

A Preliminary Phonology of Bana

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ABSTRACT

This paper presents a preliminary phonology of Bana, a Chadic language of northern Cameroon. A study of previous research reveals that neighbouring and related languages share certain features which present a challenge to phonological analysis. These features are reflected in the Bana data set. Many Chadic languages are subject to prosodies of labialization, palatalization, and sometimes even nasalization, but in Bana, labialization and nasalization are shown to be segmental features, of which nasalization is more limited in scope. In some Chadic languages, (e.g. Podoko/Parékwa,) prosodies operate at a word level, but palatalization in Bana, like the prosodies of the neighbouring language Kapsiki/Psikye, is a syllable-level feature.

Palatalization can occur on any syllable, affecting the onset, if it is from the set of palatalizable consonants, and/or the vowel, if it is high and not rounded. (Low vowels are impervious to palatalization.) If neither of these conditions exists in a syllable, palatalization may appear as a palatal offglide on an otherwise nonpalatalizable onset.

Seen through the lense of palatalization and labialization, the Bana vowel chart is reduced to a very unusual three-way contrast, /ə, e, a/, of which /e/ is rare. There are 38 consonants, including a back labialized series, which causes further allophonic variation in contiguous high vowels. This ratio of vowels to consonants is low, but not surprising for a Chadic language.

Bana is a tone language, having two contrasting tones, but much remains to be studied in the area of tone, particularly in the area of tone sandhi.

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ORTHOGRAPHIC CONVENTIONS

For the sake of those who will make the most use of this thesis, certain orthographic conventions have been adopted. These have been established by the Cameroonian government in its General Alphabet of Cameroon Languages, a document which specifies the set of acceptable graphemes for all Cameroonian languages. The unusual use of the schwa is also a long-established practise in Chadic linguistics.

As mentioned in the abstract, the syllable level feature of palatalization causes considerable allophonic variation at the segmental level, which is always indicated in phonetic transcription. An ideal phonemic transcription would show all three tiers (prosody, tone, and segments) simultaneously, but as this is not practical, a collapsed phonemic transcription has been adopted. In this system, tones will be indicated with accent marks, and certain sub-phonemic (i.e. phonetic) distinctions among segments are indicated to reflect what would otherwise appear on the prosodic tier. In the discussion of palatalization (Section 4.3), however, we will use a strict, two-tiered phonemic system.

The following, then, is a list of the uncommon and non-IPA symbols used in this thesis, each with a discussion of usage. Note that trivial allophonic variation will not be transcribed phonetically, merely described in the chapter on consonants.

Vowels

- ə A high central unrounded vowel, IPA [i]. This symbol will be used even in phonetic transcription.
- i IPA [i]. This palatalized allophone of /ə/ will appear in collapsed phonemic transcription to indicate palatalization.
- e IPA [ɛ]. In phonetic transcription, the IPA grapheme will be used.

Consonant Graphemes not Affected by Palatalization

- p, etc. The voiceless stop series are slightly aspirated preceding vowels.
- ts, dz These affricates will be transcribed as digraphs.
- kw, etc. The back consonants with labial offglides will be transcribed as di- or trigraphs.
- ɓ, ɗ These are voiced implosives, bilabial and alveolar respectively.
- mb, etc. Prenasalized consonants will be transcribed as di- or trigraphs.
- sl, zl These are voiceless and voiced alveolar lateral fricatives, which will be transcribed phonetically as IPA [ɬ, ɻ] respectively.
- vb A labiodental flap, articulated by flapping the lower lip forward from a position behind the upper teeth, so that it strikes either the teeth or the upper lip or both on its way forward. As there is no IPA symbol

for this sound but also no case of [v] followed by [b] in Bana, this orthographic convention should pose no problem.

r An alveolar flap.

y a palatal semivowel, IPA [j]. Even in phonetic transcription, this symbol will be used.

Consonant Graphemes Affected by Palatalization

c, etc. Each consonant in the alveolar sibilant series, /ts dz ndz s z/, has a palatalized allophone, IPA [tʃ dʒ ndʒ ʃ ʒ], respectively. In collapsed phonemic transcription, these allophones will be rendered as /c j nj sh zh/.

h, gh These are voiceless and voiced uvular trills, respectively, as in French "quatre" and "grand." They will be transcribed phonetically as [χ, ɣ]. Each has a palatalized allophone, a voiceless and voiced palatal fricative, respectively. These will be transcribed as [xy, yy]. In collapsed phonemic transcription, these allophones will be rendered as /h gh/ when the following vowel is transcribed as /i/, and otherwise as /hy ghy/.

' Glottal stop, IPA [?]. When pronounced with a palatal offglide it will be phonetically transcribed ['y]. In collapsed phonemic transcription, the palatalized allophone will be rendered as '/' preceding /i/, and '/y elsewhere.

k, etc. The remaining back consonants are velar in point of articulation, and, excluding /w/, they also have palatalized allophones. Preceding the low vowels, they are pronounced with a palatal offglide, and preceding the high vowel, they are simply fronted to a palatal point of articulation. This distinction in the allophones will not be reflected in phonetic transcription; for practical reasons, the palatalized allophones of the velar consonants will be transcribed as [ky gy ny ngy], regardless of the following vowel. In collapsed phonemic transcription, these allophones will be transcribed /k g n ng/ preceding /i/, and /ky gy ny ngy/ elsewhere.

Tone

high

low

rising

falling

All tone will always be marked, in both phonetic and phonemic transcription. A syllable which is not marked for tone indicates that I was unable to determine its tone.

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Aims and Organization

The original aim of this research was twofold: first to determine the phonemes of Bana and their allophonic variation, and second to determine the number of tones in the language. As other Chadic languages were studied, it soon became apparent that a third aim would have to be included: to identify the prosody or prosodies of Bana and its/their behavior.

As background information, Chapter II presents problems already encountered in Chadic phonological research. The results of the research in Bana is then presented in the following four chapters, beginning with the consonant phonemes in Chapter III. As prosodies and the analysis of vowel phonemes are so thoroughly intertwined, the question of prosodies is treated before the vowels, in the following two chapters. Finally, Chapter VI presents tone contrasts. Following the conclusion, a Bana/French French/Bana lexicon has been appended for the interest of other researchers. French was chosen as the second language for this lexicon as it is the official language of the area of Cameroon where Bana is spoken.

The remainder of this introductory chapter consists of a brief presentation of background information on the conditions of research, the Bana people, and the Bana language as classified both internally (into dialects) and externally (within the Chadic family).

1.2 Time, Place and Conditions of Research

The fieldwork for this study was accomplished in Cameroon from March 1986 to November 1987. During this time I worked under the joint auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the Cameroonian government, Ministère de l'Education Supérieure et Recherches Scientifiques (MESRES), Centre de Recherches et d'Etudes Anthropologiques (CREA). My time was divided approximately equally between Yaoundé, the capital, and the village of Gamboura in the Bana-speaking region.

In Yaoundé, I attended conferences, did library research, consulted with other linguists and repeatedly serviced my computer and tape recorder, which never did survive long in the village. My analysis is therefore based primarily on phonetic transcriptions: an adequate, though not ideal situation. The rest of my time in Yaoundé was spent in sifting through, consolidating and organizing the data collected in the Bana area.

The Bana occupy the canton of Guili, District of Bourha, Department of Mayo Tsanaga, in the Extreme North Province of Cameroon. The climate of the area is

typical of the Sahel; there are four months of rainy season beginning in June, followed by eight months of dry season during which the Harmattan dust blows in from the Sahara. The terrain is rough and hilly, with mountains consisting of piles of boulders, and huge boulders scattered across otherwise clear fields. This climate and terrain are suitable for growing millet, the staple food of the Bana.

1.3 The People

The Bana, then, are primarily agriculturalists. The men grow millet and corn in large fields, while the women grow peanuts, another peanut-like crop,¹ various legumes and sometimes vegetables on small plots close to their compounds. In addition to the agriculture which takes up most of everyone's time each day, other subsistence activities include, for the women and girls, gathering plant food and firewood, and for the men, herding of large livestock or occasionally hunting. All young boys are shepherds/goatherds during rainy season. After subsistence activities, people earn money through small enterprises of various sorts. Men may be weavers or tailors, operate a bar, restaurant or flour mill, or buy and sell goods at the weekly market in each village. For women the only source of financial income is preparing food to sell at market.

A Bana household consists of a senior male, his wife or wives and children, and sometimes his widowed mother. All these people share a compound, a collection of houses surrounded by a mud or stone wall, work the same fields, and eat together.

¹ Voandzeia subterranea

er. An adult male son will set up his own compound about a year before marrying. Apart from the household subsistence unit, the kinship system is such that one owes respect and service to all older blood relatives, and can expect the same from all younger blood relatives. There is virtually no responsibility to relatives by marriage, on the other hand. The closest of relationships and the one involving the greatest mutual responsibility is that of brothers, which includes all male cousins except the sons of one's mother's brother(s). The responsibilities of kinship, however, do not end with death. One has also to deal with the ancestors.

Although contemporary Bana society appears to consist of approximately equal numbers of Muslims, Christians, and Animists, animistic practises are still maintained among many people of both monotheistic religions. Traditionally, the Bana interact with three types of supernatural beings: ancestors, bush spirits, and the god of the village. Each household attends to the appeasement of its own *m(ə)tikwèli*, the paternal grandfather of the head of the household, who influences the affairs of that household in terms of health and prosperity. Diviners consult and appease the more important ancestors of the village, who affect interhousehold strife, barrenness, and illness caused by curses. The bush spirits are dangerous; most people avoid the bush at night for fear of them. The greedy, however, will make deals with these spirits, offering them sacrifices of millet beer or chickens in exchange for personal power and wealth. Failure to properly appease a bush spirit brings insanity. The highest supernatural power is the village god. One priest in each village maintains the cult of *hyàlà*, who controls such things as rainfall, harvest, epidemics, and intervillage or intertribal war.

1.4 Classification of the Language

The 16,000 speakers of kwèmà ká bàñá, the language of the Bana people, agree on the linguistic boundaries of their tribe. The neighbouring speakers of Hya, Kapsiki/Psikye, Gamdugunj, Daba, Jimi, and Zizilivəkən are all definitely not Bana. Within Bana, however, a definite demarcation exists between the mountain dialect and the valley dialect. Guili, the capital of the canton, is in the valley, while Gamboura, the second largest village, is the centre of the mountain dialect area. The third largest village, Ouda (local name: Divni), is closer to Guili but has a dialect closer to that of Gamboura, and is thus considered part of the mountain dialect group.

The two dialects are completely mutually intelligible. (As a beginning student of Bana who lived and worked in Gamboura, I was able to understand the people of Guili equally well/poorly.) There are only two differences between the dialects. The first is a number of individual lexical items which differ. The second is a small but obvious gender distinction which is made in Gamboura but not in Guili. The mountain dialect marks all modified masculine nouns and their adjectives with the particle 'tsà.' The dialect of a speaker is thus immediately obvious by the presence or absence of a regular peppering of 'tsà.'

Although the internal classification of Bana is clear, its exact place in the Chadic language family is less certain. The historical comparative studies that have been done (Newman and Ma, 1966; Newman, 1977a; Atlas Linguistique du Cameroun, 1983), agree that it belongs in the Centre-Est or A side of the Centre or Biu-Mandara branch of Central Chadic. It is further agreed that Bana is most

closely related to Higi and Kapsiki/Psikye, and that among its other close relatives is Margi. The exact configuration of the family tree between the major limbs and the leaves, however, remains unsettled.

Chapter II

PROBLEMS IN THE ANALYSIS OF CHADIC VOWEL SYSTEMS

Within the Chadic family, certain phonological phenomena arise repeatedly. These elements have been identified, and are presented below in a synthesized form, with examples from specific languages. Historically, linguists have taken very diverse approaches to the analyses of these problems, and a discussion of a few of these approaches follows, all taken from languages closely related to Bana. Each of these approaches works for the language being analyzed, but some are more insightful than others, and shed some light in areas beyond the specific language being analyzed. Before moving into this discussion of phenomena and approaches, however, the classification of Chadic in historical comparative terms is presented, both externally (within its phylum) and internally.

2.1 Historical Comparative Background

Since Greenberg's (1963) The Languages of Africa, it has been generally accepted that there are four language phyla native to the African continent. These are:

Nilo-Saharan (includes Songhai, Masai)

Niger-Kordofanian (includes Yoruba, Bantu)

Khoisan (the 'click' languages)

Afroasiatic

2.1.1 Afroasiatic

As far back as 1860, Lottner had noticed the similarities between Ancient Egyptian, Berber, Semitic, and Cushitic, and treated them as a single phylum (Greenberg, 1963). This became known as 'Hamito-Semitic,' but exactly where the boundaries of this phylum were to be drawn was very unclear. The name was unfortunate, as it led to attempts at classification on racial -- as opposed to purely linguistic -- grounds.

The assumption was that 'Hamites,' (descendents of the Biblical character Ham, son of Noah) were originally a lighter-skinned, superior race, which gradually moved south, subjugating the inferior blacks, and imposing their language on them. The Hamites were said to be herders and agriculturalists, and any case of an African society practising herding or agriculture was considered proof of contact with the Hamites, at least indirectly.

With this assumption as a starting point, two approaches to the classification of African languages were taken in the first half of this century. Greenberg (1963) states that Carl Meinhof and others classified a great many black African languages as 'Hamitic,' implying that the speakers of these languages were descended from the intermarriage of Hamites and Blacks. Languages as diverse as Hotten-

tot, Fulani, and Masai (representing all three of the other African language phyla), were considered Hamitic, and thus distantly related to Semitic. The other approach was to group most black African languages together against Hamito-Semitic, but to look for a Hamitic ancestry for the languages of lighter-skinned tribes.

In 1963, Greenberg renamed the phylum Afroasiatic, and demonstrated that Hottentot, Fulani, and the 'Nilo-Hamitic' languages (including Masai), did not belong under the Afroasiatic umbrella. He then proposed that in addition to Lottnér's four families, a fifth family which he called 'Chad' be added to the phylum.

2.1.2 The Chadic Branch

As Greenberg (1963) states, he based this proposal on the research of the first Chadicist, Johannes Lukas, who had observed that there was a whole group of related languages which he called Chad-Hamitic, and had systematically compared several of them in 1937. (Lukas' only predecessor in comparative Chadic, also mentioned by Greenberg, was G. Krause, who in 1884 first noticed resemblances between Muzuk, a language of Chad, and Hausa, spoken in Nigeria.)

Unfortunately, Greenberg had very little data from which to draw his examples comparing Chadic languages with other Afroasiatic languages. He depended heavily on Lukas' work, which was on Hausa and on other Chadic languages that were geographically close to Kanuri. As Newman and Ma (1966) pointed out, Kanuri is a Nilo-Saharan language which had borrowed heavily from Arabic, so the data were skewed; what appeared to be Chadic cognates to Arabic words (and

hence to Semitic), were in fact borrowings into these Chadic languages through an unrelated language. Subsequent careful reconstruction has demonstrated that Proto-Chadic does in fact have forms that are cognates to other families of Afroasiatic, but Greenberg reached the same conclusion coincidentally.

2.1.3 Internal Classification of Chadic and Reconstruction of Proto-Chadic

Greenberg also drew from Lukas' papers and subsequent work in formulating his own proposal for a Chadic family tree, but the data were, as mentioned, very limited, and the resultant classification somewhat sketchy. His nine subgroups of Chadic have since been reduced to four.

The most extensive reconstructive work in Chadic has been done by Newman and Ma (1966) and by Newman (1977a). They have published only about 150 Proto-Chadic forms, but considerably more have been reconstructed. Specific sound correspondences have been demonstrated throughout the group, and the comparison of these reflexes of a proto-consonant have been used to establish branches of the family and relative ages of splits in the family tree. In addition to consonants, some vowel reconstruction has been attempted both by Newman (1977a) and by Schuh (1971), but as we shall see, vowels are difficult to pin down in modern Chadic languages, let alone Proto-Chadic. Comparative studies of tonal systems and some syntax have also been undertaken.

For the 54 Chadic languages in Cameroon only, a lexicostatistic comparison was done by the Agence de coopération Culturelle et Technique, an international development agency, using a 100 word list. The results of this study were pub-

lished in the Atlas Linguistique du Cameroun (1983) after careful comparison to Newman's (1977a) classification, which was more thorough but less broad-based. Some modification to the family tree for the Cameroonian languages was suggested at this time. Needless to say, the final word in the classification of Chadic languages is not yet available.

Nevertheless, for Proto-Chadic at least, some things are becoming clearer. More recent hypotheses are now being supported rather than destroyed by new data. Following is the phoneme inventory of Proto-Chadic as proposed by Newman (1977a). As this thesis is not primarily concerned with reconstruction, this will be a brief presentation only, by way of background information to the problems of analysis of modern Chadic vowel systems.

Proto-Chadic Consonants

p	t	c	k	ky	kw
b	d	j	g	gy	gw
β	ð	'j			
f	s	ʃ	x	xy	xw
		z			
		ſ			
m	n				
		l			
		r			
w			y		

A few comments on the consonant inventory are necessary. First, the phoneme */j/ was probably a palatal implosive. Proto-Chadic had only one lateral, but this was a voiceless lateral fricative! The phonetic realization of the phoneme *š is unclear, but it certainly contrasted with *s. It may in fact have been [ʃ], as the contrast between *š and *ʃ has not been clearly established.

Proto-Chadic Vowels

(i)	ə	(u)
a		

As indicated in the vowel chart above, Newman was unsure in 1977 whether to posit a two or a four vowel system for Proto-Chadic. He even allowed the outside possibility of a three vowel system */i, a, u,/ which Schuh (1971) had proposed.

2.2 The Phenomena

Chadic languages are rich in consonants but have few vowels. Newman (1977a) states that a six-vowel system in which two of the vowels are found almost exclusively in borrowed words is typical, but that languages have been described with as many as nine vowels (Jungraithmayr: Tangale), and as few as two (Mirt: Mandara). This poverty in the vowel inventory is invariably disguised under a broad range of allophonic variation, however. In addition to this fluidity of vowel quality, three other factors complicate the analysis of the vowel system. These are neutralization, predictability of the high central vowel, and 'prosodies.' We will examine each of these in turn.

2.2.1 Neutralization

Neutralization of vowel phonemes is very common in Chadic languages. In some cases, apparent neutralization probably stems from a failure on the part of the linguist to recognize allophonic variation in prosodic contexts, and to reduce the vowel inventory accordingly. Even in very minimal vowel systems, though, neutralization is still a factor to be reckoned with. Several Chadic languages show a larger number of contrasting vowels in final position than medially. Another common environment for neutralization is contiguous to labialized or palatalized velar consonants, where the two or three high vowels of a language /i, (ə), u/ are reduced to one or two, respectively: /i, (ə)/ following palatalized velar consonants and /(ə), u/ following labialized velar consonants.

The Higi language, described by Mohrlang in 1972, will serve to illustrate this neutralization. In Higi, there is a potential four-way vowel contrast word-finally. This unique four-vowel system includes no back vowels, and each phoneme has a slightly raised and fronted allophone which occurs in palatalized syllables.

Higi four-way potential vowel contrast in word-final position

i

e

ɛ

a

Medially, there is a three-way contrast in height, but each of the three vowels has a wide range of phonetic values.

High vowel

i		u
I	θ	U

Mid vowel

e	o
---	---

Low vowel

ɛ	ʌ	ɔ
a		

The word-final four-vowel system is further reduced in three ways:

1. Utterance-medially, the word-final vowels /i/ and /ɛ/ are neutralized in fast speech, both behaving like the high word-medial vowel. These two vowels are not contiguous in the vowel chart!
2. Also utterance-medially, strong labialization causes both /e/ and /a/ to be realized as [o] and strong palatalization causes both /e/ and /a/ to be realized as [e]. Once again, these two vowels are not contiguous.
3. Certain grammatical constructions reduce the word-final vowel inventory from four to two; the two higher vowels are neutralized to /e/, and the two lower vowels are neutralized to /a/.

It must be added that the /e/ vowel in both the medial and final sets is extremely rare. This means that the Higi vowel system is essentially reduced to a

potential three-way contrast word-finally (which, through utterance-medial neutralization, is often reduced to a two-way contrast), and a two-way contrast word-medially. To put it concisely, the bulk of the communication load in Higi is carried by a two-way vowel contrast.

2.2.2 Predictability of the High Central Vowel

Most Chadic languages have a high central vowel [ə], which is usually described as a phoneme, yet which always behaves differently from other vowel phonemes, particularly the low central vowel. Chadists speak of the inherent stability of the low central vowel, in contrast with the inherent instability of /ə/. The phonetic realization of this phoneme varies considerably (cf. the description of Higi above: 2.2.1), but even in languages where the front and back high vowels are analyzed as separate phonemes (distinct from /ə/), the high central vowel appears with considerable variation in length. This can range from a tiny and inevitable transition break between segments to full vowel length (or in languages with contrastive length, to a long vowel). Attempts to account for this variation have shown that this vowel is usually somehow predictable, either as to its presence or as to its absence and/or its duration. The latter situation will be presented first.

For some Chadic languages, it has proved most convenient to assume an underlying syllable structure that is always CV, even when there are surface manifestations of consonant clusters. Rules are then formulated to state when the vowel should be reduced or deleted, and a separate set of rules reconstructs what

the underlying vowel was before deletion. Lienhard and Giger take this approach in their 1975 description of Daba. After stating that all syllables are of a CV structure, they propose a series of rules which may reduce or delete the vowel depending on the consonantal environment. Interestingly, these deletion and shortening rules apply only to the high vowels. That is to say, there are cases of low vowels occurring where, according to their rules, a high vowel would be deleted.

More interesting, though, is the Chadic curiosity of the predictable phoneme: predictable as to where it will occur. In several languages with inventories of three or four vowels, the ubiquitous Chadic [ə] is consistently predictable. That is, in specific environments this vowel or one of its allophones must occur, and it cannot appear anywhere else. The environment for its appearance is always an impermissible syllable structure. One is tempted to call the vowel epenthetic, and further reduce the total vowel inventory of the language, but Schuh (1971) and others prefer to call it a zero vowel because it is inserted at the level of the lexicon, rather than at the surface of a derivation.

Miya, described by Schuh (to appear), is a good example of a language with a predictable high vowel. Its three-vowel system /ə, a, aa/, can be stretched into eleven phonetic vowel realizations, but the occurrence of /ə/ is predictable.

Consonant clusters are impermissible in Miya; the only place two consonants can abut is across a syllable boundary. A second restriction is that no syllable may end in an obstruent. Thus the proscribed sequences are:

#CC

CC#

CCC

C \$ (where \$ = syllable boundary)
[-son]

All cases of /ə/ in Miya are found following the first C in one of these impermissible sequences. Many words contain examples of CaC where the two consonants could abut, but there are no cases of a sonorant followed by /ə/ in a lexical root where the vowel is not required to preserve syllable structure.

Schuh prefers to consider these rules for predicting the presence of the high vowel as 'well-formedness constraints' on the lexical root, rather than as rules for the insertion of an epenthetic vowel. The reason for this becomes clear when a lexical root takes a prefix.

á - mūkwá	mūkù
-----------	------

'dry season'	'sun'
--------------	-------

á - rèdlé	rèdlà
-----------	-------

'writing'	'write'
-----------	---------

Note that kw and dl are single consonants in the above example, and that [u] is an allophone of /ə/, which has also been transcribed with a schwa above. In this example, without the prefix, the high vowel is necessary by the wellformedness rules. When the prefix is added, the high vowel is no longer necessary by those rules, as mkw and rdl are acceptable consonant sequences across syllable bound-

aries, yet the high vowel remains. It is therefore clear that the insertion of this vowel occurs early on in the derivation of the word, and is subsequently subject to all the effects that cause its allophonic variation.

Because it is possible to thus predict the appearance of the high vowel in Miya, it is necessary in any new description of a Chadic vowel system to prove for the high central vowel not only that it contrasts with the other vowels in the system of the language (demonstrating these contrasts in various environments, cf. Neutralization: 2.2.1), but also that it contrasts with nothing, in other words, that it is not predictable. If it is predictable, of course, its environments must be described.

2.2.3 Prosody

The third phenomenon of interest in Chadic vowel systems is the effect of prosody. In some of the languages, prosodies of palatalization and/or labialization operate at a word level.

The Podoko language (Swackhamer, unpublished manuscript) is a good illustration of a language where prosody has a widespread effect at word level. In Podoko, palatalization of a transitive verbal root produces an imperative. In these examples, Y indicates palatalization on the following word.

<u>Phonemic</u>	<u>Phonetic</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
baza	baza	to unearth
Ybaza	bəʒə	unearth it!
gəza	gəza	to curse
Ygəza	giʒə	curse it!

(The high central vowel in the last example is of extremely short duration.)

All Podoko nouns, too, are either palatalized or not palatalized. Again, Y indicates palatalization.

<u>Phonemic</u>	<u>Phonetic</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
patsa	patsa	sun
Ypatsa	pətʃə	g-string
sadada	sadada	sturdy object
Ysadada	ʃədədə	part of stalk

In other Chadic languages the 'prosodic' effects are not as widespread, being restricted to the syllable level. This creates intrasyllabic co-occurrence restrictions, so that, for example, [i] co-occurs with [ʃ], but never with [s], and [ə] co-occurs with [s], but never with [ʃ]. The following syllable, however, may completely disagree in terms of palatalization. In these cases there is not such a

strong case for a prosodic analysis, but at least an autosegmental approach must be taken. Clearly, an analysis that derives vocalic allophones from neighbouring consonants or one that derives consonantal allophones from neighbouring vowels would be equally unsatisfactory, as both fail to grasp the notion that both consonants and vowels vary together. A more insightful approach is one that has been termed 'prosodic' by Chadicists of nearly twenty years ago, but which in modern terms would more precisely be called autosegmental. An example of an analysis done this way is Mohrlang's Higi (1972), which will be presented below (cf. section 2.3.3).

2.3 Approaches Taken

Faced with the phenomena described above, linguists have reacted in different ways and come up with very different descriptions for very similar languages. As would be expected, these have gradually improved over time. As a good variety of approaches can be demonstrated just in those languages/dialects most closely related to Bana, four of these will be examined below, in chronological order.

As mentioned above (cf. The Chadic Branch: 2.1.2), the classification of Chadic languages is an ongoing process, and recent sources have not agreed on the exact placement of Bana within the Chadic family tree. However, it is clear that Higi (and Kapsiki, a dialect of Higi) is the language most closely related to Bana, and among other languages for which descriptions have been written, Bura, Margi,

Kilba and Gude are in the same language group. Following are discussions of the approaches taken for Margi (Hoffmann 1963), Kapsiki (Smith 1969), Higi (Mohrlang 1972), and Gude (Hoskison 1975).

2.3.1 Hoffmann's analysis of Margi

Carl Hoffmann wrote a short and incisive description of the phonology of Margi in his 1963 A Grammar of the Margi Language. In addition to the more common series, his consonant inventory included labio-alveolars, labio-alveopalatals, and labio-palatals, as well as a labialized, a palatalized, and a prenasalized variety of most of the other consonants. He makes no detailed defence of his 'single segment' treatment of such sequences as [pt], [mt], [sw], or [bgħy] (where ġħ represents a velar fricative). Later linguists have more often treated these as syllables from which a high vowel has been deleted, or as consonant clusters, or as simple consonants under the influence of one or more 'prosodies.' Such phonetic sequences as [kw], [gy] and [mb] are still usually considered single segments.

To this huge consonant inventory, he added six vowels:

i	ə	u
ɛ		o
a		

The two mid vowels, he stated, are mainly restricted to borrowed words, and the low vowel has palatalized and labialized allophones. There are several allophones of each of the high vowels presented in Hoffmann's analysis as well, but of greater interest are the neutralizations of these.

Hoffmann first demonstrates a clear contrast between [i] and [ə], and between [ə] and [u], stating that the contrast holds in most environments.

mbəri	mbùri
'to make (fire)'	'to sew'
mbədə	mbidé
'to escape'	'to blow'

Having established contrast, Hoffmann goes on to describe environments of neutralization. There are several very limited environments, but two major ones. Word-medially, following palatals and alveopalalats, both /i/ and /ə/ are realized as [ɪ], and also word-medially, following velars, both /u/ and /ə/ are realized as [u].

Hoffmann's approach was to take the consonants as basic, and to derive his vocalic alternations from consonantal environments. His analysis accounted for the phenomena and described it thoroughly, but he was left with some neutralization of the high vowel phonemes, and with an immense consonant inventory (he lists 96, and states that there are probably others for which he has no examples).

In 1971, Schuh used Hoffmann's data to show that word-medially, the three-way contrast of high vowels (which had only occurred in nonlabializing and nonpa-

latalizing environments) could be reduced to two. That is, in labializing contexts, the two vowels were realized as [ə] and [u]; in palatalizing environments they were realized as [i] and [ə], and in neutral environments they were realized as [i] and [u], respectively. The remaining cases of [ə] in neutral environments were all predictable through a series of very complex wellformedness rules developed by Schuh. Through this approach, the vowel inventory was reduced and neutralization eliminated. However, the consonant inventory remained huge and the rules for the prediction of the high central vowel were somewhat awkward.

Ian Maddieson in 1987 again reanalyzed Hoffmann's data, proposing a two vowel system in which both vowels had equal weight, neither was predictable, and they were never neutralized. At the same time he showed that many of the consonants proposed by Hoffmann could be treated as consonant clusters and/or simple consonants under the influence of a prosody. The reanalysis was concise and insightful; its main difference from Schuh's analysis was that it gave still more weight to the elements of palatalization and labialization.

2.3.2 Smith's analysis of Kapsiki

In his 1969 doctoral dissertation, The Kapsiki Language, Smith proposed a five-vowel system:

i	u
ɛ	
ə	
a	

It must be pointed out that the schwa symbol in Smith's description of Kapsiki represents a mid central vowel, contrary to common Chadic usage.

Smith does not describe much allophonic variation for his vowels. /u/ is pronounced [u] following /w/, but is realized as a mid back unrounded vowel elsewhere! He also mentions that in fast speech, the sequence /wu/ is realized as a mid back slightly rounded and longer vowel. He mentions no other variation in the phonetic realization of Kapsiki vowels, but among his phonetic notations later in the paper is the word [kwɔtyɛŋ], where presumably the first vowel is another variant of /u/.

To demonstrate the five-way contrast, Smith gives two lists of five monosyllabic CV words, one beginning with the consonant /x/, and the other with /l/. Unfortunately, he does not show that the five-way contrast remains in any but word-final position. Nor does he demonstrate the contrast following alveopalatal, palatal, or labialized consonants, where neutralization of the high vowels would be expected.

Smith's vowel inventory for Kapsiki includes no high central vowel, and his dissertation preceded Schuh's papers on the predictable zero vowel, so it is not surprising that he made no comment on predictability. Considering the lack of comment on neutralization, on the zero vowel, and on distribution of vowel contrast in Smith's analysis of Kapsiki, it would not be accepted as definitive by current standards in Chadic linguistics. He did, however, notice and comment on the prosodic phenomena.

At least the prosody of palatalization was certainly present in Kapsiki, because Smith describes it:

All consonants, except the labialized velars, the semi-vowels, glottal stop and /r/ are palatalized when preceding an /ɛ/. Since there are palatal fricative and affricate phonemes this means there are restrictions on the distribution of /ɛ/. That is, it never occurs in the environment /C^a/, where /C^a/ stand for any alveolar fricative or affricate.

To state this from another perspective, Smith's mid front vowel occurs only in palatalized syllables, and is probably a palatalized allophone of /a/, following common Chadic observations. In a palatalized syllable, an alveolar consonant becomes alveopalatal, most other consonants are palatalized, and /a/ becomes [ɛ]. Only labialized velars, semivowels, the glottal stop and /r/ are impervious to palatalization.

Smith goes on to describe the palatalizing effects of /i/ on a few consonants. He does not say that /i/, like /ɛ/, is restricted in distribution with respect to alveolar and alveopalatal consonants, but in my own examination of the small amount of Smith's data I have available, I find no example of */Si/, where /S/ is an alveolar fricative or affricate. As he commented on the limited distribution of the mid front vowel, he would undoubtedly have noticed and commented on a similar restriction for /i/. Perhaps cases of /Si/ exist but are rare, and could be accounted for on an individual basis as exceptions to the hypothetical rule: /i/ only occurs in palatalized syllables.

Smith's approach, then, was to take the vowels as basic, and use them as environments for rules which changed the phonetic realizations of consonants. For most consonants, there was a clear motivation for a rule of this type — their allophones occurred only preceding /ɛ/, (or sometimes /i/), so /ɛ/ could be called the environment. The alveolar and alveopalatal affricates and fricatives were neutralized to alveopalatal preceding /ɛ/ from Smith's perspective, but he chose to

continue to give phonemic status to both series because they contrasted before other vowels.² Because Smith used his vowels as his point of departure, and explained consonantal alternation on the basis of the vowels, many questions that would be asked by a Chadicist of today remain unanswered in his description of Kapsiki.

2.3.3 Mohrlang's analysis of Higi

In 1965, Carl Hoffmann did a brief study of Higi, and suggested that it might profitably be analyzed in prosodic terms. It was Mohrlang who fully applied this idea, first in a 1971 paper entitled 'Vectors, Prosodies, and Higi Vowels,' and later in his 1972 Higi Phonology.³ In the process he stretched the concept of 'prosody' further than it was ever intended to go, being in the historically unfortunate position of antedating autosegmental phonology, which would have proven very useful to him.

² He even considered according full phonemic status to other palatalized consonants such as [vy], because it occurred before /a/, and presumably contrasted with [va]. This would have paralleled Hoffmann's (1963) treatment of Margi. Because he did not have enough examples of these sounds, nor enough clear contrasts, Smith chose to consider these as shortened syllables, so that the above word was analyzed as /viya/. This is the clearest language specific example of how the problems of predictability of the high vowel, neutralization, and prosodies are so thoroughly interlocked.

³ Higi is a language name used in Nigeria, and it is generally accepted that Kapsiki, the language studied by Smith (1969) in Cameroon, is a dialect of Higi. Mohrlang studied mainly the Nkafa dialect of Higi, but it can be assumed that however vastly different their analyses may be, Mohrlang and Smith had very similar language data.

Mohrlang presents a relatively small phoneme inventory for Higi -- only 26 consonants and, as was described above (cf. Neutralization: 2.2.1), four word-final vowels and three word-medial vowels, of which one in both sets is rare. To this inventory, Mohrlang adds three 'prosodies': labialization, palatalization, and nasalization. Nasalization does not affect the vowels, so we will not discuss it further.

He describes these prosodies rather differently from the concept of prosody which is so familiar. Mohrlang's prosodies are not word level features, swooping down from above as it were, and affecting every segment within their range. Rather, they are humble little things, whose effect is sometimes limited to a single feature change on a single segment. To account for the data, Mohrlang found it necessary not only to make his prosodies syllable-level rather than word-level features, but also to state exactly where in the syllable the prosody 'peaked.' In effect, Mohrlang's prosodies behaved like autosegmental features before autosegmentalism had been suggested, 'docking' at the specific point in the syllable to which they applied, but not necessarily directly onto a consonant or a vowel. We will continue to call them prosodies here, following Hoffmann and Mohrlang.

