-mbo). The Toro identify strongly culturally with the Kantana, a neighbouring people speaking a Jarawan Bantu language, but this is contradicted by their language which is clearly a Plateau language.

2.2 Location and settlements

The Toro people live in one large village, some two km. southeast of Kanja on the Wamba Fadan Karshi road (Map 1).

2.3 Language status

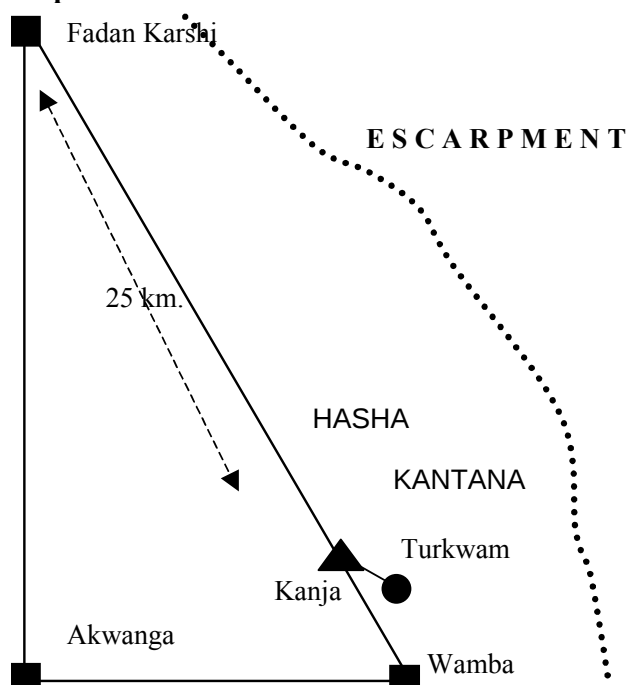
There are probably less than 2000 speakers of Toro but language maintenance seems to be good. However, even the older informants were inclined to produce Hausa words for some quite common lexical items, pointing to a high degree of bilingualism and very much in contrast to other peoples in the same area.

2.4 Toro culture and history

The only description of Toro culture is in CAPRO (ined.) and the following notes are drawn mainly from this source.

The Toro migrated from Mungar [=Mangar?] to found the present Turkwam village. Before founding Turkwam village, the people passed through the Mama and Gbatorok area. They share much of their culture with the Kantana of Kwara and have the same cultural practices, beliefs, moral and social code, though some practices or rites have a different name. For example, worship in the Turkwam area is the same in the Kwara area but some of the names of their gods differ among the Toro. Toro cults include *Mangam*, *Klanglene*, *Kumburu*, *Jakara*, *Moso*, *Shombona*, *Kamo*, *Ukumburum Hworo*, and *Gbyebye*. These shrines have the same functions as those in the Kwara area. The secret cult which the young men are initiated into has the same rules and function. The shrine of the gods is known as *Damoso* while the chief priest is known as the *Agomoso*. To worship or appease the gods, sacrifices of goats, bulls, chickens and local beer are made.

Map 1. Location of Turkwam



¹ I am grateful to who have assisted me with external parallels and other comments. Ian Maddieson kindly made available copies of the orthographic wordlists collected in the 1970s.

There have three religious festivals, during which the gods are consulted, and appreciations and petitions are made to gods according to the season. The *Mongogoro* festival is a three-day feast held in December. *Ananekerenget* is celebrated in April and the *Amango* festival is held in June every year. The Turkwam have the same marriage, burial and initiation customs as their brothers in the Mungar (Kwarra) area.

Christianity was first brought to the village in about 1949 by Mr. Douglas, an SUM. missionary. Today the number of Toro people that go to church is 300. Denominations include the evangelical Reformed Church of Christ, eCWA, Baptist and Roman Catholic.

2.5 Classification of the Toro language

Toro is not listed in the classic sources on Benue-Congo and it probably only became known through the short orthographic wordlists collected by Ian Maddieson in the 1970s. Maddieson (1972) treats Toro and Alumu-Təsu as related to each other but forming a distinct subgroup of Plateau. However, in the Index of Nigerian Languages (INL) (Hansford *et al.* 1976), the Toro/ Alumu-Təsu had become a subgroup of the Benue languages, along with Tarok, Jukunoid, eggon etc. By 1989, they had migrated into Tarokoid (Gerhardt 1989) on what evidence it is hard to say since no data has ever been published. It seems quite likely this was just a misinterpretation of a typographic convention based on a reprise of the INL rather than a positive classification. This was reprised in Crozier & Blench (1992) for lack of alternative evidence and Longtau (1991) spent some energy trying to make these language fit with Tarok oral traditions. From all this the only usable conclusion is that those who have considered the meagre data in circulation, is that Toro and Alumu-Təsu are related to one another and that they are Plateau languages. The comparative data cited in this paper is intended to provide evidence to support or disconfirm these suppositions. §6. summarises the conclusions to be drawn from this exercise.

3. Phonology

The phonology of Toro is based on rapid observations and should therefore be regarded as tentative at this stage.

3.1 Vowels

Toro probably has seven phonemic vowels;

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

The status of the /ə/ is highly uncertain, and it is probably a centralised allophone of /i/. For the present it is transcribed as heard.

