

SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY REPORT

FOR THE MARKA-DAFIN LANGUAGE

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Contents

- 0 Introduction and Goals of the Survey
- 1 General Information
 - 1.1 Language Classification
 - 1.2 Language Location
 - 1.2.1 Description of Location
 - 1.2.2 Map
 - 1.3 Population
 - 1.4 Accessibility and Transport
 - 1.4.1 Roads: Quality and Availability
 - 1.4.2 Public Transport Systems
 - 1.5 Religious Adherence
 - 1.5.1 General Religious History
 - 1.5.2 History of Christian Work in the Area
 - 1.5.3 Language Use Parameters within Church Life
 - 1.5.4 Written Materials in Marka-Dafin
 - 1.5.5 Summary
 - 1.6 Schools/Education
 - 1.6.1 History of Schools in the Area
 - 1.6.2 Types, Sites, and Size
 - 1.6.3 Attendance and Academic Achievement
 - 1.6.4 Existing Literacy Programs
 - 1.6.5 Attitude toward the Vernacular
 - 1.6.6 Summary
 - 1.7 Facilities and Economics
 - 1.7.1 Supply Needs
 - 1.7.2 Medical Needs
 - 1.7.3 Government Facilities in the Area
 - 1.8 Traditional Culture
 - 1.8.1 Historical Notes
 - 1.8.2 Relevant Cultural Aspects
 - 1.8.3 Attitude toward Culture
 - 1.8.4 Summary
 - 1.9 Linguistic Work in the Language Area
 - 1.9.1 Work Accomplished in the Past
 - 1.9.2 Present Work
- 2 Methodology
 - 2.1 Sampling
 - 2.1.1 Village Sites Chosen for the Jula Sentence Repetition Test
 - 2.1.2 Village Sites for Sociolinguistic Survey
 - 2.2 Lexicostatistic Survey
 - 2.3 Dialect Intelligibility Survey

- 2.4 Questionnaires
- 2.5 Bilingualism Testing In Julia

3 Dialect Intercomprehension and Lexicostatistical Data

- 3.1 Perceived Intercomprehension
- 3.2 Results of the Recorded Text Tests
- 3.3 Lexicostatistical Analysis
- 3.4 Summary

4 Multilingualism

- 4.1 Community-wide Bilingualism
- 4.2 Indicators of Second Language Proficiency
- 4.3 Domains of Second Language Use
- 4.4 Attitudes toward the Second Language
- 4.5 Reported Second Language Proficiency
- 4.6 Results of the Sentence Repetition Test
- 4.7 Summary
- 4.8 Areas for Further Study
 - 4.8.1 Julia Bilingualism
 - 4.8.2 Relationships between Manding Varieties

5 Recommendations

- 5.1 Translation/Literacy Project
- 5.2 Possible Allocation Sites

Appendices

- 1 Population Statistics
- 2 Questionnaires
 - 2.1 General
 - 2.2 Sociolinguistic
- 3 Word Lists

Bibliography

- 1 References
- 2 Other Materials Regarding the Marka-Dafin
- 3 Materials Published in the Marka-Dafin Language
- 4 Contacts for Further Information

Marka-Dafin Survey Report

0 Introduction and Goals of the Survey

The following is a survey report on the language of the Marka-Dafin people of northwestern Burkina Faso. The field research concerns specifically the Marka-Dafin of Burkina Faso; for various reasons, the team did not visit the Malian community.

The survey was conducted by John and Carol Berthelette, Byron and Annette Harrison, and Eli Séré in January 1996. It was updated in April 1998. It had as its primary purposes to determine the need for and viability of a national language development project.

The most troublesome question in the Marka-Dafin situation concerns their competence in and attitudes toward Jula. The results of a sociolinguistic survey conducted by John Maire and René Vallette in 1978 suggested that the Marka-Dafin were sufficiently bilingual in Jula, and would be adequately served through written materials in Jula. Thus, two primary goals of this survey were to test for bilingual ability in Jula, and to attempt to determine attitudes both toward the vernacular and toward Jula. At the same time, the survey team wished to:

- ◆ collect basic demographic information about the people group;
- ◆ administer Recorded Text Tests (RTT) in order to measure intercomprehension between different Marka-Dafin dialects;
- ◆ collect word lists using a list of 230 words chiefly in order to verify the results of the Recorded Text Test, and also to measure lexical similarity between Marka-Dafin dialects; and
- ◆ select a possible reference dialect, if in fact the data collected demonstrated that the Marka-Dafin people group could benefit from the development of their own language.

1 General Information

1.1 Language Classification

The *Ethnologue*, a classification of the world's languages published by the Summer Institute of Linguistics, classifies the language (code "MWR") in the following manner: "Niger-Congo, Mandé, Western, Northwestern, Northern, Greater Mandekan, Mandekan, Manding" (Grimes 1992). According to Cyriaque Zie, himself a mother tongue speaker of Marka-Dafin, the Marka language group is composed of two major dialect groups, each with their own subdialectal differences. The northern dialect group, the Marka-Jalan, is located in Mali; and the southern dialect group, the Marka-Dafin, is in Burkina Faso (Zie 1985:11).

Isidore Ouonni (1995) identifies five subdialectal groups in Burkina Faso according to their rough geographic location: a northern dialect (in the Din region), a

north-central dialect (Zaba region), a western dialect (Nouna region), a west-central dialect (Yé region), and a southern dialect (Safané region).

The correct name for this people group, for a variety of reasons, has become muddled. Jean-Luc Banworo, a mother tongue speaker from the Zaba area, states that the term “Marka” refers to the people group in general (a term covering both the Burkina and Malian regions), as well as the speech variety in Mali, whereas the term “Dafin” is specific to the varieties spoken in Burkina Faso. Nevertheless, other sources are not as specific.

Cyriaque Zie briefly describes two possible explanations of the origin of the name “Dafin”. One concerns a vengeful warrior-son; the other explanation refers to the practice by Marka women of blackening the lower lip and gums as a beautifying process (*da* ‘mouth’, *fin* ‘black’ in Jula). Isidore Ouonni also describes the origin of the term Dafin as the Jula word for “black mouth” (Ouonni 1995:5). Jean-Luc Banworo, a catechist from the Djibasso Parish, stated in an interview that the term Dafin is pejorative, but nevertheless is the most common term for the Burkinabé Marka.

Turning to the Marka-Jalan of Mali, they are separated from the Marka-Dafin by several barriers: the political barrier of the Burkina Faso-Mali border; a linguistic barrier in the form of a large group of Bobo speakers located between the border and the Bani River near San; and finally, the Bani River itself. Banworo said that there is very little comprehension between the two groups, although they still identify themselves as being part of the same ethnic group. There is very little, if any, contact between the two groups.

Lee Hochstettler, SIL linguist in Mali who has collected information on the Marka-Jalan, told us about a word list which he took from a Marka man in Bamako in the early 1990s. This list was so similar to Bambara that Hochstettler believes the distinction between Marka-Jalan and Bambara is other than linguistic. It is possible that this is a question of ethnic identity rather than of linguistic difference, and therefore we have chosen to focus our efforts on the Marka-Dafin of Burkina Faso. Further investigation as to exactly what constitutes the identity of the Marka-Jalan, as well as other groups which also identify themselves with a form of the word “Marka” would be a welcome contribution to the studies of Manding peoples and speech varieties.

Alternate spellings of Marka include Meka, Merka, Maraka, or Marakan, and of Dafin, Dafi, or Dafingkakan. Other closely related languages include Bolon, Jula, and Bambara.

1.2 Language Location

1.2.1 *Description of Location*

In Burkina Faso the Marka-Dafin language covers an area stretching northwest to southeast from Djibasso (in Kossi province, near the Malian border) to Pompoï (in

Mouhoun province). The majority of the area lies in the provinces of Kossi, Sourou, and Mouhoun (see the map in section 1.2.2). The Marka-Dafin area is bordered on the west and south by the Bwa, to the east by the Ko and Lyéla, to the north by Rimaïbé, Fulani, and Bo populations, to the northeast by the Samo, and to the south and southeast by the Nounouma. It is a large area, covering approximately 18,000 square kilometers.

The language area is dissected by the loop of the Mouhoun (Black Volta) River and its tributary, the Sourou. The major population centers in the northwest region include Nouna and Djibasso, both towns where there is much interethnic contact. There are approximately 60 Marka-Dafin villages grouped in two clusters in this northwest region. The first cluster of villages is to the north of National Highway 14 and to the east of Djibasso. A second grouping of villages is found on both sides of National Highway 14 just north of Nouna, extending to the Sourou River.

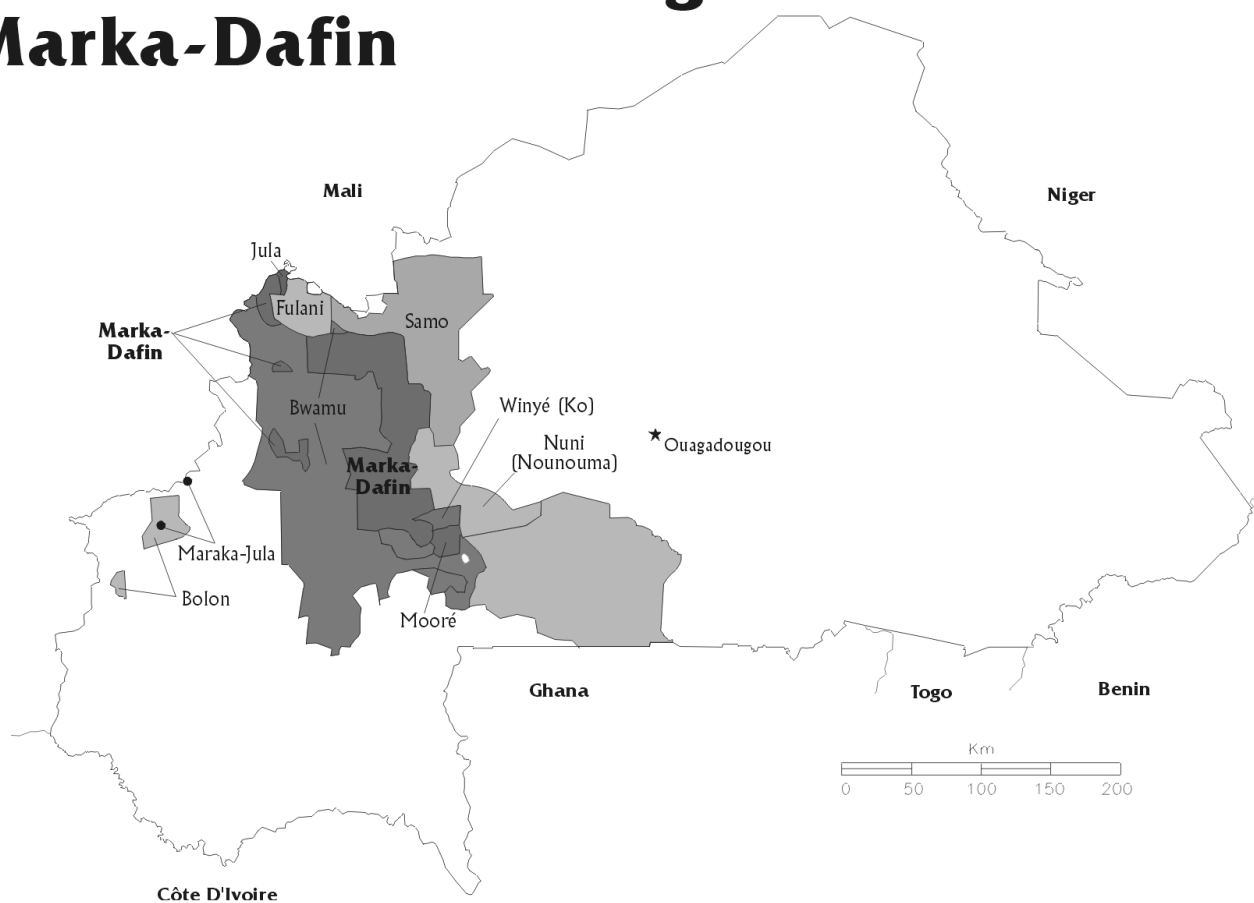
In the northeast section, the major population center is Gassan in the province of Sourou. There are approximately 43 Marka-Dafin villages in a band approximately 20 kilometers wide which follows the Sourou and Mouhoun rivers for 90–100 kilometers. The Marka-Dafin share several other villages on the eastern fringe of this band with San and Fulfulde speakers. The area is bordered on the east by Samo, Fulani, and Nounouma people groups.

The southern portion of the Marka-Dafin area consists of a fairly dense cluster of Marka-Dafin villages bordered on the northeast and northwest by the Mouhoun River. Dédougou, Safané, and Ouarkoye are the major population centers in the area, attracting people from various ethnic groups. This area is fairly rugged, containing low hills. The Ko, Nounouma, and Bwa people groups border the Marka-Dafin in this area.

1.2.2 Map

Language Area

Localisation de la région Marka-Dafin



1.3 Population

Due to the mixing of village populations, emigration, dated census figures, etc., extremely accurate population figures are not available. Nevertheless, it appears that the Marka-Dafin number between 160,000 and 220,000. The *Ethnologue* states that 25,000 Marka live in Mali (Grimes 1992:172).

Table 1.1 in the appendix shows the population of the Marka-Dafin villages we have been able to identify. They are listed by province and department according to figures from the 1985 census.

The population density is approximately 30 inhabitants per km² (Laclavère 1993:25) in the Marka-Dafin language area.

1.4 Accessibility and Transport

Eighteen thousand square kilometers is a large territory; unfortunately, we could not determine the extent of travel between the various dialect areas. It is probable; however, that many of the Marka-Dafin travel to the larger towns in their area somewhat regularly. Many of the Marka-Dafin villages are on roads which become impassable during several months of the year except on foot or two-wheeled vehicle. Other options for private travel include bicycle, moped, donkey cart and horse cart. Bush taxis are not available in much of the Marka-Dafin area. There is reliable public transportation from Dédougou to Bobo-Dioulasso, outside of the language area.

1.4.1 *Roads: Quality and Availability*

The roads in the Marka-Dafin area are well-maintained, though none of them are paved. National Highway 14 runs southeast to northwest through the Mouhoun and Kossi provinces; it is graded and, for the most part, in good condition, however a section between Djibasso and the Malian border is in poor condition. National Highway 10 runs southwest from Bobo-Dioulasso northeast to Tougan; it is also graded and in good condition. Departmental Road 30 runs north from Boromo through Safané to intersect with National Highway 14 midway between Dédougou and Tchériaba; sections of this road have been graded and maintained; however, in other places the road is in disrepair. Regional Road 23 runs from Nouna to Gassan and is in good condition. Most of the Marka-Dafin villages, however, lie on roads that are often not regraded from year to year, and travel even for a few kilometers in a four-wheel drive vehicle is difficult. As mentioned previously, these villages would be largely inaccessible during the months of the rainy season.

1.4.2 *Public Transport Systems*

Since choices of travel within Burkina Faso are limited to privately owned bike or moped, or commercial bus or truck, the availability of public transport is an important consideration in assessing actual and potential contact within a larger language community. Public or commercial transport, be it by bus, bush taxi, or private merchants, is possible throughout much of the Marka-Dafin language area by way of the larger towns of Dédougou, Nouna, and Boromo.

1.5 Religious Adherence

1.5.1 *General Religious History*

Historically the Marka-Dafin followed their traditional religion (Larou 1985:46). Nevertheless, Islam began penetrating the Marka region in the 17th century through Muslim traders (Larou 1985:50). In the period following, Muslim teachers, called “marabout”, helped in Islam’s spread (Larou 1985:70). However, Islam only became very dominant in the late 1800s. During this period, a series of “jihad”, or holy wars, were carried out to force conversion to Islam. One influential Muslim leader was Amadou Deme, who carried out his campaign in the 1880s (Ouonni 1995:4). These

religious wars gave Islam a strong foothold in the Marka-Dafin area, an influence which has continued to the present time.

According to Steve Clauser, a missionary who lived in Safané for over 5 years, the majority of the Marka-Dafin have embraced Islam, though many still continue animistic practices. To a certain extent, the Islam which the Marka-Dafin practice is undoubtedly syncretistic—a mixture of Muslim practices with traditional beliefs—as is seen, for example, by the importance of the traditional masks and rituals even to our day (Blegna 1986:147). Approximately 40% of the population hold strongly to animistic beliefs and traditions (Clauser, personal communication). Furthermore, it appears that the general trend is for the population to embrace Islam more and more, as well as to purify itself of some traditional religious practices, which are seen by many Muslims as pagan (Blegna 1986:147).

1.5.2 History of Christian Work in the Area

The Roman Catholic Church has been working in the area since the early 1940s, and in 1978 estimated that 4% of the Marka-Dafin population were Catholic (Maire and Vallette 1978). Today the percentage of the Marka-Dafin population which is Roman Catholic is approaching 8% (Clauser, personal communication). The district is divided into four parishes according to the largest town in the area: Nouna, Safané, Zaba, and Pompoï. The Catholics, who have concentrated their linguistic efforts in the Zaba parish, located in the northeastern section of the language area, have chosen the village of Kamina as the location for language learning for their foreign priests. The church in Kamina was established in 1943.

Approximately 1% of the Marka-Dafin are Protestants (Clauser, personal communication). The Assemblies of God have established a church in Pompoï the southern section of the Marka-Dafin area, as well as several churches in the Tougan region. The Christian and Missionary Alliance (CMA) has worked in the general Marka-Dafin area since the 1930s. A church was established in Sourou in the early 1940s. Then in the 1960s the CMA founded the first primarily Marka-Dafin congregation; however, the congregation did not have its own pastor until the 1980s. There are approximately 41 CMA congregations, composed chiefly of Marka-Dafin in the area. In 1985 Steve and Debbie Clauser arrived to work as church planters targeting the Marka-Dafin in the Safané region. They have since moved to another assignment away from the Marka-Dafin area.

1.5.3 Language Use Parameters within Church Life

The Roman Catholic Church has moved towards a policy of Jula use for training and for church services because of the mixture of language groups represented in their parishes. Abbé Benoît at Zaba stated that although Jula was introduced as the language of training and worship in 1994, Marka-Dafin catechists are usually trained in their mother tongue because their level of comprehension in Jula is not sufficient for a precise comprehension of the material.

The Christian and Missionary Alliance has also moved towards the use of Jula in church services throughout Burkina Faso, a policy based on practicality in view of the many languages represented in the churches. Two training facilities are available to Marka-Dafin pastors: one in Pondou where the language of instruction is Jula; and one in Bobo-Dioulasso where the language of instruction is French.

To our knowledge, there are eleven Marka-Dafin pastors with the Christian and Missionary Alliance Church, and one Marka-Dafin pastor with the Assemblies of God denomination. Many of the other Assemblies of God pastors in the area are Mossi; however, they preach in Mooré without a translation into Marka-Dafin and therefore attract primarily Mooré speakers. Pastor Eli Séré, a Marka-Dafin pastor in Tchériba, listed for us four villages where Marka-Dafin is used for the sermon during Protestant worship services in the southeast region: Bombuela, Nana, Tiensere, and Ziasso. However, in many Marka-Dafin villages the majority of the worship service is in Jula. Despite this, Steve Clauser informed us that whenever the sermon is given in a language other than Marka-Dafin, it is translated into Marka-Dafin.

