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A SKETCH OF JO :
A MANDE LANGUAGE
WITH A FEMININE PRONOUN

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Les opinions exprimées ainsi que les orthographes des noms propres et les limites territoriales figurant dans MANDENKAN n'engagent pas la responsabilité du bulletin, mais seulement celles des auteurs.

A SKETCH OF Jɔ: A MANDE LANGUAGE WITH A FEMININE PRONOUN

Robert Carlson

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. The question of 'Samogo'

The term 'Samogo' or 'Samogho', which is of Bambara origin, has been used for a variety of languages which in reality are only distantly related to each other. Morse (1967) provides a comparative word list of 573 items for three of these languages, which she calls Sembla, Samogho-Gouan, and Tougan Samogo. This list shows that Sembla and Samogho-Gouan are more closely related to each other (shared cognates about 45%, cf. Long 1971, Bimson 1978) than either is to Tougan Samogo. Bimson accordingly classifies Tougan Samogo (which he calls simply 'Samogo') with Eastern Mande, while Sembla and Samogo-Gouan form one of the coordinate branches of Western Mande. Morse does not provide a list for Samogho-Iri, but states that it is quite closely related to Samogho-Gouan. In view of the confusion over the use of the term 'Samogo', it would be preferable to use language names which the people use for themselves. According to Platiel (1974), '(Tougan) Samogo' should be called Samo. Speakers of Samogho-Gouan and Samogho-Iri variously refer to themselves as Don,¹ Dzun, or Duun. The latter will be used here.

In 1981, while collecting word lists of 'Samogo' in southern Mali, I came across a group of people in the *arrondissement* of Loulouni to the south of Sikasso, who were called 'Samogo' by their neighbors, but who appeared to speak a language quite different from Duun. It was only in 1991 that I was able to return to the area and do some further research, the results of which are presented here. Most of the information and data was provided by Lamisa Diamoutene, 29 years old, from Siranikoroba. Additional information was collected during two visits to Koura, in 1981, and again in 1991.

Following distribution of an earlier form of this article, Claire Grégoire called my attention to Prost's 'Quelques notes sur le don (samogho)' (1958). The language there called Don is obviously a variety of the language described in this paper, further adding to the confusion of language names. Prost states that his informant, who came from the village of Téna in what is now Burkina Faso, said that his dialect of 'Samogo' was "différent de celui de Samogho-Iri". A comparison

¹See below for this name given to Jɔ, however.

of his word list (the bulk of which is included in the word list given in the appendix to this article) and the word list I collected with the word list provided by Morse shows that this is certainly true. Prost further notes that 'Don' is not closely related to Samo either.

The people in question call themselves *jòtɔ̃nɪ* (sing.: *jòtɔ̃*), literally 'Jò people', and their languages *jòwúlú* 'Jò language'.² They appear to number between 5,000 and 10,000, and to live in a geographically continuous area (see map). A brief sociolinguistic survey carried out at the end of 1991 showed that the language is viable in spite of high bilingualism in Jula (Davison 1992). This may in part be due to the continued isolation of the group: in Mali, there are no government-maintained roads in the area, and not a single Jò village has a school.

The Jò are geographically contiguous to a small pocket of speakers of Duun,³ as well as to Senufo, Jula, and Wara. They regard themselves as ethnically more closely related to the Duun than to either the Senufo or Jula, and in fact seem to intermarry with them more frequently than with any of the other groups. However, the Jò language is not closely related to Duun, and Jula is the principal language of communication between the two groups.

1.2. A Mande language

The term 'Samogo' has been used for non-Mande languages such as Wara, Natiro, and Seme. Jò, however, like Duun (Samogho-Gouan, Samogho-Iri), Sembla, and Samo (Tougan Samogo), belongs to Mande, as Prost points out (p. 613).

Because it has a feminine pronoun (see section 5 below), I at first thought that Jò might be a Kru language, since two Western Kru languages (Nyabwa and Wobe) have feminine pronouns as well (Marchese 1979). This idea is not as crazy as it might seem in view of the close geographical proximity of the Kru language Seme. Jò, however, does not show any interesting lexical similarity to Kru languages (Lynell Marchese, p.c.).

Instead, apart from the feminine pronoun, it is lexically and typologically a typical Mande language. Sections 2 through 5 below demonstrate the typological similarity to Mande in both phonology and grammar. A word list is provided at the end of the paper for lexical comparison. Prost (1958) notes in his list several lexical similarities with southern Mande languages. The following table is merely offered as a sample of cognate pairs. The left-hand items are tentative reconstructions of proto-Mande from Dwyer (1988, 1989).

²Prost gives the name of the people as *Donne*, sg. *Dontwg*. Nasalization is indicated in this article by a tilde underneath the vowel. Prost used a circumflex accent to mark nasalization, which I have converted to a subscript tilde when citing data from his paper. The tone markings are explained in section 2.3 below.

³The speaker who provided Morse with her list for Samogho-Iri was from the village of Siéou, from this enclave. Morse was apparently unaware, however, of the existence of Jò.

(1) PROTO-MANDE	Jɔ	GLOSS
*bo(re)	bāā	goat
*n-de-n	dāN	child
*gā ⁴	kāN	leg
*gure	kfɔ	stone
*mɔ-ke	mārē	woman, wife (with ke > ge > re)
*ta	túú	fire cf. Bobo <i>tɔgɔ</i>
*to-lo	tɔ̀ɔ̀	ear
*to-go	tɔ	name
*woli	wulu	voice
*yeli	yē	laugh (in Jɔ = 'laughing')
*yi	jú	water cf. Sembla <i>jo</i> Bobo <i>zio</i>
*da-yi	lá-ju	saliva
*-gure-n	-wɔ́rɪN	-male
*saga	sāá	sheep
*saga-guren	sāá-wɔ́rɪN	ram

The following counts of cognates are offered as a sampling only. More reliable comparisons by Mande specialists will hopefully be forthcoming. Comparing Jɔ with the lists Morse provides, I arrive at the following percentages of cognates: Jɔ-Duun (Samogho-Gouan) 22% (361 items); Jɔ-Sembla 22% (358 items); Jɔ-Samo (Tougan Samogo) 18% (336 items). Comparing a total of 343 items in Bobo gleaned from Le Bris and Prost (1981), I found 26% cognates Jɔ-Bobo. Using much shorter reconstructed lists for the two branches of Northwestern Mande from Bimson, I found the following percentages of cognates: Jɔ-*proto-Northern Mande* 30% (70 items); Jɔ-*proto-Southwestern Mande* 27% (139 items). In view of the fact that shorter lists usually yield higher percentages of cognates, these last percentages should be lowered for comparison with the earlier ones. Jɔ does not appear to be closely related to any of its Mande neighbors.

It is of interest that Jɔ is found in the area (within a 120 mile radius of Bobo-Dioulasso) which Bimson (p. 281) hypothesizes as the homeland of Mande, that is, the area where one would expect the greatest linguistic diversity.

2. SOME PHONOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS

Although the phonology of Jɔ remains to be worked out, enough is known to show that it is similar to other Mande languages. On the surface it has only open syllables. The CVCV pattern typical of Mande (Dwyer 1989:54) is very evident.

⁴I have replaced Dwyer's N indicating nasalisation with a subscript tilde to conform to the practice elsewhere in this article. Note that N in the Jɔ examples indicates an underlying nasal consonant of unknown point of articulation.

2.1. Consonants and vowels

The set of Jɔ consonants differs from the set of proto-Western Mande consonants proposed by Bimson (p. 272) only in the presence of palatal stops and fricatives, voiced fricatives, and velar and labiovelar nasals. It is very similar to the inventories of several southeastern languages, such as Ngen and Yaure (Halaoui et al. 1983:49-50).

labial	dental	palatal	velar	labiovelar
p	t	c	k	kp
b	d	j	g?	gb
m	n	ɲ	ŋ	ɲm
f	s	ʃ		
v	z	ʒ	w	
	l	y		
	r?			

FIGURE 1: Jɔ consonants

The voiced fricatives may be all analysable as resulting from nasal + fricative clusters (see next section).

[r] and [d] probably do not contrast. [r] is medial before an unstressed vowel (e.g. *mārē* 'woman'), [d] is initial, and medial before a stressed vowel (e.g. *páádòl* 'lizard').

[g] is marginal at best.⁵ It does not occur initially at all in the data, and medially it has been recorded only following [ŋ], where it may simply be an epenthetic stop before an oral vowel: *kpàringà* 'louse'. [gb], by contrast, is quite common, as are all the other voiced stops.

Labials can be labialized before a back vowel (e.g. *bwò* 'back', *pwòl* 'younger sibling'), and palatalized before a front vowel (e.g. *pyéeril* 'ring', *byāi* 'three', *fyé* 'be weak'). [kf], which occurs only before a back vowel, appears to be the phonetic realization of labialized [k]. It does not appear at all in Prost's list. Examples are: *kfūū* 'dog', *kfɔ* 'stone' (cf. Prost's *ku* 'chien' and *kosɛne* 'pierre, rocher'). No corresponding palatalized [k] has been recorded.

A palatal lateral [ʎ] appears to be the result of the amalgamation of [l] and a following [i], e.g. *pɔʎl* 'skin' [pɔʎ] or [pɔli]. This amalgamation frequently results in a syllabic, palatal [ʎ:] in morphology when an [r] initial suffix is added to a verb ending in [li]: *kɔʎi* 'tie' + *-rɔ* 'present' ⇒ [kɔʎ:á]; *Máli* 'Mali' + *rɔ* 'on, at' ⇒ [máʎ:á]; see also 453, 459, 539, and 563 in the word list.

Several words consist of syllabic nasals, without any vowels: *ɲ* 'mother', *ʃ* 'grass', *ʃ* 'tooth', *ʃ* 'bite', *ʃʷ* 'oil'. These are the result of amalgamation with high

⁵Prost occasionally has [g] where my own data has [k]: Prost *gu* 'un mort' vs. *kɔŋu* 'dead person, corpse'; Prost *gɔna* 'gratter le sol' vs. *kɔʎ* 'cultivate, hoe'.

vowels, as a comparison with the forms given by Prost shows (*ni* 'mère', *nwi* 'herbe', *nwi* 'dent' *wy* 'huile'.⁶ One sentence consisting of four morphemes with no vowels was recorded. This is possible because the third person non-human pronoun is *ɲ*,⁷ and the perfect suffix *-ɪ* is absorbed by the verb:

- (2) $\text{ɲ} \text{ɲ-ɲ-ɲ}$.
it it-bite-PERF
'It bit it.'

The consonant clusters [kl], [kr], and [bl] have been recorded: *klɛ* 'kill', *klà* 'find', *klɔ* 'thigh', *krā* 'sickness', *blààná* 'afternoon'. These are quite likely due to the elision of an unstressed vowel.⁸

Two different processes seem to occur when an [r]-initial suffix is added to a CVrV word. Some words drop the first [r], leaving a long vowel:

- (3) *wōrī* 'give' + *-rā* 'present tense suffix' \Rightarrow *wōrā* 'giving'
ɟōrō 'man' + *-rī* 'plural' \Rightarrow *ɟōrī* 'men'

Other words drop the intermediate vowel, leaving a geminate [r] pronounced as a trill:

- (4) *fīrī* 'sow' + *-rā* 'present tense suffix' \Rightarrow *fīrrā* 'sowing'
yérī 'scorpion' + *-rī* 'plural' \Rightarrow *yérīrī* 'scorpions'

It may be that this latter process affects only high vowels (i.e. [i] and [u]).⁹ Similar processes affect the other medial resonants [l] and [n] when an [r]-initial suffix is added. Thus *kɛɛnā* 'fearing' (from *kɛnī* 'be afraid' + present tense suffix) illustrates the first process, while *kɔɔlā* 'tying' (from *kɔlī* 'tie' + present tense suffix) illustrates the second.

Jɔ appears to have the seven-vowel system which is endemic in Mande (Dwyer 1989:54):

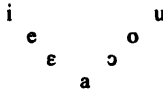


FIGURE 2: *Jɔ* vowels

⁶The last form occurs in Prost's list only in the compounds 'beurre de karité' and 'huile de palme'.

⁷This pronoun is not recorded by Prost.

⁸Cf. Prost's *k^ula* 'cuisse'.

⁹Note that Prost has *wurre* 'crocodiles' (from *wuru* 'crocodile') where I recorded *wōrīrī* 'crocodiles' (from *wōrō* 'crocodile').

All vowels can be nasalized, and all can be long. Nasalized vowels are indicated by a subscript tilde in this paper, and long vowels are indicated by doubling the vowel symbol.

Numerous vowel clusters occur, all apparently as the result of two processes. The first of these is the addition of one of two tense-aspect suffixes to verb roots. When the perfect suffix *-i* is added, the preceding vowel may be affected. If the first vowel is rounded, a glide often forms, as in *kó-i* 'finish' ⇒ [kwɔi]; *lɔ-i* 'be bad tasting' ⇒ [ʎwɔi]; *só-i* 'arrive' ⇒ [swɔi] or [sqɛi]; *pó-i* 'go out' ⇒ [pwɔi] or [pwɪi]; *kfij-i* 'steal' ⇒ [kʃij]; *nú-i* 'eat' ⇒ [nɥi]; *lū-i* 'divide' ⇒ [ʎɥi:]. [a] becomes [ɛ]: *tǵ-i* 'do, make' ⇒ [tɛi]; *kɫā-i* 'be ill' ⇒ [kɫɛi].

The other tense-aspect suffix which can create vowel clusters is the present tense (or perhaps more accurately, the participial) suffix *-rǵ*, which normally drops its initial consonant when it is preceded by a stressed vowel, as is the case when it is added to a monosyllabic verb root: *pó-rǵ* 'going out'; *tí-rǵ* 'pounding'.

Sometimes the final vowel of a CVCV verb assimilates totally to the perfect suffix vowel: *tùrù-i* 'push' ⇒ [tùrɪ]; *mūnū-i* 'drink' ⇒ [mūnɪ]; but cf. *féré-i* 'be happy' ⇒ [féréɪ].¹⁰

The other process which results in heterorganic vowel clusters is the conversion of a final nasal (of unknown place of articulation, since it never surfaces as a nasal without amalgamating with a following consonant—see next section) to [i]. About a fifth of the noun roots in the corpus carry this final nasal.¹¹ The fact that it occurs only on nouns and never on verbs, even when they share the same root (cf. *kfij* 'thief', from /kfijN/, and *kfij* 'steal') indicates that it is quite likely the reflex of the article *n posited by Dwyer (1985). The juxtaposition of this final [i] with the preceding vowel does not seem to provoke as many phonetic changes as the addition of the perfect suffix to verbs. In particular, [o] and [ɔ] seem to be relatively unaffected (though *lói* 'clouds' is [ʎɔi] or even [ʎoe]). [u] has a tendency to become [ɥ]: *cij* 'blood' [cɥi]. [a] often become [ɛ], especially when nasalized or following a nasal consonant: *nāi* 'chicken' [nei] (cf. Prost's *wɛ* 'poule'), *kpǵkpǵá* 'dust' [kpǵkpǵɛ]. *dái* 'child' [dai], when it occurs in compounds with its initial [d] nasalized to [n], is usually pronounced [nei] (cf. also Prost's *dey* 'enfant').

¹⁰This shows that the surface final [u] of at least some [CuVu] verbs may be due to harmonisation, and that the underlying, or original, vowel may be [i].

¹¹It is difficult to determine the number exactly because a great many nouns end in *-dái* or *-nái*, and in each case this may or may not be the morpheme *dái* 'child'.

2.2. Consonant mutation

Dwyer (1989:54) states that consonant mutation is present in all branches of Mande.¹² Jo has a relatively simple version, conditioned historically by the final nasals referred to in the previous section. In effect, about a fifth of noun roots, as well as some pronouns and adjectives, appear to have once ended in a nasal consonant. This consonant has surface reflexes of three sorts: 1) the final [i] noted in the previous section, which is the form of the singular, indefinite noun (i.e. without any following suffixes) in isolation; 2) mutation of an initial voiced stop, fricative, or glide of a following word or suffix; 3) a homorganic nasal consonant before an initial voiceless stop of a following word.

The mutation, which applies only in appropriate syntactic contexts (e.g. an adjective following a head noun, a verb following a subject or direct object, a head noun following a genitive, a postposition following its object), consists of (1) converting a voiced stop or a glide to the corresponding nasal, (2) voicing a fricative.