3.2 Consonants

Toro consonants are as follows:

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Alveopalatal	Palatal	Velar	Labial-velar	Glottal
Plosive	p b		t d		[c] j	k g	(kp)	
Nasal	m		n			ŋ		
Trill			[r]					
Fricative		f v	s z	ʃ ʒ		ɣ		h
Approximant					y		w	
Lateral Approximant			l					
Implosive	ɓ		ɗ					

3.3 Tones

4. Morphology

4.1 Nouns

Toro has entirely converted to a system of a single plural suffix, with no functioning noun-prefixes. Nonetheless, these can be recovered in part from the existing nouns, especially by comparison with cognate forms in other Plateau languages.

a-

Leaf	a-su	cf. Alumu à-fù , Hasha i-ifi
Rubbish-heap	avùvù	
Sand	anzai	cf. Təsu a-senge
Water	amunu	cf. Alumu a-mù
Rain	a-wi	cf. Alumu awè ,
Star(s)	a-ta	
Mountain	a-kongoro	cf. Hasha i-gon , Tesu bəngəɔ ,
Man	atifa	cf. Təsu atifa ,
Chief/ruler	a-gwòmò	

e-

Urine	efuru
Louse	ela

u-

Nose	ù-wònò	cf. Fyem đu-wól pl. awól , Mabo awol , Pe tí-yol , Berom wól pl. bāwól , Ndoro ɲwunà
Bark (of tree)	(of ùkùkù)	cf. Alumu ùkùkù ,
Clay	ù-rù	cf. Alumu ɛ-lù
Leopard	uku	

n-

Sky **n-zà** cf. Alumu **n-zà** 'God',
 Ground **ndù**

mu-

Smoke **muṅzu** cf. Alumu **n-zù**
 Hand **maròvò**

tu-

Night **tu-somo** cf. Alumu **i-fíní**, Hasha **i-sun**,
 Pot (generic) **tukpare**

i-/ə-

Horn **i-fiya**
 Head **i-kpyè** **ekpe**
 eye **i-yù** cf. Eggon **èyí**, Irigwe **riyí**, Yala **èyì**, Arum **iyù**, Nupe **eye**⁺, (BCCW, 36).
 Forehead **igbùmù** cf. Alumu **gbùmù**,
 Ear **ə-sutə** **su+ #to.** cf. Horom **tòṅ**, Fyem **hutónṅ**, Bo **utó**, Ningye **tṅ**. The **ḡ-** element is likely to be an old prefix e.g. Fyem **hu-tónṅ**.
 Stomach **i-yara** cf. Alumu **i-yrá**,
 Thigh **ə-sò**
 Body **itə** cf. Alumu **i-tó**,
 Meat **i-wu** cf. Alumu **i-wù**, Hasha **i-vwe**, Yangkam **vi**, widespread in Jukunoid as **wi**, suggesting a regional root **#-vwi**.

The following are apparently formed by the first syllable reduplication rule, found in a scattered way in various Plateau languages and systematically in Hasaha.

Sweat **həhəro**
 Tail **didimí**
 Chameleon **didini**
 Floor-beater **vəvəro**
 Chin/beard **adədəmə**
 Vein **riri**
 Butterfly **kəkəno**
 Ant (Generic) **adedeva**

5. Lexical comparison and the classification of Toro

The wordlist given below and the etymological commentary are intended to throw some light on the classification of Toro. This paper adopts the convention for reconstructions used in the Niger-Congo volume edited by Bender-Samuel (1989), distinguishing those established by regular sound-correspondences from those derived by quick inspection of cognates. By this criterion, most major reconstructed forms are quasi-reconstructions (inevitably). The effect of this is to translate the starred forms of various writers to hache '#'.

No.	Gloss	Toro	Commentary
1.	Tree (generic)	fwe	
2.	Leaf	a-su	cf. Alumu ə-fù , Hasha i-ifi

No.	Gloss	Toro	Commentary
3.	Root	riri	cf. Alumu a-riri ⁺
4.	Grass (generic)	tòzò	
5.	Vine (generic)	amdre	
6.	Mushroom I	woyi	
7.	Seed/stone/pip	biro	cf. Alumu biro ⁺ , Ningye be , Bu ibi , Shall biri ,
8.	Bark (of tree)	ùkùkù	cf. Alumu ùkùkù ,
9.	Thorn	atòtò	? cf. Hasha i-tyok , Ningye ntu
10.	Charcoal	ìfìbini	cf. Alumu ìfèmbì . The first element may be the widespread ifi root for fire and the -bini element for charcoal. If so, there are scattered cognates; Mada n-klambri , Kohumono è-pine , Bekwara à-bi , Yala ibi , Degema ibí
11.	Dust	huru	cf. Alumu huru ⁺ , Bu iwuru , Hasha iwur , Ce ihut ,
12.	Ashes	tu-fera	'ash + fire' cf. Alumu tufirá . The tu- element is a reflex of the widespread Niger-Congo root #toN- (BCCW,5).
13.	Rubbish-heap	avùvù	
14.	Mud	tu ɛɛ	
15.	Clay	ù-rù	cf. Alumu ɛ-lù
16.	Dew	feme	cf. Bu mmɛ , Hasha eme , Ningye mmeɲ , Rukul mmaɲ , Tarok imimyaɲ , Yanʁkam myaɲ but almost certainly going back to an ancient Niger-Congo root #me-
17.	Stone	tari	cf. Təsu ɛtrɛ , Ce kl-tál ,
18.	Sand	anzai	cf. Təsu aseɲge
19.	Smoke	muɲzu	cf. Alumu n-zù
20.	Fire	fara	cf. Alumu ìfira
21.	Water	amunu	cf. Alumu a-mù
22.	Rain	a-wi	cf. Alumu awè ,
23.	Cloud		
24.	Lightning		
25.	Rainy Season		
26.	Harmattan		
27.	Year		
28.	Today		
29.	Yesterday		
30.	Tomorrow		
31.	Morning		
32.	Evening		
33.	Dawn		
34.	Day	were	
35.	Night	tu-somo	cf. Alumu i-ɸíní , Hasha i-sun ,
36.	Moon/month	nara	cf. Alumu nara , Hasha nwar ,
37.	Sun	yaha	
38.	Star(s)	a-ta	cf. Ce ì-ntɛt ,
39.	Wind	nòɲò gəga	
40.	God	nòɲò	cf. widespread Plateau roots for 'sun' and 'day'
41.	Sky	n-zà	cf. Alumu n-zà 'God',
42.	World	alihugwa	
43.	Ground	ndù	cf. Təsu nzi ,
44.	Large River	ndì	
45.	Forest	afifere	? cf. Kuteb kù-fwòɲ , Hasha zəzaɲ , Yala òjìjì
46.	Mountain	a-kongoro	cf. Hasha i-gon , Tesu bəɲgəɾə , Ce ì-gbòl ,
47.	Bush	eyi	also 'farm' (48.)