1.5.4 Written Materials in Marka-Dafin

There are already some materials in Marka-Dafin prepared by the Catholics—both Scripture portions and beginning literacy materials. See section 3 in the bibliography for a complete list. We were not able to ascertain how widely or how often these materials are used.

Gospel Recordings prepared some Bible stories in Marka-Dafin with some commentary afterwards. These cassettes were prepared in the 1960s.

1.5.5 Summary

Though Christianity has been present in the area through the work of the Christian and Missionary Alliance and the Roman Catholic Church for over 60 years, the Marka-Dafin have not converted in large numbers. Animism remains quite strong, and the influence of Islam continues to spread.

1.6 Schools/Education

1.6.1 History of Schools in the Area

The first primary school in the Marka-Dafin area opened in Nounou (Mouhoun province) in 1947. In the Kossi and Sourou provinces the first school in the Marka-Dafin territory was opened in 1956. Very few primary schools existed in the area between 1947 and 1980. In the past sixteen years, however, there has been a sharp increase in the number of schools, from a total of 13 schools in the Marka-Dafin area prior to 1980, to 49 primary schools to date. (See table 1.2 in the appendix for a list of the public schools in the Marka-Dafin region.)

1.6.2 Types, Sites, and Size

Despite the impressive efforts to open more schools in the last sixteen years, a relatively small number of Marka-Dafin children actually have access to all six elementary school levels. Thus, an even smaller number are qualified to continue their education. Marka-Dafin children who are able to continue their schooling beyond elementary school must find lodging in larger towns in the area. Those in the province of Kossi must travel to Djibasso for junior high, and to Nouna for high school. The junior high schools in Mouhoun province are located in Bagassi, Dédougou, and Safané, while the high schools are in Boromo and Dédougou. Children in Sourou province can travel to Kassoum for junior high school, and to Toma or Tougan for high school. Some of the villages had CFJA (Centre de Formation des Jeunes Agriculteurs) schools at one time, which provided basic instruction in literacy, math, and agricultural techniques. We were told that these schools have been closed in the Marka-Dafin area.

The language of instruction in the classroom is French, with the exception of the CFJA schools where the instruction is generally in Jula. As we have just noted, Marka-Dafin children who continue through the elementary levels at some point must go to school in a town where there are other ethnic groups present. As with the market place (see section 1.7), formal education adds another dimension and further opportunities for contact with Jula as the language groups represented in the classroom at higher grade levels are very rarely, if ever, homogeneous; Jula is the necessary mode of communication in such a diverse setting.

1.6.3 Attendance and Academic Achievement

Even with the increase in numbers of schools in the Marka-Dafin region, a Catholic priest in Djibasso noted a resistance among the Marka-Dafin to formal education; parents are often skeptical of sending their children to school. School teachers interviewed confirmed this observation, stating that parents seemed reticent to send their children to school and sensed an overall suspicion of the education system. This fact, compounded by a lack of financial resources, seems to be a primary factor in inhibiting school attendance. With the exception of the village of Dembo where the school teacher thought that at least half of the Marka-Dafin children attended school, teachers in the other villages did not think that the majority of Marka-Dafin children were attending school.

Few Marka-Dafin children continue their education beyond elementary school. The school teacher in Kamina estimated that one in thirty children continue their education; in Yé only a handful of students continued to junior high in 1995. Again, the motivation for education in the village of Dembo seems slightly higher with an estimated 25% of children who continue their education beyond elementary school.

1.6.4 Existing Literacy Programs

The government has put a lot of effort in the area of Jula literacy programs, and most villages reported having had access to a Jula literacy program at one point. Of the

villages which we visited, Yé, Kamina, Nounou, and Kolokan had all had government initiated Jula literacy programs a few years ago. However, attendance and motivation on the part of the Marka-Dafin themselves do not seem to be very high. The village of Dembo was unique in that the village cooperative had initiated the Jula literacy program.

1.6.5 Attitude toward the Vernacular

“To love the Marka-Dafin language is to love one’s self”, as people in two different villages told us. This statement may not necessarily reflect the attitude of every Marka-Dafin speaker, but it is a very strong statement of ethnolinguistic identity which reveals a strong positive attitude towards the language. None of the people of whom we asked whether they ever felt shame when heard speaking their language indicated that they would. There appears to be a positive language attitude toward the mother tongue throughout the speech community. In addition, there has been considerable interest among Christians for written materials in Marka-Dafin since the 1970s.

1.6.6 Summary

The government of Burkina Faso has made basic education available to a large portion of the Marka-Dafin population through formal schooling and adult literacy programs, though opportunities for further education remain limited and require a larger commitment of material resources. It appears that more Marka-Dafin children attend school now than in the past, however parents still seem hesitant about sending their children to school.

1.7 Facilities and Economics

1.7.1 Supply Needs

The economic situation in the general Marka-Dafin area is similar to that of most rural Burkina Faso: almost all of the Marka-Dafin are farmers, and in addition, some have small herds of livestock. Cotton is grown in the area as a cash crop, and extra supplies of staple grains are also used to generate small amounts of income. Small markets, held every few days, are found in many villages. In the larger villages, the Marka-Dafin trade with Mossi, Bwaba, Samo, Fulani, Bobo, and Jula. In fact, commerce is an area in which the Marka have been known to excel.

One result of meeting people of other ethnic groups is bilingualism, and most often in Jula. It is important to note that this mixture of people groups is a strong characteristic of the market scene. Such gatherings provide the opportunity to gain at least a minimal proficiency in Jula, though in some cases only a minimal proficiency.

In summary, the Marka-Dafin have at their disposal, if not within their means, the basic goods that they need to carry on their lives.

1.7.2 *Medical Needs*

As is true for all of Burkina Faso, medical treatment is an area of great need. In the Marka-Dafin area the ratio of people to doctors is 100,000:1. There is one dentist in the province of Mouhoun; and several pharmacies in Kossi and Mouhoun provinces. Small dispensaries where one can obtain very basic medical care exist in a few villages. However, two obstacles hinder those who need more urgent medical care: the distance to reach pharmacies, clinics, and hospitals; and the means to pay for the treatment. The clinics within reach of the Marka-Dafin are in:

- ◆ Koumbara and Yé for those in Sourou province;
- ◆ Boromo, Bagassi, Dédougou, and Safané for those in Mouhoun province; and
- ◆ Djibasso and Nouna for those in Kossi province.

Due to the isolation of many of the Marka-Dafin villages, by the time the sick arrive at a clinic for treatment, it can be too late.

1.7.3 *Government Facilities in the Area*

There are prefecture offices in the Marka-Dafin towns of Safané and Yé. Marka-Dafin living in other areas must leave the Marka-Dafin-speaking area for any official business. There is also a police barracks in Safané, and police checkpoints are not uncommon. Though French is the official language, the Marka-Dafin generally prefer Jula over French to communicate with national authorities.

1.8 *Traditional Culture*

1.8.1 *Historical Notes*

The origins of the Marka people are unclear. Cissé asserts that the term “marka” means “one who has as his origin Mandé” (Cissé 1985:16), which is often identified as modern-day Guinée. Others consider the Marka to be descendents of the Soninke people, and thus probably from the Massina area of present day Mali (Larou 1985:18). The first large influx of Marka-Dafin into their present homeland are thought to have come in the 17th century, although some may have come as early as the 14th century (Blegna 1986: 20). The last migration was in the early 1800s (Blegna 1986:21).

1.8.2 *Relevant Cultural Aspects*

The Marka-Dafin are spread throughout a zone which is long and rather narrow at some points, and therefore the people have contact with many other ethnic groups. Contact almost certainly came about through commerce, an activity that the Marka have traditionally practiced (Cissé 1985:23). According to Cyriaque Zie, his people have taken on customs and traditions from several other groups, depending upon who their neighbors are. One could also infer that linguistic traits may be passed from neighboring groups as well.

Zie states with regard to the social and political organization of the Marka-Dafin that a king ruled the ethnic group giving one "head" to whom the entire people could look. The extent of control of a central power is debated; Blegna states that each village was traditionally independent (Blegna 1986:48). In any event, it is at the village level that one finds the most pronounced hierarchical structure, with litigation chiefs, war chiefs, heads of clans, and heads of families. In addition to the vertical hierarchy, there is also a class system which includes farmers, blacksmiths and griots.

Historically the center of the Marka-Dafin kingdom is Safané, its traditional importance recognized even by the villages in the extreme northwestern section of the Marka-Dafin area.

Turning to the religious domain, the village of Ouona is well-known for its fetishes, and people come from great distances to solicit the help of traditional healing. Marka-Dafin culture is closely intertwined with traditional religious practices, so much so that though Islam has made great inroads, many Muslims continue to follow certain traditional practices.

1.8.3 Attitude toward Culture

In spite of the amount of contact with many other ethnic groups, the Marka-Dafin have built up a strong sense of their identity. Very few of their villages have inhabitants from other ethnic groups. Apparently some villages hold their ethnic homogeneity in such esteem that they chase away strangers who would like to settle among them.

In general, the Marka-Dafin are content to stay in their villages. According to those responding to our questionnaires, most prefer the life of the village to life in the big cities. As is the case in many ethnic groups of Burkina Faso, many young people, especially men, spend a bit of time "seeking fortune" in Côte d'Ivoire. Again, responses to our questionnaires indicated that most return with some material gain as well as greater proficiency in Jula.

1.8.4 Summary

There is a strong sense of cultural identity and social cohesiveness in spite of the large language area and the many surrounding ethnic groups.

1.9 Linguistic Work in the Language Area

1.9.1 Work Accomplished in the Past

Various aspects of Marka-Dafin have been studied over the last fifty years by a number of people, each with different purposes in mind. Father Guillaumat began language learning and linguistic research in the 1940s in order to produce scripture portions in Marka-Dafin. He held that Marka-Dafin derives directly from Bambara. Father André Prost published a small grammar describing the Zaba dialect in 1977. The Catholic parish in Safané assembled a small French-Marka-Dafin dictionary. In

1978 two members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics conducted a preliminary sociolinguistic survey in the Marka-Dafin area. Mohamadou Diallo, who earned a Ph.D. in Linguistics has described Marka-Dafin dialects in a volume published at the University of Grenoble III in the 1980s. Cyriaque Zie and Isidore Ounni both completed Master's Theses describing various aspects of Marka-Dafin phonology at the University of Ouagadougou. Steve Clauser, CMA missionary, has also done some work in reducing Marka-Dafin to writing for purposes of church work. A CMA pastor in Bomboila produced a Christian songbook in the vernacular.

See sections 2 and 3 in the bibliography for a list of some linguistic, historical, and anthropological works about the Marka-Dafin.

1.9.2 Present Work

We are not aware of any continuing linguistic work in Marka-Dafin.

2 Methodology

2.1 Sampling

2.1.1 Village Sites Chosen for the Jula Sentence Repetition Test

In 1995, Assounan Ouattara and Soungalo Coulibaly, two proficient Jula speakers, administered the Jula Sentence Repetition Test at four test sites in Mouhoun province. The villages were selected according to the supposed amount of interethnic contact, as determined by their location and their proximity to a major thoroughfare. The villages where testing was done were:

- Banga - away from a track or road;
- Nana - on a track;
- Sekoula - on the national highway between Dédougou and Tchériba; and
- Safané - chief town of the department.

The results of the Jula SRT are presented in section 4.6.

2.1.2 Village Sites for Sociolinguistic Survey

Background information indicated that the Safané dialect is considered important from a social and cultural point of view, as well as the fact that radio broadcasts are in that language variety. However, given the amount of contact which the inhabitants of Safané have with other language groups, we chose a more isolated site, the village of Nounou, to represent the dialect area. Because most of the linguistic work produced in Marka-Dafin is from the Zaba dialect area, we chose Kamina, an isolated village in the area, and one which is used for language learning apprenticeships for foreign Catholic workers. The village of Dembo was chosen to represent the Marka-Dafin speech varieties in the Nouna area. In order to verify the extent of the Marka-Dafin dialect

areas, the villages of Mana, Kolokan, and Yé were chosen as samples of the southern, northwestern, and northeastern extremes of the language group.

2.2 Lexicostatistic Survey

To determine the degree of lexical similarity between the general dialect areas, we elicited a 230 item word list at each test site. This list was developed for use throughout Burkina Faso with recommendations from a list developed for survey in Africa by SIL. Each list was checked for discrepancies with data from contiguous dialects in a second visit to the test site in order to make the list as reliable as possible in the amount of time available to the survey. See section 3 in the appendix for a complete list of the glosses and data.

2.3 Dialect Intelligibility Survey

In order to measure the degree of inherent intelligibility between speakers of the various dialects, we followed the methodology developed by E. Casad, commonly referred to as the Recorded Text Test (RTT). The steps in the preparation and administration of the test are as follows:

1. A text is elicited from a native speaker of Village A, a text as free as possible from objectionable and predictable subject matter and words borrowed from another language.
2. A group of 12–15 questions are developed based on the text. These questions are recorded in the dialect of Village A and inserted into the text. From six to ten native speakers of the dialect of Village A listen to the text and respond to the questions, in order that any badly composed or misleading questions can be isolated and removed. The 10 best questions, to which native speakers have responded with the most correct answers, are chosen for the final form of the test.
3. The refined text/test of Village A is played in Village B, having recorded Village A's questions in the dialect of Village B. At least 10 speakers in Village B listen to the text, responding to the questions. Their cumulative scores to the recorded test are taken as the percentage of their intelligibility with the dialect of Village A.

A note about sampling: in the testing process in Village B, it is very important to be aware of and guard against the influence of factors that may skew the results. The RTT was designed to test for inherent intelligibility and therefore it is important to screen out candidates who would have had opportunities to learn the speech variety of Village A. For example, it is important to choose candidates with very little or no previous contact with speakers of Village A, i.e. those who have not traveled to markets or to school in a neighboring village where they would have opportunity for that contact. In table 3.3, it is the standard deviation column which signals high contact, and therefore learned intelligibility. A high (above 1.6) standard deviation, a result of a wide range of test scores, suggests that some subjects have “learned” to understand the

speech tested. Learned intelligibility is generally not consistent within a population due to the fact that not all segments of the population have the same quantity and quality of contact with the second language.

The testing procedure for the Recorded Text Test is difficult to understand for those unaccustomed to a question-answer test method. For the Marka-Dafin survey, we were able to mainly test students at the CM2 level (ages 12–15), with the exception of Kolonkan. Choosing young people with six years of schooling, both facilitated the administration of the test and reduced the possibility that low scores would be due to unfamiliarity with the test-taking procedure. And because most students of that age group do not tend to travel, there was greater likelihood of determining inherent and not learned intelligibility.

We also included a Jula text among those played for each candidate. The relationship between Marka-Dafin and Jula is very close; the distinction between acquired and inherent intelligibility in this case is difficult to determine. The team played the Jula story as a check against the results of bilingualism testing in Jula.

2.4 Questionnaires

We questioned two to four men from each village concerning both general demographic and general sociolinguistic matters. The subject matter covered by the questionnaires ranged from the ethnic composition and facilities in the area to perceived dialect differences, bilingualism, and language use. The men were chosen by the village's government representative, and sometimes included the representative himself. Due to the surveyors' not knowing the trade language and a desire to better monitor the questioning process, the questionnaires were carried out in French. We also interviewed available school teachers and religious leaders using prepared questionnaires. Results of the sociolinguistic questionnaires form the basis of much of the following discussion on perceived dialect comprehension (3.1) and multilingualism (4).

2.5 Bilingualism Testing In Jula¹

The Sentence Repetition Test (SRT) for the Jula language was developed by following the procedures of Radloff (1991). An SRT is comprised of 15 sentences, arranged in increasing order of difficulty. For each sentence answered correctly, 3 points are earned, with 45 being a maximum score. For each mistake, a point is subtracted from 3. The SRT used to assess proficiency in Jula was calibrated to a Reported Proficiency Evaluation (RPE) test.² The sample used to calibrate the SRT with the RPE consisted of 83 people who were both native and second language Jula

¹Editor's note: R. Berger and S. Showalter have contributed significantly to this section.

²For a full description of the development of the Jula SRT, see Berthelette et al. (1995).

speakers. They were volunteers found in the city of Ouagadougou.

The regression equation for predicting RPE means from SRT means was:

$$\text{RPE} = 1.94 + 0.0665 \text{ SRT}$$

This calibration allows for a prediction of RPE levels based on the SRT scores, according to the following table:

Table 2.5.1
Predicted RPE level from SRT score.

SRT score range	RPE level equivalent
0–8	2
9–15	2+
16–23	3
24–30	3+
31–38	4
39–45	4+

A further comparison was done between the SRT scores and an oral proficiency exam using SIL's Second Language Oral Proficiency Evaluation (SLOPE) (SIL 1987). A subset of 25 of the most proficient speakers of the original sample was evaluated with this oral interview technique. It was found in this study that those scoring at or above 25 on the SRT could be reliably classed in SLOPE level 4; those scoring below 25 were below SLOPE level 4. This particular level represents the ability to "use the language fluently and accurately on all levels normally pertinent to needs" (SIL 1987:34). The discrepancy between RPE and SLOPE evaluations in relation to SRT scores, along with broader issues concerning the interpretation of the SRT, are discussed at length in Hatfield, ms.

In addition to the calibration effort, the completed SRT was given to a sample of reported native speakers of Jula in two villages of southwest Burkina, Péní and Sindou, to provide a means of comparison between L1 and L2 speakers of Jula in Burkina. The collective mean SRT score from samples in both villages was 30.5, lower than expected but still corresponding to a high level of Jula competence. This gives us a baseline of comparison between native and nonnative speakers of Jula, and allows us to say that scores of 30 and above indicate a competence level similar to that of native speakers, as measured by this test. A full report on the development of the Jula SRT in Burkina Faso can be found in Berthelette et al. 1995.

Marka-Dafin speakers were given the SRT to estimate their proficiency in Jula. The testers, Ouattara Assounan and Coulibaly Soungalo, were instructed to visit a wide area in the village in order to make the sampling as representative as possible, using quotas based on sex and age.

To understand the interacting influences of sex, age, and geographical location of villages on Jula proficiency, a factorial analysis of variance (ANOVA) statistical design was used on the SRT scores. This design was based on SRT data collected from both females and males whose ages were from 12 and up, and who lived in 10 villages. The specific factors examined were age with three levels: 12–25, 26–45, and 46+ years; villages with 10 levels; and sex with two levels. Interacting effects among these factors were examined. The specific ANOVA selected for the analysis was the General Linear Model (GLM) because the requirement of a balanced design was not a precondition for its use. A balanced ANOVA design requires equal numbers of subjects at all factor levels. Another unique feature of the GLM is that it considers the correlation coefficients among age, sex, and villages. These relationships were examined by regression analysis which involves correlational analyses. The GLM makes adjustments in the factor level means and standard deviations which are predicted from the correlated data.