(5) voiced stops

b > m	júúlli 'cloth' (/júúliN/) + bó 'put'
	⇒ júúll mb '(i) weave; (ii) get dressed'
d, r > n	mí 'I, me, my' (/míN/) + dázhōróki 'the boy'
	⇒ mí názhōróki 'my son'
	jíriri 'tree' (/jíririN/) + rū 'in'
	⇒ jíriri nū 'in a tree'
j > ŋ	ni 'she, her' (/niN/) + jōrikō 'get up'
	⇒ ni ŋōrikōi . 'She got up.'
gb > ŋm	jíriri 'tree' + gbé 'arm'
	⇒ jíririŋmé 'branch'

¹²It was the presence of consonant mutation in 'don' which led Prost to publish his notes on the language in spite of their brevity (p. 613). He points out that the phenomenon is common in southern Mande languages. Note that consonant mutation is also an areal phenomenon, occurring in Atlantic and Senúfo as well as Mande. Its presence in a language is thus not an argument for or against inclusion in Mande.

(6) fricatives¹³

- f > v jànáì 'pill'¹⁴ + fwó 'swallow'
 ⇒ ú jàná vwó. 'He swallowed a pill.'
- s > z jàì 'medicine' + sàámáá 'bitter'
 ⇒ jà zàámáá 'bitter medicine'
- ʃ > ʒ ní 'she, her' + ʃó 'be good looking'
 ⇒ ní ʒó. 'She's beautiful.'

(7) glides¹⁵

- y > ŋ mī 'you, your (sg.)' + yàà 'hurt'
 ⇒ ɲàà mī ɲàà. 'It will hurt you.'
- w > ŋ mí 'I, me, my' + wòrì 'older brother'
 ⇒ mí ŋórí 'my older brother'

The following examples illustrate the appearance of the nasal before a voiceless stop:

(8) voiceless stops

- mí 'I, my' + t̥ɔ̀ŋì 'the mouth'
 ⇒ mí nt̥ɔ̀ŋì 'my mouth'
- jírìl 'tree' + k̥āì 'leg'
 ⇒ jírìnk̥áì 'branch'

¹³The vowel of the pronouns mí 'I, me, my' and mī 'you, your' is heavily nasalized when followed by a mutated fricative: m[̥] z̥ú 'on, to me'.

¹⁴This is a compound of jàì 'medicine' + dáì 'child', itself containing a consonant mutation [d] ⇒ [n].

¹⁵I assume that /l/ becomes [n], but no good examples occur in the corpus. Prost lists / > n/ in his table, and gives the example *ma n/ɔ* 'my intestines', from *lɔ* 'intestines'.

The initial [k] of the definite suffix and the demonstrative suffix is an exception in that it undergoes mutation to [ŋ]:

- (9) $k > \eta$ **dái** 'child' + **-ki** 'the'; + **-kāā** 'that'
- ⇒ **dáŋi** 'the child' **dáŋāā** 'that child'
- cf. **mārē** 'woman'
- ⇒ **mārēki** 'the woman' **mārēkāā** 'that woman'

The above facts are in broad agreement with what Prost notes for the Téma dialect. There are differences of detail, however. In particular, Prost transcribes a nasal consonant before fricatives which I could not detect, and he also states that voiceless stops become voiced with a preceding nasal. The mutations he notes are as follows (pp. 613-4):

(10) mutations listed by Prost

b	>	m	l	>	nl
d	>	n	s	>	nz ¹⁶
dy	>	ny	t	>	nt
f	>	nv	tw	>	ndw
k	>	ng	w	>	nw

2.3. Tone

There are four tone levels in Jo. Although most Mande languages have two tone levels, four-level systems are not unknown, e.g. Sembla, Gban, Tura, Yaure (Dwyer 1989:54; Williamson 1989:27). The four levels are labelled T (Top), H (High), M (Mid), and L (Low) in this paper, and are written as follows:

T = acute accent:	á
H = vertical accent:	ǎ
M = macron:	ā
L = grave accent:	à

Various glides occur on single vowels, though these are rare, most glides occurring on long vowels. The glides which have been recorded are:

¹⁶Prost actually has *st* > *nz*, which I take to be a misprint. The example he gives is *ma nzoe* 'mon foie', from *soe* 'foie'.

TH	á
TM	ā
TL	a
HM	h
MT	á
ML	a
LT	á
LH	á

Although no minimal tone quadruplets have so far been encountered, several triplets have been found, and numerous pairs. Compare the following:

(11) triplets

T	jé	'waterjar'		
H			cli	'night'
M	jē	'garbage'	cī	'stomach'
L	jè	'guest'	cì	'thorn'

(12) pairs

T	wúlí	'cola nut'		
H			kfḥ	'palm nut'
M	wūlī	'calabash'	jḥ	'mud'
L			kḥ	'stone'
			jḥ	'net'
			sù	'wood'
			sù	'horse'

Most morphemes have single tone tunes. Nearly half of the nouns collected (N = 198, total = 401) have single tone tunes. Of these, the most common tune is H (N = 88, = 44%); followed by M (N = 57, = 29%); L (N = 41, = 21%). The most uncommon is T (N = 12; = 6%). In morphologically complex nouns, all possible two-tone tunes have been recorded except TL. A few nouns which appear to be monomorphemic have two-tone tunes: those recorded so far are HL (1 case: *yéři* 'scorpion'), ML (1 case: *jī* 'dream'), MT (7 cases: e.g. *cōi* 'tiger nut'; *jī* 'honey'; *sāá* 'sheep'), HM (2 cases: *sāá* 'road', *dōi* 'back of head').

A number of nouns (N = 21) which have a level L tune in the indefinite and definite, exhibit a H when the following morpheme (within the word or across the word boundary in at least some syntactic constructions) has a M tune. Note that the following nouns keep level tone before a H suffix (here the definite suffix), but have a final H before a M suffix (here the demonstrative suffix):

(13) LH nouns

INDEFINITE DEFINITE DEMONSTRATIVE GLOSS

jàrè	jàrèki	jàrékää	lion
jò	jòki	jòkää	net
sùù	sùùki	sùùkää	horse

The underlying H also makes its presence felt in the tone of the indefinite plural suffix, whose basic form is *-ri*.¹⁷ This suffix keeps its L tone after a M or L tone noun root:

(14) M and L with plural

INDEFINITE SINGULAR	INDEFINITE PLURAL	GLOSS
bāā	bāāri	goat
bwò	bwòri	back

Like all L tones, however, it becomes H after T or H:

(15) T and H with plural

INDEFINITE SINGULAR	INDEFINITE PLURAL	GLOSS
jé	jéri	waterjar
fil	filri	fly

It is likewise H after the roots under consideration (LH):

(16) LH with plural

INDEFINITE SINGULAR	INDEFINITE PLURAL	GLOSS
jàrè	jàrri	lion
jò	jòri	net
sùù	sùùri	horse

Verb tones are more complicated, and considerable more work is required to even be assured of underlying tones. The marking of tense-aspect is at least partly accomplished by overlaying a tune on the lexical tune of the verb. In addition, preceding words (e.g. tense-aspect auxiliaries and direct objects) affect the tone of at least some verbs. Nevertheless, at least three major tone classes can be distinguished (with several subclasses) on the basis of the tones they have in various constructions. The simplest environment is the 'bare' imperative, consisting of the verb alone, without any added (non-tonal) morphology. In this

¹⁷Prost has *-re* and *-ne*, but the latter can be derived from the former by consonant mutation. Cf. the plural suffix *-rè / -ri / -nè / -ni* in Bobo (Le Bris and Prost 1981:25).

construction the tunes H, M, and L, are well-represented: *pó* 'go out', *nā* 'come', *bili* 'run'.

Several tone rules seem to be at work in the data. The raising of L to H after T or H noted above occurs also in genitive constructions. Compare the following:

- (17) *mí ntòŋi* 'my mouth'
 ú tòŋi 'his mouth'
 and *mī ntòŋi* 'your mouth'

L, M, and H become T in compounds after H, but not all roots undergo this rule. Compare the following:

(16) H > T / H _

- kpéll* 'Jula' + *wúlú* 'language' ⇒ *kpéllwúlú* 'Jula language'
 but *jiril* 'tree' + *dáí* 'child' ⇒ *jirinái* 'fruit'

(17) M > T / H _

- jiril* 'tree' + *kāí* 'leg' ⇒ *jirinkái* 'branch'
 but *tòtò* 'ear' + *tā* 'hole' ⇒ *tòtòtā* 'ear canal'

(18) L > T / H _

- jiril* 'tree' + *bwð* 'back' ⇒ *jirimwð* 'tree trunk'

The variation may depend on the initial root, e.g. *fii* 'thing', after *nú* 'eat' is raised: *núfii* 'food'; but after *wéíí* 'sauce' it remains M: *wéíífii* 'sauce ingredient'.

3. WORD ORDER AND MORPHOLOGY

3.1. Clause constituent order

Mande languages show a remarkable structural similarity in the order of constituents (Dwyer 1989:57).¹⁸ Direct objects are placed before the verb, but

¹⁸This unity is all the more remarkable considering the time depth of the initial break-up of Mande into its different branches, and considering the enormous lexical variation. It should be noted, however, that the peculiar word order of Mande languages is in fact shared by the Senufo languages, and, to varying degrees, by a few other western Gur languages (e.g. Toussian). It is, moreover, the order found in the western dialects of Songoy. It thus constitutes an areal

ú t̥-kí-ī lāmísà. 'His name is Lamisa.'
 his name-the-be Lamisa

The verb wúrí is used in the past tense:

(24) ú wúrí-l kílítī. 'He was chief.'
 he be-PERF chief

The verb jí 'be, be born, give birth' is used in the future:

(25) wá-á jí kílítī. 'He will be chief.'
 he-FUT be chief

Relative clauses, with the head noun internal and marked by the relative determiner w̥, are preposed to the main clause (i.e. they are correlatives) as is common in Mande languages:

(26) relative clause—main clause

mí ɲ̥ʒ̥²⁰ bāā-kí w̥r̥í-l j̥or̥o w̥ò t̥è,
 I I.SING.REFL.GEN goat-the give-PERF man REL to

ú t̥írl-l k̥ur̥à.
 he go-PERF Koura

'The man I gave the goat to has gone to Koura.'

All but the most nominalized complement clauses follow the main clause, as in most Mande languages. With verbs of speech and cognition, an 'anticipatory' pronoun may occur in the direct object position in the main clause (as in Bambara and Vai, cf. Welmers 1976:102):

(27) main clause—complement clause

ú ñ-t̥-î t̥ú²¹ ní nt̥írl.
 he it-know-PERF that she go
 'He knows that she left.'

Participial complements of verbs of perception may precede the main clause verb if they are intransitive (as in Bambara):

(28) embedded participial complement

mí ú t̥íl-rá j̥ē-î. 'I saw him going.'
 I he go-PART see-PERF

²⁰Within a clause, coreference of a first or second person genitive with the subject is indicated by the use of the reflexive pronoun, here amalgamated with the genitive particle w̥. Ordinary pronouns are used in the third person.

²¹The complementizer t̥ú 'that' is obviously derived from the verb t̥ú 'say'.

If the complement clause is transitive, however, it is 'split', with the subject appearing before the main clause verb, and the rest of the clause after it (Bambara, in contrast, allows the entire complement clause to be embedded before the main clause verb):

(29) 'split' transitive participial clause²²

mí ú jē-ī dá-ŋi bwō-á.
I he see-PERF child-the hit-PART
'I saw him hitting the child.'

Negation is marked by a clause-final particle, as it is in Bobo (Le Bris and Prost 1981:58ff):

(30) negation

ú tá lùlūnī kī. 'He didn't go to Loulouni.'
he go Loulouni NEG

The marker for yes/no questions is also placed at the end of the sentence, as in many Mande languages:

(31) ú dá-ŋi cī wá?
he child-the send.PERF QUES
'Did he send the child?'

Question words in constituent questions are not moved to the front of the sentence, but remain in the same place as their non-interrogatory counterparts, as is the case in Bambara:

(32) mī ŋkēē jà?
you who see
'Whom did you see?'

(33) ú mō vē nū?²³
he it.put what in?
'What did he put it in?'

(34) mī-l tá-á dā?
you-be go-ing where?
'Where are you going?'

²²The participial suffix is also the present progressive suffix (see next section) and is glossed *-ing* elsewhere in this paper.

²³The verb is *bō* 'put (in, on, down)'.

3.2. Tense and aspect marking

Mande languages generally mark tense, aspect, and modality by means of auxiliaries placed just after the subject (and before the direct object if there is one) or by verb suffixes, or by a combination of these (cf. Dwyer 1989:57). Once again, Jo conforms to the general mold. The perfect²⁴ is marked by a suffix *-f*:

- (35) *ú k5-f.*
 he finish-PERF
 'He has finished.'

When the final vowel of the verb is long, the suffix vowel is dropped, but the top-low tone remains:

- (36) *ú s53.*
 he sit.PERF
 'He has sat down.'

Future is marked by the combination of an auxiliary *rá*, which amalgamates to varying degrees with the preceding subject (a feature typical of Mande languages), plus tonal changes on the verb (most verbs appear to take a top tone in the future, but mid tone verbs become low):²⁵

(37) future

má-á ñ-térf.
 I-FUT it-cut.FUT
 'I will cut it.'

wá-á nà.
 he-FUT come.FUT
 'He will come.'

²⁴This is analyzed as perfect because when added to stative verbs the time reference is present: *ú gbē-f.* 'He is fat.' When added to active verbs, the time reference for the event is past: *ú nā-f.* 'He came/has come.' Prost also labels the tense-aspect in question *parfait* (p.614). It seems to be very similar in function to the perfect in Senufo languages, where the label 'perfect' is amply justified (cf. Carlson 1990:573-85). Note that the exact delineation of the categories 'active' and 'stative' remains to be worked out. The verb *kēni* 'be afraid' (wordlist 552) behaves like an active verb (and thus should perhaps be translated 'fear') whereas *yèli* 'be tired' (479) and *féré* 'be happy' (595) are stative, as one would expect. The verb *tó* 'know' (515) is stative, as its equivalent is in Senufo languages and in English.

²⁵The future auxiliary is identical in form to the postposition *rá* 'on, at', and to the participial suffix *-rá* (see below). The identity or near-identity of auxiliaries and postpositions has been remarked in a number of Mande languages (Bird and Kendall 1986).

The present (or better, present progressive) of active verbs is marked by a combination of auxiliary (the verb 'be') and the participial suffix *-rá*.²⁶

(38) present

mí-í ñ-tér-rá.
I-be it-cut-PART
'I am cutting it.'

A remote future uses the present tense of an auxiliary verb *fá* (of unknown provenance), which takes the form *fá-rá* or *fá-á* when the participial suffix is added:²⁷

(39) wí-í fá-rá / fá-á tírí.
he-be REM.FUT-PART go
'He will go (eventually).'

It is interesting to note that the perfect suffix is omitted in constituent questions. Compare the following:

(40) ñkǫǫ ná?	vs.	ní nā-í.
who come		she come-PERF
'Who has come?'		'She has come?'

ú nā vǫ ná?	vs.	ú nā-í.
he come what on		he come-PERF
'Why did he come?'		'He has come.'

Future and present are not omitted in questions:

(41) ñkǫǫ-ná tírí?
who-FUT go.FUT
'Who will go?'

²⁶The construction is thus equivalent to 'SUBJECT be VERB-ing', a common way of encoding progressive cross-linguistically.

²⁷This auxiliary, together with the participial suffix, is evidently equivalent in function to the auxiliary for '*futur éloigné*' noted by Prost: *sana* (p. 614). Its exact semantic function of course awaits further investigation, but note that unlike the ordinary future, it is incompatible with the time adverb *dǫǫǫ* 'now':

má-á tírí dǫǫǫ.
I-FUT go now
'I will go now.'

* mí-í fá-rá tírí dǫǫǫ.
I-be REM.FUT-PART go now

wl-ī nà-à vĕ ná?
 he-be come-ing what on
 'Why is he coming?'

The perfect suffix is also omitted in negative sentences:.

- (42) kī mǔ kī. vs. kī mǔ-ł.
 they be.many not they be.many-PERF
 'They are not many.' 'They are many.'

As with questions, future and present are marked in negative sentences:

- (43) ká-á mǔ kī.
 they-FUT be.many.FUT not
 'They will not be many.'

wl-ī nà-à kī.
 he-be come-ing not
 'He is not coming.'

