

# **Sociolinguistic Survey of the Dogon Language Area**

**J. Lee Hochstetler,  
in collaboration with  
J. A. Durieux and  
E. I. K. Durieux-Boon**

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## Abbreviations

C&MA	Christian and Missionary Alliance
CRC	Christian Reformed Church
DED	Deutsche EntwicklungsDienst
DNAFLA	Direction Nationale de l'Alphabétisation Fonctionnelle et de la Linguistique Appliquée
EBM	Evangelical Baptist Mission
ECE	Eglise Chrétienne Evangélique au Mali
ECED	Eglise Chrétienne Evangélique au pays Dogon
GMU	Gospel Missionary Union
GTZ	Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit
IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet
ISQ	Individual Sociolinguistic Questionnaire
KfW	Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau
NFE	Non-Formal Education
RTT	Recorded Text Test
SIL	Summer Institute of Linguistics / Société Internationale de Linguistique
StC	SOS Save the Children
UBS	United Bible Societies

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Special fonts used in this report: “Mali\_std SIL Doulos” and “SIL Doulos IPA.”

## Abstract

In 1998 a sociolinguistic survey was conducted in the Dogon language area in central Mali to assess whether all Dogon speakers could potentially use literature published in the Tōro-sōo speech variety (the Dogon variety selected by the Malian government to be the sole standard). If not, then which speakers of which speech varieties would have trouble understanding it? To what degree might these Dogon speakers benefit from literature in Bambara and Fulfulde? Or might further linguistic analysis and literacy work be needed in other Dogon speech varieties in order for all Dogon speakers to have access to a literature they could understand? This research included identifying the Dogon speech varieties, listing villages where each is spoken, mapping the geographical area of each speech variety, collecting wordlists, and asking questions following a standardized questionnaire.

## 1. Introduction

### 1.1 Purpose of the Survey

The *reason* for doing this survey was a desire to know whether the goal of all Dogon speakers being able to understand written material in the Tōro-ssō speech variety is practicable. The *purpose* of this survey was to provide data necessary for SIL administrators in Mali to decide whether or not there is a need for SIL to be further involved in various aspects of Dogon language development. The pivotal question for SIL in Mali is whether or not the average speaker of every identified Dogon speech variety can presently understand the Tōro-ssō speech variety adequately (let alone express himself in it) since the Malian government has officially chosen it as the sole Dogon standard. Adequate comprehension could be possible from either inherent intelligibility (section 1.3 defines this term) or because of widespread high-level bilingualism. This report provides information that indicates that Tōro-ssō is inherently intelligible to some degree with speakers of some Dogon varieties, but that with others it definitely is not. No attempt is made to assess the general level of bilingualism of speakers of varieties who find Tōro-ssō unintelligible, nor to analyse the feasibility of a program to raise the general level of bilingualism, albeit that these are valid questions that could be the purpose of a subsequent survey.

### 1.2 Overview

The Dogon region is far from homogeneous, not only in its physical appearance, but also in its population. Population density, way of living, and linguistic make-up all differ considerably from area to area.

Much of the background research, and all of the fieldwork for this survey was conducted in 1998 by J. A. Durieux and E. I. K. Durieux-Boon who were short-term members of SIL. At that time the author of this report was the Language Survey Coordinator for SIL in Mali, and as such was their supervisor. For practical reasons, we planned this survey to be executed in several stages (see section 8.3, “Data gathering”), but just as the end of stage one was coming into sight, the Durieux were obliged to leave Mali and were unable to take up the research again. SIL had noone to pick up the work and unfortunately finishing this report was greatly delayed.

The first stage of this survey was to concentrate on mapping the Dogon area with the view of identifying the extent and the boundaries of distinctive speech communities (term defined in section 1.3). Much information was gleaned from existing literature on the Dogon people and linguistic situation. In addition, the Durieux made several trips throughout many of the Dogon-speaking areas of Mali interviewing village elders, taking wordlists, mapping village coordinates, and collecting population figures. The departure of the Durieux from Mali resulted in less than ideal circumstances for transferring data and documents to SIL and unfortunately the questionnaires done with village elders were lost. The Dogon area most lacking in data in this report, and which remains to be visited, is the vast but sparsely populated Jamsay-tegu speaking area in the east, including its extensions into Burkina Faso at several places.

This report presents the findings of only the first stage of a survey that was cut short, but which nevertheless produced information useful for a better understanding of the complex Dogon language situation and the history of Dogon language research.

### 1.3 Definitions

Important sociolinguistic terms used in this report shall be defined, especially where usage may vary among linguists of different schools and backgrounds. In addition, some common terms will be defined to clarify the sense of their usage in this report. The definitions below do not imply any stance taken by SIL nor the author beyond the scope of this report.

The word **dialect** will be avoided in this report. It seems that its usage in other publications on the Dogon language situation points to a definition along the lines of “a named speech variety,” unless it is used in opposition to “language.” This report will refer to **speech varieties**.

A **speech community** refers to a group of people who speak the same Dogon variety. In the case of the Dogon people, this residential area may be as small as part of a village (Cal56:69).

The terms that speakers of a given speech variety use to refer to their people and language while they are speaking it will be called **endonyms**. On the other hand, **xenonyms** are any other terms used to identify the people (ethnonym) or

speech variety (glossonym) in any language other than their own. Extra care is needed to determine which set of terms one is receiving when an interview is conducted in a second language.

By **standard Dogon** we mean the variety of Dogon selected by the Malian government for development. It is the Tôro-sso variety as spoken in Sangha, combined with some specially developed technical vocabulary.

**Comprehension** should be understood to mean the degree of comprehension that speakers of a given speech community have of another speech variety. Comprehension can be absent altogether, or present to a smaller or larger degree. A speech variety which requires no prior study or learning of the listener to understand it meaningfully is considered to be **inherently intelligible**. It is understood with much or all of the same meaning that the speaker intended because there is necessarily high lexical and grammatical similarity between the listener's variety and the speaker's variety. Understanding which comes from learning another speech variety, whether by repeated or extended contact, or, by systematic study, is **acquired comprehension**.

**Adequate comprehension** is relative to a given goal. If the goal were to communicate a limited set of words or signals to a construction crew, then restricted comprehension would be adequate. If the goal were to understand and be able to read any or all literary genres of a standard variety, then the threshold that defines "adequate" would be necessarily high.

A foreign speech variety could *become adequate* for speakers of a certain variety if the extra *cost* for acquiring and using the foreign variety to meet a specific *goal* is *acceptable* to them. If this happens, such persons become **bilingual** or **multilingual**, although once again it should be kept in mind that there are degrees of bilingual proficiency.

## 1.4 Notation

To reduce confusion for our readers, we have taken the liberty to standardize the names of Dogon varieties throughout this report with the exception of retaining original spellings in quotations (indicated by either indented paragraphs or with quotation marks); table 4, "Dogon Speech Varieties"; and the appendices. Note that è and ò could be alternate representations of ε and ɔ respectively, and that the sequence ng is often an orthographic representation of ñ just as gn is for jn.