Differences between factor level means which occurred by chance 5% or less were considered statistically significant. In probability terms, if mean differences in SRT scores occurred by chance five times or less out of 100 times between levels of a factor they would be considered statistically significant. In that case, the factor level with the largest mean would be considered more bilingual than the other level. If statistical significance was found among three or more levels, the Tukey test was used to determine which means were significantly different from each other.

In general, language groups having the SRT means below 16 (level 3 on RPE scale) were prioritized for minority language development while language groups with significantly higher SRT means had a lower priority. Of course, attitudinal factors were also considered when priorities were determined (Bergman 1990:9.5.2).³

Information about each subject was noted on his or her test sheet: his age, religion, level of education, amount of time spent in a Jula speaking area, and whether he had attended literacy classes in Jula. As our goal in administering the SRT was to draw conclusions about the levels of bilingual ability in the speech community, this data would be helpful in studying patterns of second language contact. See section 4.2 for a discussion of indicators of second language proficiency.

3 Dialect Intercomprehension and Lexicostatistical Data

We studied the intercomprehension between dialects through the use of the Recorded Text Test, questionnaires, and word lists. The Recorded Text Test is a tool to

³In 1989, the Summer Institute of Linguistics' Area Directors and Vice Presidents established the language assessment criteria for the organization. This work is a set of standards for such domains as dialect intelligibility, bilingual ability, etc., in an attempt to guide decision-making as to the need for language development in specific situations.

measure the level of inherent comprehension between dialects, group questionnaires indicated the speakers' perceived ability to understand other dialects, while the word lists constitute a check of the Recorded Text Test through lexicostatistical analysis.

3.1 Perceived Intercomprehension

A valuable source of information concerning intercomprehension between dialects comes from the Marka-Dafin speakers themselves. First, let us consider the opinions of those in the northern villages. As illustrated by table 3.2.1, the people in the village of Yé said that they could understand all Marka-Dafin speakers well. The people at Kamina said that they understand the speech varieties in the north better than those in the south, particularly the Safané dialect. The people of Dembo told us that the Kolokan speech variety was easy for them to understand, but that the variety from the Safané region was difficult for them to understand.

Turning now to the southern region, the people of Nounou said that they could understand someone from Mana very well; however, they said that they would have a more difficult time with the dialect in the Zaba area, and could not understand the varieties in the Nouna area at all. The people of Mana said that they understood the speech in the Safané area easily, but the dialect from the Zaba area was more difficult. The people in Kolokan said that they could understand the Marka-Dafin from the Nouna area easily. They had more difficulty understanding people from the Kamina area. The speech of people in the Safané area was even more difficult, so much so that the people in Kolokan do not understand it when they speak rapidly.

3.2 Results of the Recorded Text Tests

Linguists who have worked with the Recorded Text Test have debated the interpretation of scores from various points of view. An accepted minimum threshold for the Summer Institute of Linguistics is 75% (Bergman 1990:9.5.2).⁴ As the use of the RTT is to aid in determining which variety of a language could serve as a reference dialect for the development of written materials in that language, the following discussion of the scores summarized in table 3.2.1 will focus on which text or texts were best understood, and therefore would be good candidates for a reference dialect.

Table 3.2.1 summarizes the results of the Recorded Text Test conducted at six village locations in the Marka-Dafin area. The scores are given in order of village, from the northwestern area to the northeastern area to the southern tip; and within each village section the scores are arranged in the order of most well-understood to least well-understood.

⁴Simons (1989) and O'Leary (1994) have argued that the scores from a Recorded Text Test should only be understood as reflections of the comprehension of the text, and not a numerical representation of the level of comprehension between the dialects.

The Dembo text was well-understood throughout the Marka-Dafin region; in all the villages where the text was tested, the average score was above 80%. In fact, at face value, the scores would argue that the Dembo text is the best understood of all those tested. The Nounou text, representing the Safané dialect was also well-understood. The comprehension of the Nounou text was above 80% in most villages, with the exception of the villages of Kolokan and Kamina where the average scores ranged between 70%–80%.

The other texts were less well-understood. The text from Kamina was understood above 80% only by the subjects in Yé, while in the other villages the averages ranged from 70% to around 50% in Nounou. The average scores for the text from Mana ranged from 69.5% in Kolokan to 78% in Dembo, demonstrating that it was not well-understood in any location other than Nounou where the average score was 89%.

The text from Kolokan was the least well-understood by subjects in the other villages. In no village was the average score higher than 60%. This was not too surprising as our Marka-Dafin guide, Pastor Séré, noticed a lot of Bambara vocabulary in interactions with the people in Kolokan. Another reason for the low comprehension could simply be the location of Kolokan on the far northwestern edge of the language area. It is interesting to note, however, that the subjects in Kolokan were able to understand the texts from almost all of the villages at a level above 70%. Thus, though the variety spoken in Kolokan is not well enough understood to be considered a candidate for development as a reference dialect, the Marka-Dafin who speak that variety will in theory be able to understand a more centrally located variety, and use written materials from that variety.

The Julia text represents a special case. The distinction between what is a separate language, and what is a dialect of a language becomes fuzzy in this instance. The exact relationship between Julia and Marka-Dafin is not yet well defined, and as one of the purposes of this study was to determine if the Marka-Dafin would be able to benefit from materials written in Julia, we used a text in Julia from the Bobo-Dioulasso area to test inherent intelligibility as if Marka-Dafin were a dialect of Julia. There was a wide variation in the average scores, from 42% in Nounou to 85% in Dembo, with the other four villages grouped in a six-point range of 69.5%–75.9%. Likewise, the standard deviations ranged from .59 in Dembo to 1.85 in Yé. The fairly high average score with a low standard deviation could indicate that speakers of the dialect in Dembo could make use of written materials in Julia. However, in the other test locations, the standard deviation indicated that there was an added dimension of learned comprehension, and that at a questionable level for using written materials. A further discussion on learned comprehension in Julia is found in section 0.

Table 3.2.1
Summary of RTT Results

Village location	Text from the village of:	Number of Females Tested	Number of Males Tested	Percent Comprehension	Standard Deviation ⁵
Kolokan (Kossi)	Kolokan	5	5	94	.49
	Dembo	5	5	85	1.20
	Jula	5	5	75.5	1.78
	Nounou	5	5	70	2.00
	Mana	5	5	69.5	1.47
	Kamina	5	5	69	1.73
Dembo (Kossi)	Dembo	5	5	97.5	.40
	Nounou	5	5	86.5	1.29
	Jula	5	5	85	.59
	Mana	5	5	78	1.40
	Kamina	5	5	77.5	1.03
	Kolokan	5	5	53.5	1.29
Yé (Sourou)	Yé	3	7	100	0.00
	Dembo	3	7	89	.92
	Kamina	3	7	81	.80
	Nounou	3	7	81	.89
	Mana	3	7	73.5	1.36
	Jula	3	7	72.5	1.85
Kamina (Sourou)	Kamina	5	5	98.5	.32
	Dembo	5	5	95	.55
	Nounou	5	5	77.5	1.03
	Mana	5	5	75.5	1.49
	Jula	5	5	69.5	1.59
	Kolokan	5	5	56	1.24

⁵Note concerning the standard deviation column: as stated previously, it is the standard deviation column which signals high contact, and therefore learned intelligibility. A standard deviation of 1.2–1.5 and more, a result of a wide range of test scores, suggests that some subjects have “learned” to understand the speech tested. (Bergman 1990:8.1.7)

Village location	Text from the village of:	Number of Females Tested	Number of Males Tested	Percent Comprehension	Standard Deviation ⁶
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Nounou (Mouhoun)	Nounou	2	8	95	.71
	Mana	2	8	89	.83
	Dembo	2	8	87	.51
	Kamina	2	8	47	1.76
	Jula	2	8	42	1.17
	Kolokan	2	8	32	1.27

Mana (Mouhoun)	Mana	6	5	95	.64
	Dembo	6	5	91.36	.48
	Nounou	6	5	86.8	.76
	Jula	6	5	75.91	1.40
	Kamina	6	5	61.36	1.26
	Kolokan	6	5	50.45	1.18

We noted that the average comprehension demonstrated by the subjects in the Recorded Text Test often coincided with their perception of how well they thought they understood Marka-Dafin speakers from other dialect areas. People in Nounou and in Mana said that they understood each other well, and in fact their scores of 89% and 86.8%, respectively, confirm that they do. Likewise, the people in Kamina said that they would understand speakers from Dembo, and their high average score of 95% demonstrates that their perception is correct. The people in Kolokan said that they would understand people from Dembo well, have difficulty understanding speakers in Kamina, and not understand people from Nounou and Mana at all; the average scores, respectively, of 85%, 69%, 70% and 69% confirm their perception, with the exception that they encountered just as much difficulty with the Kamina text as they did with the Nounou and Mana texts.

On the other hand, people in Nounou said that they could not understand speakers from Dembo, but their score of 87% contradicts their impression. One of the more surprising results was that though the people in Dembo said that they would understand people from Kolokan, they actually only understood the text at an average level of 53%.

⁶Note concerning the standard deviation column: as stated previously, it is the standard deviation column which signals high contact, and therefore learned intelligibility. A standard deviation of 1.2–1.5 and more, a result of a wide range of test scores, suggests that some subjects have “learned” to understand the speech tested. (Bergman 1990:8.1.7)

Finally, though the average scores for the Dembo text cluster in a higher range than those for comprehension of the Nounou text, both speech varieties appear to be good candidates for development from the point of view of the Recorded Text Test results. However, to base such an important decision upon one test is not prudent. Additionally, it is possible that other factors may be affecting the comprehension of the text, among them that the Dembo text was perhaps simpler than the others. In order to make a good decision in this matter, the percentages of lexical similarity between the dialects as well as other nonlinguistic factors need to be taken into account.

3.3 Lexicostatistical Analysis

An in-depth study of cognates is beyond the scope of this survey; however, a comparison of apparent cognates, words which in their surface form appear to have a common root, is helpful in the study of intercomprehension between dialects. Table 3.3.1 shows the lexical similarity percentages, or percentages of the number of apparent cognates for word lists elicited in the Marka-Dafin villages visited. The percentages of similarity with a Jula word list have been included in order to see the relationship between Jula and the various Marka-Dafin dialects, and to check those percentages against the results of the Recorded Text Test.

Table 3.3.1
Percentages of Apparent Cognates

Jula
61 Kolokan
60 74 Kamina
55 67 80 Yé
53 66 76 73 Dembo
56 63 70 73 71 Mana
51 61 69 69 72 79 Nounou

We notice that some of the villages which lie closest together geographically share more apparent cognates: 80% for Kamina and Yé, 79% for Nounou and Mana. Kamina, Yé, Dembo, and Mana all group together at 70% lexical similarity and above. In looking at possible groupings of villages sharing the highest possible lexical similarity, we find Kolokan and Nounou on the two extremes of the group. Kolokan shares the highest percentage of apparent cognates with Kamina at 74%, but the shared percentages with the other speech varieties are below 70%; the shared percentage with Nounou being 61%.

In light of these percentages, we perhaps can understand why the standard deviations for the average RTT scores of the subjects in Kolokan all indicated a certain amount of learning. And though the percentages of lexical similarity do not conclusively

demonstrate why the Dembo text would have been the best understood overall, they do not contradict the average RTT scores. In the same way, the average scores for comprehension of the Nounou text which group together at a slightly lower level of comprehension than the Dembo text are not contradicted by the slightly lower percentages of apparent cognates between the speech variety from Nounou and those of the other villages.

Comparing the Jula word list with those from the Marka-Dafin villages we find a range of lexical similarity percentages between 51% for Nounou and 61% for Kolokan. Again, these percentages are sufficiently low as to not contradict the lower average scores and the tendency towards higher standard deviations from the RTT results. There also does not appear to be justification to consider Marka-Dafin as a variety of Jula, but rather as a closely related language. A complete word list can be found in section 3 in the appendix.

3.4 Summary

The examination of the levels of perceived intercomprehension, the results of the Recorded Text Test, and the percentages of lexical similarity did not reveal a clear-cut choice for a reference dialect. Given the purely linguistic data from the RTT and the word lists, one would probably single out the speech variety from Dembo as being the best choice for development in written form for the entire language group. However, languages are not spoken in a linguistic vacuum, and other variables must be taken into account in this decision. The criteria in table 3.4.1 are taken from Etienne Sadembouo's article *Constitution and Function of a Language Committee and the Choice of a Reference Dialect* (1990:7.1.1–12) which we found very helpful in the decision to recommend the Safané dialect for development as a reference dialect for Marka-Dafin.

As shown in table 3.4.1, Sadembouo recommends that a decision of a choice of a reference dialect be made according to a set of fundamental or primary criteria, and a set of secondary criteria. For each criterion we have listed information under the columns which corresponds to the speech variety spoken in the Dembo area and the Nounou area. When we found that the information for one variety fulfilled the criterion more satisfactorily than the other, we put double lines around the box, and assigned the values of ten points for fundamental criteria or six points for secondary criteria as suggested by Sadembouo. The information shown in this table comes from sociolinguistic questionnaires, background information, the results of the Recorded Text Test, and analysis of apparent cognates from word lists.

The first criterion, *High degree of accepted understanding of the dialect*, refers to information reported by the speakers themselves. The Nouna dialect was generally perceived to be more understandable than the Safané dialect. As for the criterion, *High degree of predicted understanding of the dialect*, theoretically we can predict that one dialect should be better understood than another on the basis of the quantifiable results of the RTT and the percentages of apparent cognates. For both of these, the Nouna

dialect appears to be the best choice, though the average scores of the RTT and the lexical similarity percentages do not rule out the Safané dialect as a possibility.

When we compare the projected number of speakers of one variety with another, we find that more Marka-Dafin speak the Safané dialect than the Nouna dialect. This is mostly due to the fact that there is a heavier concentration of Marka-Dafin villages in the Safané dialect area which are quite homogeneous, than in the Nouna dialect area. Because of this and the higher levels of interethnic contact in the Nouna area, there is more likelihood of purity of speech form for the Safané dialect, although further research would be necessary to confirm this.

Neither dialect can be said to be in a more advantageous geographic location than the other from the point of view of being centrally located in the language area. However the Safané dialect can be said to better fulfill the criteria of *Location of dialect at the center of activity* than can the Nouna dialect, due to the traditional importance of the Safané area as the location of the traditional ruler. In addition, Safané is perceived to be an important center of economic activity for the language group, and a village in the area is said to be an important site for the practice of the traditional religion through fetishes. As for *Dialect prestige*, though the Safané area was recognized in the villages of Kolokan, Mana, and Nounou as being where the “best” Marka-Dafin is spoken, this is not a conclusive answer. The other responses to this question named the variety spoken in the area of Kamina, but none of the answers named villages in the Dembo area. The use of the Safané dialect on the radio will probably contribute to the *Vehicularity of the dialect*, though not enough information is available to allow us to predict with any degree of accuracy which dialect of Marka-Dafin may be used more often as speakers of the language travel from one area to another.

Turning to the secondary criteria, section 1.9.1 mentions linguistic work accomplished in the past, most of which concerns the variety of Marka-Dafin spoken in the Zaba area. However, the Safané dialect has been written also: a small Marka-Dafin-French dictionary was printed by the Catholic diocese of Safané, and a pastor from the Safané area has compiled a collection of songs for use in the Protestant worship services. This, as well as the fact that a village in the Safané area is an important center for fetishes, may also infer that the Safané dialect will have more religious influence than the Nouna dialect.

Table 3.4.1
Criteria for the Selection of a Reference Dialect

Fundamental Criteria:	Dembo (Nouna dialect)	Nounou (Safané dialect)
<i>High degree of accepted understanding of the dialect</i>	By the villages of Kamina, Kolokan, Yé 10 points	By the villages of Mana, Yé
<i>High degree of predicted understanding of the dialect</i>	From RTT results and percentages of apparent cognates: Kolokan, Yé, Kamina, Nounou, Mana 10 points	From RTT results and percentages of apparent cognates: Kolokan, Dembo, Yé, Kamina, Mana
<i>Numerical importance of the dialect speakers</i>	53,000–65,000	84,000–95,000 10 points
<i>Advantageous geographical position of the dialect</i>	Northwest area (Province of Kossi)	Southern area (Province of Mouhoun)
<i>Location of dialect at the center of activity</i>	--	Traditional site of king; considered important for economy in the Marka-Dafin area; village known for fetishes in dialect area 10 points
<i>Dialect prestige</i>	--	Considered the best by Kolokan, Mana, Nounou 10 points
<i>Vehicularity of the dialect</i>	--	Used in radio broadcast 10 points

Secondary criteria:		
<i>Religious influence of the dialect</i>	--	Protestant hymnbook in this dialect 6 points
<i>Written documents already existing</i>	Nothing written	Small dictionary, hymnbook 6 points

Using these criteria, the total number of points in favor of the selection of the Nouna dialect as a reference dialect for Marka-Dafin is 20, while the Safané dialect received a total of 52 points. Therefore, given the various data available to us in terms of the predicted levels of comprehension, the numerical importance of speakers of the dialect, as well as historical and economic factors, and the preexistence of written materials, the Safané dialect would probably be the best candidate for development as a reference dialect.

4 Multilingualism

4.1 Community-wide Bilingualism

One of the key issues this survey sought to resolve is whether there is high bilingual competence in Jula on a community-wide level among the Marka-Dafin. In the event that the Marka-Dafin were able to demonstrate an adequate level of competency in Jula, it is possible that no further development of the language would be recommended as the Marka-Dafin would have access to written materials in a language they understood and controlled well. In order to satisfy the requirement of “high community-wide bilingualism”, all segments of the population would have similarly high levels of competency in the second language. For instance, women would speak Jula as well as men, the old as well as the young, those who travel often as well as those who do not, and the uneducated as well as the educated.

4.2 Indicators of Second Language Proficiency

Before administering the SRT each candidate was asked to provide information about the number of years of formal schooling they had had, whether they had attended Jula literacy classes, whether they had spent time in an area where Jula is the language of wider communication, as well as their age, sex, and religion. This

information was examined to find what the indicators of proficiency in Julia are for a Marka-Dafin speaker.

Though our sample was small (154 people in four villages), we found the following patterns which indicate that some segments of the population are more likely to have higher levels of proficiency in Julia than others: the person would be more likely to be male than female; and if a male, an adult between the ages of 25 and 45, if a female, a young woman between the ages of 15 and 25. It appears that Muslims are more frequently exposed to Julia as their scores tend to be higher. Though more data would be helpful to confirm these indicators, for the purposes of our investigation into the community-wide levels of bilingualism we can say that second language proficiency in Julia is not evenly spread throughout the speech community, that is, that certain segments of the population have more opportunity for contact than others.

4.3 Domains of Second Language Use

We found the domains of language use to be fairly neatly divided under two parameters: sentimental vs. pragmatic uses, and insider vs. outsider. Marka-Dafin is dominant in the home life, with parents, children, spouses, children's play, friends, and even in some areas, the local market; while Julia is dominant in administrative or business affairs, at the dispensary, at the market, or in other contexts where contact is with non-Marka-Dafin speakers. Governmental, religious, health, and educational activities are carried out in Julia and/or French. As several language groups share these services at a regional level, Julia both simplifies and expedites the organization and administration which would otherwise need to be carried out in four or more languages.