Complement clauses of the verbs bī 'say' and tǔ 'think' also omit the perfect suffix when the main clause is itself perfect:²⁸

- (44) nī mǔ-ł tǔ ú nā.
 she it.say-PERF that he come
 'She said that he came.'
- (45) nī ñ-tǔ-ł tǔ ú nā.
 she it-know-PERF that he come
 'She knows that he has come.'

The pluperfect for active verbs is marked by a serial construction (see section 4 below) in which the second verb is the copular verb wǔrl in the perfect:

- (46) ú ñwǔ-ł úrf-ł. cf. ú ñwǔ-ł.²⁹
 he it.hit be-PERF he it.hit-PERF
 'He had hit it.' 'He hit it.'

²⁸The complement of the present tense main verb tǔ 'think, say', however, does take the perfect suffix:

nī-ī ñ-tǔ-à ú tǔrf-ł.
 she-be it-think-ing he go-PERF
 'She thinks he has gone.'

The whole question of tense, aspect, and mood in the complement clause, besides being very complicated, appears to have a number of interesting characteristics which will reward further study.

²⁹The verb is bwǔ 'hit' (wordlist 465).

This same construction with a stative verb yields a simple past meaning:

- (47) \dot{u} $y\grave{e}li$ $\acute{u}ri$ - \grave{l} . cf. \dot{u} $y\grave{e}li$ - \grave{l} .
 he be.tired be-PERF he be.tired-PERF
 'He was tired.'
 'He is tired.'

In order to obtain a past progressive meaning for active verbs, the copular verb must be put first in the construction, still with its perfect suffix, and the main verb comes second, with a participial, or present, suffix:

- (48) $m\acute{i}$ $\eta\acute{u}ri$ - \acute{i} $si\acute{n}\acute{a}$ $nt\acute{i}$ - \acute{a} .
 I be-PERF maize pound-PART
 'I was pounding maize.'

3.3. Noun phrases

Definite articles, demonstratives, and plural markers tend to follow the head noun or head noun + attribute in Mande languages (Dwyer 1989:58). This is also the case in J_o, as the following examples show:³⁰

- (49) noun + definite article³¹

$\mathring{f}\acute{o}r\acute{o}$ - kl 'the man'
 man-the

$\mathring{f}\acute{o}r\acute{o}$ $by\grave{l}$ - $\eta\acute{l}$ 'the ten men'
 man ten-the

- (50) noun + demonstrative

$\mathring{f}\acute{o}r\acute{o}$ - $k\acute{a}\acute{a}$ 'that man'
 man-that

³⁰I have written the definite and demonstrative articles as suffixes in this paper. Further study will have to be done in order to resolve the issue of whether they are suffixes or separate words. Prost did not note the existence of definite or demonstrative articles or suffixes.

³¹The definite article combines with the future auxiliary *rá* to yield *-káá*, which should not be confused with the demonstrative suffix *-káā*. The demonstrative + the future auxiliary yields *-káā rá*. Following are examples:

$m\acute{a}r\acute{e}$ - $k\acute{a}\acute{a}$ - \acute{a} $n\acute{a}$. 'The woman will come.'
 woman-the-FUT come

$m\acute{a}r\acute{e}$ - $k\acute{a}\acute{a}$ $r\acute{a}$ $n\acute{a}$. 'That woman will come.'
 woman-that FUT come

jǝ kǔlǐ-ŋāā 'that bad net'
net bad-that

jǝ kǔlǐ mbyá-ŋāā 'those three bad nets'
net bad three-that

(51) noun + plural marker³²

ʃōō-rǐ 'men'
man-PL

jǝ kǔlǐ-nǐ 'bad nets'
net bad-PL

The plural marker is placed after the definite and demonstrative suffixes. It is raised to H after the definite suffix, which in turn becomes T:

(52) definite + plural

ʃōō-kǐ-rǐ 'the men'
man-the-PL

If the noun root ends in T, however, the definite suffix remains H, and the plural marker becomes T:

(53) definite + plural after T

jé-kǐ-rǐ 'the waterpot'
waterpot-the-PL

The [r] of the plural marker becomes [n] when it follows roots causing mutation:

(54) **dá-nǐ** 'children'
child-PL

The [r] of the plural marker is also nasalized to [ŋ] in some places where mutation does not normally take place, such as when the [k] of the preceding definite suffix is mutated to [ŋ]:

(55) **jǔǔll-ŋǐ-nǐ** 'the clothes'
cloth-the-PL

It is also nasalized following a nasalized vowel. Compare the following:

³²Note that the plural marker is not used when a number modifies the noun, as the previous examples show.

constructions seem to be quite common. Only two-verb sequences have been recorded so far. Only one tense-aspect auxiliary is used for the entire construction, and only one verb in each construction takes the tense-aspect suffix, the other remaining unmarked. As is common cross-linguistically in serial constructions, often one of the verbs is grammaticalized with an "auxiliary" or "adverbial" type meaning. In such a case, the verb which retains its full lexical meaning also retains the tense-aspect suffix, if there is one. This can be illustrated with the verb *pùll* 'return', which in a serial construction can have the grammaticalized meaning 'again'. Note in the following example that in this case the other, "main" verb takes the perfect suffix:

(59) perfect

ni à pùll bìl-ì.³⁵
 she REFL.3.S return lie.down-PERF
 'She lay down again.'

In the following example, the verb *kó* 'finish' has the grammaticalized meaning 'already':³⁶

(60) ú m-bwǝ-ì kó. 'He already hit it.'
 he it-hit-PERF finish

When both verbs could be argued to retain their full lexical meaning, the second verb is usually the one to take the tense-aspect suffix, as in the following present tense example:

(61) present

ni-ì bìlì tíf-rá sū-ki tē.
 she-be run go-PART stream-the to
 'She is running to the stream.'

If the second verb gives the purpose of the first verb, however, the first verb is the one to take the tense suffix. Note in the following example that *pùll* retains its lexical meaning of 'return':

(62) wá-ā à pùl-áá yìrì kúrú.
 he-be REFL.3.S return-ing them chop
 'He is coming back to chop them.'

³⁵Note that the verb *pùll* 'return' takes a reflexive direct object, literally 'return oneself'.

³⁶The grammaticalization of *kó* has advanced to the point that it is able to occur with itself:

ú kó-ì kó. 'He is already finished.'
 he finish-PERF finish

5. PRONOUNS

Mande languages show no trace of the noun class systems attested in all other branches of Niger-Congo. Jo also shares this characteristic, unless the final nasal on some nouns is the remnant of such a system.

A typical Mande pronoun system distinguishes between first, second, and third persons, and between singular and plural, as in Vai (Welmers 1976:43):

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
1st	ń	mú
2nd	f	wó
3rd	à	ànú

Figure 3. Vai pronouns

A few Mande languages distinguish between inclusive and exclusive first person plural, as is the case in Bobo (Le Bris and Prost 1981:43-4). It is not uncommon to find languages in Niger-Congo which have a two-way distinction in the third person between animate and inanimate or between human and non-human, though I am not aware of any Mande language which has such a distinction. A sex-based distinction between masculine and feminine in the third person is quite rare, being found in two western Kru languages (Wobe and Nyabwa) in Côte d'Ivoire (Marchese 1979:120),³⁷ and in Ijoid (Jenewari 1989:114-5) in southern Nigeria.

The Jo pronominal system resembles that of the Ijoid language Defaka, which distinguishes masculine, feminine, and neuter in the third person singular. Jo distinguishes only human and non-human in the third person plural:

	SINGULAR	PLURAL	
first	mí	ĩbēē	
second	mī	ábéé	
t masculine	ú		
h		kí	human
i feminine	ni		
r		yl̩r̩	non-human
d neuter	ɟ̩		

³⁷The masculine/feminine distinction is present in the second person singular as well as in the third person in Wobe and Nyabwa.

FIGURE 4. Jo pronouns

The first and second person singular and the feminine pronouns cause mutation of a following consonant, and may thus perhaps be reconstructed as having a final nasal consonant (i.e. *mīN*, *mī̄N*, and *nīN*). The neuter pronoun is detectable only by mutation of the consonant it precedes (unless this is a voiceless stop), and by the tonal trace it leaves if the conditions are right:

(63) genitive constructions showing consonant mutation

mí	ŋɔ́	'my bone'
mī̄	ŋɔ́	'your (sing.) bone'
ní	ŋɔ́	'her bone'
	ŋɔ́	'its (e.g. the dog's) bone'

cf. ú wɔ́ 'his bone'

(64) object + verb showing consonant mutation

wá-á	mí	ʒí.	'He will take me.'
wá-á	mī̄	ʒí.	'He will take you (sing.).'
wá-á	ní	ʒí.	'He will take her.'
wá-á		ʒí.	'He will take it.'

cf.	wá-á	ú	ʒí.	'He will take him.'
	wá-á	kí	ʒí.	'He will take them.'
	wá-á	yírí	ʒí.	'He will take them.'

The non-human pronoun *ɲ* is probably cognate with the third person pronoun *N reconstructed by Dwyer (1985) for southwestern Mande, of which Creissels (1990) finds traces in northern Mande languages. It is noteworthy that the reflex of this pronoun in Mende is used to refer to non-humans, as in Jo.

It is impossible to say at this stage what the origin of the feminine pronoun was. It is unlikely that it developed from a reduced system of class pronouns as in Kru languages. However, it is certainly interesting that in all the languages with feminine pronouns, the masculine pronoun resembles the ubiquitous class 1 pronoun found throughout Niger-Congo (Wobe and Nyabwa ʒ, Defaka o, Jo ú).

The same basic form of the pronoun is used as subject, direct object, and object of postposition. As is common in Mande languages, however, pronouns amalgamate with following auxiliaries to varying degrees. The following tables show the amalgamation of subject pronouns with the future and the present auxiliaries.

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
first	máá	íbɛá / íbɛè rá

	second	māá	ábéá / ábéé rá	
t	masculine	wáá	kíá / kí rá	human
h				
i	feminine	niá		
r				
d	neuter	jàá	yìràá	non-human

FIGURE 5. Jò pronouns + future auxiliary

		SINGULAR	PLURAL	
	first	míí	ìbèè	
	second	mīī	ábéé	
t	masculine	wīī	kíí	human
h				
i	feminine	nīī		
r				
d	neuter	jì	yìrì	non-human

FIGURE 6. Jò pronouns + present auxiliary

The pronouns also amalgamate with the genitive particle *wó*:

	SINGULAR		PLURAL	
	first	móó	ṽóó	
	second	mõõ	ábóó	
t	masculine	ú wó		
h			kóó	human
i	feminine	ni ɲó		
r				
d	neuter	?	?	non-human

FIGURE 7. Jo pronouns + genitive particle

Unlike the ordinary pronouns, the Jo reflexive pronouns closely resemble the common Mande pronoun systems, in that all distinctions of gender are lost:

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
first	ɲ	yì
second	ɲ̃	á
third	à	àri

FIGURE 8. Jo reflexive pronouns

The first and second person singular reflexive pronouns are realized as [ɲ] only when amalgamated with a following auxiliary (see below). Otherwise they appear as homorganic nasals before voiceless stops, or as consonant mutation. The following examples illustrated the loss of gender distinctions in the third person:

(65) third person reflexives

wá	-à	wū-í.	'He washed himself.' ³⁸
ni	à	wū-í.	'She washed herself.'
ɲ	-à	wū-í.	'It washed itself.'

³⁸In the future, the [r] of the future auxiliary is optionally elided:

ú	rá	à	wù.	⇒	wá-á	à	wù.
he	FUT	3.REFL	wash		he-FUT	3.REFL	wash
'He will wash himself.'							

kí àrì wū-í. 'They (human) washed themselves.'
 ylrà -àrì wū-í. 'They (non-human) washed themselves.'

The reflexive pronouns are used in complement clauses to show coreference of the subject of the complement clause with the subject of the main clause, as in Bobo (Le Bris and Prost 1981:44):

(66) complement of verb of speech ('logophoric' function)

ú mī-í tú à tírì.
 he it.say-PERF that 3.SING.REFL go
 'He_j said he_j went.'

cf. ú mī-í tú ú tírì.
 he it.say-PERF that he go
 'He_j said that he_j went.'

(67) complement of modality 'verb'³⁹

wl-ī ñ-tè ā tírì.
 he-be it-at 3.SING.REFL.AUX go
 'He wants to go.'

cf. wl-ī ñ-tè wl-ī tírì.
 he-be it-at he-AUX go
 'He_j wants him_j to go.'

When the first and second person singular reflexives combine with auxiliaries in the complement clause, their underlying velar point of articulation is revealed:

(68) first person reflexive complement subject

mí mī-í n-tú ɲáá tírì.⁴⁰
 I it.say-PERF I-that 1.SING.REFL.FUT go.FUT
 'I said that I will go.'

mí-í ñ-tè ɲī tírì.
 I-be it-at 1.SING.REFL.AUX go
 'I want to go.'

³⁹The notion of 'want' seems to be conveyed by the expression 'be at/to it (that)'. The M tone on the reflexive subject pronoun is due to its amalgamation with an auxiliary *ī*, which may be the copula *ī*.

⁴⁰Interestingly, the complementizer *tú*, which derives from the verb *tú* 'say', carries what appears to be a concordial prefix when the subject is first or second person.

The first person reflexive pronouns are also used as object pronouns in imperative clauses. Compare the following pairs of sentences:

(69a) \dot{u} $\dot{j}\dot{l}$ - \dot{i} $m\dot{i}$ $\eta\dot{u}$.⁴¹
 he it.show-PERF me to
 'He showed it to me.'

(b) $\dot{j}\dot{l}$ $\eta\dot{u}$.
 it.show me.to
 'Show it to me.'

(70a) \dot{u} $\dot{j}\dot{l}$ - \dot{i} $\dot{i}b\dot{e}\dot{e}$ $w\dot{u}$.
 he it.show-PERF us to
 'He showed it to us.'

(b) $\dot{j}\dot{l}$ $y\dot{l}$ $w\dot{u}$.
 it.show us to
 'Show it to us.'

Finally, the second person plural 'reflexive' pronoun is also used as the subject in a plural imperative (the subject is omitted altogether in a singular imperative). Compare the following:

(71a) $\dot{a}b\dot{e}\dot{e}$ \dot{u} $bw\dot{5}$ - \dot{i} .
 you.PL him hit-PERF
 'You (pl.) hit him.'

(b) \dot{a} \dot{u} $bw\dot{5}$.
 you.PL him hit
 'Hit him.' (plural addressees)

6. WORD LIST

The first 573 items of the following word list match the comparative word list in Morse (1967). The items after that are from other word lists which I collected, and are listed in (Jc) alphabetical order. For convenience I have included an English index at the end.

When it seems clear that the form in question is borrowed from Jula or Bambara, I have given the standard Bambara form as the source, even though the borrowing was probably originally from Sikasso Jula. There are of course many

⁴¹The verb is $\dot{j}\dot{l}$ 'show'.

other cognates with Bambara due to common ancestry. I have also occasionally noted possible borrowings from Senufo (Supyire).

Occasionally the informant (Lamisa Diamoutene) was unable to think of a Jɔ equivalent for a word in Morse's list. Usually this was because the list was simply inadequate (cf. for example item 284 'melon': what was this intended to be?) In other cases, the concept is not lexicalized by Jɔ speakers (e.g. items 364-6 'green', 'yellow', 'blue': Jɔ has a three-color system—white, black, red—like Bambara and many other languages of the area).

Many of the adjectives in Morse's list are most naturally expressed by means of a stative verb in Jɔ. In such cases I have given the verb as well as the derived adjective form more nearly syntactically equivalent to Morse's form.

A number of pairs of antonyms are represented in Jɔ by only one form (evidently the semantically unmarked member of the pair), the other concept being expressed by the negation of the first member. Thus 357 'light' is simply 'not heavy' (356). Other examples are: 'few' = 'not many'; 'shallow' = 'not deep'; 'used' = 'not new'; 'young' = 'not old'. The other pairs in Morse's list (e.g. long-short, good-bad, full-empty) are fully lexicalized in Jɔ.