## 2. Geography

### 2.1 Political geography

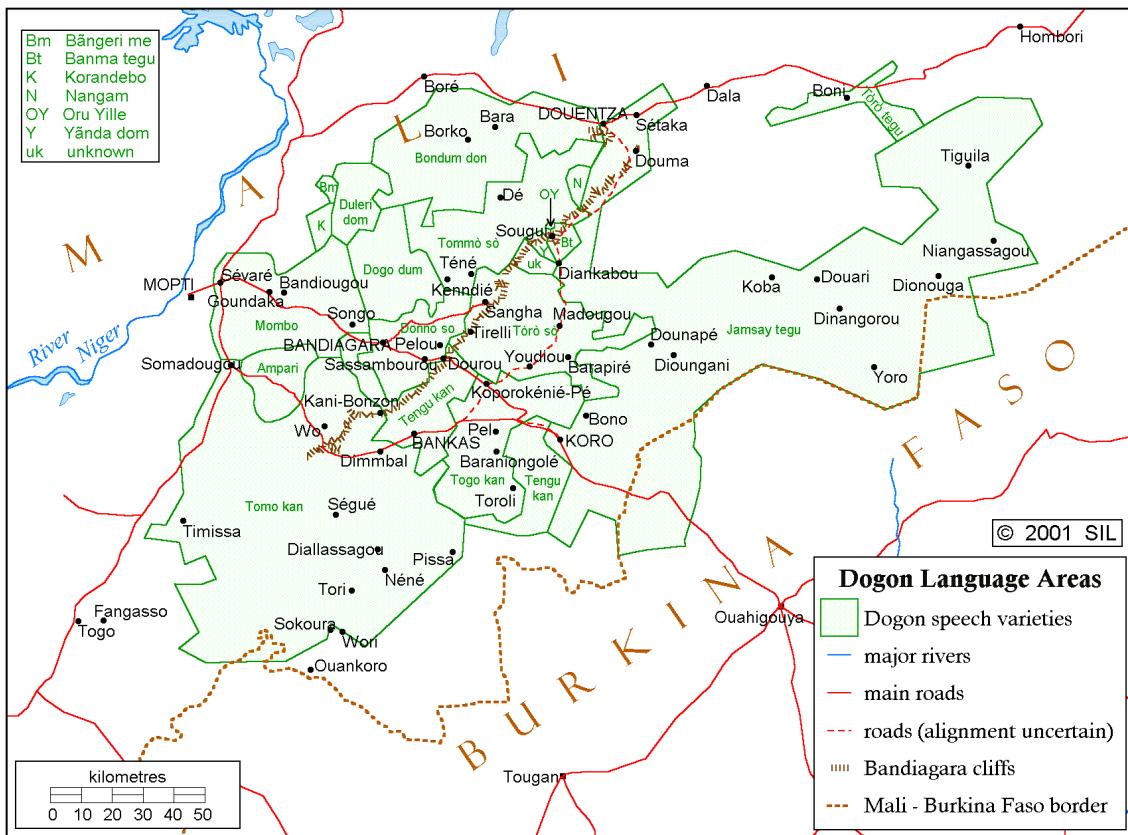
Traditionally, the Dogon do not have an internal centralized political structure. They have no tribal chief or other political structure requiring regular contact between villages throughout Dogon land that would serve to unite them politically or linguistically (Gui03).

Dogon territory as a whole has largely been managed by external political forces, in turn: empire, colonial power, and national government. Administratively, Dogon country today roughly corresponds to the part of the *Région de Mopti*<sup>1</sup> that lies east of *Route fédérale No. 1*, with some spill-over into *Région de Ségou*, *Cercle de Tominian*, *Arrondissement de Timissa*, and into Burkina Faso (see map 1).

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<sup>1</sup> Throughout this report we will use administrative terms that were in use while the fieldwork of this survey was being done. Since then, *Cercle* has become *Préfecture* and *Arrondissement* has become *Sous-préfecture*.

Map 1. Dogon Language Areas



Galtier listed twenty-seven *arrondissements* where Dogon varieties are spoken (Gal93:214–215). In table 1 we update his list with additional information from our survey (i.e., deduced from Appendix C, “Dogon towns and villages”). Numbers indicate how many villages we have located in that arrondissement where that variety of Dogon is spoken. We have excluded villages from the count for which we lack information concerning their administrative affiliation. Note that thus far we have no data to support Galtier’s claim that Togo-kan is spoken in Dourou and Bankass, or that any Dogon villages exist in the *Arrondissement de Hombori*.

Table 1. Administrative structure in Dogon land

*Région de Mopti**Cercle de Bandiagara**Arrondissement*

## Dogon Speech variety

Bandiagara	34 Donno-só, 9 Mombo, 1 Tommo-só, 1 Tomo-kan
Kendié	29 Bondum-dom, 14 Dogulu-dom, 13 Tommo-só, 5 Tiranige-diga
Ningari	47 Tommo-só, 5 Bondum-dom, 3 Naña-dama
Kani-Gogouna	30 Tommo-só, 14 Dogulu-dom, 12 Donno-só, 1 Toro-só
Goundaka	15 Mombo, 3 Bängeri-me, 2 Korandabo, 1 Tommo-só, 8 Tiranige-diga
Sangha	74 Toro-só, 7 Donno-só, 1 Jamsay-tegu
Dourou	12 Donno-só, 4 Toro-só
Ouo	57 Tomo-kan, 12 Ampari-kora

*Région de Mopti*

*Cercle de Koro*

<i>Arrondissement</i>	Dogon Speech variety
Koro	24 Jamsay-tegu, 19 Togo-kan, 14 Toro-sɔ, 4 Teju-kan, 2 Tomo-kan
Diankabou	24 Jamsay-tegu, 15 Tɔmmɔ-sɔ, 6 Yanda-dom, 3 Oru yille, 3 Toro-sɔ, 1 Naga-dama.
Dinangourou	19 Jamsay-tegu
Dioungani	32 Jamsay-tegu, 8 Toro-sɔ, 1 Togo-kan
Madougou	48 Toro-sɔ, 28 Jamsay-tegu, 1 Tɔmmɔ-sɔ, 1 Togo-kan
Koporokénié-Na	32 Togo-kan, 1 Jamsay-tegu, 1 Toro-sɔ, 1 Teju-kan
Toroli	30 Togo-kan, 3 Teju-kan, 1 Jamsay-tegu

*Région de Mopti*

*Cercle de Bankass*

<i>Arrondissement</i>	Dogon Speech variety
Bankass	12 Teju-kan, 10 Tomo-kan
Kani-Bonzon	24 Tomo-kan
Dialassagou	57 Tomo-kan
Ségué	45 Tomo-kan
Baye	2 Tomo-kan
Sokoura	15 Tomo-kan
Ouenkoro	4 Tomo-kan

*Région de Mopti*

*Cercle de Douentza*

<i>Arrondissement</i>	Dogon Speech variety
Douentza	26 Bondum-dom, isolate, 28 Tɔmmɔ-sɔ, 10 Jamsay-tegu
Mondoro	15 Jamsay-tegu
Boré	28 Bondum-dom
Boni	12 Toro-tegu
Hombori	

*Région de Mopti*

*Cercle de Djenné*

Dogon Speech variety

1 Tomo-kan
------------

*Région de Ségou*

*Cercle de Tominian*

<i>Arrondissement</i>	Dogon Speech variety
Timissa	10 Tomo-kan
Koula	4 Tomo-kan, 1 Ampari-kora

## 2.2 Physical geography

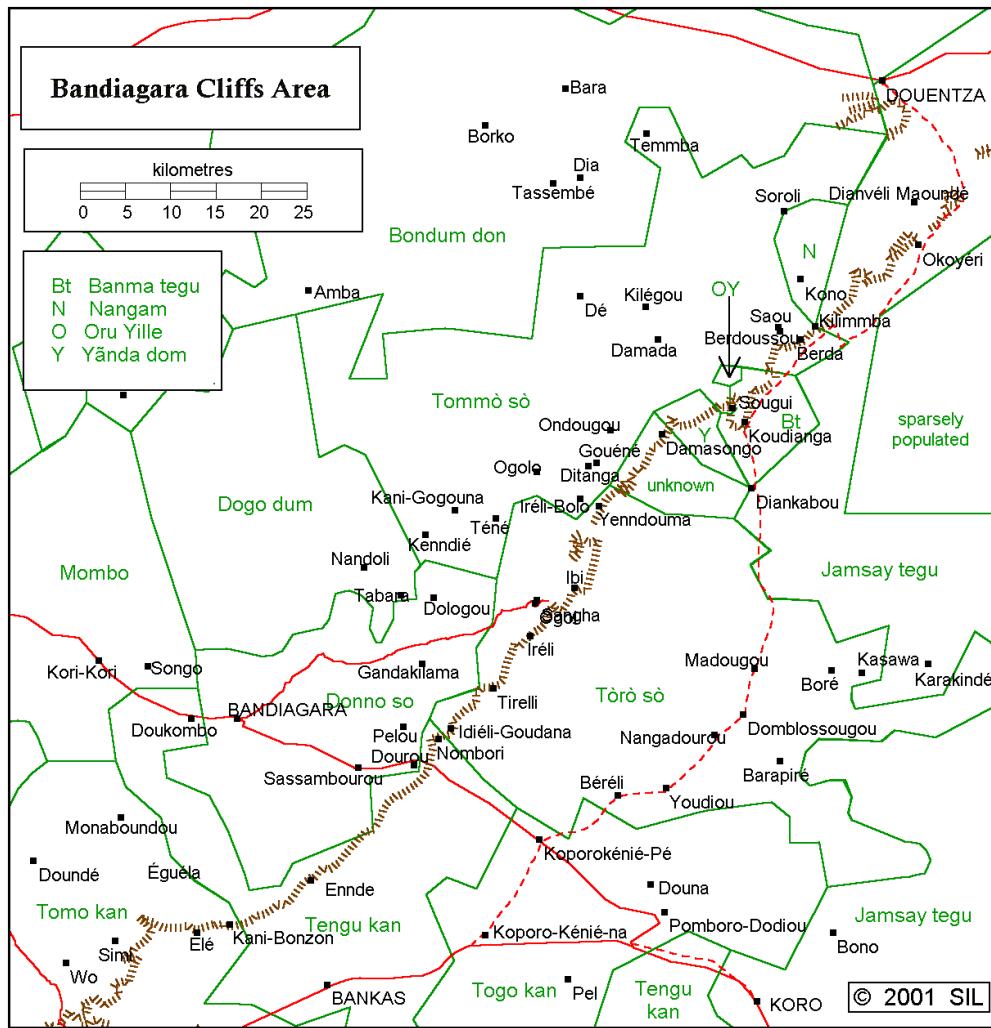
The Dogon people live in the southwest part of the Central Nigerian Highlands in central Mali, in a region called the *falaises de Bandiagara* (Cal68) (see map 2). This area consists of a high rocky plateau in the west and a wide sandy plain called “Seno” in the east, separated by a 400–600m high sheer cliff.

