

**REPORT
OF A LINGUISTIC SURVEY
ON THE MALINKÉ
OF WESTERN MALI AND SENEGAL
WITH SPECIAL REGARD TO
THE MALINKÉ OF KITA**

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I. **General Information on Malinké**

A. ***Linguistic Classification of the Different Speech Varieties***

The Malinké spoken in eastern Senegal, in Guinea and in Kita along with Bambara and Khassonké all belong to the Manding branch of the Northern Mande language family. The complete classification for *all* of these speech forms is Niger Congo, Mande, Western, Northwestern, Northern, Greater Mandekan, Mandekan, Manding: Bambara/Malinké/Khassonké. (Bendor-Samuel 1989:50).

B. ***Number and Location of Speakers***

The majority of the Malinké people live in Northeastern Guinea, Southern and Western Mali, Eastern Senegal, and Northern Côte d'Ivoire (See Map in Appendix D).

According to 1991 Mali census figures cited by Grimes (1992:297ff.), there are 2,968,600 Bambara speakers in Mali and 120,000 Khassonké speakers. 541,200 Malinké speakers live in Mali and 258,500 in Senegal. (Grimes 1992:301) Larry Vanderaa (1991) indicates that there are 1,816,500 Maninka (Malinké) speakers in Guinea, though this figure includes 128,400 Konyanka. There are 639,600 Malinké speakers in Northeastern Côte d'Ivoire. (Vanderaa 1991:35)

C. ***Background Information***

1. **Mande Languages**

Mande languages are spoken all over West Africa by at least 10 million people. (Dwyer, 1989:47) They figure as languages of wider communication in several countries, for example Jula in Côte d'Ivoire, Malinké (Maninka) in Guinea and Bambara in Mali.

The Manding branch of the Northern Mande language family includes Malinké as spoken in Mali, Senegal, Guinea and Côte d'Ivoire, along with Jula, Bambara, Khassonké, Konyanka, Wassalunka, Diakhanka, Mauka and Bô. All of these languages have a lexical similarity of at least 80% and often above 90% according to Ronald Long. (1971:55-57)

There is *some degree* of intercomprehension among these languages. This and the high degree of lexical similarity as well as the wide geographical distribution of the languages lead some to speak of them as a dialect chain. Long, however, does not necessarily think they are a dialect chain - only that they are very closely related. (1971:56-57) Measuring the degree of intelligibility between these speech forms is made more difficult by the widespread use of closely related trade languages such as Bambara and Jula. (Sullivan 1983:6)

One feature of the Manding languages that makes intercomprehension difficult is the tense-aspect markers, which vary widely from speech form to speech form. The chart below (taken in part from Keïta 1985:327-329) shows some of these tense-aspect markers. Note that one phonetic form may have different and even opposite meanings in different speech varieties.

These grammatical differences explain how languages which such high lexical similarity can still be not mutually intelligible. It also explains the speed with which native speakers of one language learn another, since it means only learning the corresponding grammatical markers and making a few phonological changes.

Tense-Aspect Markers in some Mande

Language	Incompletive (Inaccompli)	Completive (Accompli)	Injunctive (Command)	Neg. Injunctive (Prohibition)	Future
Bambara	be	yé	ká	kána	bená
Kita Malinké	yé	dí ~ tí	ká	kána	
Senegalese Malinké	be	xa ~ ka	ma (?)	kána	
Kankan Malinké	ye	bara	yé	ká	dí
Ivorian Malinké		bara	yé	ká	

There has been a lot of confusion with regard to the names for various members of this language family. The term *Mande* is sometimes used to refer to the whole language family but also to refer to the *Northern Mande* branch as well as to lower branches such as *Mandekan* and *Manding*. Likewise, the term *Manding* is used for the entire language family but also for specific languages.

This confusion extends to the term *Malinké*, which is the accepted French and English name for the Malinké language. The Malinké themselves refer to their language as *Maninka*, *Maninga*, *Maninkakan*, or *Maninkaxan*. There are various spellings of all of these. In Guinea, Malinké is normally referred to as *Maninka*. It must be noted that *Malinké* (Maninka, Maninkakan, etc.) is not the same as *Mandinka*, a distinct but related language spoken in Western Senegal and Gambia.

2. Malinké

Many different speech varieties are known by the name Malinké (Maninka, Maninkakan, etc.). These speech forms are often as different from each other as they are from the other Mandekan languages (e.g., Bambara, Khassonké, Jula). Raimund Kastenholz reports that “le nom ‘Malinké’ a été utilisé, selon les rapports antérieurs, simultanément pour désigner plusieurs dialectes, qui sont, entre eux aussi différents que par rapport aux autres dialectes Mandé-kan.” (1979: 205)

These various “Malinké” speech varieties are frequently referred to as a language chain or dialect chain. That is to say that there is mutual intelligibility between geographically neighboring dialects, but that dialects geographically removed from each other may not be able to understand one another. There are gradual changes throughout the chain that make it hard to define clear borders between speech forms. What is clear is that the communities at the ends of the chain can not understand each other.

Historically speaking, it was the Malinké who founded the ancient Malian empire in the 11th century. Their language was the predecessor of modern Malinké, Bambara and Jula. From this nucleus, the language spread outwards by means of a series of conquests and other diverse influences such as trade and cultural contacts. The current fractionalized linguistic state of the Manding languages in general and the Malinké dialects in specific is a result of the migrations, cultural conflicts and upheavals connected with the birth and then fall of the Malian empire. (Houis 1981: 67, 71)

The original Mande/Malinké heartland was located near where the Niger river crosses the Mali-Guinea border. From this region, there were two main migration patterns. One followed the Fouta Diallon mountain range westward into Senegal and Gambia. The other followed the Niger and its tributaries into eastern Mali, northern Côte d’Ivoire, western Burkina Faso, and northern Ghana. (Bird 1982:1)

This major split into east and west follows a line which runs north-south through Kita, which is frequently mentioned in the literature as the division point in Malinké dialects. Everything west (and north) of there, orients itself towards Senegal

and the Atlantic. Everything east (and south) of there orients itself towards “the great commercial centers of the central Savannah and to the forest regions in the south” (including Côte d’Ivoire and Guinea, which is admittedly southwest). (Bird 1982:2). (See map in Appendix D.)

The western Malinké dialects (including Khassonké) are characterized by a five-vowel system, whereas the eastern ones (including Wassulunké, Bambara and Guinean Malinké) have a seven-vowel system. (Bird 1982:5)

II. Reasons and Purposes of the Survey

Conversations with people working in Malinké areas and conflicting statements in literature on Malinké dialects caused us to question whether existing or developing literatures (Jula, Bambara, Khassonké, Malinké of Senegal and Maninka of Guinea) could adequately serve all Malinké speakers, especially those in the area of Kita.

The main purpose of the survey was therefore to determine whether or not the Malinké speakers of the Kita area in Mali need a separate literature. Is their speech form a separate language or can they adequately understand and communicate in the Bambara of Bamako, Khassonké, the Malinké of Eastern Senegal or the Malinké (Maninka) of Kankan, Guinea?

Secondly, if they are able to understand one or more of these speech forms, which one is the most easily understood and what is their attitude toward using literature in any of the above-mentioned speech forms.

III. Goals of the Survey

The first goal was to determine the inherent comprehension between the Malinké spoken in Kita and the speech forms Bambara, Khassonké, Malinké of Badioula, Senegal, and Malinké of Kankan, Guinea.

Secondly we sought to discover the attitudes of Kita speakers of Malinké towards the use of written materials already being developed in these speech forms

IV. Survey Overview

A. Earlier Surveys done in the area

In September 1992 and January 1993, Niels and Regula Christiansen of SIL Mali (Société Internationale de Linguistique) conducted a preliminary survey of Malinké in the Circles of Kita and Bafoulabé. They were seeking to clarify the dialectal differences and the geographical limits of the Malinké spoken in these areas as well as to do research on bilingualism and language use. They also found that the Catholics have done some translation, at least parts of a lectionary.

Between September 1992 and February 1993, Boniface Keïta and Cécile Canut conducted a very thorough socio-linguistic survey of 200 Malinké speakers in Kita, Bendugu, Sagabari and Bamako. (Canut and Keïta, 1994:89-161)

Canut and Keïta found that while Malinké was “in regression”, it is still spoken by 95% of the people in rural areas (Sagabari and Bendugu), where only 10% of the people are bilingual in Bambara. (p. 103-104) They also found a strong tendency for Malinkés in urban areas to adopt Bambara, a tendency which was not shared by Bambaras moving into Malinké areas. (p. 115) Malinkés hold a strong preference for Malinké over Bambara, which they view as a constraint and a “colonizing” force. (p. 116) An example of this preference is seen in Sagabari, where a Bambara

literacy program had to be shut down since everyone preferred the Malinké literacy program run by Catholic priests.

Their survey also addressed comprehension of and competence in Bambara. They found that 66% of the Malinké in Bamako who profess to speak Bambara have not really mastered it. In addition, only a minority of women and villagers claim to understand Bambara well. (p. 153)

Canut and Keïta concluded that Malinké needs to be used for the transmission of important information and in functional literacy programs, especially in rural areas, where the use of Bambara only would be unsuited to development efforts (“inadaptée à un bon développement.”) (p. 154-155)

B. DNAFLA and SIL

DNAFLA (la Direction Nationale de l'Alphabétisation Fonctionnelle et Linguistique Appliquée) is a government agency in charge of the development of the national languages of Mali. DNAFLA operates under the supervision of the Ministère de l'Éducation de Base. The Malian government welcomes the cooperation of Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in the development of national languages.

SIL, the Société Internationale de Linguistique, is a non-profit, non-governmental organization that conducts linguistic research in minority languages around the world. SIL often does literacy and post-literacy work in these languages and tries to preserve their oral traditions. In addition, SIL translates literature of high moral value into these languages.

SIL began work in Mali in 1980 as a private organization. In 1986, SIL became a recognized NGO. SIL is committed to helping develop the languages of Mali and, as a first step, a language survey is often required to assess the linguistic situation of a given language. This may result in finding that what was thought to be one language is in fact, two or more separate languages. DNAFLA is not opposed to developing these, but its priorities are the designated national languages. Since the goals of both DNAFLA and SIL overlap in a number of areas, there is close collaboration between them. DNAFLA's help and cooperation was essential both in planning and carrying out this particular survey.

C. The Survey Team and Itinerary

The survey team for the first half of the survey consisted of Tim Tillinghast and Matthias Liebrecht, linguists from the Société Internationale de Linguistique (SIL) in Bamako. Between September and December of 1995, trips were made to collect texts in the Bambara of Bamako, the Khassonké of Oussoubidiagna and the Malinké of Badioula, Senegal.

For the Bambara tests our interpreter was Dann Priebe, who grew up speaking Bambara. The Bambara texts were transcribed with the aid of Jérémie Diarra.

The Khassonké test was made with the help of Jean Marie Kanouté, a native-tongue Khassonké speaker, and Harald Tveit, a Norwegian linguist working among the Khassonké.

For the Senegal leg of the survey, Kaly Konté of Tambacounda, Senegal served as the main interpreter and translator. Brent and Debbie Mitchell, Canadians who work in the area, also provided help in linguistic matters and in the hometown testing.

Between December 1 to December 7, 1996, the survey team made a trip to Kita, Mali to test the comprehension of the texts collected earlier. Testing was done

on Malinké speakers in the village of Dunba 7 km outside of Kita. A sociolinguistic questionnaire was also administered. For the first two trips to Kita, Sory Diallo, trained and recommended by DNAFLA, was a part of the survey team. He served as an interpreter and helped in transcription and translation of texts.

On December 26 and 27, 1996, Tim Tillinghast did comprehension testing in Kéniéba, Mali with the Kita, Khassonké and Senegal texts.

A second trip was made to Kita by Tim Tillinghast and Sory Diallo on Feb. 29, 1996 to do testing in the village of Bendougou. They used a recorded text test in the Malinké of Kankan, Guinea that had been hometown-tested by Greg Pruett, a linguist working in Guinea, but the results caused them to question whether the test was properly constructed.

It was decided that a new test was needed for Kankan, so in May 1996, Tim Tillinghast made a trip to Kankan, Guinea to collect a text in the Malinké (Maninka) of Guinea. Hector Franklin and Jerry Page of SIM and Jibril Dounbaya, a native speaker of Maninka, helped out with this.

On May 30, 1996, this text was tested on speakers in Karaya Tumuba, a Malinké village 17 km northeast of Kita. Mamadou Diabaté of Kita acted as the interpreter/translator.

V. Methods and Strategies

A. Recorded Text Tests

The method we used for testing inherent comprehension between dialects is called Recorded Text Testing (RTT) and is described fully in Dialect Intelligibility Testing (Casad:1987). Two short stories (1 minute and 3 minutes in length) are elicited and recorded on tape. The longer one is used for the comprehension test. 15 content questions are written for it, translated into the local dialect and recorded on tape. These are then recorded onto the test tape as breaks in the story. Three questions are written for the shorter story, which serves as a practice test to familiarize the test takers with the test procedure.

The finished test tape, complete with the practice test, the longer comprehension test and inserted questions, is then validated on local speakers in what is called the "Hometown Test". The tape is played individually to 10 native speakers. Any questions which pose problems for them are deleted. Ideally, one ends up with 10 questions on which everyone has scored 100%.

After the Hometown Test has been administered and the 10 best questions selected, the survey team proceeds to the actual test point where the RTT is to be administered. The 10 questions that were validated during the Hometown Test are then translated into the dialect of the test point and are recorded onto a new test tape that is specific to that test site. The test is then given to 10 speakers of the test dialect, all of whom have taken and passed a Hometown Test in their own dialect.

For this survey, texts were recorded and transcribed in Bambara (Bamako, Mali), the Malinké of Eastern Senegal (Badioula, Senegal), Khassonké (Oussoubidiagna, Mali), the Malinké of Guinea (Kankan, Guinea) and the Malinké of Kita. All tests were hometown tested.

Two tests were made for the Malinké of Guinea. The first was made by Greg Pruett as part of an earlier survey, but this test was eventually discarded and a new one was made.

Next, the Bambara, Khassonké, Badioula Malinké and Guinean Malinké questions were all translated into the Malinké of Kita and re-recorded so that they could be inserted into test tapes for use in Kita.

The Bambara, Khassonké and Senegal test tapes were then tested in the village of Dunba, located 7 km outside of Kita. This village was chosen because the Malinké spoken there was reported to be pure and fairly uninfluenced by Bambara, unlike the Malinké found in the city of Kita.

Later the first of the Guinean test tapes was tested in Bendougou, a village 12 km east of Kita. The second Guinean test tape was tested in the village of Karaya Tumuba 6 km east of Bendougou.

Below are the results of all of the hometown tests. These results include only the 10 best questions and not those that were rejected for various reasons.

Hometown Test Results

Bambara of Bamako

Date: October 24, 1995
 Location: Moribabougou (near Bamako)
 Surveyors: Matthias Liebrecht, Tim Tillinghast, Dann Priebe

Person #:	Question Numbers										Score:
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
1	1	2	2	1	2	0	2	2	2	2	80
2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	100
3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	0	2	2	90
4	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	95
5	1	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	90
6	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	100
7	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	100
8	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	100
9	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	100
10	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	100

2 = Correct

1 = 1/2 Correct

0 = Incorrect

Average Score = 95.5%

Standard Deviation = 6.9%

Number of People Tested = 10

Hometown Test Results

Khassonké of Mali

Date: October 7, 1995
 Location: Oussoubidiagna, Mali
 Surveyors: Tim Tillinghast, Matthias Liebrecht, Jean-Marie Kanouté

Person #	Question Numbers										Score:
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	100
2	2	2	2	2	2	0	2	2	2	2	90
3	2	2	2	2	0	2	2	0	2	2	80
4	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	100
5	2	2	0	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	90
6	2	2	2	0	2	2	2	2	2	2	90
7	2	2	2	2	2	2	0	2	2	2	90
8	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	100
9	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	100
10	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	100

2 = Correct
 1 = 1/2 Correct
 0 = Incorrect

Average Score = 94%
 Standard Deviation = 7%
 Number of People Tested = 10

Hometown Test Results

Malinké of Eastern Senegal

Date: November 8, 1995
 Location: Badioula, Senegal
 Surveyors: Tim Tillinghast, Matthias Liebrecht, Kaly Konté, Brent and Debbie Mitchell

Person #:	Question Numbers										Score:
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	100
2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	95
3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	100
4	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	100
5	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	100
6	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	100
7	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	100
8	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	100
9	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	100
10	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	100

2 = Correct
 1 = 1/2 Correct
 0 = Incorrect

Average Score = 99.5%
 Standard Deviation = 1.6%
 Number of People Tested = 10

Hometown Test Results (2nd RTT)

Malinké (Maninka) of Kankan, Guinea

Date May 9, 1996

Location: Wurenbaya, Prefecture of Kankan, Guinea

Surveyors: Tim Tillinghast, Hector Franklin, Jibril Dounbaya

Person #:	Question Numbers										Score:
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
1	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	95
2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	100
3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	100
4	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	100
5	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	100
6	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	100
7	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	100
8	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	100
9	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	100
10	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	100

2 = Correct

1 = 1/2 Correct

0 = Incorrect

Average Score = 99.5%

Standard Deviation = 1.6%

Number of People Tested = 10

Hometown Test Results

Malinké of Kita, Mali

Date: Dec. 6, 1995; Feb. 29, 1996; May 30, 1996

Location: Dunba, Bendougou and Karaya Tumuba - Cercle de Kita

Surveyors: Matthias Liebrecht, Tim Tillinghast, Sori Diallo, Mamadou Diabaté

Person #:	Question Numbers										Score:
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
1	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	95
2	2	2	1	0	2	2	2	2	2	2	85
3	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	95
4	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	100
5	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	100
6	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	100
7	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	100
8	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	100
9	2	0	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	90
10	0	0	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	80
11	2	0	2	2	2	0	2	2	2	2	80
12	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	100
13	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	100
14	2	2	2	2	2	2	0	1	2	2	85
15	2	2	2	2	2	2	0	2	0	2	80
16	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	100
17	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	100
18	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	100
19	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	100
20	2	0	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	90
21	2	0	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	90
22	2	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	95
23	2	2	*	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	100
24	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	100
25	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	100
26	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	100
27	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	100
28	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	100
29	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	100
30	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	100
31	*	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	100
32	*	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	100
33	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	100

* Question omitted because interpreter gave the answer to the individual or because the individual was not yet familiar with the idea of the test and so gave no answer. Scores are based on number correct out of 9.