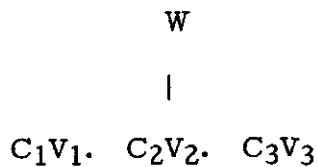
The occurrence and effects of Higi prosodies may be very briefly summarized as follows.

Syllables in Higi are almost all of a CV structure. With a few exceptions, any syllable may be neutral, palatalized, labialized, or both. The specific point at which a prosody docks in a syllable is determined by the consonantal onset of that syllable. The onset is always affected by the prosody, through either an offglide, an onglide, a coarticulation, or a change in point of articulation. The vowel in the

syllable is affected by the prosody as well, in predictable ways. (In the environments of palatalization and labialization, for example, the two lower vowels of Higi's three-way medial contrast are neutralized, to /e/ and /o/ respectively.)

Having explained where prosodies occur and what effects they have within the syllable, Mohrlang goes on to list specific factors which determine the strength of a prosody's effect on a vowel. These are:

1. Distance. The closer the peak of a prosody is to a vowel, the greater the effect of the prosody on that vowel. Thus, for labialization, which sometimes docks preceding the onset of a syllable, V_2 in the figure below will be more strongly affected if C_2 is a velar or labial consonant, because in these cases, labialization peaks following the onset. If C_2 is a more centrally articulated consonant, the prosody will peak preceding the onset, and will have a lesser effect on V_2 , but a greater effect on V_1 . Likewise V_3 will in any case be less affected by labialization than V_2 .



2. Cumulative Effect. The vowel in a syllable is always affected by a prosody on that syllable, even if only slightly. If a neighbouring syllable also comes under the effect of the same prosody, the vowel will be even more affected. If both neighbouring syllables are subject to the same prosody, the effect is greater still.

3. Speed of Utterance. The faster the rate of speech, the greater the effect of a prosody, both as to degree of influence and as to distance. In very fast speech, a prosody may affect as many as three preceding and three following vowels.

In summary, Mohrlang's prosodic analysis of Higi allowed him to describe data very similar to that of Hoffmann (1963) and that of Smith (1969) using fewer vowels and fewer consonants, while capturing the essence of what is happening in these languages, namely, vowels and consonants vary together; neither can be said to determine the other. The emphasis on prosody in Mohrlang's approach was particularly suited to Higi; prosody is much more widespread in Higi than in many other Chadic languages. Even so, Mohrlang established prosody as a factor which cannot be ignored in the analysis of any Chadic language.

2.3.4 Hoskison's analysis of Gude

Hoskison's (1975) description of Gude uses a slightly different approach. Of the four studies we are examining here, Hoskison's is the most recent and its object is the most distantly related to Bana. Although it followed Mohrlang's (1972) phonology, it is interesting to compare his approach to the others because he returns to Hoffmann's (1963) approach of deriving vocalic alternations from consonantal environments. Prosodic effects are not as widespread in Gude as they are in Higi, and they can be said to occur on specific consonants, so Hoskison treats them this way very profitably. His consonant inventory is large -- he has complete palatalized and labialized sets as well as the neutral set, but the system

works. His vowel system is minimal, and there is no neutralization. Gude high vowels are much more stable (in presence, if not in quality), than the high vowels of many related languages, so Hoskison did not have to discuss the predictability of the zero vowel.

The Gude vowel system is based on two contrasts: height and length. In environments which are neutral as to labialization and palatalization (Hoskison calls these 'color'), the vowel inventory is as follows:

ə ə:

a a:

Vowels in Gude are colourless, but can take on the colour of contiguous consonants. Hoskison gives a very carefully described list of allophonic environments, by which we learn the following:

1. Short vowels are more susceptible to phonetic variation than long vowels.
2. For short vowels, two contiguous consonants of the same colour affect the vowel more than only one, and two contiguous consonants of different colours cancel out each other's effect on the vowel.
3. For long vowels, the high vowel assimilates strongly to the colour of any following consonant, and the low vowel assimilates to a lesser extent to two contiguous consonants that agree in colour.

That it is possible to so concisely describe the environments of allophonic variation for Gude vowels is tribute to Hoskison's choice of approach. Obviously, his approach would not have worked in Higi, where the exact location of the peak of a prosody relative to the consonantal onset made a difference to the effect on

neighbouring vowels. In Gude, though, this was not the case, and Hoskison could use the idea of colour simply as a feature on the consonant. He could capture the allophonic variation in the vowels by taking the consonants as the environment because he referred to those consonants by their colour!

There is no intrinsic advantage to reducing a consonant inventory if it is done at the expense of adding another tier to the phonological description. The point is that a simple and concise description was achieved for Gude by attributing communicative load to the colour features.

2.4 Implications for Current Research

In the analysis of a Chadic vowel system, certain problems are bound to appear. There will be a high central vowel which may behave differently from the low vowel, being subject to deletion, reduction and/or neutralization with other high vowels. It may have a broad range of allophones, particularly in environments of labialization and palatalization, which, depending on the neighbouring consonants, may look instead like contrasting vowels. Labialization and palatalization will also affect consonants and possibly the low vowel, and may operate at a word level, a syllable level, or even as features on consonants. Neutralization in some of these environments may be inevitable.

It is often possible, however, to reduce or eliminate neutralization by reducing the vowel inventory and placing more of the communicative function load on the

features of palatalization and labialization, however these are treated. Also essential to a clear description of a Chadic vowel system is the demonstration of vowel contrasts in many environments; one or two minimal pairs will not suffice. The high central vowel, in particular, must be demonstrated to contrast with the other high vowels in 'coloured' environments, or a lack of this contrast must be explained. The possibility of a predictable high vowel must be examined. If all of these aspects of the analysis of the vowel system are thoroughly dealt with, a simpler description should result.

Chapter III

BANA CONSONANTS

Before we can begin a discussion of the interaction of the palatalization prosody and the Bana vowel system, the consonant system must be established. A chart of consonant phonemes will first be given as the basis of discussion, followed by a treatment of the allophonic variation possible. Two areas of possible confusion will then be dealt with: the different treatment of palatalization and labialization, and the orthography which will be used for the phonemic transcription of palatalization. After a brief discussion of consonant distribution, examples of contrast between all similar phonemes will be given.

3.1 Consonant Phonemes of Bana

The following chart presents the consonants according to the orthographic conventions established by the Cameroonian government in its General Alphabet of Cameroon Languages, a document which specifies the set of acceptable graphemes for all Cameroonian languages yet to be analyzed.

Bana Consonants

	labial	alveolar	alveolar	palatal	back	back
		non-sib.	sib.			rounded
vl stops	p	t	ts		k	kw
vd stops	b	d	dz		g	gw
glottals	ɓ	ɗ			'	'w
prenas.	mb	nd	ndz		ŋg	ŋgw
vl frics.	f	sl	s		h	hw
vd frics.	v	zl	z		gh	ghw
nasals	m	n			ɳ	ɳw
flaps	vb	r				
lateral		l				
glides				y	w	

Comments

/vb/ is a marginal phoneme in Bana; its occurrence is restricted mainly to ideophones, and between high central vowels. (The only example of this sound outside of an ideophone in my data is the word for fishhook, /gèvbéŋ/, which is also the only word in which /vb/ is followed by a vowel other than /ə/.)

The affricates /ts/, /dz/ and /ndz/ have been treated as stops because they combine to form consonant clusters in the same way as their simple stop counterparts.

As was mentioned in the Orthographic Conventions, the column labelled **back** includes consonants from three different points of articulation, but as these

behave as a set with respect to labialization and palatalization, they have been treated as a single consonant series.

3.2 Allophonic Variation among Consonants

The consonants of Bana are quite stable; very little allophonic variation occurs. Apart from the effects of palatalization, there are only three⁴ allophonic rules to be mentioned. These are:

1. The alveolar flap /r/ becomes devoiced and trilled prepause. Thus in the following sentence, the /r/ in /kivèr/ is a flap /r/, but the sentence-final /r/ is voiceless and trilled, IPA [r̥].

kivèr	séké	tè	báskwér
nighttime	come + I	on	bicycle

'I am coming tonight by bicycle.'

2. An epenthetic [d] appears between /zl/ and a following high vowel in a palatalized syllable. Thus the word /zliyà/ 'leaf,' is pronounced [ɟdiyà].

⁴ There may be other allophonic and morphophonemic rules which have not yet been identified due to lack of data (cf. the footnote explaining [tîmtîmbè] in 6.3.1.). Examples like this may be rare because they are impermissible structures in lexical roots, and the data set contains very few derived forms.

3. The simple voiceless stops /p, t, k/ are slightly aspirated when preceding vowels, unaspirated when released into a following fricative, /r/ or /l/.

There are three series, however, which are susceptible to allophonic variation, all related to palatalization. These are the alveolar sibilants, the simple back series, and the back rounded series.

The phonetic realization of the back rounded series is dependent not only on the presence or absence of palatalization, but also on the height of the following vowel. Before a low vowel or before a high vowel in a palatalized syllable, these consonants retain their back rounded articulation. Thus:

/kwà/	[kwà]	'in'
/kwéshèbí/	[kwɛʃɛbí]	'garbage'
/kwi/	[kwi]	'goats'

Preceding a high vowel in a nonpalatalized syllable, however, the labialization of the consonant is always transferred to the vowel to some degree. Sometimes this transfer is complete, so that rounding on the consonant is not distinguishable from the following vowel, and at other times the consonant retains some of its labialization. This phenomenon will be discussed in greater detail in the chapter on prosodies (cf. 4.2.3.), but to illustrate its effect on the consonant for now, the range of pronunciation of /kwè/, 'goat' is from [kù] to [kwà].

The simple back series of consonants is also susceptible to allophonic variation in palatalized syllables. For each of the consonants in this series except the glottal stop, there is a corresponding phonetic palatal consonant, an allophone of the back consonant which appears in palatalized syllables. These are not the IPA

palatal consonants normally written [t̪ d̪ s̪ z̪] etc., but rather a fronted-from-velar series such as the /k/ in English *key*. Even the 'fricatives,' which were described in the Orthographic Conventions as uvular trills in their neutral (nonpalatalized) state, actually become palatal fricatives in palatalized syllables. These are the allophones which appear preceding unrounded high vowels in palatalized syllables. Preceding low vowels and rounded high vowels the palatalized allophones are further modified by the addition of a palatal offglide. Even the glottal stop is pronounced with a palatal offglide in this environment. Unfortunately, as was mentioned in the Orthographic Conventions, this fine distinction between palatalized allophones was impractical to print, and we have chosen to simply indicate all these palatalized allophones as Ky, where K represents a simple back consonant. Thus:

Vowel		- Palatalized	Gloss	+ Palatalized	Gloss
low	k	[kàsàkà]	machete	[kyáré]	cunning
(or high rd.)	g	[gànà'a]	better	[gyànà]	soot
	'	['árádày]	red millet (spec.)	['yàsà]	type of sauce
	ng	[ŋgálítì]	suddenly	[ŋgyáfà]	dry grass seed
high unrd.	k	[kèli]	close up	[kyívér]	at night
	g	[gèta]	stick	[gyiwà]	hamlet, neighbourhood
	h	[χé]	aim, crush	[xyí]	sleep, spend the night
	gh	[χèm]	red	[yyí]	drunk

One series of consonants with palatalized allophones remains: the alveolar sibilants. These are always realized as alveopalatal sibilants in palatalized syllables, regardless of the following vowel. Phonetically, these are: [tʃ dʒ ndʒ ſ ʒ]. Thus:

Vowel		- Palatalized	Gloss	+ Palatalized	Gloss
low vowel (or high rd.)	ts	[tsàpè]	meet	[tʃàfà]	fifth
	ndz	[ndzándzá]	after	[ndʒàmédi]	green
	s	[sákátá]	jackal	[ʃáká]	clay pot
	z	[zà]	cultivate	[ʒà]	girl
high unrd.	ts	[tsèχè]	split open	[tʃíméké]	porcupine
	dz	[dzèkè]	bar	[dʒíkír]	bad
	s	[sèkèdè]	slow	[ʃígè]	tail
	z	[zèn]	smell, stink	[ʒíni]	explain

3.3 Labialization versus Palatalization

It will be noticed that while palatalizaton has been treated as a 'prosody' in this analysis, labialization has been treated as a feature of a consonant series. The reason for this will become clear in the chapter on prosodies, but can be summarized briefly for now.

Labialization affects only syllables containing back consonants, so that labialization is not a very widespread phenomenon, and is best analyzed as a series of back rounded consonants. Palatalization, on the other hand, is much more widespread. Theoretically, it can occur in any syllable of the language, affecting the vowel, the consonant, or both, although there are a few syllable types for which no examples of palatalized syllables have been found. Thus we have chosen to treat palatalization as a prosody and labialization as a consonant series to reflect the differences in their distribution.

In the following chart of CV syllables, P indicates that examples have been found of palatalized syllables of that type, while L indicates that labialized syllables have been found. For CVC syllables, the distribution is much the same except that labialization also occurs in syllables ending with /ŋw/ and /w/.

Distribution of Palatalization and Labialization

<u>Onset:</u>	<u>Labial</u>	<u>Alveolar</u> <u>Non-sib</u>	<u>Alveolar</u> <u>Sibilant</u>	<u>Back</u>	<u>Back</u> <u>Rounded</u>
Vowel:					
high	P	P	P	P	P,L
low	-	P	P	P	L

3.4 Phonemic Transcription

As was stated in the Orthographic Conventions, this paper uses a collapsed phonemic transcription which makes subphonemic distinctions at the segmental level. This makes it possible to represent distinctions on two tiers simultaneously, without actually having to write out both tiers. It also reflects the practical orthography of Bana. The effect of this system is that where a palatalized syllable has a low vowel or a rounded high vowel, the palatalization will be indicated only on the consonant. Where it has an unrounded high vowel and an onset which is not from the alveolar sibilant series, palatalization will be indicated only on the vowel. There will be some redundancy, however: in palatalized syllables with an alveolar sibilant onset and an unrounded high vowel, palatalization will be marked twice.

3.5 Consonant Distribution

Four rules will summarize the distribution of Bana consonants:

1. Any consonant except /vb/, /ŋ/, and /ŋw/ can occur in word-initial position.
2. /vb/ occurs only intervocally.

3. Excepting ideophones, reduplications, and foreign words, the only consonants which may close a syllable are the sonorants:⁵ /m, n, ɳ, ɳw, l, r, y, w/.
4. In syllable-initial position, consonant clusters are also possible.

3.6 Consonant Contrasts

In the following table, all Bana words are given in collapsed phonemic transcription. It will be noticed that some examples include a schwa in brackets, (ə), sometimes marked for tone. In these words, the schwa is sometimes present, sometimes absent, for reasons not yet determined.⁶ Also, certain abbreviations are used:

ideo.	ideophone
sg.	singular
spec.	species of
sthg.	something
vb.	verb

⁵ There are many examples of obstruents occurring word-finally, but for almost all of these there is an alternative pronunciation in which a final high vowel follows the 'final' obstruent. There are six exceptions to this rule in the data, words in which a final obstruent is heard, and no alternate vowel-final pronunciation has been recorded.

⁶ This 'slippery' schwa has been alternately explained as an underlying vowel, deleted on occasion (Lienhard and Giger, 1975) or as a 'zero vowel,' nonexistent phonemically, but inserted when required by syllable structure constraints, (Schuh, 1971), cf. Section 2.2.2. It is not yet apparent how best to treat this sound in Bana.

Consonant Contrasts

<u>Contrast:</u>	<u>Initial</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Medial</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
p/b	pásé	shell, peel, husk. (vb.)	dèpè	pat, console
	básé	eat sthg. slowly to make it last	dèbèkè	livestock
p/f	pédí	new shoot	k(ə)lipè	fish
	fédí	hollow out	gèlifè	cow pat
p/t	páy	white	ghwèpè	flour
	táy	millet beer	ghwètèghwètè	hot
t/d	tákè	limb	kwátá	name of a 6th-born daughter
	dákè	calm, trick, fool someone	kwádà	name of an 8th-born child
t/sl	tá	under	kétí	help (vb.)
	slá	cut (vb.)	ŋéslí	eat one's fill
t/s	tá	under	gàtákár	small basket
	sá	drink (vb.)	kàsákà	machete
t/ts	tèbè	please, suit someone	gàtákàr	small basket
	tsèbè	repair (vb.)	gàtsàphà	cowrie

<u>Contrast:</u>	<u>Initial</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Medial</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
t/k	tá	under	jènètì	steel bar for use with flint
	ká	tribe	cèrèkí	(type of) flute
ts/dz	tsà	play (an instrument)	'yâtsè	crush
	dzà	go	mbrâdzè	long ago
ts/s	tsá	garden	ndátsé	today
	sá	drink	mbásé	dry up
ts/k	tsé'wé	castrate	ndátsé	today
	ké'wé	hole	náké	ripen
k/g	kèm	they say	gàkà	noise
	gèm	for nothing	gàgà	annoy
k/h	ká	tribe	tiké	here
	há	sing!	tihè	chase away
k/'	ká	tribe	cèkèr	houses
	'á	what?	cè'ér	axes
k/kw	káñá	expression of sympathy	dàkè	calm (vb.)
	kwáñá	name of 6th-born child	ndàkwè	near

<u>Contrast:</u>	<u>Initial</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Medial</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
kw/gw	kwérinj	healthy	yèkwè	soak, rinse
	gwérinj	lump of flour in food	lègwè	cave
kw/hw	kwém	mouse	ndzékwé	tamp down
	hwém	back (noun)	ndzèhwé	bent over
kw/'w	kwéní	youngest child	tékwé	drop
	'wèní	peanuts	té'wé	tight spot
<hr/>				
b/ɓ	bànà	Bana	dábádèvè	back of hand
	ɓáná	take (to give to someone)	dábálá	young female goat
b/mb	básé	eat sthg. slowly to make it last	gwèbà	white millet (spec.)
	mbásé	dry up	mégwèmbá	widow, divorcee
b/v	básé	eat sthg. slowly to make it last	gwèbà	white millet (spec.)
	vásé	smelt (vb.)	gwèvá	name of a town
b/m	bár	bad news	kwàsəbè	chase
	már	laziness	bèzəmè	right (as opposed to left)

<u>Contrast:</u>	<u>Initial</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Medial</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
b/vb	--	--	dèbèkè	livestock
			bévbék	take off at a run (ideo.)
b/d	bàkà	second	kwébàkè	praying mantis
	dàkà	heavy, thick	kwédàkwè	sweet potato
d/d'	dàghàlà	girl	kwédàkwè	sweet potato
	dàghàmà	hoe handle	hwéðàŋé	wring, twist, bend
d/nd	dghwè	clay pot	dàdèrzé	flower of <i>Parkia</i> <i>biglobosa</i>
	ndghwè	keep, guard	dàndérŋgwàsl(é)	millipede
d/zl	dghwè	clay pot	pshìgìdì	grey monkey (spec.)
	zlghwè	snatch	kwárájigizli	snake (spec.)
d/n	dáñé	observe	dìdì	father
	náñé	scold	dìnìkwè	adolescent
d/r	dèkè	hunchback	dìdì	father
	règi	bow (noun)	dìlil	full (moon)
d/l	dègwè	thresh	kwádà	name of 8th- born child
	lègwè	cave	kwárá	name of 3rd- born daughter

<u>Contrast:</u>	<u>Initial</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Medial</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
d/dz	dèkè	rest (vb.)	gwàdè	handwoven cloth
	dzèkè	bar, drinking establishment	mbràdzè	long ago
d/z	dghwè	clay pot	kwédàm	two-headed drum
	zghwè	child, son	kwézà	nail
d/g	dàkà	heavy, thick	kwédàm	two-headed drum
	gàkà	noise	mégàpà	cotton
<hr/>				
dz/ndz	dzémé	go up steeply	mbràdzè	long ago
	ndzémé	rain (vb.)	nàndzé	but
dz/z	dzèvètì	head of millet	hwàmbàzè	stomach
	zèvénì	guinea hen	mbràdzè	long ago
dz/g	dzàr	go (not far, same altitude)	házhèdzé	in two years
	gàr	almost, near	'wége	newborn kid
<hr/>				
g/ŋg	gzlà	forge (noun)	mégélá	adult man
	ŋgzlà	knock over	méŋgèsè	blacksmiths' tongs
g/gh	gəm	vain, nothing	shigè	tail
	ghèm	red	zhìghè	turn, change

<u>Contrast:</u>	<u>Initial</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Medial</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
g/ŋ	--	--	'wégé	kid (goat)
			gwèŋé	silent
g/gw	gélglé	portable chicken coop	shigé	tail
	gwélgwél	fat	'igwé	bird
gw/ŋgw	gwèlähí	adults	lègwé	cave
	ŋgwèlà'i	early red millet (spec.)	léngwém	crowd, stack of wood
gw/ghw	gwèlà	adult	lègwé	cave
	ghwèlà	thigh	lèghwén	tree: Parkia biglobosa
gw/ŋw	--	--	lègwé	cave
			léŋwé	cobra
θ/d	θéli	break (plural object)	gwàθé	brain
	dél	sell	gyàdé	full
θ/'	θá	again, also	njéθér	muds
	'á	he, she	cè'ér	axes
d/'	dàghàmà	hoe handle	gwèlàdì	scratch
	'ághá	you (sg. subject)	ŋgwèlà'i	red millet (spec.)

<u>Contrast:</u>	<u>Initial</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Medial</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
'/w	'á	he, she	kérbé'è	local salt
	'wá	milk, breast	mbè'wè	eat millet and meat without sauce
'w/w	'wá	milk, breast	sé'wá	remove cooked millet from fire to let it set
	wá	buy	sléwá	dominate
mb/m	mbébá	inside	dzèmbè	enter
	mèbá	up there (deictic)	zémè	eat
mb/nd	mbí	brood (vb.)	témbèk(é)	sheep (sg.)
	ndí	burn (vb.)	shèndèk	heavy
nd/n	ndá	swallow (vb.)	ghwèndili	storage hut
	ná	be	ghwèní	salt
nd/ndz	ndghè	await	shàndák(é)	trunk, case
	ndzghè	arrive at dinnertime on purpose	sàndzáná	because
nd/ng	ndá	swallow (vb.)	ghwèndili	storage hut
	ngá	build	kèŋgílim	red ant

<u>Contrast:</u>	<u>Initial</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Medial</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
ndz/z	ndzá	stay	bèndzè	rat (spec.)
	zà	cultivate	bèzè	peanut bag
ndz/ŋg	ndzá	stay	bèndzè	rat (spec.)
	ŋgá	build	méŋgèsè	blacksmiths' tongs
ŋg/ŋ	--	--	méŋgèsè	blacksmiths' tongs
			hwèŋè	chameleon
ŋg/ŋgw	ŋgérpa	initiation knife	méŋgèsè	blacksmiths' tongs
	ŋgwér	hoe	tèŋgwèlá	outside
ŋgw/ŋw	--	--	léŋgwém	crowd, stack of wood
			léŋwé	cobra
f/v	fàdà	fourth	pàfè	full
	vàdí	scratch (vb: chicken)	pává	buy and bring back
f/sl	fá	hear, listen	sláfálá	core of millet stalk
	slá	cow	sláslá	butcher (vb.)

<u>Contrast:</u>	<u>Initial</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Medial</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
f/s	fé	tree	difè	crush
	sé	stir	dísè	make love
sl/zl	slí	build up (rain)	císlí	sew, repair
	zlí	jump	cízlí	seed grain
sl/s	slàhè	ball of cooked millet	'islé	bone
	sàhè	slowly	wèlisè	kidney
sl/h	sléni	work (noun)	tsásli	decorate, draw
	héni	pluck	tsàhi	metal, iron
s/z	sé'wé	tree: Acacia macrostachya	bès(è)	buck
	zè'wé	rope	bèzè	sick, ruined, dead
s/h	sá	drink	dísè	make love
	há	millet (generic)	tihè	chase away
h/gh	hèni	go to bed	dzàhàl	bump (noun)
	ghèni	mud ball	dàghàlà	adolescent girl

<u>Contrast:</u>	<u>Initial</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Medial</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
h/hw	há	millet	kihé	leave behind
	hwá	knife	kíhwé	sow by broadcasting
hw/ghw	hwè	flow, flee	hwàhwélém	scorpion (large spec.)
	ghwè	fire	kwàghwèlā	groin
v/vb	--	--	pévèm	owl
			gévbèm	drop sthg. into water (ideo.)
v/zl	vghwè	daytime	dèvè	hand
	zlghwè	snatch	dèzlé	swimming, thrashing movement
v/z	vghwè	daytime	pévèm	owl
	zghwè	child, son	gèzèm	building clay
zl/l	zlápé	announce, call to work	bèghèzli	warm oneself
	lapéli	strip of bark	héghèli	during dry season
zl/z	zlghwè	snatch	gèzlémbé	board
	zghwè	child, son	gèzèm	building clay

<u>Contrast:</u>	<u>Initial</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Medial</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
z/l/gh	zlà	leave	gəzlémbé	board
	ghà	start	kèghèpé	discuss
z/gh	zèn	smell, stink	bèzè	peanut bag
	ghèn	head	pèghè	hope, imagine
gh/ghw	ghànì	tongue	zhèghè	change, turn
	ghwàni	basket	zhéghwè	forest
m/n	máké	prevent	bàmà	luck
	náké	ripen	báná	Bana
n/ŋ	--	--	'ántsà	who?
			fàráñsà	snake (spec.)
ŋ/ŋw	--	--	fàráñsà	snake (spec.)
			táñwtáñw	woodpecker
vb/r	--	--	gévbèm	drop sthg. into water (ideo.)
			ghwèrèmbè	snail

<u>Contrast:</u>	<u>Initial</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Medial</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
r/l	règì	bow (noun)	tákwèri	bird (spec.)
	lègwè	cave	tákwèli	mess up, curl, crumple
<hr/>				
l/y	lémá	termite (spec.)	gwèlánj	dangerous, mean
	yémá	refuse (vb.)	kwéyànj	name of 9th- born child
<hr/>				
y/w	yá	give birth	'áyâ	exclamation of fear, surprise
	wá	milk, breast	táwâ	why?
<hr/>				
<u>Final Contrasts</u>				<u>Gloss</u>
m/n	ghèm		red	
	ghèn		head	
<hr/>				
n/ŋ	tán		one	
	táŋ		beyond	
<hr/>				
ŋ/ŋw	táŋ		beyond	
	táŋwtáŋw		woodpecker	
<hr/>				

Final ContrastsGloss

r/l	gàr	almost
	gàl	cover, lid

l/y	bátàl	needle
	'árádày	red millet (spec.)

y/w	kwédày	anklet
	dàw	small amount

Chapter IV

PROSODIES, THE CHALLENGE

4.1 Introduction

As explained in Chapter II, Chadic vowel systems must be described in terms of 'prosody' (that is, autosegmental features) as well as segmental contrast. Common prosodies in Chadic are labialization and palatalization, but an examination of these features in Bana reveals that labialization is only a segmental feature, while palatalization operates at a syllable level. With this in mind, the vowel system of Bana can be reduced to one high vowel which is very susceptible to allophonic variation, and two low vowels which are impervious to the effects of palatalization and labialization. For a discussion of prosody, then, we must focus our attention on the high vowel.

In this chapter we will first demonstrate that labialization is not a prosody and discuss its effects on the high vowel in various environments. We will then examine the palatalization prosody and the combined effects of labialization and palatalization on a single high vowel. A defense of the approach taken and a summary of the allophonic behaviour of the Bana high vowel conclude the chapter.

4.2 Labialization

All of the occurrences of rounded vowels in Bana can be considered allophones of the high vowel in the environment of back rounded consonants and /w/. This conclusion was reached through the following series of observations.

4.2.1 Frequency and distribution

A cursory examination of native Bana words transcribed phonetically will quickly reveal that rounded vowels are not nearly as common as [i], [ə] and [a], and that most of them are immediately preceded by a back consonant. From the 220 examples of syllables containing rounded vowels in the data, 161 have a back consonant for an onset. Of the remaining 59, all but six are immediately followed by a back consonant, either within the syllable or in the next syllable.

4.2.2 Contrast of rounding on syllable-initial consonants

There is a clear contrast between rounded and unrounded back consonants preceding [a] and [i].

[gàlmà] 'potato hoe'

[gwàlmà] 'gum tree' (Acacia senegal)

[dzàŋjí] 'we (1st pl excl) are leaving'

[dzàŋwí] 'you (2nd pl) are leaving'

4.2.3 Rounded and unrounded vowels preceded by back consonants

Preceding the phonetic high central unrounded and the rounded vowels, however, the situation is less clear-cut. Rounded back consonants may not precede the high central unrounded vowel, but all the other phonetic combinations are possible. Thus, with C representing any back consonant and U representing any rounded vowel, we have:

Cə	[ké]	'he says'
*Cwə		
CU	[kù]	'goat'
CwU	[kwù]	'goat'

(The free variation between [kù] and [kwù] will be discussed below, but the essential here is that the contrast between rounded and unrounded back consonants that was established preceding [a] and [i] is maintained if we allow for a displaced contrast, as in English where the phonetic difference between /bɛt/ and /bɛd/ is often not in the voicing of the final consonant, but in the length of the vowel). The rounding of the consonant in these Bana examples is always transferred to the vowel to some degree, sometimes so completely that the consonant no longer bears an offglide that is distinguishable from the vowel. Thus what appeared to be a contrast between vowels can actually be considered a contrast between consonants, and the 161 cases of rounded vowels can reanalyzed as high central unrounded vowels preceded by rounded back consonants.

[k-òni]	'open'	/ghwèni/
[gèni]	'mud ball'	/ghèni/

4.2.4 Rounded vowels followed by back consonants

There remain the 59 cases of round vowels which are not preceded by back consonants. As was stated above, all but six of these are immediately followed by back consonants. If these could all be shown to be rounded back consonants they could be considered the source of the rounding on the vowel. The vowel would then be analyzed as high central and unrounded, and rules would then have to be formulated to describe how this anticipatory assimilation works.

In 44 of the 53 cases of rounded vowels followed by a back consonant, that consonant is the onset of the following syllable, and its rounding is audible either as an offglide on the consonant or as a rounded vowel in the following syllable. Furthermore, many of these words have been recorded with alternate pronunciations where the vowel in question was not rounded. For these cases, then, the vowel can be analyzed as /ə/.

[dèŋwà]	'cow's hoof'	/dèŋwà/
[ndèkù]	'crush, pound'	/ndèkwè/

The remaining nine cases of the 53 are in syllables closed with back consonants, which can only be followed by another consonant or by a pause, and thus they have no audible offglide. But having established that anticipatory assimilation does happen in Bana, we are justified in accounting for these cases in the same way. Thus we have the following contrast:

[dúŋ]	'fruit tree, trunk'	/dáŋw/
[bèrndéŋ]	'rifle'	/bèrndéŋ/

4.2.5 Rounded vowels neither preceded nor followed by back consonants

We are left with six cases of rounded vowels in native Bana words which are neither preceded nor followed by audible back consonants. Of these six, five are invariably pronounced [u:]. Length is not contrastive in Bana. (There are no clear monomorphemic examples of a lengthened /a/ with single, level tone.) However, the diphthong /aw/ exists in Bana ([dàw], 'insufficient'), with no corresponding phonetic [əw]. Clearly, the anticipatory assimilation already established could account for both the lack of the phonetic diphthong and the cases of [u:], if the latter were analyzed as /əw/.

[dú:]	'ask'	/déw/
[rú:bà]	'bracelet, anklet'	/réwbà/

We must therefore allow two environments for the rounding of high vowels in Bana: first, abutting a consonant from the back rounded series, and second, preceding a /w/.

4.2.6 Exception

There is only one case of a rounded vowel occurring in a native Bana word outside of one of the above environments. The word means 'hundred,' and is variously pronounced as a two or a three syllable word. It has been recorded as [bèlèkù], which is not a problem. It has also been transcribed with variations for

the second vowel from [ə] to [u], and with variations on the final vowel from [u] to [i]. Either the second or third vowel may also be deleted, and when the third vowel is deleted, the first vowel is pronounced as high central and rounded. (This gives variations in the range of [bəlük] ~ [bälük].) Clearly, this is another case of anticipatory assimilation, but there is an entire syllable between the vowel being rounded in this case and the rounded back consonant causing the rounding.

There are three other words in the data which, like this one, are three syllables long, have an initial labial consonant, a second consonant which is neither back nor labial, a third consonant which is rounded back, and high, non-front vowels in the first and second syllable. Of these, only one has a final deletable vowel, but even when this vowel is deleted, the first vowel remains unrounded.

4.2.7 Summary of labializing environments

The aim of a descriptive phonology is to pin down specific realizations of phonemes in specific environments, but throughout this section the examples have included several very different phonetic vowels, all treated indifferently as rounded vowels. This vagueness is a reflection of the reality observed; it must be emphasized that the Bana vowel system allows a high degree of free variation. The ideal of identification of specific allophones for specific environments thus becomes literally impossible, and the formalization of rules of allophony is an extremely complex and unfruitful exercise.

The following table will serve to illustrate this. An attempt to specify the allophone of the high vowel which will occur in each of the rounding environments

yields, for most environments, not a single phonetic value, but a range. For each environment, the vowel qualities at the extremes of the range are given.

Labializing Environments of the Bana High Vowel

Syllable onsets	Syllable codas		Other Following Environments			
	w	labialized velar nasal	any other labialized consonants	any labial consonants	any other consonants	word final
rounded uvulars	no ex.	no ex.	no ex.	[~o - u]	[~o - u]	[~o - u]
rounded velars	no ex.	no ex.	[u - u]	[u - u]	[u - u]	[u - u]
rounded glottal	no ex.	no ex.	no ex.	[u]	[u]	[ə] ~ [u]
w	no ex.	no ex.	no ex.	[i - u]	[u - u - u]	[u - u - u]
labials	[u:]	[u]	[u - u]	[i - u]	[i]	[i]
other cons.	[u:]	[~o - u]	[i - u]	[i]	[i]	[i]

A summary of the tendencies shown in this table follows. Note that 1.a is an absolute rule, and that within 1. and 2., the tendencies are ordered according to relative strength.

1. Following environments

- a. A following /w/ in the same syllable will always cause the high vowel to be realized as [u:].