It is important to note the Marka-Dafin's preferences in the religious domain. Throughout the region, the Marka-Dafin asserted that prayers in the mosques—a formal domain—are recited sometimes in Arabic, and more often in Julia. Nevertheless, when we asked what language would be used to ask a favor of God—a less formal situation—Marka-Dafin speakers of Mana, Dembo, Yé, and Kolokan responded that they would pray in Marka-Dafin. In the same vein, those of Kamina and Dembo responded that they considered Marka-Dafin to be the best language to use to speak to God (though that does not necessarily indicate that they use the language in that domain). Finally, in Nounou, Kamina, and Mana even prayers are offered at the church and the mosque in Marka-Dafin.

As was noted in section 1.5.2, language use within the church depends largely upon the mixture of language groups present and church policy, both contexts where non-Marka-Dafin speakers influence the language use. In churches where the congregation is predominantly composed of Marka-Dafin speakers, Marka-Dafin is dominant in liturgy, singing, the sermon, prayers, and announcements, while where church policy or mixed language attendance dictate the language, Julia is used.

4.4 Attitudes toward the Second Language

According to those questioned, Jula is considered a tool for pragmatic uses only. For instance, adults in Nounou indicated a desire to be able to read and write in Jula, but would be upset if their children spoke Jula at home. As was mentioned previously, in contexts where practical reality dictates use of Jula, the inevitable is accepted. It appears that the use of Jula in more intimate contexts is inappropriate, while appropriate use is regulated to more formal contexts, or those which involve non-Marka-Dafin speakers.

4.5 Reported Second Language Proficiency

As a general rule, the Marka-Dafin assert that they have a fairly high competence in Jula and, as the previous discussion demonstrated, certain sections of the population have ample opportunity to use it. Adult men were reported to speak Jula the most often; however, young men were reported as speaking Jula the best. Adult women, old women and old men do not speak Jula everyday and do not speak it well. In Kolokan and Mana the young women speak Jula frequently. Several mentions were made of the fact that the people who had traveled or who travel regularly speak Jula the best. In the northern section of the Marka-Dafin language area children are reported to learn Jula before they begin school.

These trends are compatible with the results of the Jula SRT which are presented in section 4.6. Adult men show higher levels of competency overall, with young men having the next highest level of competency. Young women who live in an area where they have frequent contact with other speakers of Jula have fairly high levels of proficiency also. And, as reported, adult women and old men and women have very limited proficiency in Jula.

4.6 Results of the Sentence Repetition Test

As stated previously, the tool used to measure the level of bilingual competency in Jula was the Jula Sentence Repetition Test (SRT). While the choice of candidates generally involved quota sampling (as opposed to strict random sampling), the testers were told to test over as wide an area of the village as possible.

The four test villages were selected according to the criteria of probable interethnic contact. The village of Banga, for instance, is away from a track or road, thus limiting the amount of contact those people will have with speakers of other languages. Safané, at the other end of the spectrum, is the chief town of the department of Mouhoun, is on a major road, and is a major market town for the area. There is; therefore, a large amount of interethnic contact in Safané. Nana and Sekoula were chosen as it was thought that they would fall between Banga and Safané in terms of interethnic contact.

Table 4.6.1 shows the results of these tests:

Table 4.6.1
Means and Standard Deviations of SRT Scores
for the Marka-Dafin People Group According to Villages, Age, and Sex

Factor	Level	Mean	Standard Deviation	Number of Test takers	P
Village	Sekoula	22.29	1.19	38	sig
	Nana	17.76	1.17	40	
	Banga	20.12	1.17	38	
	Safané	26.73	1.18	38	

Sex	Female	18.01	0.83	78	sig
	Male	25.45	0.84	76	

Age	12–25	23.65	0.94	58	sig
	26–45	22.93	0.94	58	
	46+	18.60	1.16	38	

Village x Sex	Sek x F	20.19	1.68	19	ns
	Sek x M	24.39	1.65	20	
	Nan x F	13.09	1.62	20	
	Nan x M	22.43	1.65	20	
	Ban x F	14.57	1.65	19	
	Ban x M	25.67	1.65	19	
	Saf x F	24.18	1.63	20	
	Saf x M	29.29	1.69	18	

Village x Age	Sek x 12–25	24.79	1.91	14	ns
	Sek x 26–45	21.33	1.85	15	
	Sek x 46+	20.74	2.39	9	
	Nan x 12–25	19.62	1.73	17	
	Nan x 26–45	20.79	1.91	14	
	Nan x 46+	12.88	2.39	9	
	Ban x 12–25	23.14	1.91	14	
	Ban x 25–45	21.43	1.91	14	
	Ban x 46+	15.80	2.26	10	
	Saf x 12–25	27.04	1.98	13	
	Saf x 26–45	28.16	1.86	15	
	Saf x 46+	25.00	2.26	10	

Sex x Age	F x 12–25	18.05	1.35	28	ns
	F x 26–45	20.30	1.29	31	
	F x 46+	15.67	1.64	19	
	M x 12–25	29.24	1.31	30	
	M x 26–45	25.56	1.38	27	
	M x 46+	21.54	1.64	19	

In general, the village averages fall within the range of 16–23, which corresponds to RPE level 3, and which is the minimum level of proficiency SIL accepts for considering use of second language literacy materials instead of local language materials. As is to be expected, the average from Safané was the highest of those villages tested.

Moving on to the “sex” and “age” factors of table 4.6.1, all of the sex and age groupings likewise had averages corresponding to RPE levels 3 and 3+. Yet males scored significantly higher as a group than did females; youth and adults scored significantly higher than the older age category.

Concerning the category of females within the various villages, it is notable that the averages for females in all villages is significantly lower than the average for males, and that the average score for females is at the lower end of the range of acceptability for use of second language materials. This is also true of elders in general (both male and female) who had a similar mean score. This indicates that important sectors of the population (women, the elderly) would probably have more difficulty using Jula language materials than the other sectors.

In conclusion, the results of the SRT indicate that most of the population has sufficient mastery of Jula to benefit from written materials in that language. However, there is a significant difference in the competence between males and females, and between the elderly and the other age cohorts.

4.7 Summary

Second language proficiency is not evenly spread throughout the Marka-Dafin speech community. As indicated by factors which contribute to higher levels of language proficiency, the domains of language use, attitudes toward Jula, reported proficiency in the language, and scores from the Jula SRT, a significant portion of the Marka-Dafin population does not have access to the quality and frequency of contact necessary for adequate levels of bilingualism. Although most adult men, a good portion of the young men and some young and adult women may be able to profit from existing materials in Jula, many Marka-Dafin speakers would not have that possibility.

4.8 Areas for Further Study

4.8.1 *Jula Bilingualism*

Bilingualism in Jula of the Marka-Dafin language community is a subject which will require continued monitoring over the years. In addition, the possibility of a certain amount of language shift or adaptation due to the influence of Jula as a language of wider communication in this area of Africa should be kept in mind. The influence of Jula may have implications for the orthography, methods of teaching literacy, and eventually the body of Marka-Dafin literature that may grow out of a language development project.

4.8.2 *Relationships between Manding Varieties*

In the study of Manding varieties, it would be very interesting to study the Marka-Dafin, Marka-Jalan, Bolon, and Maraka-Jula in terms of the origins of these groups both as ethnic groups and as language groups. What are the relationships between them? Are there other groups which should be included in such a study? Historically it would appear that they are related as language groups. Do they also share common ethnic origins? What is the relationship between their linguistic and ethnic identities? In addition, a comparative study of cognates in these groups may shed some light on their origins as well as being a valuable contribution to the study of Manding varieties. What are the levels of intercomprehension between these varieties? What sort of adaptation of written materials from Jula would be profitable and/or necessary for these groups?

5 **Recommendations**

5.1 Translation/Literacy Project

There are several reasons to recommend a translation/literacy project for the Marka-Dafin as a definite need. First of all, their mother tongue remains the language of the heart and ethnic identity for the Marka-Dafin people. Second, it appears that the inherent intelligibility between the two languages is sufficient for the Marka-Dafin to use materials in Jula. Third, significant subgroups in the population have borderline competence in Jula as a second language. Since other factors seem to favor mother tongue language development, this is a significant issue.

We would also recommend that an allocation to the Marka-Dafin project be classified as provisional. In other words, though listed as a definite need for language development, the project would be reevaluated after two years. It should be stressed to the team assigned that they are expected to carry out sociolinguistic research under the supervision of the branch sociolinguistics coordinator, which will form the basis of the decision of whether or not to continue the project.

5.2 Possible Allocation Sites

As discussed in section 3.4, the data gathered during the course of this study seemed to indicate that two dialects—from Dembo or from the Safané area—would be good candidates for development, though extralinguistic factors weigh more heavily in favor of the Safané dialect. Safané is a fairly large town with a school, prefecture, national police station, and Catholic mission located on a permanent road. The entire Marka-Dafin area is accessible from Safané, though time and season will influence the frequency of contact with more remote villages. Nevertheless, because of the interethnic mixing in the town of Safané itself, it may be advisable to actually locate in a smaller village outside of Safané.

It would be advisable for the assigned language team to be flexible enough to move within the language area in the event that the Safané dialect in fact does not

prove to be well enough understood and/or does not meet with the approval and cooperation of the Marka-Dafin speech community. This does imply that after learning one variety, and finding that it is unsuitable for development, that the team be willing to begin again in another area. Thus the language team assigned to the Marka-Dafin project would need to invest a certain amount of time and effort at learning one dialect while continuing to study the intercomprehension between the dialects, and consulting with community and church leaders. Another factor is the preexistence of written materials in the Zaba dialect which may or may not be helpful in a language development project.

Appendices

1 Population Statistics

Table 1.1
Population Figures from Villages Identified as Marka-Dafin

Province	Department	Village	Known Groups of non-Marka in the Village	Population
Balé	Bagassi	Banou		853
Balé	Bagassi	Bassouan Sokoura		262
Balé	Bagassi	Kana		465
Balé	Bagassi	Mana		1199
Balé	Bagassi	Niakongo		580
Balé	Bagassi	Sio		542
Balé	Bana	Bana		1772
Balé	Bana	Bassana		514
Balé	Bana	Danou		813
Balé	Bana	Ouona		1717
Balé	Bana	Solonso		421
Balé	Bana	Somona		268
Balé	Bana	Yona		1313
Balé	Boromo	Ouahabou		4257
Balé	Oury	Da		1356
Balé	Oury	Daboulara	Ko, Jula	165
Balé	Oury	Dinakongo		991
Balé	Oury	Momina		322
Balé	Oury	Sanfo		397
Balé	Oury	Sani		841
Balé	Oury	Siou		1642
Balé	Pompoï	Kietou		176
Balé	Pompoï	Kokoï		489
Balé	Pompoï	Konkoliko		1150
Balé	Pompoï	Pana	Ko	670
Balé	Pompoï	Pani		51
Balé	Pompoï	Pompoï		2543
Balé	Yaho	Fobiri		831
Balé	Yaho	Kongoba		322
Banwa	Balave	Yasso marka		3454
Banwa	Sami	Dere		245
Banwa	Sanaba	Founa		725

Province	Department	Village	Known Groups of non-Marka in the Village	Population
Banwa	Sanaba	Ziga	Autre	4610
Banwa	Solenzo	Baye	Bobo	1750
Banwa	Solenzo	Desse	Mossi	670
Banwa	Solenzo	Dira		2014
Banwa	Solenzo	Masso	Mossi	675
Banwa	Solenzo	Montionkuy		645
Banwa	Solenzo	Pouy	Bobo	245
Kossi	Barani	Houremo		163
Kossi	Barani	Illa		1193
Kossi	Barani	Kolonkani		132
Kossi	Barani	Koubé		1560
Kossi	Barani	Siguidé		94
Kossi	Bourasso	Biron marka		342
Kossi	Bourasso	Boune		436
Kossi	Bourasso	Sikoro	Boré	273
Kossi	Bourasso	Sirakorosso		85
Kossi	Djibasso	Ba		1713
Kossi	Djibasso	Bankouma		318
Kossi	Djibasso	Bokoro		128
Kossi	Djibasso	Diena		1334
Kossi	Djibasso	Ira		2641
Kossi	Djibasso	Kiéme		1882
Kossi	Djibasso	Kolankan		503
Kossi	Djibasso	Kolokani		431
Kossi	Djibasso	Kombori		915
Kossi	Djibasso	Oura		1664
Kossi	Djibasso	Pia Djibasso		1251
Kossi	Djibasso	Saba		1127
Kossi	Djibasso	Sadigna Kono		310
Kossi	Djibasso	Soune		431
Kossi	Djibasso	Soyé		1618
Kossi	Djibasso	Voro		397
Kossi	Doumbala	Bamperala		377
Kossi	Doumbala	Nia		1090
Kossi	Doumbala	Teni	Bobo	1043
Kossi	Nouna	Dankoumana		606
Kossi	Nouna	Dembo		1100
Kossi	Nouna	Denissa		356
Kossi	Nouna	Dima		117
Kossi	Nouna	Dionkongo		749

Province	Department	Village	Known Groups of non-Marka in the Village	Population
Kossi	Nouna	Goni		2006
Kossi	Nouna	Kaki		581
Kossi	Nouna	Kolonkoura Soin		156
Kossi	Nouna	Kombara		649
Kossi	Nouna	Konamba		229
Kossi	Nouna	Koro		1862
Kossi	Nouna	Koussiri		1123
Kossi	Nouna	Mani		752
Kossi	Nouna	Mourdié		1098
Kossi	Nouna	Nouna	Bobo, Mossi	3040
Kossi	Nouna	Ouette		938
Kossi	Nouna	Pa		696
Kossi	Nouna	Sampopo		597
Kossi	Nouna	Sere		840
Kossi	Nouna	Sériba		866
Kossi	Nouna	Sien		111
Kossi	Nouna	Simbadougou		676
Kossi	Nouna	Soa		422
Kossi	Nouna	Sobon		622
Kossi	Nouna	Soin		868
Kossi	Nouna	Sokoro		589
Kossi	Nouna	Solimana		1298
Kossi	Nouna	Tébéré	Fulani	328
Kossi	Nouna	Tenou		954
Kossi	Nouna	Tissi		655
Kossi	Nouna	Tonsere	Mossi	294
Kossi	Nouna	Yevedougou		852
Kossi	Nouna	Zoun		278
Kossi	Sono	Bankoumani		1147
Kossi	Sono	Botte		274
Kossi	Sono	Kale		603
Kossi	Sono	Kouri		496
Kossi	Sono	Siela		399
Kossi	Sono	Sono		3257
Kossi	Sono	Soro		207
Kossi	Sono	Zampana		83
Mouhoun	Dédougou	Kari		1257

Province	Department	Village	Known Groups of non-Marka in the Village	Population
Mouhoun	Dédougou	Karo		1649
Mouhoun	Dédougou	Kounandia		856
Mouhoun	Douroula	Bladi		1548
Mouhoun	Douroula	Douroula		2877
Mouhoun	Douroula	Kerebe		576
Mouhoun	Douroula	Konkono		440
Mouhoun	Douroula	Koussiri		326
Mouhoun	Douroula	Sa		172
Mouhoun	Douroula	Souma		455
Mouhoun	Douroula	Toroba Dedougou		2268
Mouhoun	Douroula	Toroba Douroula		443
Mouhoun	Kona	Blé		465
Mouhoun	Kona	Dafina		328
Mouhoun	Kona	Dankouna		632
Mouhoun	Kona	Goulo		154
Mouhoun	Kona	Kona		2217
Mouhoun	Kona	Kouana		1202
Mouhoun	Kona	Lah		2180
Mouhoun	Kona	Nana		892
Mouhoun	Kona	Pié		964
Mouhoun	Kona	Sanflé		210
Mouhoun	Kona	Soungoule		153
Mouhoun	Kona	Ta		264
Mouhoun	Kona	Tena		235
Mouhoun	Kona	Tona		626
Mouhoun	Kona	Yankoro		64
Mouhoun	Kona	Yoana		427
Mouhoun	Kona	Zina		135
Mouhoun	Safané	Banga		150
Mouhoun	Safané	Banou		853
Mouhoun	Safané	Bara		1027
Mouhoun	Safané	Bara yankasso		568
Mouhoun	Safané	Biforo		1191
Mouhoun	Safané	Bilakongo		441
Mouhoun	Safané	Bombola		933
Mouhoun	Safané	Bominasso		151

Province	Department	Village	Known Groups of non-Marka in the Village	Population
Mouhoun	Safané	Bona		659
Mouhoun	Safané	Bossien		358
Mouhoun	Safané	Datomo	Jula	2712
Mouhoun	Safané	Doumakele		311
Mouhoun	Safané	Guizigoron		51
Mouhoun	Safané	Kiensere		645
Mouhoun	Safané	Kira		387
Mouhoun	Safané	Kongoba		707
Mouhoun	Safané	Kongodiana		189
Mouhoun	Safané	Kongosso		243
Mouhoun	Safané	Makongo		1075
Mouhoun	Safané	Missakongo		224
Mouhoun	Safané	Nounou		1407
Mouhoun	Safané	Pakole		105
Mouhoun	Safané	Pakoro		115
Mouhoun	Safané	Safané		5876
Mouhoun	Safané	Sikorosso		12
Mouhoun	Safané	Sin		464
Mouhoun	Safané	Siralo		1063
Mouhoun	Safané	Soudien		895
Mouhoun	Safané	Soukoula		383
Mouhoun	Safané	Soukoulani		195
Mouhoun	Safané	Tounou		602
Mouhoun	Safané	Tuena		440
Mouhoun	Safané	Yamou		447
Mouhoun	Safané	Yankasso		1326
Mouhoun	Safané	Ziasso		413
Mouhoun	Safané	Zinkuy		651
Mouhoun	Tcheriba	Douroukou		855
Mouhoun	Tcheriba	Lan		894
Mouhoun	Tcheriba	Oula	Nuna	388
Mouhoun	Tcheriba	Tcheriba	Nuna	4635
Nayala	Gassan	Dji		653
Nayala	Gassan	Gassan	Samo	4777
Nayala	Gassan	Goni		563
Nayala	Gassan	Korombere		505
Nayala	Gassan	Kosse		1590
Nayala	Gassan	Koussiba		283
Nayala	Gassan	Lery		762