2 = Correct

1 = 1/2 Correct

0 = Incorrect

Average Score = 95.9%

Standard Deviation = 6.8%

Number of People Tested = 33

B. Wordlists

Wordlists can be used diachronically to reconstruct a proto-language from which the various languages are said to have evolved. This was not the purpose of this survey.

Wordlists can also be used to analyze the synchronic relationship between languages, specifically their degree of lexical similarity. A lexical similarity above

70% indicates the possibility of intercomprehension and the need to do intelligibility testing. (Bergman, 1990:8.1.5) Background reading indicated a probable lexical similarity of at least 80 percent for Bambara, Khassonke, and the various forms of Malinké. (Long 53-59) As a result, a wordlist study was not needed to determine where to do intelligibility testing.

However, since wordlists had already been collected in the Malinké of Kankan and in the Malinké of Eastern Senegal for other surveys, we decided to collect a wordlist in Kita to compare with these existing wordlists. Also included is a wordlist in Diakhanké, a speech form of Eastern Senegal which is fully intelligible with the Malinké of Senegal.

We used a standard 304-item wordlist, which includes the SIL Africa Area 200-item wordlist and the Swadesh 200-item wordlist as well. All the wordlists were transcribed by Tim Tillinghast except the Kankan Maninka wordlist which was transcribed by Tina Ganong, who works in Guinea. The International Phonetic Alphabet was used for all the wordlists.

Tone was not transcribed except on the personal pronouns where there are tone pairs. An attempt was made at transcribing vowel length, but it was difficult to hear and as a consequence, not a lot of importance should be attached to differences in vowel length as marked in this wordlist.

All four wordlists were elicited from native speakers who were bilingual in French. The language of elicitation was French.

A copy of the wordlists is found in Appendix B.

C. *Sociolinguistic Questionnaire*

A sociolinguistic questionnaire was administered in the village of Dunba 7 km outside of Kita, Mali. This is one of the villages where the Recorded Text Test was tested. Dunba was chosen as a test site because it is said to be one of the most representative villages around Kita for the Malinké of that region.

Nine men and 5 women took the questionnaire. Three age ranges were considered (0-20, 20-40 and 40+ years) and an attempt was made to get equal numbers of men and woman from all three age groups. We had originally wanted to test thirty individuals, five in each category, but after a certain time, we were unable to find any other women willing to take the questionnaire. It was decided that it would be pointless to continue testing men if we could find no more women, especially given our time constraints and the difficulty we were having finding people to take the RTTs. This decision was made easier by the fact that responses on the questionnaire were almost identical each time it was given, indicating a very homogenous group.

The main purpose of the questionnaire was to discover the attitudes of the respondents toward Bambara, Khassonké, Badioula Malinké and Guinean Malinké. Also of interest was their readiness to use literature in one or more of these languages should their comprehension of any of these languages prove to be adequate.

A copy of the sociolinguistic questionnaire is found in Appendix C.

VI. Results

A. *Recorded Text Tests*

Several factors must be kept in mind when interpreting RTT scores. The foremost is the standard deviation. If this is above 12% (some say 15%), there is a

high probability that some of the text takers have had extended contact with the test language and are somewhat bilingual in it. (Bergman 1990:8.1.7) For this reason, we try to screen out test takers who've traveled to the area in question. This is particularly difficult in West Africa, where a large majority of the people in even the smallest villages have traveled widely. Women are ideal test takers, in that they travel much less, but are frequently unwilling to be tested.

Another important factor is lack of uniformity of the tests used for the RTT. It's difficult to get texts of equal difficulty. In addition, the sound quality might be better on one tape than another, since recording conditions are far from ideal in village settings.

1. RESULTS OF RECORDED TEXT TESTS IN KÉNIÉBA, MALI

A short, informal survey was done in the village of Sitaxoto near Kéniéba, Mali. Time was limited (the surveyor was there for 1 week of Christmas vacation), so the method was slightly altered.

Only three RTT tapes were on hand, so testing was restricted to the Malinké of Kita, the Malinké of Badioula Senegal, and Khassonké. Following the normal procedure, the questions for the tests were translated into the local dialect and inserted into the test tapes.

There was not time to elicit or transcribe a text in the Kéniéba area, and as a result there was no hometown test. However, since Kéniéba is just across the border from Badioula in Senegal (less than 100 km), it was felt that the Kéniéba speakers would be able to understand the Badioula test well, which proved to be true. This test was played first to familiarize the test takers with the method. This tape was then followed by the two remaining tapes.

Leaving out the hometown test meant that if the test takers did poorly, we wouldn't know if it was due to a true lack of misunderstanding or if it was due to an inability to take the test. If however, the test takers did well, there would be no question as to their ability to understand.

A difficulty encountered in Kéniéba was finding enough test takers in our limited time frame. Instead of the normal 10, we were only able to test five people (six for the Badioula test).

Below are the results of the Badioula Malinké test, the Khassonké test and the Kita Malinké test.

Recorded Text Test Results

Test: Malinké of Badioula, Senegal

Tested on: Malinké Speakers in Kéniéba, Mali

Date: Dec. 27, 1995
 Location: Sitaxoto, near Kéniéba, Mali
 Surveyors: Tim Tillinghast

Person #:	Sex	Age	Question Numbers										Score:	
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		
1	M	20	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	100
2	M	23	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	100
3	M	16	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	100
4	M	50	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	100
5	F	40	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	100
6	F	25	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	100

2 = Correct
 1 = 1/2 Correct
 0 = Incorrect

Average Score = 100%
 Standard Deviation = 0%
 Number of People Tested = 6

Recorded Text Test Results

Test: Khassonké of Oussoubidiagna

Tested on: Malinké Speakers in Kéniéba, Mali

Date: Dec. 27, 1995
 Location: Sitaxoto, near Kéniéba, Mali
 Surveyors: Tim Tillinghast

Person #:	Sex	Age	Question Numbers										Score:	
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10		
1	M	20	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	100
2	M	23	Disqualified - lived in Kayes for a while											
3	M	16	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	100
4	M	50	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	95
5	F	30	2	2	0	2	0	2	2	2	2	2	0	70
			This woman (#5) had many distractions during the test, not the least of which was that she was nursing her child.											
6	F	25	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	100

2 = Correct
 1 = 1/2 Correct
 0 = Incorrect

Average Score = 93% *98.75%
 Standard Deviation = 13% *2.5%
 Number of People Tested = 5 *4
 *With Individual #5 excluded

Recorded Text Test Results

Test: Malinké of Kita, Mali

Tested on: Malinké Speakers in Kéniéba, Mali

Date: Dec. 27, 1995
 Location: Sitaxoto, near Kéniéba, Mali
 Surveyors: Tim Tillinghast

Person #:	Sex	Age	Question Numbers										Score:
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
1	M	20		2	2	0	0	2	0	1	2	2	61
2	M	23	Lived in Kayes - Disqualified										
3	M	16		0	2	2	0	2	0	1	2	2	61
4	M	50		2	2	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	44
5	F	40		2	2	0	0	2	0	2	0	2	56
6	F	25		0	2	2	0	0	0	1	0	2	39

2 = Correct

1 = 1/2 Correct

0 = Incorrect

Average Score = 55.2%

Standard Deviation = 10.1%

Number of People Tested = 5

2. RESULTS OF RECORDED TEXT TESTS IN KITA, MALI

The Bambara, Khassonké, and Badioula Malinké RTT's were tested in the village of Dunba, 7 km outside of Kita. This village was chosen as one being representative of the Malinké of the region and not too influenced by Bambara, as is the case in Kita itself.

We encountered several difficulties in Dunba. One of these was finding enough people to take the tests, since everyone was involved in harvesting. Much of the testing was done after dark by candlelight.

Another difficulty was the length of the test. With four tapes to listen to, it took almost one hour for each test taker. A few people left after listening to three of the four tapes, meaning we had to find yet another person to take the test. For example, test taker number 11 (see below) took the hometown test, the Bambara test and then quit after only three questions of the Badioula Malinké test, declaring that she didn't understand anything. Her score of 0% had an adverse affect on the average score on the Badioula Malinké test, so scores are shown both with and without her score.

The Kankan Maninka RTT test was tested in the village of Karaya Tumuba, 17 km from Kita. There was a wedding going on that day, so a lot of people were there and many were willing to take the test. At one point, all the women went off to dance. Unfortunately, test taker number 9, a woman, was taking the test at this time. She was very distracted, partly because the drum music was very loud and partly because she was missing out on the dancing. We had to keep reminding her to listen to the tape. In spite of the fact that she got 100% on the hometown test, she only got 50% on the Kankan test. Since her score was so much lower than the other scores, and since there were so many distractions, it was decided to leave out her score.

There was, however, a man (#2) who scored 100% on the hometown, but only 50% on the Kankan test. There were no real distractions when he was taking the test, so I left his score in the results.

Below are the results of the tests. (Hometown test results were given earlier in section V.A)

RTT Results: Bambara of Bamako

Tested on: Kita Malinké speakers

Date: Dec. 6, 1995
 Location: Dunba, near Kita, Mali
 Surveyors: Tim Tillinghast, Matthias Liebrecht, Sory Diallo

Person #:	Sex	Age	Question Numbers										Score:
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
1	F	30	0	1	2	1	2	2	2	1	0	2	65
2	M	57	2	2	2	1	2	2	1	0	2	2	80
3	F	22	0	1	2	2	0	1	2	1	2	2	65
4	M	25	0	2	2	1	0	0	2	0	2	2	55
5	M	16	Failed Hometown test.										
6	M	56	2	1	2	2	2	2	2	0	2	2	85
7	F	16	1	1	2	1	2	0	2	1	0	2	60
8	M	18	0	1	2	1	2	2	2	0	0	0	50
9	F	21	0	1	0	2	2	1	2	0	2	2	60
10	M	40	Left after passing the Hometown test										
11	F	18	0	2	2	0	2	1	2	0	0	2	55
12	F	17	Took Hometown and Khassonke tests only.										
13	M	34	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	2	2	70

2 = Correct
 1 = 1/2 Correct
 0 = Incorrect

Average Score = 64.5%
 Standard Deviation = 11.2%
 Number of People Tested = 10

RTT Results: Khassonke of Oussoubidiagna, Mali

Tested on: Malinké speakers of Kita

Date: Dec. 6, 1995
 Location: Dunba, near Kita, Mali
 Surveyors: Tim Tillinghast, Matthias Liebrecht, Sory Diallo

Person #:	Sex	Age	Question Numbers										Score:
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
1	F	30	0	2	2	0	2	0	1	2	1	2	60
2	M	57	2	2	2	0	2	1	2	2	2	2	85
3	F	22	0	0	2	2	0	1	2	2	2	2	65
4	M	25	0	0	2	2	1	1	2	2	2	2	70
5	M	16	Failed Hometown Test										
6	M	56	2	2	2	0	0	1	2	1	2	2	70
7	F	16	0	2	2	2	2	1	2	2	2	2	85
8	M	18	2	2	2	2	2	0	2	2	2	2	90
9	F	21	0	0	2	0	2	0	2	2	2	2	60
10	M	40	Left after passing the Hometown Test.										
11	F	18	Quit after Hometown, Bambara and Badioula tests.										
12	F	17	0	2	2	2	1	0	2	2	2	*	72
13	M	34	2	2	2	2	0	2	2	2	2	2	90

* Interpreter gave her the answer. Score is out of 9 possible.

2 = Correct
 1 = 1/2 Correct
 0 = Incorrect

Average Score	Overall	Men	Women
Standard Deviation	74.7%	77.4%	68.4%
Number of People Tested	11.8%	9.4%	10.5%
	10	5	5

RTT Results: Malinké of Badioula, Senegal

Tested on: Malinké speakers of Kita

Date: Dec. 6, 1995
 Location: Dunba, near Kita, Mali
 Surveyors: Tim Tillinghast, Matthias Liebrecht, Sory Diallo

Person #:	Sex	Age	Question Numbers										Score:
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
1	F	30	2	0	2	0	2	2	0	0	2	2	60
2	M	57	2	2	2	0	2	2	0	0	2	2	70
3	F	22	2	2	2	0	2	2	0	0	2	0	60
4	M	25	2	0	2	0	0	2	2	2	2	2	70
5	M	16	Failed Hometown Test										
6	M	56	2	2	2	0	2	2	0	2	2	2	80
7	F	16	2	0	2	0	2	2	0	2	2	2	70
8	M	18	2	2	1	0	2	2	0	2	0	0	55
9	F	21	2	2	2	0	2	2	0	0	2	0	60
10	M	40	Left after passing Hometown Test										
11	F	18	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0*
12	F	17	Only took Hometown and Khassonke tests.										
13	M	34	2	2	2	0	2	2	0	2	2	2	80

*Individual #11 gave up after three questions because she "couldn't understand anything."

2 = Correct	Average Score	Overall	Without #11	Men	Women
1 = 1/2 Correct	Standard Deviation	60.5%	67.2%	71%	62.5%
0 = Incorrect	Number of People Tested	22.9%	9.1%	10.2%	5%
		10	9	5	4

RTT Results: Maninka of Kankan, Guinea (2nd RTT)

Tested on: Malinké speakers of Kita

Date: May 30, 1996
 Location: Karaya Tumuba, near Kita, Mali
 Surveyors: Tim Tillinghast, Mamadou Diabaté

Person #:	Sex	Age	Question Numbers										Score:
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
1	M	28	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	100
2	M	26	2	2	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	2	50
3	M	27	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	0	2	2	90
4	M	60	2	2	2	2	2	0	2	0	0	2	70
5	M	36	0	2	2	2	2	2	2	0	2	2	80
6	F	18	2	2	0	2	2	2	2	0	0	2	70
7	F	28	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	0	0	2	80
8	M	19	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	0	0	2	80
9	F	30	2	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	2	50*
10	F	23	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	0	0	2	80
11	M	38	2	2	2	2	2	2	0	0	0	2	70

*Loud drumming and dancing going on while number 9 was taking the test. She was very distracted and often had to be reminded to answer the questions.

2 = Correct	Average Score	Overall	Without #9
1 = 1/2 Correct	Standard Deviation	74.6%	77%
0 = Incorrect	Number of People Tested	15.1%	13.4%
		11	10

B. Wordlists

The four wordlists (Badioula Malinké, Diakhanké, Kita Malinké, and Kankan Maninka) were entered into Wordsurv, a program for analyzing word lists. The "Reliability Code" for the wordlists was set at "C" for all four languages following the

guidelines on page 31 of the manual. (Wimbish 1989:31) The choices for degree of reliability are as follows:

- A: High Reliability: Many years of field work, ideal.
- B: Med High: Short, intensive field work.
- C: Medium: Good bilingual informants.
- D: Medium Low: Difficulties in bilingual elicitation
- E: Low: Monolingual survey.

A significant part of the Wordsurv program is the “Compass” feature (Compass = COMPArativist’s ASSistant), which uses an algorithm developed by Donald Frantz. Before running this part of the program, the thresholds were adjusted to account for the size of the word list (300 words instead of the standard 100). The Upper Threshold was set at 22. The Lower one was set at 3, and the Bottom Threshold was left unchanged at 1. (Wimbish 1989:71, 72)

Below are some of the Wordsurv Compass results.

PERCENT OF SHARED COGNATES

(from SHARED module of Wordsurv)

Kita Malinké

73		Maninka of Kankan, Guinea
80	66	Badioula Malinké (Senegal)
83	68	95 Diakhanka (Senegal)

VARIANCE (ERROR RANGE IN %)

(from SHARED module of Wordsurv)

Kita Malinké

4.2		Maninka of Kankan, Guinea
3.8	4.5	Badioula Malinké (Senegal)
3.5	4.4	2.1 Diakhanka (Senegal)

NUMBER OF COGNATES (OUT OF 303)

(from SHARED module of Wordsurv)

Kita Malinké

221		Maninka of Kankan, Guinea
243	199	Badioula Malinké
252	206	288 Diakhanka (Senegal)

Interpretation: The compass results for the Badioula Malinké and Kita Malinké wordlists show 213 definite cognates and 30 words that are likely cognates, for a total of **243 cognates out of 303 words, or 80% lexical similarity between the two languages**. The variance, or range of error, was calculated at $\pm 3.8\%$, which can be interpreted to mean that **lexical similarity falls between 76.2% and 83.8%**.