- b. A following /ŋw/ in the same syllable will cause strong backing and rounding of the high vowel, but will also lower it slightly.
 - c. Any other following labialized velar can cause a high degree of backing and rounding. This labialization is stronger when the preceding environment also causes rounding.
 - d. A following labial can cause rounding but not backing. (Any backing that occurs preceding a labial is caused by the preceding environment.)
 - e. No other following environment causes rounding or backing, but nor does it prevent labialization caused by a preceding environment.
2. Preceding environments
- a. A preceding back rounded fricative (phonetic uvular trill), will cause strong backing and rounding of the high vowel, but will also lower it slightly.
 - b. A preceding labialized glottal stop can cause a high degree of labialization, but in word-final position the labialization may be realized more strongly on the consonant, affecting the vowel very little.
 - c. A preceding labialized velar can also cause a high degree of labialization, more so in combination with a more strongly labializing following environment.
 - d. A preceding /w/ can cause strong labialization, but only two examples of [...wu...] exist, both with alternate realizations rang-

ing to [...wə...]. The labializing effect of a preceding /w/ is usually weaker, ranging from rounding only to rounding and backing without the tenseness that would produce [u], yielding instead [ʊ].

- e. Any other preceding environment does not cause labialization but will not prevent labialization caused by a following environment.

4.3 Palatalization

Moving on to the high front vowels, we will show that these are also allophones of the single Bana high vowel, but whereas the environment for the rounding of the high vowel is consonantal, the environment for fronting is 'prosodic' (in the Chadic sense), that is, autosegmental. As was described for the rounded vowels, there is a restricted distribution for the front vowels, but this is not immediately obvious.

4.3.1 Apparent Contrast

An initial examination of the Bana data leads to the immediate assumption that the high front vowels, ([i] and [ɪ]) contrast with [ə].⁷ For most consonant onsets, minimal pairs of syllables can be found which contrast based on the difference between the front and the central high vowels. Furthermore, for all the

⁷ The rule of complementary distribution of [i, ɪ] will be given at the conclusion of this section, along with the description of the effects of palatalization.

unrounded back consonants except glottal stop, a palatal 'allophone' usually occurs preceding front vowels, but preceding the high central (or high back) vowel, there is the normal velar or uvular point of articulation.

[χé]	'crush, pound'
[xyí]	'sleep, spend the night'

It appears we could tentatively posit a case of vowel contrast.

4.3.2 Distribution of Alveolar and Alveopalatal Sibilants

The distribution of the alveolar and alveopalatal sibilants with respect to these vowels gives us a further argument for this apparent contrast. Preceding the central vowel, there are many examples of alveolar sibilants, and only a handful of alveopalatal sibilants. Preceding front vowels, however, there are many examples of alveopalatal sibilants, but very few cases of alveolars.

[sé]	'stir'
[ʃí]	3rd pl. obj. pronoun
*[sí]	
*[ʃé]	

Ignoring the rare cases for the moment it would appear that the alveolar and alveopalatal sibilants are in complementary distribution, and can be analyzed as one set of phonemic consonants, whose surface realization is determined by the following vowel.

However, preceding [a], the alveolar and alveopalatal sibilants are in contrast:

[tsàpə]	'meet'
[tʃàpə]	'cement'
[zà]	'cultivate'
[ʒà]	'girl'

4.3.3 The Problem

The problem we are now faced with can be summarized as follows. Both the vowels (high front vs. high central) and the consonants (alveolar vs. alveopalatal sibilants) contrast except in the presence of each other, where both contrasts are neutralized. If we were to accept only the sets of consonants as contrasting, and claim to have only one phonemic high vowel, we could analyze the contrasts presented as follows:

[sé]	'stir'	/sé/
[ʃí]	'3rd. pl obj. pronoun'	/ʃí/
[χé]	'crush, pound'	/hé/
[xyí]	'sleep, spend the night'	/hyé/
[zà]	'cultivate'	/zà/
[ʒà]	'girl'	/ʒà/

But with this analysis, we would have no way of explaining the contrast between [mbé] 'hide (something)' and [mbí] 'to hatch.'

If, on the other hand, we were to accept the vocalic contrast and assume only one set of consonants, we could explain the [sé]/[ʃí] contrast as /sé/, /sí/, and the [mbé]/[mbí] contrast as /mbé/, /mbí/, but we could not explain the contrast between [zà] and [ʒà].

If we were to accept both the vowels and the consonants as contrasting, we could explain all the contrasts presented (their phonemic representation would closely reflect the phonetic), but we could not explain the near complementary distribution of each pair.

4.3.4 The Prosodic Approach

There is another approach possible, as has been taken by Mohrlang (1971) and other Chadicists. By this approach, neither the vowel contrast nor the consonant contrast is considered phonemic at a segmental level. Rather, a 'prosody' of palatalization is in effect at a syllable level, and each syllable is thus marked for \pm PAL. Palatalization on a syllable would palatalize any consonant from a palatalizable series, and would also palatalize the high vowel. Thus, in a palatalized syllable, alveolar consonants would become alveopalatal, velar and uvular consonants would become palatal, and /ə/ would be fronted. Our contrasts could then be analyzed as follows:

<u>segments</u>	<u>+PAL</u>	<u>gloss</u>	<u>-PAL</u>	<u>gloss</u>
sé	[ʃí]	3rd pl obj	[sé]	stir
mbé	[mbí]	hatch	[mbé]	hide
zà	[ʒà]	girl	[zà]	cultivate
hé	[xyí]	sleep	[χé]	crush, pound

If the autosegmental feature of palatalization is the only source of all phonetic [i, I, tʃ, dʒ, ndʒ, ʃ, ʒ, ky, gy, 'y, ɳy, xy, ɳy, ɳy], and if it always affects both the consonant and the vowel in the syllable to which it applies, there are two types of exception possible. There should be no cases of nonpalatalized consonants followed by high front vowels, nor cases of palatalized consonants followed by [ə]. Both occur in Bana, and a discussion of all of these that appear in the data follows.

4.3.5 A Second Source for [i]

There are six words in the data in which a nonpalatalized consonant is followed by a lengthened [i:]. It will be recalled that length is not a contrastive feature in the Bana vowel system, and that [u:] was analyzed as /əw/, based on a parallelism with /aw/. In the same way, [i:] can be analyzed as /əy/. The diphthong [ay] ([táy] 'millet beer'; [mbày] 'manioc') exists in Bana, but there is no corresponding [əy]. The cases of [i:] fill this gap in the diphthong series; [mi:mi:] 'blood', should be analyzed as /məyməy/. This is then a second source of [i], apart from palatalization, and a lengthened [i] immediately following a nonpalatalized consonant is no longer a problem for the analysis.

A second argument for this analysis of [i:] can be found in verb morphology, where the suffix -y (completive/perfective?)⁸ occurs on verbs ending in /a/, and for verbs ending in /ə/, the same sense is formed by changing the vowel to [i:].

⁸ This suffix also causes a preceding high tone to be lowered, so that the result is a rising tone.

[tá]	[täy]
'cut'	'have finished cutting'

[fá]	[fi:]
'set down'	'have set down'

The three-way contrast [xyí] / [χé] / [χí:] can thus be explained as follows:

[xyí]	'sleep, spend the night'	(+PAL)/hé/
[χé]	'crush, pound'	(-PAL)/hé/
[χí:]	'have finished pounding'	(-PAL)/héy/

4.3.6 Other cases of nonpalatalized consonants followed by fronted vowels

There are three words left in the data in which a nonpalatalized consonant is immediately followed by [i]. These are: [gèzi] 'warn', [dʒ(i)ní], 'go home', and [ríṣí] 'undertaker, blacksmith'. A few speculations on these words:

The word for 'warn' may be morphologically related to the word for 'say, tell,' which is [gzè] or [gèzè]. Perhaps the -y suffix (completive aspect), used with 'tell' was once used to imply 'take warning'. This could have become an idiomatic way of saying 'warn.' Today, the morphological source of this idiom is forgotten, and we are left with an unpalatalized consonant followed by a (previously lengthened but now) short palatalized vowel.

The verb 'go home' is unusual in that it cannot take tense/aspect suffixes. I have no speculation as to how it came to be in its present form.

The undertaker/blacksmiths (a clan who exclusively do both these tasks) are culturally very significant. Their role in society also includes some magic, divina-

tion, and healing. Not only among the Bana, but in most of the 'kirdi'⁹ tribes of Northern Cameroon these people are given special duties and sometimes special privileges. Only a generation ago, they were held in a combination of awe and contempt. Normally one would expect the term for such a culturally important concept to be very old, and perhaps so important that it survived the phonological developments of the rest of the language.

Further study of these exceptions is clearly needed.

4.3.7 Palatalized consonants followed by a high central vowel

Another challenge to our autosegmental analysis of palatalization is the set of 21 words in which [ə] follows a palatalized consonant. In all of these cases the offending vowel is non-final and if there is a following syllable it is not palatalized. Other than that, no common feature has been found for these syllables. Certain subsets of this list, however, are identified and commented on below.

⁹ The term 'kirdi' is a Fulfulde word meaning 'pagan' (i.e. not Muslim), from the time of the Fulani conquest of the West African Sahel from modern-day Senegal to the modern-day border between Cameroon and Chad. Since this conquest, Fulfulde has become the trade language of Northern Cameroon, and Islam the religion of the powerful. This does not mean, however, that all the positions of government and all of the wealth is in the hands of the Fulani, because anyone who becomes Muslim, learns Fulfulde, and moves to the city can advance socially and economically. In taking this step, he does not lose his connection with his own tribe (he is still considered tribally a Mofu, a Daba, a Bana, etc.), but socioeconomically, he has become a Foulbe, and so he is called. The modern distinction between 'Foulbe' and 'kirdi' is no longer entirely tribally based, and is no longer derogatory. Rather, it is used to distinguish the city-dwelling Islam-practising people, 'Foulbe,' from the mountain-dwelling animists, 'kirdi.'

1. In six of these cases, the following syllable begins with a labialized consonant. It would seem that the opposing forces of fronting under palatalization and anticipatory backing and rounding leaves the vowel in the neutral position. This is not always the case, however. Other words have been found in which a palatalized syllable with an initial palatalized consonant is immediately followed by a labialized consonant, and the vowel in the palatalized syllable is [i].
2. For four of the remaining cases, there is free variation with the high front vowel: [ʒɪzə] ~ [ʒɛzə] 'change, turn.'
3. In the eleven other cases, no alternative [ɪ] has been recorded from a native speaker. However, taking the word [ʃəl], 'centre post (of a round house)' as an example, a native speaker who freely corrected my mispronunciations as a general rule did not correct my rendering: *[ʃɪl], even when I drew his attention to it. A foreigner's mispronunciation is acceptable only if it does not cross phonemic boundaries.

To help account for the above cases, an attractive hypothesis would make palatalization somewhat weaker. Palatalization always affects the onset by preference if that consonant is palatalizable, and otherwise makes its presence felt on the vowel. Once it has manifested its presence at least on the consonant, it then tries to also front the vowel. This attempt is always successful if the vowel is also immediately followed by a palatalized syllable, or the vowel is final, because in either of these cases there is no other influence except palatalization on the vowel. When the vowel is non-final and followed by something other than a palatalized syllable, the palatalization may or may not affect the vowel.

The above description of the workings of palatalization accounts for the free variation that does occur,¹⁰ and the range of acceptability of foreign mispronunciations. What it does not account for is the free variation that does not occur. Why is *[ʃɪl], while understandable, incorrect? This problem is compounded by the word for 'lion,' [ʒɪl], which according to our analysis differs phonemically from [ʃəl], 'centre post' only in voicing of the first consonant, yet *[ʒəl] is also unacceptable.

4.4 Combined Effects

The examples we have been discussing immediately above have been palatalized syllables or syllables closed with /y/ which contain no rounded back consonants or /w/. In the first part of this paper we provided rules for the realization of the high vowel in syllables containing rounded back consonants or /w/, but which were neither palatalized nor closed with /y/. When the environments for labialization and palatalization co-occur in one syllable their combined effects can be accounted for if three degrees of relative strength are assigned to the different sources of labialization or palatalization.

¹⁰ The only example of free variation between front and central high vowels which is not accounted for by this theory is the alternative realizations of the word for 'rag:' [gédʒèr] ~ [gyfdʒèr]. This is not explainable in the terms outlined above, but rather, it appears to be free variation as to the presence or absence of palatalization.

4.4.1 Syllable-final consonants

Those syllable-final consonants which can affect the preceding vowel (ηw , w , and y) have a stronger effect on the vowel than anything else. Even under palatalization, a high vowel followed by $/\eta w/$ in the same syllable will be strongly labialized, reducing the scope of influence of palatalization to the initial consonant only. In the following examples, a + sign under a vowel indicates a palatalized syllable.

[ky ^ú η ky ^ú η]	'fast'	/ké η wké η w/
~ [ky [~] η ky [~] η]		+

This is true even when the initial consonant is not palatalizable. The only examples we have of nonpalatalizable consonants with a palatal offglide occur when they are followed by a rounded vowel, followed by [η] in the same syllable. This is of course to be understood as (+PAL) /C η w/, where C represents a nonpalatalizable consonant. Once again, a + sign under a vowel indicates a palatalized syllable.

[vàvíly ^ú η]	'red rock	/vàvélè η w/
~ [vàvíly [~] η]	squirrel (spec.)'	++
[ty ^ú η tíly ^ú η]	'noisemaker'	/tè η wtélè η w/
~ [ty [~] η tíly [~] η]		++

The other syllable-final consonant which has the effect of rounding the preceding high vowel is $/w/$, and the same observations can be made for final $/w/$ as were made for final $/\eta w/$. That is, when a syllable closed with $/w/$ is palatalized, the high vowel in that syllable is rounded, and the palatalization is audible only on the initial consonant. Thus where the initial consonant is palatalizable, we have

examples such as [dʒú:] 'small' which is analyzed as (+PAL)/dzéw/. Where the initial consonant is not normally palatalizable, the strength of the labializing effect on the vowel forces palatalization to operate on the consonant instead, giving such examples as [t̪yú:] 'meat,' phonemically (+PAL)/sl̪éw/.

The third syllable-final consonant which affects the preceding high vowel is /y/. Here again, the final consonant has the strongest effect on the vowel, so that even when a syllable ending in /y/ has an initial labialized consonant, the vowel is fronted, and the labialization affects only the consonant itself. Thus ['wi:], 'find something while looking for something else,' should be analyzed as /'wəy/.

4.4.2 Syllable-initial labialized consonants and palatalization

When a syllable-initial labialized consonant and palatalization co-occur on a syllable, the vowel shows the palatalization, and labialization is restricted to the consonant. Thus, after syllable-final consonants, the second strongest syllable-internal influence on the high vowel is palatalization. Labialization caused by a labialized onset is the weakest of the forces acting on the high vowel. It obtains only when there is no /y/ coda nor palatalization in the syllable. In the following examples, + under a vowel indicates palatalization on that syllable.

[gwi'i]	'medicine'	/ghwə'ē/ ++
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[kwíyàkà]	'smoothing stone'	/kwéyàkà/ +
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4.4.3 Extra-syllabic effects

It will be remembered that a high vowel immediately followed by a syllable-initial labialized consonant is normally rounded to some degree by anticipatory assimilation. However, if that vowel is in a palatalized syllable, the labialization on the subsequent syllable will not affect it. (Palatalization is stronger than labialization even within the syllable; it is not surprising that palatalization on the syllable is stronger than labialization on the next.) Thus, in the word /tsəkwà/ 'name for a first-born son' where the first syllable is palatalized, we get: [tʃikwà].

4.5 Rules for the Application of the Palatalization Prosody

The analysis of palatalization which best accounts for most of the data is that palatalization is an autosegmental feature which operates at a syllable level. Palatalization applies to a syllable S, then, as follows:

1. If the initial consonant of S is palatalizable and
 - a. the vowel is low, the consonant is palatalized. That is, all alveolar sibilants become alveopalatal sibilants and all velar and uvular consonants become palatal in point of articulation, and all the back consonants take a palatal offglide.
 - b. the vowel is high and

- i. there is a labializing coda, the initial consonant is palatalized as described above.
 - ii. there is no labializing coda, the initial consonant is palatalized, as above, except that the glottal stop does not take a palatal offglide. In this case:
 - 1) If S is an open syllable and is word-final, the high vowel of S is fronted to [i].
 - 2) If S is an open syllable and the following syllable in the same word is also palatalized, the high vowel of S is fronted to [i].
 - 3) If S is a closed syllable or if the high vowel in S is neither word-final nor followed by a palatalized syllable, fronting of the vowel is optional, (unpredictable). Thus the vowel is realized as anything from [ɪ] to [i] to [ə].
2. If the initial consonant of S is not palatalizable and
 - a. the vowel is low, the consonant takes a palatal offglide.
 - b. the vowel is high and
 - i. followed by a labializing coda, the consonant takes a palatal offglide.
 - ii. there is no labializing coda, the high vowel will always be fronted. In this case:
 - 1) If S is an open syllable and is word-final, the high vowel is fronted to [i].

- 2) If S is an open syllable, and the following syllable in the same word is also palatalized, the high vowel will be fronted to [i].
- 3) Elsewhere, the high vowel in S will be realized as [r].

4.6 Defense of the Autosegmental Approach

We have described Bana as having only one high vowel, subject to an autosegmental feature of palatalization. One might argue that the disadvantage of a system with an extra tier outweighs the awkwardness of a system with two high vowels and an extra series of consonants, each of which has a slightly limited distribution. Admittedly, an autosegmental analysis adds an extra degree of complexity along with the extra tier. However, in the case of Bana, an autosegmental approach best accounts for some of the behaviour of tone as well (cf. Section 6.3). As an autosegmental treatment is already required to describe the tone, the addition of one tier and the loss of a vowel in the description of the vowel system is only a trade-off, not an unnecessary complication. Furthermore, it can be assumed that the phonology of Bana functions in a manner which closely resembles that of other Chadic languages, and in Chapter II it was explained that an autosegmental approach often best captures the processes of these languages. Finally, what the autosegmental analysis loses in simplicity, it gains in explanatory power;

not only is more of the behaviour of the high vowel accounted for under this analysis, but also such oddities as the palatal offglide which occurs only preceding a rounded (or low, cf. Chapter V) vowel on a few otherwise unpalatalizable consonants is satisfactorily explained.

4.7 The Bana High Vowel and Prosodies: a Summary

Bana is best analyzed as having only one high vowel and a prosody of palatalization.

Labialization is not an autosegmental feature. Despite a huge range of free variation, it remains that the back and rounded vowels only occur in the immediate environment of back consonants. The back consonants contrast with a back rounded series preceding the low central vowel; clearly this contrast is maintained in the environment of the high vowel with the labialization being absorbed by the vowel to some degree.

Palatalization, on the other hand, operates at a syllable level, first affecting any palatalizable consonant in its scope, and then causing some degree of fronting to high vowels in its scope. If it finds no place to dock on a palatalizable consonant or a high unrounded vowel, it will dock on an otherwise unpalatalizable consonant.

Perhaps the most unusual feature of the high vowel's behaviour in Bana is the high degree of free variation possible. This variation is not surprising in a system

with only one high vowel, but as was discussed in the summary of labializing environments (4.2.7), it does render the formalization of allophonic rules nearly impossible, and certainly pointless. The fluidity of the Bana high vowel under the effects of palatalization and labialization forces a discussion of 'tendencies,' rather than allophonic rules. A summary of the labializing tendencies was presented at the end of the section on labialization, and the interaction of the two sets of tendencies was described and summarized in the section on combined effects (4.4).

Chapter V

VOWELS

5.1 Introduction

As mentioned in section 2.4, the study of a Chadic vowel system must include tests for contrast in each of the initial, medial and final positions, and must examine the possibility that the high central vowel is predictable. Having already defended in detail the one-high-vowel analysis, we will begin this chapter with proofs of contrast between the two low vowels. This will be followed by examples of the three-way vowel contrast both medially and finally, as there are no initial vowels in Bana. Finally, we will demonstrate that the presence of /ə/ contrasts with its absence, i.e. it is not a 'zero vowel.'

5.2 The Low Vowels

By contrast to the vast range of high vowel sounds in Bana, there are only two phonetic low vowels in the data: [ɛ], and [a]. The relative frequency of these vowels, however, is extremely imbalanced; outside of plurals there are 1032 cases of [a], and only 159 cases of [ɛ]. In fact, outside of plurals, [ɛ] accounts for only 3% of the vowel sounds of Bana in the data set. In plurals, on the other hand, 38% of the vowel sounds are [ɛ].

This unusual distribution, in combination with the analysis of the high vowel system presented in Chapter IV, makes a one-low-vowel hypothesis very attractive. If [ɛ] could be shown to be a palatalized allophone of /a/ in certain limited environments including plurals, the vowel system of the language would be balanced, and the rarity of [ɛ] would be neatly explained.

	+Palatalized	-Palatalized
High	i	ɛ
Low	e	a

However, considerable evidence against this hypothesis also exists, forcing the conclusion that /e/ and /a/ are separate phonemes. Contrast between them can be demonstrated both in syllables with nonpalatalizable onsets and also in syllables with palatalizable onsets. Furthermore, the co-occurrence of /e/ and palatalization can be shown to be simply coincidental.

5.2.1 Contrasts

Despite the extremely low frequency of /e/ in non-plural words, minimal and subminimal pairs can be found demonstrating contrast.

[gáli]	'sprinkle'	[geli]	'sauce without salt'
[kwárá]	'6th-born'	[kwéréŋá]	'noise-maker'
[lákə]	'ball of cooked millet'	[lákə]	'thin'

The above contrasts are all in syllables in which the initial consonant is not palatalizable, i.e., neither a sibilant nor a back consonant. Recalling that [i] and [ə] appear to contrast in this environment as well, with the true contrast being one of palatalization, it must further be demonstrated that [ɛ] and [a] contrast in syllables with palatalizable onsets.

With the limited size of the data set (1700 words), and the rarity of [ɛ], the search for minimal pairs of vowels in the environments of a small subset of the consonants becomes challenging indeed, and even subminimal pairs are hard to find. Nevertheless, the following pairs indicate that [a] and [ɛ] do contrast in palatalized syllables with palatalizable onsets.

[métʃákwé]	'shadow'	[mètʃékèdi]	'white millet'
[dʒámbrà]	'tassled peanut bag'	[dʒénèti]	'flint'

[ndʒáfndʒáfē]	'gossip maliciously'	[ndʒɛbɛr]	'muds'
[ʒáməmé]	'sister'	[ʒɛmbɛŋɛr]	'beehives'
[yyàryyàr]	'hot (taste)'	[yyɛyyɛr]	'houses'
[xyàlà]	'God'	[xyɛlɛr]	'fools, demons'

In nonpalatalized syllables with palatalizable onsets, one minimal pair and a few subminimal pairs can also be found. Unfortunately, none of these has an non-palatalized sibilant onset.

[χàr]	'call'	[χɛr]	'intestines, courage'
[zàni]	'tongue'	[zɛníkyí]	'friendship'
[gàŋkà]	'lizard (spec.)'	[gɛŋkyídí]	'dustcloud'
[kándèkwé]	'edible leaf (spec.)'	[kéŋkyidí]	'fox'

Clearly, /e/ is not the palatalized allophone of /a/, but is a phoneme in its own right.

	+Front	-Front
-Palatalized	[yɛ:yɛ]	[kàykày]
+Palatalized	[γyɛγyɛr]	[γyàrγyàr]
'black bird (spec.)'	'open eyes wide, in surprise'	'hot (taste)'

One question remains, however. We have demonstrated a four-way contrast in syllables with **palatalizable** onsets; what happens when a syllable with a low vowel and a **nonpalatalizable** onset is palatalized? Words including syllables of this description are rare, but there are a few examples from the data set to fill the gap. In these the nonpalatalizable consonant shows the palatalization because the vowel, being low, cannot show it. (A parallel phenomenon will be recalled from section 4.4.1, where in syllables with high vowels, palatalization may be transferred to a nonpalatalizable consonant if vowel, being strongly labialized, cannot show palatalization.)

	+Front	-Front
-Palatalized	[nɛñɛkyí]	[kàpá]
+Palatalized	[nyɛmbri]	[kìyàχá]
'damp'	'announce, call to work'	'vertical crack in a vertical surface'

5.2.2 Pluralization and /e/

Having shown that /e/ is not a palatalized allophone of /a/, it remains first to explain its co-occurrence with palatalization in plurals, and second, to discuss the source of /e/ in plurals.

There are many pluralizing processes in Bana, some more productive than others, and some quite complex. Most involve different combinations of the following subprocesses: palatalization, reduplication, suffixation and changing a stem vowel to /e/. While the first three of these can act alone or in various combinations with each other as pluralizers, the stem-vowel changing rule is always combined with at least palatalization. The following examples are of the simplest pluralization processes:

	singular	plural	gloss
suffixation	/bəzə/	/bəzəhi/	peanut bag
reduplication	/gwərinj/	/gwəringwərinj/	lump of flour
palatalization	/kàràmàsə/	/kàràmàshi/	pepper

Because the rule changing a stem-vowel to /e/ is always accompanied by palatalization, it is easy to assume that it is palatalization which causes the change from a stem vowel to /e/. This is not the case. Not only does palatalization work independently of the stem-vowel changing rule, (cf. the plural for 'pepper' above) but also, the stem-vowel changing rule applies to any vowel, not only /a/, (cf. the

examples below). This rule is thus not a palatalizing process, nor part of a palatalizing process, but a separate, though concurrent, rule. The pluralization process which changes the final stem vowel to /e/, then, co-occurs with palatalization, but is not caused by it.

There are two sources of /e/ in Bana plurals: suffixation and the stem vowel changing rule.

Suffixes are involved in several pluralization processes, and all but the most productive plural suffix include the vowel /e/. The plural suffixes in order of productiveness are: -hi, -er, -esli, -edem, -edelem, -ederem. These suffixes are the primary source of /e/ in plurals.

The second source of /e/ is the rule which changes last vowel in the stem¹¹ of a plural to /e/. The following examples, illustrate both sources of /e/ in plurals. They represent two different pluralization processes, one of which involves reduplication, and the other suffixation, but both include the vowel changing rule and palatalization.

Singular	Plural	Gloss
/mázé/	/mézhízhì/	chief
/házèl/	/házhélér/	type of grass

¹¹ Plural stem formation is a two step process. First, any root-final vowel in the singular is deleted. Second, any syllable-final consonant clusters thus formed are eliminated by metathesis of C₁ of the cluster with the preceding vowel. Thus, the plural stem of /címéké/, 'porcupine,' is /címék-/; and the plural stem of /ŋgèrdé/, 'pig,' is /ŋgrèd-/.

5.2.3 Variation

Despite the clear contrast between /a/ and /e/, there are a few words in the data set in which /e/ and /a/ vary freely. In most cases this is ideolectal variation, but at least one pair has been heard from a single native speaker. The reason for this variation has not been determined. Following is a complete list of words in which /a/ and /e/ are in free variation.

[bər̥jyà]	[bér̥jyɛ]	'antelope (spec.)' ¹²
[gyárà]	[gyérà]	'bonus'
[χátxwèr]	[χétxwèr]	'evening' ¹³
[kát̥xwèr]	[kétxwèr]	'evening'
[dʒárdʒár]	[dʒérdʒér]	'stiff' ¹⁴
[kyáré]	[kyéré]	'sly'
[ʃárây]	[ʃérây]	'(type of) flute'
[wàmpídí]	[wémpídí]	'lightning'

¹² In this example, the tone also changes.

¹³ In this example, the first consonant also varies.

¹⁴ This word has yet a third variant: [dʒérdʒár].

5.3 Three-Way Contrast

The three-way contrast between Bana vowels can be shown in both palatalized and nonpalatalized syllables, in medial position. Unfortunately, as /e/ is so rare outside of plurals, (which, if they end in a vowel, end in /i/) there is no example in the data of /e/ occurring finally in a palatalized syllable. However, the three-way contrast in final position can be demonstrated in nonpalatalized syllables, and /a/ can be shown to contrast with the high vowel in final palatalized syllables. Here then are the contrasts, in collapsed phonemic transcription.

5.3.1 Palatalized Syllables, Medial Contrast

/a/	/e/	/ə/
/hyàlà/	/hyélér/	/híl/
'God'	'fools, demons'	'fool, demon'
/zhámèmé/	/zhémbèñér/	/zhimbér/
'sister'	'beehives'	'navel'

5.3.2 Palatalized Syllables, Final Contrast

/a/

/fcà/

'day'

/zhà/

'daughter'

/ə/

/v(ə)cí/

'sun'

/zhì/

'wound'

5.3.3 Nonpalatalized Syllables, Medial Contrast

/a/

/slàhè/

'ball of
cooked millet'

/e/

/sléhè/

'thin'

/ə/

/slémé/

'ear'

/básli/

'sprinkle'

/bèsli/

'sauce without
salt'

/bélí/

'break, smash
(plural obj.)'

5.3.4 Nonpalatalized Syllables, Final Contrast

/a/	/e/	/ə/
/gèrkà/	/bèrkě/	/bèrkè/
'shade porch'	'maybe, I think'	'weigh, measure'
/gá/	/gè/	/gè/
'handwoven garment'	'draw water'	'stir'

5.4 The Zero Vowel Hypothesis

Unlike the schwa in Schuh's analyses of Chadic (1971) and Miya (to appear), the Bana schwa is not predictable.¹⁵ Following are examples contrasting the

¹⁵ I make this statement with reservation. Although proofs of contrast between the presence and the absence of /ə/ are given below, it is still possible that there is a zero vowel in Bana. My own hypothesis is that for Bana, there are two cases of phonetic [ə]: one being the high vowel phoneme (examples of which are given below), and the other being a zero vowel. The latter would account for such examples as the word for 'mother's brother,' which is alternately pronounced /kwèsèk/, /kwsèkè/ or even /kwèskè/. The last two may occur pre-pause, the first may not. Other than that, conditioning environments have not been identified. It would appear that the word has three consonants and two low tones and thus must be pronounced with two syllables, but the placement of the peaks of these syllables relative to the consonants is variable. These, then, would be zero vowels, inserted where necessary to carry tone and to break up impermissible consonant sequences. (Hypothesis: where the preceding word ends in a consonant, an initial consonant cluster is impermissible. i.e. /kwèsèk/ and /kwèskè/ are permissible, but not /kwsèkè/.) Many other words have similar 'slippery' schwas, and environments for their insertion/deletion are almost certainly determined by contextual syllable structure constraints. My data being limited for the most part to word lists rather than text, I cannot test these hypotheses.

presence of /ə/ with its absence both medially and finally, in both palatalized and nonpalatalized syllables.

	<u>Medial</u>	<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Final</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
Palatalized				
ø	/thə/	'hunt (sing. object)'	/slén/	'name'
ə	/tihə/	'hunt (plur. object)'	/sléni/	'work (noun)'
Nonpalatalized				
ø	/pré/	'snack on'	/már/	'laziness'
ə	/péré/	'wrap up'	/márə/	'co-wife'

5.5 A Minimal Vowel System

Bana has a three vowel system which contradicts the predictions of language universals.

Bana Vowels

ə

e a

All three vowels contrast both medially in all syllables and finally in nonpalatalized syllables, but in final palatalized syllables, the system is reduced to a two-way contrast, excluding /e/. In fact, the /e/ vowel is so rare outside of plurals in any case that the bulk of the communication load in Bana, as in Higi, rests on a two-way vowel contrast.

Overlaid on this simple system is the autosegmental feature of palatalization which operates at a syllable level. High vowels are susceptible to allophonic variation in several environments: neighbouring labialized consonants, a following /w/ or /y/ in the same syllable, and palatalization. Low vowels never show palatalization, nor are they varied in any other way.¹⁶

16 Hoskison (1975) described this state of affairs in his analysis of Gude, where he stated that low vowels were 'stronger' than high vowels, i.e. less susceptible to prosodic influences. In this respect, Bana behaves more like Gude than like the more closely related Psikyɛ language.

Chapter VI

TONE

That Bana has two contrasting tones, high and low, is easily demonstrated. All tone patterns are possible for all parts of speech, but monomorphemic uninflected verbs prefer simple tone patterns. Phonetic rising and falling tones, which are rare, are best analyzed under an autosegmental approach as two tones docking on a single syllable.

6.1 Contrasts

It has been demonstrated for certain other Chadic languages that there is a correspondence between tone and syllable onset, but in Bana this is not the case. To show contrast, then, we need only the following examples:

6.1.1 Single syllable

/ndá/	'swallow (vb.)'
/ndà/	'give (all of sthg; sthg whole)'
/cí/	'show (vb.)'
/cì/	'have diarrhea'

6.1.2 Two Syllables

/slèrpá/	'date tree'
/slèrpè/	'rib'
/héní/	'skin, pluck'
/hèní/	'go to bed'

6.1.3 Three Syllables

/mètséni/	'bowstring'
/mètsèni/	'buttocks'
/dínézli/	'mountain'
/dínèzli/	'bellows'

6.2 Tone Patterns Possible

All the possible tone patterns have been found in words up to three syllables. Presumably, all tone patterns are possible for longer words as well, but as there are less of them in the data and more combinations possible, examples of all of them have not been found. Examples of both high and low monosyllables were listed above as proofs of tone contrast; following are examples of all the tone patterns in two and three syllable words.

6.2.1 Two Syllables

High-High	/héni/	'skin, pluck'
High-Low	/tsápè/	'viper'
Low-High	/hèní/	'go to bed'
Low-Low	/tsàpè/	'meet'

6.2.2 Three Syllables

High-High-High	/hébéslí/	'congeal, freeze'
High-High-Low	/tákésè/	'bracelet (usually metal)'
High-Low-High	/kwéshègí/	'garbage, sweepings'
High-Low-Low	/kéŋkidi/	'fox'
Low-High-High	/màkwághwá/	'harvest festival'
Low-High-Low	/hàsésè/	'hedgehog'
Low-Low-High	/tàpláké/	'crawl'

Low-Low-Low	/bèngwèlà/	'red monkey (spec.)'
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Although all tone patterns are possible, there is one significant correspondence between part of speech and tone pattern. While nouns and most other parts of speech frequently occur in all the tone patterns, verbs tend to 'prefer' the High-High and Low-Low patterns. This is not an absolute rule, but for the 343 multisyllabic verbs in the data set, only 56 of them are not High-High or Low-Low. Even among these, six are clearly two morphemes, and should perhaps be analyzed as two words or as compound verbs. At least eight more of the 56 are probably different parts of speech, used as verbs in a particular context.

6.3 Rising and Falling Tones

Of the 1700 words in the data set, most of which are uninflected forms, only 40 have rising or falling tones. Given these proportions alone, it is highly unlikely that the contour tones are tonemes. Most are better characterized under an auto-segmental analysis, where a floating tone must dock together with another tone on one syllable. The evidence which supports this hypothesis comes from reduplication and morphemic reanalysis. Finally, a few cases of phonetic contour tones are best analyzed as intonation, rather than tone.

6.3.1 Reduplication

Among the common reduplication patterns in Bana is:

$$C_1V_1C_2 + C_1V_1C_2V_2$$

This produces words like the following:

/gwèfgwèfi/	'foam'
/gárgáré/	'rejoice'

In the above examples, the tone on both root syllables is the same. When the tone is different and the second consonant is an obstruent, the pattern remains the same.