Province	Department	Village	Known Groups of non-Marka in the Village	Population
Nayala	Gassan	Lessere		777
Nayala	Gassan	Moara grand		1109
Nayala	Gassan	Soni		642
Nayala	Gassan	Soroni		640
Nayala	Gassan	Sourou		1561
Nayala	Gassan	Tissi		1170
Nayala	Gassan	Toubani		426
Nayala	Gassan	Warou		533
Nayala	Gassan	Zaba	Nounouma	1793
Nayala	Gossina	Gossina	Samo	2362
Nayala	Kougny	Gounian	Samo	864
Nayala	Kougny	Gouri	Samo	894
Nayala	Yé	Daman		2686
Nayala	Yé	Doumbassa		895
Nayala	Yé	Goersa	Samo	1006
Nayala	Yé	Sankoué		2075
Nayala	Yé	Saoura	Nounouma	1266
Nayala	Yé	Yé	Samo	3226
Sourou	Di	Bosse		1191
Sourou	Di	Bouna		424
Sourou	Di	Koroni		112
Sourou	Di	Lo		162
Sourou	Di	Niassan		634
Sourou	Di	Touroukoro		187
Sourou	Kassoum	Ban		420
Sourou	Kassoum	Douban		251
Sourou	Kassoum	Tani		161
Sourou	Kassoum	Toéré		385
Sourou	Kassoum	Tombila		391
Sourou	Kassoum	Toungourou	Samo	386
Sourou	Lanfiera	Doulé		390
Sourou	Lanfiera	Gouran		1280
Sourou	Lanfiera	Guiedougou	Samo	4015
Sourou	Lanfiera	Kamina		843
Sourou	Lanfiera	Koumbara		1737
Sourou	Lanfiera	Lanfiera	Peul, Samo	861
Sourou	Lanfiera	Nion	Mossi	609
Sourou	Lanfiera	Ouerin		234
Sourou	Lanfiera	Toumani		275

Province	Department	Village	Known Groups of non-Marka in the Village	Population
Sourou	Lanfiera	Yayo		753
Sourou	Lanfiera	Yoran		844
Sourou	Lanfiéra	Bissan		544
		Total:		206,382
		Total with an annual population growth of 2.68% per year:		283,467

Table 1.2
Villages with a Primary School in the Marka-Dafin Region, 1992–1993

Province	Department	Village	Date of School Opening	Number of Classes	Total Enrollment	Number of Girls	Number of Boys
Balé	Bagassi	Mana	1980	3	110	45	65
Balé	Bana	Bana	1982	3	98	47	51
Balé	Bana	Ouona	1962	3	111	44	67
Balé	Bana	Yona	1993	1	69	29	40
Balé	Boromo	Ouahabou	1958	6	348	125	223
Balé	Boromo	Ouahabou	1988	3	93	30	63
Balé	Oury	Da	1980	3	97	50	47
Balé	Oury	Sani	1991	1	80	34	46
Balé	Pompoï	Konkoliko	1981	3	131	38	93
Balé	Pompoï	Pompoï	1959	6	325	155	170
Balé	Yaho	Fobiri	1981	3	160	57	103
Banwa	Balavé	Yasso	1984	3	189	63	126
Banwa	Sanaba	Ziga	1986	4	160	54	106
Banwa	Solenzo	Dira	1956	3	167	54	113
Kossi	Djibasso	Ira	?	2	42	14	28
Kossi	Djibasso	Soye	1971	3	75	26	49
Kossi	Djibasso	Tieme	1988	2	64	29	35
Kossi	Dokuy	Goni	1983	3	97	22	75
Kossi	Madouba	Kolonkan	1993	1	60	16	44
Kossi	Madouba	Pia	1986	2	77	21	56
Kossi	Nouna	Dembo	1985	6	260	109	151
Kossi	Nouna	Koro	1962	3	94	21	73
Kossi	Nouna	Koussiri	1985	3	179	70	109
Kossi	Nouna	Sono	1982	2	108	49	59
Mouhoun	Dédougou	Kounandia	1992	1	73	39	34
Mouhoun	Douroula	Douroula	1956	6	217	81	136
Mouhoun	Kona	Kona	1973	3	115	40	75
Mouhoun	Kona	Kouana	1993	1	82	33	49
Mouhoun	Kona	Lah	1992	1	79	34	45
Mouhoun	Kona	Pié	1985	2	62	21	41
Mouhoun	Oury	Finakongo	1980	3	115	65	50
Mouhoun	Oury	Siou	1980	3	88	48	40
Mouhoun	Safané	Bara	1985	3	77	33	44
Mouhoun	Safané	Batomo	1965	3	186	76	110
Mouhoun	Safané	Bona	1992	2	128	61	67
Mouhoun	Safané	Kongoba	1990	2	114	37	77
Mouhoun	Safané	Nounou	1947	3	118	47	71
Mouhoun	Safané	Safané	1943	6	543	280	263
Mouhoun	Safané	Siralo	1987	3	80	39	41
Mouhoun	Safané	Soudien	1993	1	65	29	36
Mouhoun	Safané	Tienkuy	1993	1	63	29	34
Mouhoun	Tchériba	Djissasso	1993	1	67	27	40
Mouhoun	Tchériba	Tchériba	1956	6	414	189	225

Province	Department	Village	Date of School Opening	Number of Classes	Total Enrollment	Number of Girls	Number of Boys
Nayala	Gassan	Kossé	1986	3	120	41	79
Nayala	Gassan	Sourou	1983	6	330	138	192
Nayala	Gassan	Zaba	1951	4	227	79	148
Nayala	Yé	Bouna	1989	3	125	43	82
Nayala	Yé	Daman	1983	3	126	39	87
Nayala	Yé	Guersa	1987	3	185	67	118
Nayala	Yé	Sankoué	1985	3	146	68	78
Nayala	Yé	Yé	1956	6	376	148	228
Sourou	Kassoum	Douban	1992	1	54	21	33
Sourou	Kassoum	Koumbara	1986	3	114	44	70
Sourou	Kassoum	Niassan	1989	6	419	156	263
Sourou	Lanfièra	Gouran	1987	2	64	25	39
Sourou	Lanfièra	Kamina	1987	3	141	63	78
Sourou	Lanfièra	Lanfièra	1957	5	319	134	185

Table 1.3
CFJA Schools in the Marka-Dafin Region 1993–1994
(DFPP 1994)

Province	Department	Village	Number of Students
Banwa	Solenzo	Desse	30
Kossi	Djibasso	Bâ	23
Kossi	Djibasso	Bankoumani	36
Kossi	Nouna	Dembo	28
Kossi	Nouna	Deni	20
Kossi	Nouna	Dionkongo	36
Kossi	Nouna	Kounba	37
Kossi	Nouna	Soin	25
Mouhoun	Dédougou	Karo	24
Mouhoun	Dédougou	Kounandia	26
Mouhoun	Kona	Blé	?
Mouhoun	Kona	Lah	37
Mouhoun	Ouarkoye	Koena	20
Mouhoun	Safané	Bombouéla	32
Mouhoun	Safané	Kienséré	20
Mouhoun	Safané	Kongoba	5
Mouhoun	Safané	Tounou	18
Mouhoun	Safané	Yankasso	20
Nayala	Yé	Doumbassa	23
Nayala	Yé	Sankoué	22
Sourou	Lanfiéra	Kamina	18
Sourou	Lanfiéra	Koumbara	9

2 Questionnaires

2.1 General

Village: Date: Informateur:

2.1.1 Nom de l'ethnie

Comment appelez-vous votre langue? Je parle le:

Comment appelez-vous votre ethnie? Je suis un:

2.1.2 Situation géographique précise.

2.1.3 Statistiques démographiques.

Il y a combien d'habitants de ce village?

Il y a combien de quartiers?

Combien de quartiers de locuteurs de chaque ethnie:

Dans quel(s) quartier(s) habitent les locuteurs de (L1)?

Y a-t-il beaucoup de gens d'autres ethnies qui habitent ce village?

De quelles ethnies sont-ils?

Y a-t-il des étrangers qui ont récemment déménagés ici?

De quelles ethnies?

Pour quelles raisons?

2.1.4 Travaux principaux des locuteurs.

Comment les gens d'ici gagnent-ils leur vie?

Y a-t-il des profs, des fonctionnaires, des infirmiers, etc.?

2.1.5 L'exploitation de la région.

Comment tirez-vous de l'eau?

Y a-t-il de l'électricité dans ce village?

Où allez-vous au marché?

Les gens de quelles autres ethnies sont au marché?

Où se trouvent les grands marchés?

Y a-t-il des moyens de déplacement public dans la région (ex. taxi-brousse, autobus, train)?

Passent-ils fréquemment?

Y a-t-il un dispensaire dans ce village?

Sinon, où se trouve le dispensaire (ou la clinique) le plus proche? (Ou bien, où faut-il aller si on est malade?)

On achète-t-on des médicaments?

Où se trouve la Poste la plus proche?

Où faut-il aller si on doit téléphoner à quelqu'un?

Où se trouve la gendarmerie le plus proche?

Où se trouve la préfecture la plus proche?

Vous écoutez la radio?

Vous écoutez des émissions dans quelle(s) langue(s)?

Où se trouve les écoles la plus proche? (C'est mieux d'aller à l'école afin de poser ces questions:)

	La plus proche	Niveau maxi-mum	Ouvert quand	Combien d'étudiants	Combien d'étudiantes
Primaire					
Collège					
Lycée					
Privé (catholique ou coranique)					
CFJA					
Stages techniques					

Est-ce que les parents le trouve difficile d'envoyer leurs enfants à l'école?

Pourquoi?

Combien de gens d'ici ont finit l'école primaire?

Est-ce qu'il arrive que le maître parle votre langue dans la classe?

Dans la langue véhiculaire?

Y a-t-il qq'uns de vos villages où on a construit une école dernièrement?

2.1.6 Alphabétisation et matériels écrits

Y a-t-il des gens du village qui savent lire ou écrire (L1)?

Y a-t-il des gens d'ici qui savent lire le français?

Des langues avoisinantes?

Y avait-il jamais un programme d'alphabétisation pour adultes?

Dans quelle langue?

Qui l'a initié?

Connaissez-vous des gens qui ont écrit quelque chose sur le (L1) ou sur votre ethnie?

Peut-être un blanc est-il arrivé pour faire des recherches...

Avez-vous jamais vu des livres écrits en (L1) (ex. livres religieux, des livres de chants, des journaux, des articles)?

Existe-t-il des cassettes enregistrées de l'Evangile?

Des portions des Ecritures sont-elles traduites dans le contexte de la préparation du culte de dimanche?

2.1.7 Religion

Les gens d'ici suivent quelle religion?

C'est comme ça depuis longtemps?

Quelles églises, missions, ou autres groupes religieux sont-ils présents?

Ont-ils leur propres bâtiments/lieux de rencontre?

2.1.8 *Changements*

Quelles sortes de changements constatez-vous parmi les gens d'ici, et surtout les jeunes?

Ces changements vous plaisent?

2.1.9 *Histoire*

Comment a-t-on décidé sur cet endroit?

Les premiers habitants sont venus d'où?

Y avait-il des ennemis?

Y avait-il des catastrophes?

Quel est l'histoire de votre peuple?

Quel est l'histoire de ce village?

2.1.10 *Observations générales*

Le terrain

Les gens

L'usage de la langue

2.2 *Sociolinguistic*

Langue:

Village:

Date:

Description du groupe (nombre approximatif de participants, repartage par sexe, age):

2.2.1 *Variation Dialectale*

2.2.1.1 *Connaissance de la situation*

(1) Quels sont les villages dont la majorité des habitants parlent le (L1)

(2) Est-ce qu'il existe d'autres villages ailleurs, très loin d'ici, où les gens parlent le (L1)?

(Demandez en utilisant une carte)

- Dessinez un cercle autour des noms des villages où on parle cette langue.
- Mettez entre guillemets les noms des villages où on n'est pas sûr que l'on parle cette langue.
- Dessinez un carré autour des noms des villages où habitent au moins deux ethnies différentes.
- Soulignez les noms des villages où on est sûr que l'on parle une langue différente que celle-ci.
- Dessinez une ligne continue autour de la région où c'est sûr que l'on parle cette langue et une ligne pointillée autour de la région où ce n'est que possible.

(3) Quels sont les villages où les gens parlent exactement comme vous.

(4) Quels sont les villages où on parle différemment d'ici, quoiqu'un peu?

Y a-t-il un autre nom pour ce parler?

Est-ce que ceux qui parlent ce dialecte peuvent comprendre le parler d'ici?

(5) Quels sont les villages où l'on parle la même langue que vous, mais où la différence est encore plus grande.

Pouvez-vous quand même comprendre tout ce qu'ils disent?

Est-ce qu'il y a un nom pour cette autre façon de parler?

Est-ce que ceux qui parlent ce dialecte peuvent comprendre le parler d'ici?

(6) Est-ce qu'un enfant d'ici, âgé de six ans, peut comprendre les gens de (X)?

(Sinon, à partir de quel âge pourrait-il être en mesure de les comprendre?)

(7) Quels sont les villages où l'on parle la même langue que vous, mais tellement différemment que vous ne pouvez pas comprendre tout ce qu'ils disent quand ils parlent rapidement?

Est-ce qu'il y a un nom pour cette autre façon de parler?

Est-ce que vous considérez ceux qui ne parlent pas de la même façon quand même comme des (L1)?

Est-ce que ceux qui parlent ce dialecte peuvent comprendre le parler d'ici?

Quels sont les liens historiques entre vous?

Est-ce que vous avez un lien de parenté?

Est-ce que vous avez des liens coutumiers?

Est-ce que vous les considérez comme des membres de votre ethnie?

(8) Quels sont les villages proches d'ici où l'on parle une langue complètement différente de la vôtre?

Est-ce que ceux qui parlent ce dialecte peuvent comprendre votre langue?

Quand vous vous rencontrez, vous parlez quelle langue?

Quels sont les liens historiques entre vous?

Est-ce que vous avez un lien de parenté?

Est-ce que vous avez des liens coutumiers?

Est-ce que vous les considérez comme des membres de votre ethnie?

(9) Arrive-t-il à quelqu'un d'ici de devoir parler une autre langue (i.e. L2) pour communiquer avec un autre membre de votre ethnie?

(10) Quelles langues se ressemblent à votre langue?

2.2.1.2 *Préférence de dialecte*

(11) Dans quel village parle-t-on votre langue le mieux? (Où parle-t-on le vrai (L1)?)
Et après?

(12) Existe-t-il des villages où l'on ne parle pas votre langue comme il faut?

(13) Selon vos traditions, quel est le village le plus important de votre ethnie:
sur le plan économique?
sur le plan traditionnelle?

2.2.2 *Bilinguisme*

(1) Quelle est la deuxième langue la plus répandue dans ce village?

Est-ce que vous diriez que vous parlez mieux le (L1) ou le (L2) (ou le L3)?

Quelles sont les langues que vous parlez un peu?

Quelles sont les langues que vous comprenez mais que vous ne parlez pas?

(2) Qui connaît mieux ces langues:

	Hommes v. Femmes	Vieux v. Jeunes
L2		
L3		

(3) Les hommes parlent-ils le (L2) chaque jour?

Les femmes?

Les vieux?

Les jeunes hommes?

Les jeunes femmes?

(4) Est-ce que les gens sont satisfaits avec leur connaissance de ces langues, ou bien veulent-ils en apprendre plus?

S'ils pouvaient apprendre à lire ou à écrire en (L2), est-ce qu'ils en seraient disposés?

Si vous pouviez soit apprendre à lire et à écrire le (L1) soit apprendre à lire et écrire le (L2), que préféreriez-vous?

Pourquoi?

(Quelle genre de choses souhaiteriez-vous voir écrites dans votre langue?)

(5) Dans le (L2), est-ce que presque tout le monde au village pourrait:

¼ accompagner un ami au dispensaire et décrire en détail la maladie et comment cela s'est produit?

- ☐ rendre un témoignage élaboré à un tribunal?
- ☐ comprendre tout ce qu'ils écoutent sur la radio, mêmes les paroles des chansons?
- ☐ blaguer et employer des proverbes?
- ☐ raconter des contes traditionnelles?
- ☐ réciter vos prières?
- ☐ parler si bien le (L2) que l'on pense que vous êtes de cette ethnie?
- ☐ faire vite des calculs en (L2)?
- ☐ exprimer des sentiments mieux qu'en votre langue maternelle?

(6) Quelle langue les enfants de ce village apprennent-ils en premier lieu?

Quel est la deuxième langue des enfants au village?

(7) Y a-t-il beaucoup d'enfants qui apprennent le (L2) avant d'aller à l'école?

(8) Est-ce qu'ils parlent cette deuxième langue mieux que leurs parents?

(9) Est-ce que ça leur arrive qu'ils commencent une phrase en (L1) mais ils doivent finir la phrase en (L2)?

(10) Est-ce que les gens trouvent que c'est difficile d'apprendre ces langues?

2.2.3 Vie Economique

(1) Que font vos voisins (d'autres ethnies) pour gagner leur vie?

(2) Est-ce qu'il y a des métiers chez eux qu'on ne trouve pas parmi vous (ex. ceux qui font l'élevage, la vannerie, la poterie; des forgerons, des fonctionnaires, ...?)

(3) Est-ce que les ethnies (X) et (Y) (qui vous entourent) sont plus riches que vous?

(4) Y a-t-il des gens d'ici qui quittent le village à certaines saisons?

Pour aller où?

Pour quoi faire?

Ils restent combien de temps à l'étranger?

(5) Les gens d'ici vont-ils souvent à (ex. une ville importante)?

Ceux qu'ils y vont sont-ils nombreux, ou juste quelques-uns?

Combien de fois par mois allez-vous à (la ville la plus proche)?

2.2.4 Attitudes

2.2.4.1 Statut économique des autres ethnies

(1) Quelle est la langue la plus utile par ici?

(2) Est-il plus important pour les garçons que pour les filles d'apprendre le (L2)?

Pourquoi?

2.2.4.2 Avancement de l'éducation chez les autres ethnies

(3) Dans les écoles locales, la plupart des enfants sont de quelle ethnie?

(4) Dans les villages voisins d'autres ethnies, est-ce que plus de gens ont fait l'école que chez vous ici?

2.2.4.3 Attitudes envers les autres langues

(5) A part votre langue, quelle langue aimez-vous le mieux?

Pourquoi?

(6) Quelle langue vous plaît le moins?

Pourquoi?

(7) Quelle est la langue que vos enfants devraient apprendre en premier lieu?

Pourquoi?

(8) Si un jeune parle le (L2) à la maison, quels sentiments auriez-vous?

(9) Avez-vous jamais été mal à l'aise parce que quelqu'un vous a entendu parler le (L1)?

Dans quelles circonstances avez-vous honte de parler en (L1)?

Avez-vous jamais vu un jeune qui était mal à l'aise parce que quelqu'un l'a entendu parler en (L1)?

(10) A votre avis, quelle est la meilleure langue pour parler à Dieu?

Et pour parler aux esprits?

(11) Est-ce qu'il est jamais arrivé que l'on fasse des funérailles ici en L2?

Seriez-vous gêné si on faisait les funérailles en (L2)?

Quelle est la langue qu'il est mieux d'utiliser lors des funérailles?

(12) Est-ce qu'on chante les chants traditionnels en (L2)?

Quelle est la langue qu'il est le mieux d'utiliser pour chanter des chants traditionnels?

(13) Arrive-t-il de faire des rites traditionnelles en (L2)?

Est-ce que vous seriez gênés si on employait le (L2) lors des rites?

(14) Est-ce qu'il vous arrive de chanter en (L2)?

(15) Le pasteur serait-il d'accord que l'on traduise le message en (L1)?

Pourquoi?