In the words of Amadou Timbiné:

*En somme soumis aux aléas d'un climat sahélien favorable seulement à une végétation clairsemée, actuellement angoissé par la menace de désertification, le pays dogon souffre d'isolement à cause de la rareté et du mauvais état des voies de communication. (Tim87:II)*

According to inhabitants of Sangha, the plains, which in February 1998 were a sandy expanse with isolated trees every few hundred meters, a generation ago looked like an open forest through which the soil was not visible to people looking down from the top of the cliff.

**Map 2. Bandiagara Cliffs Area**



### 3. People

#### 3.1 Name

The name “Dogon” (pl. Dogō, sg. Dogo (Wes52:60) or pl. Dögöm, sg. Dögöne (Cal78:63)) is their general ethnic endonym. Bambara speakers call the plains and cliff dwelling Dogon, “Tommo” albeit that the Dogon themselves employ this term in a more restricted sense to specify a certain speech variety spoken on the plateau (Cal78:63). Perjorative xenonyms are employed by some of their neighbors. For example: in Fulfulde—pl. Habe, sg. Kado (Ber53:410, Cal74); also in Fulfulde for certain plains Dogons—pl. Humbe-bê, sg. Kumbé-dyo or Kombodo (Ber53:410); in Mooré—pl. Kibissi (Wes52:60) or maybe Kipsi (Ber53:410) or Kib(i)se (Cal78:63), sg. Kibga (Cal78:63).

### 3.2 Origin and ethnic classification

In 1912, Delafosse counted the Dogons among the Voltaic peoples, figuring that their traditional link with Mandé actually derives from a ritual link with the neighbouring Bozo people (Ber53:406).

In 1948, Baumann and Westermann also grouped the Dogons ethnically with the Voltaic peoples in *Les peuples et les civilisations de l'Afrique*. They wrote that the Dogon are the northernmost Voltaic people group, being a mixture of indigenous tribes and immigrants from the West related to the Bozo (who arrived around the seventh century). The indigenous people would have been red-skinned people of small stature who lived from hunting and gathering, and the megalithic immigrants would have been farmers. The Mandé civilization gave them castes such as bards. Between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries the Mossi dominated a large part of the area and introduced much of their neo-sudanese civilization (Bau48 in Ber53:408–409).

In 1951, Holas classed the Dogon alongside the Bozo as Mandé, in *L'Homme noir d'Afrique*.

In 1953, Bertho stated that the Dogon admit that they were not the first occupants of the cliffs of Bandiagara. They say the first inhabitants were the Télèm or Télé, but that they pushed them out towards the east. He asserted that the Dogon culture fits best with the Voltaic peoples and then cited a number of examples to support this claim (Ber53:410–411).

In 1954, Griaule and Dieterlen wrote:

*According to their own accounts, the Dogon are all derived from one stock. This they explain by the tradition that the original four pairs of twins gave birth to four tribes, Arou, Dyon, Ono, and Domno, who in theory shaped the universe among themselves, and in particular the stellar system.* (Gri54:89)

Dieterlen (Die41) mentions a fifth tribe being Kor, but by 1954 she understood them to be connected with the Ono and Domno (Gri54:89). Since the earliest times the Dogon and Bozo have maintained a religious and economic relationship (Gri54:107).

Jean Tessougué (Tes82) summarises the oral history tradition of the Dogons as follows. The Dogon people originally come from the “Monts Mandingues” (southwest of present-day Bamako), which formed part of the empire of Keïta. In the tenth century they reached the cliffs of Bandiagara, where they founded their first settlement, Kani-na. Slowly they spread and filled the cliff region, which offered them the protection that they needed because they were small in number. The few Dogons who settled in the fertile plains suffered from repeated razzias by their Fulbē neighbours (their hereditary enemies, Cal68:VIII). The cliffs were already inhabited by the Tellem or Kurumba people from whom they borrowed many aspects of culture and civilisation.

The Dogons, partially because of the extreme roughness of the terrain, organised themselves in small independent units with little contact between them. Since the 1960s, however, more and more Dogons have left the cliff in favour of the less harsh and more fertile plains. More recently, because of the severe drought, many Dogons, especially from the more northern areas, have left their traditional region, and moved south.

In 1998, Yegbe wrote:

*Historical records and oral tradition agree on the fact that the Dogon are said to have come from Mande to escape Islamic domination. They fled...the Fulfulde and Toucouleur Islamic wars and came in the 11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> century to live in the rocky areas of the present Dogon region.* (Yeg98:5)

Both the literature and our own observations agree that most Dogon groups claim their origin to be Mandé just as Bertho stated: *Il n'est pas douteux que la plupart des traditions Dogon indiquent une origine Mandé* (Ber53:409).

### 3.3 Population

The overall number of Dogons was counted at 220,000 in 1953 (Cal56), as over 300,000 in the government census of December 1976, and estimated at 500,000 in 1988 (Whi88). The number of Dogons in Mali was estimated at 508,000 in 1991 (Van91). Census information allowed us to estimate the number of Dogon speakers in Mali at 530,000 in 1987, and at 675,000 in 1988 (see 8.8.2 “Census data” for a justification of these and other figures).

More exact figures are hard to obtain, as Malian censuses do not enquire into ethnic affiliation, the Dogon area extends into Burkina Faso, and there is (at least, there was in 1998) a sizeable Dogon community in Abidjan, Ivory Coast.

Population figures for the *Cercle de Bandiagara*, (1992, source GTZ) are given in table 2.

**Table 2. Population densities in the *Cercle de Bandiagara***

Arrondissement	Km <sup>2</sup>	Inhabitants/Km <sup>2</sup>	Inhabitants
Central	1,276	26	33,183
Goundaka	1,261	16	17,703
Dourou	296	63	18,603
Kani-Gogouna	395	46	18,152
Kendié	1,425	19	26,985
Ningari	787	39	31,012
Ouo	1,556	18	27,560
Sangha	385	57	21,875
Total	7,381	27	197,073

### 3.4 Means of support

Traditionally, the Dogons are agriculturists. Their main crops are cereals, especially millet, which is eaten in the form of *to*, a thick flour paste, most commonly with a sauce made out of baobab leaves. Other cereal crops are sorghum, rice, and fonio. Secondary crops include cotton, peanuts, and tobacco. In the hilly areas, especially on the plateau, more intensive crops are grown, such as hot peppers, tomatoes, eggplants, and the crop successfully introduced by Marcel Griaule, onions.

Other means of support are hunting, gathering, handicrafts, and raising livestock. Recently, tourism has become an important source of income, especially in the Sangha area (Tog84).

### 3.5 Other inhabitants<sup>2</sup>

The area described is mostly inhabited by Dogons, but a sizeable population of Fulbê (also known as Fulani or Peul) and smaller pockets of people from other groups are present as well.

The Fulbê are semi-nomadic cattle herding people who used to be the traditional enemies of the Dogons, frequently raiding their more accessible villages and capturing slaves. A considerable number of them live in the Dogon area, especially in the Northwest, North, and East where one can now find neighbouring Dogon and Fulbê villages, or villages where both live.

In the Southwest, a mixed Dogon (Tomo-kan speakers) and Bwa (Bomu speakers) region can be found, and in the Southeast there are some Bobo (Bobo Madaré speakers). In the plains east of Koro live enclaves of Kurumba (called Tellum by Dogons and Foula by Mossi). They were the previous but now displaced inhabitants of the cliff. Also in the south, in the *Cercle de Bankass*, live Bambara speaking Marka (Gal93:200).