/kákzákzà/	'tree: Entada africana, Prosopis africana'
/ndàkwndàkwé/	'almost'

It would appear that the second vowel, complete with its tone, is being deleted from the copied prefix. The following examples of phonetic falling tone do not fit this account, however.

/tâltálà/	'lizard (spec.)'
/ŋgwâñŋgwánà/	'tree: Commiphora africanum'
/tîmtimbè/	'fog' ¹⁷

¹⁷ The [b] which has been deleted from the first syllable in this case probably reflects syllable structure constraints applying to a derived or (in this case) reduplicated form. Once the schwa is deleted, it is very difficult to pro-

A more explanatory representation of what is happening requires an autosegmental approach. While only the first CVC of the segmental tier of the root appears in the reduplicated preface, the entire tonal tier¹⁸ is copied. There is now an extra tone, i.e., one which is not assigned to any vowel, which must find another place to dock. If it is not blocked by an intervening obstruent, it attaches itself to the preceding vowel, along with the tone that is already there.

A nonreduplicated form with an unusual plural formation provides another example of a floating tone moving through a preceding resonant to dock on a vowel.

Singular	Plural	
/kwântémca/	/kwánatémcèhi/	'donkey'

nounce [mbt], and as these two consonants do not abut anywhere in the lexical roots, they must form an impermissible sequence. A rule could certainly be written to account for this, were there but a few more examples of this type of reduplication involving a prenasalized stop as the second consonant of the root, or of other morphological processes causing a prenasalized stop and another consonant to abut.

¹⁸ Presumably, prosody works the same way in reduplicated forms. That is, if the [i] were deleted from a palatalized syllable, the palatalization would try to dock elsewhere. Unfortunately, neither examples (*kilkeli), nor counterexamples (*kélkeli) of this exist in the data set. The word /gwèfgwèfi/ 'foam' merely illustrates that, if this process is in fact happening, obstruents block the movement of palatalization as well as tone.

6.3.2 Morphemic Reanalysis

Very few conjugated verbs are listed among the 1700 words of the data set, but these are responsible for many other cases of contour tones. For example, the first person singular, present tense, is formed by adding the suffix /-é/ to a verb. Thus, for the verbs /pá/ 'buy' and /pà/ 'sweep up,' the following are the first person singular present tense forms:

pá	+ -é	--->	...pé	'I am buying...'
pà	+ -é	--->	...pě	'I am sweeping up...'

With this background information, the word bérké 'maybe, I think' can perhaps be reanalyzed as /bérkè/, 'weigh, measure' + /-é/.

There is a suffix in Bana which negates the word to which it is attached. It is of the shape /-éw/, and applies to closed syllables in its full form, but loses its vowel when suffixed to open syllables. Note that when this suffix is attached to a root ending in a low vowel, a rising tone results.

kéláŋ + -éw ---> kéláŋéw

'small pile of boulders'

gwèdèŋgwèl + -éw ---> gwèdèŋgwèléw

'large, solitary boulder'

mélémé + -éw ---> méléméw

'village'

dèlāgwà + -éw ---> dèlāgwāw
 'mountain'

Given this information, we can reanalyze /ghwèlāw/ 'never again' as /ghwèlā/ 'later' + /-éw/. Along the same lines, but less intuitively reasonable, would be a reanalysis of /slīw/ 'meat' as a reduced form of /slisli/ 'egg' + /-éw/. Yet another possible morphemic reanalysis would be the breakdown of /nighëmti/ 'mirror' into /nighë/ 'look at, see' + /m(ə)ti/ 'death.' As recorded in the lexicon, the word for death has a first syllable which, if heard at all, is so short and transient that it has been impossible to establish its tone. There are several words in the lexicon which begin with a nasal and a (sometimes nonhomorganic) stop which does not agree in voicing. Perhaps these are in fact words from which the first vowel has been deleted, leaving a preceding floating tone. The word for death, then, would have a preceding floating tone, /'mti/, which only would appear in a compound word, and perhaps at other junctures. With further study of grammatical morphemes and their tonal behaviour, it would undoubtedly be possible to morphologically reanalyze other words with phonetic contour tones.

6.3.3 Intonation

There is yet another set of words which can be eliminated from the list of unexplained contour tones. Given their semantic content and their long vowels, these can be seen as expressions bearing their own intonation. It is this intonation which is responsible for the often complex phonetic contour tones.

[yă`ñ:] 'yes, but...'

[('áyâ:]	exclamation of fear/surprise.
[mádk̥i:y]	'Once upon a time...'
[b̥i:y]	exclamation of shock/anger/fear
[nyâ:]	impolite refutation

6.4 A Two Tone System

Bana, then, has two contrasting tones, high and low, which may occur in any tone pattern. The phonetic contour tones are in fact only combinations of simple tones. A few of the forty cases of contour tone have been indisputably reanalyzed, while others have only been subjected to speculation. It is nevertheless clear that tone does operate autosegmentally in Bana, creating phonetic rising and falling tones where two tones are left to dock on a single vowel. One would therefore expect further study to provide other means of reanalysis of contour tones as combinations of simple tones.

Chapter VII

CONCLUSION

The objectives of this research in Bana phonology were threefold: to describe the consonantal and vowel phonemes; to identify the prosodies; and to determine the number of tones of Bana. The objectives were achieved, but research invariably unveils more questions than it answers and this study was no exception. Following a review of my conclusions, I would like to mention a few areas where further research is needed.

7.1 Consonant and Vowel Phonemes

Bana has 38 contrasting consonants and three vowels, of which one is rare outside of plurals. The consonants are for the most part very stable, as are the low vowels, but the high vowel has a broad range of allophones. Many of these are conditioned by a neighbouring labialized consonant, or by a syllable coda of /w/ or /y/. The other major source of allophonic variation for both the high vowel and the consonants is palatalization.

7.2 Prosody

Palatalization in Bana is a syllable-level autosegmental feature which docks on its syllable according to the following criteria:

1. If the onset of the syllable is from a palatalizable series of consonants, that consonant will be palatalized. In this case, palatalization usually also spreads to a following high vowel. (If the syllable is closed or non-final and not followed by a palatalized syllable, palatalization of the vowel is unpredictable.)
2. Elsewhere, if the vowel in the syllable is high and is not rounded (by a following /ŋw/ or /w/ in the same syllable), that vowel will be fronted, to a greater extent when the syllable is open and in word-final position or open and immediately followed by another palatalized syllable.
3. Elsewhere, palatalization will dock on the initial consonant, taking the form of a palatal offglide.

7.3 Tone

Bana has two contrasting tones, high and low, which may occur in any tone sequence. It was found that an autosegmental analysis helps to account for the cases of phonetic rising and falling tones.

7.4 Areas for Further Research

The research for this paper was focussed on segmental phonology. Language cannot be divided into discrete chunks, however, and it is in the areas where segmental phonology borders on higher-level phonology and morphology that most of the unanswered questions lie.

A natural follow-up to this study would first examine syllable structure in the lexical root, including permissible consonant clusters. The effects of reduplication, suffixation and other morphological processes on syllable structure and tone (including tone sandhi) would be the second phase of research. A study of the effects of word juncture, phrase-level features, intonation, and pause-groups on syllable structure and tone would complete the follow-up.

With study in these areas, it would be possible to test the hypothesis that Bana has two sources of the high vowel, one phonemic, and the other a zero vowel, inserted to preserve syllable structure and/or to bear tone. If the hypothesis were disproven, another explanation would surely be found for the slippery schwa and the words containing it which have alternating syllable structures. Furthermore, a more thorough account of phonetic rising and falling tones would be made possible.

A more complete phonological analysis of Bana would also include a study of the phonology of ideophones, and the free variation possible in the realization of the high vowel in palatalized syllables with palatalizable onsets.

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APPENDIX A
LEXIQUE BANA-FRANÇAIS FRANÇAIS-BANA

A.1 Introduction

This appendix is not intended as a dictionary but simply as a presentation of the data used in this study. The French-Bana side of the lexicon, then, has not been prepared from the perspective of a second source language, but is simply a reversal of the Bana-French side. (French was chosen as the second language for this lexicon because French is the official language in the Extreme North Province of Cameroon, where Bana is spoken.) The orthography used in the lexicon is the collapsed phonemic orthography described in Orthographic Conventions.

By way of introduction, examples of the entries in both halves of the lexicon and a list of abbreviations follows.

Bana-French

méwtà (EMP)	nf. pl: -hi, méwtítí	voiture
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As the above example illustrates, the headword is always placed at the far left, the part of speech is always the first item in the centre column, and the gloss is always given in the right column. Plural forms, indicated with the pl: marker, are the last item in the center column; where more than one plural form exists, the regular forms are listed by their suffixes and are followed by any irregular forms given in full. (There are two plural forms of the above word: one using the suffix /-hi/ and the other irregular.) Where irregular plurals are listed as headwords, the pl: marker is replaced by sg: and the singular form is given in this position.

(EMP) 'emprunt' or (FUL) 'Fulfulde' immediately following the headword indicates a presumed borrowing.¹⁹ Any other three letter code in this position indicates that the headword is from a dialect of Bana other than Gamboura. Codes for specific dialects are given below. (cf. Abbreviations)

diftí	v. dì (aimer) + ftí (obéissance)	être docile, obéir
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The above example includes a suggested morphological analysis, which is given in the second column immediately following the part of speech and preceding any plural form. Also given in this position are honorific or diminutive forms of names, which are indicated with honorifique: and diminutif: respectively.

dèbèkè ~ dèmbèkè	nm. pl: -er, -esli	bétail, animal domestiqué
dèmbèkè	cf. dèbèkè	

The above example illustrates the treatment of words for which more than one pronunciation has been recorded. A separate entry is given for each pronunciation, but only one entry includes all the information. In the complete entry, all of the alternate pronunciations are given immediately below the headword, preceded by a tilde. Where alternate pronunciations are headwords, the centre col-

¹⁹ As Fulfulde is the trade language of the Bana area, it can be assumed that any Fulfulde words in Bana are borrowed directly. For words like /mèwtà/ 'car' (cf. French: moteur, English: motor), it is uncertain whether they were borrowed directly from one of these languages or whether they were borrowed through an intermediary language such as Hausa. For this reason, presumed sources have not been stated for those apparent borrowings which are not Fulfulde words.

umn consists of a reference, marked cf., to the complete entry.

French-Bana

course	(grande -- d'eau) (petite -- d'eau) (ideo: partir soudain à la --)	hél mili bévbép ~ bévbák
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In the French-Bana side of the lexicon, the headword, in French, is always on the left side and the gloss in Bana is given on the right. The centre column is used to further narrow the meaning of the French word to more closely reflect the meaning of the Bana word. As in the Bana-French side, any alternate pronunciations will be indicated immediately below the Bana word, preceded by a tilde.

miroir	nighɛmtí diftirè (FUL)
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In this example, there are two glosses given for the French headword, the first being a native Bana word and the second borrowed from Fulfulde. As in the Bana-French side, borrowings and source dialects other than Gamboura are indicated by three-letter codes immediately following the Bana word.

Abbreviations

The following abbreviations may appear in the left column of the Bana-French side or the right column of the French-Bana side:

(EMP)	Borrowing
(FUL)	Borrowing from Fulfulde

(GUI)	Guili dialect
(GUV)	Guva/Mahao dialect
(OUD)	Divni/Ouda dialect

The following abbreviations may be found in the centre column of the Bana-French side:

a	adjective or adverb
cf.	compare
conj	conjunction
interj	interjection
ideo	ideophone
interrog	interrogative
nf	feminine noun
nm	masculine noun
nn	mass noun ²⁰
npl	plural noun ²¹
part	particle
pl:	plural of headword
pn	pronoun
prep	preposition
sg:	singular of headword ²²

²⁰ Noun which takes plural agreement marker in its singular form. Some of these also have plural forms.

²¹ Listed as a main entry only if irregular.

²² Given when the headword is an irregular plural.

v verb

The French gloss in the Bana-French side or the centre column in the French-Bana side may contain some of the following abbreviations:

1e	first person
2e	second person
3e	third person
du	dual
esp	type of
excl	exclusive
ideo:	ideophone
incl	inclusive
init	initial position in a sentence
irreg	irregular
nom	name
obj	object
par ex.	for example
pl	plural
poss	possessive
qqch	something
qqun	someone
sg	singular
suj	subject
fem	feminine
masc	masculine

reflex

reflexive

A.2 Bana-Français

'á	pn.	il, elle (3e sg suj init)
'á	interrog.	quoi? que?
'ádiw	v.	attends! (impératif)
'ághá	pn.	tu (2e sg suj init)
'ághéy	pn.	nous (1e pl excl suj init)
'ághshí	pn.	ils (3e pl suj init)
'ághwěm	pn.	nous (1e du incl suj init)
'ághwèmmé	pn.	nous (1e pl incl suj init)
'ághwi	pn.	vous (2e pl suj init)
'àkwàtì (FUL)	nm. pl: -hi	valise
'ándâ	interrog.	qui est là?
'ántsà	pn. interrog.	qui?
'árádày	nm.	mil rouge (esp)
'àsànà (FUL)	nm. pl: -hi	allumette
'áwé	a.	non
'áyâ	interj.	mon Dieu! (interj de surprise et de détresse/peur)
'é	pn.	je (1e sg suj init)

'èr ~ 'yèr	npl., nf. pl: -hi	sauce
'èr kékèr	nn.	pois quenique (<i>Moringa oleifera</i>)
'éslér	npl. sg: 'islé	os
'i	v.	piquer, vacciner, poignarder; discipliner


 ois
 /o/ /ɛ/ /ɪ/ /e/
 [œ̃] [ø̃] [œ̃] [ø̃]

'ihwéli	nf. pl: 'ihwéhwér	jumeau
'imbè	nm. pl: -er	vielle calebasse
'imé	v.	rassembler
'in	nm.	huile
'in ghwè	nm. 'in (huile) + ghwè (feu)	fumée
'ini	a.	avare
'is (EMP)	nm.	levure
'islá	nm. pl: -hi	toux, grippe, catarrhe
'islé	nm. pl: -er	os

-B-

bàfákfákè	a.	mauvais au goût
bàfè	v.	engouffrer
bàhwà	nf. pl: bàhwéhwè	pente
bàhwpálà	nf.	arbre: <i>Ficus ingens</i>
bàkà	a.	deuxième
bák(ə)	a.	deux
bàli	v., n.	courir, vitesse

bàmà	nf.	chance
bàmbád(ə)	nm. pl: -er	tambour avec deux peaux (d'antilope ou de mouton) que l'on reserre chaque fois avant de jouer.
bànà	nf. pl: ka bana	Bana
bájwà	nf. pl: -hi, béŋwiŋwì	mur de maison sans toit
bár	nm. pl: -hi	mauvaise nouvelle, message, histoire
bàrcicikw(ə)	a., nf.	triste, tristesse
bàsà	nf. pl: báshishì	haut du bras
básé	v.	manger la sauce lentement pour le faire durer
bàshì	v.	annuler un projet à contre-coeur
bàskwà	nf. pl: báshkwékwèr	flèche, jouet d'enfant (fait d'un tige de mil)
báskwèr (EMP)	nf. pl: -hi	bicyclette
bátàl	nm. pl: -er	aiguille, piqûre
bàti	v.	proteger (de)
bà'wé	v.	se coucher sur le ventre
bà'wè	nm. pl: -er	crevasse horizontale dans une surface verticale
bàzhà	nf. pl: -hi	fiancée, fiancé, ami(e) du sexe opposé
bàzlà	v.	maudir
bázli	cf. bázli	
bázli ~ bázli	nf. pl: bázlizli	épaule, manche
bèdèbèdè	nm. pl: -hi	muet, qqun qui parle mal, bégayeur

bèrnì	nf. pl: -hi	ville
bèbèdì	v.	étinceler
bèbèdì ván	nm.	éclair
bèfi	npl. pl: -er	poumons
bèghèzli	v.	se chauffer
béghwèm	ideo.	tomber dans l'eau
béhè (GUI)	v.	(se) rassasier
béhwè (FUL)	nf. pl: -hi	sac
bék(ə)békè	nf. pl: -hi	aile
bèkwèkwèkwèrwèr	nf.	arbre à soie (<i>Calotropis procera</i>)
b(ə)là	nf. pl: -hi	zone, sens, morceau, côté
bèlādì	v.	avorter
bélbél	a.	épais
bèlèkw(ə)	a.	cent (100)
bèmè	v.	manger qqch de poudreux
bènjw	a.	large
bèrci	a., n.	fort, force
b(ə)rèk ~ bèrkè	v., a.	mesurer, peser, c'est assez
bèrkè	v.	peut-être, je pense
bèrkè	cf. b(ə)rèk	
bèrkwàntì ~ bètkwàntì	a., v	percé, troué, percer, trouer
bèrzlizli	a.	coloré
bèrzlyà	cf. bérzlè	
bérzlyè ~ bèrzlyà	nf. pl: -hi	antilope cheval

bès(ə)	nm. pl: -er	bouc
bèslpè	nf.	feuille pour faire la sauce (esp)
b(ə)tì	cf. b(i)tì	
bètkwànti	cf. bèrkwànti	
bètkwè	cf. bèrkwè	
bévbék	cf. bévbép	
bévbép ~ bévbék	ideo.	partir soudain à la course
bèv(ə)	a.	gros
bèzè	nf. pl: -hi, bèzhizhì	petit sac pour les arachides, porté par les enfants qui gardent le troupeau
bèzè	a.	malade, gâté, mort
bèzèmè	a.	côté droit
b(ə)zlà	v.	jeter, lancer (pierre)
b(i)tì ~ b(ə)tì	a.	long, de très grand taille, géant (longeur ou hauteur)
biyàmbé	nm. pl: -esli	rhume
blásé	v.	manger lentement pour faire durer la sauce ou la boule
brèndéŋ	nm. pl: -er	fusil
bzè	nf.	malédiction

-B-

bá	a.	aussi, encore une fois
báná	v.	emporter pour donner à qqun
bárvà	v.	se retirer

Ɓàsè	v.	se réunir, rassembler, concentrer
Ɓàsèvà	nf. substantif verbale	collection, réunion
Ɓásli	v.	arroser, asperger
Ɓèbír	npl.	écaille, lichen, maladie de peau
Ɓèŋgwèlā	nf. pl: -hi, Ɓèŋgwéŋgwèr	singe grand, rouge et blanc.
Ɓèslì	n. pl: -hi, -er	sauce sans sel
Ɓé	v.	prendre, transporter
Ɓé málí	v.	se marier (l'homme prend une femme)
Ɓébá	v.	se marier (trop) vîte, (d'une femme)
Ɓébè	nf. pl: -hi	bégayeur
Ɓ(ə)ghé	v. Ɓé (transporter) + -ghé (en s'éloignant du locuteur)	emporter
Ɓéhí	v. Ɓé (prendre) + hí (dormir)	s'endormir
Ɓé-hw(ə)	v. Ɓé (transporter) + -hw(ə) (action terminée)	avoir pris
Ɓéké	v. Ɓé (transporter) + -ké (ici)	apporter
Ɓ(ə)lá	v.	compter, énumérer
Ɓ(ə)lí	v.	casser
Ɓéli	v.	brisier (beaucoup)
Ɓéni	v.	apprendre, accoutumer
Ɓéndzè	nm. pl: -hi	rat (esp)
Ɓ(ə)rásli	v.	craquer, faire des petits bruits (comme de l'eau dans l'huile chaude)

ñèrdzèh(ə)	nm. pl: -hi	petite bosse (de piqûre d'insecte, par ex.)
ñ(ə)rmé	v.	sauter (pour descendre d'un arbre, d'un toit)
ñ(ə)rtí	v.	asphyxier, étouffer
ñ(ə)sé	v.	extraire un liquide, presser, filtrer, sucer
ñésé	v.	extraire beaucoup de liquide, presser, filtrer, sucer beaucoup
ñèt(ə)ñèté	a.	tiède
ñévà	nf., v.	mariage, se marier
ñéyl(ə) ~ ñiyél	nm. pl: -esli, ñéylékésl	margouillat
ñ(ə)zli	v.	taper avec le baton
ñii...	interj.	Ô! (interj un peu faché, étonné, ou peureux)
ñ(i)ríŋ	nm. pl: -er, -esli	arc-en-ciel
ñiyá	nf. pl: -hi	boa
ñiyél	cf. ñéyl(ə)	
ñ(i)zhí	v.	boire du surface, boire à petites gorgées
ñlívá	nm.	fugue amoureuse

-C-

cá	prep.	voilà (pour accompagner une action)
càfà	a.	cinquième
cákáslá	nf. pl: -hi	grêle

càmè	v.	mettre dans la bouche
càpè	v.	crépir
càsláké	a.	difficile, dur, cher
cè'ér	npl. sg: tsè'i	haches
cècímèsli	nm. pl: -hi	chenille (esp rouge)
cèkèr	npl. sg: cik(i)	maisons
cèngéd(i)	nm. pl: -hi -er	plantoir en bois
cèrèki	nf. pl: -hi	flûte (esp)
cèm	nm. pl: -er	chanson
cé'wé	v.	prier, demander qqch.
cí	v.	montrer
cì	v.	diarrhée, faire la diarrhée
-ci	pn.	le (3e sg obj); son, sa (3e sg poss, possesseur masc)
cifèkwé ~ tsfèkwé	v.	s'accroupir
cíf(é)	a.	cinq
cíg(é)zláñé	v.	boiter
cik(i) ~ ckì	nm. pl: -er, -hi	maison, case à dormir
cik(i)zli	nm.	haricot
cikwà	nom.	nom du premier-né
ciméké	nm. pl: -er	porc-épic
címslí	v.	pincer
cinjíní	nf.	pousse de mil qu'on utilise pour faire le vin
císlí	v.	coudre, raccomoder
cívá	v.	se révéler

cìwè	nf. pl: -hi	éléphant
cízli	nn. pl: -hi	grain, semence
ckhyàlà	nf. pl: cèkér hyàlà	église, maison de Dieu
cki	cf. cik(i)	

-D-

dábádèvè	nf. pl: débèbèdèvè	dos de la main
dàbàrà'(i) (FUL)	v.	être malin
dáßálá	nf.	chevreau femelle
dáßé	v.	guetter
dàdèrzé	n.	fleur du néré (Parkia biglobosa)
dàghàlà	nf. pl: dèghèghêr	jeune fille, adolescente
dàghwèbà	nm. pl: dèghwèbíbì, dàghwèbíbì	bonnet, képi, casquette
dágwè (FUL)	nf. pl: dégwigwí	natte
dákà	a.	épais, boueux (d'un liquide, eg. vin non-tamisé)
dákè	v.	intimider, tromper, calmer
dálá (EMP)	nf. pl: dálà	pièce de cinq francs
dálálá	a.	beaucoup
dálí	v., n.	être fatigué, fatigue
dálí	v.	préparer la bouillie
dámá (FUL)	a.	guéri, amélioré
dàmbàlá	nf.	variole
dàmè	v.	empêcher, défendre

dàndérŋgwàsl(é)	nm. pl: -hi, -er, dàndérŋgwèslíslí	mille-pattes
dáŋ	nm. pl: -er	tamtam (petit, avec peau de varan, que l'on joue sous le bras)
dàŋgáy (FUL)	nm. pl: -hi	prison
dàŋré	v.	vagabonder, perdre qqch.
dàŋwàzhá	nf. pl: -hi, dèŋwèŋwízh	ulcère, gangrène
dàŋwè	v.	fixer, clouer
dàpè	v.	toucher
dari	nom. diminutif: tákwa	nom honorifique pour le troisième né
daskwa	n.	arbre: Combretum glutinosum
dàv(ə)nà	nf. pl: -hi	(tas de) son de mil
dàw	a., nm.	peu, trop peu, minorité
dévrá	nm. pl: dévírvír	écuelle, calebasse
dè'wè	v.	taper, battre, égrener
dèbèkè ~ dèmbèkè	nm. pl: -er, -esli	bétail, animal domestiqué
d(ə)ghá	a.	devant la concession
d(ə)ghèsè	a.	huit
d(ə)ghèsl(ə)	nm. pl: -er	noeud d'une plante, (eg. canne à sucre); articulation du doigt
déghézlí	nf. pl: -hi, -er, déghézléghézlí, déghézlizlí	houe usagée
d(ə)ghwà	nf. pl: -hi	canne à sucre
d(ə)ghwàvà	nm. pl: dghwèvìv	panthère
d(ə)ghwàvà jèzli	nm. pl: dghwèvìv jèzli	characal
d(ə)ghwè	nm.	canarie

dèkè	nf. pl: -hi	bosse (sur un homme)
dèkè	v.	se reposer
dèkèvà	n. substantif verbal	repos
dèkw	a.	court
dèlāgwà	nf. pl: dèlègwégwè	montagne
dèmbèkè	cf. dèbèkè	
dèŋw	nm. pl: -er, -esli	tronc, arbre fruitier
dèŋw	nm. pl: -hi, -er	menottes
dèŋwà	nf. pl: -hi, dèŋwéŋwè	pied de vache, (après qu'elle est égorgée)
dèpè	v.	renverser
dèpè	v.	consoler, taper doucement
dèrk(è)	nm. pl: -esli	mesure de quantité: une main couverte
d(è)rnà	a.	lepreux
dèrmi	n.	fruit sauvage (esp)
dèrnì	v.	lécher
dèrsè	nf. pl: -hi	bas du dos, reins
dèvè	nf. pl: divdiv(é), dìvdìv(i)	main
dèzlé	nm.	natation
dèzli	v.	entourer
dghàghwèmè	nf. pl: -hi	moule de bois pour fabrication de poterie
dghàsà	a.	huitième
dibél	nm.	cache-sexe
dißá	a., conj.	aussi, encore une fois

díbdié	a.	solide
didi	nm. pl: -hi	papa, père
difè	v.	écraser
diftirè (FUL)	nm. pl: -hi	miroir
díghéli	nf. pl: díghéghèr	pigeon
dik(è)	a.	grand
dilil	a.	pleine (lune)
dimb(è)	nm. pl: -er	fléau à battre
dimblizé	nm. pl: -er	guêpe
dimè	nf. pl: -hi	cire, colle, sève collante du Ficus gnaphalocarpa ou du Ficus platyphylla qu'on utilise pour réparer les calebasses
dínikwé	nm. pl: -er, -esli	adolescent
dínè	nf. pl: -hi	colline
dínézli	nf. pl: -hi	immense rocher comme à Rhoumsiki
dínézli	nf. pl: -hi	barrage
disè	v.	faire l'amour
divá	a.	précoce
divdiv(i)	npl. sg: dèvè	mains
divni	nom.	Ouda (nom du village)
drázli	nf.	tonnérre (drázli vân)
dèkwtér (EMP)	nm. pl: -hi	médecin
dzà	v.	aller
dzàhàl	nm. pl: -hi	bosse
dzám	v.	allons! (1e du incl)

dzämmé	v.	allons! (1e pl incl)
dzànjè	v.	diviser le champs
dzär	v.	aller (pas très loin, ni montant ni descendant)
dzäräzlà	nf. pl: -hi	rejeton (du mil)
dzäti	v.	aller (en montant un peu)
dzävëdì	v.	mélanger, surtout deux esp de grains
dzébé	v.	couvrir, renverser
dz(ə)ghè	v.	goûter, essayer
dzékè	nf. pl: -hi	bar, maison pour préparer le vin et pour veiller
dzèkwè	v.	arranger en tas, rassembler
dzémá ~ má	a. interrog.	où? (vers où?)
dzèmbè	v.	entrer, pénétrer (dans qqch avec l'ouverture d'un côté)
dzémé	v.	aller (montant beaucoup)
dzèrdì	v.	mettre ensemble, très serré
dz(ə)ré	v.	lancer une lance; tomber seule (en sortant d'un contenant, comme une flèche d'un carquois)
dzáré	v.	avoir dépassé l'age, (de castrer, pour un belier, ou d'enseigner, pour un enfant, eg.)
dzèrvè	nm.	mensonge
dzétá	prep.	au dessous
dzèti	prep.	sur
dzèvëti	nf. pl: jïvtì	tige de mil

dz(ə)vrì	v.	aller (assez loin, sans monter ni descendre); sortir
dzghwà	v.	aller (descendant beaucoup)
dzì	v.	aller (descendant un peu)

-D-

dàfà	nf.	nourriture, repas
dàghàmà	nf. pl: dèghémîm	manche de houe
dàl(ə)pì	nm. pl: -hi	bosse (dans la terre)
dàn	a.	beaucoup, la plupart
dánjkèci (FUL)	nm.	vêtement sans manches (esp)
dékwdékw	a.	silencieux
dèrewèl (FUL)	nm. pl: -hi	livre, lettre, cahier
dèwdèw	a.	propre, pur, clair
dèfè	v.	noircir
dèfél	v.	chercher, essayer
dél	v.	vendre
dénjwéli	v.	rouler, se berger
dì	v.	aimer, vouloir
diftí	v. dì (aimer) + ftí (obéissance)	être docile, obéir
dímà	v.	détester, haïr
déw	v.	demander, questionner

-E-

-é	pn.	je (1e sg sujet); mon, ma (1e sg poss)
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-F-

fá	v.	entendre, écouter
fàdà	a.	quatrième
fád(é)	a.	quatre
fáf(ə)lí	v.	frotter
fál	v.	honorer, adorer
fàráñsà	nm. pl: -hi	serpent (très petit, rouge et blanc, très dangereux)
fàti	v.	dépenser
fáv(ə)	v.	comprendre
fáwèré (FUL)	nm. pl: -hi	hyène
fca	nf.	jour
fcàhwtí	a.	un autre jour, dans l'avenir
fcàvá	a.	avant-hier
fé	nf. pl: -hi	arbre
fé	v.	poser
f(é)dí	v.	peler avec un couteau, vider
félá	nf.	serment
f(ə)lédf(ə)lédi	a.	lisse
fèrghé	v.	se réveiller
f(é)rséná (EMP) ~ f(é)rshíná	nf. pl: -hi	prison

f(é)rshíná	cf. f(é)rséná	
féykw(ə)	v.	siffler
filèw (FUL)	nm.	commerce
fír	nm. pl: -hi	parabole, proverbe
ftí	nf. pl: -hi	tort, obéissance
fèghwè	nf. pl: -hi	fête de moisson, commencement de la saison seche