No.	Gloss	Toro	Commentary
48.	Farm	eyi	also 'bush' (47.) and Ce kí-ník . cf. Tesu ayi , Tarok anyín , Irigwe kèyí ,
49.	Market*	as H.	
50.	Compound	afyá	cf. Təsu ɲbafya ,
51.	Room	dá	cf. Alumu e-dá , Ce ku-tarà ,
52.	Wall (of room)		
53.	Field		
54.	Thatch roof		
55.	Well*		
56.	Road		
57.	Path		
58.	Village/settlement		
59.	River-bank		
60.	Swamp/wetland		
61.	Place		
62.	World/life		
63.	Person/people		
64.	Man	atifa	cf. Təsu atifa ,
65.	Woman	afiya	cf. Təsu afiya ,
66.	Child	atsanya	
67.	Husband		
68.	Widow		
69.	Wife		
70.	Young man		
71.	Young girl		
72.	Old person		
73.	Father		
74.	Mother		
75.	Relations		
76.	In-laws		
77.	Ancestors		
78.	Grandparents		
79.	Grandchild		
80.	Sibling (same father)		
81.	Friend		
82.	Guest/stranger		
83.	Barren woman		
84.	King/chief/ruler	a-gwòmò	cf. Alumu a-gwòmò ,
85.	Hunter		
86.	Thief		
87.	Doctor		
88.	Witch		
89.	Corpse		
90.	Blacksmith		
91.	Woodworker		
92.	Slave		
93.	Masquerade		
94.	World of the dead		
95.	Prophesy		
96.	Shame		
97.	Fear/fright		

No.	Gloss	Toro	Commentary
98.	Bravery/courage		
99.	Laughter		
100.	Wisdom		
101.	Guilt		
102.	Anger		
103.	Race/running		
104.	Suffering		
105.	Death		
106.	Name		
107.	Grave		
108.	Song		
109.	Riddle		
110.	Proverb		
111.	Story		
112.	Word		
113.	Lie		
114.	News		
115.	Hunger		
116.	Famine		
117.	Egg		
118.	Horn	i-fiya	
119.	Tail	dìdimí	
120.	Wing (of bird)		
121.	Beak (of bird)		
122.	Nest (of bird)		
123.	Gum/glue		
124.	Ant-hill		
125.	Hole in ground		
126.	Smell		
127.	Poison		
128.	Branch		
129.	Bundle		
130.	Firewood		
131.	Yam-heap		
132.	War		
133.	Work		
134.	Divination (types)		
135.	Medicine		
136.	Money		
137.	Shadow		
138.	Thing		
139.	Strength		
140.	Length		
141.	Land/country		
142.	Sleep		
143.	Disease		
144.	Smallpox		
145.	Diarrhoea		
146.	Eczema		
147.	Goitre		
148.	Boil		
149.	Sore/wound		