West of the Dogon area live the Bozo, to the Northeast the Songhai. South and straddling the border with Burkina Faso are the Pana and Samo peoples, as well as some Mossi (Mooré speakers).

## 4. Language

The first in-depth linguistic study of Dogon speech varieties was apparently done by Geneviève Calame-Griaule who published her first findings in July 1952. Her article was followed by a more informative one by Bertho in January 1953.

### 4.1 Number of speakers

According to Ministère du Plan (MdP90) *Tome 1*, in 1987 the number of people six years and older who claimed to speak Dogon was over 400,000 as shown in the bottom row of table 3. In this table, the number of Dogons who were raised speaking a variety of Dogon (column 3) are compared with how many Dogons who were raised Dogon still use their language (column 4). The number of people who learned Dogon later in life and still use it are combined with

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<sup>2</sup> Parts of this section come from (Gal93), (Plu94), and (Tog84).

those in column 4 to produce the figures in column 5. All these figures are categorised by sex and by residence (urban or rural). For further interpretation of this table, refer to section 9.3.5, “Viability.”

**Table 3. Number of Dogon speakers six years and older in Mali in 1987**

Residence	Sex	Dogon as mother tongue	Dogon as mother tongue and current language	Dogon as current language
Urban	Male	21,090	16,294	16,501
	Female	18,035	14,103	14,327
	Both	39,125	30,397	30,828
Rural	Male	185,802	183,196	183,857
	Female	195,987	193,820	194,396
	Both	381,789	377,016	378,253
Total	Male	206,892	199,490	200,358
	Female	214,022	207,923	208,723
	Both	420,914	407,413	409,081

#### 4.2 Linguistic classification

In 2000, the language typology of Dogon was moved up one level by Williamson and Blench to become **Niger–Congo, Mande–Atlantic–Congo, Ijo–Congo, Dogon–Congo, Dogon** (Wil00:18).

The basic word order of Dogon is strictly SOV (Ben89b:173). Typologically, Dogon is characterized by a quite unusual combination of “agglutinating” verb (with a variety of aspectual and temporal markers within the word form) and “isolating” noun (without any affix markers at all, even number and case markers being clitics) (Plu95).

The taxonomy of Dogon is by no means undisputed. In 1921, Arnaud cited a letter from Delafosse in which the latter made the detailed claim that:

*Au point de vue grammatical, le parler actuel des Habé semble devoir être rattaché au même groupe que les parlers Mandingue, tandis que du côté lexicographique il a des rapports avec le groupe Voltaïque, comme avec le groupe Mandingue.* (cited in Ber53:407)

By 1924 Delafosse classed Dogon linguistically at least, as “Nigéro-Sénégalaïs.” This was a term he coined which included among others all Mandé varieties from Sarakholé and Bozo up to the Boko of Boussa in Nigeria, the Songhai varieties, and Samo. This group was separate from his *groupe voltaïque* (Ber53:407).

In 1941, Homburger, in her *Langues Négro-Africaines*, classed Dogon as Voltaic specifying their location as being on the left bank of the Black Volta northeast of Boromo. Bertho provides convincing evidence to explain how a mix-up of terms probably led her to think that Ko and Dogon were the same thing, and so most likely she was referring to Ko. If taken at face value, it is surprising that further on in the same work she seems to approve of Delafosse’s vast grouping of languages (including Dogon), which he called *Nigéro-Sénégalaïs*. In 1949, she explicitly agrees with this grouping in volume 1 of the *Encyclopédie coloniale et maritime* on French West-Africa (Ber53:408).

In 1948, Baumann and Westermann classified Dogon as a Voltaic language in the “Gurunsi” subgroup (Ber53:409).

In 1951, Holas (p. 60, cited in Ber53:409) insisted on classifying Dogon as a Mandé language.

In 1952, Delafosse called Dogon a Mandé language in the book *Langues du Monde*.

In 1952, Westermann and Bryan, classified Dogon as “Gur” (p. 60), which Nadan points out is a language based name equivalent to the geographically based name “Voltaic” (Nad84 in Ben89a:141).

In 1953, Bertho was convinced that the Dogon varieties are Voltaic. He wrote:

*Il n'est pas douteux que la plupart des traditions Dogon indiquent une origine Mandé. Par contre, les dialectes en usage manifestent une parenté Voltaïque.* (p. 409)

In 1953, Laverne de Tressan considered Dogon nonclassified (Cal78:66).

Calame-Griaule, after having withheld judgment for some time (Cal56:62; Cal68:IX) finally accepted Dogon as *gur* (*mais très marginale*) (Cal74).

In 1963, Greenberg published his landmark classification of African languages. Concerning Dogon, he continued in the line of Westermann, grouping it with the Gur languages (Tim87:iii, Cal78:66).

In 1971, in *Current Trends in Linguistics, 7: Linguistics in Sub-Saharan Africa*, Dogon was included within Gur, but it was stated that: “lexically, it is not close to any Gur language, but it does have some general lexical affinity to the group as a whole” (p. 151, cited in Ben89b:169).

In 1981, Manessy reluctantly retained Dogon in the Voltaic group saying it was only because he lacked convincing evidence to place it elsewhere. He expressed the hope that a better classification for it would be forthcoming (Man81:106).

In 1989, Bendor-Samuel removed Dogon from Gur, isolating it within Volta-Congo (Ben89b:169).

In 1993, Galtier considered the issue unresolved and did not go beyond the remark that both grammatically and linguistically the Dogon varieties are closer to Bambara than to Fulfulde (Gal93:198).

In 1994, Plungian and Tembiné still considered both the Mandé and Volta hypotheses unproven (Plu94:164).

In 1998, Yegbe wrote: “Historical records and oral tradition agree on the fact that the Dogon are said to have come from Mande to escape Islamic domination” (Yeg98:5).

In 2000, Williamson and Blench moved Dogon up one level from Volta-Congo, classifying it under Ijo-Congo (Wil00:18).

Though the Dogon seem to have an *ethnic* Mandé origin, this does not irrevocably classify the Dogon speech varieties as Mandé linguistically.

It is not certain that all varieties currently considered Dogon actually are Dogon.

*Il faudrait reprendre l'enquête amorcée sur la répartition dialectale et étudier de près certains parlers marginaux qui ne sont peut-être pas dogon malgré les affirmations des usagers (P.F. Lacroix avait recueilli en 1967 une documentation sur le parler dit ejeyge dō de la région de Pignari qui semblait confirmer cette hypothèse). (Cal78:69)*

#### 4.3 List of varieties

(For a detailed treatment of Dogon speech varieties see table 4.)

Traditionally, the Dogons recognise six Dogon “languages”<sup>3</sup> of which Jamsay-tegu is considered the original (Cal56:63). In practice, they recognise a myriad of tiny distinctions even between parts of villages and sometimes individuals, and strive to preserve these (Tog84:4).

Although the unity of the Dogon people as a whole is linked to the notion of linguistic unity, there is wide variation between the various Dogon speech varieties, probably to a large extent attributable to minimal contact between the various groups. Each group is quite conscious of their particular way of speaking and takes pride in it.

*Les usagers sont très conscients de ces différences et en tirent une certaine fierté, car la diversité linguistique va chez eux de pair avec un fort sentiment de l'individualité des groupes sociaux. Il en résulte une tendance d'une part au conservatisme dialectal, d'autre part à l'exaltation par chacun de son propre parler et au dénigrement de celui d'autrui, mis en évidence par la coutume des “moqueries de villages.” (Cal68:viii–ix)*

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<sup>3</sup> The quotation marks indicate that this usage of the word “language” may not correspond to the technical definition given in section 1.3, “Definitions.” The word is retained, however, as it corresponds to the perception the Dogon people themselves have that these “languages” form part of a larger set of all twelve “languages of the world,” which further includes Fulfulde, Mooré, Bambara, Bozo, and Tamasheq (source doesn’t mention the twelfth). More precisely, the Dogons do not seem to have a notion of “language” as opposed to “speech variety.” In Toro-soo the only appropriate word, *sɔɔ*, can mean anything from a language or a way of speaking via a speech, an epistle or a word, to a letter character, or a piece of paper (Gra98).