2.2.5 Usages Habituels des Langues

2.2.5.1 Choix de langue par l'interlocuteur

(1) Quelle est la langue que vous utilisez le plus souvent:

- ¼ avec vos parents, vos frères et soeurs?
- ¼ avec votre conjoint et vos enfants?
- ¼ en demandant une faveur de Dieu?
- ¼ avec vos amis au village?
- ¼ aux funérailles dans les villages voisins?
- ¼ au marché local?
- ¼ au dispensaire?
- ¼ aux arrêts de police?
- ¼ avec les gens du gouvernement (à la préfecture)?

2.2.5.2 Choix de langue par situation

(2) Y a-t-il des gens dans ce village qui ne parlent pas votre langue?

Quelle(s) langue(s) parlent-ils?

Apprennent-ils votre langue?

D'habitude, un tel homme est de quelle ethnie?

(3) Y a-t-il des gens d'autres ethnies qui parlent votre langue?

La parlent-ils un peu ou très bien?

Pourquoi l'ont-ils apprise?

(4) Si les gens des ethnies suivantes se rencontrent dans votre région, quelle langue parleraient-ils entre eux?

	L1	L2	L3	L4
L1				
L2				
L3				
L4				

(5) S'il s'agit d'un jugement devant le préfet, quelle langue va employer quelqu'un de votre ethnie pour rendre témoignage?

(6) Lorsque les enfants jouent à la récréation de l'école, quelle langue parlent-ils?

(7) Lorsque les enfants qui ne vont pas encore à l'école jouent ensemble, quelle langue parlent-ils ensemble?

(8) Quelle est la langue qui est utilisée la plus souvent à l'église/la mosquée pour:
la lecture des Ecritures Saintes?

la liturgie?

le chant?

le message/prédication?

la prière?

les annonces?

Est-ce que celui qui prêche change de langue en cours de message afin de souligner un point ou pour corriger les gens?

Si un invité prêche en (L2), y a-t-il une interprétation en (L1)?
S'il parle aux jeunes, est-il également interprété?

2.2.6 *Maintien/Abandon de la Langue*

2.2.6.1 *Réduction du nombre de villages de l'ethnie*

2.2.6.1.1 *Migration*

(1) Les jeunes d'ici restent-ils au village où s'établissent-ils en ville?

(2) Y a-t-il beaucoup d'étrangers qui viennent dans ce village?

D'où viennent-ils?

Que viennent-ils faire?

Restent-ils longtemps?

Parlent-ils votre langue ou parlent-ils d'autres langues?

Lesquelles viennent régulièrement?

2.2.6.1.2 *Usage au sein du village*

(3) Est-ce que c'est bien de permettre à un jeune homme d'épouser une fille de (L2)?

Et dans le cas d'une fille d'épouser un jeune homme de (L2)?

Cela arrive-t-il souvent?

Avec ceux de quelles ethnies?

D'habitude, si un homme épouse une femme de (L2), où habitent-ils?

Et leurs enfants vont parler quelle langue?

(4) Connaissiez-vous des villages de votre ethnie où l'on ne parle plus votre langue?

Où se trouvent-ils?

Pourquoi est-ce arrivé?

Qu'est que vous pensez de ces gens qui ont cessé de parler le (L1)?

Est-ce que c'est une bonne chose?

Pourquoi?

2.2.6.2 *Préférence pour la vie traditionnel ou moderne*

(5) Les jeunes apprennent-ils des chants et des récits traditionnels comme leurs parents?

La tradition orale est bien connue de nos jours par les jeunes?

(6) Croyez-vous que les jeunes préfèrent d'habiter dans une grande ville ou au village?

Pourquoi?

2.2.6.3 *Changement d'identité ethnique*

(7) Vos coutumes, se ressemblent-elles aux celles des ethnies qui vous entourent?

Quelles coutumes se ressemblent-elles aux celles de (L2)?

Lesquelles sont très différentes?

(8) Croyez-vous que c'est bien de vouloir suivre les coutumes de vos voisins?

2.2.6.4 *Usage d'autres langues dans la vie familiale*

2.2.6.4.1 *Compétence des enfants dans leur langue maternelle*

(9) Vos enfants parlent-ils le (L1) comme il faut?

Les jeunes adultes font-ils des fautes que vous ne faites pas?

Dans quelle mesure mélangent-ils des mots du (L2) en parlant le (L1)?

(10) Connaissez-vous des familles de votre ethnie qui ne parlent plus votre langue chez eux?

Où habitent-ils?

(11) Y a-t-il des enfants de votre ethnie dans cette région qui ne parlent même pas votre langue?

2.2.6.5 *Croissance des effectifs de jeunes scolarisés*

(12) Y a-t-il quelques-uns de vos villages où on a construit une école dernièrement?

(13) Quand vous étiez enfants, est-ce qu'autant d'enfants sont partis à l'école que le font de nos jours?

Ceux qui ne gagnent pas leur certificats restent-ils au village?

2.2.6.6 *Futur de votre langue*

(14) Est-ce que les enfants de vos enfants vont parler votre langue comme vous?

Sinon, quelle langue vont-ils parler?

3 Word Lists

001 personne		[mùsō]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[mōū]	<i>Dembo</i>	[mūsō]	<i>Kamina Dembo Yé</i>
[mō]	<i>Yé</i>		
[mā]	<i>Nounou Kamina</i>	009 garçon	
[mǎ]	<i>Kolokan</i>	[dē:cērē]	<i>Nounou</i>
		[dē:cémá]	<i>Yé</i>
		[cémān]	<i>Dembo</i>
002 nom		[cé]	<i>Kamina</i>
[tʷḁ]	<i>Kamina</i>	[cjē]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[tʷō]	<i>Yé</i>		
[túś]	<i>Dembo</i>	010 fille	
[tǒ]	<i>Kolokan</i>	[dē:músómá]	<i>Yé</i>
[zā]	<i>Nounou</i>	[dē:mōsōrē]	<i>Nounou</i>
		[musoman]	<i>Dembo</i>
003 homme		[sūŋkùrù]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[cjē]	<i>Kolokan</i>	[sūŋkūrū]	<i>Kamina</i>
[cé]	<i>Nounou</i>	[sūŋgū]	<i>Dembo</i>
[cē]	<i>Dembo</i>		
[cé]	<i>Kamina Yé</i>	011 grande soeur	
		[kórómúsó]	<i>Kamina</i>
004 mari		[kós:mūsō]	<i>Nounou</i>
[cé]	<i>Yé</i>	[kómūsō]	<i>Dembo</i>
[cē]	<i>Kamina</i>	[kòròmūsō]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[cé]	<i>Nounou Dembo</i>	[kórómūsō]	<i>Yé</i>
[cjē]	<i>Kolokan</i>		
		012 grand frère	
005 épouse		[kórócé]	<i>Kamina</i>
[mùsō]	<i>Kolokan</i>	[kòròcē]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[mūsò]	<i>Kamina</i>	[kórócé]	<i>Yé</i>
[mūsō]	<i>Dembo Yé</i>	[kócè]	<i>Nounou</i>
[mōsō]	<i>Nounou</i>	[kódyē]	<i>Dembo</i>
006 père		013 petite soeur	
[pǎ:]	<i>Kolokan</i>	[dōgōmūsō]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[pā]	<i>Kamina Yé</i>	[dūwōmūsō]	<i>Yé</i>
[ījkō]	<i>Nounou</i>	[dúómūsō]	<i>Dembo</i>
[mbi]	<i>Dembo</i>	[d̥wà:mūsò]	<i>Kamina</i>
		[ñdwōmōsō]	<i>Nounou</i>
007 mère			
[m̄bā]	<i>Nounou</i>	014 petit frère	
[mbā]	<i>Dembo</i>	[dōgōcē]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[bǎ:]	<i>Kolokan</i>	[dūwōcé]	<i>Yé</i>
[bà]	<i>Kamina Yé</i>	[dúócē]	<i>Dembo</i>
		[d̥wōcē]	<i>Nounou</i>
008 femme		[d̥wà:cē]	<i>Kamina</i>
[mōsō]	<i>Nounou</i>		

015 **chef**

[dūtí:]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[dúti]	<i>Nounou</i>
[dūtì]	<i>Dembo</i>
[dú:ti]	<i>Kamina Yé</i>

016 **ancien**

[kíkōrōbà]	<i>Nounou</i>
[cēkōrōbā]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[cēkóróbà]	<i>Kamina</i>
[cēkóróbà]	<i>Yé</i>
[mōgōbà]	<i>Dembo</i>

017 **guérisseur**

[plācēbā]	<i>Nounou</i>
[flākēlā]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[bísicēbā]	<i>Nounou</i>
[básikiēbā]	<i>Yé</i>
[bisibō:bā]	<i>Kamina</i>
[būsibóbá]	<i>Dembo</i>

018 **forgeron**

[nùmū]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[nú]	<i>Kamina Yé</i>
[nú]	<i>Nounou Dembo</i>

019 **balaphoniste**

[bāfōba]	<i>Nounou</i>
[balā:fōba]	<i>Kamina</i>
[balāfōba]	<i>Dembo</i>
[balafoomba]	<i>Yé</i>
[mināfōbā:]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[dūnūfōlā]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[yì]	<i>Dembo</i>

020 **village**

[dú:]	<i>Yé</i>
[dū:]	<i>Nounou</i>
[dū:]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[dū]	<i>Dembo</i>
[dú]	<i>Kamina</i>

021 **case**

[bū]	<i>Nounou Dembo</i>
[sō]	<i>Nounou Yé Kamina</i>
[só]	<i>Kolokan</i>

022 **mur**

[kō:dà]	<i>Yé</i>
[sodā]	<i>Nounou</i>
[dānā]	<i>Kamina Yé</i>
[dā]	<i>Dembo</i>
[kūnikūlē]	<i>Nounou</i>
[dānāmbōrū]	<i>Kolokan</i>

023 **porte**

[kó]	<i>Nounou Kolokan</i>
[kō]	<i>Dembo</i>
[dātūnā]	<i>Kamina</i>
[būndà]	<i>Yé</i>

024 **grenier**

[būndú]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[būdù]	<i>Dembo</i>
[bónó]	<i>Yé</i>
[bōnō]	<i>Kamina</i>
[bō:]	<i>Nounou</i>

025 **toit**

[sānzà]	<i>Yé</i>
[sāndà]	<i>Nounou</i>
[mbēné]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[bé:né]	<i>Kamina</i>
[bēnē]	<i>Yé</i>
[sūmlàù]	<i>Dembo</i>

026 **pagne**

[tāfē]	<i>Nounou Kamina</i>
[tāfi]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[tūtūpōnī]	<i>Kamina</i>
[tūtūpō]	<i>Nounou</i>
[pēi]	<i>Dembo</i>
[páj]	<i>Yé</i>

027 **boubou**

[dēlēkē]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[dērēkē]	<i>Kamina</i>
[sùd ⁱ ē]	<i>Dembo</i>
[dōŋkānā]	<i>Kamina</i>
[fūrúk ^j à]	<i>Yé</i>
[fūrícè]	<i>Nounou</i>

028 **sandales**

[sám̄bārā]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[sāmmārā]	<i>Yé</i>
[sāmārā]	<i>Kamina</i>
[sāmbā]	<i>Dembo</i>
[sābā]	<i>Nounou</i>

029 **bague**

[bōrōmānē:]	<i>Yé</i>
[bōrōlānē]	<i>Kamina</i>
[kónènì]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[wēwē:lē]	<i>Yé</i>
[wōwérè]	<i>Nounou</i>
[flàn]	<i>Dembo</i>
[sīrā:lē]	<i>Kamina</i>

030 **collier**

[kōnō]	<i>Dembo Yé</i>
[kónó]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[kònò]	<i>Nounou</i>
[kōnō]	<i>Kamina</i>
[kāmāfèn]	<i>Yé</i>

031 **fusil**

[mārēfò]	<i>Yé</i>
[mārfò]	<i>Kamina</i>
[mèlfā]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[mēfò]	<i>Dembo</i>
[mē:hò]	<i>Nounou</i>

032 **flèche**

[biē]	<i>Yé Nounou</i>
[biē]	<i>Kamina</i>
[kārādē]	<i>Dembo</i>
[kárádè]	<i>Kolokan</i>

033 **arc**

[kārà]	<i>Kamina</i>
[kárá]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[kārā]	<i>Dembo</i>
[kālà]	<i>Yé</i>
[kà]	<i>Nounou</i>

034 **corde**

[zūrū]	<i>Kamina Dembo Yé</i>
[zūrú]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[zúdè]	<i>Nounou</i>

[zūlkēsè]

*Yé*035 **tisserand**

[pānīdāmbà]	<i>Kamina</i>
[pēndāmbà]	<i>Dembo</i>
[pōndāmbà:]	<i>Nounou</i>
[pándá:bā]	<i>Yé</i>
[gēsèdāmbá]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[sūlà]	<i>Kamina</i>
[sūrà]	<i>Yé</i>

036 **calebasse**

[pijè]	<i>Nounou</i>
[piē]	<i>Dembo</i>
[piè]	<i>Kamina</i>
[pié]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[piē]	<i>Yé</i>

037 **panier**

[sīsí]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[kākā:]	<i>Kamina</i>
[kākā]	<i>Nounou Dembo Yé</i>

038 **graisse**

[sitūlū]	<i>Kamina</i>
[tūrù]	<i>Nounou</i>
[tūrū]	<i>Dembo</i>
[túrú]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[tūl]	<i>Yé</i>
[cè]	<i>Kamina</i>

039 **lait**

[nōnō]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[nōnō]	<i>Kamina</i>
[nōnō]	<i>Dembo</i>
[nōnō]	<i>Yé</i>
[nō]	<i>Nounou</i>

040 **sel**

[kókó]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[k ^w ó:]	<i>Nounou</i>
[k ^w ó]	<i>Kamina Dembo Yé</i>

041 **bâton**

[bɛ̃ri]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[bâ:]	<i>Nounou</i>
[bálā]	<i>Yé</i>
[bālǎ]	<i>Dembo</i>
[bārà]	<i>Kamina</i>
[bámbálā]	<i>Yé</i>

042 **daba**

[dābā]	<i>Nounou Kamina Dembo</i>
	<i>Yé</i>
[dàbà]	<i>Kolokan</i>

043 **hache**

[jindē]	<i>Nounou</i>
[jèndē]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[jénē]	<i>Yé</i>
[tārà]	<i>Yé</i>
[sémé]	<i>Nounou</i>
[zè:nè]	<i>Kamina</i>
[zè:dè]	<i>Kamina</i>
[zèndē]	<i>Dembo</i>

044 **champs**

[fóró]	<i>Yé</i>
[fòró]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[fórú]	<i>Kamina</i>
[fò]	<i>Dembo</i>
[fó:]	<i>Nounou</i>

045 **riz**

[màló]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[máló]	<i>Dembo</i>
[mārū]	<i>Kamina</i>
[mārù]	<i>Nounou</i>
[mál]	<i>Yé</i>

046 **gros mil**

[]	<i>Dembo</i>
[bimbī]	<i>Nounou</i>
[kindè]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[dārāmǝ̀jǝ]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[dārámà]	<i>Kamina</i>
[pówúlé]	<i>Yé</i>

047 **petit mil**

[sǝ̀jǝ]	<i>Nounou</i>
[sǝ̀jǝ]	<i>Dembo</i>
[sānjǝ]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[s ^w ǝ̀jǝ]	<i>Kamina</i>
[s ^w ǝ]	<i>Yé</i>

048 **gombo**

[k ^w ǝ̀ndè]	<i>Nounou</i>
[k ^w á]	<i>Yé</i>
[k ^w ǝ:]	<i>Kamina</i>
[kǝ]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[kǝ]	<i>Dembo</i>

049 **arachide**

[māndiē]	<i>Dembo</i>
[māk'ā]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[t'á]	<i>Kamina</i>
[tíé]	<i>Yé</i>
[t'é]	<i>Nounou</i>

050 **sésame**

[bǝ]	<i>Nounou</i>
[bēnēk ^w ǝ]	<i>Yé</i>
[bēnē]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[bēnē]	<i>Kamina</i>
[bēnē]	<i>Dembo</i>

051 **fonio**

[fǝn]	<i>Yé</i>
[fǝ]	<i>Dembo</i>
[f ^w ǝ]	<i>Nounou</i>
[f ^w ǝ̀ni]	<i>Kamina</i>
[fǝ́ni]	<i>Kolokan</i>

052 **maïs**

[mǝ̀sǝ]	<i>Yé</i>
[mósǝ]	<i>Nounou</i>
[mǝ̀nǝ̀jǝ]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[k ^w ǝ̀jǝ]	<i>Kamina</i>
[kǝ̀jǝ]	<i>Dembo</i>

053 **arbre**

[jíríba]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[jiri]	<i>Nounou Yé</i>
[jiri]	<i>Kamina</i>
[jibā]	<i>Dembo</i>

054 forêt		061 branche	
[tútú]	<i>Kolokan</i>	[jìbōrō]	<i>Dembo</i>
[tū:]	<i>Yé</i>	[jírìbōrō]	<i>Yé</i>
[tũ]	<i>Nounou Kamina</i>	[jīribōrō]	<i>Kolokan Kamina</i>
[kúó]	<i>Dembo</i>	[jírìbò:]	<i>Nounou</i>
[wá]	<i>Dembo</i>		
055 bois		062 écorce	
[wò:]	<i>Kamina</i>	[jīribárá]	<i>Yé</i>
[wō]	<i>Nounou Dembo</i>	[jīripárá]	<i>Kamina</i>
[lūwō]	<i>Yé</i>	[jìpārā]	<i>Dembo</i>
[lūōzō]	<i>Kolokan</i>	[jīripà]	<i>Nounou</i>
[wāyāni]	<i>Dembo</i>	[jīrigómó]	<i>Kolokan</i>
		[jīwōwō]	<i>Dembo</i>
056 herbe		063 racine	
[bĩ]	<i>Nounou Kolokan Kamina</i>	[jīrilili]	<i>Kolokan Yé</i>
	<i>Yé</i>	[jīrilèlì]	<i>Kamina</i>
[bí]	<i>Dembo</i>	[jīlili]	<i>Dembo</i>
		[álùl ^{wi}]	<i>Nounou</i>
057 karité		064 animal	
[sí]	<i>Nounou</i>	[dà:bà]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[sĩ]	<i>Kamina</i>	[dābá]	<i>Dembo</i>
[s ^{wi} ié]	<i>Yé</i>	[dàbà]	<i>Nounou Kamina Yé</i>
[sōĩ]	<i>Kolokan</i>	[b ^{jē} :]	<i>Nounou</i>
[s ^{wi} i]	<i>Dembo</i>	[b ^{jē}]	<i>Dembo</i>
[kōrō]	<i>Kolokan</i>	[biē]	<i>Yé</i>
		[bià]	<i>Kamina</i>
058 fleur		065 chien	
[pērē]	<i>Nounou</i>	[wúrú]	<i>Nounou Kamina Dembo</i>
[pēri]	<i>Kolokan</i>	[wùlú]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[jīripērē]	<i>Kamina</i>	[wúl]	<i>Yé</i>
[jírìpērē]	<i>Yé</i>		
[jīpērē]	<i>Dembo</i>		
059 fruit		066 vache	
[jírídē]	<i>Yé</i>	[mīsì]	<i>Yé</i>
[jīridē]	<i>Kamina Nounou Kolokan</i>	[mīfì]	<i>Nounou</i>
		[mīfì]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[jídēũ]	<i>Dembo</i>	[mífí]	<i>Kamina Dembo</i>
060 feuille		067 cheval	
[jīriplà:]	<i>Kamina</i>	[só]	<i>Kamina Dembo Yé</i>
[jīriplā]	<i>Nounou Kolokan</i>	[sō]	<i>Nounou</i>
[jírìprā]	<i>Yé</i>	[sô]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[jiplā]	<i>Dembo</i>		