No.	Gloss	Toro	Commentary
150.	Leprosy		
151.	Head	ì-kpyè	Also ekpe
152.	Eye	ì-yù	cf. Eggon èyí , Irigwe rìyí , Yala èyì , Arum iyù , Nupe eye ⁺ , (BCCW, 36). Also in Chadic: cf. Fyer yuurù , Mangar yîw and related forms in other Ron languages
153.	Face	ətəm̀	
154.	Forehead	igbùm̀	cf. Alumu gbùm̀ ,
155.	Cheek	afe	
156.	Nose	ù-ẁǹ	cf. Fyem đu-ẁl pl. aẁl , Mabo awol , Pe ti-yol , Berom ẁl pl. bāẁl , Ndoro ɲwunà
157.	Ear	ə-sut̀	su+ #to. cf. Horom t̀ǹ , Fyem hut̀ǹ , Bo ut̀ , Ningye t̀ǹ , also throughout Tarokoid, but a PVC root #tuN- . The ʃ- element is likely to be an old prefix e.g. Fyem hu-t̀ǹ .
158.	Mouth	enyi	cf. Hasha anye , Eggon anyu , Tesu enyi ,
159.	Tooth	nyini	a Niger-Saharan root
160.	Tongue	arembene	cf. Tarok a°ölöm ⁺ , Mabo de-rem , cLela d-rémé , ultimately PNC #-lima
161.	Throat	nzenzet̀	
162.	Neck	kubut̀	
163.	Chin	ad̀d̀m̀	cf. Tesu ad̀d̀m̀
164.	Shoulder	kara	
165.	Armpit	af̀fa	cf. Aten à-ɸa ,
166.	Arm	əv̀	cf. Tarok aẁ , Aten ẁ , Cara v̀ , Berom vẁ , probably all weakenings of the widespread #bok- forms (BCCW,2).
167.	Hand	mar̀v̀	
168.	Leg	hwana	cf. Reshe ú-kánà , Kohumono kɛ-hán ‘animal leg’\$,
169.	Foot	mbaya hwana	
170.	Female breast	bɛnɛ	cf. Tesu bɛnɛ
171.	Stomach	i-yara	cf. Alumu i-yrá ,
172.	Navel	uǹgbu	cf. Bu buǹgbu , Alumu ɲ@-b̀ ,
173.	Thigh	ə-s̀	
174.	Knee	gbér̀	cf. Alumu gbəl̀
175.	Nail	bindi (-v̀)	
176.	Back	a-se	Widespread in BC, also referring to ‘hips’, ‘waist’ and reconstructed by Blench (ms.) as #-ɟim for Proto-Benue-Congo. This root is discussed in Williamson (1989,b:257). There is an old NC root #-ma which is largely replaced by #siN roots in BC. Also Mumuye sán ‘waist’.
177.	Buttocks	akekazicu	cf. Tesu cu ,
178.	Penis	kpanda	cf. Alumu kpanda
179.	Vagina	a-hẁ	
180.	Skin	byinɛ̀	
181.	Bone	kufu	cf. Fyem huhúp pl. ahúp , weakened from the more widespread #kup . Cf. Bo ukúp , Pe ukup , Tarok akúp and Yan̄kam kup and PB #-kubi
182.	Rib	huru	
183.	Vein	riri	cf. Tesu əriri
184.	Blood	amya	cf. Alumu miyá
185.	Breath	ifu	
186.	Tear	əmunu	cf. Tesu əmuyu
187.	Sweat	həhə̀	

No.	Gloss	Toro	Commentary
188.	Urine	efuru	
189.	Faeces	e-bi	cf. Nupe ebi ⁺ #bi- is an extremely widespread Niger-Congo root
190.	Hair	jana	‘hair of head’
191.	Beard	adɔdɔmɔ	cf. ‘chin’
192.	Brain	surukpe	
193.	Liver	ahɔrɔ	cf. Bo-Rukul ahɔr , Tesu ahrɔ
194.	Heart	sunɔ	cf. Bu isurɔ), Horom ázò ‘liver’, Fyem ɗu-zo pl. a-zo ‘liver’, Ayu ajor , Lungu izur
195.	Intestines	iyara mɛmɛ	
196.	Body	itɔ	cf. Alumu ì-tɔ́ ,
197.	Meat	i-wu	cf. Alumu ì-wù , Hasha i-vwe , Yangkam vi , widespread in Jukunoid as wi , suggesting a regional root # -vwi . See BCCW,1 where this is treated as a weakening of Jukunoid # -bi and is treated as a semantic shift from Proto-Niger-Congo ‘goat’.
198.	Animal(Bush)	woyi	‘meat of bush’
199.	Cow	rɔndɔ	this root is widespread in both Plateau and adjacent Chadic languages
200.	Bull	rɔndɔ atifa	‘cow’ + ‘male’
201.	Calf	ame rɔndɔ	
202.	Goat	bini	
203.	He-goat	igbu ɲgufi	
204.	Castrated goat	busara	cf. Hausa bunsuuruu .
205.	Sheep	tambafi	
206.	Ram	igbu atamabase	
207.	Dog	a-bvwa	A Niger-Congo root # bwa(ga)
208.	*Cat	musu	As Hausa
209.	*Pig	alede	As Hausa
210.	*Horse	nyama	
211.	*Donkey	jaki	As Hausa
212.	Elephant	nyi	cf. Bu ninyi , Alumu nyi , Yangkam nyi , Mada nyi , Yala inyi . A Niger-Congo root (BCCW, 34).
213.	Buffalo	yari	cf. Alumu yere , Horom yat , Cara ì-yàt pl. yat , Yangkam yyet , Nupe eya PB # -játi reflecting a more widespread root # -yati in East Benue-Congo. See also Daffo yàt
214.	Leopard	uku	
215.	Hippo		
216.	Monkey (generic)	ambu	
217.	Baboon	ɛÄa	cf. Bu ɛka ,
218.	Patas monkey ²	ambufu	
219.	Squirrel ground	itɔ	cf. Bu itɔ
220.	Squirrel tree	avanɔ	
221.	Rat (generic)	ikwi	cf. Fyem kʷi , Pe ikuu , probably also Tarok ìpi
222.	Giant rat ³		
223.	Other bush-rats/mice		
224.	Fat mouse	ikpiji	
225.	Porcupine	yisi	
226.	Cane Rat ⁴	ahɔhɔri	

² (*Erythrocebus patas*)³ (*Cretomyces* sp.)⁴ (*Thryonomys Swinderianus*)