To our knowledge, Calame-Griaule was the first person who aimed to identify the main Dogon speech varieties (Cal52:77). We will list the speech varieties with the name she used, followed in parentheses by the name(s) we are using in this report:

duleri dom (Tiranige-diga), idyoli donge (Mombo, ampari-kora), Tomo kā (Tomo-kan), tene tini (Togo-kan, teju-kan), dyamsay tegu (Jamsay-tegu), yanda dom, Bondum dom, tombo so (Tommesso), dogul dom (Dogulu-dom), kāmma so (Donno-so), Toro so (Toroso), nāna tegu (Nana-dama), teutegu (Oru-yille).

Bertho identified two more Dogon varieties: tabi (Toro-tegu) and dyeni or yéni (Bangeri-me) (Ber53:412–413).

Plungian and Tembiné identified budu-tagu (Korandabo) (Plu94:178).

Our survey collected information that indicates that the villages of Oualo and Koumbel-Na, in the northern cliff area, might have their own distinctive speech which we have labelled “isolate.”

It should be noted that some of the Dogon varieties listed above also have distinct sub-varieties and that the speech variety list is by no means rigid.

#### 4.4 Other languages

Other than the various Dogon speech varieties, the main languages in use in the region are Fulfulde, Bambara, and French.

A sizeable number of Dogon people speak Fulfulde with varying degrees of proficiency. Fulfulde is at times used as a language of wider communication between Dogons who otherwise would have difficulty communicating with each other (Cal68:VIII). Fulfulde tends to be held in low respect by Dogons and was refused as a language of education as will be mentioned in section 4.5, “Standard Dogon.”

Bambara is somewhat in the same situation; held in low respect, but to a lesser degree. It is sometimes resented as a language of cultural imperialism.

French is an external language of wider communication, spoken by a few Dogon people, taught at schools, and held in high respect as the only option for upward mobility.

#### 4.5 Standard dogon

There is a strong motivation to have one Dogon variety serve as a literary standard for all Dogon speakers. It is based on the practicability of teaching reading and writing to all Dogon speakers who desire it. DNAFLA made this clear.

*La langue Dogon souffre d'une pluralité dialectale très marquée à telle enseigne que l'intercompréhension entre deux locuteurs de dialectes périphériques opposés devient difficile, voire même nulle.... Puisqu'il ne paraît pas réaliste de proposer l'alphabetisation des locuteurs de ces dialectes en chacun de leurs dialectes, compte tenu des efforts humains et du coût matériel que cela nécessite, force nous est de faire le choix d'un dialecte de référence dans cette pluralité.* (DNA81:2)

In 1973–74 “Operation Mils-Mopti,” a rural development organization, asked DNAFLA<sup>4</sup> to help them start a literacy program for farmers in the plains of Séno (Gal93:200). An earnest search was made to identify one variety of Dogon which was expected could serve the entire Dogon population. This turned into a difficult and controversial task. Two reports explain the activities of this quest and an understanding of each in its context is helpful to avoid confusion. The DNAFLA (1981) report was published years before Galtier (1993) but it is helpful to read the latter first. Galtier recounts the surveys and results as they unfolded twenty years earlier and adds details missing from DNAFLA’s report. The conclusions presented in Galtier’s report were the object of controversy and gave rise to DNAFLA reanalysing their data about seven years after the events took place. Where it appears that DNAFLA (1981) contradicts Galtier (1993), it is because DNAFLA dealt with the data differently and consequently drew different conclusions.

The first thought was to do literacy work in Fulfulde, the language of wider communication in the area. When certain Dogon intellectuals in Bamako heard about the plan they warned that there would be a high risk of failure. Subsequent research confirmed their suspicions by showing that Fulfulde would not be accepted by most Dogons

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<sup>4</sup> More likely DNAFLA’s predecessor CNAF since the former did not come into existence until 1975.

because many stated that if Dogon were not an option, they would rather learn Bambara (a language unknown to most of them), as the Bamana were farmers like themselves (Gal93:200–201).

The next idea was to target Jamsay-tegu as the standard variety. Calamne-Griaule had already written that Jamsay-tegu had many archaic forms in its speech and that it and Tɔmmo-sɔ were used widely in literature presenting oral traditions. It was hoped that speakers of all the other Dogon varieties would be able to identify with the more conservative Dogon variety. To verify this, a plan was made to collect a standardized 200-item wordlist in each of the following varieties: Tɔrɔ-sɔɔ, Donno-sɔ, Tɔmmo-sɔ, Jamsay-tegu, Togo-kan, and Tomo-kan (Gal93:201). This was done in 1974 and the results declared in Galtier (1976). By mathematical procedure an integration score was calculated for each variety, and Tɔrɔ-sɔɔ was shown to be the winner (Gal93:201–202).<sup>5</sup>

The team considered this proof that Jamsay-tegu was not the most integrated variety in the set, but rather Tɔrɔ-sɔɔ, and that Tomo-kan is the most divergent. Another systematic calculation seemed to confirm that cognicity was too low between Tomo-kan and any other variety and that it would need to be dealt with separately. The wordlist analyses as a whole slightly favored Tɔrɔ-sɔɔ over Togo-kan as the variety to be chosen as standard (Gal93:203).

In the late 1970s and early 1980s there was much debate within DNAFLA concerning the standardization of Dogon. There was disagreement over the interpretation of survey results and this led to more surveys and more discussion, and the inclusion of Teju-kan as a seventh variety to consider. Many of these activities are summarized in section 5.3, “1970–1999.”

In 1979, decree No. 159/PG-RM (DNA93:7) formalized an alphabet for “dogon (dɔgɔsɔ)” which established it as a national language.

DNAFLA reanalysed their survey data and in 1981 they published DNAFLA 1981. A team reanalysed lexical, grammatical, and questionnaire data for each variety. The resulting scores of the seven varieties were ranked from highest to lowest and the number of its rank assigned to that variety (1 = highest, 7 = lowest). When the rank scores of the tests were summed per variety, Tɔrɔ-sɔɔ received the lowest overall score, and thus some persons took this as confirmation of the 1976 conclusion that it is the variety of choice for standardization. (See section 7.2.3, “Summary of DNAFLA 1981” for more details.) Recorded text tests (RTT) were also reported and the results showed that among the seven varieties tested, only speakers of Tɔrɔ-sɔɔ, Donno-sɔ, and Tɔmbo-sɔ had an inherent chance of understanding each other. (See section 7.2.4, “Recorded text tests” for RTT results.)

Many Dogons still consider Jamsay-tegu to be the standard variety, and the fact that there are radio broadcasts in that variety may promote this thinking (Plu94:189). According to Temê, Jamsay-tegu is used for announcing obituaries and Tɔrɔ-sɔɔ for political and social issues (Yeg98:6).

#### 4.6 Orthography summary

The orthography for Tɔrɔ-sɔɔ (standard Dogon) has been subject to some change. Geneviève Calame-Griaule had through her dictionary (Cal68) set a de facto standard for the spelling of Tɔrɔ-sɔɔ, which was very close to the IPA spelling. A major disadvantage of this spelling was the presence of the phonetic symbols ɲ, ɲ, ε, and ɔ that were not present on common typewriters. The Protestant mission in Sangha had subsequently replaced ɲ and ɲ by the digraphs ng and ny, respectively, but the production of Tɔrɔ-sɔɔ literature remained the monopoly of external agencies that could afford nonstandard equipment.

In 1977, DNAFLA established the *Règles d’orthographe de la langue dogon (toro-so)*, a spelling that could accurately represent Tɔrɔ-sɔɔ words using only common alphabetic symbols (Gal93:210). That alphabet is like the French alphabet, but e is always pronounced as French é, è as in French être, o as in French trop, ò is pronounced as in French sotte, ü as French u, u as French ou, and w also as French ou (only used as word-final plural marker). Additionally, the palatal nasal is spelled ny and the velar nasal ng. Vowel length is marked by doubling the letter. Diacritics are only written on the first of a double vowel. Nasality is marked by writing an n after the vowel. Tone is normally unmarked, but high tone can where necessary be marked by an acute accent. High tone marked on the letters è and ò are written as ê and ô (with a circumflex), respectively.

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<sup>5</sup> The methodology that was used is controversial.

In 1982, a government decree was issued as an attempt to harmonise orthographies of the national languages of Mali and several other West African languages. The main change was the reintroduction of the nonstandard symbols from the IPA alphabet so that ng, ny, è, and ò were replaced by ñ, n, ε, and o, respectively.<sup>6</sup>

At this point, there were two incompatible orthographies for Tɔ́rɔ́-sɔ́o in use, one by the Protestant church and the other by DNAFLA. By 1985, the SIL team was able to mediate a harmonized orthography.