068 mouton		[biri]	<i>Kamina Yé</i>
[sā:]	<i>Nounou Kamina Dembo</i>	[túdē]	<i>Dembo</i>
[sâ:]	<i>Kolokan</i>		
[sá]	<i>Yé</i>	076 fourmi	
		[dúmēnē]	<i>Yé</i>
069 chèvre		[dwōnò]	<i>Nounou</i>
[bā]	<i>Nounou Kamina</i>	[zūmà]	<i>Dembo</i>
[bà]	<i>Kolokan Dembo</i>	[mēmēnē]	<i>Kamina</i>
[bá]	<i>Yé</i>	[kájá]	<i>Kolokan</i>
		077 sauterelle	
070 hyène		[tōù]	<i>Dembo</i>
[sūrūkū]	<i>Nounou Kolokan Kamina</i>	[tô:]	<i>Nounou</i>
		[tô]	<i>Kamina</i>
[súrúkū]	<i>Yé</i>	[tō]	<i>Yé</i>
[kō:sù]	<i>Nounou</i>	[tōkōrōnì]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[kōsù]	<i>Dembo</i>		
		078 singe	
071 porc		[sūlā]	<i>Yé</i>
[liē]	<i>Nounou</i>	[súrá]	<i>Kamina</i>
[lē:]	<i>Kamina</i>	[sūrā]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[lē]	<i>Kolokan Dembo</i>	[sūrō]	<i>Nounou</i>
[lé]	<i>Yé</i>	[súró]	<i>Dembo</i>
		079 lion	
072 oiseau		[jā]	<i>Nounou</i>
[kōnō]	<i>Kamina</i>	[jārā]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[kōnō]	<i>Kolokan</i>	[jārā]	<i>Kamina Dembo Yé</i>
[k ^w ēnì]	<i>Yé</i>		
[k ^w ōnī]	<i>Nounou</i>	080 éléphant	
[kōjì]	<i>Dembo</i>	[sāmā]	<i>Kolokan Dembo Yé</i>
		[sámá]	<i>Kamina</i>
073 poule		[sāmā]	<i>Nounou</i>
[jīé]	<i>Nounou</i>		
[sīē]	<i>Kamina</i>	081 serpent	
[sīē]	<i>Yé</i>	[sá]	<i>Kamina Dembo</i>
[sīē]	<i>Kolokan</i>	[sā]	<i>Nounou Kolokan Yé</i>
[sīē]	<i>Dembo</i>		
		082 poisson	
074 araignée		[jīé]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[tālēmānā]	<i>Yé</i>	[jē]	<i>Dembo Yé</i>
[tāmānā]	<i>Kamina</i>	[jè]	<i>Kamina</i>
[tālīmā]	<i>Dembo</i>	[jè]	<i>Nounou</i>
[tē:mā:]	<i>Nounou</i>		
[mīnimānàbà]	<i>Kolokan</i>		
		075 termite	
		[bābā]	<i>Kolokan Dembo</i>
		[bī:]	<i>Nounou</i>

083 aile			091 peau		
[gāmà]	<i>Nounou Kamina Dembo</i>		[ágóló]	<i>Yé</i>	
	<i>Yé</i>		[gōrō]	<i>Kolokan</i>	
[gāmā]	<i>Kolokan</i>		[gōrō]	<i>Kamina</i>	
084 corne			[gòrò]	<i>Dembo</i>	
[bùnà]	<i>Kamina</i>		[gō]	<i>Nounou</i>	
[būnà]	<i>Yé</i>		092 tête		
[binā]	<i>Kolokan</i>		[kú]	<i>Nounou Kamina Dembo</i>	
[blā]	<i>Dembo</i>			<i>Yé</i>	
[blà]	<i>Nounou</i>		[kú:kùrù]	<i>Kamina</i>	
085 oeuf			[kùkōrō]	<i>Kolokan</i>	
[kírì]	<i>Nounou Kamina Dembo</i>		093 visage		
[kírí]	<i>Kolokan Yé</i>		[nā̀dùrā]	<i>Kolokan</i>	
086 queue			[nàsò]	<i>Kamina</i>	
[k ^w ō:]	<i>Nounou</i>		[nāsó]	<i>Yé</i>	
[k ^w ō]	<i>Kamina</i>		[nāsô]	<i>Nounou</i>	
[k ^w ō]	<i>Yé</i>		[nāsō]	<i>Dembo</i>	
[k ^w ū]	<i>Dembo</i>		094 cheveux		
[kōkárá]	<i>Kolokan</i>		[kú:ziè]	<i>Kamina</i>	
087 viande			[kúnʃi]	<i>Nounou</i>	
[sūō]	<i>Dembo</i>		[kúnti]	<i>Yé</i>	
[súò]	<i>Nounou</i>		[kùti]	<i>Kolokan</i>	
[sūwō]	<i>Kamina</i>		[kùti]	<i>Dembo</i>	
[sūwó]	<i>Kolokan Yé</i>		095 poils		
088 sang			[ti]	<i>Dembo</i>	
[júrí]	<i>Nounou Dembo</i>		[ci:]	<i>Kamina</i>	
[jōrū]	<i>Kolokan</i>		[sí]	<i>Nounou</i>	
[jiri]	<i>Kamina</i>		[máti]	<i>Yé</i>	
[jél]	<i>Yé</i>		[pērikórótì]	<i>Kolokan</i>	
089 os			096 nez		
[kōrō]	<i>Kolokan</i>		[nū̀nū]	<i>Nounou</i>	
[kúrí]	<i>Nounou Kamina</i>		[nū]	<i>Kolokan</i>	
[kùrù]	<i>Dembo Yé</i>		[nū]	<i>Dembo</i>	
090 corps			[nū:]	<i>Kamina</i>	
[pērikōrū]	<i>Kolokan</i>		[nū]	<i>Yé</i>	
[pēri]	<i>Kamina</i>		097 oreille		
[pí:]	<i>Dembo</i>		[tō]	<i>Nounou</i>	
[pí]	<i>Nounou</i>		[tóló]	<i>Dembo</i>	
[ámá]	<i>Yé</i>		[tōrō]	<i>Kamina Yé</i>	
			[tōrōpilā]	<i>Kolokan</i>	

098 **oeil**

[ɲádi]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[ɲā]	<i>Kamina Dembo Yé</i>
[ɲà]	<i>Nounou</i>

099 **bouche**

[dābārā]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[dà]	<i>Kamina Dembo</i>
[dā]	<i>Nounou Yé</i>

100 **dent**

[ɲĩ:]]	<i>Nounou</i>
[ɲi:]]	<i>Kamina</i>
[ɲi]	<i>Dembo Yé</i>
[ɲí]	<i>Kolokan</i>

101 **langue**

[né]	<i>Kamina</i>
[né]	<i>Yé</i>
[nē]	<i>Dembo</i>
[nē̃]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[nīē̃]	<i>Nounou</i>

102 **bras**

[bōrōkārā]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[bōrō]	<i>Kamina</i>
[bò]	<i>Dembo</i>
[bō]	<i>Nounou</i>
[gāmà]	<i>Yé</i>

103 **jambe**

[siú]	<i>Dembo</i>
[sēikārā]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[sēŋkálà]	<i>Yé</i>
[sè]	<i>Nounou</i>
[sē]	<i>Kamina</i>
[sé]	<i>Dembo</i>

104 **doigt**

[borokumaninde]	<i>Kamina</i>
[bolonu:]]	<i>Yé</i>
[borok ^w ende]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[bokunē̃nde]	<i>Nounou</i>
[bògàndĩ]	<i>Dembo</i>

105 **cou**

[kǎu]	<i>Dembo</i>
[kǎ]	<i>Kamina</i>
[kǎ̃]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[kā]	<i>Nounou</i>
[ká]	<i>Yé</i>

106 **poitrine**

[sisi]	<i>Nounou Kolokan Kamina</i>
[gũĩ]	<i>Dembo</i>
[gũwĩ]	<i>Yé</i>
[g ^w ĩ]	<i>Kamina</i>

107 **coeur**

[sō]	<i>Nounou</i>
[zūzūkúndè]	<i>Yé</i>
[sōwúndè]	<i>Dembo</i>
[s ^w ó:kúndè]	<i>Kamina</i>
[sōkúndē̃]	<i>Kolokan</i>

108 **ventre**

[kónó]	<i>Nounou</i>
[kónó]	<i>Yé</i>
[kōnōbārā]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[kōnōbàrà]	<i>Yé</i>
[kōnàbàrà]	<i>Kamina</i>
[kōbā]	<i>Dembo</i>

109 **bon**

[kǎn]	<i>Nounou</i>
[kǎ]	<i>Kamina</i>
[cǎ]	<i>Dembo</i>
[ākádí]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[ākāyĩ]	<i>Dembo</i>
[ájĩ]	<i>Yé</i>
[ándĩ]	<i>Yé</i>

110 **mauvais**

[àmācāɲi]	<i>Dembo</i>
[cézò]	<i>Nounou</i>
[ámándibā]	<i>Yé</i>
[āmándĩ]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[mā]	<i>Kamina</i>
[kūťā]	<i>Dembo</i>

111 dos		[kāl]	Yé
[kʷɔ̃]	<i>Kamina Yé</i>		
[kɔ̃sɔ̃]	<i>Nounou</i>	118 étoile	
[kɔ̃]	<i>Kolokan Dembo</i>	[lɔ̃lɔ̃lè]	Yé
[kùò]	<i>Nounou</i>	[lɔ̃lɔ̃nì]	<i>Kamina</i>
		[lɔ̃lɔ̃rè]	<i>Nounou</i>
112 âme		[lɔ̃lɔ̃]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[ziē]	Yé	[kárílɔ̃rɔ̃nì]	<i>Dembo</i>
[ziē]	<i>Kamina</i>		
[nzʲē]	<i>Dembo</i>	119 matin	
[ní]	<i>Nounou</i>	[sô:mā]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[nĩ]	<i>Kolokan</i>	[sô:mù]	<i>Kamina</i>
[nì:]	<i>Kamina</i>	[sô:mò]	Yé
		[sɔ̃mɔ̃]	<i>Dembo</i>
113 vie		[sómò̃]	<i>Nounou</i>
[ɲìnà]	<i>Nounou</i>		
[ēɲà]	<i>Dembo</i>	120 jour	
[áɲ:ɲà]	<i>Nounou</i>	[ló]	<i>Nounou</i>
[ɲānāmā̃]	<i>Kolokan</i>	[tērékò̃]	<i>Dembo</i>
[ɲānāmā̃]	<i>Kamina</i>	[tēlēkò̃:]	Yé
[áɲènènā̃]	Yé	[tērē]	<i>Kolokan</i>
		[tērē]	<i>Kamina</i>
114 dieu		[kē:bē]	<i>Nounou</i>
[ā:là]	Yé		
[āllā]	<i>Nounou Kamina</i>	121 nuît	
[álá]	<i>Kolokan</i>	[sú:rá]	<i>Dembo</i>
[ālā]	<i>Dembo</i>	[sù:rā]	<i>Kamina</i>
[āpárà]	Yé	[sūrā]	Yé
		[súrā̃]	<i>Nounou</i>
115 ciel		[súrā]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[kàbàkōrō]	<i>Kolokan</i>		
[kábā]	<i>Dembo</i>	122 mois	
[kábá]	<i>Kamina</i>	[kārì]	<i>Kamina</i>
[kābā]	<i>Nounou</i>	[kárí]	<i>Dembo</i>
[kāwā]	Yé	[kálò]	<i>Nounou</i>
		[kālō]	<i>Kolokan</i>
116 soleil		[kāl]	Yé
[té]	<i>Nounou</i>		
[tērē]	<i>Kolokan</i>	123 année	
[tērē]	<i>Kamina</i>	[sāũ]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[télé]	<i>Dembo Yé</i>	[sā:]	<i>Nounou Kamina Dembo</i>
		[sā̃]	<i>Kolokan</i>
117 lune		[sá]	Yé
[kārò]	<i>Nounou</i>		
[kārì]	<i>Kamina</i>		
[kāi]	<i>Dembo</i>		
[kālō]	<i>Kolokan</i>		

124 vent			131 rocher	
[fiẽ]	<i>Dembo</i>		[bẽrẽbà:kà]	<i>Yé</i>
[fiẽ]	<i>Nounou Kamina Yé</i>		[bẽ:kùtù]	<i>Nounou</i>
[fiẽ]	<i>Kolokan</i>		[pārākūrũ]	<i>Kolokan</i>
125 feu			[pàràwò:]	<i>Kamina</i>
[pásò:]	<i>Nounou</i>		[pārā]	<i>Dembo</i>
[pīsõ]	<i>Dembo</i>		132 sable	
[pīsũmā]	<i>Kamina</i>		[ciẽ]	<i>Kamina</i>
[pīsũwã]	<i>Kolokan</i>		[kíjẽ]	<i>Nounou</i>
[tā]	<i>Yé</i>		[kĩjẽ]	<i>Kolokan</i>
126 fumée			[kʲẽ]	<i>Dembo</i>
[sísí]	<i>Kamina Dembo Yé</i>		[kʲẽ]	<i>Yé</i>
[sisi]	<i>Nounou</i>		133 poussière	
[sisi]	<i>Kolokan</i>		[fórókʷé]	<i>Yé</i>
127 eau			[fõrõkʷẽ]	<i>Kamina</i>
[ziẽ]	<i>Kamina</i>		[fõrõrkõ]	<i>Yé</i>
[ziẽ]	<i>Yé</i>		[fõrõkò]	<i>Nounou</i>
[z'ẽ]	<i>Dembo</i>		[fõrõkõ]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[jè]	<i>Nounou</i>		[fõyõ]	<i>Dembo</i>
[zẽ]	<i>Kolokan</i>		134 chemin	
128 pluie			[sirãdẽ]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[sãziẽ]	<i>Kamina</i>		[sèrà]	<i>Kamina</i>
[sãzẽ]	<i>Kolokan</i>		[sẽrã]	<i>Yé</i>
[sã]	<i>Dembo</i>		[flā]	<i>Nounou</i>
[sā]	<i>Nounou</i>		[flà]	<i>Dembo</i>
[lā]	<i>Yé</i>		135 fer	
129 terre			[ñniẽ]	<i>Nounou</i>
[dũàkù:]	<i>Kamina</i>		[nẽ:]	<i>Kamina</i>
[dũõ]	<i>Nounou</i>		[nẽ]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[dũwá]	<i>Kolokan</i>		[né]	<i>Yé</i>
[dnā]	<i>Dembo</i>		[jé]	<i>Dembo</i>
[gúmā]	<i>Yé</i>		136 blanc	
130 nuage			[kʷè:mà]	<i>Kamina</i>
[kābābūrõ]	<i>Nounou</i>		[kʷè:mā]	<i>Yé</i>
[kābābũ:]	<i>Kamina</i>		[kʷēmā]	<i>Dembo</i>
[kábákũ]	<i>Dembo</i>		[kũimã]	<i>Nounou</i>
[kābābõ]	<i>Yé</i>		[kʷēmã]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[kābāpārā]	<i>Kolokan</i>			

137 **noir**

[pĩmǎ]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[pĩmǎ]	<i>Dembo</i>
[pĩmā]	<i>Yé</i>
[pĩ:má]	<i>Kamina</i>
[fĩmà]	<i>Nounou</i>

138 **chaud**

[cárē]	<i>Nounou</i>
[k'énì]	<i>Dembo</i>
[cānī]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[cànā]	<i>Kamina</i>
[áŋkīē]	<i>Yé</i>

139 **froid**

[sʷēnē]	<i>Nounou</i>
[sʷēnē]	<i>Dembo</i>
[ágásʷǎ]	<i>Dembo</i>
[ǎsūmē]	<i>Yé</i>
[súmání]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[sūmānì]	<i>Kamina</i>

140 **sec**

[jā:lē]	<i>Yé</i>
[jārè]	<i>Nounou</i>
[jà:nī]	<i>Kamina</i>
[jánì]	<i>Dembo</i>
[ājà:mī]	<i>Kolokan</i>

141 **fort**

[pǎ]	<i>Nounou Kolokan Dembo</i>
[kēnē]	<i>Kamina</i>
[kiēnē]	<i>Yé</i>

142 **faible**

[pǎbānī]	<i>Nounou</i>
[pǎtāwālā]	<i>Dembo</i>
[pā:tárá]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[pǎ:tà]	<i>Kamina</i>
[bǎgátà]	<i>Nounou</i>
[pĩē]	<i>Yé</i>

143 **grand**

[zá]	<i>Nounou Kolokan</i>
[zǎn]	<i>Yé</i>
[ākāzǎ:]	<i>Kamina</i>
[ākàzǎ]	<i>Dembo</i>

144 **petit**

[āgāsǔ]	<i>Dembo</i>
[sũ:]	<i>Nounou</i>
[sũnũ]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[ánsūrũ]	<i>Yé</i>
[ākāsúnũ]	<i>Kamina</i>

145 **long**

[zá]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[zá]	<i>Nounou</i>
[ánzā]	<i>Yé</i>
[ākāzǎ:]	<i>Kamina</i>
[āgāzǎ]	<i>Dembo</i>

146 **court**

[sũnũ]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[sūrũ]	<i>Yé</i>
[akàsūrũ]	<i>Kamina</i>
[sũ]	<i>Nounou</i>
[d'ēmāzǎ]	<i>Dembo</i>

147 **vérité**

[tǐēmũ]	<i>Dembo</i>
[tiéfo]	<i>Dembo</i>
[t'é]	<i>Nounou</i>
[tǐē]	<i>Yé</i>
[cié]	<i>Kamina</i>
[kié]	<i>Kolokan</i>

148 **mensonge**

[pájǎtē]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[pānà]	<i>Yé</i>
[pʷē:]	<i>Nounou</i>
[pʷē]	<i>Dembo</i>
[pǒjē]	<i>Kamina</i>

149 **vendre**

[ējāp'ērē]	<i>Nounou</i>
[ánápērē]	<i>Yé</i>
[ānápēri]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[āyàpēri]	<i>Dembo</i>
[ānāpé:rē]	<i>Kamina</i>