For the Kita Malinké and the Kankan Maninka wordlists, there were a total of 221 cognates out of 303 words (143 definite cognates and 78 likely cognates) for a **lexical similarity of 73%**. The variance was calculated to be $\pm 4.2\%$, which means that the **lexical similarity was most likely between 68.8% and 77.2%**

It must be noted that a lexical similarity of 73% or 80% tells us nothing about the level of intelligibility between the languages. Recall that lexical similarity above 70% indicates the *possibility* of intelligibility and the need to do recorded text testing, as we did in this survey.

Also of interest is the low level of lexical similarity between the two Senegalese speech forms and the Guinean Maninka: 68% (Diakhanka - Kankan) and 66% (Badioula - Kankan). The fact that these are below 70% does not, however, preclude the possibility of mutual intelligibility given the variances of 4.4% and 4.2% respectively. This possibility needs to be tested with recorded text testing.

While it was not the purpose of this survey to do a historical-comparative reconstruction of the languages in question, manipulation of the wordlists did reveal several obvious phonological correspondences which might be of interest to the reader. Below is a table of correspondences, with the languages abbreviated as follows: Kita Malinké (k), Badioula Malinké (b) and Guinean Maninka (g). Correspondences are listed in the order of their frequency of occurrence in the wordlist. Please note that this list is in no way exhaustive and that some of the correspondences represent tendencies and not absolute correspondences.

Correspondence	Environment (if any)	Example:	Examples in Wordlist:
1. [f] _{bg} ~ [h] _k	/ __	147. [foŋoo] _b [foŋo] _g [hoŋo] _k	25, 28, 31, 34, 76, 100, 103, 118, 123, 147, 161, 172, 202, 225, 243, 248, 254, 269, 287, 292, 303
2. [x/g/ɣ] _{bk} ~ [ø] _g	/ V__V	58. [tigoo] _b [tigi] _k [ti] _g	28, 37, 44, 58, 59, 122, 127, 134, 153, 156, 170, 179, 204, 234, 237, 244, 271, 272, 279, 290, 295
3a. [oo] _b ~ [V] _{kg}	/ __#	132. [keloo] _b [kele] _g [kele] _k	127, 132, 138, 140, 141, 150, 172, 173, (plus all examples for Rule 3b)
3b. [oo] _b ~ [o] _g / [u] _k	/ __#	46. [musoo] _b [muso] _g [musu] _k	32, 41, 46, 48, 61, 70, 129, 139, 155, 156, 254, 273 (with a few irregularities)
4. [x] _{bk} ~ [k] _g	/ __ (Kita might have [k] instead of [x], but Guinea always has [k].)	33. [xuloo] _b [xulu] _k [kolo] _g	18, 20, 22, 68, 78, 182, 194, 227, 239, 255, 298, 304
5. [Vŋ] _b ~ [V] _{kg}	often at end of word, but irregular. See rule 6.	143. [sinŋ] _b [sinin] _{gk}	143, 144, 160, 197, 223, 229, 250, 255, 260, 266
6. [Vŋ] _b ~ [Ṽ ~ Vn] _{kg}	irregular. See rule 5.	253. [wonŋwon-] _b [wonwon] _g [wǎnwǎn-] _k	5, 6, 11, 38, 253, 285
7. [j] _{bk} ~ [g] _g	/ __	149. [jiyoo] _b [ji] _k [gi] _g	16, 35, 36, 64, 121, 149, 246, 302

8. [gb] _g ~ [g] _{bk} [gb] _g ~ [b] _{bk} [b] _g ~ [g] _{bk}	/ __ / __ / __	7. [dagulo] _b [dagulu] _k [dagbolo] _g	7, 32, 53, 96, 185, 203, 277, 291
9a. [iyo] _b ~ [i] _{gk}	/ C__	135. [siisiyo] _b [sisi] _{gk}	36, 92, 115, 135, 148, 149, 246
9b. [uwo] _b ~ [u] _{gk}	/ C__	137. [suwo-to] _b [su] _{gk}	114, 137
10. [x] _b ~ [ɣ] _k	/ V__V	22. [toxo] _b [-] _g [tɔɔ] _k	22, 40, 59, 67 (See Rules 2 and 4)
11. [d] _g ~ [j] _{bk}	/ #__V	41. [jangaroo] _b [jangaru] _k [daŋkaro] _g	41, 57, 120
12. [ʃ] _b ~ [s] _{gk}	/ __[i]	117. [ʃiloo] _b [sila] _g	117, 210, 296
13. [j] _b ~ [y] _{gk}	/ __[e,ɛ]	251. [jele-] _b [yele] _g [yele] _k	251, 256
14. [r] _g ~ [t] _{bk}	/ V__V	51. [xoto] _b [xɔtɔ-] _k [koro-] _k	23, 51

C. Sociolinguistic Questionnaire

The linguistic questionnaire earlier mentioned was the means to test the attitude of Kita speakers of Malinké toward the other speech forms. The questionnaire was administered at the same time as the first Kita RTT in the village of Dunba just outside of Kita. All participants were from Dunba except for one from Horonko, another nearby village.

All individuals tested were mother-tongue speakers of Malinké as were their parents. Only 3 of them claimed to speak other languages. All three spoke Bambara and one of them also spoke Soninké. The language of preference for all 14 participants was Malinké.

Question 4 on the survey asked about what language they would use to communicate with a person from Bamako or Kita or Oussoubidiagna or Kéniéba or Kédougou, Senegal, or Siguiri, Guinea.

A majority of the participants said they would use Malinké to communicate with someone coming from Bamako, Kita, Oussoubidiagna or Kéniéba. There was more confusion when it came to the person from Kédougou or Siguiri, probably because they'd never encountered anyone from there. Only half said they'd speak Malinké to someone from Kédougou. They were unsure as to what language he or she would speak to them in. 14% suggested he would speak Wolof, 21% suggested Malinké and the rest didn't know.

To communicate with someone from Siguiri, Guinea, 71% said they would use Malinké and the rest didn't know. 14% responded that the stranger would speak to them in "Guinean". 36% said he'd speak Malinké and 50% didn't know what language he'd speak.

One of the most interesting facts obtained from this question was that half of the respondents said the people from Kéniéba would speak Khassonké. This lines

up with the high RTT scores of Kéniéba speakers on both the Khassonké and Senegalese Malinké tests and the fact that the Kita RTT test takers thought that the Senegal tape was Khassonké and not Malinké.

The next question dealt with how long it would take one of their children to communicate with those around him if he or she moved to one of the 6 areas mentioned in the previous question. Would s/he need time to adapt and learn the language or would communication be immediate? This question shows the estimated degree of difference between the other speech varieties and their own speech form.

Most of the individuals did not expect any difficulties in Bamako. About half of them estimated that one week would be needed to be able to communicate in Oussoubidiagna and Kéniéba. Also half of them expected to be able to communicate right away in Siguiri. 64% were uncertain about the time necessary in Kédougou.

The following question was concerning radio broadcasts from Senegal and Guinea. 50% said they listened to radio broadcasts from both countries. The other 50% didn't. One said it was because he had no radio.

Of those who did listen to Guinean and Senegalese radio programs, all of them reported liking these programs. Many of them mentioned music or griots, so it is uncertain as to whether they listen to broadcasts that are not musical. Since one can listen to and enjoy music even when the words are unclear, their listening patterns reveal little about their actual comprehension of Guinean or Senegalese Malinké.

It was clear, however, that they had positive attitudes to these materials coming from Guinea and Senegal.

The preferred language for literacy classes was Malinké for 57% of the participants, since it was their own language. 36%, however, preferred Bambara because it is more widespread and because "it's the same as Malinké". 7% had no preference between Bambara or Malinké.

With few exceptions, all would like their children to be able to read and write in Bambara and/or the Malinké of Kita. About half of those questioned would agree to literacy programs for their children in Khassonké or Malinké of Kéniéba. They were uncertain about using the speech varieties of Kédougou and Siguiri. In each case, roughly one third were for it, one third were against it, and one third didn't know enough about the languages in question.

13 of the 14 people questioned would like to see Malinké of Kita to be a written language. Responses were varied but enthusiastic when asked about what types of literature they'd like to see in Malinké. Many were interested in village stories and information about agriculture. Other trade areas were also mentioned.

When asked if they would accept these kinds of literature in Khassonké or Malinké of Senegal only 28% and 14% respectively were ready to do so.

Given the choice between Bambara, Khassonké and Malinké of Senegal, 12 out of 14 cited Bambara as their first choice. The main reasons were that Bambara is the most easily understood and is spoken in the same territory. Asked which one they liked the least the answers were more varied, but 6 said they didn't like the Malinké of Senegal and 3 Khassonké because they didn't understand them.

According to most of those questioned, the regions best representing their speech form are Dunba and all the region of Kita down to Sagabari.

VII. Analysis of RTT Scores

A. *Kéniéba, Mali*

It is obvious from the test results, that the Malinké speakers around Kéniéba have no problem understanding the Malinké of Eastern Senegal, particularly that of Badioula. It is also fairly certain that they can understand Khassonké (as spoken in Oussoubidiagna).

When asked, the test takers thought that the Khassonké and Badioula tapes came from “right here” (Kéniéba). The fact that they didn’t distinguish between Khassonké and the Malinké of Senegal (or their own Malinké) corresponds with the assertion by Kita Malinké speakers that the Senegal Malinké tape was “Khassonké” and not Malinké.

It was also clear that the Kéniéba speakers could not understand the Malinké of Kita (55% comprehension). Unfortunately, the Bambara test tape was not available, but it can only be assumed that they would do poorly on it, since the Malinké of Kita is linguistically similar to Bambara.

B. *Kita, Mali*

Summary Table of Kita RTT Scores

Kita Speakers tested on:	Average Score	Standard Deviation	Confidence Interval from T-test Probab. of error \leq 0.05	Thresholds (From T-test)			
				70%	75%	80%	85%
Bambara	64.5%	11.2%	58% - 71%	Yes	No	No	No
Badioula Malinké	67.2%	9.1%	62% - 73%	Yes	No	No	No
Khassonke	74.7%	11.8%	68% - 82%	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Kankan Maninka	77.0%	13.4%	70% - 85%	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Khassonke Test Scores

Of the three initial RTT’s given to Kita Malinké speakers (Bambara, Khassonke and Badioula Malinké), the scores were highest on the Khassonke test. Still, a score of 74.7% is not very high, especially given the standard deviation of 11.8%.

In looking at the average scores for each sex, one sees that the men scored 77.4% (st. dev. 9.4%) on the Khassonke test, while the women scored 68.4% (st. dev 10.5%). One might hypothesize that the men have had more contact with Khassonkes than the women, and that as a result, their comprehension was significantly higher than the women’s. This hypothesis was tested using the difference test (with a significance level of 0.05). The hypothesis was proved false (8 degrees of freedom, $t=1.43$, Probability of error = 0.05 or less).

A T-test was performed on the Khassonke scores. The T-test indicates if a score can be interpreted to be above a certain threshold, given the standard deviation. (Bergman 1990: 8.1.9) In this case, the question was “Can the mean score of 74.7% be interpreted to be above a threshold of 80% (or 85%) given the standard deviation of 11.8%?” The results showed that the scores on the Khassonke test could be interpreted to be above 80% but not above 85%. The probability of error is 0.05 or less.

Badioula Malinké Scores

For discussion of the Badioula Malinké scores, we will omit the scores of test taker number 11, who quit after the third question, claiming that she understood nothing.

Even without her score, the average score of 67.2% is very low. The standard deviation of 9.1% is acceptable, but a comparison of the men's and women's scores shows quite a difference in comprehension: 71% for the men and 62.5% for the women. As with the Khassonke scores, a difference test was performed to investigate this. The results were that the men were not significantly higher than the women. ($t=1.63$, 6 degrees of freedom, probability of error = 0.05 or less).

The t-test showed that the scores could be considered to be above 70% but not above 75%.

Bambara Scores

It should be noted that the Bambara text is an expository/hortatory text and not a narrative text like the others. As such, writing and scoring questions for it was more difficult. Many of the questions had multiple answers (e.g., "What foods can replace meat in the diet?" - eggs, fish, beans). In addition, we found that people tended to answer from their own experience or opinions instead of answering according to the text.

In spite of these difficulties, it was decided to use the text for our survey. One would expect lower scores on a test of a harder discourse genre, but it was thought that this would better reflect the comprehension necessary for higher-level texts, such as those often found in Scripture. If people did well on this test, they could surely use Bambara Scriptures. A simpler Bambara narrative would have indicated ability to understand narrative scripture portions, such as the gospels, but would have shed no light on comprehension of the epistles, for example.

The Bambara scores were the poorest of the three languages initially tested, in spite of the fact that the people claimed to understand Bambara. The t-test showed that the scores could be interpreted to be above the 70% threshold, but not above 75%. The difference test showed no significant difference between the men's mean score of 68 (standard deviation = 15.2) and the women's of 61 (standard deviation = 4.2) ($t=.99$, 5 degrees of freedom, probability of error = 0.05 or less).

Kankan Maninka (Malinké) Scores

The poor scores on the first three language tested (Khassonke, Badioula Malinké and Bambara) led us to construct and test an RTT using the Maninka (Malinké) of Kankan, Guinea.

These scores were surprisingly higher with a mean score of 77. Unfortunately, the standard deviation was also fairly high (13.4), indicating a high level of bilingualism or contact with Guineans. This was in spite of the fact that none of the people tested had ever traveled to Guinea.

The t-test indicated that the scores could be interpreted to be above 80% but not much above 85%. The actual spread of the RTT scores was from 69.2 to 84.8.

This RTT brought to light something which may be a major block to intercomprehension between these two speech varieties. Nine out of the ten people tested missed question number 8 on the Kankan RTT. What was interesting is that their answer was *exactly opposite* of the correct answer. The question was "What did the women say?" In the story, the woman very emphatically told her husband not to

open the door. All but one of the Kita speakers understood her to say “Open the door!” They were very certain about this, even after listening twice.

Closer examination of the text reveals an explanation for this. The sentence in question is the following:

I ka da laka de !

You MUST-NOT door open EMPH(?)

The auxiliary [ka] expresses prohibition or what Boniface Keïta (1985, p.329) calls the “projectif negatif”. Other Mande languages, including those in Senegal, Kita and Burkina Faso, use the auxiliary [kana] to express this same idea.

To express obligation (the “projectif positif”), the Malinké of Kita and Bambara use the auxiliary [ka], whereas Kankan Malinké and Ivorian Malinké use [ye]. (Keïta, p. 329). Thus, the [ka] meaning “must not” in Kankan means “must” in Kita.

This information is summarized in the following chart along with some other Tense-Aspect markers in related Mande languages. (Keïta 1985:327-329) Another possible block to mutual comprehension is the difference in meaning that is signaled by [dí] in Kankan Malinké and [dí ~ tí] in Kita, where one indicates future and the other accomplished action.

Tense-Aspect Markers in some Mande Languages

Language	Incompletive (Inaccompli)	Completive (Accompli)	Injunctive (Command)	Neg. Injunctive (Prohibition)	Future
Bambara	be	yé	ká	kána	bena
Kita Malinké	yé	dí ~ tí	ká	kána	
Senegalese Malinké	be	xa ~ ka	ma (?)	kána	
Kankan Malinké	ye	bara	yé	ká	dí
Ivorian Malinké		bara	yé	ká	

With regard to the Kankan Malinké RTT, it should also be noted that question number 9 was missed by seven out of the ten test takers. The answers were more varied this time, which may indicate something other than a grammatical difference. The fact that this question was missed by so many may be due to confusion caused by the misunderstanding of number 8.

VIII. Conclusion and Recommendations

How do RTT scores correlate with comprehension? More specifically, what RTT score indicates adequate comprehension? This, of course, depends on the purpose of communication. A newspaper can be read and understood on a much wider scale than literature from other genres. What is an adequate level of comprehension for one is not adequate for another.

Joe Grimes (personal communication) says that scores of 85% to 100% indicate adequate understanding for the use of the same written literature. Scores of 75% to 85% indicate a “yellow light zone” for communication and below 70% would be a certain need for separate translations in each of the languages.

A. Malinké of Kéniéba, Mali

The Malinké of Kéniéba appears to be the same language as that spoken in Eastern Senegal. Any differences are minor and do not impede communication in any way. Malinké speakers in Kéniéba should be able to use all literature and materials produced in the Malinké of Senegal, including that being done by the translation team in Badioula.

The Malinké of Kéniéba also seems to be highly intelligible with Khassonké. but further surveys are needed before a definitive statement can be made. Testing could be done in Khassonké areas to evaluate the degree of comprehension of the Malinké of Senegal. A wordlist comparison of the two speech forms would also be interesting.

The Khassonké translation team and the Malinké translation team in Senegal should by all means be collaborating in their work, and pending further survey, perhaps even consolidate their efforts to produce one translation.

B. *Malinké of Kita, Mali*

If we follow Grimes' comprehension guidelines, the Kita Malinké speakers do not appear to have adequate comprehension of either Bambara, Khassonké, or the Malinké of Senegal. The Khassonké comes closest (within the 80 - 85% range, but not higher), but the high standard deviation leads one to believe that there was a fair degree of contact/bilingualism reflected in the scores. It should be noted that the women scored 68% (st. dev = 10%) on the Khassonké test, which is definitely not adequate comprehension.

The Kita speakers' comprehension of Kankan Malinké comes closest to being adequate. The results of the t-test indicate that the average score almost reaches the 85% threshold (84.8%). This puts it at the lowest possible limit for good comprehension. If there were no other factors involved, one might argue that this was good enough. However, there is the high standard deviation (13.4%), which most likely denotes previous contact with this speech form by some of the test takers. If it were possible to screen out these test takers, the comprehension scores of those with no contact would probably be considerably lower. (Bergman 1990:8.1.8) Secondly, there is the significant difference in verbal auxiliaries which caused 90% of the Kita Malinké tested to totally misinterpret question 8 on the Kankan test.