-G-

gá	v.	puiser
gà'gà'i ~ gè'gè'i	a.	juste à côté de, tout juste à l'heure
gà'i	a.	pendant
gágà	a.	riche, puissant, important (d'un homme)
gàgà	v.	déranger
gákà	nf. pl: -hi	bruit, son
gàl	nm. pl: -er	couvercle, bouclier
gàl(ə)mà	nf. pl: -hi	houe pour les patates
gàmbá	nf. pl: -hi	brousse
gàmbàl	nm. pl: -er	sac fait de cordes pour vieilles femmes.
gàmbèlá	nom.	Gamboura (nom du village)
gàmè	nf. pl: gémím(i)	bélier
gàmtá'wàl	nm.	parapluie
gànà'á ~ gánà'á	a.	mieux, avantageux, un peu guéri

gànjkà	nf.	lézard (esp orange, noir, et blanc)
gàr	a.	environ, presque
gàrè	v.	arrêter, s'arrêter, se tenir debout, se dresser
gàrègàrè	v.	dresser
gàrèwà	nf. pl: -hi	troupeau de boeufs
gárgáré	v.	se réjouir
gàskà	nf. pl: -hi, gèshkikì	appendis, hangar (pour secher le mil)
gàtákár	nm. pl: -hi	petit panier
gàtsàphà	nf. pl: -hi	porcelaine, cauris
găw	nm. pl: -er	chasseur
gàzláká	v.	être insensé (et mauvais, dangereux)
gàzlákà	nf. pl: -hi	démon, mauvais esprit
gázlánj	nm. pl: -er	qqch divisé en deux, mais encore uni (grenier, fourche de vélo)
gè	nf. pl: -hi	vêtement, tissé à la main
ge'e	a.	assez
gè'gè'i	cf. gà'gà'i	
gènjkid(i)	nf.	nuage de poussière
gè	v.	remuer
gédégél	nm.	poulaillier transportable, en paille
gèdèw	nm. pl: gèdèwésł	cheval
gójér ~ g(i)jér	nm. pl: -er, gíjégíjér	morceau de tissu, chiffon
gèkà	nf. pl: -hi	graisse

g(ə)lá	a.	pareil, espèce
gəl(ə)ñé	v.	se mettre à genoux, se baisser se prosterner, courber
gélégél	cf. gédégél	
gəlfè	nf. pl: gərfì	bouse
gəm	a.	vain, rien
gémgém	a.	faux, laid, mauvais au gout
g(ə)nà	nf. pl: -hi	argent, monnaie, biens
gəñè	v.	rectifier, dresser
gérékwà ~ gérkawà	nf. pl: -hi	lampe-tempête
gérkà	nf. pl: -hi	hangar encloturé, pour l'ombre
gérkawà	cf. gérékwà	
gətà	nm. pl: -hi, -esli	bâton
gətà	nm. pl: -hi	prix
gəvbàp (GUI)	ideo.	tomber dans la boue
gəvbéñ	nm. pl: -er	hameçon
gəvbèm	ideo.	laisser tomber qqch dans un puit ou dans de l'eau
gəvbèp	ideo.	tomber dans la boue
g(ə)zà	nf. pl: -hi	fourmi (esp)
g(ə)zə	v.	dire, déclarer, renseigner, proclamer, transmettre
g(ə)zəli	v.	enlever (qq'ch qui a le forme d'une corde, i.e. une plante rampante)
gəzəm	nm. pl: -er	argile, banco, grenier d'argile
g(ə)zhì	nf. pl: -hi	écurie des boeufs

gèzi	v.	avertir
g(ə)zlà	nf. pl: -hi	forge
gèzlémbé	cf. gèzlémbéw	
gèzlémbew ~ gèzlémbé	nm. pl: -er	planche
g(ə)zli	nf. pl: -hi	chaise, porte
-ghá	pn.	tu (2e sg sujet)
ghà	v.	commencer
ghàlà	nf. pl: -hi	frontière, pierre de la frontière
ghàmékè	nf. pl: -er, -hi	corbeau
ghàni	nf. pl: ghènín(i)	langue
ghàphà	nf. pl: -hi	pluie continue, du matin au soir
ghàyghày	v.	ouvrir très grand les yeux, de surpris
ghéghé	nf. pl: -hi	oiseau noir (esp qui habite près du marigot)
ghènighèniví'i	nm. pl: -hi	libellule
ghèníkí	nm.	amitié
ghèníkí	a.	agréable, doux, bon au goût
-ghè	prep.	direction: en s'éloignant du locuteur
ghècí	pn.	lui (3e sg sujet masc renforcé)
-ghècí	pn.	il (3e sg sujet masc)
gh(ə)lí	v.	voler, piller
ghèli	nf. pl: -hi	saison seche
ghèm	a.	rouge
ghèn	nm. pl: ghènèdérèm, ghènèdélèm	tête, sommet, cime

ghèndzé	pn.	elle (3e sg sujet féminin renforcé)
-ghèndzé	pn.	elle (3e sg sujet féminin)
ghèni	nf. pl: -hi	boule de banco, poterie
ghèpé	nm.	discussion
gh(ə)rà	v.	travailler, faire
ghèrd(ə)	nm.	buisson: pied d'éléphant (Adenium obesum)
ghèrpépè	nf. pl: -hi, -er	tourterelle
-ghéy	pn.	nous (1e pl exclu sujet)
ghi	a.	ivre
ghì	nm. pl: ghyèghyér	maison, concession
ghitsè	v.	attacher les épines, faire la clôture
-ghshí	pn.	ils (3e pl sujet)
ghwà	nf.	marécage, flaque d'eau
ghwàbè	v.	pourrir
ghwàni	nf. pl: ghwénin(i)	panier
ghwázhà	nf. pl: -hi	lézard (esp)
ghwè	nf. pl: -hi	feu
ghwèbè	v.	se cacher pour attraper qqch
ghwèlà	a.	plus tard, pas encore, plus maintenant, même pas maintenant
ghwèlà	nf. pl: -er, ghwèlèghwèlèr, ghwèlèghwèlèr	cuisse
ghwèlåw	a.	plus jamais, plus rien
ghwèlèf	cf. ghwèlf(é)	

ghwèlf(é)	nm. pl: -esli	aveugle
~ ghwèlèf		
ghwèli	v., nf. pl: -hi	sécher, dessécher, tarir; secheresse
ghwèlmè	nf. pl: ghwèlmîm	joue
ghwèlpè	nf. pl: ghwèlpipì	jarre pour contenir la biere; instrument de musique fait de cette jarre
-ghwèm	pn.	nous (1e du incl sujet)
ghwèmè	nf.	ciel
-ghwèmmè	pn.	nous (1e pl incl sujet)
ghwèmzhì	nm. pl: -esli	homme célibataire
ghwèndili	nf. pl: -hi	magasin, case vide
ghwèni	nf. pl: -hi	sel
ghwèni	v.	ouvrir
ghwèni	v.	envoyer, commisioner
ghwèpè	nf. pl: -hi	farine
ghwèr	nm.	ficelle, corde
ghwèrèmbè	nm. pl: -esli	escargot, limace
ghwètèghwètè	v.	transpirer, avoir chaud
ghwèzhighwèzhì	nm.	extension de toit devant la porte d'une case, faite de sekô, pour empêcher la pluie d'entrer
-ghwi	pn.	vous (2e pl sujet)
ghwi'i	nn. pl: -er	médicament, remède, poison
ghyàmb(è)	nm. pl: -er	petit gravier
ghyànakè	a.	sevère
ghyàrghyàr	a.	piquant

ghyèhì	npl. sg: zhà	filles
g(i)jer	cf. gémèr	
gili	nom.	Guili (nom du village)
ginj	nm. pl: -er	gros tas de rochers
gírgi	nf. pl: -hi	avion
gìsl(ə)	nm. pl: -er	pouce
givè	nf. pl: -hi	douleurs de fatigue, hernie
giwà	nf. pl: -hi	hameau, quartier
gizhíp(i)	nm. pl: -hi	buffle
gwà'á	v.	terminé, fini, épuisé, tout
gwàb(ə)	v.	sarcler pour la deuxième fois
gwàbè	nf. pl: -hi	cerveau
gwàdè	nm. pl: -hi	morceau d'étoffe, large, tissé à la main
gwálèm	nm.	haricot (esp)
gwàlmà	nf.	gommier (<i>Acacia senegal</i>)
gwàmbè	nf. pl: gwàmbimbì	grenouille, crapaud
gwànà-	a.	tout
gwàñzè	v.	pousser avec force (exprès)
gwàñkèdì	v.	secouer
gwápá	nf. pl: -er	lance
gwávàn	nm. pl: -er	serpent (esp noir, aggressif mais sans venin, qui habite près des marigots)
gwèbà	nf.	mil blanc (esp)
gwèbírì	nm. pl: -hi	mûrier (<i>Ficus platyphylla</i> , <i>Ficus gnaphalocarpa</i>)

gwèci	nm. pl: -hi	carquois
gwédèl (FUL)	nm. pl: -er	pagne
gwèdèngwèl	nm.	gros rocher solitaire en brousse ou au champs
gwèfgwèfi	nn. pl: -hi, er	écume, mousse
gwèhè	v.	polir, frotter, brosser (par ex. chiens-dents)
gwèlà	nn. pl: -hi	adultes
gwèlàdì	nf. pl: -hi	égratinure
gwèlàhè	nf. pl: -hi	éraflure
gwèláŋ	a.	méchant, dangereux (bêtes, gens)
gwélgwél	a.	fort, gros, gras
gwèmà	v.	préparer, arranger, racommoder, réparer
gwèmehé	nm. pl: -er	reins (partie plus bas du dos)
gwèmtí	nf.	amusement
gwènày	nm., a.	lassitude, fatigue
gwèŋé	a.	silencieux
gwèŋgwèŋ (FUL)	nm. pl: -er	bidon, boîte
gwèrà	a.	plus, mieux, meilleur
gwèrà	v.	diriger, guider, faire qqch sans permission
gwèràp(ə)-	v.	être malade
gwérè (EMP)	nf. pl: -hi	kola
gwérgwér(é) ~ gwérgwérè	v.	frémir, trembler
gwérgwérè	cf. gwérgwér(é)	

gwèrinj	nm. pl: gwèrinjgwèrinj	grumeau, morceau de farine sec ou grain mal écrasé qui se trouve dans la nourriture.
gwèrinjgwèrinj	ideo.	le bruit que font les kwéréñà quand on danse
gwèrkwè	nf. pl: -hi, gwèrkwékwèr	coussinet de portage
gwérshí	v.	fouler (le pied)
gwèvá	nom.	Mahao (nom du village)
gwèvàlà	nf. pl: -hi	nasse
gwèvàmà	nf.	karité (<i>Butyrospermum parkii</i>)
gw(ə)zèn	nm. pl: -er	herbe, paille, litière
gwèzhám	nn. pl: -hi, -er	barbe
gyádà	nf. pl: -hi, -er	bosse (sur le boeuf)
gyàdé	a.	rempli
gyàmbáràw	nm.	mil jaune (esp)
gyànà	nf. pl: -hi	suie
gyárà	cf. gyérà	
gyérà ~ gyárà	nf. pl: -hi	supplément, cadeau
gzèpélí	nf. pl: gzhèpípèr	guittarre locale
gzlà	nf. pl: -hi	forge

-H-

há	v.	passer l'année
há	v.	chante!
hà	nf.	mil (générique)

háñháñà	nf. pl: -hi	mâchoire
hácèm	v.	chanter
hágwèñé	v.	bailler
hákw(ə)	nm. pl: -esli	pierre, caillou
hákwèghwè	nm. hákwè (pierre) + ghwè (feu)	pierre pour allumer le feu
hálí	v, a, n.	vieillir, user, vieux, vieillesse
hálíhálí	a.	usé
hámþèzè	nf.	mil à chandelle
hànþgwày	nf.	maïs
hánþkéñ(ə)	nm.	buisson: Grewia flavesrens
hár	v.	appeler
háséñè	nf. pl: -hi	hérisson
hásli	v.	soulever qqch avec un instrument à deux branches, ou entre deux doigts
háthwèr	cf. héthwèr	
háti	nf. pl: hátítí	poitrine
hàvè	nf. pl: hèvíví	flèche
há'wé	nm, v.	honte, respect, avoir honte, respecter
hày	nm. pl: -er	sauterelle
házèl	nm. pl: -er	herbe pour sékos
házhèdzé	a.	dans deux ans
házhi	a.	l'année prochaine
házl(ə)ní	nf.	peur, frayeur
hér	nn.	intestins, courage

héthwèr	n.	soir (entre 16h - 18h)
hé	v.	viser, tirer sur (gibier); écraser (mil)
h(ə)cì	v.	mordre, piquer
hédáká	nf. pl: hédákíkí	nuque
hédágwégwémè	nf. pl: -er	menton; hoquet
héghélí	a.	en saison sèche
hél	nm. pl: hélédém	rivière, puits, course d'eau déssechée
hélápé	nf. pl: -hi	récipient pour servir la sauce
hëmsli	v.	serrer qqch dans la main
héní	v.	dépouiller
hèní	v.	se coucher
hér	nm. pl: -hi	coquillage (d'escargot)
hérësli	v.	geler
hérðí	v.	raboter, raceler, lisser qqch (une fois creusé)
héré	v.	exciter, semer la zizanie, brasser, remuer
hérëmí	v. héré (semcer la zizanie) + mí (bouche)	semcer la zizanie en racontant des histoires au sujet d'autres personnes.
hérhé	a.	jaloux
hévér	a.	pendant la nuit, (après le coucher de soleil)
hézlimé	a.	demain
hèzlimèdzé	a.	après demain
hí	v.	dormir, passer la nuit
hìdì	nn.	terre, pays

hil	nm. pl: -er	fou, esprit mauvais
hililin(ə)	nf. pl: -hi	racine
hitsè'wè	nn.	arbre: Gardenia ternifolia
hpà'wè	a.	plat et ovale
hré	v.	tourner, brasser avec la main
hwá	nf. pl: -hi	couteau
hwàbey	nm. pl: -hi, -er	oignon sauvage
hwádí	v.	mélanger (banco ou farine avec de l'eau)
hwàhwélèm	nm. pl: -er	scorpion (esp très grand)
hwàslèbè	nf. pl: hwàslèbíbí	courge, melon
hwé	v.	bien préparer le sol dans une maison avant de le lisser
-hw(ə)		ACTION ACHEVÉE
hwè	v.	couler, fuir
hwébé	v.	manger la sauce sans boule
hwédanjé	v.	recourber, tordre, pencher
hwèladi	v.	griffer
hwélef ~ hwélfé	nm. pl: -er	tortue
hwélfé	cf. hwélef.	
hwélfé	nf.	semence
hwém	interrog.	quand?
hwém	nm. pl: -er	dos
hwémá	interrog.	combien?
hwémbérèké	n.	aiselle
hwémpì	nm. pl: -hi	colline

hwémsé	v.	enlever la peau des arachides déjà grillés, en écrasant avec les doigts.
hwèŋè	nf. pl: -hi	caméléon
hwèpèr	nm. pl: -er, hwèpèhwèpèr, hwpèhwèpèr	boîte
hwér	nm. pl: hwérédélém, hwérédérém	ventre, grossesse
hwtá	nf. pl: -hi, -esli	peau, cuir
hwtáfálá	nf. pl: -hi	peau ou pelure très mince qu'on enlève avant de manger (patates douces ou arachides par ex.)
hwtàmbázè	nm. pl: -er, -hi	estomac
hwtél	nm. pl: -er	rat palmiste
hwtíf(i)	nm. pl: -esli	petite natte d'herbe tissée pour servir la boule
hyàlá	nf.	dieu (dieu du village entier, Dieu)

-J-

jákè	v.	mettre ensemble, rassembler
jákèvà	v. substantif verbal	réunion
jàmbrà	nf. pl: -hi	petit sac d'enfant pour garder les arachides (avec frange)
jángé (FUL)	v.	lire
járjár ~ jérjár ~ jérjér	a.	raide, ferme
já'wà	nf. pl: -hi	bracelet très large (en bois ou plastique)

jà'wè	v.	taper avec une pierre pour casser qqch
jènèti	nm. pl: -hi, -er	barre de fer pour allumer le feu
jénjálá'(i)	nm. pl: -hi	souricière
jérjár	cf. járjár.	
jérjér	cf. járjár	
jèkw(ə)	nm. pl: -hi, -er	frange de cuire
jèlanj	nm. pl: -er	mollet
jéw	a.	petit, peu
jíbá	nf. pl: jíbíbí	poche
jíbá	nf. pl: -hi	petit hangar
j(i)ghéy	v.	rentrer à la maison
jihé	v.	appuyer
jíjí	nm. pl: -hi	grand-père; petit-enfant d'un homme
jikè (OUD)	v.	se mettre d'accord, rassembler
jikír	a.	mauvais
jínjír	nm. pl: -esli	flute (esp)
jípi	a., n.	au centre, centrale; centre
jír	nm. pl: -hi	criquet migrateur
jív(ə)nà	nm. pl: -esli	pierre à écraser, molette

-K-

ká	npl. sg: ndé	gens, clan, tribu
ká	v.	pêcher

kà	a.	avant que
kà	prep.	à, pour (une personne)
kàbásàr (FUL)	nm. pl: -hi	oignon
káßánj	nm. pl: -er	petit chevre non castré
kàßè	v.	remuer avec un baton, exagérer, conduire
kácér (FUL)	nn. pl: -hi	natte contre les mouches
kàdibèl	nm. pl: -er, -hi	pagne
kádikádì	a.	lent (action)
kádíw	v.	attends!
kádiwdí	v.	attends un peu!
káfé	v.	soulever
kálà	prep.	sans
kàlà	a.	en train de faire, pendant que
kámáná	conj.	pourvu que
kámcírgí	nn. pl: -hi	feuille d'haricot séchée (esp)
kàmti (FUL)	nf. pl: -hi	boutique
kándèkwé	nn.	feuille pour la sauce d'une plante grimpante
kánjá	interj.	bonne guérison!
kàñkwágwàlà	nf.	ratel (esp d'animal carnivore)
kár	a.	directement, en ligne droit, par le chemin le plus direct
kàràmàs(ə)	nm. pl: kàràmàshì	poivre, piment
kàsákà	nf. pl: -hi	coupe-coupe, machete, gros couteau pour débroussailler
káslákáßèlà	nf.	canne de mil sucré

káthwèr	cf. héthwèr	
kàywà	nm. pl: -hi	métier à tisser
kázkázà	nf.	arbre: <i>Entada africana</i> , <i>Prosopis africana</i>
kázlíkidì	nn.	pou
kébèr	a, n.	foulbé, peul
kèníf (EMP)	nm. pl: -hi	canif
kènjílim	nn. pl: -hi, -er	fourmi rouge
kéñkídì	nn. pl: -hi, -er	renard
kéréghé	npl. sg: righéy	forgerons, clan des forgerons
ké	v.	dit-il
-ké	prep.	ici
kédí	v.	fouler, piétiner
kéfè ~ kfé	nf. pl: -er	maladie de peau (esp)
kèghèpé	v.	discuter
k(é)lábé	nm. pl: kélèbíbí	natte
k(é)lánj	nm. pl: -er	montagne
kèlàvàn	nm. pl: -er, hi	chapeau
kélá'wé	v.	accrocher qqch avec un baton courbé pour le faire rapprocher
kélbà	nf.	rocher grand et plat
k(é)lénjér	nm. pl: -hi	pétrole
kéléf	nm. pl: -er, -hi	taureau
kélém	nm. pl: -er, -hi	mur
kélémbé	nm. pl: -er, -hi	crocodile, caïman

k(ə)li	v.	grandir, croître; faire grandir, élever les animaux; augmenter les paroles (dans un argument)
kéli	nf. pl: -hi	grenier, case de paille, magasin où on peut aussi dormir
kèli	v.	fermer, enfermer, couvrir, envahir
k(ə)lipè	nf. pl: kérpi	poisson
kèm	v.	disent-ils, dit-on
kèn(ə)ghèn	prep.	au-dessus de
kérbè'è	nm.	natron
k(ə)rí	nm. pl: k(ə)rékèt(i)	chien
k(ə)rímtík(ə)	nm. pl: -hi	rhinoceros
kérkènzé'wé	nm. pl: -hi	hyène (esp)
kérpi	npl. sg: kélipè	poissons
k(ə)skè	nm. pl: -hi, -er	ordures
kéti	v.	aider
kèti	v.	déplacer, éloigner
kètkèghwà	v.	baisser
ké'wé	nm. pl: -er	trou sans issue
kfè	cf. kéké	
khè	nf. pl: -hi	grand-mère, petit-enfant d'une femme
-ki		TON AMICAL
k(i)dékwé	a.	pointu
kifkifè	a.	léger
kihè	v.	laisser par terre, (oublier, perdre); sacrifier aux démons

kíhwé	v.	semer en jettant
kíki (EMP)	nf. pl: -hi	machine, appareil, bicyclette
kilèw (EMP)	nm. pl: -hi	balance
kimè ~ kyèmè	nf. pl: -hi, kìmîm	gazelle, biche
kírhé	v.	observer
kívér	a.	pendant la nuit, de la nuit
krák(ə)	a.	loin
krày	a.	dernier
kré	v.	terminer, finir,achever, cesser
ksé	v.	attraper, rattraper, retarder, capturer
ksébé	nm. pl: -er	daman
ksèn	nm. pl: -er, -hi	fonio, blé (<i>Digitaria exilis</i>)
kshén	nm. pl: -er, -hi	nez
kshid(i)	nm. pl: -er	natte
kslí	v.	abattre (un arbre)
kslif(i)	nm.	feuilles
kwà	prep.	dans, sur
kwádà	nom. diminutif: kwádàkwà	nom du huitième enfant
kwádákázlèmà	nm.	mil blanc (esp)
kwádzébénà	nm. pl: -hi	hyène (esp)
kwàghwèlà	nf. pl: -hi, kwàghwèlèghwèlèr	aine
kwáh(ə)	v.	sarcler
kwákwá	nm. pl: -er	pot, écuelle, calebasse

kwàkwàh(ə)	nm. pl: -er	soulier
kwàkwshàlà	nf. pl: -hi, kwàkwshèkwshîr	buffle, antilope
kwàl	nm. pl: -er	route, chemin, voie, piste, sentier, trou (avec issue)
kwálábà (FUL)	nf. pl: -hi, kwálébibì	bouteille
kwámbéwàl (FUL)	nf. pl: -hi	bateau, pirogue
kwàmtí	a.	en brousse, de la brousse
kwánày	nom.	nom de la quatrième née
kwàndàjw (FUL)	nm. pl: -er, -hi	banane
kwántémca	nf. pl: kwánàtémcéhì	âne
kwáñ	a.	six (6)
kwàñà	a.	sixième
kwárá	nom. diminutif: kwárakwá	nom de la troisième née
kwárájigizli	nf. pl: -hi	serpent (esp lent, mais très agressif et très dangereux, rouge et blanc, habite les tas de pierres ou de buissons qu'on fait en préparant un champ)
kwárákwárá	nf. pl: -hi	navette de tissage
kwásày (FUL)	nm. pl: -hi, -er	beignets de farine d'haricots ou de petits pois
kwásèbè	v.	poursuivre
kwásén	nom.	nom de la septième née
kwáshfá	v.	tourner la terre
kwátá	nom. diminutif: kwátákwá	nom de la sixième née
kwátákà	v.	il reste seulement
kwátàmà	a.	heureusement que

kwátáñá	nf.	aîné, premier
kwátásł(ə)	nm. pl: -er	poignée
kwázhí	nom. diminutif: kwázh(ə)kwá	nom du cinquième enfant
kwéréñà	nf. pl: -hi	crécelle de fer qu'on attache au dos d'un jeune pour la danse d'initiation pour devenir adulte
kwéshèñí	nn.	balayures, ordures, déchets
kwé	nm. pl: kwí	chèvre
kwébákè	nf. pl: -hi	mante religieuse
kwébàñ	nm. pl: -er	vêtement, chemise, tunique, robe
kwéñès(ə)	nm. pl: -er	bracelet (esp très serré)
kwédàkwé	nf. pl: -er	patate douce
kwédàm	nm. pl: -er	tamtam (esp avec 2 peaux de veau, qu'on ne reserre jamais)
kwéñay	nm. pl: -er	anneau de cheville pour la danse
kwéñkwéñ(ə)	a.	tendre
kwéñfaghé	v.	toucher en bougeant un peu
kwékwé	nf. pl: -hi	baobab (<i>Adansonia digitata</i>)
kwékwélà	nf. pl: kwékwér	poule
kwékwémé	n.	prunier de mer (<i>Ximenia americana</i>)
kwéñbi	nn. pl: -er	nuage
kwélí	nf. pl: -hi	tombe, sorcellerie
kwéñtì	nf. pl: kwértítì	poussin
kwéñlivé	nf. pl: -hi	termite (esp)
kwém	nm. pl: -esli	souris
kwémá	nf.	langue, parole, action

kwéma	nf.	face, figure, front, devant
kwémá ~ má	interrog.	où?
kwémàvè	v.	recevoir, trouver
kwémè	v.	rencontrer
kwénèkè	nm. pl: -er	gencive
kwéni	nf. pl: -hi	cadet
kwépèhè	a.	gris pale
kwérakwé	a.	aussi
kwérbì	nn. pl: -hi	poussière
kwércí	nm. pl: -hi	soufflet de forge
kwérèkwérèkiŋ	nm.	crabe
kwérémbèthè	nf. pl: -hi	harmattan
kwériŋ	a.	sain, en bonne santé
kwérŋwéli	v.	se rouler
kw(ə)sèkè	nm. pl: -hi	oncle, frère de la mère; neveu, nièce, enfant de la soeur d'un homme
kwéshèl	nm. pl: -hi, -er	cage
kw(ə)slí	nf. pl: -hi	nuit, ténèbres, obscurité
kwét(ə)	nm. pl: -er	passoire pour le vin
kwéti-	a, v.	seul, être seul
kwévè	nom. diminutif: kwévékwa	nom de la première née
kwéyàn ~ kwiyàn	nom.	nom du neuvième enfant
kwézà	nf. pl: -hi, kwézhizhì	clou
kwfá	nf. pl: -hi	étang

kwfé	v.	rechauffer la nourriture
kwférē	a.	vide
kwfì	nm. pl: -er	maison abandonnée
kwídkwídí	v.	chatouiller
kwítín	cf. kw(i)tíŋ	
kw(i)tíŋ ~ kwítin	a.	un
kwiyàkà	nf. pl: -hi, kwiyékik(i)	petite pierre pour lisser
kwiyàŋ	cf. kwéyàŋ	
kwsà	v.	tamiser, bouger qqch, secouer qqch
kwsérèkwákwa	nm. pl: -hi	éponge traditionel
kwshì	nn.	urine
kwzlà	nf. pl: -hi	pipe
kyà	interj.	c'est sûr!
kyákyá	a.	versé
kyáré ~ kyéré	nf, a.	ruse, moyen, malin
kyéré	cf. kyáré	
kyémè	cf. kímè	
kyéŋwkyéŋw	a.	rapide, agile

-L-

lá	nf. pl: -hi	mineraï de fer
lá	v.	creuser, déterrre, enterrer un cadavre, vider qqch quand on ne peut pas voir l'intérieur. (carquois, par ex.)
ládi	nf. pl: -hi	braise
lánghwémè	a. cf. ghwémè	bleu
lápéli	nf. pl: lépîr	fil d'écorce
láriyà (FUL)	nm. pl: -hi	tamis
látí'á ~ látißá	prep.	'là-haut
látíßá	cf. látí'á	
lémè (EMP)	nf. pl: -hi	citron
lépîr	npl. sg: làpéli	écorce
lè	prep, a.	avec
léßé	v.	tremper
lèdfi	v.	abimer, gater
lèghwén	nm. pl: -er	néré (<i>Parkia biglobosa</i>)
lègwè	nf. pl: -hi	caverne
lèk(é)	nn. pl: -er	chien-dents
lèkè	v.	frapper, taper une fois
lèkwásá	nf. pl: lèkwshkwshì	linceul
léma	nf. pl: -hi	termite (esp)
lémè	v.	filer
léméhè	nf. pl: -hi, -er	grue couronnée
lèngwém	nm. pl: -hi, -er	foule assise, tas de bois

léŋwé	nf. pl: -hi	naja
lèt(ə)	nm. pl: -er	foyer à cuire
lèvè	v.	teinter, peindre, colorer
lè'wé	nf. pl: -hi	pus, sève
léwmà (FUL)	nf. pl: léwmím	marché
lèy	prep.	d'un peu plus bas
lèyké	prep.	ci-bas
li'á ~ lišá	prep.	là-bas (un peu plus bas)
lišá	cf. li'á	
lidí	v., a.	abimer, gâter, abimé, gâté (obj pl)
lígwèp(ə)	nm. pl: -er	babouin
likè	nf. pl: -hi	panier tissé pour protéger un enfant de la pluie
líkw(ə)	nm. pl: -er	cobe de buffon
líkwé	v.	maigrir
lizé	nm. pl: -hi	fruit sauvage (esp)

-M-

má	nf.	faim
má	cf. kwémá, dzémá	
má	part.	NEGATIF
mà'ís(ə)	nm. pl: -er	ocre
màdékwdékw	nm.	mil rouge (esp précoce)
mádibè (FUL)	nm. pl: -hi	savant

mádígà	nm., nf. pl: -hi	ami(e)
màdí	v.	commencer
mádkéiy	interj.	on dit, Il était une fois...
màfèdàzà	nf. pl: -hi	anus
màftì	nf. pl: -hi	miel, abeille
màghènì	nf. pl: -hi	tambour (jouet d'enfants)
màhkán	a.	trois
màhkáná	a.	troisième
mákaghwá	v.	chasser qqch dans un coin pour l'attraper
máké	v.	empêcher
máké	v.	garder le troupeau
mákwá	nf. pl: mékwíkwí	belle-fille
màkwághwá	nf. pl: -hi	fête de moisson
mákwámàlí	nf. pl: mékwíkwími'i	femme adulte
màlàwrí (FUL)	nf.	riz
málbà	nf. pl: málbíbí, málbihi	sève très collante
málèm (FUL)	nm. pl: -er	marabout
màlí	nf. pl: mi'i	femme
màndèghàr	nm. pl: -hi	bébé, (à l'age où il est encore nourrisson, mais il a des dents)
maña	a.	dixième
màñgwélémè	nf. pl: -hi	antilope (esp très grand)
màñgwèrè (EMP)	nf. pl: -hi	mangue, manguier (<i>Mangifera indica</i>)
már	nm.	paresse
máré	nf. pl: -hi	co-épouse

másá	nom. diminutif: másákwá	nom de la deuxième née
màsè	v.	ruminer
màshi	nm. pl: mèshíshi	allié
màskwári (FUL)	nm.	mil jaune (esp)
màtsákhwàsl(ə)	nm. pl: -hi	hochet musicale, crêcelle
mávà	nm. pl: mévìvì	esclave
mǎw	v.	aimer fortement, désirer fortement
màzàdày	nm. pl: -hi	mil rouge (esp)
máz(ə)	nm. pl: mézhízhì	chef, roi, chefferie, royaume
mbà-	v.	savoir faire
mbà'á	conj.	et, si
mbâhè	v.	tirer, attirer, trainer, entraîner, arracher brusquement
mbálá	v.	va-t-en!
mbálám	v.	allez-vous-en!
mbàràjihci	nf.	mil rouge (esp)
mbásé	v.	tarir, secher, dessecher, absorber
mbày (FUL)	nm. pl: -hi, -er	manioc
mbélér (GUI)	nm. pl: -hi	grand chapeau de paille
mbét(i)	nm. pl: -er	faucille
mbèzl(i)	nm. pl: -hi, -er	bière de mil blanc, vin blanc
mbé	v.	cacher qqch, se cacher du danger
mbè	prep, a.	dans, en train de
mbè'á	prep.	dedans
mbègá	cf. mbè'á	

mbèghwè	nf. pl: -hi	houe pour creuser le banco, (longue, mince, et dure)
mbékwéli	nf. pl: mbékwékwér	veau
mbél	nm. pl: mbèlédém	sac en peau
mbél	a.	mille
mb(ə)là	v.	chercher qqch avec difficulté
mb(ə)láŋ	nm. pl: -er	tamarinier (<i>Tamarindus indica</i>)
mb(ə)lí	v.	commencer à pousser, bourgeonner
mb(ə)lí	v.	se remettre, être guéri
mb(ə)li	nf. pl: -hi	serpent (2 esp, rouge et noir)
mbélpás(ə)	nm. pl: -hi	bourse, porte-monnaie
mbélyàm	nm. pl: -hi	oiseau marin (esp)
mbéré	v.	varier, changer, échanger, remplacer, devenir
mbèrfàná	a.	septième
mbèrf(ə)ŋ	a.	sept
mbérhí	nn.	sésame
mbérjíji	nm. pl: -hi	esprit des ancêtres
mbérté ~ mbrétté	nf. pl: -hi, -er	termite (esp)
mbè'wè	v.	manger boule et viande sans sauce
mbèzákwa	nf.	arbre: <i>Acacia sieberiana</i>
mbèz(ə)	v.	lutter
mbèzè	v.	lisser, applanir
mbèzè	nm. pl: -hi	cuivre
mbèzèkwè	nm. pl: -er	abeille, miel

mb(ə)zli	npl. sg: ndé	gens, famille
mbghè	v.	boire de la même calebasse
mbghè	v.	fabriquer un tamtam
mbi	v.	couver
mbrá	a.	hier
mbrá	v.	compter
mbràdzè	a.	autrefois, il y a longtemps.
mbrághwètí	nf. pl: -hi	conte, histoire
mbrát(ə)	nm. pl: -er	maladie (esp)
mbré	v.	briller
mbré	v.	tresser
mbrédèzli	v.	nager
mbréghwè	nf. pl: -hi	fleur
mbrétè	cf. mbérté	
mbrí	nm. pl: mbrékèt(i)	cadavre
mbzli	cf. mb(ə)zli	
mèkshì	nf.	matin
mèkshimèkshì	a.	de grand matin
mèmídí	nn.	puce
mémir	npl.	miettes
méré'wèn	nm. pl: -hi	beurre
mèyméy	nm. pl: -hi	têtes de mil qui ne sont pas encore mûres à la récolte
mé	v.	doter une fille
mè	prep.	sur
mèbá	prep.	là-dessus, en haut

mécákwá	nn. pl: -hi	ombre
mécàñá	nf. pl: -hi, mécèñjñ	talent, aptitude
mècár	nm. pl: mècémçír	boeuf
mècékèdi ~ m(i)cákèdi	nf.	mil blanc (esp)
m(ə)cémcé'wè ~ m(ə)cé'wémcé'wè	nn.	buisson: Grewia tenax
mècèri	nf. pl: -hi, mícémçèr	veau (male ou femelle)
m(ə)cé'wémcé'wè	cf. m(ə)cémcé'wè	
m(ə)cilèkw(ə)	nm. pl: -er	punaise
mècíní (GUV)	nf.	fesse, rectum
médəŋ	nm., a. pl: -esli	muet, sourd
médádá ~ mèdádà	nf. pl: -hi	nouveaux feuilles d'un arbre
mèdádà	cf. mèdádá	
mèdémádá ~ mídimídí	a.	fin (sable, poussière, farine); tendre (feuilles)
mégápà	nf. pl: mègèpípí	coton, étoffe, ruban
mégálá	nm.	homme adulte
mègwèmbá	nf. pl: mègwèmbimbí	femme qui habite seule (veuve ou divorcée)
méhàzl	nm. pl: -er	peureux
méhérlí	nf. pl: -hi	attention, précaution, intelligence, caractère
méké	interj.	ça suffit, c'est assez!
mèká	prep.	par-dessus, ci-dessus
mékèn	nm. pl: -er	écureuil terrestre (esp grand, gris, habite souvent des villages)

mékèn kw(ə)shhé	nm. pl: mèkènér kw(ə)shhé	écureuil terrestre (esp rouge, habite en brousse)
mékérké	a.	au bout, à l'extrémité
mèkshíkshíghwà	nm. pl: -hi	mangouste
mékslèghè	a.	stupide
mèl	nm. pl: -hi	bouc avec un seul téscicule
mél(ə)mé	nf. pl: -hi, -er	village
mèli	a.	gras, plein de graisse (sauce, viande)
mèltétá	nn. pl: -hi	moelle
mémé	a.	être mariée, après longtemps d'attente
mèmè	nf. pl: -hi	maman, mère
mèn	v.	faire
mèŋ	a.	dix
mèŋgèsə	nf. pl: -hi	pince de forgeron
mépèhérè	nf. pl: -hi	champ abandonné depuis au moins trois ans
mèrshimèrshi	a.	heureusement
m(ə)slidà	a.	neuvième
m(ə)slid(ə)	a.	neuf
m(ə)táŋá	nf. pl: -hi, mèténjí	fourche de bois
métélá'i	nn.	chenille, larve
mèthwé	nm. pl: -esli	serpent (esp brun, gros, pas long, pas dangereux)
m(ə)ti	v., nm.	mourir, mort
m(ə)tikwèli	nm. pl: m(ə)tikwékwèr	parent plus agé, ancêtre
mètké	nm. pl: -esli	boule

métsá	nf. pl: -hi	épervier
m(è)tsé	nm. pl: -hi, mècící	oeil
m(è)tsé	nf. pl: -hi	germe
m(è)tsé	nf. pl: -hi	avarice
métséhé	v.	ajouter beaucoup
mèts(è)kè	a.	fois dix
métsékwè	nm.	mimosa épineux (<i>Acacia seyal</i>)
mètséní	nf. pl: mètsínín	corde faite de peau d'antilope (pour arc)
mètsèní	nf. pl: -hi, -er	fesse, rectum
mévà	nf. pl: -hi	belle-mère, belle-soeur
mévèrkwlà	nf. pl: -hi	rongeur (esp montagnard, omnivore)
méwtà (EMP)	nf. pl: -hi, méwtítí	voiture
mèymèy	nn. pl: -hi, -er	sang
mézàdì	nf. pl: -er	paille pour les toits des maisons
mézlèkw(ə)zlékw(ə)	nm. pl: -hi, -er	chauve-souris
méztì	nm. pl: -hi, mézhtítì	orphelin
mí	nm. pl: -er, mí'édém	bouche
mi'i	npl. sg: màlí	femmes
m(i)càkèdì	cf. mècèkèdì	
míc(i)kidì	nm. pl: -hi	sésame blanc
micikidimicikidi	a.	multi-colore (d'une chèvre, poils rouges et blancs mélangés)
micíslí ~ mtséslí	nf.	petit bois d'allumage
midàlà	nm. pl: -hi	vainqueur

midètéñí	nm. pl: -hi, -er	source d'eau qui reste toute l'année
mídì	a.	vert
mídímídì	cf. mèdémèdë	
mídímídì	a.	vert
míkì	nn.	bouillie
mílì	nf. pl: -hi	ton, voix
mílì	nf. pl: -hi	ruisseau, petite course d'eau vide, fossé
mìnì	nf.	rosée
mtíñí	nm. pl: -er	pince
mtséhë	v.	ajouter, augenter, progresser, multiplier
mtsëslì	cf. micislì	