## 5. Milestones

This section will present the salient milestones that shed light on the Dogon language situation. For milestones relating to the linguistic classification of Dogon speech varieties see section 4.2, “Linguistic classification.”

As we made our acquaintance with the existing literature, we were able to piece together something of the history of how the world has come to know about the Dogon people and their speech varieties. Due to the inaccessibility of their residential region and their fame as a people of brave warriors,<sup>7</sup> until the early 1900s the Dogon were a relatively uninvestigated people (Cal78:66). Systematic Western ethnographic knowledge of the Dogon people seems to have started with *Le Plateau Nigérien* by Lieutenant Desplagnes, and ethnographical description culminated in the work of Marcel Griaule (Gri66, Gri83) and his team, who arrived in Sangha in 1931. Griaule’s work was mainly ethnological and led to a thorough knowledge of the amazingly complex cosmogony of the Dogon people.

### 5.1 1849–1950

J. Bertho states that, despite claims to the contrary, Clarke, in his *Specimens of Dialects* of 1849, did not present any Dogon wordlists; of the three ten-item lists indicated as such, two are definitely not Dogon, and the third is difficult to locate (Ber53:405).

In 1907, Desplagnes published *Le Plateau Nigérien*, which contains important ethnological information on the Dogon. His linguistic claims, however, are not supported by published linguistic data and seem to derive rather from oral traditions (Ber53:406).

In 1921, Arnaud published a 600-item wordlist from Téménéré and smaller ones from Sangha, Tabi, Bargué, and Douentza (Arnnaud 1921, cited in Ber53:407).

In 1931, the Christian and Missionary Alliance mission sent Mr. and Mrs. F. J. McKinney to Sangha to start working among the Dogon.

In 1948, Michel Leiris (Lei48) published a grammar and lexicon of Sigui, a secret cult language closely related to Tɔ́rɔ́-sɔ́o. It contains much general background material.

### 5.2 1951–1969

In 1952, Geneviève Calame-Griaule published a short article on Dogon linguistic diversity (Cal52) followed in 1956 by a short, but accurate and still highly relevant overview of the various Dogon speech varieties (Cal56). We shall cite the latter extensively in section 6, “Speech variety inventory.”

In 1960, Mali became independent of France.

From 1961–1967 the institution called *Education de Base*, an agency of the *Ministère de l'Education*, created ten *Directions Régionales* throughout the country (DNA78b:3).

In 1962, the government adopted *la Réforme de l'enseignement* to assure that good education be available for the whole population (DNA78b:3). (Law No. 6 274/AN-RM du 17 septembre 1962 might be the formalization of this reform. This reference number is given on page 52 of DNA93.)

From the first literacy campaign between 1961–1967, three important conclusions were drawn: 1. Literacy campaigns must be conducted in national languages and strictly tied to programs of economic and social development. 2. Literacy teachers must be local persons. 3. Literacy is not a one-time nor sporadic activity, but rather must be

<sup>6</sup> Even though ñ was not among the letters proposed in the alphabet decree.

<sup>7</sup> Ironically, the Dogon people are devoid of a warrior tradition to the extent that the translation work on the Old Testament book of Joshua suffers from the lack of basic war-related vocabulary (Gra98).

conceived of as an ongoing activity in the area (DNA78b:3–4). The implication is that by choosing one standard variety per language family it was hoped that virtually the whole population of Mali could become literate, and given this frame of reference, other speech varieties within the language family were to be considered dialects.

From September 8–19, 1965, Mali participated in the World Conference of Ministers of Education on the Eradication of Illiteracy in Teheran. Mali was one of the first three countries chosen with the help of UNESCO to experiment with a new method called *alphabétisation fonctionnelle* (DNA78b:4).

In March 1966, Mali hosted an inter-African conference on the unification of transcriptions of the principal languages in the interior of West Africa. At this conference a standard system for writing four Malian languages was proposed. The alphabets proposed were: Manding (Bambara - Malinké), Songhai, Fulfulde and Tamasheq (DNA78b:4).

In May 1967, the Malian government officially adopted the four proposed alphabets by according them the status of *langues nationales* (DNA78b:4). The two open-mid vowels were indicated with diacritic marks above the vowel so that ordinary typewriters could be used to write these national languages.

At some point here, the *Education de Base* became the *Centre National de l'Alphabétisation Fonctionnelle* (CNAF) (DNA78b:4).

In 1968, Calame-Griaule (Cal68) published her Tōro-ssō dictionary. She used phonetic symbols for vowels so that diacritics could be used to mark tone. This was a significant departure from the newly standardized national alphabets of 1967.

In 1969, Prost published his grammar of Togo-kan (Pro69) and Kervran published his grammar of Donno-ssō (Ker69, Ker86).

### 5.3 1970–1999

In 1971, Leger published his Tomo-kan dictionary (Leg71a) and grammar (Leg71b).

In 1974, Paul Guindo, a Togo-kan speaker who was then a student in Bamako, and Gérard Galtier who was then working for DNAFLA, collected six Dogon wordlists.<sup>8</sup>

During 1974–1977, a half dozen or more sociolinguistic surveys were done (Ger93:206). Among those involved were Operation Mil-Mopti in November 1974 and February 1975 (Gui77:1), the Catholic mission in Bandiagara in 1975 (Gui77:1), and a project called *Education du base* in the Séno in August 1975 and January 1976 (Gui77:1) in *les écoles de l'inspection de Bandiagara (qui recouvre l'ensemble du pays dogon)* (Gal93:206).

On October 21, 1975 the Direction Nationale de l'Alphabétisation Fonctionnelle et de la Linguistique Appliquée (DNAFLA) was created by “Ordonnance No. 60/CMLN” (DNA78a:4) and after a meeting of the *Conseil des Ministres* its organizational structure was defined in Décret No. 185/PG-RM issued November 6, 1975 (DNA78a:4–6). DNAFLA's *Division de la Recherche Linguistique et Pédagogique* (DRLP) was given the following mandate.

*La Division de la Recherche Linguistique et Pédagogique est chargée d'entreprendre toutes les recherches linguistiques utiles à la transcription et à l'utilisation des différentes langues nationales dans les types d'éducation scolaire et extra-scolaire; de rassembler tous les travaux et informations disponibles qui concernent les différentes langues nationales et de constituer un centre de documentation accessible aux chercheurs et aux formateurs; de procéder à toutes enquêtes, évaluations et expérimentations visant à dégager les conditions optimales d'utilisation des langues nationales en vue de donner à l'ensemble de la population une éducation adaptée aux exigences du développement de la Nation.; de procéder à la préparation, en vue de leur publication de tous documents en langues nationales pouvant contribuer à la réalisation des objectifs confiés à la DNAFLA.* (DNA78a:5)

In 1976, DNAFLA started research on Dogon (Con86:214). Their approach was based on certain presuppositions already defined by the government, the most important one being that only one Dogon reference variety should be able to serve all Dogon speakers (possibly in combination with Fulfulde and Bambara). It was their job to determine which Dogon variety to select to serve the entire Dogon population.

In 1976, DNAFLA helped with a linguistic survey in the schools of Dogon land (Gal93:212, 206). The results were written up in Galtier 1977a (Gal93:216).

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<sup>8</sup> Perhaps the wordlists were published in Galtier 1976 (cf. Gui77), but we have not found the document to verify this.

In March 1976, DNAFLA published Galtier, Guindo, Togo, and Douyon's: *Rapport sur le choix d'une langue standard pour l'ensemble des parlers Dogon* (Gal93:215).

In 1977, DNAFLA established the *Règles d'orthographe de la langue dogon* (*Toro-so*) with a spelling that could accurately represent Toro-so words using only common alphabetic symbols (Gal93:207).

In 1977, the *Unité Dogon* of DNAFLA conducted a sociolinguistic survey (DNA81:2). The results were written up in Galtier 1977b (Gal93:212).

Based on 1974–1977 research, certain DNAFLA researchers concluded that Toro-so should be the standard variety of Dogon, but others disagreed (DNA81:2–3).

Sometime during the 1978–1979 dry season, the *Unité Dogon* sent two of their researchers on a three week trip to do a dialect survey. The results were analysed and submitted to the *section linguistique* (DNA79:14).

In 1979, DNAFLA published a Dogon-French lexicon (Gal93:210).

In December 1979, during *Les Journées d'Etudes sur les Langues Nationales* the arguments presented to justify the choice of Toro-so were rejected (DNA81:2).