Taking all these factors into account, it would seem that the Malinké of Kita do not have adequate comprehension of the Malinké of Kankan and would be best served by a separate literature in their own language. This is not to say that communication at a basic level does not exist between Kita Malinké, Kankan Malinké, and Khassonké, but that higher level communication between these dialects is greatly limited. Use of literature in any of these speech forms might be possible for a highly motivated Kita Malinké speaker.

The results of the sociolinguistic questionnaire indicate that the Malinké of Kita have positive attitudes towards literacy and materials in their own language. They would most likely accept literacy and materials in Bambara, but this would necessitate adequate comprehension on their part. Reception would be less favorable for Khassonké or the Malinké of Guinea or Senegal, though part of this reticence is only due to a lack of contact with and knowledge about these speech varieties.

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X. Appendix A - Texts and Questions

A. Bambara Practice Text and Questions

Bamako Bambara Test d'Essai

Mme. DOLO Syla Kadiatou, DNAFLA Bamako, Mali, 21 sept. 1995

Ne taara sugu la nko n b'i taa n'ka naw san.¹ N ye jaba san, ka sunbala san, ka kɔgo san, ka foronto san, ka tamati san. Nka folɔ wari min tun bɛ jaba sɔrɔ, bi bi in na jaba sɔngɔn kɛra o ɲogonna fila ye.² Sogo fana/fɛna, o fana/fɛna gɛlɛyara kɔsɛbɛ.

Ne kɔni ne dabali banna. N'i bɛ fɛn ɲini dɔ farala o bɛɛ sɔngɔn kan.³ Ayiwa, malo yɛrɛ kɔni, o ye kɛrɛbɛtɛ ye.

Sugu gɛlɛyara, fini w gɛlɛyara, anw musow ka bolomafarako yɛrɛ, n'i k'i bɛ fini min san, folɔ l tun bɛ min san kɛmɛ saba, kɛmɛ naani, sisan o taara fo kɛmɛ seegin, kɛmɛ kɔnɔntɔn.

Ayiwa dɔ farala fɛnw bɛɛ sɔngɔn kan. Jateminɛ ma kɛ baarakɛlaw ka sara ko la. Ayiwa ne kɔni dabali banna.

O dun bɛ kɛ cogo di? An bɛɛ k'an hakili jagabo!

Bambara Test d'Essai - Questions

1. Pourquoi suis-je allé au marché?

Munna n'taara sugu la?

Réponse: **Ka n'ka naw san.** (Pour acheter mes condiments.)

2. Combien le prix d'un oignon a-t-il augmenté?

Jaba sɔngɔn yɛlɛnna ni joli ye?

Réponse: **Jaba sɔngɔn kɛra o ɲogonna fila ye.** (Le prix d'un oignon est devenu le double.)

3. Les prix de quelles choses ont augmenté?

Mun ni mun sɔngɔn yɛlɛnna?

Réponse: **N'i bɛ fɛn o fɛn ɲini dɔ farala o bɛɛ sɔngɔn kan.**

Bamako Bambara Test d'Essai - Traduction

Je suis allé au marché pour acheter mes condiments.¹ J'ai acheté l'oignon, le sunbala, le sel, le piment et la tomate. Mais jadis l'argent qui suffisait pour un oignon, de nos jours le prix d'un oignon est devenu le double.² La viande aussi est devenue très chère.

Moi même je n'ai plus de moyens. Le prix de tous ce qu'on cherche a augmenté.³ Et tout cela sans mentionner le prix de riz!

Le marché est devenu cher; les vêtements sont devenus chers; La contribution de nous les femmes, si tu dis que tu achètes un vêtement, autrefois ce qui était 1500 (cfa), ou 2000 cfa, maintenant cela va jusqu'à 4000 ou 4500 cfa.

Donc, il y a une augmentation sur toutes choses. On n'a pas tenu compte du salaire des travailleurs. Donc, mes moyens sont vraiment épuisés.

Comment cela s'est fait? Nous tous devons réfléchir.

fɛn o fɛn; fɛn bɛɛ. (Le prix pour tous ce qu'on cherche a augmenté, tous, toute les choses.)

B. Bambara Comprehension Text and Questions

Bambara Test de Compréhension - Texte

Mme. DOLO Syla Kadiatou, DNAFLA Bamako, Mali, 21 sept. 1995

Ne bɛna dakurɲa damadoƆ fɔ dumuni ko kan. Aw yɛrɛw b'a dɔn mɔgɔfarikolo mago bɛ dumuni suguya minw na, olu tɛ kelen ye. Dumuni ninu nafa kosɔn u tilalen don seere saba ye. Seereba saba.

Dɔw bɛ yen, olu bɛ funteni don an farikolo la, dɔw bɛ yen, olu b'an joli caya.¹ Dumunifen yɛrɛ dɔw bɛ yen, olu b'an lakanna. Ayiwa o dumuni ninu na, minw bɛ funteni don an farikola la, fɛn o fɛn mugu bɛ bɔ n'an b'o dum ani tulu mafɛnw, olu bɛ funteni don an farikolo la.

Minnu bɛ an joli caya ka an kolo don ka denmisɛnw mɔdiya, ani ka mɔgɔkɔrɔbaw fari sinsin, o dumunifɛnw ye bagan sogow ani fɛn minnu bɛ bagan ninu na kungokɔnɔtaw fara sokɔnɔtaw kan minnu bɛ dun.²

Nk'a a yera ka fɔ ni o dumuni dɔw ye farikolo jɛ, o bɛ kɛ sababu ye ka na ni bana dɔw ye.³ O bana dɔw, n bɛ se ka misali fila ta i n'a fɔ denmisɛnniw ta. U ka ca ka denmisɛnni fitiniw minɛ. K'a daminɛ san kelen fo san wɔɔrɔ.⁴

O ye fasa ni seere ye. fasa kɔni n'o ye den minɛ, den bɛ timinangoya, a fari bɛ fununfunun, a yɛrɛ bɛ kɛ cogo dɔ la, cogoya si tɛ faamuya, kunsigini bɛ sin ka namaya cogo dɔ la tentɔ. Ayiwa, kɔnɔboli tɛ ban, o bɛ sɔrɔ min fɛ, i b'a sɔrɔ den si kɔrɔbayara k'a to ba sinji dɔrɔn kan. Sokɔnɔmɔgɔw ma hakili sɔrɔ ka sinji in dafa.

Bambara Test de Compréhension - Traduction

Je vais dire quelques mots au sujet de l'alimentation. Vous mêmes, vous savez que les sortes de repas dont le corps a besoin, ceux-ci ne sont pas le même. À cause de l'intérêt de ces repas, ces repas se divisent en trois groupes. Trois grands groupes.

Il y en a quelques-uns qui nous donnent la force à notre corps, et il y en a aussi qui fortifient notre sang.¹ Quelques nourritures sont là qui nous protègent. Donc, dans ces aliments qui donnent l'énergie à nos corps, toutes les choses dont on fait la farine et qu'on mange et les choses avec de l'huile, ceux-ci donnent l'énergie à nos corps.

Ceux qui fortifient notre sang et solidifient nos os et font croître rapidement les enfants, et solidifient des corps des vieux, ces repas que nous mangeons sont la viande des animaux sauvages et domestiques.²

Mais il a été observé que si certaines de ces aliments manquent au corps, cela cause certaines maladies.³ Parmi ces maladies, je peux donner 2 exemples, comme celles des enfants. De nombreux enfants sont pris par ces maladies. Cela commence à partir d'un an jusqu'à 6 ans.⁴

Cela est dû à l'amaigrissement et les naissances rapprochées. Si l'amaigrissement attrape l'enfant, il se décourage, son corps s'enfle, lui-même, il est dans un état, un état incompréhensible (aux autres), ses cheveux deviennent immédiatement froissés. Alors, la diarrhée est continuelle, cela est causé par le fait que un enfant d'un certain âge ne prend que le lait maternel. La famille n'est pas

Ayiwa dɔ wɛrɛ fana/fɛna bɛ yen, u b'a f'o ma ko fasa. Fasa fana/fɛna o fana/fɛna ye den toli ye sin gansan dɔrɔn na. Ayiwa ni den dun ye kalo hake dɔ sɔrɔ, i n'a fɔ wɔrɔrɔ fo wolonwula sin dɔrɔn t'a jɛ. fo dumuni minnu bɛ funteni don farikolo la, ani dumuni minnu bɛ an kolo don kojuman olu dɔ ka sɔrɔ ka fara a kan.

O de y'a to an b'a fɔ ko ka mɔnniji nafana dila denmisenw ye.⁵ Mɔnniji nafama ani mɔnniji gansan, u tɛ kelen ye. N'i k'i bɛ mɔnni tobi, dumuni sɛɛrɛ/seere kelen de b'a la, n'o ye mugu ye o ye funtenimafɛn dɔ ye. O tuma na fi ka fɛn far'a kan, min bɛ kolo sinsin kosebɛ n'o bɛ bɔ baganw na.⁶ I n'a fo sogo walima jɛgɛ walima sho fana/fɛna bɛ se ka bila sogo nɔ na walima fan.⁷

O tuma an k'an hakili to denmisenw ka balo cogo la, walisa u bɛ se ka tagan nin bana ninnu ma.⁸ Hali ni bana ninnu kenɛyara, u bɛ se ka nɔ to denmisenni ka hadamadenya la. A bɛ se k'a nagasi, k'a hakili goya.⁹ An hakili la ni bana in ma denmisen minnu sɔrɔ, a n'u bɛ (pas clair) se ka taa jɔgɔn fɛ cogo min na, o tɛ kɛ olu bɛ taa k'a to, a tɛ mɔndiya, u hakili bɛ goya.¹⁰ Ayiwa u bɛ to sen kɔrɔ tento. An hakili la (k'u bɛ nafa na min) u bɛna nafa min na an ye, u tɛna se k'o na.

Ayiwa, kunafoni min tun bɛ ne fɛ k'o fɔ, o ye nin ye. Aw ni ce!

assez sage pour compléter le lait maternel.

Alors, il y en a une autre maladie qui s'appelle l'amaigrissement. Cet amaigrissement est dû au fait que l'enfant est resté uniquement au sein. Donc, pour un enfant d'un certain âge, par exemple, 6 ou 7 mois, le lait maternel ne le suffit pas. La nourriture qui donne l'énergie au corps et qui fortifie les os doit être ajouté à l'alimentation.

C'est pourquoi nous disons qu'il faut préparer une bouillie bénéfique pour les enfants.⁵ Une bouillie riche n'est pas la même chose que la bouillie simple. Si on dit qu'on prépare la bouillie, il n'y a qu'un seul groupe d'aliment - cela est la farine qui est un aliment énergétique. En ce temps, il faut ajouter certains aliments qui proviennent des animaux pour fortifier les os.⁶ Pour exemple, la viande ou bien le poisson ou bien les haricots ou bien les oeufs peuvent remplacer la viande.⁷

En ce temps, nous devons rester sages en ce qui concerne la nourriture des enfants, afin qu'ils soient protégés contre ces maladies-ci.⁸ Mêmes si la maladie a été guérie, il se peut que les enfants aient des effets indésirables (dans leur comportement). L'enfant peut être handicapé physiquement ou mentalement.⁹ À notre avis, les enfants qui n'ont pas attrapé cette maladie, ils vont continuer à croître ensemble en dépassant ceux qui sont atteints qui n'accroissent pas et qui ne sont pas sage.¹⁰ Alors, ils restent derrière les autres. À notre avis, les bénéfiques que nous attendons d'eux, ils ne pourront pas les accomplir.

Alors, ce que j'avais à vous dire, c'est ça. Merci!

Bambara Test de Compréhension - Questions

1. *La deuxième sorte de nourriture fait quoi à notre sang?*

Dumuni seere filanan be mun ke an joli la?

Réponse: O b'an joli caya. *(Elle fortifie notre sang.)*

2. *La viande de quelles sortes d'animaux est à manger?*

Bagan sifa jumen sogo be dun?

Réponse: Sokonotaw, ani kungokonotaw? *(des animaux domestique ou sauvages.)*

3. *Qu'est-ce qui est causé par le manque de certains aliments?*

Ni dumuni dow dunbaliya ye farikolo je, o be ke mun sababu ye?

Réponse: Bana dow. *(certaines maladies)*

4. *Les enfants attrapent ces maladies à quels âges?*

Denmisenw be bana ninnu mine k'u to san joli la?

Réponse: san kelen fo san wooro. *(entre un et six ans)*

5. *Il faut préparer quoi pour les enfants?*

Mun ka kan ka dila denmisenw ye?

Réponse: Monniji nafama. *(une bouillie riche.)*

6. *Qu'est-ce qu'il faut manger pour fortifier les os?*

Mun ka kan ka dun walisa ka kolo sinsin?

Réponse: Bagan sogow. *(La nourriture qui provient des animaux. La viande.)*

7. *Qu'est-ce qui peut remplacer la viande?*

Mun be se ka bila sogo no na?

Réponse: Jeye, sho, fan. *(le poisson, les oeufs, les haricots)*

8. *Pourquoi devons nous rester sage concernant la nourriture des enfants?*

Munna an k'an hakili to denw ka balo ko la?

Réponse: Walisa u ka tagan bana ninnu ma. *(Afin qu'ils peuvent rester protégés contre les maladies.)*

9. *Quels effets indésirables peuvent rester après la guérison de l'enfant?*

Bana ninnu be se ka mun lase den ma, a kene yalen kofe?

Réponse: U be se ka no to a ka hadamadenya la, a be se ka nagasi, a hakili be se ka goya. *(Ils peuvent rester handicapés physiquement ou mentalement)*

10. *Qu'est ce qui se passe avec leur mémoire?*

U hakili be ke cogo di?

Réponse: U hakili be goya. *(Ils deviennent stupides - handicapés mentalement.)*

C. *Khassonké Practice Text and Questions*

Khassonké Test d'Essai - Texte

M. DIAOUNÉ Mamadou, Oussoubidiagna, Mali, 5 oct. 1995

N taxata folo la, n xamarindingurupo, Sepe. Gallo, a nin n na gallo te kilo fula nin tala. Awa, n taxata, folo fota, folo diyata, n bee x'e don je.

Awa, sanjiyo x'a fin. N xo, xo n be nala, gallutomoxolu balanta xo n me na, xo moxo me bo moxo bata sanji finFo xoto. Awa, n kennu sumunta je sanjiyo xoto, xa te wuri. Sanjiyo nata bete, sanjiba, xa jiyo ke boxo bee xa dulalu bee waame.

Awa, sanjitege xo, ntelu xo xo n be nala sila n na gallo to; ¹ katugu, n na moxobalu si n manani saxo ma nin i man n je. Awa, i balanta xo n xa si. N xo n nte sila. Awa, ntelu nata, awa, xo dun be silo la. ²

N nata xodala, n x'a tara xo waameta, moxo me tege no. Ntelu x'a mafele da wo da ma, moxo me fatiya suwo to x'é bula jiyo to.

Awa, fabugaro du dunnu be wulo xono, turumalu. Ntelu x'a mafele xa yele yiro to. N xo n si si non, fo saxo xa yele. Bari n sita siginin ne. Susuwolu be n ma, n be ma x'e malipa. ³ Awa, fo saxo yeleta, moxo man sinnoxo, n gurupuba.

Awa, saxo yeleninma, wo x'a tara xojiyo tanbita. N womannu tegeta xa na n na gallo to.

Khassonké Test d'Essai - Traduction

Nous sommes allés au tam-tam à Sépé, en groupe de jeunes gens. Entre ce village et notre village il y a deux kilomètres et demi. Alors, nous sommes allés, ils ont battu le tam-tam, le tam-tam a été bon, nous tous avons dansé.

Alors, la pluie a menacé. Nous avons dit que nous reviendront, les villageois ont insisté disant que nous ne pourrions pas venir, que personne ne peut quitter chez quelqu'un sous la menace de pluie. Alors, nous avons veillé là-bas sous la pluie, nous avons fait du thé. Il a beaucoup plu, une grande pluie, qui a mis de l'eau partout et inondé tous les lieux.

Alors, après la pluie, nous avons dit que nous venions passer la nuit dans notre village; car nous parents nous insulteraient le matin, s'ils ne nous voyaient pas. Alors, ils ont insisté à ce qu'on passe la nuit. Nous avons dit que nous ne passerons pas la nuit.

Alors, nous sommes venus, alors, il y a un marigot sur la route. Nous sommes venus au bord du marigot, nous avons trouvé que le marigot était inondé, personne ne pouvait traverser. De toute manière que nous avons essayée, personne n'osait se mettre dans l'eau la nuit.

Alors, il y a des hyènes en brousse. Nous avons essayé de monter sur un arbre. Nous nous sommes dits que nous passerons la nuit là-bas, jusqu'au matin. Mais nous avons passé la nuit assis. Les moustiques nous piquaient, nous les frappions. Alors, jusqu'au matin, personne du grand groupe n'a dormi.

Alors, le matin, cela a trouvé que l'eau du marigot était passée. Nous avons ainsi traversé pour venir dans notre village.

Khassonké Test d'Essai - Questions

1. Où est-ce que nous avons dit de passer la nuit?

Ntelu xo xo nbe nala sila minto?

Réponse: N na gallo to. (*Dans notre village.*)

2. Qu'est-ce qu'il y a sur la route?

Mun be silo to?