-N-

ná	part.	FEMININ
nà-	v.	voir
nà	conj.	quand
nà	part.	PREDICAT
náñé	v.	réprimander, gronder
nàdèkè	a.	faible, lent, (personne); fade, (nourriture)
náké	v.	mûrir (grains, légumes en forme de gousse)
nànákì	a.	maintenant (nouveau sujet)
nàndzé	conj.	mais

này	nom. diminutif: nàykwà	nom du quatrième né
ndá	v.	avaler
ndà	v.	donner (tout, qqch entier)
ndáfkàlà	nf. pl: -hi	oiseau (heron cendré?)
ndàkwè	cf. ndèkwè	
ndàkwndàkwé	a.	prèsque
ndàlakwè	a.	acide
ndání	v.	répandre, éparpiller
ndàñ	a.	sans, ne pas avoir reçu
ndárghé	nf.	sable
ndàshkè	nf. pl: -hi	mortier d'argile cuite
ndátsé	a.	aujourd'hui
ndèvré'wà	nf.	buisson: Grewia bicolor
ndé	nm. pl: mb(ə)zli, ká	homme, personne
nd(ə)ghà	v.	rejeter, jeter par terre, semer à la volée; pondre un oeuf
nd(ə)ghè	v.	attendre qqun
nd(ə)ghwè	v.	garder, conserver, surveiller
ndèkwè ~ ndàkwè ~ ndèkwndèkw	a.	près de
ndèkwè	v.	piler
ndèkwndèkw	cf. ndèkw	
ndèrgaza	n.	serpent (esp très agressif, morcure fatale)
ndèvli	nf. pl: -hi	marteau de forgeron
ndí	v.	brûler

ndí	v.	racconter
ndí	v.	viens!, tiens!
ndí'i	nn.	feuille comestible (esp très amère)
ndíshé	v.	mouiller (par la pluie)
ndíghwèr	nn.	salive
ndíhw(e)	a.	droit, (en ligne droit, pas courbé)
ndíhwèn	a.	lisse, sans bosses
ndimndím	a.	souvent, toujours
ndír	nm.	soif
ndràzhi	npl. sg: z(e)ghwè	enfants
ndrè	v.	haïr, critiquer
ndrèm	v.	méchancit�
ndrèshí	n.	amatueur, qun qui aime tellement qqch qu'il ne laisse pas un occasion passer sans le goûter
ndzá	v.	durer
ndzá	part.	TEMPS PASS�
ndzá	v.	�tre
ndzásh�	nm. pl: -er	boue
ndzándzá	a.	apr�s
-ndz�	pn.	sa, son (3e sg poss, possesseur fem); la (3e sg obj fem)
ndz�hw�	a.	recourb�
ndz�kw�	v.	taper, damer pour mieux remplir
ndz�m�	v.	pleuvoir
ndz�y	v.	s'asseoir, rester, demeurer

ndzghè	v.	arriver par exprès au moment juste pour recevoir de la nourriture
nèñèk(i)	a.	humide
nénénénén	ideo.	vite, très bon goût
nèñàké	cf. nèñàké	
nèñàké ~ nèñàkè ~ nèñáké	a.	gluant, collant
nèñàkè	cf. nèñàké	
nèf(ə)	nm. pl: -er	coeur
ná'wé	v.	manger, (qqch de cuite, du fruit)
néw	v.	suivre
něy	conj.	si
něyndzá	a.	jadis, auparavant
ní	v.	vider un plat avec les doigts
nighè	v.	voir
nighěmtí	nf.	miroir
nihwtí	a.	d'autres
njá	a.	comme, comment, tel, autant
njáfnjáfé	v.	calomnier qqun qui n'est pas présent
njàghwèmè	a. njá (comme) + ghwèmè (ciel)	bleu, gris
njàmèdí	a.	vert
njèmnjèm	a.	sucré
njídí	v.	grignoter, ronger
njifè	v.	boucher (un trou)

njisl(è)	nm. pl: -er	outil: chapelet de graines de baobab pour lisser les poteries
ntsà	nm.	homme, personne
nyémbri	nm. pl: -hi	assiette

-N-

-ŋa	pn.	te (2e sg obj, 2e sg reflex); ta, ton (2e sg poss)
-ŋěy	pn.	nous (1e pl excl obj, 1e pl excl reflex); notre (1e pl excl poss)
ŋgá	v.	construire, bâtir
ŋgá	v.	donner une partie de qqch, lorsqu'il faut casser la chose pour en donner (patate, boule)
ŋgálèwbà (FUL)	nf. pl: -hi	chameau
ŋgáliti	a.	soudain, brusquement
ŋgàzlà	v.	détruire, démolir (obj pl ou action répétée)
ŋgèdì	v.	tromper qqun, consoler, distraire
ŋgèlèk	nm. pl: -er	coq
ŋgèrdé	nm. pl: -er	porc, cochon, phacochère
ŋgérpà	nf. pl: -hi	couteau spéciale pour l'année d'initiation
ŋgèrté'w(ə)	nm. pl: -hi	hippopotame
ŋgésli	v.	se rassasier
ŋg(ə)zlà	v.	bouleverser (une seule chose, ou une seule fois)
ŋg(ə)zlàzl	nm. pl: -er	serpent (esp vert, pas dangereux)

ŋgèzlèbè	nf. pl: ŋgèzlèbìbì	noeud (dans une corde); papaye
ŋglí	v.	sevrer
ŋglí	v.	cueillir, récolter (qqch qui pousse hors de la terre)
ŋgrá	pn.	à moi (le sg poss)
ŋgrà'wè	nm. pl: -hi	souffrance, misère, douleur
ŋgrí	a.	noir
ŋgrìŋgrìní	npl. sg: ndéŋgrí	gens (noirs)
ŋgwàdàkà	nf. pl: -hi	gosier, voix
ŋgwádí	v.	attacher (pagne), cacher dans les vêtements
ŋgwâñŋgwánà	nf.	bdellium d'Afrique (<i>Commiphora africanum</i>)
ŋgwàrè	v.	rayeur, faire une trace, faire une cicatrice, marquer qqch
ŋgwármèmè	npl. sg: zémèmè	frères
ŋgwébè	v.	transplanter
ŋgwélá	nf. pl: -hi	cour, terrain
ŋgwèlà'i	nm.	mil rouge (esp précoce)
ŋgwélímé	v.	plier
ŋgwèm	nm. pl: -er	tamtam (esp avec pieds, très grand)
ŋgwémélálá	v.	ululer
ŋgwér	nm. pl: ŋgwérédém	houe
ŋgwéràshkánà	nf. pl: -hi	fourmi (esp)
ŋgwérzlà	nf. pl: -hi	gorge
ŋgwèvè	nf. pl: -hi	jugement, tribunal

ŋgwèvèh(ə)	n.	lézard (esp dont on utilise la peau pour en faire le tamtam: dàñ; varan?)
ŋgwéy	interj.	'cela a produit beaucoup!'
ŋgyáfà	nf. pl: -hi	germes seches de herbes
ŋgzlàngzlagémèké	n. pl: -er	insect (esp: mante religieuse?)
ŋgzlè'wè	nm. pl: -er	gombo
-ŋwèm	pn.	nous (1e du incl obj, 1e du incl reflex); notre (1e du incl poss)
-ŋwèmmé	pn.	nous (1e pl incl obj, 1e pl incl reflex); notre (1e pl incl poss)
-ŋwi	pn.	vous (2e pl obj, 2e pl reflex); votre (2e pl poss)
ŋyáà	interj.	non (réfutation impoli)

-P-

pá	v.	acheter
pá	v.	lutter, faire la guerre
pà	v.	balayer, ramasser
pafé	a.	plein
pahwé	v.	fendre la bois
pàlà	v.	chercher, chasser, (obj pl)
pám	nm. pl: -hi	tendon
pásá	v.	griller (obj pl)
pásé	v.	décortiquer éplucher, peler
pátèw (FUL)	nm. pl: -er	chat domestique
páy	a.	blanc

pénj (EMP)	nm.	pain
pè	v.	gonfler, enfler
pédəmə	v.	couler très fort (d'une rivière en pleine saison de pluies)
pédi	nf.	nouvelle tige
pèghè	v.	imiter, imaginer, espérer
pékw	ideo.	tout, fini
p(ə)là	nf.	ongle
pélá (GUI)	v.	chercher, chasser
pélá	nf.	chasse
p(ə)là	v.	chercher, chasser
p(é)li	v.	déplier, détacher, suspendre, étaler, déballer
pélpéli	nf. pl: -hi	papillon
pèn	nm. pl: -hi, -er	crevasse horizontale, creux d'un rocher, abri
pérдaké	a.	amer (un peu)
péré	v.	enrouler, emballer, envelopper
pérpér	a.	seul
pessé	v.	grandir, pousser (résultat pl)
pèsli	v.	tuer par cruauté, éteindre, battre avec l'intention de tuer
pèsli	v.	fiancer
pèvəm	nm. pl: -er	hibou
péy	v.	aspirer, vivre
phà	v.	accompagner
phál	a, nm.	vieux (personne ou chose)

phé	v.	vanner
phé	v.	allumer un feu avec du charbon
phè	v.	attacher, lier
phèphè	v.	attacher, lier, fixer
phèshì	nm. pl: -hi	hanche
pí	nm.	endroit, lieu
pí	v.	se laver, se baigner
pirè	nm. pl: -hi	rasoir, lame
pirè	nm.	couvercle de paille (pour couvrir les calebasses)
pírpír	nn.	cafard
piyá	nf.	année
pléŋplèŋ	nm. pl: pléŋplèŋ shíðshídí	plante du pied (pléŋplèŋ sédá)
prá'wé	v.	se fendre
pré	v.	croquer, gouter, grignoter
psá	v.	griller directement dans le feu; depouiller une poule au feu
psé	v.	grandir, pousser
psékèn	nm.	arbre: <i>Piliostigma reticulatum</i>
psér	nm. pl: -hi	cendre
pshì	v.	laver (qqun, parti du corps)
pshigidi	nf. pl: -er	petit singe gris (esp)
pslí	v.	casser qqch avec un instrument, forger, fermenter

-R-

-ra	pn.	me (1e sg obj, 1e sg reflex); ma, mon (1e sg poss)
rékrékà	nf. pl: -hi	poignet
rébá (FUL)	nf.	bénéfice, profit
rèdibè	nf. pl: -hi	boue noire (pour construire)
rédá	nf.	tache, saleté, souillure
règi	nm. pl: -esli	arc (pour chasser)
rénik(i)	a.	froid, frais (d'une chose)
rètsè	nf.	lézard (esp avec queue bleu)
réwbà	nf. pl: -hi, réwbìbì	anneau de bras ou de pied
réwhwè (FUL)	nf. pl: -hi	esprit
righéy	nm. pl: kéréghé	forgeron
rikidì	nm.	argile

-S-

sá	v.	boire
sá	conj.	parce que, quand, lorsque (présent)
să	conj.	parce que, quand, lorsque (passé)
sá'á (FUL)	nf.	chance

sàbélèw (FUL)	nf.	savon
sàdákà (FUL)	nf. pl: -hi	aumône musulman
sádí	v.	essuyer
sàf(ə)	nm.	vent
sàhè ~ sàhsàhè	a., interj.	lentement, 'patience!'
sàhsàhè	cf. sàhè	
sákátá	nf. pl: -hi, shékétikéti	chacal
sàkwàmtí	nm. pl: shkwàmtí	animal sauvage
sámàli	a.	femelle
sándzá	conj.	parce que, puisque
sásèrkwè	nf. pl: -hi	étoile
sázàl	a.	mâle
sé	v.	remuer, tourner
sé	nf.	chose
sédá	nf. pl: shíðshídi	pied, jambe, patte
séfè	nf.	herbes seches, jaunes
sèghèdè	a.	lent
séké	v.	venir
séli	v.	griller dans un recipient, avec ou sans huile (obj pl)
s(é)mádí	v.	caresser
sémpèlì	nf.	savon
séná	v.	savoir, connaître
sènàñé	v.	accoutumer, s'adapter
sèndzén(é)và	a.	maintenant

sənəkwà	nom. honorifique: sèn	nom du septième né
sərāhwèm	cf. sərākèn	
sərākèn ~ sərāhwèm	v.	s'habiller, porter (un vêtement)
séré	v.	déshabiller, accrocher, (obj pl)
sésé	v.	déranger, compliquer
sètì	nf. pl: shtì	cheveu, poil, plume
sévrí	v.	venir (de loin, de dehors)
sé'wá	v.	subir, supporter, patienter
sé'wá	v.	laisser la boule hors du feu à la fin du cuisson
sé'wámá	v.	jeûner
sé'wé	nf.	arbre: Acacia macrostachya
séwmày(ə) (FUL)	nf.	jeûne, ramadan
sèwsè (FUL)	nf. pl: -hi	éponge
shàfà	nf. pl: -hi, shèfífi	détecteur de mensonges
sháká	nf. pl: shékíki	marmite (pour sauce)
shákálà	nf.	mil blanc (esp)
shàndák(ə)	cf. shàndék(ə)	
shàndék(ə)	nm. pl: -hi, -er	coffre, malle
sháŋ	nm.	feuille comestible pour sauce (esp)
shàŋ	ideo.	rien, personne, échec
sháŋgwèr	nm. pl: -hi	son de mil (un seul morceau)
shàrây	cf. shèrây	
shèrây ~ shàrây	nf.	flûte (esp)

shèghwè	npl. sg: tsèm	bois
shèl	nm. pl: -er, shèlèhì	poteau central
shém	nm. pl: -er	balai
shèmáj	nm. pl: -er	brique
shèndèk	a.	lourd, pesant
shfè	nf.	déchets de la préparation du vin
-shí	pn.	les (3e pl obj); leur (3e pl poss); se (3e pl reflex)
shì	npl. sg: sé, shì	chooses, chose
shíbé	v.	sucer
shìgè	nf. pl: -hi	queue
shíni	nf. pl: -hi	genou
shíjkèfè	v.	respirer profondément, sangloter
shishèbé	v.	sucer
shíshí vi'i	nm.	buisson: Grewia villosa
shishi	nm. pl: -er	serpent (générique)
shishi mbèrhì	nm. pl: shèshér mbèrhì	serpent (esp petit, noir, pas dangereux)
shiyéw	v.	songer, rêver
shiyéw	pn.	rien
shkè	v.	verser
shkèn ~ shkèn hà	nm. pl: -er	prunier noir (<i>Vitex doniana</i>); fruit de cet arbre
shkèn hà	cf. shkèn	
shkèn kwèkwèlà	nm. pl: shkènér kwékwélá	fruit sauvage (esp)

shkwàmtí	npl. shì (choses) + kwàmtí (en brousse) sg: sàkwàmtí	animaux sauvages
shtì	npl. sg: sètì	cheveux
ské	v.	ménager, faire doucement, ne pas gâter
skwá	v.	venir (en bas)
skwèt(i)	v.	saluer
skwèvà	nf. substantif verbale	salutation
slá	nf. pl: slày	vache
slá	v.	couper, tailler, trancher
sláfálá	nf. pl: -hi	partie légère de la tige de mil
slágáfé	n. pl: -hi	centre de la tige de mil
slàhè	nf. pl: -hi, -er	boule de boule (slàhè métiké)
slákwàl	v. slá (couper) + kwàl (chemin)	passer par le plus court chemin, couper à travers champs
slàlèmà	nf.	arbre: <i>Balanites aegyptiaca</i> , (aussi <i>Salvadora persica</i> ? <i>Maytenus senegalensis</i> ?)
sláslá	v.	découper, dépecer
slèhè	cf. slyèhè	
slémé	nf. pl: -er	oreille
slén	nm. pl: -er	nom
sléní	nf.	travail
sléní	v.	raser
slèrhwàŋ	a.	ovale
slèrpé	n.	Doum (<i>Phoenix dactylifera</i> , <i>Borassus aethiopum</i> , <i>Hyphaene thebaica</i>)

slèrpè	nf. pl: slèrpípi	côte
slèvà	v.	blesser avec un bâton
sléwá	v.	dominer
slí	v.	se préparer (la pluie)
slìnì	nf. pl: sli'i	dent
slirè	nm. pl: -hi	paille (esp pour tisser les nattes)
slislì	nn.	œufs
slká	v.	régler
slkàslká	v.	se ranger
slké	v.	commander
slkwé	v.	déchirer
slyèhè ~ slèhè	a.	maigre, mince
slyđw	nm. pl: -er	viande, animal mangeable, classe des animaux mangeables
spàplì	nf. pl: -hi	tourbillon (esp d'oiseau)
sré	v.	déshabiller, accrocher

-T-

tá	prep.	sous
tá	prep.	pour
tá	v.	enlever l'écorce
tà	v.	donner un peu de (partitif), qqch qu'on peut diviser sans casser (graines, par ex.)
tà	v.	cuire dans de l'eau ou dans beaucoup d'huile

-ta	pn.	la (3e sg obj fem); se (3e sg fem reflex)
tábèl (EMP)	nm. pl: -er	table
táßá	prep.	là-dessous
tághwèr	v. tá (pour) + ghwèr (corde)	enlever l'écorce pour en faire de la corde
tákàr	nm. pl: -hi	tortue
táké	prep.	par-dessous, ci-dessous, en bas
táké	v.	empêcher, interdire, défendre
táké	v.	coincer le bétail pour l'attraper
ták(ə)	nm. pl: -hi, -er	race, tribu
tákè	nm. pl: -hi, -er	branche majeure d'un arbre
tákésè	nf. pl: tékshíksh(i)	bracelet (esp en métale)
tákwà	nom. honorifique: dari	nom du troisième né
tákwèli	v.	friser, plier sans arranger
tákwèri	nm. pl: -hi	oiseau (francolin? perdrix?)
táltálà	nf. pl: -hi	lézard (esp brun et glissant, brillant)
támè	nf. pl: -hi	grenier de paille
tán	a.	un (utilisé seulement pour compter)
tàntàn	a.	vîte
táŋ	prep.	au delà de
táŋá	a.	premier
táŋá	nf. pl: tèŋíŋ	terrasse
táŋè	v.	traverser, dépasser, surpasser
tápà (EMP)	nf.	tabac

tápisl(ə)	nm. pl: -hi	lézard (esp très pâle qui habite les maisons)
tàpláké	v.	ramper, apprendre à marcher
tár'á ~ tárþá	prep.	là-bas (même hauteur, pas très loin)
tárþá	cf. tár'á	
tárké	prep.	ici (direction vers locuteur, même altitude, pas très loin)
tárkwá	nom.	nom du sixième né
tásaw	nm. pl: -hi, -er	bassin
tásé	v.	se donner de la peine pour rien
tásli	nf.	froid (temps)
tátárá	nm.	base d'un poulailler, tissé de paille
tátél	nm. pl: tátél shíd(ə)shídér	talon
tátérl(ə)	nm.	mimosa clochette (<i>Dichrostachys cinerea</i>)
táwá	interrog.	pourquoi?
táy	nm. pl: -hi, -er	vin
tékwé	nf. pl: -hi	goutte
tékw(ə)rémá	nm. pl: -hi	organe (de la digestion, esp)
tékwtékwé	v.	goutter
téprékwá	nm. pl: -hi, -esli	hirondelle
térékèd(i)	nm. pl: -hi, -er	flûte (esp plus petit que cérèki)
té'wé	nm.	endroit étroit, coin, cul-de-sac, vallée très étroite
tézlézli	a.	blanc brillant
té	prep.	sur, à, pour

tègè	v.	plaire, aller bien à qqun
tédém	a.	profond
tédi	v.	déplier, déraciner, arracher
tégém	a.	gratuit, pour rien
tèghén	prep.	par dessus
t(é)ki	nm. pl: -esli	épine
tèlimè	nf. pl: -hi	corne, fièvre, paludisme
tèm	nm. pl: -er	emprunt, crédit
tèmbà	nom.	nom de moquerie pour troisième né
tèmbà tágwtáŋw	nm. pl: -hi	pic
témbèk(é)	nm. pl: -esli, (OUD: tēŋkésli)	mouton, brebis
tèŋgwèlá ~ tèŋgwélá	a.	dehors
tèsè (EMP)	n.	torche électrique
téwré (FUL)	nf.	prière
tèwré	v.	se promener
tfé	v.	cracher, bénir
tfémí	nm.	pitié, bénédiction
thé	v.	partager, diviser, distribuer
thé	v.	être plein, remplir, mûrir
thè	v.	chasser
théthé	a.	mûr
thwér	nm.	soir, le temps du jour juste avant le coucher du soleil. (17h - 18h)
thwè	v.	débroussailler un chemin

thwéléléθ(ə)	nm. pl: -er	rat palmiste
tí	prep.	sur
ti'á ~ tibá ~ tiyá	prep, a.	il y a, là
tibá	cf. ti'á	
tifémé	v.	s'attrister
t(i)fér	nm. pl: -hi	igname
t(i)fér	v.	veiller
tihé	v.	chasser, renvoyer, expulser, disperser (obj pl)
tíhwéni	v.	se lamenter
tiké	prep.	ici
tímtimbé	mf. pl: -hi	brume, brouillard humide
tipé	nf.	centre d'une concession, là où on veille
tipé	nf. pl: -hi	kapokier (<i>Bombax costatum</i>)
tír	nm.	lune, mois
tiré	nf. pl: -hi	crécelle de bronze, que les femmes attachent à la ceinture pour danser
titigəzà	nm. pl: -hi	fourmi (esp noir)
titihw(ə)	interj.	pardon, s'il vous plaît
tiyá	cf. ti'á	
trá	v.	triller (ses chèvres d'un grand troupeau, par ex.)
trá	v.	réfléchir, se décider
trázli	v.	s'éclater
tré	v.	tamiser (vin); tomber (personne)

trè	v.	laisser tomber qqch; tomber malade
tréŋw	a.	beaucoup, très
très!	ideo.	action de percer, impaler
triyàw (FUL)	nm. pl: -hi	girafe
tsá	nf. pl: -hi	clôture, jardin
tsà	part.	MASCULIN (pour noms et adjs)
tsà	v.	sonner, jouer (un instrument)
tsà	v.	tisser, tresser
tsábáná	v.	jouer
tsàf(ə)nà'wə	nm. pl: -hi, -er	écureuil arboreal
tsàghwàyàm	nf. pl: càghwéghwèyàm	canarie pour transporter l'eau
tsáhi	nn.	heure, montre, métale, fer
tsápə	nf. pl: -hi	vipère
tsàpə	v.	se réunir
tsásli	v.	décorer, dessiner, écrire
tsé	v.	danser
tsèbə	v.	rattacher qqch de cassé (corde par ex.)
ts(ə)ghá		comme ça, ainsi
tséhá	v.	se fendre
ts(ə)hwéli	nf., a.	ruse, moyen, malin
ts(ə)'i	nm. pl: -er	hache
ts(ə)kwé	v.	pousser (qqun)
tsəli	nf. pl: -hi	alène
tsəm	nm. pl: shèghwè	bois, grand morceau de bois

tsènà	nf. pl: -hi	caïlcédrat (<i>Khaya senegalensis</i>)
tsèni	v.	rassembler en tas
tsèŋwè	v.	semcer, picorer
ts(ə)rè	v.	allumer (feu avec allumette); insulter
tsèrè	v.	allumer beaucoup de feux
tsérgwàmè	v.	sautiller sur place
tsé'wé	nm. pl: -er	abreuvoir, (pierre creuse)
tsé'wé	v.	castrer
tsé'wé	v.	ressentir qqch
tsè'wé	v.	allumer, apporter le feu (avec des tiges)
tsfèkw(ə)	v.	s'accroupir
tshà	v.	choisir
tshè	v.	arriver
tshézlèrh(ə)	v.	ronfler
tshwè	v.	débroussailler un champ
tyèŋwtilyèŋw	nm. pl: -hi	crécelle en cuivre pour la danse d'initiation

-V-

vá	a.	là (qqch éloignée)
và	v.	avoir
-va		SUFFIXE NOMINALISANT
váâ	interj.	le voilà, la voilà

vàdí	v.	déterrer, gratter
vádvádí	ideo.	bouillir
vàn	nm. pl: -hi, -er	endroit où un éclair a tué un homme
vàn	nm.	pluie
ván-	prep.	voilà
vásə	v.	extraire le métal du minerai
vàvilyèŋw	nm. pl: -er	écureuil rouge (habite les crevasses des rochers)
vèlánjá	nf.	termite (esp)
vévrízhí	nn.	boutons (sur la peau)
vè	nf. pl: -hi	chat sauvage
-və		BÉNÉFACTIF
və'i	nn.	charbon
v(ə)cí	nf. pl: -hi, -er	soleil, jour
vèhé	nm. pl: -er	champ
vèk(ə)	nm. pl: -hi, -er	bosse (sur une personne)
v(ə)lè	nf. pl: -hi	lapin
v(ə)li	nf. pl: -hi	coude
v(ə)li	v.	envoyer
vèli	v.	envoyer (obj pl)
vènà	nf. pl: -hi	table meulière
vèndzé	nm.	moustique
vènèhwè	v.	vomir; se ressembler beaucoup (pere et fils)
véré	v.	cindre
v(ə)rèm	nm.	foule (debout ou en marche)

vèshí	nf., v.	joie; se réjouir
věy	v.	souffler, siffler
vèyghwè	nm. pl: -hi, -esli	termite ailée
věy'wé	v.	jeter (baton, qqch de long)
vèzál	nm.	mil jaune (esp)
vghà	nf.	corps
vghwè	nm., v.	journée, moment; passer la journée
vi'i	nm. pl: -er	selle, excrement
vili	nm. pl: -hi	paille pour boire
víndí (FUL)	v.	écrire
víyâ	nf.	saison de pluie
víyahwè	nf. pl: -hi	serpent (esp vert, arboreale, pas dangereux)
vizè	nm.	mineraï
vrènjé'wé	nm. pl: -hi, -er	bébé, nouveau-né (sans dents)
vrí	nm. pl: -hi	champ partagé parmi co-épouses

- 'W -

'wá	nf. pl: -hi	lait, sein
'wáñé	v.	crier, hurler
'wár'wár	a.	tout neuf
'wə	v.	avoir reçu, avoir subi qqch
'wəfá	v.	noircir dans la fumée
'wəftèkè	a.	gris

'wégé	nf. pl: 'wégègér	chevreau, (male ou femelle, nourisson)
'wénérédè	nm. pl: -hi	mortier
'wèni	nf.	arachides
'wéréslésl(i)	nm.	haricot (esp)
'wèsá	interj.	merci, salut!
'wéséŋgwàŋ	nm. pl: -hi, -er	hyène
'weshí	v.	rire, sourire, vaincre
'wèvrì	nf. pl: -hi	jujubier (<i>Ziziphus mauritiana</i>); jujube
'wèvrì dghwàvà	nf. pl: 'wèvrìhi dghwàvà	jujubier de la hyène (<i>Ziziphus mucronata</i>); jujube
'wèy	v.	trouver qqch en faisant qqch d'autre

-W-

wá	v.	payer, acheter
wá	v.	répondre, chanter (coq)
wàgwénè (EMP)	nf. pl: -hi	camion
wáhé	v.	pleurer
wákwémá	v. wá (payer) + kwémá (parole)	payer une amende
wàmpídí	cf. wèmpídí	
wàn	nm., a. pl: -hi, -er	lumière; clair
wàr	prep., a., conj.	sauf, jusqu'à, à moins que, dès
wàràwàrà (GUV)	nf. pl: -hi	tamis
wáthímá	v.	eternuer

wèmpídí ~ wàmpídí	nf., v. pl: -hi	éclair; étinceler
wé	v., nf.	voyager; voyage
wédi	v.	sauter hors de l'eau (poisson)
wèfè	v.	cuire la viande un peu le matin, (pour que ça ne pourrisse pas avant le soir, quand on va la préparer bien et la manger)
wéli	v.	accuser, trahir
wèlisè	nf. pl: -hi	rein
wérá'i	a.	cassé, divisé en deux partis
wérédí	v.	fendre
wèrédi	nf. pl: -hi	fissure verticale
wéri	nm. pl: -hi	cou, voix
wévbèm	ideo.	avaler soudain
wévbép	ideo.	s'immiscer dans les affaires des autres
w(ə)zé	a.	bon, bien, beau
wìi	interj.	eh... (mot d'hésitation)

-'Y-

'yàfè	v.	tâter, appuyer sur qqch pour vérifier la solidité
'yàghwà	v.	insérer par un petit trou (liquide, baton par ex.)
'yàghwàké	a.	très amer
'yáh'yáhé	a.	difficile, cher
'yáká	nf. pl: -hi	véné (Pterocarpus erinaceas)

'yàpə	v.	forcer, casser par exprès; écosser les haricots
'yàsà	nf. pl: 'yèshishi	sauce faite de grains de sháŋ
'yàslì	v.	tâter, appuyer sur qqch pour vérifier la solidité
'yàtsə	v.	écraser (une fois)
'yèr	cf. 'èr	
'yèr kékèr	cf. 'èr kékèr	

-Y-

-'y	pn.	se (3e sg masc reflex); le (3e sg obj masc)
yá	v., nf.	accoucher, naître; naissance
yá	v.	ajouter (paroles), mentir, pour empêcher un accord, pour faire durer la discussion
yà	conj.	ou, même
yábə	v.	laver (qqch)
yáfə	n. pl: -hi	fruit (gen)
yàm	nn. pl: -er	eau
yàm láláni	nn.	puits creusé à la main
yàm(ə)hèr	nn. pl: -hi	taille (partie plus mince du tronc)
yàŋkà	nf. pl: yèŋkíki	pantalon
yǎ`nɔŋ	interj.	oui, mais...
yápi	v.	aider à la naissance
yásłèrpé	nf. yá (accoucher) + slèrpé (doum) pl: yásłèrpípi	datte

yàtsèghá		malgré, quoique
yàwá'á ~ yàwábá	pn.	quiconque, n'importe quoi
yàwábá	cf. yàwá'á	
yé	part.	oui
yéghé	v.	aider à porter qqch
yèkwè	v.	tremper, rincer
yémá	v. yé (oui) + má (NEG)	refuser
yèmè	v.	remplir un trou; résoudre par médiation
yèn	pn.	moi (1st sg sujet renforcé)
yéwá	v.	fondre
yèwén	a.	nouveau
yidébé	v.	dissoudre
yighé	v.	rincer, terminer le lavage
yípá	v.	se cacher sous qqch
yíp(é)	v.	aider qqun au tribunal ou dans une bagarre
yiti	nf. pl: -hi	scorpion (esp très petit)

-Z-

zà	v.	se perdre, perdre
zà.	v., nf.	cultiver; champ
zàl	nm. pl: zhìr	homme, mari, mâle
zámbà	nf. pl: -hi, zhémbimb(i)	araignée, toile d'araignée, piège
zámsédá	cf. zámsèdà	

zámsèdà ~ zámsédá	a.	rarement
zàná	pn.	quelqu'un, un tel
zédidí	nm. pl: ñgwárdidí	demi-frère (même père)
z(ə)ghwè	nf. pl: ndràzh(i)	enfant
z(ə)ghwè dèvè	nf. z(ə)ghwè (enfant) + dèvè (main) pl: ndràzh dèvè	doigt
z(ə)l(ə)ghwè	nm.	maladie
zèlikà	nf. pl: -hi	aigle
zém	nm. pl: -hi, -er	rat (esp diurne)
zémancì	v.	alimenter
zèmè	v.	manger
zémèmè	nm. pl: ñgwármèmè	frère (de même mère), cousin; fraternité
zèn	v., nm.	sentir, puer; odeur, infection
z(ə)rà	nom. diminutif: z(ə)ràkwà	nom du deuxième né
zérémtèm	nm. pl: -hi, -er	calao (esp d'oiseau)
zèvénì	nf. pl: zhìvívìn	pintade
zè'wè	nm. pl: zhi'wi'wi	corde; mboul (<i>Celtis integrifolia</i>)
zè'wè	n.	bracelet (esp en cuire)
zèzè	v.	penser, considerer, reflechir
zhà	nf. pl: ghyèhì	fille
zhádídí	nf. pl: ñgwárdidí ghyèhì ~ ñgwàrdìrè(hi) ghyèhì	demi-soeur (même père)
zhàkàtì	v.	se relever

zhámémé	nf. pl: ñgwárméhi(rà) ghyèhi	soeur, cousine
zhàshkè	a.	ensemble (de travail communale au champs)
zhémbénèhw(é)	nm. pl: -hi	autruche
zhémbéŋ	nm. pl: -er	ruche
zhèmbrédè	nf. pl: -hi	ver de terre
zhén	n.	arbre: (<i>Ziziphus spina-christi</i>)
zhèvví	a.	fréquemment
zhèghè ~ zhíghè	v.	changer, accuser, tourner
zhèghèdèvè	v. zhèghè (changer) + dèvè (main)	faire le commerce, échanger les choses
zhéghwè	nm. pl: -hi, -er	forêt
zhèhwèr	nm.	compassion
zhémè	n.	salaire; tour de faire la cuisine et passer la nuit avec le mari dans une concession polygame
zhèn	v.	refaire
zhèvàndà	nf. pl: -hi	déchets d'arachide quand on fait l'huile
zhì	nf. pl: zhèhér	plaie, douleur
zhíš(i)	nm. pl: -esli	mouche
zhíghàlà	nf. pl: -hi	molaire
zhíghè	cf. zhèghè	
zhíghèvà	v.	retourner
zhil	nm. pl: -hi, -er	lion
zhimbér	nm. pl: -hi, -er	nombril
zhìnì	v.	expliquer

zlà	v.	laisser, éviter
zlàpè	v.	crier, appeler pour annoncer le travail obligatoire
zlárà	nf. pl: -hi	muraille de défense
zlèb(i)	a.	gauche
zlékw(ə)	nf. pl: -er	filet
zlèzlínj	nm. pl: -hi, -er	crabe rouge
zlèbà	v.	répondre (dans un chanson), accepter, être d'accord
zlèbàmà	v. zlèbà (accepter) + má (NEG)	refuser, contester
zlèghwè	cf. zlgħwè	
zlèħà	nf. pl: -er, zlèħéħèr, zlèħéħ	abîme
zlèŋà	nf. pl: zlizlínj	charognard
zlèŋw	nm. pl: -hi, -er	trou profond et horizontal
zlèrkwè	nf. pl: zlèrkwíkwi	calebasse pour boire le vin
zlèwbà (EMP)	nf. pl: zlèwbíbi	tabac (esp)
zlgħwè ~ zlègħwè	v.	arracher de la main de qqun
zli	v., nf.	sauter, bondir; saut
zli	v.	éructer, rôter
zli	v.	arranger les pierres pour faire une barrière
zlhé	v.	gratter
zlípà	nf. pl: -hi, zlípípi	poche
zlíyà	nf. pl: -hi	feuille de papier, billet d'argent, lettre
zlrà	nf. pl: -hi	crabe brun foncé

zlráθázh(i)	nm. pl: -hi	rocher plat et large
zlré	v.	écraser (arachides, chiendents)
zlyaha	nf. pl: -hi	crevasse verticale dans un surface verticale