No.	Gloss	Toro	Commentary
227.	Hare ⁵	a-somo	
228.	House-bat	waŋbiri	
229.	Fruit-bat	ŋgakɔ	
230.	Nile crocodile	kuru	cf. Alumu kùrù , Ninzam akru , Bu ŋkuru , Nungu mekru , Kuteb ù-kúr , Ufia kí-kwù . May be linked with #- kuru forms for 'tortoise'.
231.	Chameleon	didini	
232.	Agama lizard	agamɔ	
233.	Skink	ubvɔ	
234.	Gecko	əkərega	
235.	Toad	ubu-ara	
236.	River frog	njware	
237.	Land tortoise	kpəkpəŋɛ	
238.	Snake (Generic)	ì-yó	
239.	Spitting cobra	ətu	cf. Nupe etsú Reconstructed for Proto-Benue-Congo as #-tsuN in Blench (ms.)
240.	River crab	aharaba	cf. Təsu aharaba . PB #- kádá , but a Niger-Congo root and worldwide (Blench 1997).
241.	Turtle	ukwaŋa	
242.	Fish (generic)	ikpu	
243.	Fish I	a-hwana	
244.	Fish II	apifa	
245.	Bird (generic)	a-pipi	
246.	Chicken	ade	cf. Təsu ade ,
247.	Cock	agba	cf. Təsu agba ,
248.	*Duck	adakpan	
249.	Pigeon	ikuku	
250.	Guinea-fowl	asɔrɔ	
251.	Hooded Vulture ⁶	angulu	
252.	Village Weaver ⁷	egwe	
253.	Cattle-egret ⁸	pipi rɔndɔ	
254.	Black kite ⁹	nzemɛ	
255.	Standard-wing	abɛbɛrɛ	
	Night-jar		
256.	Owl (various spp.)	kuku dzɔmɔ	
257.	Bush-fowl	gowade	
258.	Partridge	agɔrɔ	
259.	*Pied crow ¹⁰	aŋaŋa	
260.	Woodpecker	nənaŋi	
261.	Insect (Generic)	ərihu	
262.	Scorpion	əna	
263.	Butterfly	kəkənɔ	
264.	Mosquito	avɔ	
265.	Spider ¹¹	marangasɔ	
266.	Mason wasp ¹²	əmbimbi	

⁵ (*Lepus Crawshayi*)⁶ (*Neophron monachus*)⁷ (*Ploceus cucullatus*)⁸ (*Ardeola ibis*)⁹ (*Milvus migrans*)¹⁰ (*Corvus albus*)¹¹ (*Acarina* spp.)

No.	Gloss	Toro	Commentary
267.	Bee	əfi	cf. Berom ʃòk , Cara ʃɔ , Bu ifɔ , Izere ifɔf pl. ifɔʃ
268.	Sweat-fly	enwa	
269.	Housefly	əsu	cf. Horom cɪŋ , Cara jìn , Berom cɪŋ . Reconstructed as #-ciN to Proto-Benue-Congo in Blench (ms.). Cf. also Ngas nfi , Mwaghavul ndifii , Tangale tûn
270.	Ant (Generic)	adedeva	
271.	Louse	ela	
272.	Millipede	akporowahe	
273.	Cockroach	avuvu	
274.	Termite/flying-ant	ʃinga	
275.	Praying mantis	agigi	
276.	Firefly	amimimiyu	
277.	Giant Cricket	awəre	
278.	Black Cricket	atutuwe	
279.	Earthworm	kurəŋge	
280.	Giant Snail	kparɔ	
281.	Soap (Traditional)	sabulu mɔtɔ	
282.	Oil	amənɛ	cf. Təsu amənɛ , Rukul manai , Berom nɔi , Aten noi , Gure mani , Central Kambari màni'i0^ and ultimately Hausa mai .
283.	Fat/grease	afɛfɛ	cf. Cara ibip , Hasha e-fef 'fat', Tarok m\$pip 'animal fat', Chawai bap , Samba Nnakenyare byep . Reconstructed to East Benue-Congo as #-byep in Blench (ms.)
284.	Salt	ama	cf. Təsu mma , Rukul mmək , Cara maŋ , Horom, Fyem ma , Tarok m\$màn , but also Fulfulde manda
285.	Soup/stew	imi	
286.	Porridge	mbɔrɔ	
287.	Sorghum-beer	amaŋu	
288.	Palm-wine	maŋgwa fine	
289.	Peelings	ahɔzɔ	
290.	Filter	adze	
291.	Rag	bugbafe kuri	
292.	Floor-beater	vɔvɔrɔ	
293.	Handle (of tool)	kundu	
294.	Sickle	as Hausa	
295.	Cutlass	ada	
296.	Iron	as Hausa	
297.	Axe	kay	
298.	Axe	karagbasa	
299.	Adze	gare	
300.	Hoe I	atsɔ kpɔkpa	
301.	Hoe II	fɔfa	
302.	Knife	bana	
303.	Broom	inyu	
304.	Sack	afe	
305.	Fireplace	haŋgano	
306.	Shoe	kukuhwɔnɔ	
307.	Cloth	kuri	
308.	Mortar (wood)	itu	
309.	Pestle	bifi	
310.	Pot (generic)	tukpare	

¹² (*Belenogaster* spp.)