Another shortcoming of Morse's list is that sometimes the gloss is too general. For example, item 223 'monkey': in many of the languages of the area, there are two nouns used to refer to the two common species of monkey found in the region, the patas and the vervet. There is, however, no common noun used to refer to both species together. The Jɔ word for 'patas monkey', *fɔ̃*, is obviously related to the Duun word for 'monkey' which Morse gives: *fɔ̃wɔ̃*. But the Samo word listed for 'monkey', *kerè*, could well be related to the Jɔ word for 'vervet monkey': *kɔ̃li*.

1 one	tɛ̀ɛ̀ni (Pr. tɛ̀na) fōrō tɛ̀ɛ̀ni one man
2 two	fúúlí (Pr. fole) dá fúúlí two children yérl fúúlí two fish
3 three	byāi (Pr. dyue)
4 four	plírēi (Pr. piœ)
5 five	táá (Pr. tã)
6 six	táá-mānī (Pr. tonte)
7 seven	jɔ̀ɔ̀-póni (Pr. dyompono)
8 eight	fúl-póni [fúl-póni] (Pr. filepono) [two + fɔ̀n/ lose]
9 nine	tɛ̀ɛ̀-póni (Pr. tɛ̀pono)
10 ten	byl ([y] rather fricative) (Pr. bi)
11 eleven	bù ni tɛ̀ɛ̀ [bù n: tɛ̀ɛ̀] [10 plus 1]
12 twelve	bù ni fúúlí
13 thirteen	bù ni mbyái
14 fourteen	bù ni plírèi
15 fifteen	bù ni táá
16 sixteen	bù ni táá-mānī
17 seventeen	bù ni jɔ̀ɔ̀-póni
18 eighteen	bù ni fúl-póni
19 nineteen	bù ni tɛ̀ɛ̀-póni
20 twenty	kòni (Pr. kone)
21 twenty-one	kòni fá tɛ̀ɛ̀ni [20 add 1]
22 thirty	kòni fá byl [20 add 10] (Pr. konemi)
23 forty	yāa fúúlí [rope two] (Pr. wafole)
24 fifty	yāa fúúlí fá byl [rope two add ten]
25 sixty	yāa byái [rope three]
26 seventy	yāa byái fá byl [rope three add ten]
27 eighty	yāa plírèi [rope four]
28 ninety	yāa plírèi fá byl [rope four add ten]
29 one hundred	yāa táá [rope five] (Pr. watã)
30 thousand	wáá

- 45 son (must be possessed; = boy 121)
mí ná-zhóró-ki
 my son
ú dá-zhóró-ki
 his son
- 46 daughter (must be possessed; = girl 122)
mí ná-máré-ki
 my daughter
ú dá-máré-ki
 his daughter
- 47 grandson (son's son) (= grandchild = son's child)
ú dázhóró dáí
 his son's child
- 48 granddaughter (son's daughter) (= 47)
- 49 grandfather (father's father) (= father's older bro. 33)
tīŋ-cēŋní *def. tīŋ-cēŋní-ki*
 [father 31 + old 386]
 (Pr. *tenkena pl. tenkene*)
- 50 my grandmother (father's mother)
mí ntī-ŋl jí-ŋl
 my father-the mother-the
 (cf. Pr. *ninkena 'grand-mère' pl. ninkene*)
- 51 my son-in-law (daughter's husband)
mí ná-máré-ki wó sōrō-ki
 my child-woman-the GEN man-the
- 52 my daughter-in-law (son's wife)
mí ná-zhóró-ki wó mārē-ki
 my child-man-the GEN woman-the
- 53 father-in-law (wife's father)
tīl *def. tīl-ki dem. tīl-kāā*
mí ntī-ki
 my father-in-law
ú tī-ki
 his father-in-law
- 54 my father-in-law (husband's father)
mó-ó sōrō-ki tī-ŋl
 my-GEN man-the father-the
- 55 mother-in-law (wife's mother)
fā-mārē *def. fā-mārē-ki*
mí vá-máré-ki
 my mother-in-law
ú fā-máré-ki
 his mother-in-law
mī vā-mārē-ki
 your mother-in-law

- 56 my mother-in-law (husband's mother)
 m5-5 fōrō-ki fī-ŋi
 my-GEN man-the mother-the
- 57 face
 nāāfē *def. nāāfē-ki*
 (Pr. wānta *pl. wāntare*)
- 58 skull
 ŋùní-ŋó *def. ŋùní-ŋó-ki*
 [head 60 + bone 107]
- 59 brains, intelligence:
 brains
 ŋùní-nèŋkǎǎ *def. ŋùní-nèŋkǎǎ-ŋi*
 [head 60 + ?]
 intelligence
 nákííí or nǎkííí *def. nákíííki*
 [Bamb. *hakili*]
- 60 head
 ŋònéì *def. ŋòné-ŋi or ŋùní-ŋi pl. ŋùní-ni*
dem. ŋùní-ŋāā
 (Pr. wole *pl. wolne*)
mí ŋònéì
 my head (note L does not become T or H)
- 61 hair (head)
 ŋòní-ǎí *def. ŋòní-ǎí-ŋi*
 [head 60 + ?]
 (Pr. nwu-zi)
mí ŋòní-ǎí
 my hair
ŋòní-ǎí ǎǎǎni
 one hair
ŋòní-ǎí mbyéí
 three hairs
- 62 nose
 nén-tā *def. pl. nén-tā-kí-ri*
 [? + hole 332]
 (Pr. wunta)
- 63 ear
 tǎǎ *def. pl. tǎǎ-kí-ri*
 ear canal
 tǎǎ-tā *def. pl. tǎǎ-tā-kí-ri*
 (Pr. tǒta 'oreille' *pl. tǒtare*)
 [ear + hole 332]
- 64 eye
 nā-néì *def. nā-ná-ŋi pl. nā-ná-ni*
 [eye + child 131]
 (Pr. wānane *pl. wānanane*)
- 65 cheek
 cūfē *def. cūfē-ki*
 (Pr. boe *pl. bone*)
- 66 beard
 díí *def. dí-ŋi*
mí ndí mpó-ì.
 I beard go.out-PERF
 "I grew a beard."
- 67 chin (= lower jaw 68)
 díímá *def. díímá-ki pl. díímá-rí*
- 68 jaw (= 67)

69 mouth (+ edge (inal.))

t̩̀l̩̀ *def. t̩̀-ŋl̩̀*
 (Pr. toɕ *pl. t̩̀ŋe*)
 tàbàl̩̀-ki t̩̀ ǹ̩ē
 beside the table

70 lip

t̩̀-nà *def. t̩̀-nà-ki*
 [mouth 69 + ?]
 (Pr. t̩̀ŋa)
 ú t̩̀-nà-ki
 his lip

71 tongue

nánáí or ǹ̩ǹ̩éí *def. pl. náná-ŋí-ní*
 (Pr. ǹ̩ŋe *pl. ǹ̩ŋene*)

72 tooth

ʃí *def. ʃí-ŋl̩̀*
 (Pr. nẁ̩j̩̀ (+) *pl. nẁ̩j̩̀ne*)

also: tooth

ʃí-ǹ̩éí *def. pl. ʃí-nà-ŋí-ní*
 [tooth + child 131]

73 neck

yè *def. yè-ki or yà-ki*
def. pl. yà-kí-ri
dem. yè-kāā

74 nape of neck

do-vèl̩̀i
 [back of head 589 + tendon 108]
 (Pr. doɛ *pl. done*)

75 throat

jóǹ̩éí *def. jóǹ̩á-ŋl̩̀*

76 chest

kúí *def. kú-ŋl̩̀*

(Pr. kwe)

77 breast

ŋéí *def. pl. ŋé-ŋí-ní*

(Pr. nyɛ *pl. nyɛne*)

78 hand (= arm 98)

gbé *def. pl. gbé-kí-ri*

(Pr. dye *pl. dyere*)*mí ŋmé*

my hand

79 fingernail

gb̩̀ériǹ̩áŋ-kúl̩̀í *def. pl. gb̩̀ériǹ̩áŋ-kúl̩̀í-ŋí-ní*

[finger 84 + covering 177]

80 toenail, claw

k̩̀āǹ̩áŋ-kúl̩̀í *def. k̩̀āǹ̩áŋ-kúl̩̀í-ŋl̩̀*

[toe 93 + covering 177]

81 elbow

gb̩̀é-kfúú *def. gb̩̀é-kfúú-ki*

[arm 78 + joint]

82 shoulder: ? the closest equivalent found was:

shoulderblade, back of shoulder

gb̩̀é-k55 *def. gb̩̀é-k55-ki*

[arm 78 + behind 438]

(cf. Pr. dyek̩̀á 'épaule')

83 armpit

yél̩̀ífē *def. yél̩̀ífē-ki*

[cf. fē 'under' 436]

84 finger	gbéri-nái	<i>def. pl. gbéri-ná-ŋí-ni</i> [hand 78 + child 131] (Pr. <i>dye-ne pl. dycanane</i>)
85 back	bwò	<i>def. bwò-ki pl. twò-rì</i> <i>dem. bwò-kāā</i> (Pr. <i>koa</i> , but cf. 438)
86 heart	t̄ɔ̄	<i>def. t̄ɔ̄-ŋi</i> (Pr. <i>twɔ̄ pl. tɔ̄ne</i>)
87 stomach, belly	cī	<i>def. cī-ki pl. cī-rì</i> (Pr. <i>ki pl. kire</i>)
Bambara fūru is also used:		
	fūru	<i>def. fūru-ki</i> <i>dem. fūru-kāā</i> <i>ú fūru-ki</i> his stomach <i>Ɖùrù-ki</i> its stomach
88 liver	só	<i>def. pl. só-ŋí-ni</i> (Pr. <i>soe</i>)
89 guts, intestines	wùlà ([w ^u la])	<i>def. wùlà-ki pl. wùlà-rì</i> <i>dem. wùlà-kāā</i> (Pr. <i>lɔ pl. lɔre</i>)
90 leg (= foot 94)	kā̄	<i>def. kā̄-ŋi pl. kā̄-nì</i> (Pr. <i>kɛ pl. kane</i>)
91 heel	kā̄n-tóntó	<i>def. kā̄n-tóntó-ŋi</i> [leg 90 + ?]
92 knee	kā̄-ŋū	<i>def. kā̄-ŋū-ki</i> [leg 90 + ?] (Pr. <i>ku pl. kuri</i>)
93 toe	kā̄-nái	<i>def. kā̄-ná-ŋi</i> [foot 90 + child 131] (Pr. <i>kā-ne pl. kānane</i>)
94 foot (= leg 90)		
95 rib	yáliká	<i>def. yáliká-ki pl. yáliká-rì</i> <i>def. pl. yáliká-kí-rì</i> (Pr. <i>walga pl. walgare</i>)
96 lungs: ?		
97 buttock	cét̄ɔ̄	<i>def. pl. cét̄ɔ̄-kí-rì</i> (Pr. <i>tie</i>)
98 arm (= hand 78)		
99 waist: ?		
100 thigh	kló	<i>def. kló-ki pl. kló-rì</i> (Pr. <i>k^ulā pl. k^ulāre</i>)
101 hip	cékpil	<i>def. cékpi-ŋi</i>

- (Pr. *kwe pl. kwere*)
- 117 man (= friend 137, husband 119)
fōrō *def. fōrō-ki pl. fōō-rì*
def. pl. fōrō-ki-rì
- (Pr. *suru pl. suri*)
mś-ś fōrō yē.
 (i) "It's my friend." (man speaking)
 (ii) "It's my husband." (woman speaking)
- 118 woman (= wife 120)
mārē *def. mārē-ki pl. māā-rì*
 (Pr. *mara pl. mare*)
- 119 husband (= man 117)
- 120 wife (= woman 118)
- 121 boy (cf. son 45) **dá-zōrō** *def. dá-zōrō-ki*
 [child 131 + man 117]
- 122 girl (cf. daughter 46)
dá-mārē *def. dá-mārē-ki*
 [child 131 + woman 118]
- 123 baby (= child 131)
- 124 young man, youth **ɲòrìkś** *def. ɲòrìkś-ki pl. ɲòrìkś-rì*
mí-í ɲòrìkś
 "I'm a young man."
- 125 maiden **māānà** *def. māānà-ŋl dem. māānà-ŋāā*
- 126 old man **fōrō cēēní** *def. fōrō cēēní-ki*
 [man 117 + old 386]
- 127 old woman **mārē cēēní** [woman 118 + old 386]
- 128 king **màsàcē** [Bamb. *màsàke*]
- 129 chief **kílí-tī** *def. kílí-tī-ŋl*
 [village 192 + father 31/owner 676]
 (Pr. *kele-tee*)
- 130 slave **jōl** *def. jō-ŋl pl. jō-nl*
 (Pr. *dyoe pl. dyone*)
- 131 child **dái** *def. dá-ŋl pl. dá-nl*
 (Pr. *dey pl. dane*)
- also: **kùlímà** *def. kùlímà-ki pl. kùlímà-nl*
dem. kùlímà-kāā
kùlímá yē.
 "It's a child."
- 132 God (= rain 145, sky 152) **kìrìl** *def. kìrì-ŋl dem. kìrì-ŋāā*
- 133 griot **jèl** *def. jèl-ki dem. jèl-kāā*
 [Bamb. *jèl*]
- 134 doctor **dōgòtóré** *def. dōgòtórì-ki*
 [Fr. via Bamb. *dòkòtorɔ*]
- 135 fetish **péli** *def. pèlì-ki*

158 day (= sun 154)	ʃúì	<i>def. ʃú-ŋì</i>
		<i>ʃúì t̃ɛ̀ɛ̀nì</i>
		one day
also:	jìbì	(Pr. <i>dyibi</i>)
		<i>wì-ī nà-à jìbì ò jìbì.</i>
		"He comes every day."
market day	kùkà-jìbì	<i>def. kùkà-jìbì-ki</i>
159 night	cìì	<i>def. cìì-ki</i>
		(Pr. <i>tii</i>)
		<i>cìì sò-ì.</i>
		night arrive-PERF
		"It's getting dark."
		<i>cìì-ki sò-ì.</i>
		night-the arrive-PERF
		"It's night (already late)."
		<i>cìì byāī</i>
		three nights
		<i>cìì rū mī jìnì ntá.</i>
		"I sleep at night."
160 morning	sìrā	<i>def. sìrā-ki</i>
		(Pr. <i>sera</i>)
161 noon	mīrī	<i>def. mīrī-ki</i>
		[Fr. <i>midi</i>]
162 evening	fìtìrì	<i>def. fìtìrì-ki</i>
		[Ar. via Bamb. <i>fìtìrì</i>]
cf.: afternoon	blāná	<i>def. blāná-ki</i>
		(Pr. <i>blāna</i>)
		<i>má-á nā blāná.</i>
		"I will come this afternoon."
163 sunrise, cf.:	ʃú-ŋì pó-ì.	
		The sun has come out.
	ʃú-ŋì fálí-ì.	
		The sun came up.
		(cf. Pr. <i>dyibi felela</i> 'le soleil se lève')
164 new moon	ŋé-ŋúnéì	<i>def. ŋé-ŋúná-ŋì</i>
		[moon 155 + new 383]
165 full moon	ŋé-sārī	<i>def. ŋé-sārīŋì</i>
		[moon 155 + light 661]
166 month (= moon 155)		
167 year	jīrī	<i>def. jīrī-ki</i>
		(Pr. <i>gyire</i>)
168 rainy season	yíì	<i>def. yíì-ki</i>
		(Pr. <i>kerenawaru</i>)
169 dry season	súúnúú	<i>def. súúnúú-ki</i>
170 fire	túú	<i>def. túú-ki pl. túú-rì dem. túú-kāā</i>

		(Pr. to)	
171 charcoal	cīlīlī		def. cīlīlī-ŋl
172 ashes	pùlù		def. pùlù-ki dem. pùlù-kāā
173 tree	jīrīl		def. jīrīl-ŋl pl. jīrīl-nl
		(Pr. gyiri pl. gyirmi)	
174 leaf	dá		def. dá-ki pl. dá-rī def. pl. dá-kí-rī
		(Pr. da () pl. dare)	
175 root	kàànáí		def. kààná-ŋl
		(Pr. kə () pl. kəne)	
176 branch	jīrī-ŋmè		def. jīrī-ŋmè-ki
		[tree 173 + arm 98]	
also:	jīrīŋ-káí		def. jīrīŋ-ká-ŋl
		[tree + leg 90]	
177 bark (= outer covering, including candy-wrapper, fish skin, 'skin' on cooling mush, fingernail 79)	kùlī		def. kùlī-ŋl
		(Pr. kole pl. kolne)	
178 tree trunk	jīrīm-bwó		def. jīrīm-bwó-ki
		[tree 173 + back 85]	
179 fruit (= seed 180)	jīrī-náí		def. jīrī-ná-ŋl
		[tree 173 + child 131]	
		(Pr. nomə)	
180 seed (= fruit 179)			
181 flower	fīērī		def. fīērī-ki
		[Fr. fleur]	
		(Pr. fu (-) pl. furi)	
182 thorn	cīl		def. cīl-ki dem. cīl-kāā
		(Pr. ki (+) pl. kiri)	
183 grass	jí		def. jí-ŋl dem. jí-ŋāā
		(Pr. nwj pl. nwjini)	
184 mountain, hill	tṣī		def. tṣī-ŋl pl. tṣī-nl
		(Pr. tṣge 'montagne', tṣgempinana 'colline')	
185 baobab	mīnīŋlī		def. mīnīŋlī-ŋl pl. mīnīŋlī-nl
		(Pr. mili pl. milni)	
186 dirt, earth, ground	fūnī		def. fūnī-ŋl
		(Pr. fṣvuy 'terre')	
cf.	fūnī zṣ		
		on the ground; the world, the 'here below'	
		wl-ī fūnī zṣ.	
		"He is on the ground."	
187 sand	jènīl		def. jènīl-ŋl
		(Pr. fū)	
188 dust	kpákpéí		def. kpákpé-ŋl
189 sea, ocean	kṣgṣjé		[Bamb. kṣgṣj]
190 adobe, mud (banco)	jṣ		def. jṣ-ki
191 forest: ?			