Réponse: xo (*un marigot*)

3. Comment avons nous passé la nuit?

Ntelu xa suwo tanbi padi?

Réponse: siginin (*assis, dans l'arbre*)

D. Khassonké Comprehension Text and Questions

Khassonké - Test de Compréhension - Texte

M. DIAOUNÉ Mamadou, Oussoubidiagna, Mali, 5 oct. 1995

Ntelu xamarindinḡolu ḡ nin n xoto, n xamarindin fula be n na luwo ma. Awa, n fa xa jinso do san Xontela gallundinḡo do to, a toxo xo Bukkine.¹ Awa, n fa xa n bula, n nin ḡ xotoxe Sayiba, n xa taxa jinso ta. Tuuraba le dun mu.

Awa, n nin julolu taxata. N bota jan wura la xa taxa si je, awa, xa n dantege i la lutigo jen, n xo: "N fa xa jinso men san jan, n nata wo le ta." A xo: "Awa, baasi nte, jinso be goore to." Bari, moxo me jinsi labo moxo bata suwo to. Alu si i lo, fo saxo xa yeke."² N sita gallo to.

Saxo ma, n nin julolu taxata gooreda la. Awa, fullo xa jinso yita n na. A xo: "Bari, alu la jin tuura in xa jaxu de." Awa, n xo: "Iyo, ntelu s'a mano, n nin a si taxa."

N xa julolu ta xa boyi i tosodunḡo xan a la.³

Khassonké Test de Compréhension - Traduction

Nous les jeunes gens, mon grand-frère et moi, nous les deux jeunes gens sommes dans notre famille. Alors, notre père avait acheté un bovin dans un petit village de Khontéla du nom de Boukkiné.¹ Alors, mon père nous a envoyés, mon grand-frère Saïba et moi, pour que nous allions prendre le bovin. Et c'était un grand taureau.

Alors, nous sommes partis avec des cordes. Nous avons quitté ici l'après-midi pour aller passer la nuit là-bas, alors, nous nous sommes expliqués à leur chef de famille, nous avons dit: "Le bovin que notre père a acheté ici, nous sommes venus le prendre." Il disait: "Alors, d'accord, le bovin est dans l'enclos." Mais, personne ne peut faire sortir de bovin chez quelqu'un la nuit. Attendez jusqu'au matin."² Nous avons passé la nuit dans le village.

Le matin, nous sommes allés à l'enclos avec les cordes. Alors, le peul nous a montré le bovin. Il dit: "Mais, votre taureau est vraiment méchant." Alors, nous avons dit: "Oui, nous pouvons le maîtriser, nous allons partir avec lui."

Nous avons pris les cordes et avons

Awa, a boyita maduxxo xan, xa bijo ke xa moxolu masoxo. Awa, nte kennu fulo korita a ma.

N taxata gallo xamarin kendolu nofe. Wolu nata xa n deema. Awa, n xa tuura in xoyi, x'a xoyi; bari julu me maxa no a la. N'í xa í sodun a la doron, a s'a bijo ke x'a b'é tala. N x'a xoyi fo xa taxa wulo xono fo kilo wooro joxon; n nin julolu b'a nofe. A ken korita sotola.

Ntelu x'e kopa xa na gallo to, xa na a fo duusuxe do jen, a toxo xo Bilali;⁴ n xo: "N'í man n deema, awa, n na jinso je tu wulo xono. Fabugaro dunnu be je, anin warolu, warabalu. Awa, n si kesolu di í ma, í si taxa a faxa n jen;⁵ n nin a subo xa taxa.

Xaasongolu fannu la xumo: Bono telen xa fisa bono muume ti. Donc, nin n xa a subo soto, n nin wo si taxa x'a yita n fa la. A xa fisa n na tuura xa tu wulo xono."

A, bari, a xo ate be silanin. Xo nin í xa jinso xosi, xo jannin a xa boyi, n'a x'é je doron, awa, í be sala le. Iyo, ntelu xo bari a x'é balan. Nin ate ken x'é buti x'a xosi bete, a me wuli.

Awa, n taxata tanmen, duusuxe taxata xa sutiya jinso la. Wo tuma, a be lonin yirijuba do xoto. Awa, a ja nte moxo la, bari ntelu ja b'a la. Duusuxe woman in xa ntelu komosi, xo n x'e buti kuro xo ma. N x'e buti fataxuluba xo ma.⁶ A xa gido da mundin natilin, awa, xa jinso kunte mafele, a kunte temo; xa kese innu bula je.

Awa, jinsi ken in boyita jakun kilin ma. Haali a man haali í boxo tofele. Awa, ntelu x'e lo fo a niyo xa tege. N nata x'a tara lanin.

commencé de nous rapprocher du bovin.³ Alors, il a commencé de bousculer, et de nous percer avec les cornes. Alors, nous deux avons failli le maîtriser.

Nous sommes allés chercher les jeunes gens forts du village. Ceux-ci sont venus nous aider. Alors, nous avons bien chassé le taureau, mais nous n'avons pas pu le toucher avec la corde. Dès que quelqu'un s'approche de lui, il essaie de te prendre par sa corne. Nous l'avons chassé jusqu'à environ six kilomètres de la brousse; nous l'avons suivi avec les cordes. Mais nous n'avons pas pu le rattraper.

Nous nous sommes retournés au village pour parler avec un chasseur du nom de Bilali;⁴ nous lui avons dit: "Si tu ne nous aides pas, alors notre bovin va rester dans la brousse. Et il y a des hyènes et des prédateurs, des lions même. Alors, nous allons te donner des cartouches pour que tu ailles le tuer pour nous;⁵ pour que nous puissions amener sa viande. Il y a même un proverbe Khassonké qui dit: Mieux vaud perdre une partie que tout perdre. Donc, si nous avons eu sa viande, nous allons l'amener pour le montrer à notre père. Cela vaut mieux que notre taureau reste en brousse."

Et, mais il disait qu'il avait peur. Que si tu tires sur un bovin, et s'il te voit avant qu'il tombe, alors, tu mourras. Oui, nous lui avons dit de s'efforcer. Si, lui, il se courbe et tire bien, le bovin ne se lèvera pas.

Alors, dès que nous sommes allés, le chasseur s'est approché du bovin. En ce moment, le bovin est arrêté sous un grand arbre. Alors, il ne voit personne, mais nous nous le voyons. Le chasseur nous a fait signe alors de nous courber derrière une pierre. Nous nous sommes courbés derrière une grande pierre.⁶ Il a visé doucement, il a regardé la tête du bovin, le milieu de la tête; et a tiré là-bas.

Alors, le bovin est tombé d'un seul coup. Il n'a même pas regardé son côté. Alors, nous nous sommes arrêtés jusqu'à

Duusuxe xo: “Bari, alu xan'a fo xo kaarisa x'a faxa de. N'alu xa n' toxo fo a kunna, awa, wo bee mu kujaxo le ti. A si ke sabaabu ti xa n' siyo doxoya.”

Ayiwa, ntelu xa murolo ta x'a xannatege, x'a busu. Wo x'a tara, a sanin banninjo; xa taxa saretolu nofe Bukkine xa na, sareti fula; xa subo tokutun x'a ke saretolu xono; xa taxa a bula silaba to; awa xa na n na gallo to.

N naninma, n nata a yita n fa la, n xo: “Tuura jaxuyata, nte kennu obligeta xa, ntelu labanta a fola duuso le nen n x'a x'a faxa, a na man tu wulo xono, fabugarolu x'a muta. Awa, subo felen ti.”

“Í si gallomoxo kili, awa, n s'a saadala. Mennu be dunna, n s'a ke tontonjo ti. Nin men be dunna, saado si ke keme fula keme fula ti.”⁷

Awa, n fa xa nte fan bula, nte men mu doxo ti, xo n xa taxa a fo galloxonomoxolu nen xo a be jinso kela tontonjo ti.⁸ N taxata a fo moxolu nen. I x'e toxolu fo. N x'é nata, n x'e toxolu safe. Awa, n woman innu x'a saadolu la, xa i bee kamari; xa moxolu kili, i nin taasandinjolu nata. Bee x'e la saado ko.

Awa, a b'é xo n na tuura ken, a kuwo labanta wo ja in ne. Awa, a siya a korita sotola muume. Ntelu kennu x'a la tontonjo la. A xaaliso bee taxata ben, tuuraba le dun mu. A taxata ben wa tan anin naani.⁹

N fa x'a ko. Ntelu mennu taxata, nte nin n xoto men taxata, a xa ntelu ladiya.¹⁰ A xa keme luulu di n xoto ma, xa keme fula di nte ma.

ce qu'il rende l'âme. Nous sommes venus le trouver couché. Le chasseur dit: “Mais ne le dites pas que un tel (le nom du chasseur) l'a tué. Si vous avez dit mon nom sur lui, c'est très dangereux. Cela sera une cause pour diminuer ma vie.”

Alors, nous avons pris les couteaux pour l'égorger et le dépecer. Cela a trouvé qu'il était complètement mort et nous sommes allés chercher des charrettes à Boukkiné, deux charrettes; et avons découpé la viande et l'avons mise dans les charrettes; pour aller par la grande route; pour aller dans notre village.

Quand nous sommes arrivés, nous sommes venus la montrer à notre père, en disant: “Le taureau est devenu méchant, nous étions obligés à demander à un chasseur de le tuer, pour qu'il ne reste pas en brousse et que les hyènes ne l'attrapent. Alors, voici la viande.”

“Tu appelleras les gens du village, nous allons mettre la viande en tas. Ceux qui en veulent, nous allons les inscrire pour acheter la viande. Ce qui en veut, un tas sera pour 1.000 CFA.”⁷

Alors, notre père m'a chargé, moi qui suis le petit-frère, d'aller dire aux gens du village qu'il vend la viande d'un bovin.⁸ Je suis allé le dire aux gens. Ils ont donné leurs noms. Ils sont venus, j'ai écrit leurs noms. Alors, nous avons mis la viande en tas, et avons tout ramassé et avons appelé les gens, ils sont venus avec les petites tasses. Tous ont ramassé leur tas.

Alors, c'est comme l'histoire de notre taureau a fini de cette manière. Alors, nous n'avons pas pu l'attraper. Nous avons vendu sa viande. C'est un grand taureau, son prix est allé jusqu'à 70.000 fCFA.

Notre père a prix cet argent. Nous qui étions partis, mon grand-frère et moi, il nous a récompensé.¹⁰ Il a donné 2.500 fCFA à mon grand-frère, et m'a donné 1.000 fCFA.

Khassonké Test de Compréhension - Questions

1. *Qu'est-ce que notre père a acheté dans un petit village?*

N fa xa mun san gullundinŋo do to?

Réponse: jinso. (*un bovin*)

2. *Jusqu'à quand est-ce qu'il faut attendre?*

Alu xa xan x'e lo fo waxati joman?

Réponse: Saxoma. (*le matin*)

3. *Qu'est-ce que nous avons pris?*

N xa mun ta?

Réponse: Julolu. (*les cordes*)

4. *Nous sommes retournés au village pour parler avec qui?*

Ntelu x'e kopa nna gallo to tumo men, n nin jon xumata?

Réponse: Duusuxe, "Bilali". (*un chasseur - ou son nom, "Bilali"*)

5. *Qu'est-ce que nous avons donné au chasseur?*

N xa mun di duusuxe ma?

Réponse: Kesolu. (*des cartouches*)

6. *Où est-ce que nous nous sommes courbés?*

N x'e buti dula joman?

Réponse: Fataxuluba xo ma. (*derrière une grande pierre*)

7. *Un tas de viande sera combien?*

Sada kilin se ke jelu ti?

Réponse: Keme fula. (*1000 f CFA*)

8. *Qu'est-ce que je dois dire aux gens du village?*

N xa xan xa mun fo galloxonomoxolu pen?

Réponse: Xo a be jinso kela tontonŋo tu. (*Qu'il vend la viande d'un bovin.*)

9. *Le prix du grand-taureau est allé jusqu'à combien?*

Tuura xaaliso taxata ben jalu ma?

Réponse: Wa tan anin naani. (*14.000 = 70.000 f CFA*)

10. *Qui nous a récompensés?*

Jon xa n nadiya?

Réponse: N fa. (*Notre père.*)

E. Badioula Malinké Practice Text and Questions

Badioula Malinké Test d'Essai - Texte

M. DANFA Sega, Badioula, Senegal, 6 nov. 1995

Mbe taxa la sarayaa nniŋ maliyeŋ keebenta.¹ A be mebiloo la foŋoo xa ala naafoba a kunna.² Nxa a taa xa nbuloo loo samxubo la yeŋ. Nxonaa buloo se la a la naafo ma abuloo se la samxuloo ma bon nxa a duŋ kunna xaa don.

Nte fanaŋ bota jaŋ xataxa kiidugu xa naafa kutoo saŋ xa a duŋ kunna³ a fason te nna jaŋ Bajula jaŋ. Bon, woo ŋaapoo benna foŋoo xoo la joloŋ.

Badioula Malinké Test d'Essai - Traduction

Je suis allé à Saraya. Je me suis croisé avec un malien.¹ Il était dans une voiture. Le vent lui a arraché son chapeau de la tête.² Je l'ai pris et je lui ai indexé le ciel en lui disant: Si ta main peut toucher le ciel, tu touchera le chapeau. Je portais le chapeau sur ma tête.

Moi aussi, je quittais ici pour aller à Kédougou pour acheter un nouveau chapeau et le porter sur la tête.³ Cette façon de chapeau n'existe pas ici à Badioula. Alors, cette joie que j'ai eu le vent m'a arraché.

Badioula Malinké Test d'Essai - Questions

1. *Qu'est-ce qu'il s'est passé quand je suis allé à Saraya?*

Mbe taxa la sarayaa tumameŋ munketa nna?

Réponse: Mbe taxa la sarayaa n niŋ malienkee doo lee benta. (*Je me suis croisé un Malien.*)

2. *Comment ai-je perdu mon chapeau?*

Nnaa foofilita paa di?

Réponse: Foŋoo lee xa a ta nkunna. (*Le vent m'a arraché mon chapeau.*)

3. *Qu'est-ce que j'ai acheté?*

Nxa mun saŋ?

Réponse: Nxa naafa kutoo lee saŋ. (*Un nouveau chapeau.*)

F. Badioula Malinké Comprehension Test and Questions

Badioula Malinké Test de Compréhension - Texte

M. DANFA Sega, Badioula, Senegal, 6 nov. 1995

N sorita xa taxa nna kenaa to. Balanɗaa be nkun jee jee daafee. Bon mbulu toxulunɗo waata jee. Muru tee kidi te fo n niŋ na faanoo lu niŋ samtoolu. Nxa a tara nxajalaa lo je. Xa a tara mbe sobiliŋ fendoo

Badioula Malinké Test de Compréhension - Traduction

Je me suis levé du bonne heure pour aller dans mon champ. J'avais un panier là-bas. Alors, je suis parti avec les mains vide. Je n'avais ni couteau ni fusil - rien que mes vêtements et mes chaussures. J'ai trouvé mon filet tendu là-bas et j'ai

ma jee bari nma feŋo loŋ.

Awaa ntaxa jee wooluŋo silaŋ nxa tara axa niniyaŋo muta.¹ Ha nsilaŋ ta biitugun nsa faxa menna nman woo loŋ. Bon bari dokoo doo be nbulu yiroo leemu.² Baawo komboo be laaliŋ komboo woo be le i xoo jiyoo. Mboo kexaŋ xa binlu laa xosi ala pour xa nnaa sinaŋ. Fo nsii xoo daala jee. Nxa miniyaŋ niŋ tara nna jalaa la. Ee nsilaŋ ta nxaa tee dokoo woo la wooto kuntu ta fulaati³ ee nxa a se taxa nxa ntomiira non feeroo mem se nanŋeŋ. Awaa mman wooloŋ bari nnaata yiroo jee meŋ saa manoo. nxaa yiroo woo taa xaa timbaala. Awaa amee taxa noo silaŋ nfakkililategeta. Nxa a tu jalaa la jee tugun⁴ xataxa foo nnaa diyoo to xa taxa muroo ta.⁵

Xa naanariŋ nxa a kuŋo laa ŋiniŋ nxa a kuŋo sege muroo laa. Nwoomaa nxa naa jalaa muta silaŋ. Jalaa xa a kuŋo muniŋ xa muniŋ kende amii soto men to noo. Awaa nxa a baala xa a la.

Bon nxa naa nna xayaa diŋo muta silaŋ xoo mba abolada xa yegoo yelemabawoo nxa loo yegoo leelu xamma. Awaa nxoolu baala tumamenna. Awaa nxa juloo fara xa naa xa miniyaŋo kuŋo muta xa a siti a laa. Awaa nxa a siti tumamenna n mee fatiyaa xaamuta abe nunguliŋ a fatee be nunguliŋ⁶ bari nxa juloo lee kaala pour nesa a samba nna diyooto ŋaameŋ n wooma xa a saba n niyaa xa taxa nna diyooto.⁷

Bon abe laa liŋ men be taxa la nna momoo dandannaa woo naata woo ma ajee. Bon nxa nuxun wooma pour woo fanan se silaŋ ŋaameŋ. Bon woo xantobula

soupponné qu'il y avait quelque chose dedans, mais je ne savais pas ce que c'était.