No.	Gloss	Toro	Commentary
311.	Pot I	arɔgba	
312.	Pot II	amba	
313.	Head-pad	hara	
314.	Basket (generic)	akpoho	
315.	Winnowing tray	mu	
316.	Mat (generic)	atakpa	
317.	Spear	kwano	
318.	Bow	tau	
319.	Arrow	fara	cf. Təsu səra , Surubu u-cira , Hasha ikir , Kulu dekila , Piti ucir . Also ? Mambila sàŋ . See BCCW,4
320.	Quiver	ekpumu	
321.	Chain	acəca	
322.	Rope	rifi	
323.	Stool	ukpara	
324.	Wooden door	apida	
325.	Ladder	aŋbərə	
326.	Canoe	guri	
327.	Bee-hive	sunzu	
328.	Fish-trap	akpəhə	
329.	One	ayembere	
330.	Two	faari	
331.	Three	taaro	
332.	Four	ne	
333.	Five	tungu	
334.	Six	ataharə	
335.	Seven	ataharavyin	
336.	Eight	anənənɛ	
337.	Nine	anənənɛ vyin	
338.	Ten	avovo	
339.	Eleven	avovo vyin	
340.	Twelve	itso	
341.	Twenty	avova fari	
342.	Twenty-four I	avova fari tin nɛ	20 + 4
343.	Twenty-four II	itso fari	12 x 2
344.	Forty	avova ne	
345.	Black	hɔŋwa	
346.	White	kasa	
347.	Red	fa	
348.	Answer (question)	kwara	cf. Təsu kera ,
349.	Ask a question	runzu	cf. Berom rangsəl ,
350.	Ask/beg for something	kəzi	cf. Təsu kwere , Yeskwa ŋkusa , Hasha kuse
351.	Awaken (s.o.)	hunga	
352.	Bark (dog)	guvu	cf. Təsu hugofo
353.	Be bent	dəŋgərə	
354.	Be heavy	rifi	cf. Təsu rifi , Ningye ri
355.	Be rotten	hwana	cf. Təsu hwena ,
356.	Be short	bahara	
357.	Become dry	yara	
358.	Begin	woro	cf. Ningye wu ,

No.	Gloss	Toro	Commentary
359.	Bite	nyuŋwa	cf. Təsu nyuŋwa , Ningye nyum , Yangkam nwaŋ , Che nyumu ,
360.	Blow (flute)	fu	cf. Rukul fufwə , Ninzo fú ‘blow fire’,
361.	Build (house)	mara	cf. Təsu mina , Ninzo mé , Bu mɛ , Che me , Hasha mai , Tarok me⁺ , Bekwara mè , reflexes of an old Niger-Congo root. See BCCW, 13.
362.	Burn	fya	cf. Təsu fya , Rukul fyi , Fyem fwif ‘burn off vegetation’, Berom fwúsh ‘to burn food’,
363.	Buy	sa	
364.	Call (to someone)	fifin	
365.	Carve (wood etc.)	fanə	
366.	Catch	di	
367.	Chew	rya	see under ‘eat’ (384.)
368.	Choose	sɛnɛ	
369.	Climb	la	
370.	Come	ba	cf. Təsu ba , Tarok ḡá , Rukul ba , Fyem ḡé , Yangkam ḡi , but a widespread root reconstructible at least to Proto-Atlantic-Congo. Also Yiwom bəl , Kulere bo
371.	Come out (of room)	ti	cf. Təsu kəti , Kambari ùtə , possibly related to widespread Bantu roots #təb , #tum
372.	Continue (to do s.t.)	nazudu	
373.	Cough	ti hərə	
374.	Count	bere	cf. Təsu, Ninzam ble , Kadara pula , Bu bəla , Ninzo bré , Mada bla , Kulung ʔala , Mbe pāl , ultimately PB #-bàd-
375.	Cut down (tree)	kpere	cf. Horom pwer
376.	Cut in two	fa	Pe, Tarok, Yangkam pà , Rukul fa ,
377.	Cut off (head etc.)	kpere	cf. Təsu kpa , Horom pwer ,
378.	Dance	kyara	cf. Təsu kira ,
379.	Die	ku	cf. Təsu, Hasha kwe , Kenyi kie , Surubu kee , although these forms have developed from the more common Niger-Congo #-ku root.
380.	Dig (earth etc.)	həri	
381.	Do/make	rəsa	cf. Təsu ləsa ,
382.	Drag	pi	cf. Təsu pi ,
383.	Drink	wa	cf. Təsu, Yangkam, Sur, Tarok wá . See also Mambiloid, LC
384.	Eat	rya	cf. Fyem dé , Horom dye , linked to the widespread -ri , -di roots found in Niger-Congo
385.	Enter	nyina	
386.	Fall (rain)	hwa	cf. Horom hwa , Fyem hó , Aten hwə , Berom hwò (‘fall on top of s.t.’), Yashi hu . The widespread Plateau forms have a labial velar, but ? cf. Wapan ko , Cara go , Jar ko , Yala gwo , PB #-gwa .
387.	Fall over	hwa	as above
388.	Feel (cold etc.)	time	
389.	Fight (in war)	wuwasa	
390.	Finish (a task)	nuru	
391.	Flog	ywa	
392.	Flow (water etc.)	kunzu	
393.	Fly (birds)	hunga	
394.	Fold (cloth)	gusu	
395.	Follow	tafa	
396.	Forget	kwahoro	