In 1979, decree No. 159/PG-RM (DNA93:7) formalized an alphabet for *Dogon* (*dɔgɔsɔ*) which established it as a national language.

On October 10, 1980 Décret No. 268/PG-RM created *Directions Régionales de l'Education* (DNA82a:70).

In October 1980, Ann Hook began SIL's involvement in Dogon, in the Toro-so variety. Elizabeth Olsen joined her a year later.

In 1980, Maurice Houis addressed the problem of language versus dialect in his paper *Problèmes de dialectologie* (Hou80).

About 1979 or 1980 DNAFLA did recorded text testing to assess the degree of intercomprehension between Toro-so, Donno-so, Tɔmмо-so, Jamsay-tegu, Teju-kan, Togo-kan, and Tomo-kan. They reanalysed their survey results to date and produced report DNA81.

On November 14, 1981 Décret No. 305/PG-RM reorganized DNAFLA, replacing decree No. 185/PG-RM (DNA82a:70–73).

In 1982, a government decree was issued to harmonise orthographies of the national languages of Mali and several other West-African languages.

In 1982, J. Tessougué and A. Togo wrote a *mémoire* (i.e., thesis) on the variations between Jamsay-tegu, Togo-kan, Tomo-kan, and Toro-so (Tes82).

In 1993, Kervran published his dictionary of Donno-so (Ker93).

In 1994, Plungian and Tembiné's description of the sociolinguistic situation among the Dogon people was published (Plu94).

In 1995, Vladimir Plungian published a phonological and grammatical sketch of Tɔmмо-so (Plu95).

In 1997, Alphonse Kéné wrote a *mémoire* (i.e., thesis) which was a lexical study of ten Dogon speech varieties, using Galtier's six 200-item wordlists from 1974 plus three others of unstated origin (Ken97).

In 1998, Josué Temé (Toro-so speaker) and Antoine Yegbe (Ivorian, Mwan speaker) described a partially executed sociolinguistic survey to determine the need and possibility for additional Dogon Bible translations (Yeg98).

## 5.4 Plungian and Tembine

Of special importance to our goals is the research of Vladimir Plungian and Issiaka Tembiné (Plu94) into the sociolinguistic situation of the Dogons with respect to language standardization, and in the remainder of this report we shall make use of their findings. For this reason it is useful to give a short overview of their methodology here.

The main instrument they used was the sociolinguistic questionnaire, which came in two forms. One was administered to a quota sample of 108 Dogons living in Bamako, and the other—more interesting in the light of our goals—to a sample of 110 Dogons in Dogon country itself.

Subjects in the latter sample came from smaller monolingual (“typical”) villages of the following speech varieties: Bondum-dom, Dogulu-dom, Tiranige-diga, Ampari-kora, Mombo, Tommo-so, Donno-so, Tomo-kan, Teju-kan, Togo-kan, and Jamsay-tegu. While the sampling method is not described in the article, it seems that no attempt was made at random selection, nor were strict quota maintained. For the resulting sample, each cell was defined by sex (male, female) and age (under 25, between 26 and 40, and over 40) contained between nine and thirty-six subjects. Wherever we report sample results from Plungian (1994) without further qualification, we are referring to results from this second sample of Dogons living in Dogon country.

The questionnaire consisted of three parts, inquiring into basic statistics (e.g. sex, age, religion, education), language use (proficiency and domain use), and language attitudes (prestige, ease of understanding, and preference). Unfortunately, the information given regarding the questions that were asked is not sufficient to indicate whether the proficiency was active or passive, nor the degree of it. Still, the information published is useful to our goals.

## 6. Speech variety inventory

Many names and variant spellings have been published in reference to Dogon speech varieties. It took us considerable time and effort to sort out which names and spellings refer to which speech variety. There are many reasons for variants in spelling and some can be explained by different alphabets and/or orthographies and varying degrees of competence using them, phonetic spelling that varies according to location within a given speech variety, typewriter limitations, typographical errors, and xenonymic versus endonymic terms. It is hoped that table 4, “Dogon speech varieties,” will help researchers understand what names refer to what variety. We cite only the earliest document we have found for any given spelling.

Name used in this report	= bold
Alternate names	= [enclosed with brackets]
Information from this survey	= <enclosed with wedges>

Several names considered varieties elsewhere in this report appear as sub-varieties in the table below (i.e., the subvarieties highlighted in bold). This was done simply to facilitate showing the nomenclature associated with that variety in past literature. Elsewhere in this report those names are ascribed the status of “variety.”

Table 4. Dogon speech varieties

Area	Speech Variety (glossonym)	Subvariety	Remarks	People Name (ethnonym)
Plains	<b>Jamsay-tegu</b> (Plu94), [Dyamsay tegu (Cal52), Jamsay tegu (Cal78), Jamsay (DNA82b), Humbébè (Ber53)]	1. Domno tegu (Cal56)	Subvariety of wider communication for Jamsay-tegu (Cal53). Considered the “purest” of the four subvarieties (Cal56).	Domno (Cal56), Dyamsay around Douentza are called Houmbébè (perjorative) (Cal56).
		2. Gono tegu (Cal56)		
		3. Bōama tegu (Cal56)		
		4. Guru tegu (Cal56)	Spoken in the <i>arrondissements</i> of Koro and Dinangourou (Plu94)	
	<b>Toro-tegu</b> (Plu94), [Toro tegu (Cal56), Tabi (Ber53), Tannam (DNA81), Tandam (DNA82b)]		< Tandam not known locally>	Toro (Ber53), Djammsay (Ber53), Idji-baii-beu (Ber53)

Area	Speech Variety (glossonym)	Subvariety	Remarks	People Name (ethnonym)
	[Tene-kan (Plu95), [Tene tini (Cal52), Tene tiāi <sup>9</sup> (Cal56), Tene kōa (Cal56), Bankass (Ber53)]]	1. <b>Teau-kan</b> (DNA82b), [Tenguttingi (Plu94), Tene kōa (Cal56), Teāu (DNA81), T¥ău-kan (New00)]  2. <b>Togo-kan</b> (DNA82b), [Togo kōa (Cal56), Togokan (DNA81), Togo (DNA81)]		Tenghu (Ber53), Teăum (Cal56)  Togo (Ber53), Togom (Cal56)
	<b>Tomo-kan</b> (DNA82b), [Timiniri (Ber53), Tomo kōa (Cal52), Tomokan (DNA81), Tomo (DNA81)]	1. < Aa-kan > 2. < Au-kan > 3. < Basara-kan > 4. < Caman-kan > 5. < Bongu-kan > 6. < Cibala-kan > 7. < Tamambala-kan >		endonym = doon (Cal56)
Central Cliff and Eastern Plateau	< <b>Toro-so</b> >, [Toro so (Cal52), TÀɔrɔ (Cal68), Tɔrɔ-so: (Cal78), Toro-so (Plu94), Toroso (DNA81), Torobomu (DNA81), Torò-sò (DNA82b), Irelí and Sanga (Ber53), Bomu tegu (Cal56), Bombu (Plu94)]	1. Yougou village (Cal56)  2. Yendoumman, Touyogou, Koundou villages (Cal56), [Yendumõa (Cal52)]  3. Ibi village (Cal52)  4. Néni, Banani, Pèguè villages (Cal56), [Banani-Pègè (Cal52)]  5. Sanga canton and Bara (Cal56), [Sanga (Cal52)]  6. Iréli, Yayé, Amani, Tiréli, Oulou, Kommokan villages & part of Idyéli village (Cal56), [Iréli-Amani (Cal52)]	Called Bomu tegu (clumsy ones' speech) by plains dwelling neighbors (Cal56).	

<sup>9</sup> Calame-Griaule used a dot above the n to represent the velar nasal [ŋ].