Ensuite, parti là-bas, ce jour-là j'ai trouvé que le filet avait attrapé un boa.¹ Quand je l'ai vu j'ai eu peur et en ce moment-là je l'ai tué, mais avec quoi, je ne savais pas. Alors, mais j'avais un bâton d'arbre dans ma main.² Puisqu'il y avait de la rosée (tandis que la rosée est comme l'eau), j'ai tappé la paille (avec le bâton) pour ne pas être mouillé et pour voir le bord du marigot. J'ai trouvé le boa dans mon filet. Eh, j'ai eu peur et je l'ai tappé avec le bâton. Cela (le bâton) s'est coupé en deux.³ Eh, le boa va s'échapper. J'ai réfléchi pour trouver une solution qui pourrait me servir. Alors, je ne savais pas quoi faire mais j'ai pu trouver un bâton d'arbre qui pourrait l'abattre. J'ai pris cet arbre et je l'ai (le boa) tappé. Alors, en ce moment-là il ne pouvait plus partir. J'en avais aucune doute. Je l'ai laissé dans le filet⁴ et je suis parti jusqu'à mon champ pour chercher un couteau.⁵

Et revenu, j'ai cherché l'endroit où sa tête était posé. Je ai coupé la tête avec le couteau. Ensuite, j'ai pris mon filet en main. Puis sa tête était couvert dans le filet. Il était très bien entouré dans le filet pour qu'il ne s'échappe plus. Alors, je l'ai enlevé (du filet) et l'ai posé par terre.

Ensuite, je suis allé prendre ma piège. J'ai voulu l'enlever pour verser les poissons, parce que je l'avais tendu pour les poissons. Alors, lorsque je les avait enlevé, j'ai déchiré la corde pour (revenir) attacher la tête du boa. Alors, lorsque je l'ai attaché, je n'osait pas prendre son corps car son corps est très lisse.⁶ Mais je l'ai attaché avec la corde pour pouvoir l'apporter dans mon champ en quelque sorte. Ensuite, je l'ai trainé jusqu'à mon champ.⁷

Le boa était par terre, et celui qui m'apportait ma bouillie n'avait pas encore vu le boa. Alors, je me suis caché de ce dernier pour appeurer lui aussi en quelque sorte. Aussitôt qu'il m'a appelé,

naamen nxaa laa muta dulaa jaŋo nniŋ
woo naata beŋ miniyaŋo yaama. Atara se
nna moonoo saraato.⁸ A silaŋ ta. Bon
dindin fula naata woolu xa ntara jee. Bon
woolu fananu maa jee. xoo nxii fuu nna tiy
tege laŋo laa worotoo. Nxa a waa. Bon don
naata xa yelee miniyano laa liŋo xaŋ⁹ Soniŋ
woo si i barama ndaafée yiroo la
kuntukuntu yiroo la.¹⁰ Woo meŋ man yelee
a xaŋ woo foloo xa ajee. Woo xurenta xa
atara don loota a xaŋ.

je l'ai répondu de loin. Nous nous
sommes rencontrés auprès du boa. Il a
failli jeter ma bouillie.⁸ Il a eu peur. Alors,
deux enfants sont venus me trouver là-
bas. Eux aussi, ils n'avaient pas vu le
boa. Ils m'ont demandé de leur prêter ma
faucille. J'ai dit: "Bon, d'accord." Alors,
l'autre est venu et a marché sur le boa
qui était par terre.⁹ Il a failli se blesser sur
une souche à côté de moi.¹⁰ Celui qui
n'avait pas marché sur le boa avait déjà
vu le boa. Il criait pour avertir l'autre.

Badioula Malinké Test de Compréhension - Questions

1. *Qu'est-ce que le filet a attrapé?*

Nna jalaa xa mun muta?

Réponse: A xa miniyaŋo lee muta. (*un boa.*)

2. *Qu'est-ce que j'avais en main?*

Min be mbulu jee?

Réponse: Dokoo. (*un baton d'arbre*)

3. *Qu'est-ce qui est arrivé au baton?*

Mun keta dokoo la?

Réponse: Dokoo kutunta fula. (*Le baton s'est coupé en deux.*)

4. *Où est-ce que j'ai laissé le boa?*

Nxa miniyaŋo tu mun xano jee?

Réponse: Nxa a tu jalaa jee. (*dans le filet.*)

5. *Pourquoi est-ce que je suis parti jusqu'à mon champ?*

N taxata munna nna kenaato?

Réponse: N taxata nna murro lee ta. (*Pour chercher un couteau.*)

6. *Comment était le corps du boa?*

Miniyaŋo fatee be dii?

Réponse: A be nunguliŋ jaxu lee. (*très lisse*)

7. *Jusqu'à où est-ce que j'ai trainé le boa?*

Xa miniyaŋo saba fo minto?

Réponse: Nxa a saba fonna diyoto. (*Jusqu'à mon champ.*)

8. *L'enfant a failli jeter quoi?*

Dindiŋo na a fee xa mun saraato?

Réponse: Nna moonoo. (*ma bouillie*)

9. *Sur quoi a l'autre marché? (littéralement: monté)*

Woo yeletu mun xan?
Réponse: Miniyaŋo. (*le boa.*)

10. *Il a faillu se blesser sur quoi?*
A taran sii barama munna?
Réponse: Yiri kuntoo. (*une souche*)

G. Maninka of Kankan Practice Text and Questions

Maninka

Test d'Essai - Texte

Texte d'Al Haji Nunke Dunbaya, le 6 mai 1996, Wurenbaya, Kankan, Guinée

N ka taama mɛn kɛ, n wada Kindia, ka wa karenɛn ta ye. Kara-faanin.¹ N ka wo ta ye, ka Wasolou mina. Wasolou so siyaman, n seda wo la, kabɛn a kara-faanin wo mayida ma. N ka wo taama kɛ. Teleman kelen, n ye wo taama la faanin wo mayida la.² N ban faanin wo mayida la, n ka wo fana sɔnko san tiya la. N nada tiya wo di Kankan, kana tiya wo ko fili.³ N ka julaya mɛn kɛ, a dan ne kɛnɛn wo di.

Maninka

Test d'Essai - Traduction

Texte d'Al Haji Nunke Dunbaya, le 6 mai 1996, Wurenbaya, Kankan, Guinée

J'ai fait un voyage à Kindia, pour y apporter du tissu. Le tissu teinté.¹ Je l'ai apporté là-bas et à Wasolou. Je suis allé à plusieurs villages Wasolou pour vendre ce tissu teinté. Pendant une saison sèche, j'ai fait un tour vendant ce tissu teinté.² Après l'avoir vendu, j'ai acheté des arachides avec l'argent gagné. J'ai apporté les arachides à Kankan, où je les ai vendues.³ C'est comme ça que mes affaires ont pris leur fin.

Maninka Test d'Essai - Questions

1. *Qu'est-ce que j'ai apporté avec moi à Kindia?*

N wada mun di Kindia?

Réponse: Kara-faanin. (*Le tissu teinté*).

2. *Quand ai-je vendu le tissu teinté?*

N ka kara-faanin wo fere waati nyuman?

Réponse: Teleman waati. (*Pendant une saison sèche*).

3. *Où ai-je vendu les arachides?*

N ka tiya wo ko fili min?

Réponse: Kankan. (*Kankan*).

H. Maninka of Kankan Comprehension Text and Questions

Maninka

Test de Compréhension - Texte

Mamadu Dunbaya, le 6 mai 1996, Ouringbaya, Kankan, Guinée

Annu ka taama le ke, awa, julaya. An ka taama ke, an toda kara don. An tun be kara le donna.¹ Sidi faanin men nin.

An toda wo do, awa, Sekou Touréla "loi cadre" kana, ka julaya-ko dabila. N taminda, ka taa Liberia.² An toda ye do, an ye manankun saronna.

An badaka moso do kan natæda an fe Sekrepi.³ Wo kan natænen an fe Sekrepi, wo do mutun, an ka ka wo kaso ke.⁴ Wo kaso bannen, an ka an bada masaron, ka na La Guinée yan. Wo keda an ma taroya men di, fo Alla men ka a nya lon. Kamasodon wo ka a ke an ma taroya di - ayi ka an mina wo do, ka an don kaso la.

An don kaso la, ko maw faala wolu, ni wolu ma ye. ko an di faa. Moso do be ye wo lon, wo wada an bond ta ka an nabo.

An nabo men kenén, n dinyow-ke do le ko nde ma wo lon nin ko, ah, . . . a ko, "Kyé, ka an to maw faa-ko nin dakuu do, an ye faa an yede ma t en fuu . . ." A ko, "An te an bori?"⁵

Nde ko, "An te se an borila. I ba I bori wo do, lakira, nde n nya lola moso wo nya do.⁶ Ni a lon wo seda, ni maw faala ma ye." N ko, "Foo ni an faa la."

An toda ye, Nban da fe. So do ye ye dōsa, wo taw bada bo n kōnō. Kameren wada da makōnkōn a dinyow ma ye.⁷ A moso kan ko, "I ka da laka de!"

A ko, "Moso men faada Sekrepi waati

Maninka

Test de Compréhension - Traduction

Mamadu Dunbaya, le 6 mai 1996, Ouringbaya, Kankan, Guinée

Nous avons fait un voyage d'affaires pendant lequel nous faisons la teinture de tissu.¹ Le tissu pour des vêtements.

Nous le faisons jusque ce que Sekou Touré ait passé une loi cadre défendant le commerce. Je suis parti pour le Liberia.² Nous y sommes restés, et nous avons acquis de l'argent.

Une de nos femmes natives a été égorgée près de nous à Sekrepi.³ C'est parce qu'elle a été égorgée qu'ils nous ont mis en prison.⁴ Une fois sortis de la prison, nous sommes retournés ici en Guinée. Nous avons beaucoup souffert - Dieu seul sait la sévérité de nos souffrances. La raison pour nos souffrances est qu'on nous a arrêtés et nous mis en prison.

Quand nous étions en prison, ils allaient nous tuer s'ils ne trouvaient pas les vrais assassins. Une femme était là ce jour-là qui est allée payer notre caution et nous étions mis en liberté provisoire sous caution.

Le jour où nous étions relâchés, un de mes amis m'ont dit, "Mon ami, si nous restons ici sous cette accusation, nous allons mourir comme ça." Il dit, "Pourquoi pas fuir?"⁵

J'ai dit, "Nous ne pouvons pas fuir. Si tu fuis, je ne pourrai pas regarder cette femme dans les yeux le jour de jugement.⁶ Si ce jour arrive et l'assassin n'est pas encore trouvé, nous serons tués."

Nous sommes restés là-bas, près de Nban, dans un village dont le nom m'échappe. Un jeune homme est allé frapper sur la porte de son ami là-bas.⁷ La femme (dans la maison avec son mari) dit, "N'ouvre pas la porte!"

L'homme (à la porte) dit, "Cette femme

dɔ,” ko, “wo mɔɔ faata nyininba le nin di,” ko, “mais annula ‘kiyahin’ bada ban.” (Alu kan taji ma ko “kiyahin”) A ko, “Annula ‘kiyahin’ bada ban.” A ko, “I ye n sɔ kiyahin dɔ.”

Moso kan ko, “I ka da laka de!”⁸ Kye ko ko, “Yiri ba mɛn ji dɔ, a tɛ kɛla bamba di.” A ko, “Moso men faanɛn nin la Guinéeeka moso men faanɛn nin . . .” A ko, “Wo mɔɔ faala nyininba, hali n ma tɛdɛ wo nyinin dɔ, annu fayi nanɛn yan ne, koni n tɛ kɛ foi di foo la Guinéeeka. Wo dɔ Guinéeeka moso wo faala nyininba,” ko, “nu di wo sɔ taji dɔ.”

Wo ka da laka, ka muu gbasi moso kan. Muu gbasi wo kan, awa kyɛ kan, moso ka a da la a dɔ.⁹ Ayi kabɔ, “soyalu” ka a mina. “Soyalu” na a mina mɛn kɛla wo di mutuu, ayila “commune” kelen wo dɔ, morifa ka kan ka bi-naanin bɔ. Koni annu mennu minanɛn tɛdɛ wo di mutuu, annu ma manyininka. Mɔɔ faala wolu fana ma ko ta. Waati wo dɔ, Liberian tele wo dɔ, mɛn ba kɛ ayila “commune” dɔ, ko tɛ wo la.

Bon, annu, an ma manyininka wo kɔ. Mɔɔ faala wolu koni . . . Annu koni ka jahadi mɛn kɛ nuna nanfola mɛn tinyɛda, Liberia ma foi fɔ a dɔ.

An taminda ka na an bada yan wo nye ma sinɛn. Nde fana kana, ka sɛnɛke damina. Nye wo bolo le ma nin.¹⁰

qui a été récemment tuée à Sekrepi, c’est moi qui est à la recherche du meurtrier, mais notre pétrole est épuisé.” (Ils appellent pétrole “kiyahin”) Il dit, “Nous n’avons plus de ‘kiyahin’. Donnez-moi du kiyahin.”

La femme dit (à son mari), “N’ouvrez pas la porte!”⁸ Son mari lui a dit, “Aussi long qu’un morceau de bois reste dans l’eau, il ne devient pas un crocodile. La Guinéenne qui a été assassinée . . . Bien que je ne sois pas parmi ceux qui cherchent son assassin, je ne suis qu’un Guinéen. Nos pères sont venus ici (de la Guinée), mais je ne suis pas devenu un Libérien. Par conséquent, nous allons donner du pétrole à cet homme qui cherche le meurtrier de la Guinéenne.

Il a ouvert la porte, et on a tiré sur sa femme. On a tiré sur lui, sur l’homme - sa femme a crié d’une voix forte.⁹ Tout le monde est sorti (voir ce qui se passe) et les soldats l’ont arrêté. Le jour où ils ont arrêté cet homme, on a trouvé 40 armes dans cette commune.

Néanmoins, nous qui avons été arrêtés n’avons pas été questionnés (par les autorités). On n’a pas accusé les assassins non plus. Dans ces jours-là au Liberia, toute personne de leur communauté (Libérienne) était au-dessus de la loi. Bon, on ne nous a plus questionnés après ça. quant aux assassins . . . Quant à nous, Liberia n’a rien dit en ce qui concerne notre souffrance et la perte de nos richesses.

Et comme ça, nous avons quitté Liberia pour retourner chez nous. Moi aussi, je suis revenu et j’ai commencé à cultiver (mes champs). C’est ce que je fais jusqu’à aujourd’hui.¹⁰

Questions - Maninka Test de Compréhension

1. *Qu'est-ce que nous faisons auparavant?*

An tɛdɛ mun ne kɛla?

Réponse: kara le donna. *(la teinture de tissu)*

2. *Où est-ce que je suis allé?*

N wada min?

Réponse: Liberia. *(au Liberia)*

3. *Qu'est-ce qui est arrivé à une de nos femmes natives?*

Mun kɛda a-lu badaka moso la?

Réponse: Alu ka a kan natɛɛ. *(Elle a été égorgée).*

4. *Pourquoi a-t-on nous arrêtés et nous mis en prison?*

Mun na a-lu ka an mina, ka an bila kaso la?

Réponse: Kamasɔdɔn a-lu ka moso kan natɛɛ. *(Parce qu'on a tué cette femme.)*

5. *Qu'est-ce que mon ami m'a dit?*

N dinyɔɔ-kɛ ka mun fɔ n ye?

Réponse: An tɛ an bori? *(Pourquoi pas fuir?)*

6. *Pourquoi est-ce que je ne voulais pas fuir?*

Mun na n tɛ n borila?

Réponse: N ba n bori wo dɔ, lakira, n tɛ se n nya lɔla moso wo nya dɔ.

(Parce que je ne pourrais pas regarder cette femme dans les yeux le jour de jugement.)

7. *Qu'est-ce que le jeune homme a fait?*

Kameren wo ka mun kɛ?

Réponse: A wada da makɔnkɔn a dinyɔɔ ma. *(Il a frappé sur la porte de son ami.)*

8. *Qu'est-ce que la femme a dit?*

Moso wo ka mun fɔ?

Réponse: "I ka da laka de!" *(N'ouvrez pas la porte!)*

9. *Pourquoi la femme a-t-elle crié?*

Moso wo kuleda mun na?

Réponse: Kamasɔdɔn muu teda a kyɛ la? *(Parce que l'homme avait tiré sur son mari.)*

10. *Qu'est-ce que je fait maintenant (comme travail)?*

N ye mun kɛla sisen?

Réponse: Sɛnɛ. *(la cultivation)*

I. Kita Malinké Comprehension Text and Questions

Kita Malinké Test de Chez Soi - Texte

Voilà comme warada ni tuman autun wara ni tunbe kurulayan autun be don o don a be ye magow fe don o don a be ye. Bon de ça e nterike ko ne ye london ko: "Seku ko wara be kulu la." Lon yo lo abe na ale be ta komi nun jongan ka be wara ye.¹ Lon yo lo a le be ta ale be wara ye.

Ne ko: "I te aloge london iki yere iko jiri fo iko ye nen la. A ko nbo fe ne bo fe ka ninin fon ko ye. Nin sero ko ye tuma mi do. Nbe na jefinenna." Ala la ke don do ale tara ka waro nin ne. Aye wara ye kuma mido ako ne ma: "Seku n'ye wara ye. (Abe) nyaye tomi na bi. Men nbe ta ninin fo nko ye wura fe, nin yaye tumamido, an kanko ka nenini nemun ma." An tara kami (*pas clair*).

An tara la ne bara kami luye. Ale ye ne wele: "Seku nan warado yera." Ntara soro wululu ya gen ka la yelen jirila.² Folo an yo olu be ke. Ka wulu be ke ka la yele jirila ani wululu mera jongona a ma nana wululu gen, wululu ba gen, a ma nana wululu gen wululu ba gen.³ Fo an ka fara jongan kan ça la bo nan sa, komi an bora an yelen tola. Atara ka yele yirila. A yelennen yirila. An ni wululu tara la minina.