No.	Gloss	Toro	Commentary
397.	Fry (in oil)	hangara	cf. Aten halaŋ , Bu kla and Yala hà . These are widespread weakenings of the common Niger-Congo root #ka(la) and may have occurred independently. #ka- is also found in the North Bauchi languages
398.	Gather/collect	zuhuru	
399.	Give	nange	cf. Fyem ní . #na is widespread throughout Plateau, but see also Tangale oni .
400.	Give birth	mara	cf. Fyem m^{wi} , presumably local forms of a widespread #ma- root
401.	Go	nanzo	
402.	Go out/exit	ti	cf. Fyem ďú , Ningye туру , Yanƙam turuk , and Ekoid M ďúù but also Chadic: Bokkos ďu , Fyer ďoo
403.	Grind	huhwa	
404.	Grow (plants)	gba	cf. Sur gwak , Yanƙam gba , Tarok kpà but related to Ngas gwak
405.	Hatch (egg)	kpa	
406.	Hear	sere	
407.	Hit/strike (drum etc.)	nyini	
408.	Hunt	farə	cf. Fyem fofár , Hasha far , Tesu fla , Tarok fár ‘to be a good marksman’. Also in Chadic: cf. Bokkos faar , Tangale para (n.), Ngizim bárâ and Hausa fàráwtàà
409.	Jump	wana	
410.	Kill	mwára	
411.	Know	vyina	
412.	Laugh	vyini	
413.	Lick	fəne	
414.	Lie down	rəndi	
415.	Listen	kyana	
416.	Marry	sa fya	
417.	Mix	təvə	
418.	Mould (pot)	mara	
419.	Open	tufi	
420.	Plant (crop etc.)	bya	cf. Pe ʷwak
421.	Play	kpatə	
422.	Pound (in mortar)	kpa	also ‘hatch egg’ ()
423.	Pour (liquid)	sangara	
424.	Pull	pi	cf. Bu bi ,
425.	Receive	sa	
426.	Refuse	rerya	
427.	Remember	kəno	
428.	Return	ba	
429.	Ride (horse)	la	
430.	Roast on coals	yaha	cf. Təsu yaha ,
431.	Run	kikiri	
432.	Say/speak	bere	
433.	See	nza	
434.	Sell	rifa	cf. Fyem rép , Bu rɛ , Cara rɛp , Ningye rɛp but widespread in BC and reconstructed as #-rɛ@p- in Blench (ms.). Discussed in Gerhard (1983) and also found in some neighbouring Chadic languages.
435.	Send	tsana	
436.	Shake	dzudzu	
437.	Sharpen	hohwa	

No.	Gloss	Toro	Commentary
438.	Shoot (arrow)	da	cf. Tarok, Sur tat ⁺ . An ancient Niger-Congo root found as #-ta 'bow' in Congo-Kordofanian
439.	Sing	kpa mumu	'sing song'
440.	Slaughter (animal)	fa	cf. Pe pa
441.	Sleep	mwara	
442.	Smash	hwarana	
443.	Snaps in two	kyana	
444.	Spit	tufu	? cf. Chadic Hausa, Fyer tùf , Karekare təf -. This word has strong ideophonic elements.
445.	Stand	fini	
446.	Steal	te yuyu	'do theft'
447.	Stir (soup)	təfə	
448.	Suck (breast etc.)	mumu	
449.	Surpass	ke	
450.	Swallow	mara	cf. Yanlam mər , Sur mərək , Tarok məkən ⁺ , Ekoid mèl , Mambila mènà . Connected with a widespread root for 'throat' reconstructed for PBC as #- mərən in Blench (ms.)
451.	Take	sa	
452.	Tear (cloth etc.)	sambara	
453.	Throw	pya	
454.	Twist (rope etc.)	tufi	
455.	Uproot (tuber)	tunun	cf. Pe tul , Rukul tət ,
456.	Walk	finjara	
457.	Want/need	nu kwara	
458.	Wash	hwara	
459.	Wear	sumu	
460.	Weep	kpaŋga	
461.	Work	ndomo	Reflects the Niger-Congo root #- tom -
462.	I	mya	
463.	You	anə	
464.	He/she/it	aŋwə	
465.	we	anəwə	
466.	you pl.	anənə	
467.	They	ambo	

Edible and Useful Plants

No.	Gloss		Commentary
468.	Guinea-yam ¹³	i-kirù	cf. Alumu i-kirù ,
469.	Aerial yam ¹⁴	a-naŋi	cf. Alumu a-naŋi ,
470.	Red yam ¹⁵		
471.	Water-yam ¹⁶		
472.	Taro (Old cocoyam) ¹⁷	aŋbásá gumu ⁺	
473.	New cocoyam ¹⁸ *	aŋbásá akòbò	cf. Təsu aŋbasa kobo
474.	Cassava ^{*19}	rògò	< H.

¹³ (*Dioscorea guineensis*)¹⁴ (*Dioscorea bulbifera*)¹⁵ (*Dioscorea cayenensis*)¹⁶ (*Dioscorea alata*)¹⁷ (*Colocasia esculenta*)¹⁸ (*Xanthosoma mafaffa*) (H. wali)

475.	Sweet potato* ²⁰	kirù akpa	‘yam of Hausa’
476.	Wild yam	báhá	cf. Alumu báhá
477.	Tumuku ²¹		
478.	Rizga ²²	ahara	
479.	Sorghum ²³	ɛkurù	
480.	Bulrush millet (<i>dauro</i>) ²⁴	anggay	
481.	Bulrush millet (H. <i>maiwa</i>)		
482.	Eleusine* (H. <i>tamba</i>) ²⁵		
483.	Fonio (H. <i>acca</i>) ²⁶	hwanò	
484.	Iburu (H. <i>iburu</i>) ²⁷	yafi	
485.	Maize* ²⁸	ɛkùrakpa	‘Hausa sorghum’
486.	Rice* ²⁹	jenkafa	< H.
487.	Cowpea ³⁰		
488.	Spiral cowpea	akòkòndo	
489.	Lima bean* ³¹	arɛte	
490.	Bambara groundnut ³²	ɛpi ecin	
491.	Groundnut (Peanut) ³³	ɛpi	
492.	Tiger-nut ³⁴		
493.	Garden egg ³⁵	mvùri	
494.	Okra ³⁶	àndàn	
495.	Chili pepper* (large) ³⁷	jifá	
496.	Birdseye chili* ³⁸	jifá kəkəkri	
497.	Onion (<i>Allium cepa</i>)	basuwana	
498.	Garlic (<i>Allium sativum</i>)		
499.	Tomato ³⁹		
500.	Egusi melon ⁴⁰	erubutu	
501.	Melon (other) ⁴¹		
502.	Edible squash ⁴²	atangundi	
503.	Sorrel/roselle ⁴³	ifibi	

¹⁹ (Manihot esculenta)

²⁰ (Ipomoea batatas)

²¹ (Plectranthus esculentus)

²² (Solenostemon rotundifolius)

²³ (Sorghum bicolor)

²⁴ (Pennisetum spp.)