192 village ri	kīlī	<i>def. kīlī-ki pl. kīl-lī def. pl. kīlī-kí-</i>
	(Pr. kele)	
193 house	fū	<i>def. fū-ki pl. fū-rì def. pl. fū-kí-ri</i>
	(Pr. fo)	
194 compound	kǎnī	<i>def. kǎnī-ŋi</i>
	(Pr. kalg)	
195 room	fū-cī-rū	<i>def. fū-cī-rū-ki</i>
		[house 193 + belly 87 + in 433]
196 house wall	fū-kíní	<i>def. fū-kíní-ŋi</i>
		[house 193 + ?]
	(Pr. fo-kili)	
197 door	fáá-tǔ	<i>def. fáá-tǔ-ŋi</i>
		[? + mouth 69]
198 roof (thatch)	fū-cī	<i>def. fū-cī-ŋi</i>
		[house 193 + ?]
	(Pr. fo-tij)	
199 road	sáā	<i>def. sáā-ki pl. sáā-rì</i>
	(Pr. saa)	
200 well	kōń-tā	<i>def. kōń-tā-ki dem. kōń-tā-kāā</i>
		[? + hole 332]
		<i>kōń-tā-kāā cúù.</i>
		"This well is deep."
201 hoe:		
small hoe	féévyáá	<i>def. féévyáá-ŋi</i>
large hoe	búlú	<i>def. búlú-ki pl. búlú-lí</i>
202 scythe	wòlŋkó	<i>def. wòlŋkó-ki</i>
203 stone	kfō	<i>def. kfō-ki pl. kfō-rì def. pl. kfō-kí-ri</i>
	(Pr. kosgne)	
204 iron	péé	<i>def. péé-ki</i>
205 copper	fúkái	<i>def. fúkái-ŋi</i>
206 gold	sáni	<i>def. sáni-ŋi</i>
207 silver	wárf-fó	<i>def. wárf-fó-ki</i>
		[money/silver + white]
208 wild animal	jū-3èè	<i>def. jū-3èè-ki</i>
		[bush 614 ? + meat 275]
	(Pr. dyo-fg pl. dyo-fgē)	
209 hyena	kfulú	<i>def. kfulú-ki pl. kful-lí</i>
	(Pr. kinin pl. kinne)	

- 210 bat:
 small insect-eating variety
 tónáí *def. tóná-ŋl*
 (cf. Pr. *twoe pl. twone*)
- fruit bat
 zāŋkéniké *def. zāŋkéniké-kl*
- 211 camel
 ŋòðmè *def. ŋòðmè-kl*
 [Bamb. *ŋògòme*]
- 212 scorpion (small red variety)
 yèrì *def. yèrì-kl pl. yèr-rì*
 def. pl. yèrì-kí-rì dem. yèrì-kāā
 (Pr. *yere pl. yerre*)
- 213 worm (general term) **cínáí** *def. cíná-ŋl*
 (Pr. *sonmene 'verre de terre' pl. sonmenne*)
- 214 chameleon **ŋàná** *def. ŋàná-kl pl. ŋàná-ní*
- 215 termite **yíí** *def. yíí-kl*
 (Pr. *wi (+) pl. wiri (+-)*)
- 216 ant **jìŋkéní** *def. jìŋkéní-ŋl*
 jìŋkéní mí fí-ŋ.
 "An ant bit me."
- 217 termite hill (large cathedral-type)
 dòŋkúkú *def. dòŋkúkú-kl*
- 218 lion **jàrè** *def. járè-kl dem. járè-kāā*
 (Pr. *dyere pl. dyerre*)
- 219 leopard **kpíllí** *def. kpíllí-kl dem. kpíllí-kāā*
 (Pr. *kòlò pl. kòlle*)
- 220 elephant **jāā** *def. jāā-kl pl. jāā-rì*
 (Pr. *dya pl. dyare*)
- 221 bushcow, buffalo **jùù-nàà** *def. jùù-nàà-kl*
 [bush 614 + cow 242]
 (Pr. *dyo-na*)
- 222 baboon (not chimpanzee)
 nāí *def. nā-ŋl pl. nā-ní*
 (Pr. *ney pl. nane*)
- 223 monkey:
 patas monkey **fìlì** *def. fì-ŋl dem. fì-ŋāā*
 (Pr. *fwɛ 'singe' pl. fɔne*)
- vervet monkey **kòlì** *def. kòlì-kl pl. kòlì-lì dem. kòlì-kāā*
- 224 ostrich: ?
- 225 crocodile **wōrō** *def. wōrō-kl pl. wōrō-rì*
 (Pr. *wuru pl. wurre*)
- 226 hippopotamus **mèrí** *def. mèrí-kl*
- 227 lizard (red-headed variety)
 páádò *def. páádò-ŋl dem. páádò-ŋāā*
 (Pr. *paduy pl. padune*)

228 snake	myèè	<i>def. myèè-ki dem. myèè-kāā</i>
	(Pr. me <i>pl. mene</i>)	
229 python	myètā	<i>def. myètā-ki</i>
	[snake 228 + ?]	
	(Pr. meta <i>pl. me-tare</i>)	
230 spitting cobra	sātūtú	<i>def. sātūtú-ki</i>
231 turtle, tortoise	kfúkwa	<i>def. kfúkwa-ŋi</i>
	(Pr. ku (+) <i>pl. kure</i>)	
232 spider	dòlì	<i>def. dòlì-ŋi pl. dòlì-nì dem. dòlì-ŋāā</i>
	(Pr. lee (-) <i>pl. lini</i>)	
233 louse	kpàringà	<i>def. kpàringà-ki dem. kpàringà-kāā</i>
234 flea	pūnéì	<i>def. pūná-ŋi</i>
235 mosquito	ŋlɔ́áá	<i>def. ŋlɔ́áá-ŋi</i>
	(Pr. sisj <i>pl. sisjini</i>)	
236 fly	ŋlì	<i>def. ŋlì-ki pl. ŋlì-ri def. pl. ŋlì-ki-ri</i>
	(Pr. si <i>pl. siri</i>)	
237 bee	ŋíí-dáí	<i>def. ŋíí-dá-ŋi</i>
	[honey 238 + child 131]	
	(Pr. wi (-) <i>pl. wiri</i>)	
238 honey	ŋíí	<i>def. ŋíí-ki</i>
	(Pr. wi)	
239 frog	kùrù	<i>def. kùrù-ki dem. kùrù-kāā</i>
	(Pr. kuro 'crapaud' <i>pl. kurre</i>)	
240 toad	kùrù-sáá	<i>def. kùrù-sáá-ki dem. kùrù-sáá-kāā</i>
	[frog 239 + long 377 ?]	
	(cf. Pr. kurkaza 'grenouille')	
241 squirrel:		
arboreal squirrel	pwòònáì	<i>def. pwòòná-ŋi</i>
	(Pr. pwe 'rat-palmiste' <i>pl. pwone</i>)	
ground squirrel	tàì	<i>def. tà-ŋi</i>
242 cow	nàà	<i>def. nàà-ki pl. nàà-nì def. pl. nàà-kíri</i>
	<i>dem. nàà-kāā</i>	
	(Pr. na <i>pl. nane</i>)	
243 bull	nàà-tùúlá	<i>def. nàà-tùúlá-ki pl. nàà-tùúlá-ri</i>
	[cow 242 + bull]	
	(Pr. na-tola)	
244 goat	bāā	<i>def. bāā-ki pl. bāā-rì dem. bāā-kāā</i>
	(Pr. baa <i>pl. baare</i>)	
245 male goat	bāā-wòrìl	<i>def. bāā-wòrì-ŋi</i>
	[goat 244 + male]	
	(Pr. bakore)	
246 sheep	sāá	<i>def. sāá-ki pl. sāá-ri</i>
	(Pr. sā <i>pl. sāre</i>)	
ewe	sāá-ŋì	[sheep + mother 32]

- 247 ram **sāá-wórí** *def. sāá-wórí-ŋl*
[sheep 246 + male]
(Pr. sakore)
- 248 horse **sùù** *def. sùù-kl pl. sùù-rl dem. sùù-kāā*
(Pr. soo *pl. soore*)
ú tūmpé-ì sùù sū.
"He mounted a horse."
- 249 mare **sùù-mārē** *def. sùù-mārē-kl*
[horse 248 + woman 118]
(Pr. sooni *pl. soonine* 'horse-mother')
- 250 donkey **sùfànl** *def. sùfànl-ŋl pl. sùfànl-nl*
dem. sùfànl-ŋāā
(Pr. sofana)
- jenny **sùfànl-mārē**
- 251 antelope (probably cob) **cēē** *def. cēē-kl*
- 252 antelope (red biche): ? **dèl** *def. dè-ŋl pl. dè-nl dem. dè-ŋāā*
(Pr. dey *pl. dene*)
- 253 rabbit, hare **ŋēl** *def. ŋā-ŋl pl. ŋā-nl*
(Pr. wē *pl. wōne*)
- 254 chicken **ŋānā** *def. ŋānā-ŋl*
(Pr. wondey *pl. wondene*)
- 255 cock **bī** *def. bī-ŋl pl. bī-nl*
(Pr. bei (+) *pl. beni*)
- 256 guinea fowl **bīlī** *def. bīlī-kl pl. bīlī-lī*
- 257 mouse **wūrī** *def. wūrī-ŋl*
(Pr. wore 'rat-voleur' *pl. worne*)
- 258 bushrat **kilāā** *def. kilāā-ŋl*
(Pr. kley 'tourterelle' *pl. klene*)
- 259 wild pigeon **tōŋkórl** *def. tōŋkórl-ŋl*
(Pr. tōnkoro *pl. tōnkorne*)
- 260 duck **kfūū** *def. kfūū-kl pl. kfūū-rl*
(Pr. kū *pl. kūrī*)
- 261 turkey: ? **jàkú** *def. pl. jàkú-kl-rí*
(Pr. dyangu *pl. dyanguri*)
- 262 dog **ŋānānl** *def. ŋānānl-ŋl pl. ŋānānl-nl*
(Pr. wāne *pl. wāne*)
- 263 cat **kāā** *def. kāā-kl*
(Pr. ki (+) *pl. kire*, ≠ 'poil')
- 264 bird **clíbí** *def. clíbí-kl pl. clíbí-rl*
def. pl. clíbí-kl-rí
- 265 feathers (= body hair 105, fur 266)
- 266 fur (= feathers 265, body hair 105)
- 267 wing

268 egg	n̄55	<i>def. n̄55-ki</i>
chicken egg	nē-n̄55	<i>(Pr. nyɔ pl. nyɔne)</i> <i>def. nē-n̄55-ki</i>
guinea fowl egg	bī-n̄55	<i>(Pr. wo-nyɔ)</i> <i>def. bī-n̄55-ki</i>
269 vulture	jùbá	<i>def. jùbá-ki</i> <i>(Pr. dua pl. duare)</i>
270 eagle: ?, cf. black kite:	fēfēláá	<i>def. fēfēláá-ŋi</i> <i>(cf. Pr. t̄in 'milan' pl. tine)</i>
271 claw (= toenail 80)		
272 horn	pei	<i>def. pe-ŋi pl. pe-ni</i> <i>(Pr. pey pl. pene)</i>
273 tail	jil	<i>def. jil-ŋi pl. ji-ni</i> <i>(Pr. dye pl. dyene)</i>
274 food	nú-fī	<i>def. nú-fī-ŋi</i> [eat 445 + thing 319]
275 meat (= flesh 103)	fēfē	<i>def. fēfē-ki</i>
276 fish	yérlil	<i>def. yérlil-ŋi pl. yérlil-ni</i> <i>(Pr. yere)</i> <i>yérlil-fūrū</i> dry fish
277 sauce	wéllil	<i>def. wéllil-ki pl. wéllil-ll</i> <i>(Pr. wale)</i>
278 milk (= udder)	nàà-n̄é	<i>def. n̄é-n̄é-ŋi</i> [cow 242 + breast 77] <i>(cf. Pr. nyɛ 'pis' = 'sein')</i>
also:	nónó	[Bamb. <i>nono</i>]
279 salt	wéllil-fī	<i>def. wéllil-fī-ŋi</i> [sauce 277 + thing 319]
280 pepper (red pepper)	sāŋú	<i>def. sāŋú-ki</i> <i>(Pr. samu)</i>
281 onion	jàbá	<i>def. jàbá-ki pl. jàbá-ri</i> [Bamb. <i>jàba</i>]
282 yam	c̄ȳȳ	<i>def. c̄ȳȳ-ki pl. c̄ȳȳ-ni dem. c̄ȳȳ-kāā</i> <i>(Pr. tɔ)</i>
283 maize	síná	<i>def. síná-ŋi</i> <i>(Pr. sig (+))</i>
284 melon: ?		
285 millet (generic term): ?		
286 millet	nīnā	<i>def. nīnā-ŋi</i> <i>(Pr. nyency)</i>
millet seed	nīnā-ná	

- 287 sorghum, 'guinea corn, (Fr. *gros mil*)
bìmlrì *def. bìmlrì-ki*
 (Pr. karkò 'sorgho blanc', b̃à 'sorgho rouge')
- 288 borassus palm (Fr. *rônier*)
kàà-jìrlì *def. kàà-jìrlì-ŋl*
 [? + tree 173]
 (Pr. ka (-) *pl. kare*)
- 289 mush (cooked millet, sorghum, or maize) (= Bamb. *to*)
 (cf. 292) **nàṅkú** *def. nàṅkú-ki*
 (Pr. ko)
- 290 okra **kpááni** *def. kpááni-ki*
 (Pr. kw̃ṅne)
- 291 rice **mùnlì** *def. mùnlì-ŋl dem. mùnlì-ṅāā*
 (Pr. muno)
- 292 cooked rice (cf. 289) **mùnlì-kú** *def. mùnlì-kú-ki*
 [rice 291 + ?]
- 293 beans (mass noun) **sáá** *def. sáá-ki*
 (Pr. sade)
sáá-dá nt̃ḡèni
 bean-child one
 "one bean"
- 294 lemon **dùmúru** *def. dùmúru-ki*
 [cf. Bamb. *lèmuru*]
 (Pr. namuru)
- 295 manioc **bàṅṅkú** *def. bàṅṅkú-ki*
 (Pr. bwananku)
- 296 banana **bàràntá** *def. bàràntá-ki*
 [Jula *bàrànta*]
- 297 tomato **kòyó** *def. kòyó-ki*
- 298 oil **ṅw** *def. ṅ-ŋl dem. ṅ-ṅāā*
 (Pr. nara)
- shea butter **nòṅ-ṅw**
 (Pr. ṅwṅy)
- 299 peanut **tònó** *def. tònó-ki*
 (Pr. f̃ḡle *pl. folene*)
tònó-ṅw
 peanut oil
- 300 flour **fárni** *def. fárni-ŋl*
 [Fr. *farine*]
 (cf. Pr. f̃ana)
- 301 coconut (fruit) **kpákú** *def. kpákú-ki*
- 302 papaya **máṅó** *def. máṅó-ki*
- 303 orange **dùmúru-sínáí** *def. dùmúru-síná-ŋl*
 [lemon 294 + big 367]
- 304 cola nut **wúlí** *def. wúlí-ŋl pl. wúlí-nl*