- 150 **dormir**
 [esôsò] *Nounou*
 [āsúnónā] *Kolokan*
 [āsónónà] *Kamina Yé*
 [āsô:nà] *Dembo*
 [āsô:nà] *Dembo*
- 151 **large**
 [ākāmbō] *Dembo*
 [ākàbō] *Kamina*
 [kā:mbò] *Nounou*
 [kābūŋ] *Kolokan*
 [ám búŋ] *Yé*
- 152 **mince**
 [kāndwò] *Nounou*
 [kēnēndē:mi] *Kolokan*
 [jākámisě] *Kolokan*
 [ākāmisě] *Dembo*
 [ákáměsě] *Kamina*
 [pɔlɔlɔ] *Yé*
- 153 **lourd**
 [ākāgūrì] *Kolokan*
 [ákāgūrì] *Kamina*
 [akagūrì] *Dembo*
 [kǎ:gúrí] *Nounou*
 [gūrì] *Dembo*
 [ángūl] *Yé*
- 154 **léger**
 [ākāpiě] *Kolokan Dembo*
 [ákāpiě] *Kamina*
 [ámpiě] *Yé*
 [kā:p'ié] *Nounou*
- 155 **loin**
 [d'ēgāzá] *Dembo*
 [akazā] *Dembo*
 [ákázā] *Kamina*
 [kǎ:zá] *Nounou*
 [álā:zā] *Yé*
 [āzā] *Kolokan*
- 156 **près**
 [álāsūrū] *Yé*
 [ākāsūrū] *Kamina*
- [kāsúnù] *Kolokan*
 [kǎ:sū] *Nounou*
 [sū] *Dembo*
- 157 **aigu**
 [sū:nì] *Yé*
 [ādāmūnānī] *Kolokan*
 [ádāmnēnū] *Nounou*
 [ámūēnī] *Kamina*
 [ādágádi] *Dembo*
- 158 **sale**
 [ánūwǎnīmū] *Yé*
 [āwónīmū] *Dembo*
 [nwò:nì] *Kamina*
 [anūōnī] *Nounou*
 [ànūōnī] *Kolokan*
- 159 **pourri**
 [âtōlilā] *Kolokan*
 [tōrilā] *Kamina*
 [tʷē:rà] *Nounou*
 [tʷini] *Dembo*
 [átienà] *Yé*
- 160 **droit**
 [âtērēnī] *Kolokan*
 [tērēnimù] *Dembo*
 [âtélénām] *Yé*
 [tērēnī] *Kamina*
 [térēnū] *Nounou*
- 161 **courbé**
 [gūŋgōrɔlémù] *Yé*
 [gʷɔŋgʷɔrɔné] *Kamina*
 [gōgōrò:nì] *Kolokan*
 [gōgʷónì] *Nounou*
 [gʷɔ:rɔni] *Kamina*
 [āzīēnēmù] *Dembo*
- 162 **vieux**
 [àkóròlā] *Kolokan*
 [àkórólā] *Yé*
 [àkórà] *Dembo*
 [kōrōmā] *Kamina*
 [kó:rē] *Nounou*

163 jeune		[ānádì:]	<i>Kamina</i>
[]	<i>Kolokan</i>	[ánádì:]	<i>Yé</i>
[kambere]	<i>Kamina</i>	[àsó]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[tāŋ ^w ērè]	<i>Nounou</i>		
[dēkùlā]	<i>Dembo</i>		
[ásémāmū]	<i>Yé</i>		
[álāmām]	<i>Nounou</i>		
164 manger		170 finir	
[ānídúníké]	<i>Dembo</i>	[ānábà]	<i>Kamina</i>
[èdó:níná]	<i>Kolokan</i>	[ánábà]	<i>Yé</i>
[édōnikē]	<i>Nounou</i>	[ābānā]	<i>Dembo</i>
[ānádò]	<i>Kamina</i>	[ábānā]	<i>Nounou</i>
[ánádò]	<i>Yé</i>	[ábā:nā]	<i>Yé</i>
		[ātìrālā]	<i>Kolokan</i>
165 boire		171 monter	
[àjémí]	<i>Kolokan</i>	[ējésò]	<i>Nounou</i>
[ānāmì]	<i>Kamina</i>	[ājérélá]	<i>Dembo</i>
[ānāmī]	<i>Dembo</i>	[ájērèlā]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[ánámí]	<i>Yé</i>	[ājérélā]	<i>Kamina</i>
[ē:mísò]	<i>Nounou</i>	[ājélélā]	<i>Yé</i>
166 voir		172 aller	
[ājāhērē]	<i>Kolokan</i>	[āwárá]	<i>Dembo</i>
[é:jērēncē]	<i>Nounou</i>	[áwàrà]	<i>Yé</i>
[ānájè]	<i>Kamina</i>	[āwà:rà]	<i>Kamina</i>
[ánàjè:]	<i>Yé</i>	[àtárá]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[ānājè]	<i>Dembo</i>	[átāwā]	<i>Nounou</i>
167 regarder		173 partir	
[]	<i>Kolokan</i>	[ātárá]	<i>Dembo</i>
[ānāhērè]	<i>Kamina</i>	[ābūrājē]	<i>Yé</i>
[ánàplè]	<i>Yé</i>	[āb ^w órá]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[ājábērē]	<i>Dembo</i>	[āb ^w àrà]	<i>Kamina</i>
[ējàpē:sō]	<i>Nounou</i>	[éb ^w ōsō]	<i>Nounou</i>
168 compter		174 venir	
[ājádā]	<i>Dembo</i>	[ēnāwà]	<i>Nounou</i>
[ējādā]	<i>Nounou</i>	[ānānō]	<i>Yé</i>
[ánàdà]	<i>Yé</i>	[ānānā]	<i>Dembo</i>
[ānádā]	<i>Kolokan</i>	[ánānā]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[nādà:]	<i>Kamina</i>	[ānānā]	<i>Kamina</i>
169 donner		175 courir	
[ájàdāmā]	<i>Nounou</i>	[ābúlílā]	<i>Dembo</i>
[ānádāmā]	<i>Yé</i>	[āb ^w arálā]	<i>Kamina</i>
[ājádi]	<i>Dembo</i>	[ébòrilā]	<i>Kolokan</i>
		[āb ^w érà]	<i>Yé</i>
		[éb ^w ésō]	<i>Nounou</i>

176 **voler**

[ēs ^w iníkè]	<i>Nounou</i>
[ājás ^w iè]	<i>Dembo</i>
[ānās ^w ê]	<i>Yé</i>
[ānáf ^w ê]	<i>Kamina</i>
[ānāf ^w è]	<i>Kolokan</i>

177 **frapper**

[ājábòtè]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[ājásè]	<i>Dembo</i>
[ānátè:]	<i>Kamina</i>
[ánátè]	<i>Yé</i>
[ásinā]	<i>Nounou</i>

178 **casser**

[ānātè]	<i>Yé</i>
[ājékāli]	<i>Dembo</i>
[àjàkārì]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[ānákārì]	<i>Kamina</i>
[ékēsō]	<i>Nounou</i>

179 **couper**

[ēt ⁱ é]	<i>Nounou</i>
[ānātē:]	<i>Kamina</i>
[ánátè:]	<i>Yé</i>
[ājátè]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[ājátè]	<i>Dembo</i>

180 **tuer**

[ājápā]	<i>Dembo</i>
[ánápà]	<i>Yé</i>
[ānápá:]	<i>Kamina</i>
[āpárà]	<i>Nounou</i>
[ēbōkè]	<i>Kolokan</i>

181 **mourir**

[]	<i>Kolokan Dembo Nounou</i>
	<i>Kamina Yé</i>

182 **parler**

[ākūwānā]	<i>Dembo</i>
[ākūmānā]	<i>Kamina</i>
[ákūmānā]	<i>Yé</i>
[è:kúmáná]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[ékūmāsó]	<i>Nounou</i>

183 **pleurer**

[ākāsírà]	<i>Dembo</i>
[ákāsírā]	<i>Yé</i>
[ākāsírà]	<i>Kamina</i>
[ékàsì]	<i>Nounou</i>
[é:kàsì]	<i>Kolokan</i>

184 **recevoir**

[ānāsórò]	<i>Yé</i>
[ánásòrò]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[ānāsórò]	<i>Kamina</i>
[énáwāsō]	<i>Nounou</i>
[nāsō]	<i>Dembo</i>

185 **acheter**

[ējēsāsō]	<i>Nounou</i>
[ājāsâ]	<i>Dembo</i>
[ājásâ]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[ānásâ]	<i>Kamina</i>
[ánásâ]	<i>Yé</i>

186 **mordre**

[ējàkīzō]	<i>Nounou</i>
[ànàcí]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[ānàcì]	<i>Kamina</i>
[ājákì]	<i>Dembo</i>
[ánákīē]	<i>Yé</i>

187 **savoir**

[ananù]	<i>Yé</i>
[ājálò]	<i>Dembo</i>
[ānàlò]	<i>Kamina</i>
[ájálò:sō]	<i>Nounou</i>
[ājábékàlò]	<i>Kolokan</i>

188 **tirer**

[ājásāmà]	<i>Dembo</i>
[ājásāmà]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[ānásāmà]	<i>Kamina</i>
[ānāsāmà]	<i>Yé</i>
[ēsámà]	<i>Nounou</i>
[ājábi]	<i>Dembo</i>

189 **se baigner**

[ājítōrōkè]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[ānék ^w ò:]	<i>Kamina</i>
[ájéfùrì]	<i>Nounou</i>
[ājábùdù]	<i>Dembo</i>
[ānibúgù]	<i>Yé</i>

190 **laver**

[ājékùwòsò]	<i>Dembo</i>
[ájèk ^w ó]	<i>Nounou</i>
[ānék ^w ò:]	<i>Kamina</i>
[áník ^w ò:]	<i>Yé</i>
[ātārēkó]	<i>Kolokan</i>

191 **s'asseoir**

[ājēfī]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[ājásì]	<i>Dembo</i>
[ájèsī:]	<i>Nounou</i>
[ánísì]	<i>Yé</i>
[āné:sì]	<i>Kamina</i>

192 **pousser**

[ānādīdī]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[ájirīsò]	<i>Nounou</i>
[ānájírì]	<i>Kamina</i>
[ājājírì]	<i>Dembo</i>
[ānājel]	<i>Yé</i>

193 **jeter**

[ājāpílí]	<i>Dembo</i>
[ājápìrì]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[ānápírì]	<i>Kamina</i>
[ānāprí]	<i>Yé</i>
[āprírà]	<i>Nounou</i>

194 **accrocher**

[ānádà:]	<i>Kamina</i>
[ájádùnnù]	<i>Nounou</i>
[ājádù]	<i>Dembo</i>
[ánàdũ]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[ánádù]	<i>Yé</i>

195 **lever**

[ānawūrì]	<i>Dembo</i>
[āwūrīlā]	<i>Kamina</i>
[è:wúlí]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[éwí:zò]	<i>Nounou</i>
[āwúlsā]	<i>Yé</i>

196 **construire**

[ājálòlò]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[ājālò]	<i>Dembo</i>
[ējālò]	<i>Nounou</i>
[ānālò]	<i>Kamina</i>
[ánálò]	<i>Yé</i>

197 **creuser**

[ājás ^w ī]	<i>Dembo</i>
[ējās ^w í]	<i>Nounou</i>
[ājáf ^w ī]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[ānáf ^w ī]	<i>Kamina</i>
[ānās ^w ò]	<i>Yé</i>

198 **tisser**

[ánádà:]	<i>Yé</i>
[ānàdà]	<i>Kamina</i>
[ājádà]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[ājédà]	<i>Dembo</i>
[ējádà]	<i>Nounou</i>

199 **attacher**

[ājāsírì]	<i>Dembo</i>
[ājásìrì]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[ējásìrì]	<i>Nounou</i>
[ānásírì]	<i>Kamina</i>
[ánásìrì]	<i>Yé</i>

200 **tomber**

[ābénà]	<i>Dembo</i>
[ābēnà]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[ābénà]	<i>Yé</i>
[ābé:nà]	<i>Kamina</i>
[ē:bē]	<i>Nounou</i>

- 201 **chanter**
 [ānísùnmàlà] *Kamina*
 [ānísùnwàlà] *Dembo*
 [ésōmālā] *Nounou*
 [ē:súmálà] *Kolokan*
 [àsūmālā] *Yé*
- 202 **sentir**
 [anisũwĩm^{wẽ}] *Dembo*
 [anis^{wẽ}m^{wẽ}ĩnì] *Nounou*
 [anasùmàm^{wẽ}] *Kamina*
 [anasūmām^{wẽ}] *Yé*
 [ājíkàsàm^{wẽ}] *Kolokan*
- 203 **penser**
 [ámìrìlà] *Yé*
 [ānámìrì] *Kamina*
 [é:zátimīnākè] *Kolokan*
 [ājízādim] *Dembo*
 [ájéhākìrì] *Nounou*
- 204 **attraper**
 [ājāmnāsò] *Nounou*
 [ānāmě̀nà] *Yé*
 [ānā:minā] *Kamina*
 [ājāminā] *Kolokan*
 [ājāmlā] *Dembo*
- 205 **vomir**
 [àf̃nònà] *Kamina*
 [áf̃ònònà] *Yé*
 [è:f̃:nó] *Kolokan*
 [éf̃:] *Nounou*
 [ātésèrà] *Dembo*
- 206 **être debout**
 [áwūrìlà] *Dembo*
 [áwū:lā] *Yé*
 [ātúlò:nīmù] *Kamina*
 [ālórà] *Nounou*
 [ālònì] *Kolokan*
- 207 **tenir**
 [ānāmínà] *Kolokan*
 [ánāmě̀nà] *Yé*
 [āmmīlā] *Nounou*
 [ānāmlā] *Dembo*
- [ātú:jà:bòrò] *Kamina*
 [ájébō] *Dembo*
- 208 **danser**
 [ānĩndž̀kè] *Dembo*
 [é:dž̀nà] *Kolokan*
 [ānédž̀:ŋk'è] *Kamina*
 [ānàdž̀ŋkè] *Yé*
 [ēdwě̀ŋkè] *Nounou*
- 209 **beaucoup**
 [kǎ:sā] *Nounou*
 [āksìà] *Kamina*
 [ǎ:sìè] *Yé*
 [jīāmā] *Kolokan*
 [sīēmā] *Dembo*
- 210 **peu**
 [fitinì] *Kolokan*
 [ākādūwò] *Kamina*
 [kǎ:dwō] *Nounou*
 [ǎ:dwò] *Yé*
 [dōmō] *Dembo*
- 211 **un**
 [kélé] *Kolokan*
 [kēlē] *Dembo*
 [kēlē] *Kamina*
 [k'ēlē] *Yé*
 [k'ē] *Nounou*
- 212 **deux**
 [fūlā] *Yé*
 [flá] *Kamina*
 [flā] *Nounou Dembo*
 [filā] *Kolokan*
- 213 **trois**
 [sábá] *Kamina*
 [sābā] *Nounou Dembo Yé*
 [sābà] *Kolokan*
- 214 **quatre**
 [nà:nì] *Nounou*
 [nā:nì] *Kamina Dembo*
 [nānì] *Kolokan*
 [nān] *Yé*

215 **cinq**

[lū:rū]	<i>Dembo</i>
[lù:rù]	<i>Nounou</i>
[lō:rū]	<i>Kamina</i>
[lōlū]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[lòr]	<i>Yé</i>

216 **six**

[wò:rò]	<i>Dembo</i>
[wō:rō]	<i>Kamina</i>
[wòrò]	<i>Kolokan Yé</i>
[wè]	<i>Nounou</i>

217 **sept**

[wōlūṽ ^w ūlā]	<i>Yé</i>
[wùlòwūlā]	<i>Kamina</i>
[wōrōūlā]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[wū:lā]	<i>Nounou</i>
[wōūlā]	<i>Dembo</i>

218 **huit**

[sē:gi]	<i>Dembo</i>
[sé:kí]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[sē:]	<i>Yé</i>
[fi:]	<i>Nounou Kamina</i>

219 **neuf**

[kōnòntó]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[kōnóntò]	<i>Kamina</i>
[kōntò]	<i>Nounou</i>
[kōntò]	<i>Yé</i>
[kōndō]	<i>Dembo</i>

220 **dix**

[tá]	<i>Kolokan Kamina</i>
[tā]	<i>Nounou Dembo</i>
[tā]	<i>Yé</i>

221 **chat**

[]	<i>Dembo</i>
[zākūmānì]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[zākūmàn]	<i>Yé</i>
[zā:kúñè]	<i>Nounou</i>
[sówúlú]	<i>Kamina</i>
[só:ró]	<i>Kamina</i>

222 **âne**

[pēi]	<i>Nounou</i>
[pél]	<i>Yé</i>
[pāri]	<i>Dembo</i>
[pārì]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[párí]	<i>Kamina</i>
[sópárí]	<i>Kamina</i>

223 **chercher**

[ājājàrà]	<i>Dembo</i>
[ātārājārā]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[ānájìnì]	<i>Yé</i>
[éjájìnì]	<i>Nounou</i>
[ājà:ràlābē]	<i>Kamina</i>
[ájārābō]	<i>Yé</i>

224 **trouver**

[ānásórò]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[ānásóró]	<i>Kamina</i>
[ánásōrō]	<i>Yé</i>
[ājāsò]	<i>Dembo</i>
[ájirā]	<i>Nounou</i>

225 **demander**

[ānádà:rì]	<i>Kamina</i>
[ánádè:]	<i>Yé</i>
[ājājìnikà]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[ājìníájánà]	<i>Nounou</i>
[ājāpàṅà]	<i>Dembo</i>

226 **répondre**

[ājāzábì]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[āzábì]	<i>Dembo</i>
[ánálàbì]	<i>Yé</i>
[ānà:álábì]	<i>Kamina</i>
[āzábírà]	<i>Nounou</i>

227 **sauce**

[nà]	<i>Yé</i>
[nā]	<i>Nounou Kamina</i>
[nā̃]	<i>Dembo</i>
[ná]	<i>Kolokan</i>

228 **lièvre**

[kórósà]	<i>Kamina</i>
[kórósǎ]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[kòròsò]	<i>Yé</i>
[k ^w ǎ:sà]	<i>Nounou</i>
[k ^w ǎsǎ]	<i>Dembo</i>

229 **mort**

[ápàrà]	<i>Dembo</i>
[āpārà]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[āpá:rà]	<i>Nounou</i>
[āpārà]	<i>Yé</i>
[pāirà]	<i>Kamina</i>
[āpâ:nì]	<i>Kolokan</i>

230 **sauter**

[ājépǎ]	<i>Dembo</i>
[ānépǎ]	<i>Kamina</i>
[ànè:pǎ]	<i>Nounou</i>
[ánébà:]	<i>Yé</i>
[āfínēpǎù]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[ājēsú]	<i>Kolokan</i>
[ājésālō]	<i>Dembo</i>

231 **dire**

[]	<i>Nounou Kolokan</i>
[ājáfò]	<i>Dembo</i>
[ánáfō]	<i>Yé</i>
[ānáfò]	<i>Kamina</i>

Lieu/Place	Enquêteur/Researcher	Date de recherche/Research date
Dembo	Carol Berthelette	12 janvier 1996
Yé	Carol Berthelette	4 janvier 1996
Kamina	Carol Berthelette	10 janvier 1996
Nounou	Carol Berthelette	8 janvier 1996
Kolokan	Annette Harrison	11 janvier 1996

Les symboles de transcription phonétique employés dans ce document sont conforme aux normes de l'Association Internationale Phonétique (AIP).

The symbols for phonetic transcription used in this document are in accordance with the standards of the International Phonetic Association (IPA).

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