²⁵ (Eleusine coracana)

²⁶ (Digitaria exilis)

²⁷ (Digitaria iburua)

²⁸ (Zea mays)

²⁹ (Oryza sativa/ glaberrima)

³⁰ (Vigna unguiculata)

³¹ (Phaseolus lunatus)

³² (Vigna subterranea)

³³ (Arachis hypogaea)

³⁴ (Cyperus esculentus)

³⁵ (Solanum melongena)

³⁶ (Abelmoschus esculentus)

³⁷ (Capsicum frutescens)

³⁸ (Capsicum annum)

³⁹ (Lycopersicon esculentum)

⁴⁰ (Citrullus lanatus)

⁴¹ (Cucumis spp)

⁴² (Cucurbita pepo)

⁴³ (H. yakuwa) (Hibiscus sabdariffa)

504.	Jews' mallow ⁴⁴	tungunuwa
505.	Kenaf ⁴⁵	musèni
506.	White sesame seeds ⁴⁶	murù
507.	Black sesame ⁴⁷	
508.	Sesame leaves ⁴⁸	mùmùrù
509.	Bitterleaf ⁴⁹	àbàhàrà
510.	Waterleaf ⁵⁰	
511.	Plantain (<i>Musa</i> AAB)	
512.	Banana (<i>Musa</i> AAA)	ayaba
513.	Orange ⁵¹	
514.	Pawpaw ⁵²	atangu
515.	Gourd (Generic)	kòndò
516.	Gourd-bottle ⁵³	iku
517.	Gourd (spherical) ⁵⁴	
518.	Other gourds	
519.	Tobacco*	tàbà
520.	Sugar-cane*	ù-wá the name of a grass in the bush
521.	Loofah ⁵⁵	asòsò < H.
522.	Cola	
523.	Oil-palm ⁵⁶	cwafini
524.	Palm-fruit	
525.	Palm-oil	
526.	Palm kernel	
527.	Raphia palm ⁵⁷	
528.	Fan-palm ⁵⁸	sámba
529.	Monkey-guava ⁵⁹	
530.	Canarium tree ⁶⁰	a-kpángé
531.	Custard apple ⁶¹	i-tùtù
532.	Wild date-palm ⁶²	nanaf
533.	Baobab ⁶³	
534.	Silk-cotton Tree ⁶⁴	kumu ⁺
535.	Shea tree ⁶⁵	a-kpazuma
536.	Shea-fruit	

⁴⁴ (H. lalo)(*Corchorus olitorius*)

⁴⁵ (H. rama) (*Hibiscus cannabinus*)

⁴⁶ (H. *Ridii*) (*Sesamum indicum*)

⁴⁷ (*Sesamum radiatum*)

⁴⁸ (H. *karkashi*)

⁴⁹ *Vernonia amygdalina*

⁵⁰ (*Amaranthus* spp)

⁵¹ (*Citrus sinensis*)

⁵² (*Carica papaya*)

⁵³ (*Lagenaria siceraria*)

⁵⁴ (*Cucurbita maxima*)

⁵⁵ (H. soso) (*Luffa cylindrica*)

⁵⁶ (*Elaeis guineensis*)

⁵⁷ (*Raphia* spp.)

⁵⁸ (*Borassus aethiopum*)

⁵⁹ (*Diospyros mespiliformis*)

⁶⁰ (*Canarium schweinfurthii*)

⁶¹ (*Annona senegalensis*)

⁶² (*Phoenix reclinata*)

⁶³ (*Adansonia digitata*)

⁶⁴ (*Ceiba pentandra*)

⁶⁵ (*Vitellaria paradoxa*)

537. Locust tree ⁶⁶	nyinyi
538. Black plum ⁶⁷	kpù

6. The affinities of Toro

The present study suggests that Toro is certainly a Plateau language. It shares a numerous common lexical items, and there is evidence for a fossilised system of class-prefixes in accord with those in nearby languages.

6.1 Links with Plateau

Toro shows a number of 'classic' Niger-Congo roots, whose sources can be consulted in Westermann (1927) and Mukarovsky (1976-1977).

6.2 Relationship with Alumu-Təsu

As the data tables show, Toro and Alumu-Təsu share many lexical items in common. Curiously, however, in some cases, these are absolutely identical, at other times, they are cognate but not in any regular relationship, like two lects of single source language. This suggests a complex interaction in the past, involving mutual loaning of anyway similar words.

6.3 Relationship with Tarokoid

As the data tables show, there is no single lexical item exclusively shared with Tarokoid languages and this should be enough to refute the hypothesis of their membership of this group.

6.4 Conclusions

To summarise these results;

- a) Toro is a Plateau language
- b) Toro is most closely related to Alumu-Təsu.
- c) It is thus part of the Alumatic subgroup of Plateau languages

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⁶⁶ (Parkia biglobosa)

⁶⁷ (Vitex doniana)

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