305 stick	bāli	def. bāli-ki pl. bāl-li
306 spear	tāmá	def. tāmá-ki
307 drum	bàrífɔ̃	def. bàrífɔ̃-ki
308 basket:		
kind of small basket	fèèri	def. fèèri-ŋi
	(Pr. sye)	
kind of large basket	sābā	def. sābā-ki
309 mat	byè	def. byè-ki dem. byè-kāā
	(Pr. bye)	
310 bow	ɲáá	def. ɲáá-ki
311 arrow	mɔ̃	def. mɔ̃-ŋi pl. mɔ̃-nì
312 quiver: ?		
313 knife	sinéi	def. siná-ŋi pl. siná-ni
	(Pr. sɛnc)	
314 scissors	sésú	def. sésú-ki
	[Fr. ciseaux]	
315 ax	pùlù	def. pùlù-ki pl. pùl-li dem. pùlúkāā
	(Pr. pele)	
316 rope (= twenty 20)	yāā	def. yāā-ki pl. yāā-rì
317 calabash:		
small calabash	kúlú	def. kúlú-ki pl. kúú-li
	(Pr. kolo pl. kole)	
large calabash	wūlī	def. wūlī-ŋi pl. wūlī-nì
318 pot	dú	def. dú-ŋi
	(Pr. duey)	
waterpot	jé	def. jé-ki pl. jé-rì def. pl. jé-ki-rì
319 thing	fī	def. fī-ŋi pl. fī-nì
320 language (= word, voice 113)	wúlú	def. wúlú-ki pl. wúl-li
Jo language	jò-wúlú	def. jò-wúlú-ki
Wara language	lé-wúlú	
Duun (= Samogo-Gouan) language	máníngá-wúlú	
Senúfo language	pàrì-ŋúlú	
321 work	báará	def. báará-ki
	[Bambara baara]	
322 war	káre	def. káre-ki
323 sleep (cf. sleep 476)	ɲìní	def. ɲìní-ki dem. ɲìní-kāā
324 dream (cf. dream 477)		
	ɲī	def. ɲī-ki
325 death (cf. die 542)	béé	def. béé-ŋi
326 dead person, corpse	kòŋū	def. kòŋū-ki pl. kòŋū-rì
	(Pr. gu pl. gure)	
327 life	dúnúŋá	def. dúnúŋá-ki

- 328 sickness **krā** *def. krā-ki*
 cf. get sick, be sick **krā**
ú krā-í.
 he get.sick-PERF
 "He got sick."
wi-í krā-á.
 he-be be.sick-ing
 "He's sick."
- 329 cough **túsá** *def. túsá-ki*
 cf. cough (verb) **túsá**
wi-í túsá-á.
 he-be cough-ing
 "He's coughing."
- 330 fever (= cold (temperature) (n.)) **fil** *def. fil-ki*
 (Pr. fi)
fil-ki-í pò-á.
 cold-the-be come.out-ing
 "It's cold."
fi-í pò-á ú wú.
 fever-be come.out-ing him with
 "He has a fever."
- 331 wound (= hole 332) **tā** *def. tā-ki pl. tā-rì def. pl. tā-ki-rì*
 332 hole (= wound 331)
 333 truth **sèli** or **sèè** *def. sèli-ki dem. sèli-kāā*
sèli yē.
 "It's true."
- 334 lie (falsehood) **pùrì** *def. pùrì-ki dem. pùrì-kāā*
 335 place **mání** *def. mání-ki*
 336 time, moment **-wààrì** [cf. Bamb. *waati*]
ú mí nā-wààrì tó kī.
 he my come-time know not
 "He doesn't know when I came."
 also: **wáátí** *def. wáátí-ki*
 [Bamb. *waati*]
 and: hour, time **léré** *def. léré-ki*
 [Fr. *l'heure*]
- 337 fatigue (apparently no indefinite)
yēli-ŋl *dem. yēli-ŋāā*
- 338 money (= silver 207) **wárí** *def. wárí-ki*
 [Bamb. *wari* silver, money]
- 339 market **kúká** *def. kúká-ki pl. kúká-rì*
 (Pr. ko)
 market day **kúká-jíbi** *def. kúká-jíbi-ki*

340 load	sùúfí	<i>def. sùúfíki</i> [? + take/carry 530 ?]
341 boat, canoe	kúríí	<i>def. kúrí-ŋí</i>
342 hunger	bèè	<i>def. bèè-ki</i> <i>bèè-ki-i mí ɣú.</i> hunger-the-be me with "I'm hungry." <i>bèè mí ɣú.</i> hunger (is) me with "I'm hungry."
343 thirst	dúmúnú	<i>def. dúmúnú-ki</i> [cf. drink 446] <i>dúmúní-l mí ɣú.</i> thirst-be me with "I'm thirsty."
344 shadow	ʃíʃè	<i>def. ʃíʃè-ki</i>
345 cloth, clothes	júúllí	<i>def. júúllí-ŋí</i>
346 man's shirt, robe	ʃörö-jàràbí	<i>def. ʃörö-jàràbí-ki</i> [man 117 + shirt 350]
347 women's clothing:		
panya	tààfí	<i>def. tààfí-ki pl. tààfí-rí</i>
robe, 'bubu'	mārè-jàràbí	<i>def. mārè-jàràbí-ki</i> [woman 118 + shirt 350]
348 trousers	pántālí	<i>def. pántālí-ŋí pl. pántālí-ní</i> [Fr. <i>pantalon</i>]
349 headscarf	fātárí	<i>def. fātárí-ki</i>
350 shirt (= 'bubu')	jàràbí	<i>def. jàràbí-ki</i>
351 shoe	sùlíé	<i>def. sùlíé-ki</i> [Fr. <i>soulier</i>]
also: sandal	bābí	<i>def. bābí-ki</i> [? Julia?? sandal]
352 hat	bùlǔvlá	<i>def. bùlǔvlá-ki</i>
353 bracelet	jàà	<i>def. jàà-ki dem. jàà-kāā</i>
354 ring	pyéérlí	<i>def. pyéérlí-ŋí</i>
355 bead	kūnǔné	<i>def. kūnǔné-ki</i>
356 be heavy	kfǔ	<i>ú kfǔ-í.</i> he be.heavy-PERF "He's heavy." <i>kúlú-ki kfǔ-í.</i> calabash-the be.heavy-PERF "The calabash is heavy."
heavy	kfǔ-māā	<i>kúlú kfǔ-māā</i> a heavy calabash

- 357 light (weight) (= not heavy 356)
ú kŕŭ ki.
 "He isn't heavy."
 cf. also: **báriká-báll** (= without strength 579)
- 358 be white **fšš**
ú fšš.
 "He's white."
 white **fš**
kfŭū fš yē.
 "It's a white dog."
pšll fš yē.
 "It's white skin."
- 359 be black **mīnī**
ú mīnī-ì.
 he be.black-PERF
 "He's black."
kfŭū-ki mīnī-ì.
 dog-the be.black-PERF
 "The dog is black."
 black **mīnī**
kfŭū mīnī
 a black dog
- 360 dark **māncjll** *def. māncjll-ŋl*
- 361 up, above **cŭ**
wl-ī cŭ.
 he-be up.there
 "He's up there."
- 362 below, down **cjntē**
wl-ī cjntē.
 "He's down below."
 cf. also: 'on the ground'
fŭnī zŭ
wl-ī fŭnī zŭ.
 he-be ground on
 "He is on the ground."
- 363 be red **klē**
ú klē-ŭ.
 he be.red-PERF
 "He's red."
 red **klē**
fōrō klē yē.
 "It's a red man."
pšll klē
 red skin
- 364 green: ?

- 365 yellow: ?
 366 blue: ?
 367 be big, be fat, grow fat
- gbē**
- ú gbē-í.*
 he be.big-PERF
 "He's big/fat."
yé-í-ḡā-á gbè.
 fish-this-FUT grow
 "This fish will grow."
- big, fat
- sīnái**
- fōrō sīnái*
 a fat man
fōrō sīnái-ní
 fat men
- 368 small
- pyāānī** (this may be MHM)
- kúlú pyāānī*
 a small calabash
fī pyāānī
 a small thing
- also: small
- pāā**
- m̀pāā nē.*
 "It's small."
- 369 be many
- m̀j**
- kí m̀j-ì.*
 they be.many-PERF
 "They are many."
- many, much
- m̀jnā**
- ībēè jú m̀jnā m̀nī-ì.*
 we water much drink-PERF
 "We drank lots of water."
fōrō m̀jnā nā-í.
 "Many men have come."
- 370 be few: (= 'be not many' 369)
- kí m̀j kī.*
 they be.many not
 "They are not many."
- 371 all
- bátáá**
- bāā-kí-rí bátáá*
 all the goats
fōrō-kí-rí bátáá-rá nà.
 men-the-PL all-FUT come
 "All the men will come."
fī mátáá
 everything

- 382 empty (one) wɔ̃
yìrì wɔ̃ yē.
 they empty they. are
 "They are empty."
ɲɔ̃-kí wɔ̃rī.
 it.empty-the give
 "Give the empty one."
- 383 new ɲúnáí
júúli ɲúnáí
 new cloth
māre ɲúná ɲē.
 woman new it.is
 "It's a new wife."
- 384 old (used) (= not new 383)
 385 be narrow kúrú
sáá-kí kúrf-ì.
 road-the be.narrow-PERF
 "The road is narrow."
 narrow kúrú-máá
sáá kúrú-máá
 a narrow road
- 386 old
 old man cēēní
ʃōrō cēēní *def. ʃōrō cēēnífki*
 old woman *māre cēēní*
- 387 young: ?
 388 round tɛllè
fū tɛllè.
 a round house
fū tɛllè-kí-ri
 the round houses
- 389 level, flat nákáńé-máá
 390 be dry (= dry up 560, be hard 373) fūrú
yìrì fūr-ì.
 (i) "They are dry/hard."
 (ii) "They got dry."
yéri fūrú
 dried fish
- 391 be wet (= be cold 401) fílí
jàràbí-kí fílí-ì.
 shirt-the be.wet-PERF
 "The shirt is wet."

- 397 be sharp **tɔ̃n-dī** [mouth + be sweet/sharp]
sɪnǎ-ŋí tɔ̃n-dī-í.
 knife-the mouth-be.sharp-PERF
 "The knife is sharp."
ŋ-tɔ̃n-dī-í.
 "It's sharp."
- 398 be beautiful, good looking (= be good 379)
ʃɔ̃
ʃɔ̃-ɪ.
 it.be.beautiful-PERF
 "It's nice looking."
ú ʃɔ̃-ɪ.
 "He's handsome."
- beautiful, handsome
ʃɔ̃rrɪ
ʃɔ̃rɔ̃ ʃɔ̃rrɪ
 a handsome man
mārē ʃɔ̃rrɪ
 a pretty woman
- 399 be ugly (= not be beautiful 398)
ú ʃɔ̃ kɪ.
 "He's not handsome."
- 400 be hot **kfúlú**
jú-ki kfúlí-í.
 water-the be.hot-PERF
 "The water is hot."
ŋ-kfúlí-í.
 "It's hot."
mání-ki kfúlí-í.
 place-the be.hot-PERF
 "It's hot (ambient temperature)."
- hot
kfúlú-máá
jú kfúlú-máá
 hot water
- 401 be cold (= be wet 391, 568)
fíí
jú-ki fíí-í.
 water-the be.cold-PERF
 "The water is cold."
fíí-í.
 "It's cold."
- cold
fíí-máá
jú fíí-máá
 cold water

- 402 be strong (= be hard 373)
sùfúú
ú sùfúú-ì.
 he be.strong-PERF
 "He's strong."
 strong **sùfúú-máā**
fōrō sùfúú-máā
 a strong man
 strength **sùfúúbí** *def. sùfúúbí-ki*
- 403 dead
bééní-máā [die 542 + ADJ]
kfūū bééní-máā
 a dead dog
- 404 be weak (= be thin 394)
fyé
ú fyé-ì.
 he be.weak-PERF
 "He's weak."
 weak **fyé-máā**
fōrō fyé-máā
 a weak man
- 405 be alive (lit. 'on eye') **nāā ná**
wá-ā à nāā ná.
 he-be his.REFLEXIVE eye on
 "He's alive."
ki-í àrì nāā ná.
 "They are alive."
- 406 be deaf
tǔǔ-kpíí [ear + ??]
 (cf. Pr. *tǔkele* 'sourd' pl. *tǔkelene*)
ú tǔǔ kpíí-ì.
 "He is deaf."
- 407 mute
búbú [Bamb. *bubu*]
búbú yē.
 "He's a mute."
- 408 blind
nāā-fūù [eye + ?]
 (cf. Pr. *wǎfu* 'aveugle' pl. *wǎfure*)
nāā-fūù yē.
 "He's blind."
- 409 today
jì
 (Pr. *di*)
ú nāí jì.
 "He has come today."
- 410 yesterday
clī
ú m-bì-í cìì.
 he it-say-PERF yesterday
 "He said it yesterday."

also: *mā*

tú mā!
"Stay here!"

423 there *kèèkā*

424 that, this; def: the other

kā

def. kā-ki
bāā-kāā gbè-í kā wú.
goat-this be.fat-PERF that than
"This goat is fatter than that one."

425 other: ?

426 who?

ḡkḡḡ

ḡkḡḡ nā?
"Who came?"
ḡkḡḡ-nā tírí?
"Who will come?"
mī ḡkḡḡ ḡjà?
"Whom did you see?"

cf: who (in indirect questions)

ḡḡtī

ḡḡtī nā-í mī ñ-tó kī.
who come-PERF I it-know not
"I don't know who came."

427 what?

vḡ

mī vḡ má?
"What did you do?"
ú mō vḡ nū?
he it.put what in?
"What did he put it in?"

428 everyone (= every/all 371 person 116)

kóná-ḡí bátáá nā-í.
person-the all come-PERF
"All the people (everyone) came."

429 everything (lit. every/all 371 thing 319)

fī mātáá

430 not (= clause final negative particle)

kī

á fá fḡḡ kī!
"Don't fall!"

431 no one (= person 116, in negative clause)

kō

kō nā kī.
person come not
"No one came."

- 442 on (also: 'to') **sù**
ú tūmpé-ì fū-kí sù.
 he go.up-PERF house-the on
 "He climbed up on the house."
má-á jùú/í mó zù.
 I-FUT clothing put myself.on
 "I will get dressed."
mí ú sù dō-ì.
 I him on pass-PERF
 "I passed him."
ú bāā jù-ì mí zù.
 he goat sell-PERF me on
 "He sold me a goat."
- 443 east **ṣù-vállmú** [sun + ?]
 444 west **ṣù-vìrìmù** [sun + ?]
 445 eat **nú**
yìrì nú!
 "Eat them!"
wá-á kū-kí nú.
 he-FUT mush-the eat
 "He will eat the mush."
- also: eat meat **tāā**
ú ʃèè tàā.
 he meat eat.PERF
 "He ate some meat."
- 446 drink **mūnū**
 (Pr. munu)
mí múní-ì.
 I it.drink-PERF
 "I drank it."
má-á múnú.
 I-FUT drink
 "I will drink."
wá-á ɪs múnú.
 he-FUT beer drink
 "He will drink beer."
- 447 swallow **fṛ**
ú jà-ná vwǔ-ì.
 ge medicine-child swallow-PERF
 "He swallowed a pill."
- 448 urinate (= eject/take off urine 109) **fùmùlì sù**
 449 defecate (= eject/take off faeces 110) **bù sù**

450 do, make

tá

má-á fèèrì ntá.
I-FUT basket make
"I will make a basket."

also: do

má

mī mǎ vĕ ná?
you it.do what on
"Why did you do that?"

451 go (= leave, walk 458)

tírí

ú tírí-ì.
he go-PERF
"He has gone."
wí-ī tírí-rá.
he-be go-ing
"He goes, is going."

also: go

tá

ú tá lùlúnī kī.
"He didn't go to Loulouni."