Ale da mugu ci ala fo sije fila, a ma sodo.⁴ A sabanaan ne nara ka na soro sa nko: "Daouda kan kere di" "Ha Seku ko ne fen be jongan na bi." Ne ka soro ça kana. Kaye an ye donon ne ko

Kita Malinké Test de Chez Soi - Traduction

Voilà, il y avait une panthère sur la montagne. Chaque jour on la voyait. Bon, un jour mon ami m'a dit: "Seku, il y a une panthère sur la montagne." Chaque jour il (mon ami) partait chercher les pintades et il voyait la panthère.¹ Chaque jour qu'il partait, il voyait la panthère.

Je lui ai dit: "Un jour tu dois la chercher jusqu'à que tu la vois. Je veux la chercher jusqu'à ce que je la voie. Si j'arrive à la voir, je vais t'expliquer." Dieu a fait que un jour il est parti et il a vu la panthère de près. Quand il a vu la panthère, il me l'a dit: "Seku, j'ai vu la panthère. Elle est dans un "Tomi" arbre. Mais je vais la chercher jusqu'à ce soir. Dès que je la vois, nous devons la chercher." - Comment la chercher: Nous chassons les pintades.

Étant partis, moi j'ai vu les pintades. Il (mon ami) m'a appelé: "Seku, viens! La panthère est découverte." Je suis allé et j'ai trouvé que les chiens l'avaient chassé et l'avaient fait monter dans un arbre.² D'abord nous avons fait tout cela pour que les chiens fassent monter la panthère dans l'arbre. Lui et les chiens duraient ensemble. Quand elle a chassé les chiens, les chiens l'ont chassé, quand elle a chassé les chiens, les chiens l'ont chassé.³ Enfin, nous nous sommes regroupés et nous sommes sortis en montant (la colline). Elle (la panthère) est parti pour monter dans l'arbre. Elle a monté dans l'arbre. Nous sommes restés aux alentours avec les chiens.

Mon ami a tiré deux fois sur la panthère, mais il ne l'a pas touché.⁴ La troisième fois, je suis venu la trouver et je lui ai dit: "Daouda, qu'est-ce qu'il y a?" "Ha, Seku, nous la guettons ensemble aujourd'hui." Après ça moi je suis venu

mogolu ma: "Mogo weredi teyan?" ako "Mogo wede siteyan." Nko donc anbe fede wede ke le sa, mais na jiginna wululu kun."

Nko be gelya de ala da ke an ka soro ka mugu ci a la. A ka jigin. An ka gen sa. Ka to se tundon ma.⁵ An ka ta to bo ala. o okelen ca an ka soro ka keya bila mogolu ma: "Kana wada nonkan⁶ ka na na ye so!"

Wara nin tun ye mogow njengan kosobe. Puisue an be do ma na bori do bi bori an be tun be bori a na parce eue depuis a jigin na ka ban doron a fana ma na anw gen an fana b'a gen. Fo ka soro an ka ta soro tuma min nan ka faga. Odo okoni oye okesiyon ye.

Bon oye min ye nin ke ka koji do bin ye.⁷ A nin ce fana menda njongonna a mera min ke koji do. Mime nana barakenden ka ca. O mana ye ako ka be jigin obe bi ban ko jigin. Fo an ka men njongonna an ka soro ca ka ce la yelen neni masasiru.

Ka biri an da yelen ca ka bo jido mais an ba labo jido tumami an soro la miriyan do delila ka na soro ke be siran miriyan nan abe siran dji nan.⁸ Nin yoro filanin tun be ban kumaniman an menna kosobe.

An menni ko ca an ka soro ka labo ji do. Ka la yelen⁹ an be a la yelen tumamin do tuma a bera ji caman min. A konon fara ji la. An ka labo ka bila gede la ka ji caman ka bo konon ca.¹⁰

de voir. Nous l'avons vu et j'ai demandé aux gens: "Est-ce qu'il n'y a personne d'autre ici?" Mon ami, il dit: "Il n'y a personne d'autre ici." Donc, j'ai dit que nous allons faire un autre plan. S'il descend sur (les têtes) des chiens, ça sera difficile.

Alors, Dieu a fait que nous avons trouvé la panthère pour tirer sur lui. Elle n'a qu'à descendre. Nous l'avons poursuivi et l'avons trouvé dans un trou de termitière.⁵ Allons y, terminons avec lui. Ah! Après ça nous avons envoyé un message aux gens: "Venez, cherchez la panthère⁶ pour la porter à la maison." Cette panthère avait beaucoup embêtée les gens. Quand quelqu'un d'entre nous courait, les autres couraient de la panthère. Nous tous couraient de lui, parce que depuis qu'elle est descendu complètement vers nous, quand elle nous chassait, nous aussi la chassions, jusqu'à ce que nous ayons trouvé le moment pour la tuer. Voilà, c'était l'affaire de la panthère.

Deuxième Histoire (toujours part du test de chez soi)

Bon, ceci est l'histoire d'un homme qui est tombé dans un marigot.⁷ Nous et cet homme avons duré ensemble dans le marigot. Beaucoup de travailleurs sont venus. Chaque personne qui la voit et qui dit qu'il va descendre (pour la chercher) il refuse de descendre (parce qu'il a peur). Nous restions ensemble jusqu'à ce que moi et Masasiru ayons pu le sortir.

Quand nous l'avons monté et fait sortir de l'eau, en ce moment nous avons vu un boa qui est toujours là. On avait peur du boa et de l'eau.⁸ Cette deuxième partie (l'affaire du boa) a pris beaucoup de temps.

Enfin, nous avons réussi à le faire sortir de l'eau. Quand on l'a sorti de l'eau,⁹ il avait beaucoup bu de l'eau. Son ventre était rempli d'eau. Nous l'avons sorti et l'avons étale au bord du marigot pour faire sortir l'eau de son ventre.¹⁰

An ka sɔɔ ka se se ka na lɔn. An ye talala olu tuma min dɔ sa wagati janyara. Ha kɔni okoni kɛra ani olu kɛ kɔye. O kɔnin jɛ mun ka lama olu ka kɔla ofana ye o ye histoire dɔ.

Nous l'avons transporté à la maison. Quand nous avons fini avec tout ça, beaucoup de temps avait passé. Alors, cette affaire s'est passé comme ça entre nous. C'est ce que je connais de l'affaire du marigot. Voilà l'histoire.

Kita Malinké Test de Chez Soi - Questions

1. *Qu'est-ce qu'il voyait quand il cherchait les pintades?*

Alu ye mun ye, alu kɛ ni ninintɔ la?

Réponse: Wada. (*une panthère.*)

2. *Où est-ce que j'ai trouvé la panthère?*

Wɔɔ jɔn nda wada sɔdɔ?

Réponse: Nda sɔdɔ jidi la. (*monté dans un arbre.*)

3. *Qui a fait monté la panthère dans l'arbre?*

Jɔn da wada la yɛlɛn jidi la?

Réponse: Wululu. (*les chiens.*)

4. *Combien de fois a-t-il tiré sur la panthère?*

Wada bɔnna sijnɛ jɔri?

Réponse: Wada bɔnna sijnɛ fila. (*Deux fois.*)

5. *Où est-ce que nous avons trouvé la panthère?*

Wɔdɔ jɔn anda wada sɔdɔ?

Réponse: Anda wada sɔdɔ tundɔn na. (*Dans un trou.*)

6. *Quel message avons-nous donné aux gens?*

Kela jumɛnw bilalen mɔgɔlu ma?

Réponse: Kana wada nɔnkan. (*Venez chercher la panthère.*)

7. *Où est-ce que l'homme est tombé?*

Kɛ benin wɔdɔ jɔn na?

Réponse: Kɛ ka kɔji dɔ bin. (*Dans un marigot.*)

8. *Pourquoi les gens avaient-ils peur de l'eau?*

Mun nan mɔgɔlu bɛ siran nan ji jɛ?

Réponse: Bawo miniyɔn dɔ bɛ ji la. (*Parce qu'il y avait un boa dans l'eau.*)

9. *Qu'est-ce que nous avons réussi à faire?*

An nun sera ka mun sɔdɔ ka kɛ?

Réponse: Ka la bɔ ji dɔ. (*À le faire sortir de l'eau.*)

10. *Pourquoi nous l'avons placé au bord du marigot?*

Mun nan a bilalen gede la?

Réponse: Ka ji caman, ka bɔ a kɔnɔn. (*Pour faire sortir l'eau de son ventre.*)

XI. Appendix B - Malinké 304-Item Wordlist

(SIL Mali list, version Jan 1995)

Includes Africa Area 200 Wordlist and Swadesh 200

Gloss	Badioula Malinké	Diakhanka	Kita Malinké	Kankan Maninka
1. eye	ana	anaa	ana	na
2. ear	atuloo	atuloo	atulo	tulu
3. nose	anugo	anugo	anu	nũ
4. mouth	ada	adaa	ada	da
5. tooth	aniŋo	aniŋo	anin	ŋĩ
6. tongue	aneŋo	aneŋo	aniin	nē
7. lip	adagulo	adagulo	adagulu	dagbolo
8. chin	abonboŋo	abonboŋo	abonbonkũ	boŋbuŋ
9. beard	aboora	aboora	abonbonsi	bumbusi
10. face	anate / anada	anaada	anada	ŋakoro / ŋkorola
11. head	akuŋo	akuŋo	akunxulu	kuŋjo
12. hair (head)	akunŋino	akunsinoo akunsigoo	/ akunsi	kuŋsi
13. neck	axaŋo	akaŋo	axaŋ	kaŋ
14. shoulder	adambanŋkuŋo	adambankuŋo	adanbankun	kamākun
15. breast	asunjiyo	asunjoo	asin	sin
16. (mother's) milk	sunjinonoo	sunjiyoo	sinji	singi
17. chest	axarada	akaradaa	axarada	sisi
18. belly	axono	akono	akono	kono
19. navel	abattoo	abatakunŋo	abata	bada
20. back	axoo	akoo	axo	koo / koo
21. buttocks	ajuwoo	ajuwoo	ajubata	dubolo
22. hip	atoxo	atoxoo	atoxo	soro
23. thigh	awutoo	awutoo	awutu	woldo / woro
24. knee	akunbaliŋu	akumbaliŋo	akunberenkun	kumberiŋkudo
25. foot	asiŋo	asiŋo	asinhata	siŋfede
26. leg	asinxaloo	asinkaloo	asin	siŋ
27. elbow	anonŋkonŋkuŋo	anonŋkonŋkuŋo	anonxonŋkun	nonŋkonŋkedu
28. hand	abulo	abulujambo	ategehita	te / tefede
29. finger	abulokononŋdiŋo	abulokononŋdiŋo	abuluxonondo	buluk ^w iŋ
30. fingernail	anŋonŋsiŋo	asoniŋo	asɔɔni	surŋ
31. body	abaloo	abaloo		
	afate	afatee	ahate	fadi
32. skin (human)	aguloo	aguloo	agulu	bolo
33. bone	axuloo	akuloo	axulu	kolo

Gloss	Badioula Malinké	Diakhanka	Kita Malinké	Kankan Maninka
34. muscle	afasoo	afasoo	ahasa	fasa
35. blood	ayɛloo	ayɛloo	ajoli	geli
36. saliva	adaajio	adaajiyɔ	adaji	dagi
37. urine	asuguna	asuguna	asuguna	sunagi
38. heart	asonoo	asono	asɔn	sonkun
39. liver	abunoo ajusoo	ajusoo	abina	biɲɛ
40. intestines	anuxoolu	anugolu	anuxulu	ná
41. sickness	janjaroo	janjaroo kuraŋo	janjaru	danjaro
42. fever	gandiyaa	kajɛɛ	gandiya	dɪmbalɪŋ
43. common cold	saasaa	saasaa	suma	sasa
44. human being	moxoo	moxoo	hadamadin	mɔɔ / moo
45. man	kɛɛ	kɛɛ	kɛɛ	kɛ / kee
46. woman	musoo	musoo	musu	muso
47. (her) husband	akɛɛ	akɛɛ	akɛɛ	fuduke
48. (his) wife	amusoo	alamusoo	amusu	fudumusoo
49. his father	abaabaa	abaabaa afaa	ababa afa	fà
50. his mother	ana	anaa	ana aba	na
51. his older brother	ataataa axoto	ataataakɛɛbaa	axɔtɔkɛɛ	ŋkoroke
52. his older sister	abaarimusoo	akotomusukɛɛbaa	axɔtɔmusuba	ŋkoromuso
53. bachelor	xamarigananjo kɛɛganarjo	keganarjo	kegana	kegbana kebonom
54. his mother's brother	abaari	abariŋ akawuu	abarin	burin
55. his child	adiŋo	adiŋo	adindo	dine / den
56. village chief	dugutigoo	dugutigoo saateetigoo	dugu tigi	soti
57. " chief, king"	mansakɛɛ	mansakɛɛ	masakɛ jamanatigi	damanati
58. (its) owner	atigoo	atigoo	atigi	ti
59. his neighbor	asiginɔxoo	asiginɔxoo	asiginɔxo	siŋyo
60. stranger	luntarjo	lunrarjo	luntan / nuntan	lun ndon
61. his enemy	ajaxoo	ajaxoo	ajaxu	-----
62. thief	sunoo	sunoo	sɔn	som
63. worker	numo	numoo	numu	numun
64. griot	jaloo	jaloo	jali	gelike

Gloss	Badioula Malinké	Diakhanka	Kita Malinké	Kankan Maninka
65. God	ala	ala	ala	alla
66. his family name	ajamuu	ajamu	ajamūn	too
67. his first name	atoxoo	atoxoo	atoxo	si
68. language	alaxaŋo	alakaŋo	xan	kaŋ
69. wild animal	wulaxonosuboo	wulaxonosuboo	wulaxoŋhê	warasobo
70. dog	wuuloo	wuloo	wulu	wulu
71. rat	kereŋo	kereŋo	ŋina	ŋina
72. bat	tonfoo	tonsoo	tūnsu	kona
73. elephant	samoo	samoo	sama	simba
74. goat	baa	baa	baa	baa
75. cow	linsoo	ninsoo	minsi	misi
76. donkey	faloo	faloo	hali	fali
77. lion	ŋaŋfeŋoo jarintɛɛ	ŋaŋfenoo jarintɛɛ jatoo	wara	geda
78. bird	konoo	konoo	xoŋo	kono
79. chicken	sisee	siisee	sise	sise
80. guinea fowl	xamoo	kamoo	xami	kemiŋ
81. turtle	kutoo	kutoo	suta	konggosida
82. lizard	xaana	kaanaa	xana basa	muluku
83. snake	saa	saa	saa	sa
84. earthworm	toonoxo	dugutotumboo	tumbu	tonoko tumbu
85. fish	ɣɛɛgo	ɣɛgoo	ɣɛɛ	gɛɛ
86. (head) louse	duŋoo ŋaamo	duŋoo ŋamoo	xaranxa	ɣimiŋ
87. ant	dundumenoo	dugumenoo	dundumene menemene kula	dumene
88. spider	tilooba	tiloobaa taliŋjaloo	talinala	taluntaluŋba
89. scorpion	kondiikondo	buntaloo	koson	koson
90. horn	biŋoo	biŋoo	gere	kere
91. wing	danfataaŋo	danfataŋo	danbara	kemoŋ

Gloss	Badioula Malinké	Diakhanka	Kita Malinké	Kankan Maninka
92. feathers	tiyo	tiyo	ti	duloo
93. fur	tiyo	tiyo	ti	sasa
94. tail	feɲoo	feɲoo kuwoo	ku	koo
95. egg	kiloo	kiloo	kili	kili
96. meat	sugoo	suboo	subu	sobo
97. animal fat	keɲoo	keɲo	kɛ̃n	kɛ̃ɲ
98. tree	yiroo	yiroo	yiri	yiriju
99. bark	fattoo	fattoo boxoo	wombo	fara wambo
100. leaf	yirifitoo	fitoo jamboo	hita	fida
101. stick	dokoo	dokoo faloo	xalama	gbɪlike
102. root (tree)	suloo	suloo liliyoo	lili	lɪlɪɲ
103. flower	firoo	firoo	hiri	fere
104. fruit (=tree's child)	yiridiɲo	yiridiɲo	yiridin	yiridiɲ
105. seed	kesoo	kesoo	kese	kise
106. grass	biɲoo	biɲo ɲaamoo	bin	biɲ
107. millet (uncooked)	ɲoo	ɲoo	ɲo	sajo
108. rice (uncooked)	maaloo	maaloo	malu	maloo
109. peanut	tigoo	tigoo	tiga	tiya
110. place	dulaa	dula	wula	yoro
111. field	diyoo	kenaa	kena	sene
112. village	saate dugoo gaaloo	saatee dugoo	dugu	sunɛ̃
113. market	firiidulaa	firidulaa	sugu	lofe
114. house	luwo	luwo	lu	boɲ
115. grass roof	tiyo	buntiboo	tiba	tibon
116. door	bundaa	bundaa	da	kon
117. path	ɟiloo	siloo	silá	silá
118. thing	feɲoo	feɲo	hɛ̃n	fe