A.3 Français-Bana

-A-

à	(une personne)	tè kà
à moins que		wàr
abattre	(un arbre)	kslí
abeille		màftì mbèzèkwè
abimé		lìdì
abîme		zlèhà
abimer	(obj pl)	lèdì lìdì
abreuvoir	(pierre creuse)	tsé'wé
abri		pèŋ
absorber		mbásé
accepter		zlèbà
accompagner		phà
accord	(être d'--) (se mettre d'--)	zlèbà jikè (OUD)
accoucher	(mère) (sage-femme)	yá yápé
accoutumer	(s'— à)	sènàbé béní

accrocher		sré kélá'wé séré
	(obj pl)	
accroupir	(s'—)	tsfèkw(é) ~ cifèkwé
accuser		wéli zhèghè ~ zhighè
acheter		pá wá
achever		kré
acide		ndalàkwé
action		kwémá
adapter	(s'—)	sənàbé
adolescent		dinikwé
adorer		fál
adulte		gwèlà
agenouiller	(s'—)	gèl(è)bé
agile		kyéñwkyéñw
agréable		ghèníkí
aider	(-- à porter qqch) (tribunal, bagarre)	kéti yéghè yíp(é)
aigle		zèlikè
aiguille		bátàl
aile		bék(è)békè
aimer	(— fortement)	dì mǎw
aine		kwàghwèlà
aîné		kwátáŋá

ainsi		ts(ə)ghá
aiselle		hwémbérèké
ajouter	(— beaucoup) (— paroles, pour empêcher un accord)	m̄tséhé m̄tséhé yá
alène		tsəli
alimenter		zəmānci
aller	(— bien à) (allez-vous-en!) (allons-y! - 1e du incl) (allons-y! - 1e pl incl) (descendant beaucoup) (descendant un peu) (loin, ni montant ni descendant) (montant beaucoup) (montant un peu) (pas loin, ni montant ni descendant)	dzà təbə mbálám dzám dzámmé dzghwà dzi dz(ə)vri dzémé dzati dzár
allié		máshi
allumer	(avec allumette) (avec du charbon) (obj pl)	tsə'wé ts(ə)rè phé tsərè
allumette		'ásànà (FUL)
amatueur		ndrèshí
amélioré		dámá (FUL)
amer	(très --) (un peu --)	'yàghwáké pèrdáké
ami	(— du sexe opposé)	mádigà bázhà
amitié		ghèníkí
amusement		gwèmtí
an	(dans deux --s)	házhèdzé
ancêtre		m(ə)tíkwèli

âne		kwântémca
animal	(carnivore, esp) (comestible) (domestiqué) (sauvage)	kàŋkwágwàlà slyéw dèbèkè ~ dèmbèkè sàkwàmtí
anneau	(de bras ou de pied) (de cheville pour la danse)	réwbà kwèdày
année	(l'— prochaine)	píyá házhi
annoncer	(— le travail obligatoire)	zlápé
annuler	(— un projet à contre-coeur)	bàshì
antilope	(— cheval) (esp très grand) (esp très grand qui voyage en paires)	bérzlyè ~ bérzlyà kwàkwshàlà màngwélémè
anus		màfèdàzà
appareil		kíki (EMP)
appeler		hàr
appendis		gàskà
applanir		mbèzè
apporter	(— feu, avec des tiges)	béké tsè'wé
apprendre		béní
appuyer	(— pour vérifier la solidité) (— pour vérifier la solidité)	jihé 'yafè 'yasli
après	(— demain)	ndzándzá hèzlimèdzé
aptitude		mécànjá
arachides		'wèní
araignée		zámbà

arbre	(<i>Acacia macrostachya</i>) (<i>Acacia sieberiana</i>) (arbre à soie: <i>Alotropis procera</i>) (baobab: <i>Adansonia digitata</i>) (<i>Balanites aegyptiaca</i> ; aussi <i>Salvadora persica</i> ?; <i>Maytenus</i> <i>senegalensis</i> ?) (<i>bdellium d'Afrique</i> : <i>Commiphora</i> <i>africanum</i>) (caïlcédrat: <i>Khaya senegalensis</i>) (<i>Combretum glutinosum</i>) (doum: <i>Phoenix dactylifera</i> , <i>Borassus</i> <i>aethiopum</i> , <i>Hyphaene thebaica</i>) (<i>Entada africana</i> , <i>Prosopis africana</i>) (<i>Ficus ingens</i>) (- fruitier) (<i>Gardenia ternifolia</i>) (générique) (gomnier: <i>Acacia senegal</i>) (jujubier: <i>Ziziphus mauritiana</i>) (jujubier de la hyène: <i>Ziziphus</i> <i>mucronata</i>) (kapokier: <i>Bombax costatum</i>) (karité: <i>Butyrospermum parkii</i>) (manguier: <i>Mangifera indica</i>) (mboul: <i>Celtis integrifolia</i>) (mimosa épineux: <i>Acacia seyal</i>) (mûrier: <i>Ficus platyphylla</i> , <i>Ficus</i> <i>gnaphalocarpa</i>) (néré: <i>Parkia biglobosa</i>) (<i>Piliostigma reticulatum</i>) (prunier de mer: <i>Ximenia americana</i>) (prunier noir: <i>Vitex doniana</i>) (tamarinier: <i>Tamarindus indica</i>) (véné: <i>Pterocarpus erinaceas</i>) (<i>Ziziphus spina-christi</i>)	sé'wé mbèzákwa bèkwèkwèkwèr kwékwè slàlèmà ŋgwânnŋgwánà tsènà daskwa slèrpé kázkázà bàhwpálà déŋw hítsè'wè fè gwàlmà 'wèvri 'wèvri dghwàvà tipè gwèvàmà màngwèrè (FUL) zè'wè métsékwè gwèbírì lèghwén psékèn kwèkwèmè shkèn ~ shkèn hà mbèláŋ 'yáká zhéŋ θ(i)rín
arc-en-ciel		
arc	(pour chasser)	
argent	(pièce de cinq francs)	
argile	(pour construire)	

arracher	(brusquement) (de la main de qqun)	tédi mbàhè zl(è)ghwè
arranger	(-- en tas)	gwèmà dzèkwè
arrêter	(--, s'--)	gàrè
arriver	(-- par exprès au moment juste pour recevoir de la nourriture)	tshè ndzghè
arroser		básli
articulation	(du doigt)	d(ə)ghèsl(ə)
asperger		básli
asphyxier		b(ə)rtí
aspirer		péy
asseoir	(s'--)	ndzèy
assez	(c'est assez!) (c'est assez!)	ge'e méké b(ə)rèk ~ bérkè
assiette		nyémbrì
attacher	(épines) (pagne)	phè phèphè ghitsè ngwádi
attendre	(-- qqun) (attends!) (attends!) (attends un peu!)	nd(ə)ghè ádíw kádíw kádiwdí
attention		méhárlí
attirer		mbàhè
attraper		ksé
attrister	(s'--)	tifèmè

au delà de		táŋ
augmenter	(— paroles, dans un argument)	mtséhé k(ə)li
aujourd'hui		ndátsé
aumône	(— musulman)	sàdákà (FUL)
auparavant		něyndzá
aussi		ńá dińá kwérákwé
autant		njá
autre	(d'—s) (un —)	nihwtí -hwtí
autrefois		mbràdzè
autruche		zhémbénèhw(á)
avaler	(ideo: -- soudain)	ndá wévbèm
avant-hier		fcàvá
avant que		kà
avantageux		gàná'á ~ gáná'á
avare		'íní
avarice		m(ə)tsé
avec		lè
avertir		gèzì
aveugle		ghwèlf(á) ~ ghwèlèf
avion		gírgì
avoir		và
avorter		bèlàdi

-B-

babouin		lígwèp(ə)
baigner	(se --)	pí
bailler		hágwèbé
baisser	(se --)	kètkèghwà gèl(ə)bé
balai		shém
balance		kilèw (EMP)
balayer		pà
balayures		kwéshèbí
Bana	(langue) (peuple)	kwèmà ká bàñà ká bàñà
banane		kwàndàŋw (FUL)
banco	(boule de --)	gèzèm ghènì
baobab	(<i>Adansonia digitata</i>)	kwékwè
bar		dzèkè
barbe		gwèzhám
barrage		dìnèzli
barre	(de fer, pour allumer le feu)	jénèti
bas	(de beaucoup plus --) (d'un peu plus --) (en --)	kwà lèy táké
base	(d'un poulailler)	tátará
bassin		tásaw

bateau		kwámbéwàl (FUL)
bâtir		ŋgá
bâton		gètà
battre	(pour tuer)	dè'wè péslí
bdellium	(-- d'Afrique: <i>Commiphora africanum</i>)	ŋgwânŋgwánà
beau		w(è)zé
beau-fils	(aussi beau-frère, beau-père)	màshi
beaucoup		tréŋw dàlálá dàn̄
bébé	(nourrisson avec dents) (sans dents)	màndèghàr vrènjé'wé
bégayeur		bèdèbèdè bèbè
beignet	(de farine de blé) (de farine d'haricots, de petits pois)	makala (FUL) kwásày (FUL)
bélier		gàmè
belle-fille		mákwá
belle-mère		mévà
belle-soeur	(femme du frère)	mévà
bénédiction		tfémí
bénéfice		rébá (FUL)
bénir		tfé
bercer	(se --)	déŋwéli
bétail		dèbèkè ~ dèmbèkè
beurre		méré'wèn

biche		kímè ~ kyèmè
bicyclette		báskwèr (EMP) kíkì (EMP)
bidon		gwèñgwèñ (FUL)
bien		w(ə)zé
biens		g(ə)nà
bière	(de mil blanc)	mbèzl(i)
billet	(d'argent)	zliyà
blanc	(-- brilliant)	páy tèzlèzli
blé	(Digitaria exilis)	ksèn
blesser	(avec un bâton)	slèvà
bleu		láñghwèmè njàghwèmè
boa		bíyá
boeuf		mècár
boire	(à petites gorgées, de la surface) (de la même calebasse)	sá b(i)zhì mbghè
bois	(à brûler) (d'allumage)	shèghwè micíslí ~ mtsáslí
	(générique)	tsèm
	(grand morceau)	tsèm
	(tas de --)	láñgwém
boîte		gwèñgwèñ (FUL) hwèpèr
boiter		cíg(é)zláñé
bon	(au goût) (ideo: très -- goût)	w(ə)zé ghèníkí nénénénén

bondir		zlí
bonnet		dàghwèbà
bosse	(dans la terre) (de piqûre d'insecte) (sur le boeuf) (sur une personne) (sur une personne)	dzàhàl dàl(ə)pì Bèrdzèh(ə) gyádà dèkè vèk(ə)
bouc	(avec un seul téesticule)	bès(ə) mèl
bouche		mí
boucher	(un trou)	njifè
bouclier		gàl
boue	(noire, pour construire)	ndzábé rèdibè
boueux	(d'un liquide)	dàkà
bouger		kwsà
bouillie		míkí
bouillir		vádvádi
boule	(nourriture) (boule de --)	métké slahè
bouleverser		ŋg(ə)zlà
bourgeonner		mb(ə)lí
bourse		mbélpás(ə)
bousculer		kwèfèghè
bouse		gèlifè
bout	(au --)	mékérké
bouteille		kwálábà (FUL)
boutique		kàmtì (FUL)

boutons	(sur la peau)	vévrizhí
bracelet	(en cuire) (en métale) (large, en bois ou plastique)	kwèbès(ə) zè'wè tákésè jà'wà
braise		ládì
branche	(— majeure d'un arbre)	tákè
bras	(haut du bras)	bàsà
brasser	(avec la main)	héré hré
brebis		témbèk(ə)
briller		mbré
brique		shèmáŋ
briser	(resultat pl)	héli
brosser		gwèhè
brouillard humide		tîmtimbè
brousse	(en —, de la —)	gàmbá kwàmtí
bruit		gàkà
brûler		ndí
brume		tîmtimbè
brusquement		ngálítì
buffle	(— d'afrique)	kwàkwshàlà gìzhíp(i)
buisson	(<i>Grewia bicolor</i>) (<i>Grewia flavescens</i>) (<i>Grewia tenax</i>) (<i>Grewia villosa</i>) (mimosa clochette: <i>Dichrostachys cinerea</i>) (pied d'éléphant: <i>Adenium obesum</i>)	ndèvré'wà háŋkéb(ə) m(ə)cémcé'wè ~ m(ə)cé'wémcé'wè shíshí vi'i tátérsł(ə) ghèrd(ə)

-C-

cache sexe	dibél	
cacher	mbé	
(dans les vêtements)	ŋgwádi	
(se -- du danger)	mbé	
(se -- pour attraper qqch)	ghwèñé	
(se -- sous qqch)	yípè	
cadavre	mbrí	
cadeau	gyérà ~ gyárà	
cadet	kwéni	
cafard	pírpír	
cage	kwéshèl	
cahier	déréwèl (FUL)	
caïlcédrat	(Khaya senegalensis)	tsènà
caillou	hàkw(ə)	
caïman	kélémbé	
calao	(esp d'oiseau)	zérémítèm
calebasse	dévrá kwákwa zlèrkwè 'imbè	
calmer	dàkè	
calomnier	(-- qqun qui n'est pas présent)	njáfnjáfè
caméléon	hwèñè	
camion	wàgwénè (EMP)	
canarie	d(ə)ghwè tsaghwàyàm	
canif	kèníf (EMP)	

canne	(— à sucre) (— de mil sucré)	d(ə)ghwà káslákáñèlà
capturer		ksé
caractère		méhérlí
caresser		s(ə)mádi
carquois		gwèci
case	(maison) (de paille) (— vide, magasin)	cik(i) ~ cki kéli ghwèndili
casquette		dàghwèbà
casser	(avec un instrument) (par exprès)	b(ə)lí pslí 'yápə
castrer		tsé'wé
catarrhe		'islá
cauris		gàtsàphà
caverne		lègwè
célibataire	(homme --)	ghwèmzhì
cendre		psér
cent		bèlèkw(ə)
centrale		jìpì
centre	(--, au --) (— d'une concession)	jìpì típé
cerveau		gwàñè
cesser		kré
chacal		sákátá
chaise		g(ə)zli
chameau		ŋgàlèwbà (FUL)

champ		vèhé zà mèpèhérè
	(— abandonné depuis au moins trois ans) (-- partagé parmi co-épouses)	vrí
chance		sá'á (FUL) bàmà
changer		mbérè zhèghè ~ zhígħè
chanson		cèm
chanter	(chante!) (coq)	hácèm há wá
chapeau	(grand, de paille)	kèlāvàn mbélér (GUI)
characal		d(ə)ghwàvà jèzli
charbon		vè'i
charognard		zlèñà
chasse		pélá
chasser	(obj pl) (obj pl)	pélá (GUI) p(ə)là thè pàlà tihè
chasseur		găw
chat	(domestique) (sauvage)	pátèw (FUL) vè
chatouiller		kwidkwidi
chaud	(avoir --)	ghwètèghwètè
chauffer	(se --)	bèghèzli
chauve-souris		mézlèkw(ə)zlékw(ə)
chef		máz(ə)

chefferie	máz(ə)
chemin	kwàl
chemise	kwébàn̄
chenille (esp rouge)	métélà'i cècímèslì
cher	'yáh'yáhá càsláká
chercher (avec difficulté) (obj pl)	défél p(ə)là pélá (GUI) mb(ə)là pàlà
cheval	gèdèw
cheveu	sètì
cheveux	shtì
chèvre	kwè
chevreau (femelle) (mâle non-castré) (nourrisson)	dáßálá káßán̄ 'wégé
chien	k(ə)rí
chien-dents	lèk(é)
chiffon	géjér ~ g(i)jèr
choisir	tshà
chose	sé shì
chooses	shì
ci-bas	lèyké
ci-dessous	táké
ci-dessus	mèké

cicatriser	ŋgwàrè	
ciel	ghwèmè	
cime	ghèn	
cinq	cíf(é)	
cinquante	cíf mèts(è)kè	
cinquième	càfà	
cire	dímè	
citron	lèmè (EMP)	
clair	wàn dèwdèw	
clan	ká	
clôture	tsá	
clou	kwézà	
clouer	dàŋwè	
co-épouse	máré	
cobe	(de buffon)	líkw(ə)
cochon	ŋgèrdé	
coeur	néf(ə)	
coffre	shàndék(é)	
coin	té'wá	
coincer	(bétail)	màkàghwá táké
collant	nèßáké	
colle	dímè	
collection	ßàsèvà	
colline	dìŋè hwémpì	

coloré	bèrzlizlì
colorer	lèvè
combien?	hwémá
commander	slké
comme	njá ts(ə)ghá
commencer	màdí ghà mb(ə)lí
comment	njá
commerce	fîlèw (FUL)
commercer	zhèghèdèvè
commissioner	ghwèni
compassion	zhèhwèr
compliquer	sésé
comprendre	fáv(ə)
compter	mbrá b(ə)lá
concentrer	bàsè
concession	ghi
conduire	kàbè
connaitre	séná
conserver	nd(ə)ghwè
considerer	zèzè
consoler	ngèdì dèpè
construire	ngá zli
	(-- une barrière de pierres)

conte		mbrághwètí
contester		zlèbhàmà
coq		ŋgèlèk
coquillage	(d'escargot)	hèr
corbeau		ghàmékè
corde		zè'wè ghwèr mètséni
corne		tèlimè
corps		vghà
côte		slèrpè
côté	(juste à -- de)	b(ə)là gà'gà'i ~ gè'gè'i
coton		mégapà
cou		wéri
coucher	(se --) (se -- sur le ventre)	hèní bà'wé
coude		v(ə)li
coudre		císlí
couler	(-- fort, rivière en pleine saison des pluies)	hwè péðèmè
coupe-coupe		kàsàkà
couper	(-- à travers champs)	slá slákwl
cour		ŋgwélá
courage		hèr
courber		gèl(ə)gè

course		hwàslèbè
courir		bàli
course	(grande — d'eau) (petite — d'eau) (ideo: partir soudain à la --)	hél mili bévbép ~ bévbék
court		dèkw
cousin		zémèmè
cousine		zhámèmè
coussinet	(de portage)	gwèrkwè
couteau	(— d'initiation) (— pour débroussailler)	hwá ŋgérpà kàsàkà
couver		mbí
couvercle	(de paille)	gàl pìrè
couvrir		dzébè kèli
crabe	(brun foncé) (rouge)	kwèrèkwèrèkjñ zlrà zlèzlínj
cracher		tfé
crapaud		gwàmbè
craqueler		ß(ə)rásli
crécelle	(bronze, pour la ceinture des femmes) (cuivre, pour la danse d'initiation) (fer, pour la ceinture des jeunes hommes) (courge)	tirè tyèŋwtilyèŋw kwérénà màtsàkwàsl(ə)
crédit		tèm
crépir		càpè
creuser		lá

creux	(d'un rocher)	pèŋ
crevasse	(— horizontale dans une surface horizontale) (— horizontale dans une surface verticale) (-- verticale dans une surface verticale)	pèŋ bà'wè zlyaha
crier		'wáŋé zlápé
criquet migrateur		jír
critiquer		ndré
crocodile		kélém'bé
croître		k(ə)li
croquer		pré
cueillir		ŋglí
cuir		hwtá
cuire	(en bouillant) (viande, pour éviter la pourriture)	tà wèfè
cuisse		ghwèlà
cuivre		mbèzè
cul-de-sac		té'wé
cultiver		zá

-D-

daman	ksébé
damer	ndzékwé
dangereux	gwèlánj

dans	(qqch avec ouverture au côté) (qqch avec ouverture en haut)	mbè kwà
danse		tsé
datte		yáslèrpé
déballer		p(é)lí
débroussailler	(champ) (chemin)	tshwè thwè
déchets	(préparation du vin) (production d'huile d'arachide)	kwéshèbi shfè zhèvàndà
déchirer		slkwè
décider	(se --)	trä
déclarer		g(è)zè
décorer		tsásli
décortiquer		pásé
découper		sláslá
dédans		mbè'á
défendre		táké dàmè
dehors		tèŋgwèlá ~ tèŋgwélá
demain	(après --)	hézlimé hèzlimèdzé
demander		déw cé'wé
demeurer		ndzèy
demi-frère	(même père)	zédidí
demi-soeur	(même père)	zhádidí
démolir		ngàzlà

démon		gàzlákà
dent		slìnì
dépassé	(avoir -- l'age de...)	dzéré
dépasser		tàngè
dépecer		sláslá
dépenser		fàti
déplacer		kèti
déplier		p(é)lí tédi
dépouiller	(poule, au feu)	héní psá
déraciner		tédi
déranger		sésé gágà
dernier		kray
dès		wàr
déshabiller	(obj pl)	sré séré
désirer	(-- fortement)	maw
désobéir	(faire sans permission)	gwèrà
dessécher		mbásé ghwèli
déssiner		tsásli
dessous	(au --)	dzétá
dessus	(au -- de) (par --)	kèn(è)ghèn tèghén
détacher		p(é)lí
détecteur	(-- de mensonges)	shàfà

déterrer		lá vàdí
détester		dímà
détruire		ngàzlà
deux		bák(ə)
deuxième		bàkà
devant	(— une concession)	kwémá d(ə)ghá
devenir		mbéré
diarrhée		cí
dieu	(D--, -- du village entier) (interjection: mon D--!)	hyàlà 'áyâ
difficile		'yáh'yáhé càsláké
dire	(disent-ils, dit-on) (dit-il)	g(ə)zè kèm ké
directement		kár
diriger		gwèrà
discipliner		'í
discussion		ghèpé
discuter		kèghèpé
disperser		tihè
dissoudre		yidèbé
distraire		ngèdî
distribuer		thé
diviser	(champs)	thé dzàñè
divorcée		mégwèmbá

dix	(fois --)	mén mèts(ə)kè
dixième		manja
docile	(être --)	diftí
doigt		z(ə)ghwè dèvè
dominer		sléwá
donner	(en divisant sans casser) (tout, entier) (une portion, en cassant)	tà ndà ŋgá
dormir		hí
dos	(bas du --)	hwém dèrsè
doter		mé
douleur	(d'une plaie) (de fatigue)	ŋgrà'wè zhì givè
doum	(Phoenix dactylifera, Borassus aethiopum, Hyphaene thebaica)	slèrpé
doux		ghèniki
dresser	(se --)	gàrègàrè gèŋè gàrè
droit	(main droite) (sans courbe)	bèzèmè ndihw(ə)
dur		càslaké
durer		ndzá
eau		yàm

écailler		bèbír
échanger		zhèghèdèvè
échec		shàn
éclair		wèmpídí ~wàmpídí bèbèdí ván
éclater	(s'—)	tràzli
écorce		lépîr
écosser	(haricots)	'yàpè
écouter		fá
écraser	(arachides, chiendents) (mil) (une fois)	difè zlré hé 'yàtsè
écrire		tsásli víndí (FUL)
écuelle		dévrá kwákwá
écume		gwèfgwèfi
écureuil	(arboreal) (rouge) (terrestre, esp) (terrestre, esp)	tsàf(ə)nà'wè vàvilyèñw mékèn mékèn kw(ə)shhé
écurie	(des boeufs)	g(ə)zhì
efforcer	(s'-- pour rien)	tásé
église		ckhyàlà
égratinure		gwèlàdi
égrener		dè'wè
éléphant		ciwè
élever		k(ə)li

elle	(3e sg suj fem) (3e sg suj fem init) (3e sg suj fem renforcé)	-ghèndzé 'á ghèndzé
éloigner		kèti
emballer		péré
empêcher		máké táké dàmè yá
	(-- un accord, en ajoutant des paroles)	
emporter	(pour donner à qqun)	b(ə)ghé báná
emprunt		tèm
en ligne droit		kár
en train de		kàlà mbè
encore	(pas --) (-- une fois) (-- une fois)	ghwèlà bá di'bá
endormir	(s'--)	béhí
endroit	(-- étroit) (-- o'u un éclair a tué qqun)	pí té'wé vàn
enfant	(pl irreg)	z(ə)ghwè ndràzhi
enfermer		kèli
enfler		pè
engouffrer		bafè
enlever	(corde, plante rampante) (peau des arachides grillés) (écorce) (écorce, pour en faire de la corde)	g(ə)zèli hwémsé tá tághwèr
enrouler		péré
ensemble	(de travail communale au champs)	zhàshkè

entendre		fá
enterrer	(cadavre)	lá
entier		gwà'á
entourer		dèzli
entrainer		mbâhè
entrer	(aller dedans) (venir dedans)	dzèmbè sémbè
énumérer		b(é)lá
envahir		kèli
envelopper		péré
environ		gâr
envoyer		v(ə)li ghwèni vèli
épais	(d'un liquide)	bélbél dâkà
éparpiller		ndání
épaule		bázli ~bázli
épervier		métsá
épine		t(é)kí
éplucher		pásé
éponge	(traditionel)	sèwsè (FUL) kwsèrèkwákwa
épuisé		gwà'á
éraflure		gwèlähè
érupter		zli
escargot		ghwèrèmbè

esclave		mávà
espèce		g(è)lá
espérer		pèghè
esprit	(des ancêtres) (mauvais, dangereux) (mauvais, insensé)	réwhwè (FUL) mbérjiji gàzlákà hil
essayer		dz(è)ghè dèfél
essuyer		sádí
estomac		hwtaimbázè
et		mbà'à
étaler		p(é)lí
étang		kwfá
éteindre		pésli
éternuer		wáthímá
étinceler		wèmpídí ~wàmpídí bèbèdí
étoffe	(large, tissé à la main)	mègàpà gwàdè
étoile		sásèrkwè
étouffer		ß(è)rtí
être	(PREDICAT) (exister)	ná ndzá
euh...	(interjection d'hésitation)	wì
évider	(sans pouvoir voir l'intérieur)	lá
éviter		zlà
exagérer		kàbè

exciter		héré
excrement		vi'i
expliquer		zhìnì
expulser	(obj pl)	tihè
extraire	(liquide) (liquide, beaucoup) (métal du mineraï)	b(é)sé bésé vásé
extrémité	(à l'--)	mékérké

-F-

face		kwémá
fade	(nourriture)	nàdèkè
faible		nàdèkè
faim		má
faire		mèn
	(-- doucement)	gh(é)rà
	(-- la cloture)	ské
	(-- la diarrhée)	ghitsé
	(-- l'amour)	cí
	(-- un tamtam)	dísé
		mbghè
famille		mb(é)zli
farine		ghwèpè
fatigue	(générale) (sommeil)	gwènày dáli
fatigué	(sommeil)	dáli
faucille		mbét(i)
faux		gémgém
femelle		sámàlí

femme	(adulte) (veuve ou divorcée) (pl irreg)	màlí mákhwámàlí mégwèmbá mi'i
fendre	(bois) (se --) (se --)	wérédí páhwé prá'wé tséhé
fendu		wérá'i
fer		tsàhi
ferme		járjár ~jérjár ~jérjér
fermenter		pslí
fermer		kèli
fesse		mècini (GUV) mètsəni
fête	(de moisson)	màkwághwá fèghwè
feu		ghwè
feuille	(comestible, d'une plante grimpante) (comestible, esp) (comestible, esp) (comestible, esp très amère) (d'haricot séchée) (papier)	kándèkwé bèslpè sháñ ndi'i kámcírgí zliyà
feuilles	(générique) (nouvelles)	kslif(i) mèdádá ~mèdádà
fiancé(e)		bàzhà
fiancer		péslí
ficelle		ghwèr
fièvre		tèlimè
figure		kwémá

fil d'écorce		lápéli
filer		lémé
filet		zlékw(ə)
fille	(adolescente) (pl irreg)	zhà dàghàlà ghyèhi
fils		z(ə)ghwè
filtrer	(beaucoup)	þ(ə)sé þésé
fin	(sable, poussière, farine)	médémédé ~mídímídí
fini	(ideo)	gwà'á pékw
finir		kré
fissure verticale		wèrédi
fixer		phèphè dàŋwè
flaque d'eau		ghwà
fléau à battre		dimb(ə)
flèche	(jouet d'enfant)	hàvè bàskwà
fleur	(du néré: Parkia biglobosa)	mbréghwè dàdàrzé
flûte	(esp) (esp) (esp) (esp plus petit que cérèki)	shèrây ~shàrây cérèki jinjír térekèd(i)
fois	(encore une --) (encore une --) (-- dix) (Il était une --...)	þá diþá mèts(ə)kè mádkéiy
fondre		yéwá

fonio	(<i>Digitaria exilis</i>)	ksən
force		bərci
forcer		'yapə
forêt		zhéghwè
forge		g(ə)zlà
forger		pslì
forgeron	(pl irreg)	righéy kéréghé
fort		bərci gwélgwél
fossé		mili
fou		híl
foulbé		kébèr
foule	(assise) (debout ou en marche)	lèngwém v(ə)rèm
fouler	(-- le pied)	kédi gwérshí
fourche	(de bicyclette) (de bois)	gázlánj m(ə)táñá
fourmi	(esp) (esp noir) (esp rouge) (-- soldat)	ŋgwèrashkánà titigèzà kèngilim g(ə)zà
foyer à cuire		lèt(ə)
frais		rènik(i)
frange	(cuire)	jèkw(ə)
frapper	(une fois)	lèkè
fraternité		zémèmè
frayeur		hazl(ə)ní

frémir		gwérgwér(é) ~gwérgwérè
fréquemment		zhèvví
frère	(pl irreg)	zémèmè ŋgwármèmè
frire	(cuire à sec)	tà səlì
friser		tàkwèli
froid	(chose) (temps)	rènik(i) tàslí
front		kwémá
frontière		ghàlà
frotter		fáf(ə)lí gwèhè
fruit	(générique) (jujube) (prune: Vitex doniana)	yáfé 'wèvri shkèn ~ shkèn hà
	(sauvage, esp)	dèrmi
	(sauvage, esp)	lizè
	(sauvage, esp)	shkèn kwèkwèlà
fugue amoureuse		blívá
fuir		hwè
fumée		'ín ghwè
fusil		brèndéŋ

-G-

Gamboura	(nom du village)	gàmbèlá
gangrène		dàŋwàzhá

garder		nd(ə)ghwə
	(troupeau)	máké
gâté		lidi
		bèzə
gâter		lədi
	(obj pl)	lidí
gauche		zléß(i)
gazelle		kimə
		~kyəmə
geler		hérßéslí
gencive		kwənəkə
genou		shíní
gens		mb(ə)zli
	(— noirs)	ká
		ŋgrinjgriní
germe		m(ə)tsé
germes	(seches, d'herbes)	ŋgyáfà
girafe		triyàw (FUL)
gluant		nèßáké
gombo		ŋgzlè'wè
gommier	(Acacia senegal)	gwàlmà
gonfler		pè
gorge		ŋgwérzlà
gosier		ŋgwàdákà
goûter		dz(ə)ghè
		pré
goutte		tékwé
goutter		tékwtékwé
grain		cízli

graisse		gèkè
grand	(longeur ou hauteur)	dik(ə) b(i)tì ~b(ə)tì
grand-mère		khè
grand-père		jiji
grandir	(obj pl)	psé pésé k(ə)li
gras		méli gwélgwél
gratter		vàdí zlihé
gratuit		tègém
gravier		ghyàmb(ə)
grêle		cákáslá
grenier	(d'argile) (de paille) (divisé en deux)	kélì gèzèm támè gázlánj
grenouille		gwàmbè
griffer		hwèlàdì
grignoter		njidí pré
griller	(directement dans le feu) (obj pl)	psá pásá
grippe		'islá
gris	(-- pale)	njaghwèmè 'wèftèkè kwèpèhè
gronder		nábè

gros	bèv(ə) gwélgwél	
grossesse	hwér	
grue couronnée	léméhè	
grumeau	gwèrinj	
guêpe	dimbilizé	
guéri	dámá (FUL) mb(ə)lí gàñà'á ~gánà'á	
guérison	(bonne --! à une personne) (bonne --! à plusieurs personnes)	káñá káñwi
guetter	dáñé	
guider	gwèrà	
Guili	(nom du village)	gili
guittarre	(locale)	gzèpéli

-H-

habiller	(s'--)	sérákèn ~sérâhwèm
hache	(pl irreg)	ts(ə)'i cé'ér
haïr		ndré dimà
hameçon		gèvbénj
hameau		giwà
hanche		phèshi

hangar	(— encloturé) (petit —)	gàskà gèrkà jìbà
haricot	(esp) (esp)	cík(i)zlí 'wérészl(i) gwálém
harmattan		kwérémbèthé
haut	(en —)	mèñá
herbe	(— pour tisser les sekos) (-- seche)	gw(ə)zèn házèl séfè
hérisson		hàsèsè
hernie		givè
heure	(tout juste à l'—)	tsahì gà'gà'i ~gè'gè'i
heureusement	(— que)	mèrshimèrshi kwàtàmà
hibou		pèvèm
hier		mbrá
hippopotame		ngérté'w(ə)
hirondelle		téprèkwá
histoire	(conte)	mbrághwètí
hochet musicale		màtsàkwàsl(ə)
homme	(forme modifiable) (mâle) (adulte) (célibataire)	ndé ńtsà zàl mégélá ghwèmzhì
honorer		fál
honte	(—, avoir —)	há'wé
hoquet		hédégwégwèmè

houe	(pour creuser le banco) (pour les patates) (usagée)	ŋgwér mbèghwè gàl(ə)mà déghézli
huile		'ín
huit		d(ə)ghèsè
huitième		dghàsà
humide		nèθèk(i)
hurler		'wáŋé
hyène		'wéséŋgwàn fáwèré (FUL) kérkènzé'wé kwádzébénà
	(esp)	
	(esp)	

-I-

ici	(endroit) (direction vers locuteur, même altitude, pas très loin)	tiké tárké
igname		t(i)fér
il	(3e sg sujet) (3e sg sujet init)	-ghècí 'á
il y a		tí'á ~ tibá ~ tiyá
ils	(3e pl sujet) (3e pl sujet init)	-ghèsh(i) 'ághshí
imaginer		pèghè
imiter		pèghè
immiscer	(ideo: s'-- dans les affaires des autres)	wèvbép
impaler	(ideo: action d'--)	trèsl

important	(d'un homme)	gágà
infection		zèn
insect	(esp.)	ŋgzlàngzlagéméké
insérer	(par un petit trou)	'yàghwà
instrument	(de percussion, faite d'une jarre)	ghwèlpè
insuffisant		dàw
insulter		ts(ə)rè
intelligence		méhérli
interdire		tákè
intestins		hèr
intimider		dàkè
ivre		ghi

-J-

jadis		mbràdzè nëyndzá
jaloux		hèrhé
jamais	(plus --)	ghwèlåw
jambe		sádá
jardin		tsá
jarre	(pour la bière)	ghwèlpè
je	(1e sg sujet) (1e sg sujet init)	-é 'é
jeter	(pierre, qqch de petit, rond) (baton, qqch de long) (-- par terre)	b(ə)zlà vë'y'wé nd(ə)ghà

jeûne		séwmày(ə) (FUL)
jeûner		sé'wámá
joie		vèshí
joue		ghwèlmè
jouer	(-- un instrument)	tsáßáná tsá
jour	(un autre -- dans l'avenir)	v(ə)cí fca fcàhwtí
journée		vghwè
jugement		ŋgwèvè
jujube		'wèvrì
jujubier	(<i>Ziziphus mauritiana</i>) (-- de la hyène: <i>Ziziphus mucronata</i>)	'wèvrì 'wèvrì dghwàvà
jumeau		'ihwéli
jusqu'à		wàr
juste	(tout -- à l'heure; -- à côté de)	gà'gà'i ~ gè'gè'i