452 come

nā

á nā!
"Come!" (pl.)
ú nā-í.
"He has come."
wá-á nà.
"He will come."
wí-ī nà-à jìbí ò jìbí.
"He comes every day."

453 return (in sense of 'come/go back', takes a reflexive direct object; can also mean 'make (someone) go back'; also = 'again' as first verb in serial construction)

pùlì

wá à pùlì-ì.
he himself return-PERF
"He came back."

wá-ā à pùlì-áá.
he-be himself return-ing
"He's returning."

mí ú pùlì-ì.
"I made him come back."

wá à pùlì sṣṣ.
he himself return sit-PERF
"He sat down again."

- 454 enter **dī**
ú dī-f.
 he enter-PERF
 "He went in."
- 455 go out **pó**
ú pó-ì. [pwoō] or [pwii]
 he go.out-PERF
 "He has gone out."
- 456 go down **jārī**
jārī!
 "Get down!"
- 457 go up, climb **tūmpá**
ú tūmpé-ì fū-kí sǎ.
 he go.up house-the on
 "He went up on the house."
- 458 walk (= go 451)
 459 run **bílí** (Pr. bele)
ú bílí-ì.
 "He ran."
wí-í bílí-á.
 "He runs, is running."
- 460 see **jā**
mí ú jā-í.
 "I saw him."
- also: see **ǰéélí**
má-á tá ú ǰéélí.
 I-FUT go him see
 "I will see him (about something)."
- 461 hear **dámǣ**
mí ñámǣ-í tú wá-á ná.
 I it.hear-PERF that he-FUT come
 "I heard that he will come."
- also: hear, understand **dántǵ** [? + know]
mí ñántǵ-í.
 "I heard it."
mí wúlí-kí dántǵ-í.
 "I have heard/understood the word."
- 462 smell (= smell odor) **kìní námá**
mí-í wéílí kìnì námá-á.
 I-be sauce odor smell-ing
 "I smell the sauce."
wá-á yìrì kìnì-kí námá.
 he-FUT their odor-the smell
 "He will smell them."

cf. odor	kɪ̀ni	<i>def. kɪ̀nikɪ dem. kɪ̀nikāā</i>
463 touch (= be near 395, approach)	myé	<i>ú myé mí ná.</i> he touch me on "He touched me." <i>myé ná.</i> touch it.on "Touch it."
464 taste	nēē	<i>wēlɪ-kɪ néé.</i> "Taste the sauce."
465 hit	bwɔ̄	<i>mí ú bwɔ̄-ɪ.</i> "I hit him."
466 rub	súsú	<i>má-á ʒúsú.</i> I-FUT it.rub "I will rub it." <i>mí ú súsú-ɪ.</i> "I rubbed him."
467 kill	klà	<i>ú ŋ-klé-ɪ.</i> he it-kill-PERF "He killed it."
468 insult	kɪ̀	<i>mí ú kɪ̀.</i> "I insulted him."
469 pull (= pull up, pull out, remove, excise, circumcise, marry)	cēē	<i>mí ʒ-cēē.</i> I it-pull.PERF "I pulled it." <i>wá-á mārē cēē.</i> he-FUT woman marry "He will marry."
470 push	tùrù	<i>mí mí tùrù-ɪ.</i> you me push-PERF "You pushed me."
471 carry (= take 530)	ʃɪ	<i>mí ʒà-à.</i> I-be it.take-ing "I am taking it."

ʒī ɣón nū.
it.take head in
"Carry it on (your) head."

472 bring (= take come)

473 lift *fēʃi*

lēʃi.
it.lift
"Lift it!"
yiri fēʃi.
"Lift them!"

also: lift (= get/stand up 549, fly 547)

jōrīkò

mí mótó-ki jōrīkò-í.
I motorcycle-the stand.up-PERF
"I lifted the motorcycle."

474 put down (= put on, in)

bō

mō!
"Put it down!"
yiri bō!
"Put them down!"

weave (lit. put cloth)

júúll mō

ú júúll mō-í.
"He wove cloth."

475 lie down (also = 'lay (something) down', cf. 488)

bīlī

ú bīlī-ì.
he lie.down-PERF
"He is lying down."

wá à bīlī-ì.
he himself lay.down-PERF
"He lay (himself) down."

m-bīlī!
yourself-lay.down
"Lie down!"

476 (go to) sleep (= do sleep 323)

jìnìn-tá [sleeping + do]

ú jìnìn-tá-ì.
he sleep-do-PERF
He went to sleep.

wi-ī jìnìn-tá-á.
he-be sleep-do-ing
"He's sleeping."

- 477 dream (cf. dream 324)jīī
mí jīī.
 I dream.PERF
 "I dreamed."
- 478 rest *nùfàà* or *rùfàà*
wá à nùfàà / rùfàà.
 he himself rest.PERF
 "He rested."
- 479 be tired *yèlì*
mí jàlì-ì.
 I be.tired-PERF
 "I'm tired."
ú yèlì úrì-ì.
 he be.tired be.PAST-PERF
 "He was tired."
- 480 open *náwūlū*
 (Pr. *bona wiri* 'ouvrir la porte')
fū-ki náwūlū!
 "Open the house!"
- 481 close *nálá*
 (cf. Pr. *bona la* 'fermer la case')
fū-ki nálá!
 "Close the house!"
á yìrì nálá!
 "You (pl.) close them!"
- 482 stay, remain *tú*
 (Pr. to)
ú tú-ì mǎ.
 he stay-PERF here
 "He stayed here. "
tú mǎ!
 "Stay here!"
á tú mǎ!
 "Stay here (pl)!"
wá-á tú mǎ.
 he-FUT stay here
 "He will stay there. "
- 483 bury (= (trans)plant) *ye*
ki ú yé-ì.
 they him bury-PERF
 "They buried him."
ú yìrì yé-ì.
 "He transplanted them."

- yìrì bī!*
Say them!
- also: say (= tell 495, think 514, that)
tú
ú tú mí pó.
he say I go.out
"He told me to go out."
- 493 talk (= do conversation)
bàrì má
ī bàrì má.
"Let's talk."
cf.: conversation bàrì *def. bàrì-ki dem. bàrì-kāā*
[Bamb. bàro]
- 494 vomit jēkō
ú jēkō-ī.
"He vomited."
- 495 tell bīrī
ú pó-wúlú bīrī mí nté kī.
he go.out-words tell me to not
"He didn't tell me to go out."
also: tell (= say 492, think 514, that)
tú
ú tú mí pó.
"He told me to go out."
- 496 ask nánōrī
ú nánōrī-ì.
he it.ask-PERF
"He asked for it."
má-á tá ú nánōrī.
I-FUT go him ask
"I'll go ask him."
also: ask, beg fē
mí ú rá fē-ī.
I him on beg-PERF
"I begged him."
mí wá-á fē-ī ntú ú nā.
I him-on beg-PERF that he come
"I begged him to come."
- 497 answer nú-púll
[? + return 453]
ú nú-púll kī.
"He didn't answer."
- 498 wish: ?, cf: jùbá *def. jùbá-ki*
[Bamb. dùba]
give (lit. 'emit') a blessing
jùbá sá

- 499 refuse **kāā**
wá à kàá ná.
 he himself refuse come
 "He refused to come."
wá à kàá ná-ŋi tē.
 he himself refuse chicken-the to
 "He refused the chicken."
ú-rá à kàá ná-ŋi tē.
 he-FUT himself refuse chicken-the to
 "He will refuse the chicken."
- 500 twist **cíṭṣní**
ú yìrì cíṭṣní-ì.
 "He twisted them."
- 501 chop, cut (wood) **kfúru** (Pr. *kuru*)
mí ṅ-kfúrí-ì.
 I it-chop-PERF
 "I cut it."
mí-í ṅ-kfúr-rá.
 I-be it-chop-ing
 "I am cutting it."
- 502 cut (e.g. meat, rope) **téri**
mí ñ-térf-ì.
 I it-cut-PERF
 "I cut it."
mí-í ñ-tér-rá.
 I-be it-cut-ing
 "I am cutting it."
ú póná-ŋi térf-ì.
 his penis-the cut-PERF
 "He is circumcised."
ní ñtérf-ì.
 she cut-PERF
 "She has been excised."
- 503 tear **gbēri**
wá-á ṅmēri.
 he-FUT it.tear
 "He will tear it."
- 504 build (= do 450) **tá**
 (Pr. *tē*)
ú fū tē-ì.
 "He built a house."
fū tá!
 "Build a house!"

505 dress (= put 474 on clothing)

má-á júúllí mǒ zǔ.
I-FUT clothing put myself.on
"I will get dressed."

506 undress (= take off/eject clothing)

má-á júúllí zǎ zǔ.
I-FUT clothing take.off myself.on
"I will get undressed."

507 swim (= cut 502 water)

jú tǎrl

508 put away (= put down 474, put on 505, put in)

bō

509 pray (muslim)

sírí

[Ar. via Bamb. *seli*]
wá á sírí-ì.
he himself pray-PERF
"He has prayed." (= he is a muslim)
wá-á á sír-rá.
he-be himself pray-ing
"He prays." (= he is a muslim)

510 hide (tr. and intr.)

nádú

má-á nādú.
"I will hide."
yìrì nādú!
"Hide them!"

511 steal, rob

kfǔ

wá-á ñ-kfǔ mī ñmé.
he-FUT it-steal you from
"He will steal it from you."
ú mí ñkfǔ-ì.
he me rob-PERF
"He robbed me."

512 help

jèmé

[cf. Bamb. *deme*]
kírì ì jèmé.
God us help
"May God help us."

513 fall (also = make fall)

fěě

ú fěě.
"He has fallen."
wá-á fěě.
"He will fall."
wá-á mī věě.
"He will make you fall."

- 522 pierce **bū**
*mí m̀-**bú**-ì.*
 I it-pierce-PERF
 "I pierced it."
- 523 squeeze **fɔ̀ɔ̀**
*mí **fɔ̀ɔ̀**.*
 I it.squeeze.PERF
 "I squeezed it."
- 524 hold, catch (= take, grab) **pā**
*m̀-**pā**!*
 "Take it!"
*má-á yìrì **pá**.*
 "I will catch them."
*mí m̀-**pé**-ì.*
 I it-catch-PERF
 "I caught it."
- 525 learn (= teach 521) **kɪ̀nì**
*má-á ñ-**kì**nì.*
 I-FUT it-learn
 "I will learn it."
*má-á jò-wúlú-**kí** **kíní**.*
 I-FUT Jo-language-the learn
 "I will learn Jo."
- 526 cry (lit. do crying) **ñw tǎ**
*wí-í ñw **tǎ-á**.*
 he-be crying do-ing
 "He is crying."
*ú ñw **tǎ-ì** **bùtúná**.*
 he crying do-PERF all.day
 "He cried all day."
- 527 laugh (lit. do laughing) **yē tǎ**
*wí-í yé **tǎ-á**.*
 he-be laughing do-ing
 "He's laughing."
*ú yē **tǎ-ì**.*
 "He laughed."
- 528 love, like (= affair 605 be pleasing/sweet 379 to) **gbī dī**
*ú **dá-ñí** **gbí dī-í** **ú tē**.*
 his child-the be.sweet-PERF him to
 "He loves his child."

- báá wò gbì dī-f ñ-tĕ,*
 goat which be.sweet.PERF you-to,
má-á ñ̀̀̀rì ñ-tĕ.
 I-FUT it.give you-to
 "I will give you the goat you like."
- 529 drive, chase away **kàlikáli**
wá-á yìrì kàlikáli.
 he-FUT them chase.away
 "He will chase them away."
- 530 take (= carry 471) **fi**
mí ú fi-f.
 I him take-PERF
 "I took him."
mí-f ǝ̀̀̀-à.
 I-be it.take-ing
 "I am taking it."
- 531 give **wòrì**
má-á ñ̀̀̀rì ní ntĕ.
 I-FUT it.give her to
 "I will give it to her."
mí yìrì wòrì-ì.
 I them give-PERF
 "I have given them."
mí-f ñ̀̀̀-à.
 I-be it.give-ing
 "I am giving it."
- 532 bite **ǝ̀̀̀**
ǝ̀̀̀ ǝ̀̀̀-ǝ̀̀̀.
 it it-bite-PERF
 "It bit it."
á ǝ̀̀̀-ǝ̀̀̀.
 "You (pl.) bite it!"
- 533 shoot (= bang, thunder 150) **fálí**
mí v̀̀̀l-ì.
 I it.shoot-PERF
 "I shot it."
- 534 sell **jú**
ú bāā jú-ì mí zú.
 he goat sell-PERF me on
 "He sold me a goat."
- 535 buy **sā**
yìrì sā!
 "Buy them!"

- 536 call (to come here) **d̥ɔrɪ**
wá-á j̥ò sá.
 "He will buy a net."
Lámisá d̥ɔrɪ!
 "Call Lamisa!"
- 537 sit (also = seat) **s̥ɔ̃**
ú s̥ɔ̃.
 "He sat down."
wá-á s̥ɔ̃.
 "He will sit down."
wɪ-ɪ s̥ɔ̃-rá.
 "He's sitting down."
ú s̥ɔ̃ k̥s̥.
 he sit.PERF finish
 "He's already sitting."
- 538 give birth **j̥ɛrɪ**
nɪ nj̥ɛrɪ-ɪ dá-ʒ̥ɔ̃r̥ɔ̃.
 she give.birth-PERF child-man
 "She gave birth to a boy."
nɪ-á j̥ɛrɪ.
 she-FUT give.birth
 "She will give birth."
 cf. also: give birth (= be born, be (future))
jɪ
nɪ dá nj̥ɪ-ɪ.
 she child give.birth-PERF
 "She gave birth to a child."
mɪ nj̥ɪ-ɪ l̥ùl̥ùnɪ.
 I be.born-PERF Loulouni
 "I was born in Loulouni."
m̥ʒ̥-ʒ̥ dá-ŋá-á jɪ máɣ-ɣá
 my-GEN child-the-FUT be.born Mali-at
 "My child will be born in Mali."
má-á jɪ kɪlɪ-tɪɪ.
 "I will be chief."
 cf. also:
wá-á m̥-bì tú má-á jɪ t̥rɪ.
 he-FUT it-say that I-FUT be go
 "He will say/think that I have gone."
- 539 flow **w̥úlɪ**
j̥ú-kɪ-ɪ w̥úl-ɣá.
 water-the-be flow-ing
 "The water is running."

- 540 throw **kee** (Pr. ke)
 ú ñ-kéè.
 he it-throw.PERF
 "He threw it."
 wí-í ñ-kéé-rá.
 he-be it-throw-ing
 "He is throwing it."
- 541 follow **gbá**
 ní ñmǎ-í mí ná.
 she follow-PERF me on
 "She's following me."
 kí gbá úrí-ì mí ná.
 they follow be.PAST-PERF me on
 "They were following me."
 gbá ú rá.
 follow him on
 "Follow him!"
- 542 die **beení or beenú**
 ú beení-ì.
 "He died."
 wá-á beení.
 "He will die."
 wí-í beená-á.
 "He's dying."
- 543 forge (metal) (= hit 465)
 bwá
- 544 increase (grow bigger) (= be big/fat, grow fat)
 gbē
 ú gbē-í.
 he be.big-PERF
 "He's big/fat."
 yé-í-ñā-á gbē.
 fish-this-FUT grow
 "This fish will grow."
- 545 diminish (= bend over)
 súbíí
 tū-kí súbíí-ì.
 fire-the diminish-PERF
 "The fire has gone down."
 zúbíí!
 yourself.bend.over
 "Bend over!"

- 546 dance **ʃè**
mí wò ʃè-í.
 I one dance-PERF
 "I danced one."
má-á ʒè.
 I-FUT it.dance
 "I will dance it."
- 547 fly (= get up 549) **jǝrĩkò**
 548 jump **méni**
ú méni-ì sū-ki ɣún ná.
 he jump-PERF stream-the head on
 "He jumped over the stream."
- 549 stand up (= get up, lift, raise 473, help put load down, fly 547) **jǝrĩkò**
ú jǝrĩkò-í.
 "He got up."
jǝrĩkò!
 "Get up!"
mí mārē-ki jǝrĩkò-í.
 (i) I helped the woman put her load down.
 (ii) I lifted the woman.
- 550 swell **sūye**
ú kǝ-ɣí sūyé-ì.
 "His leg swelled."
- 551 suck **néé**
wí-í bǝbǝ néé-rá.
 he-be candy suck-ing
 "He's sucking a candy."
- 552 be afraid, fear **kǝní**
wí-í kǝǝ-ná.
 he-be fear-ing
 "He is afraid."
ú kǝní-ì.
 he fear-PERF
 "He was afraid."
- 553 sneeze **ci**
ú cí-ì.
 "He sneezed."
wá-á cí.
 "He will sneeze."
- 554 yawn **fǝo**
ú fǝo.
 he yawn.PERF
 "He yawned."