Gloss	Badioula Malinké	Diakhanka	Kita Malinké	Kankan Maninka
116. door	bundaa	bundaa	da	kon
117. path	ʃiloo	siloo	silá	silá
118. thing	fɛŋoo	fɛŋo	hɛn	fe
119. clothing	dorogoo	dorogoo faanoo	maxara	fanĩ
120. rope	juloo	duloo	julu	julu / dulu
121. stool	sigilarŋoo	sigirarŋoo wahandoo	waxandɛ korɔndomɛ	gbɪŋbɛde
122. salt	xoɔoo	koxoo	xoɔo	koo
123. calabash	fɛɛ	fɛɛ mirango	hɛɛno	fɛɛ
124. cooking pot (no legs)	baraamoo	baramoo kalɛɛroo	barama	nɪrɔ́
125. food	domooɔfɛŋoo	domofɛŋo	balu	balo
126. hole (in ground)	diŋɔoo	dinkoo	dinxá	diŋka
127. iron	negoo	nɛgoo	nɛgɛ	nɛɛ
128. gold	sanoo	sanoo	sanu	sanɪŋ
129. knife	muuroo	muroo	murú	moru
130. spear	taambooo	tambooo	tamba	kamba
131. talking drum	dunduŋoo	taŋtaŋoo jimɛɛ	jimɛ	gɛmbɛɛ
132. war	keloo	keloo	kele	kele
133. fire	taa	taa kimaá	ta	ta
134. firewood	sumuuntaa	sumuntaa	loɔo	lo dikalamarŋ
135. smoke	siisiyo	siisiyoo	sisí	sisí
136. ashes	bugutoo	bugutoo	bɔxɔtɪgɛ	budigɛ
137. night time	suwoto	suwotoo / suutoo	su	su
138. darkness	diboo	diboo	dibi	dibi
139. moon	kaaro	karoo	karu	karo
140. star	looloo	looloo	lolo	lolo
141. sun	tiloo	tiloo	tili	telekolo
142. day (24 hours)	tilooto	tilootoo	tilin	tele
143. tomorrow	siniŋ	sini	sini	sini
144. yesterday	kunuŋ	kunuŋ	kunu	kunu
145. sky	sankuloo	sanguloo	sanxulu	saŋ
146. cloud	xaboo	minaxoo	xaba	bidika
147. wind	foŋoo	foŋoo	hoŋo	foŋo

Gloss	Badioula Malinké	Diakhanka	Kita Malinké	Kankan Maninka
148. rain	sanjiyoo	sanjiyoo	sanji	sanji
149. water	jiyoo	jiyoo	ji	gi
150. dew	koomboo	komboo	xombi	kombi
151. river	baa	baa	ba	ba
152. lake	baa	ba	dala	dala / dɛla
153. sea	xoxoojiyoo	koxoojiyoo	xoxoji	kogi
154. mountain	kanjoo	konkoo	konko	kuru
155. stone	kuroo	kuroo beroo	kuru	koba
156. earthsoil	duguxuloo	dugukuloo	duguxulu	du
157. sand	boonxoo buguutoo	bankoo bugutoo	keɲɛ	kiɲɛn / tiɲɛ
158. dust	xaanxaŋoo	kanjakaŋo	xanxan buguti	gbangban / banban
159. year	sanjoo	sano	san	sanj
160. one	kiliŋ	kiliŋ	kilin	keli / kelen
161. two	fula	fula	hula	fila
162. three	saba	saba	saba	saba
163. four	naani	naani	naani	naani
164. five	luulu	luulu	luulu	loolu
165. six	wooro	wooro	wɔɔɔ	wɔɔɔ
166. seven	woorowula	woorowula	wɔɔɔwula	wɔɔɔnfila
167. eight	saagi	sagi	segi	seɪ
168. nine	kononŋto	kononto	xononŋto	konondo
169. ten	tan	tan	tan	taŋ
170. twenty	muxan	mugan	muxan	mwa ^h
171. hundred	keme	keme	keme	keme
172. hot (weather)	wumbee fuuntanoo	wumbɛɛ funtanoo gandoo	huntani	tera / tara
173. cold (weather)	nenoo	nenoo	nɛnɛ	nɛnɛ
174. long (thing)	janj	janjama	jambijan	jamá
175. short (thing)	sutumaa	sutumaa	sutu kutu	kuduman / klumaj
176. tall	janjoo	janjama	jan	gdamonba
177. short (stature)	sutunŋoo	sutumaa	sutu kutu	klumane
178. big	bun	waramaa	bun	bilibiliba
179. small (thing)	doxo	doxoma	dɔɔɔ	domane
180. thick (thing)	fetefeteliŋoo	lepeleperiŋo	bun	fedebe

Gloss	Badioula Malinké	Diakhanka	Kita Malinké	Kankan Maninka
181. thin (thing)	meseyaliŋ	mɛsɛma	mɛsɛma	misemaŋ
182. wide (=big area)	xonobaa	konobaa	xonɔba	konoba
183. narrow (=small area)	xonodoxo	konodoxoŋ	xonɔdɔɔɔɔn	moŋkan
184. round (thing)	murunmurundiŋ	murunmurunɔdiŋo	korini	koon / kɛdoŋ
185. heavy	xulii	gulima	gili	gbiliman / bɪlimɔŋ
186. smooth	nugguliŋ	nunguriŋoo	nuŋxuni	anunkuni
187. good (quality)	keeŋiŋ	keɛŋiŋo	ɲuman	ɲuma
188. bad (quality)	keejaxoo	keɛjaxo	jaxoma	dumuŋ / juman
189. straight (line)	tiliŋdiŋ	tiliŋdiŋo	tilinno	tɛliŋ / telen
190. exact	nta	bɛndiŋo	ole	membɛne
191. rightside	buluubaa	bulubaa	domulibuluhe	bolokeniŋ
192. leftside	maaraa	maraa	numanbuluhe	bolomaran
193. new	kutoo	kutoo	kuta	kuda / kura
194. old (worn)	xotomaa	kotomaa	xotɔno	koromɔŋ
195. all	muumɛɛ bɛɛ	muumɛɛ bɛɛ	abe	fenbɛɛ
196. many or much	jaamaa buumbaa	jama / siyamaŋoo	siama	siama / siyaman
197. few	doondiŋ	dondi	dɔɔndi	domoŋ
198. other (thing)	doo	doo	ketɛ	sɪmbɛre
199. red	wulemaa	wulamaa wuleriŋoo	/ wulɛma	wulemoŋ
200. yellow	netemuŋumaa	netemuŋo	netɛmunɔu	nɛdemu
201. green	jambajimaa	jambajilamaa	ɲuguji	fidakɛnde
202. black	fiŋmaa	finmaa	hinman	fimaŋ
203. white	xoyimaa	gɛɛmaa	gɛma	gbemɔŋ
204. dirty	noxoliŋoo	nogoriŋ	noɔo	nòò
205. dry	jaata	jaariŋo	jaano	ja
206. full	faata	faariŋo	fa	fáá
207. rotten	toliita	tolita	toli	toli
208. sharp (=good knife)	dii	diyaariŋ	nundi	numisiŋ
209. dull (=bad knife)	xoo	gowaariŋ	daxo	nukunu

Gloss	Badioula Malinké	Diakhanka	Kita Malinké	Kankan Maninka
210. wet	ʃinanta	sinanɗinj	nigin	kurikuri suman
211. I	n ¹	n ¹	n	n
212. you (sg)	i ¹	i ¹	ī	ī
213. he / she	a ³	a ³	a	ai
214. we	n ³ n ³ telu	n ³	an	an
215. you (pl)	ilu alu itelu	alu atelu	ilu itelu	alu
216. they	woolu i ³ i ³ telu	woolu i ³ itelu	wolu	alu ¹
217. who	jon	joŋ	joŋ	dyoŋ
218. what	mun	mun	mun	mū
219. this	ninj	ninj	ninu	haminj
220. that	woo	woo	nin	dolomina
221. where	min too	min too	min	mɪniŋ fanduma
222. here	janj	janj	jan	yaŋ / yando
223. there	noŋ jeɛ	jeɛ	no je	wɔɗinj
224. at	-----	-----	-----	katere
225. near	daafee	daafeɛ	dahɛ	adafe atrofe
226. far	janjala	jana	jan	jan amatani
227. in	xonoo	kono	xɔno	akono
228. how?	kedii	naadi	najon	di niŋumomo
229. with	aniŋ	aniŋ	ani	ani
230. and	ninj	aniŋ	ani	ani aiye
231. if (conditional)	nii	ninj	ni	ni
232. when?	tumaajumaŋ	tumaajumaŋ	tumajon	waatiduman katidumaŋ
233. "no, not"	te	te	te	te
234. sit	sigii	sigii	sigi	silu
235. stand up	wuli	wuli	wuli	wɪlila

Gloss	Badioula Malinké	Diakhanka	Kita Malinké	Kankan Maninka
236. lie down	laa	laa	la	lala
237. sleep	sinaxoo	siinoxoo	sinoxo	sunola
238. to fear (feared)	silanta	silanta	jito	silana
239. hunger	xoxoo	konkoo	xoxo	konko
240. bite	kiŋ	kiŋ	kinni	tiŋna / kin
241. eat	domo	domo	domoni	domoni
242. drink	miŋ	min	minni	mina
243. vomit	foonoxaŋ	foonokaŋ	hɔnɔli	bwayi
244. cough	toxotoxoxaŋ	toxotoxokaŋ	sɔgɔsɔgɔli	soso
245. suck	suusuŋxaŋ	suusuŋkaŋ	susuli	sumbu
246. spit	dajiyo tufuxaŋ	dajiyo tupikaŋ	daji tu	dɛgi
247. blow	futeexaŋ	fuuteekaŋ	xalahe	afela
248. whistle	koliŋfeela	kulifeela	hulehe	fulefela
249. sing	sigilaala	sigilaala	dɔnkiila	donkiila
250. dance	doŋola	doŋkaŋ	dɔn	donna
251. laugh	jelexaŋ	jelekaŋ	yeleli	yelela
252. weep	kuŋbooxaŋ	kuŋbookaŋ kasikaŋ	xasili	kasi
253. bark	woxoxoxaŋ	woxoxokaŋ	wɔnwɔnni	wonwon
254. say (sth)	foo	foo	ho	fɔ
255. ask	ŋiniŋxaaloola	ŋiniŋkaaroola	ŋinixali	mayinikalike
256. see	jexan	jekaŋ	yeli	yela
257. show	yiitana	yiitan	mahitali	yirakela / giraka
258. hear	meexaŋ	meekaŋ	mɛɛli	mɛna
259. smell (sth)	sumbotaxaŋ	sumotakaŋ	sumatali	sumamɛna
260. know	loŋ	loŋ	lonniya	lon
261. count	daŋxaŋ	daŋkaŋ yatekaŋ	danni	dyatela
262. think	miiraxaŋ	miraakaŋ	mirili	mirila
263. love	kuu	kanukaŋ	kanuli	agumanye
264. take	taa	taa	tali	ta
265. hold	muta	muta	a y a bulu	a ye a bolo
266. give	diŋma	dinma	dili	dila sola
267. steal	suuŋaaxaŋ	suuŋaakaŋ	suŋali	suŋali
268. hide (sth)	noxoxaŋ	nuguxaŋ	duguli	donna

Gloss	Badioula Malinké	Diakhanka	Kita Malinké	Kankan Maninka
269. marry (wife)	futuuxaŋ	futuukaŋ	hutuli	fudula
270. bear a child	wuluuxaŋ	wuluukaŋ	wululi	muvila
271. die (is dying)	fayaxaŋ	fagakaŋ	sali	faa sa / siya
272. kill (is killing)	fayaxaŋ	fagakaŋ	havali	faa
273. live	baluuliŋ	baluurigɛ	baluli	balula / balo
274. leave	taxaxaŋ	taxakaŋ	taxali	wala
275. come	naaxaŋ	naakaŋ	nali	nala
276. send (someone)	kiiraŋ	kiikaŋ	kilali	lawala
277. fly	ibaaxaŋ	ibaakaŋ	barali	gbana
278. swim	ineewuxaŋ	ineewukaŋ	noli	namuna
279. walk	itaxamaxaŋ	taxamakaŋ	toɔomali	tamala
280. run	iborixaŋ	iborikaŋ	borili	borila
281. fall	boyixaŋ	boyikaŋ	boyili	bela
282. turn	minigminiŋxaŋ	imuruŋmuruŋkaŋ	munumunuli	tɪlmina yelɛman
283. scratch	iŋaŋaaxaŋ	iŋaŋaakaŋ	iŋaŋali	awasana
284. rub	lasusaaxaŋ	suusaaxaŋ	josili	kamasusa
285. pour	boŋxaŋ	boŋkaŋ	bonni	kalabon
286. wash (clothes)	kuuxaŋ	kuukaŋ	hanukuli	fanɪŋkola
287. sweep	fitaxaŋ	fitakaŋ	hitali	fidana
288. split (wood)	tofaraxaŋ	tofarakaŋ	loɔɔtote	atila
289. cut	tokutuŋxaŋ	tegekaŋ	tegele	atela
290. pierce / stab	soxooxaŋ	sogokaŋ	soɔoli	asola
291. hit	teexaŋ	teexaŋ gosikaŋ	gosili	abusila / gbasila
292. throw	fayixaŋ	fayikaŋ filikaŋ	hilili	alafilila
293. push	ɲorixaŋ	ɲorikaŋ	ɲontinni	tuŋtuna
294. pull	sabaaxaŋ	sabaakaŋ	samali	samana
295. press (sth)	digixaŋ	to digikaŋ	digili	adilakan
296. tie	ɲitixaŋ	sitikaŋ	sitili	sidi kalakafo / kalakeɲa

Gloss	Badioula Malinké	Diakhanka	Kita Malinké	Kankan Maninka
297. make	dadaaxaŋ	dadaakaŋ	tobɛnni	roβɛn / arabɛna
298. sew	xaraaxaŋ	karakaaŋ	xarali	akarala
299. hunt	waajaxaŋ	waajakaŋ	dunsuyake	agbɛna
300. cultivate	sɛnɛxaŋ	sɛnɛkaŋ	sɛnɛke	asenɛla
301. bury	buruxaŋ	buruukaŋ	sudunni	kasudu / sudon
302. burn (sth)	janixaŋ	janikaŋ	janili	kageni
303. swell	fuunuxaŋ	fuunukaŋ	hunuli	kalafa
304. talk	xumaxaŋ	kumakaŋ	xumali	kumala

XII. Appendix C - Sociolinguistic Questionnaire - Malinké

Date: _____	Linguiste: _____	Village: _____
Cercle: _____	Arrond.: _____	Chef de village: _____
Nom: _____	M / F	Age: _____
École: _____ Française _____ ans	Lieu de naissance: _____	
_____ Koranique _____ ans	Années vécus ici: _____	
Avez-vous faites de longues voyages? _____ Où? _____		

1 ^{ère} langue de son père: _____ 1 ^{ère} langue de sa mère: _____		

1. Quelles langues sont parlées par les gens de ce village?
2. Quelles langues parlez-vous?
3. Parmi ces langues, laquelle préférez-vous parler?
4. Si vous rencontrez une personne originaire des régions suivantes, quelle langue est-ce que vous parlez? (i.e., votre façon, sa façon, une autre langue)

VILLE:	LANGUE DE:	
	l'enquêté	l'autre personne
a. Bamako		
b. Kita		
c. Oussoubidiagna (Khassonké)		
d. Kéniéba		
e. Kédougou, Sénégal		
f. Siguiri, Guinée		

5. *Un enfant Malinké de votre village déménage à (a) Bamako, (b) Kita, (c) Oussoubidiagna, (d) Kéniéba, (e) Kédougou, Sénégal (f) Siguiri, Guinée. Est-ce qu'il pourrait communiquer tout de suite avec les gens de ce village?*

Si non, combien de temps faudrait-il pour s'adapter à leur façon de parler?
 a. *une semaine* b. *un mois* c. *plus de 3 mois*

VILLE	POURRAIT-IL COMMUNIQUER?	SI NON, APRES COMBIEN DE TEMPS?		
	Oui/non?	une semaine	un mois	plus de 3 mois
a. Bamako				
b. Kita				
c. Oussoubidiagna (Khassonké)				
d. Kéniéba				
e. Kédougou, Sén.				
f. Siguiri, Guinée				

6a. *Est-ce que vous écoutez les émissions en malinké de la radio du Sénégal?
Qu'est-ce que vous en pensez?*

6b. *Est-ce que vous écoutez les émissions en malinké de la radio de la Guinée?
Qu'est-ce que vous en pensez?*

7a. *En quelle langue préférez-vous apprendre à lire et écrire? Pourquoi?*

7b. *Est-ce qu'il vous plairait que vos enfants apprennent à lire et à écrire en*

- i. Bambara _____
- ii. Malinké de Kita _____
- iii. Khassonké _____
- iv. le parler de Kéniéba _____
- v. le parler de Kédougou _____
- vi. le parler de Siguiri _____

8. *Est-ce que le Malinké devrait être une langue écrite? Pourquoi?*

9a. *Quel genre de choses souhaiteriez-vous voir écrit en Malinké?*

9b. *Accepteriez-vous ce genre de littérature si elle était écrite en Khassonké?*

en Malinké du Sénégal?

10a. *Parmi Bambara, Khassonké et le Malinké du Sénégal, quelle langue aimez-vous le mieux? Pourquoi?*

10b. *Quelle langue de ces langues vous plaît le moins? Pourquoi?*

11. *Si je voulais apprendre votre langue et avoir le respect de tous les Malinké qui parlent votre langue, où est-ce que je devrais m'installer?*

12. *Dans quelles régions parle-t-on votre langue le mieux?*

XIII. Maps of the Survey Area