-K-

kapokier	(<i>Bombax costatum</i>)	tipè
karité	(<i>Butyrospermum parkii</i>)	gwèvàmà
képi		dàghwèbà
kola		gwérè (EMP)

-L-

la	(3e sg obj fem)	-ndzé -ta
là		ti'á ~ tibá ~ tiyá
là	(qqch de loin)	vá
là-bas	(même altitude, pas très loin) (un peu plus bas)	tár'á ~ tárba li'á ~ libá
là-dessous		tába
là-dessus		méba
là-haut		lati'á ~ latibá
laid		gémgém
laisser	(-- la boule hors du feu à la fin du cuissson) (-- par terre) (-- tomber) (ideo: — tomber qqch dans de l'eau)	zlá sé'wá kihè tré gévbém
lait		'wá
lame		pírè
lamenter	(se --)	tíhwéni
lampe-tempête		gérékwà ~ gérkewà
lance		gwápá
lancer	(lance) (pierre)	dz(é)ré b(è)zlá
langue	(organe) (parler)	ghànì kwémá

lapin		v(ə)lè
large		bèŋw
larve		métélà'i
lassitude		gwènày
laver	(chose) (personne) (se --)	yáñé pshí pi
le	(3e sg obj masc)	-ci -y
lécher		dèrnì
léger		kífkífè
lent	(action) (personne)	sèghèdè kádikádì nàdèkè
lentement		sàhè ~ sàhsàhè
lepreux		d(ə)rnà
les	(3e pl obj)	-shí
lettre		zliyà dèréwèl (FUL)
leur	(3e pl poss)	-shí
levure		'is (EMP)
lézard	(caméléon) (esp) (esp avec queue bleue) (esp brun, glissant, brillant) (esp noir, blanc et orange) (esp pale, de maison) (margouillat)	hwèŋè ghwázhà rètsè tâltálà gàŋkà tápisl(ə) béyl(ə) ~ býyél ŋgwèvèh(ə)
	(varan? esp dont on utilise la peau pour en faire le tambour: dán)	
libellule		ghènighèniv'i

lichen	bèbir
lier	phè phèphè
lieu	pí
limace	ghwèrèmbè
linceul	lèkwsá
lion	zhil
lire	jángé (FUL)
lisse	ndihwèn f(ə)lédf(ə)lédi
lisser	mbèzè (qqch de creux)
litière	hérdí
livre	gw(ə)zèn
loin	dèréwèl (FUL)
long	krák(ə)
lorsque	b(i)tì (passé) (présent)
lourd	b(ə)tì
lui	sá
lumière	sá
lune	shèndèk
lutter	dàkà
	ghècí
	wàŋ
	tír
	mbèz(ə)
	pá

-M-

ma	le sg poss	-é -ra -ŋgrá
machete		kàsàkà
machine		kiki (EMP)
mâchoire		hábhábhà
magasin		ghwèndilì
Mahao	(nom du village)	gwèvá
maigre		slyèhè ~ slèhè
maigrir		likwé
main	(dos de la --) (pl irreg)	dèvè dábádèvè divdiv(i)
maintenant	(nouveau sujet) (plus --, même pas --)	sèndzén(é)và nànákî ghwèlâ
mais		nàndzé
maïs		hàngwày
maison	(case) (concession) (-- abandonnée) (pl irreg)	cik(i) ~ cki ghì kwfì cèkèr
malade	(être --) (tomber --)	bèzè gwèràp(ə) tré
maladie	(de peau, esp) (de peau, esp) (esp)	z(ə)l(ə)ghwè bèñir k(ə)fé mbrát(ə)

mâle	(animal) (humain)	sázàl zàl
malédiction		bzè
malgré		yàtsèghá
malin		ts(ə)hwéli kyáré ~ kyéré dàbàrà'(i) (FUL)
	(être --)	
malle		shàndék(é)
maman		mèmè
manche		bázli ~ bázlí dàghàmà
manger	(boule et viande sans sauce) (boule ou sauce, lentement pour la faire durer) (qqch de cuite, fruit) (qqch de poudreux) (sauce, lentement pour la faire durer) (sauce sans boule)	zèmè mbè'wè blásé né'wé bèmè básé hwébé
mangouste		mèkshíkhíghwà
mangue		màngwèrè (FUL)
manguier	(Mangifera indica)	màngwèrè (FUL)
manioc		mbày (FUL)
mante religieuse		kwébákè
marabout		málèm (FUL)
marché		léwmà (FUL)
marécage		ghwà
margouillat		béyl(ə) ~ býél
mari		zàl

mariage		bévà
mariée	(être -- enfin)	mémé
marier	(se --) (se --, d'un homme) (se -- vite, d'une femme)	bévà bé malí bébé
marmite	(pour sauce)	sháká
marquer		ŋgwàrè
marteau	(de forgeron)	ndèvli
matin	(de grand --)	mèkshi mèkshimèkshi
maudir		bàzlà
mauvais	(au goût) (au goût)	jikir gémgém bafakfakè
mboul	(<i>Celtis integrifolia</i>)	zè'wè
me	(1e sg obj; 1e sg reflex)	-ra
méchancité		ndrèm
méchant		gwèlánj
médecin		dèkwté (EMP)
médicament		ghwi'i
meilleur		gwèrà
mélanger	(banco ou farine avec de l'eau) (deux esp de grains)	hwádí dzàvèdí
melon		hwàslègè
même	(-- pas maintenant)	yà ghwèlà
ménager		ské
menottes		dèŋw
mensonge		dzèrvè

mentir	(pour empêcher un accord)	yá
menton		hédégwégwémè
merci		'wèsá
mère		mémè
mesure	(de quantité: une main couverte)	dèrk(è)
mesurer		b(è)rèk ~ bérkè
métale		tsàhi
métier	(à tisser)	kàywà
mettre	(-- dans la bouche)	càmè
miel		màftì mbèzèkwè
miettes		mémìr
mieux		gànà'á ~ gáná'á gwèrà
mil	(à chandelle) (blanc, esp)	hámbèzè mècèkèdì ~ m(i)càkèdì
	(blanc, esp)	shákálà
	(blanc, esp)	gwèbà
	(blanc, esp)	kwádákázlèmà
	(générique)	hà
	(jaune, esp)	màskwári (FUL)
	(jaune, esp)	vèzál
	(jaune, esp)	gyàmbáràw
	(pousse, qu'on utilise pour faire le vin)	cìnjíni
	(rouge, esp)	màdékwédkw
	(rouge, esp)	màzàdày
	(rouge, esp)	mbárájihci
	(rouge, esp)	ŋgwèlà'i
	(rouge, esp)	'árádày
	(têtes qui sont encore vertes à la recolte)	mèyméy
mille		mbél
mille-pattes		dàndérgwàsl(é)

mimosa	(clochette: Dichrostachys cinerea) (épineux: Acacia seyal)	tàtérsl(ə) mètsékwè
mince		slyèhè ~ slèhè
minerai	(de fer)	vìzè lá
minorité		dàw
miroir		nighémtí diftìrè (FUL)
misère		ŋgrà'wè
moelle		mèltétè
moi	(1e sg sujet renforcé)	yèn
mois		tír
molaire		zhighàlà
molette		jìv(ə)nà
mollet		jèlanj
moment		vghwè
mon	(1e sg poss)	-é -ra -ŋgrá
monnaie		g(ə)nà
montagne	(de rochers)	dèlágwà k(ə)lán
montre		tsàhi
montrer		cí
morceau		b(ə)là
mordre		h(ə)cí
mort		m(ə)tí bèzè

mortier	(-- d'argile cuite)	'wénérđà ndàshkè
mouche		zhíš(i)
mouiller	(pluie)	ndíšé
moule	(de bois, pour fabrication de poterie)	dghàghwèmè
mourir		m(ə)tí
mousse		gwèfgwèfi
moustique		vèndzé
mouton		témbèk(é)
moyen		ts(è)hwéli kyáré ~ kyéré
muet		médèn bèdèbèdè
multi-colore	(d'une chèvre)	micikidimicikidi
multiplier		mtséhé
mur	(de maison, sans toit)	kélém báñwà
mûr		théthé
muraille	(de défence)	zlárá
mûrier	(<i>Ficus platyphylla</i> , <i>Ficus gnaphalocarpa</i>)	gwèbíri
mûrir	(fruits, légumes) (grains, légumes en forme de gousse)	thé náké

-N-

nager	mbrédèzlé
naissance	yá

naître	yá
naja	lénwé
nasse	gwèvàlà
natation	dèzlé
natron	kérbé'è
natte	dágwè (FUL) k(é)lábé kshid(i) kácér (FUL) hwtif(i)
navette	(contre les mouches) (petite -- pour servir la boule)
néré	(de tissage)
neuf	(Parkia biglobosa)
neuf	(numéro)
neuf	(nouveau)
neuvième	'wár'wár
neveu	m(ə)slid(é)
nez	m(ə)slidà
nièce	(fille de la soeur d'un homme)
n'importe quoi	kw(ə)sékè
noeud	(fils de la soeur d'un homme)
noir	yàwá'á ~ yàwáñá
noircir	ŋgèzlèñè d(ə)ghèsl(ə)
	(corde) (d'une plante, eg. canne à sucre)
	ŋgrí
	dèfè 'wèfè
	(dans la fumée)

nom	(cinquième enfant) (de moquerie, troisième né) (deuxième né) (deuxième née) (honorific pour troisième né) (huitième enfant) (neuvième enfant)	slén kwázhi tèmbà z(ə)rà másá dari kwádà kwéyàŋ ~ kwíyàŋ
	(premier né) (première née) (quatrième né) (quatrième née) (septième né) (septième née) (sixième né) (sixième née) (troisième né) (troisième née)	cikwà kwévâ nây kwánây sènèkwà kwásén tárkwá kwátá tàkwà kwárá
nombril		zhimbér
non	(réfutation impoli)	'awé nyáà
notre	(1e du incl poss) (1e pl excl poss) (1e pl incl poss)	-ŋwəm -ŋjéy -ŋwəmmə
nourrisson	(sans dents)	vrənjé'wé
nourriture		dàfà
nous	(1e du incl obj; 1e du incl reflex) (1e du incl sujet) (1e du incl sujet init) (1e pl excl obj; 1e pl excl reflex) (1e pl excl sujet) (1e pl excl sujet init) (1e pl incl obj; 1e pl incl reflex) (1e pl incl sujet) (1e pl incl sujet init)	-ŋwəm -ghwəm 'ághwəm -ŋjéy -gh(ə)y 'ághjéy -ŋwəmmə -ghwəmmə 'ághwəmmə
nouveau	(tout neuf)	yèwén 'wár'wár
nouvelle	(mauvaise --)	bár
nuage	(de poussière)	kwəlébi gèŋkíd(i)

nuit		kw(ə)slí
	(pendant la --)	hévèr
	(pendant la --, de la --)	kivèr

nuque		hédáká
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-O-

Ô!	(interj faché, étonné, peureux)	bìi...
obéir		diftí
obéissance		ftí
obscurité		kw(ə)slí
observer		kírhé
ocre		mà'is(ə)
odeur		zèn
oeil		m(ə)tsé
oeufs		slìslì
oignon	(sauvage)	kàbásàr (FUL) hwàbéy
oindre		véré

oiseau	(aigle) (autruche) (calao) (corbeau) (épervier) (esp) (esp marin) (esp noir) (générique) (grue couronnée) (heron cendré?) (hirondelle) (pic) (pigeon) (pintade) (tourbillon) (tourterelle)	zèlikè zhémbénèhw(é) zérémítèm ghàmékè métsá tàkwèri mbélyàm ghéghé 'igwè léméhè ndáfkàlà téprèkwá tèmbà táŋwtáŋw dighéli zèvénì spàplì ghèrpépè
ombre		mécákwá
oncle	(frère de la mère) (frère du père) (mari de la soeur d'un parent)	kw(ə)sèkè didi màshi
ongle		p(ə)là
ordures		k(ə)skè kwéshèbí
oreille		slémé
organe	(esp de la digestion)	tékw(ə)rémà
orphelin		méztì
os		'islé
ou		yà
où	(--, d'--) (vers --)	kwèmá ~ má dzèmá ~ má
oublier		kihè
Ouda	(nom du village)	divni
oui	(interj: Oui, mais...)	yé yá`ññj

outil	(esp: chapelet de graines de baobab)	njisl(è)
ouvrir	(yeux, de surpris)	ghwèni ghayghay
ovale		slèrhwanj
ovale et plat		hpà'wè

-P-

pagne		gwèdèl (FUL) kàdibèl
paille	(esp pour tisser les nattes) (pour boire) (pour les toits)	gw(è)zèn slirè vili mèzàdì
pain		péŋ (EMP)
paludisme		tèlimè
panier	(grand) (petit) (pour protéger un enfant de la pluie)	ghwani gâtakár likè
pantalon		yàŋkà
panthère		d(è)ghwàvà
papa		didì
papaye		ngèzlèbè
papillon		pélpéli
parabole		fir
parapluie		gàmtá'wàl
parce que	(passé) (présent)	sàndzá să sá
par-dessous		táké

par-dessus		mèké
pardon		titihw(ə)
pareil		g(ə)lá
parent	(plus agé)	m(ə)tíkwéli
paresse		már
parole		kwémá
partager		thé
partir	(ideo: -- soudain à la course)	bévbép ~ bévbék
passer	(-- la journée) (-- la nuit) (-- l'année) (-- par le plus court chemin)	vghwè hí há slákwàl
passoire	(pour le vin)	kwét(ə)
patate douce		kwédákhwè
patience	(interj: Patience!)	sahè ~sahsahè
patienter		sé'wá
patte		sédá
payer	(amende)	wá wákhwémá
pays		hidi
peau		hwtá
pêcher		ká (kérpi)
peindre		lèvè
peler	(avec un couteau)	pásé f(ə)dí
pelure		hwtáfálá
pencher		hwéðánjé

pendant	(-- la nuit)	gà'i hèvèr
pendant que		kàlà
pénétrer	(dans qqch avec l'ouverture d'un côté)	dzèmbè
penser		zèzè
pente		bàhwà
percé		bèrkwàntì ~ bètkwàntì
percer	(ideo: action de --)	bèrkwè ~ bètkwè trèsl
perdre	(--, se --)	dàŋré kihè zà
père		didi
personne	(forme modifiable) (ne...--)	ndé ńtsà shàŋ
pesant		shàndèk
peser		b(ə)rèk ~ bèrkè
petit		jéw
petit-enfant	(d'un homme) (d'une femme)	jiji khè
pétrole		k(ə)lènjér
peu		dàw jéw
peul		kébèr
peur		hàzl(ə)ní
peureux		méhàzl
peut-être		bèrkë

phacochère	ŋgərdé	
pic	tèmbà tάŋwtάŋw	
picorer	tsəŋwè	
pied	sédá	
pied d'éléphant	(Adenium obesum)	ghèrd(ə)
piège	zámbà	
pierre	(à écraser) (de frontière) (pour allumer le feu) (pour lisser)	jìv(ə)nà ghàlà hàkwèghwè kwiyákà
piétiner	kédi	
pigeon	dighéli	
piler	ndèkwè	
piller	gh(ə)lí	
piment	kàràmàs(ə)	
pincer	címslí	
pinces	mtíbí mén̄gəsə	
pintade	zèvénì	
pipe	kwzlà	
piquant	ghyàrghyàr	
piquer	'í h(ə)cí	
piqûre	bátàl	
pirogue	kwámbéwàl (FUL)	
piste	kwàl	
pitié	tfémí	

plaie		zhì
plaire	(s'il vous plait)	tèbè titíhw(ə)
planche		gèzlémbéw ~ gèzlémbé
plante du pied		pléŋplèŋ
plantoir	(en bois)	cèngéd(i)
plat et ovale		hpà'wè
plein	(être --) (--e lune)	pàfé thé dilil
pleurer		wáhé
pleuvoir		ndzémé
plier	(-- sans arranger)	ŋgwélimé tákwdélí
pluie	(-- continue du matin au soir)	vàn ghàphà
plume		sèti
plupart		dàŋ
plus	(-- jamais, -- rien) (-- maintenant, -- tard)	gwèrà ghwèlåw ghwèlå
poche		zlipà jibà
poignarder		'í
poignée		kwátásł(ə)
poignet		rékrékà
poil		sèti
pointu		k(i)dékwé
pois quenique	(Moringa oleifera)	'ér kékèr

poison		ghwi'i
poisson	(pl irreg)	k(ə)lipè kèrpì
poitrine		hátí
poivre		kàràmàs(ə)
polir		gwèhè
pondre		nd(ə)ghà
porc		ŋgèrdé
porc-épic		címéké
porcelaine		gàtsàphà
porte		g(ə)zli
porte-monnaie		mbélpás(ə)
porter	(chose) (vêtement)	bé sérákèn ~ séràhwèm
poser		fé
pot		kwákwá
poteau central		shèl
poterie		ghèni
pou		kázlikidì
pouce		gìsl(ə)
poulaillier	(transportable, en paille)	gédégél
poule		kwèkwèlè
poumons		bèfi
pour		tá tè kà
pourquoi?	(— une personne)	táwâ

pourrir		ghwàbè
poursuivre		kwàsèbè
pourvu que		kámáná
pousser	(végétation) (obj pl)	psé pésé
pousser	(avec force, par exprès) (qqun)	gwànjè ts(ə)kwé
poussière		kwérbi
poussin		kwèlítì
précaution		méhérli
précoce		divá
premier		tàná kwátáñá
prendre		bé
préparer	(la bouillie) (se --, de la pluie) (sol d'une maison avant de le lisser)	gwèmà dàli slí hwé
près de		ndèkwè
presque		ndàkwndàkwé gàr
presser	(obj pl)	b(é)sé bésé
prier		cé'wé
prière		téwré (FUL)
prison		dàngáy (FUL) f(é)rséná ~ f(é)rshíná (EMP)
prix		gètà
proclamer		g(ə)zè

produire	(interj: 'Cela a produit beaucoup!')	ŋgwéy
profit		rébá (FUL)
profond		tédém
progresser		mtséhé
promener	(se --)	tèwré
propre		dèwdèw
prosterner	(se --)	gèl(ə)hé
proteger	(-- de)	bàti
proverbe		fir
prune	(<i>Vitex doniana</i>)	shkèn ~ shkèn hà
prunier	(de mer: <i>Ximenia americana</i>) (noir: <i>Vitex doniana</i>)	kwèkwèmè shkèn ~ shkèn hà
puce		mèmídí
puer		zèn
puiser		gá
puisque		sández
puissant		gágà
puits	(creusé à la main)	héł yàm lálání
punaise		m(ə)cílèkw(ə)
pur		dèwdèw
pus		lè'wé

-Q-

quand	(conj: passé) (conj: présent) (interrog)	să sá hwém
quarante		fád mèts(ə)kè
quartier		giwà
quatre		fád(ə)
quatre-vingts		dghès mèts(ə)kè
quatre-vingt-dix		m(ə)slid mèts(ə)kè
quatrième		fàdà
que	(interrog)	'á
quelqu'un		zàná
questionner		déw
queue		shigè
qui	(interrog) (— est là?)	'ántsà 'ándâ
quiconque		yàwá'á ~ yàwábá
quoi	(interrog)	'á
quoique		yàtsèghá

-R-

raboter	(qqch de creux)	hérdí
raccorder		císlí
racconter		ndí
race		ták(ə)

racine		hílilij(ə)
racler	(qqch de creux)	hérdi
racommoder		gwèmà
raide		járjár ~ jérjár ~ jérjér
ramadan		séwmày(ə) (FUL)
ramasser		pà
ramper		tàpláké
ranger	(se --)	slkàsliká
rapide		kyéñwkyéñw
rapprocher	(jusqu'à très serré)	dzèrdi
rarement		zámsèdà ~ zámséda
raser		sléni
rasoir		pìrè
rassasier	(se --)	ngéslí béhé (GUI)
rassembler	(en tas)	'ímé bàsè dzèkwè jákè jikè (OUD) tsèni
rat	(esp) (esp diurne) (palmiste) (palmiste)	bèndzè zém thwélélé(ə) hwtél
ratel		kàñkwágwàlà
rattacher		tsèbè
rattraper		ksè

rayeur		ŋgwàrè
recevoir	(avoir reçu) (ne pas avoir reçu)	kwèmàvè 'wè ndàŋ
rechauffer	(nourriture)	kwfé
récipient	(pour servir la sauce)	hélápè
récolter	(sauf racines)	ŋglí
recourbé		ndzèhwé
recourber		hwéðàŋé
rectifier		gèŋè
rectum		mèciní (GUV) mètsèní
refaire		zhèn
réfléchir		zèzè trá
refuser		yémá zlèbàmà
régler		slká
rein	(partie plus bas du dos) (pl irreg)	wèlisè gwèmehé dèrsè
rejeter		nd(ə)ghà
rejeton	(du mil)	dzàràzlà
réjouir	(se --) (se --)	vèshí gárgáré
relever	(se --)	zhàkàtì
remède		ghwi'i
remettre	(se --)	mb(ə)li
remplacer		mbéré

rempli		gyàdè
remplir	(un trou)	thé yèmè
remuer		sé gè héré kàßè
	(avec un baton)	
renard		kéñkidì
rencontrer		kwèmè
renseigner		g(è)zè
rentrer	(à la maison)	j(i)ghéy
renverser		dépé dzébè
envoyer	(obj pl)	tihè
répandre		ndáni
réparer		gwèmà
repas		dàfà
répondre	(dans un chanson)	wá zlèßà
repos		dèkèvà
reposer	(se --)	dèkè
réprimander		náßè
résoudre	(par médiation)	yèmè
respect		há'wé
respecter		há'wé
respirer	(-- profondément)	péy shíñkèfè
ressembler	(à qqun)	vènèhwè
ressentir		tsé'wé

rester	(il reste seulement)	ndzèy kwâtâkà
retarder		ksé
retirer	(se --)	Bárvà
retourner		zhîghèvà
réunion		Bâsèvà jâkèvà
réunir	(--, se --) (se --) (se --)	jâkè tsâpè Bâsè
reveiller	(se --)	fèrghé
révéler	(se --)	civá
rêver		shiyéw
rhinoceros		k(ə)rímítík(ə)
rhume		biyàmbé
riche		gágà
rien		shàng shiyéw gém ghwélaw
	(plus --)	
rincer	(terminer le lavage) (tremper)	yîghè yèkwè
rire		'wéshí
rivière		hél
riz		mâlâwri (FUL)
robe		kwébâñ
rocher	(grand, plat) (gros, solitaire) (immense, comme à Rhoumsiki) (large, plat) (gros tas de --)	kélbâ gwédéñgwéł dínjézlí zlrábázh(i) gìñ

roi	máz(ə)
ronfler	tshézlèrh(ə)
ronger	njídí
rongeur	(esp montagnard, omnivore) mévèrkwlà
rosée	mìnì
rôter	zlí
rôtir	psá
rouge	ghèm
rouler	déñwéli (se —) kwérñwéli
route	kwàl
royaume	máz(ə)
ruban	mégàpà
ruche	zhémbéñ
ruisseau	mílì
ruminer	màsə
ruse	ts(ə)hwéli kyáré ~ kyéré

-S-

sa	(3e sg poss, possesseur masc) (3e sg poss, possesseur fem)	-cí -ndzé
sable		ndárghé

sac	(de cordes pour vieilles femmes) (en peau) (petit, pour arachides) (petit, avec frange)	béhwè (FUL) gàmbàl mbél bèzè jàmbrà
sacrifier	(aux démons)	kihè
sain		kwérinj
saison	(des pluies) (sèche) (en -- sèche)	víyà ghèli haghèli
salaire		zhèmè
saleté		rédá
salive		ndìghwèr
saluer		skwèt(i)
salut!		'wèsá
salutation		skwèvà
sang		mèymèy
sangloter		shíñkèfè
sans	(sans bosses)	ndàñ kálà ndìhwèn
sarcler	(pour la deuxième fois)	kwáh(é) gwàß(é)
sauce	(de grains de sháñ) (générique) (sans sel)	'yàsà 'ér ~ 'yèr bèslì
sauf		wàr
saut		zli
sauter	(en descendant) (hors de l'eau, poisson)	zli b(è)rmé wédi

sauterelle		hày
sautiller	(sur place)	tsérgwàmè
savant		mádibè (FUL)
savoir	(-- faire)	séná mbà-
savon		sàbélèw (FUL) sémpèli
scorpion	(esp très grand) (esp très petit)	hwàhwélèm yiti
se	(3e pl reflex) (3e sg fem reflex) (3e sg masc reflex)	-shi -ta -y
sécher		mbásé ghwèli
sécheresse		ghwèli
secouer		gwàŋkèdi kwsà
secours	(au secours!)	gwà'é
sein		'wá
sel		ghwèní
selle		ví'
semence		cízli hwélfé
semier	(à la volée) (en jettant) (-- la zizanie) (-- la zizanie en racontant des histoires)	tsèŋwè nd(ə)ghà kíhwé héré hérémí
sens		b(ə)là
sentier		kwàl
sentir		zèn

sept		mbèrf(é)ŋ
septième		mbèrfànjá
serment		félá
serpent	(boa) (deux esp, rouge et noir) (esp agressif, morcure fatale) (esp brun, gros, pas long, pas dangereux) (esp noir, agressif mais sans venin, habite près des marigots) (esp noir, petit, pas dangereux) (esp rouge et blanc, lent, agressif, dangereux) (esp rouge et blanc, petit, dangereux) (esp vert, arboreale, pas dangereux) (esp vert, pas dangereux) (générique) (naja)	ßiyá mb(ə)li ndərgaza mèthwé gwávànj
serrer	(dans la main)	shìshì mbèrhì kwárájigizli
sésame	(-- blanc)	fàráŋsà víyáhwé ŋg(ə)zlàzl shishi léŋwé
seul	(--, être --)	hèmsli
sève	(esp collante) (esp très collante)	mbèrhì míc(i)kìdì
sevère		pérpér kwètí-
sevrer		lè'wé dimè málbà
si		ghyànàkè
siffler		ŋgli
silencieux		mbà'â nøy
singe	(grand, rouge et blanc) (petit, gris)	vëy féykw(ə)
		dékwdékw gwèŋé
		ßèŋgwèlà pshigidì

six		kwáŋ
sixième		kwàŋà
soeur		zhámèmé
soif		ndír
soir	(16h - 18h) (17h - 18h)	héthwér thwér
soixante		kwáŋ mèts(ə)kè
soixante-dix		mbèrféŋ mèts(ə)kè
soleil		v(ə)cí
solide		díbdíbé
sommet		ghèn
son	(3e sg poss possesseur masc) (3e sg poss possesseur fem)	-cí -ndzé
son	(de mil, tas de) (de mil, un seul morceau)	dàv(ə)nà sháŋgwér
songer		shiyéw
sonner		tsà
sorcellerie		kwélí
sortir	(aller dehors) (venir dehors)	dz(ə)vri sévrí
soudain		ŋgáliti
souffler		věy
soufflet	(de forge)	kwércí
souffrance		ŋgrà'wè
souillure		rédá
soulever	(-- avec instrument à deux branches; -- entre deux doigts)	káfé hàsli

soulier		kwàkwàh(ə)
source d'eau	(qui ne tarit jamais)	mídétébi
sourd		médèŋ
souricière		jénjálá'(i)
sourire		'wéshí
souris		kwém
sous		tá
souvent		ndimndim
stupide		mékslèghè
subir	(avoir subi) (ne pas avoir subi)	sé'wá 'wé ndàŋ
sucer	(beaucoup)	shíbé shishébé b(é)sé bésé
sucré		njèmnjèm
suffir	(ça suffit!)	méké
suie		gyànà
suivre		néw
supplément		gyérà ~ gyárà
supporter		sé'wá
sur		tí dzèti
	(qqch de creux) (qqch de très haut) (qqch d'un peu haut)	kwà mè tè
sûr	(c'est --)	kyà
surpasser		tàŋè

surveiller	nd(ə)ghwè
suspendre	p(ə)lí

-T-

ta	(2e sg poss)	-ŋa
tabac	(esp)	tàpà (EMP) zlèwbà
table	(— meulière)	tábèl (EMP) vènà
tache		rédá
taille	(partie plus mince du tronc)	yàm(ə)hèr
tailler		slá
talent		mécàná
talon		tátèl
tamarinier	(<i>Tamarindus indica</i>)	mb(ə)lánj
tambour	(deux peaux d'antilope) (deux peaux de veau) (jouet d'enfants) (petit, peau de varan) (très grand, avec pieds)	bàmbád(ə) kwédam màghènì dánj ŋgwèm
tamis	(pour vin)	làriyà (FUL) wàràwàrà (GUV) kwét(ə)
tamiser	(vin)	kwsà tré
tamtam	(deux peaux d'antilope) (deux peaux de veau) (jouet d'enfants) (petit, peau de varan) (très grand, avec pieds)	bàmbád(ə) kwédam màghènì dánj ŋgwèm

tante	(femme du frère d'un parent) (soeur d'un parent)	mèvà mèmè
taper	(avec baton) (avec une pierre, pour casser) (doucement) (une fois)	dè'wè b(ə)zli jà'wè dèpè lèkè
tard	(plus --)	ghwèlè
tarir		mbásé ghwèli
tas de bois		léngwém
tâter	(pour vérifier la solidité) (pour vérifier la solidité)	'yàfè 'yaslì
taureau		kéléf
te	(2e sg obj; 2e sg reflex)	-ña
teinter		lèvè
tel	(un --)	njá záná
tendon		pám
tendre	(feuilles)	kwédkwéð(ə) médémédé ~ midimidi
ténèbres		kw(ə)slí
tenir	(se -- debout) (tiens!)	gàrè ndí
térasse		tàñá
terminé		gwà'á
terminer		kré

termite	(ailée) (esp) (esp)	vèyghwè lémá mbérté ~ mbrétté
	(esp) (esp)	vélanjá kwélivè
terrain		ŋgwélá
terre		hidí
tête		ghèn
tiède		bèt(ə)bèté
tige	(de mil) (de mil, partie centrale) (de mil, partie légère) (nouvelle tige)	dzèvétì slágafé sláfálá pédi
tintement	(bruit des kwérénjà)	gwèringwèriŋ
tirer	(— sur gibier)	mbähé hé
tisser		tsà
tissu	(morceau de --)	gajér ~ g(i)jér
toile d'araignée		zámbà
toit	(extension devant une porte)	ghwèzhighwèzhì
tombe		kwélí
tomber	(personne) (ideo: -- dans la boue) (ideo: — dans la boue) (ideo: — dans l'eau) (ideo: laisser — qqch dans de l'eau) (— malade)	tré gèvbâp (GUI) gèvbâp bèghwèm gèvbèm tré
ton	(2e sg poss)	-ŋa
ton	(bruit)	mili
tonnèbre		drázlí ván
torche	(electrique)	tæsæ (EMP)

tordre		hwéðàñé
tortue		tákàr hwéléf ~ hwélfé
toucher		dàpè
toujours		ndimndim
tour	(de faire la cuisine et passer la nuit avec le mari dans une concession polygame)	zhémè
tourbillon	(esp d'oiseau)	spàplì
tourner		sé zhèghè ~ zhighè hré kwáshfé
	(-- la terre)	
tourterelle		ghèrpépè
tout		gwà'á gwàna- pékw
toux		'islá
tracer		ŋgwàrè
trahir		wéli
trainer		mbähè
trancher		slá
transmettre		g(ə)zè
transpirer		ghwètèghwètè
transplanter		ŋgwéñé
transporter		bé
travail		sléni
travailler		gh(ə)rà sléni

traverser		tàŋə
trembler		gwérgwér(ə) ~ gwérgwérè
tremper		lébə yèkwè
trente		màhkán mèts(ə)kè
très		tréŋw
tresser		mbré tsà
tribu		ták(ə) ká
tribunal		ŋgwèvè
triller		trä
triste		bàrcicikw(ə)
tristesse		bàrcicikw(ə)
trois		màhkán
troisième		màhkáná
tromper		ŋgədī dàkè
tronc		déŋw
trou	(avec issue) (profond et horizontal) (sans issue)	kwàl zlèŋw ké'wé
troué		bèrkwànti ~ bètkwànti
trouer		bèrkwè ~ bètkwè
troupeau	(de boeufs)	gàrəwà
trouver	(— qqch en faisant qqch d'autre)	kwèmàvè 'wèy

tu	(2e sg sujet) (2e sg sujet init)	ghá 'ághá
tuer	(par cruauté)	péslí
tunique		kwébàn

-U-

ulcère		dàñwàzhá
ululer		ŋgwémélálá
un		kw(i)tíŋ ~ kwitín tán
	(pour compter)	
urine		kwshì
usé		háliháli
user		háli

-V-

va-t-en!	(impératif)	mbàlá
vacciner		'í
vache		slá
vagabonder		dàñré
vain		gəm
vaincre		'wéshí
vainqueur		midàlà
valise		'àkwàti (FUL)
vallée	(très étroite)	té'wé

vanner		phé
varier		mbéré
variole		dàmbálá
veau	(male ou femelle)	mbékwlí mècéri
veiller		t(i)fér
vendre		dél
véné	(<i>Pterocarpus erinaceas</i>)	'yáká
venir	(de loin, dehors) (dedans) (en bas) (en haut) (viens!)	séké sévrí sémbé skwá sémé ndí
vent		sàf(ə)
ventre		hwér
ver		zhémbrédè
versé		kyákyá
verser		shkè
vert		mídi mídímídi njámédfí
vêtement	(sans manches) (tissé à la main)	kwébàŋ dáŋkèci (FUL) gè
veuve		mégwèmbá
viande	(de sabot de vache)	slyěw dèŋwà
vide		kwféré
vider	(tronc, calebasse) (-- un plat avec les doigts)	f(é)di ní

vieillesse		háli
vieillir		háli
vieux	(personne ou chose)	háli phál
village		mél(é)mé
ville		bèrni
vin	(blanc)	táy mbèzl(i)
vingt		bák mèts(è)kè
vipère		tsápè
viser		hé
vite	(ideo)	tàntàn kyéŋwkyéŋw nénénénén
vitesse		bàli
vivre		péy
voie		kwàl
voilà	(pour accompagner une action)	ván- cá
voir		nighè
voiture		méwtà (EMP)
voix		míli ŋgwàdàkà wéri
voler	(prendre)	gh(è)lí
vomir		vènèhwè
votre	(2e pl poss)	-ŋwi
vouloir		dí

vous	(2e pl obj; 2e pl reflex) (2e pl sujet) (2e pl sujet init)	-ŋwí -ghwí 'ághwí
voyage		wé
voyager		wé

-Z-

zone	b(θ)lā
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