- 555 finish kō
 ú kō-f.
 “He has finished.”
 wá-d kō.
 “He will finish.”
 ú kō-f kō.
 he finish-PERF finish
 “He has already finished.”
- 556 begin (lit. mouth-take) ṭə pā
 ú báárá-ki ṭə pē-ì.
 he work-the mouth take-PERF
 “He has begun (the) work.”
- 557 fill (= be full 381) fāā
 ní dū-ŋí fāā jù-ki rá.
 she pot-the fill.PERF water-the on
 “She filled the pot with water.”
 yìrì fāā.
 “Fill them!”
- 558 marry (= pull (up, out) 469, remove, excise, circumcise) cēē
 wá-d mārē cēē.
 he-FUT woman marry
 “He will marry.”
- 559 show jì
 ú jì-jì-f mí ŋú.
 he it-show-PERF me to
 “He showed it to me.”
- 560 dry up (= be dry 390, be hard 373) fūrū
 yìrì fūrì-ì.
 “They are dry/hard, they got dry.”
- 561 sew myēē
 ú jàràbí myēē.
 he shirt sew.PERF
 “He sewed a shirt.”
- 562 surpass (= pass) dē
 ú mí ẓỵ dē-f.
 he me on pass-PERF
 “He passed me.”
 ú dē-f mí ẓỵ.
 he pass-PERF me on
 “He passed me.”
 mí ú ṣỵ dē-f.
 “I passed him.”

- 563 tie **kɔ̃lɪ**
mí ú kɔ̃lɪ-ì.
 I him tie-PERF
 "I tied him."
mí-í ú kɔ̃lɪ-á.
 I-be him tie-ing
 "I am tying him."
- 564 untie **pɪlɪ**
bāā-kí pɪlɪ!
 "Untie the goat!"
- 565 pour **gbō**
jú gbō ñmɛ rá.
 water pour my.hand on
 "Pour water on my hands."
- also: pour **kɔ̃ŋkɔ̃lɪ**
ú jú kɔ̃ŋkɔ̃lɪ-ì.
 "He poured water."
jú-kí kɔ̃ŋkɔ̃lɪ!
 "Pour the water!"
- 566 sweep **nūsú**
 (Pr. so)
ní fū-kí nūsú-ì.
 she house-the sweep-PERF
 "She swept the house."
- 567 blow **fyé or fyá**
túú-kí fyé!
 "Blow the fire!"
ú vyé-í.
 he it.blow-PERF
 "He blew it."
- 568 be wet (= be cold 401, wet 391) **fɪlɪ**
- 569 obtain (= find, get) **klà**
yìrì klà!
 "Find them!"
mí ñ-kɪ-í.
 I it-get-PERF
 "I found/got it."
má-á dá ŋklá.
 I-FUT child get
 "I will get a child."
mí dá ŋklá-ì.
 "I had/got a child."
wá-á mí ŋklá.
 "He will find me."

570 weave (= put 474 cloth)

júúll mō

ú júúll mō-f.
he cloth put-PERF
"He wove cloth."

571 divide:

lū

ú yìrì lū-f.
"He divided them."

572 break

yáll

ú jhálf-ì.
he it.break-PERF
"He broke it."
mī-ŋí jhálf-ì.
you-the it.break-PERF
"It's you who broke it."

573 wash

wū

yìrì wū!
"Wash them!"
má-á yìrì wù.
"I will wash them."
mārē-kí dá-ŋí wū-f.
woman-the child-the wash-PERF
"The woman washed the child."
mí ŋū-f.
I myself.wash-PERF
"I washed myself."

574 3rd person reflexive pronoun

à

pl. àrì
wá à wū-f.
he REFL wash-PERF
"He washed himself."
ní à wū-f.
"She washed herself."
jà ā wū-f.
"It washed itself."
kf àrì wū-f.
"They washed themselves"
yìrà-àrì wū-f.
"They (non-human) washed themselves."

575 2nd person plural pronoun: reflexive and imperative

á

ábéé-rá á wú.
"You will wash yourselves."
á nā!
"You (pl.) come!"

- 576 2nd pers. *pl.* pronoun **ábéé**
ábéé nā-í.
 "You (*pl.*) have come."
- 577 frighten **bāābāā**
má-á ú báábáá.
 "I will frighten him."
- 578 prevent **báá** [cf. Bamb. *bàli*]
má-á ú báá nā-ki sī.
 I-FUT him prevent come-the on
 "I will prevent him from coming."
- 579 strength, power **báriká**
def. báriká-ki
 [Ar. via Bamb. *barika*]
- 580 all day **bùtúná**
 [? + on]
ú ĩw tǝ-ǝ bùtúná.
 "He cried all day."
- 581 send **cǝ**
má-á lámísà cǝ bāā sà.
 I-FUT Lamisa send goat buy
 "I will send Lamisa to buy a goat."
- 582 harpoon **càriká**
def. càriká-ki pl. càriká-ri
- 583 look for **ceell**
má-á ú ceell.
 "I will look for him."
mí ú ceell-ì.
 "I looked for him."
mí-í ú ceellá-á.
 "I am looking for him."
- 584 pig, warthog **cè**
def. cè-ki pl. cèri dem. cè-kāā
 (Pr. tie *pl.* tire)
- 585 tiger nut (pois sucré) **cōí**
def. cō-ŋl
- 586 which?: interrogative determiner
dāwò or dāŋò pl. dōwòri or dāŋòri
- 587 hospital **dògòtòre fú** [doctor house]
- 588 glue **dòì** *def. dò-ŋl*
- 589 back of head **dòì** *def. dò-ŋl* (HM tone on first vowel)
- 590 spider web **dòŋl-vū** *def. dòŋl-vū-ki*
 [spider-house]
- 591 now **dòòzǝ**
má-á tírí dòòzǝ.
 "I will go now."
- 592 prohibitive or negative subjunctive auxiliary
fá
fá pó kí!
 "Don't go out!"

- á fá pó kí!*
 "Don't go out (plural)!"
ú tú mí fá pó kí.
 "He told me not to go out."
- 593 and **fá** (coordinates NPs)
kòní fá tẹ̀g̀nì (lit. 20 + 1)
 twenty-one
- 594 future auxiliary (from /fá-rá/, which is an alternate pronunciation)
fá-á
wí-í fá-á tírì.
 "He will go."
ní-í fá-á nà.
 "She will come."
- 595 be happy **féré**
ú féré-ì.
 he be.happy-PERF
 "He's happy."
ú féré wúrí-ì.
 he be.happy be.PAST-PERF
 "He was happy."
- 596 fonio **fí**
def. fí-ŋí
 (Pr. fe)
- 597 twin **fí**
def. fí-ki pl. fí-lì
def. pl. fí-ki-rì dem. fí-kāā
fí yē.
 "It's a twin."
- 598 sow **fírí**
yìrì fírí!
 "Sow them!"
wá-á vírì.
 he-FUT it.sow
 "He will sow it."
wí-í tẹ̀nó fír-rá.
 he-be peanuts sow-ing
 "He sowing peanuts."
- 599 dew **fí**
def. fí-ki
 (Pr. fulu)
- 600 lose **fóní**
mí, nékíí fóní-ì.
 I intelligence lose-PERF
 "I forgot."
- 601 house with thatched roof **fū-céntí**
def. fū-céntí-ŋí
 [house + ?]

- 602 cross **fūū**
ú sū-ki fūū.
 he stream-the cross.PERF
 "He crossed the stream."
- 603 lick **fyé**
ɣmē rá fyé!
 your.hand on lick
 "Lick your hand!"
- 604 from (= hand 78) **gbé**
wá-á bāā sà mí ɣmé.
 he-FUT goat buy me from
 "He will buy a goat from me."
- 605 affair, desire, need **gbī** (cf. like 528)
jú gbī-í mí ná.
 water need-be me on
 "I want/need water."
māre gbī-ī mí ná.
 "I want a wife."
- 606 1st pers. pl. pronoun **ībēè**
ībēè nà-í.
 "We have come."
- 607 four hundred (in multiples shortened to **kòlɪ**)
jààŋkòlɪ
kòlɪ fūúlɪ
 eight hundred
- 608 bush (no indefinite, cf. 614)
- 609 garbage **jà-ŋl** (def) *dem. jà-ŋāā*
jē *def. jē-kl*
 (Pr. *gyie* 'tas d'ordures')
- 610 host **jè-ŋl** *def. jè-ŋl-kl pl. jè-ŋl-ri*
 [guest 138-take 530 (?)]
- 611 net **jò** *def. jò-kl pl. jò-rl dem. jò-kāā*
jò kūlɪ
 a bad net
- 612 Jɔ person **jò-tɕl** *def. jò-tɕ-ŋl pl. jò-tɕ-nl*
- 613 Jɔ language **jò-wúlú** *def. jò-wúlú-kl*
 [Jɔ-language]
- 614 bush, field (no definite) (cf. 608)
jùù
 (Pr. *gyee* 'brousse' cf. *gyi* 'champ')
- 615 sole of foot **kānācīrō** *def. pl. kānācīrō-kl-rl*
- 616 leather worker **kāá-tɕl** *def. kāá-tɕ-ŋl*
 [? + person]

- 617 must, should **kákéé** [cf. Bambara *ka kan*]
 ú kákéé tá.
 he must go
 "He must go."
 ú kákéé wí-í tá.
 he must he-be go
 "He must go."
- 618 earth peas **kéé** *def. kéé-ki*
 (Pr. *ke (+)*)
- earth pea **kéé-dáí** *def. kéé-dá-ŋí*
 [earth pea-child]
- 619 the side, in the direction of
 kéílé-ŋí (def.)
 ní-í bíl-l tíí-rá sū-ki kéílé-ŋí tē.
 she-be run go-ing stream-the side-the to
 "She's running in the direction of the stream."
 mí z55 tàbàli-ki kéílé-ŋāā tē.
 I sit.PERF table-the side-that to
 "I sat/am sitting on the other side of the
 table."
- 620 health **kénébí** *def. kénébí-ki*
 kírí kénébí ñòrì. (or LHML)
 "May God give us health."
- 621 box **késú** *def. késú-ki pl. késú-ri*
 def. pl. késú-ki-rí
 [Fr. *caisse*]
- 622 oil palm nuts **kf3** *def. kf3-ki*
 (Pr. *kuo*)
- oil palm tree **kf3-jiri** [palm nut-tree]
 (Pr. *kuogyire*)
- 623 3rd pers. *pl.* human pronoun
 kí
 kí nā-í.
 "They have come."
- 624 again, anymore (in neg. clauses)
 kíli
 wá-á nā kíli kì.
 he-FUT come again not
 "He won't come anymore."
 ú s55 kíli.
 he sit.PERF again
 "He sat down again."
- 625 testicle **klé-dáí** *def. pl. klé-dá-ŋí-ní*
 [testicle-child 131]
- scrotum **klé-póli** [testicle-skin 104]

- 626 pot scraper **kpèlì** *def. kpèlì-kì dem. kpèlì-kāā*
- 627 a Jula person **kpèlì-tʃì** *def. pl. kpèlì-tʃ-ŋì-ní*
- 628 the Jula language **kpèlì-wúlú** [Jula + language]
- 629 a Wara person **le-tʃì** *def. pl. le-tʃ-ŋì-ní or le-kí-rì*
- 630 the Wara language **le-wúlú** [Wara + language]
- 631 whistle **le-vyé** [whistling + blow]
ú lé-vyé-ì.
 “He whistled.”
- 632 ruin, spoil **lī**
ú fū-kí lī-ì.
 “He ruined the house.”
- 633 be bad tasting **lɔ**
ʼlɔ-ì. [ʼlɔwɔ]
it.be.bad.tasting-PERF
 “It’s bad tasting.”
yé-rì-ŋì lɔ-ì.
 “The fish is bad tasting.”
- bad tasting **lɔ-māā**
yé-rì lɔ-māā
 bad tasting fish
fè-è lɔ-māā
 bad tasting meat
- 634 beer **lɔ** *def. lɔ-kí dem. lɔ-kāā*
 (Pr. lo)
- 635 a Duun (Samogo-Gouan) person **máningá** *def. pl. máningá-kí-rì*
- 636 the Duun (Samogo-Gouan) language **máningá-wúlú** [Duun + language]
- 637 know location of **màn-tò** [place 335 + know 515]
mí-ī mánī-kí mántò-á kī.
 I-be place-the place.know-ing not
 “I don’t know the place.”
mí-ī fōrō-kí mántò-á.
 I-be man-the place.know-ing
 “I know where the man is.”
- 638 1st pers. sing. pronoun **mí**
mí nā-í.
 “I have come.”
- 639 2nd pers. sing. pronoun **mī**
mī nà-í.
 “You have come.”

- 640 hurt (oneself) mǝǝbbǝ
wá-d mǝǝbbǝ à rā.
 he-FUT hurt himself on
 "He will hurt himself."
mā-d mǝǝbbǝ nā.
 you-FUT hurt yourself.on
 "You will hurt yourself."
- 641 anus mūnjátā
 (Pr. muntita)
- 642 3rd pers. sing. fem. pronoun
 nǝ
nǝ-ná nà.
 "She will come."
- 643 make run nǝ-bǝlǝ [CAUS-run 459]
má-d ú nǝ-bǝlǝ.
 "I will make him run."
- 644 frighten nǝ-kǝnǝ [CAUS-be.afraid 552]
má-d ú nǝ-kǝnǝ.
 "I will frighten him."
- 645 tie in the middle nǝ-kǝlǝ [CAUS-tie 563]
má-d nǝ-kǝlǝ.
 I-will it.CAUS-tie
 "I will tie it in the middle."
- 646 cut in many pieces nǝ-tǝrǝ [CAUS/INTENS-cut 502]
má-d nǝ-tǝrǝ.
 "I will cut it in many pieces."
- 647 be fast, hurry nūkúlú
ú nūkúlǝ-ì.
 he be.fast-PERF
 "He's fast."
wá à nūkúlú tírǝ-ì
 he himself hurry go-PERF
kǝlǝ-tǝ-ǝf tǝ.
 village-owner-the to
 "He hurried to the chief."
- 648 3rd pers. sing. non-human pronoun
 jǝ
nǝ-í.
 "It has come."
jǝ-d nǝ.
 it-FUT come
 "It will come."
jǝ tírǝ-rá.
 it.be go-ing
 "It is going/ it goes."

- 675 pound (in mortar) **ti**
ú wúrí ò-tè ā tírí.
 he was it-to himself go
 "He wanted to go."
 (Pr. te)
mí ñúríí síná ntí-á.
 I was maize pound-ing
 "I was pounding maize."
ò-tí!
 "Pound it!"
- 676 owner (= father 31) **tīī** *def. tīī*
peesúú tīī
 owner of a bicycle
nàà tīī
 owner of cow(s)
fū tīī
 owner of a house
- 677 be angry **tṣṣ-kfūlū** [heart 86 + be hot 400]
ú tṣṣ-kfūl-ì.
 "He's angry."
- 678 bag **tótólí** *def. tótólí-ṅí*
ú m-bò-í tótólí nū.
 he it-put-PERF bag in
 "He put it in a sack."
- 679 3rd pers. sing. masc. pronoun **ú**
- 680 yes/no question particle **wá** [cf. Bamb. wa]
ú dá-ṅí cīí wá?
 "Did he send the child?"
- 681 relative marker **wò**
mí fōrō wò jè-í mī òtè
 I man REL see-PERF you chez
cīí, kfíj yē.
 yesterday, thief it.is
 "The man I saw at your place yesterday is a thief."
- 682 with, to **wū**
ú fèè-kí téri-ì síná ṅū.
 "He cut the meat with a knife."
wáá ṅjì t̄bēè wū.
 "He will show it to us."
- 683 be **wúrí**
ní ñúrí-ì fū-kí rū.
 "She was in the house."

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