Area	Speech Variety (glossonym)	Subvariety	Remarks	People Name (ethnonym)
	< <b>Tommɔ-so</b> >, [Tommo-so (Plu95), Tombo so (Cal52), Tommo so (Cal56), Tombo sj: (Cal78), Tonbo (DNA81), Tonbo-so (DNA81), Tombo-so (DNA82b), Ninngari (Ber53), Tomo (Ber53), Tombogo (Ber53)]	1. Ondom and Amala villages (Cal56)  2. Wazouba village (Cal56)  3. <Kassa-so>	<Tommɔ-so is endonym (Kou03).> Called Tommɔ-so by Tɔrɔ-soɔ speakers (Cal56). < Called Tombo-so by Bondum-dom speakers (Kou03).> Ninngari = name of village	Tommom (Cal56)
	<b>Donno-so</b> (Cul94a), [Donno-so (DNA82b), Donou-so (Ber53), Bandiagara (Ber53), Kāmma so (Cal52), Kamma (Plu94), Kāmba so (Cal56), Kamba sj: (Cal78)]	1. Dono so (Cal56) 1.1 <Taba nongu> 1.2 <Gine banu mo> 1.3 <Gondo>  2. Kõamba so (Cal56) 2.1 <Kamma golo> 2.2 <Kamma taba>		Donom meaning ‘people from above’ (Cal56). Donnon (Ker86)
Western Plateau	<b>Tiranige-diga</b> (Plu94), [Dulo (Plu94), Duleri dom (Cal52), Duleri (Ber53), Douleri (Ber53), Dulom so (Cal56), Tiranogotoni (DNA82b), <Kirge> ]		In Douleri cantons (Cal56). Called Dulom-so by cliff dwellers (Cal56). <Called Kirge by Bondum-dom speakers.>	
	Mombo (Plu94), [Edyeāge dōo (Cal56), Ejeāge dōo (Cal78), Ejenge-dom (Plu94), Idyoli donge (Cal52), Idyoli dōāge (Cal56), Pignari (Ber53), Kolum so (Cal56), Kolu-sò (DNA81)]	1. <b>Mombo</b> 1.1 <Helabo> 1.2 <Miambo>	endonym = Mombo. Both 1&2 called Kolum so ‘sunset dialects’ by central Dogons (Cal56). <It is in the Pigna district so the FulbÔe call it Pignari.>	
		2. <b>Ampari-kora</b> (Plu94), [Ambôange (Cal56), Ampari (DNA81),]		

Area	Speech Variety (glossonym)	Subvariety	Remarks	People Name (ethnonym)
	< <b>Bangeri-m¥</b> , , [Bangeri-me (Plu94), Bôaägeri m¥* (Cal56), Dyenï or Yéni (Ber53), Numadaw (DNA81), Noumandan (Tog84), Numa-daw (Plu94), Elebo** (Plu94)]		< “Numadaw” not known locally. >	NÀonÀonkÔe (Tog84)
	< <b>Korandabo</b> >, [Budu-tagu (Plu94), < Budu-so >]		< Called Budu-so by Tômmô-so speakers who (at Pirô) claimed Korandabo is endonym. Budu = name of village	
North and Central plateau	<b>Bondum-dom</b> , Bondum dom (Cal52), [Tinntamm or Tintam (Ber53), Bondum (DNA81), Poyio-dom (Plu94), Bondu-dom (Plu95)]	1. < Kindyem (in the west) >	Tinntam = name of village	endonym = Dowoy [variant of “dogon”] (Cal56). xenonyms = Bondum; Siyemboy [a Bondum greeting] (Cal56).
		2. Nadyamba (in the east) [Najomba (DNA81)]		
	<b>Dogulu-dom</b> (Plu94), [Dogulu (DNA82b), Nanndoli or Nandoli (Ber53), Dogul dom (Cal52), < Omogo, Dogulu so >]		Nandoli = name of village (Ber53). < Called Omogo by Tômmô-so speakers & Dogulu-so by Tj̃r̃-sî speakers. >	
	< <b>Naña-dama</b> >, [Nanga-dama (Plu94), Nôana tegu (Cal52), Nôaña tegu (Cal56), Naña tegu (Cal78), Wakara (Ber53), Nañam (DNA82b)]		Wakara = name of canton (Ber53). Similarities with Bondum-dom (Ber53) and Dogulu-dom (Ber53) < and Jamsay-tegu. >	
Northern Cliff	<b>Yanda-dom</b> (Plu94), [Yanda dom (Cal52), Yôanda dom (Cal56), Yandadom (DNA82b), haban daga]		Similarities with Dogulu-dom (Cal56). < Called Haban daga (perjorative) by Fulb�.	

Area	Speech Variety (glossonym)	Subvariety	Remarks	People Name (ethnonym)
	<b>Oru yille</b> (Cal56), [Teutegu (Cal52), Tew tegu (Cal56), Bede so (Cal56), <Tebl>]		Called Tew tegu in Jamsay-tegu (Cal56) & Bede so in Tɔrɔ-sɔɔ (Cal56). <Called Tebl by Yanda-dom speakers.> Some similarity with Yanda-dom (Cal56).	
	<Isolate>	<Two villages: Oualo, Koumbel-Na>	<Supposedly different from all other varieties.>	

\*Calame-Griaule used a comma under the e to represent the open-mid front vowel [ɛ].

\*\*Apparently Plungian and Tembinê erroneously associated “elebo” with bangeri-me rather than with Mombo (c.f. helabo).

The Fulbê sometimes refer to the Dogon people with the perjorative term *haabé* (plural) or *kaado* (singular) (Ber53:410). They sometimes call the Dogon of the plateau of Bandiagara the general name *Gani-ko-bê* (Ber53) and the Dogon in the Southeastern plains they sometimes call *Houmbe-bê* (plural) (Ber53, Cal56) or *Kumbe-dyo* (singular) (Ber53).

We have found the Dogon speech varieties listed by Calame-Griaule in Cal56 to be quite accurate, and thus in the following overview of the speech varieties we shall start each description with hers. Given the general growth of the Dogon population since the publication of her data, we estimate that her population figures should be multiplied by 2.5 to extrapolate to 1998 figures.

The 1987 population figures we cite were obtained by associating the population figures per village according to the 1987 census with the language information for each village that we collected during the survey. We cannot give an estimate as to the error in absolute population figures; but we can estimate that errors in population figures of communities relative to the total population figure will not exceed 5 percent of the total population.<sup>10</sup> We report percentages with a precision of 0.1 percent, in order not to report all the smaller speech varieties as 0 percent.

The percentages given do not add up to 100 percent, for three reasons. First, and least importantly, are the approximations due to rounded figures. Second, some 3 percent of the population is known to speak isolated varieties, and although we do know the villages where they are spoken, we do not know the name of these varieties. The most important reason, however, is that for 3.5 percent of Dogon speakers we do not know what variety they speak. Most of these live outside Dogon country in San, Ségou, or Bamako.

Information about schooling is likewise drawn from the 1987 census. The number of schools offering “premier cycle” (normally grades 1–6) is given for each variety. If any “second cycle” (grades 7–9) schools were present, their number is given after a plus (+) sign. Schools in bilingual villages have been attributed randomly to one of the varieties.

## 6.1 Ampari-kora

“Ampari” may be the Fulfulde name, even though Plu94 used Ampari-kora to indicate the variety. Calame-Griaule listed it as the Āmbange subdialect of Edyenge dō (Cal56:66). See Mombo for her description.

Population: 1987 census: 4,300; 1998 extrapolation: 5,200 = 0.8 percent

Ampari-kora is spoken on the west end of the plateau, on both sides of the road leading to Bankass and Burkina Faso. An isolated Ampari-kora speaking village called Pahandaga was found close to Lanfiera in the Tomo-kan area.

### 6.1.1 Intercomprehension

According to the elders of the Mombo speaking village Bandiougou, Ampari-kora speakers could understand them, but not vice-versa. One explanation might be inherent intelligibility, since Calame-Griaule listed both Mombo and

<sup>10</sup> In other words, a given relative population of N percent indicates an estimated relative population between (N-5) percent and (N + 5) percent. From this it follows that estimates for smaller groups have a higher relative error.

Ampari-kora (she called it Āmbanje) as subvarieties of Edyenje dō. However, since the Ampari-kora speakers that the elders spoke about came yearly to Bandiougou to observe a rite, this might also be learned comprehension.

### **6.1.2 Institutions**

Schools: 0

## **6.2 Bangeri-me**

### Bangeri me

*C'est un dialecte unique en son genre parlé dans le canton de Léolguéou-Nonnonké qui représente moins de 1.000 habitants; il est tout à fait aberrant et ne ressemble à aucun autre, bien qu'il se rattache à la langue dogon par sa structure. Les autres villages de la région parlent le bozo.* (Cal56:66)

Population: 1987 census: 900; 1998 extrapolation: 1200 = 0.2 percent.

Bangeri-me is spoken in seven villages in the extreme northwest of the plateau. Although reportedly grammatically close to other Dogon varieties, the bangeri-me lexicon is quite different from other Dogon varieties (Ber53:413, Cal68).

Quoting Calame-Griaule again, this time from Calame-Griaule (1968):

*D'un autre point de vue, l'étude du petit dialecte appelé /bájeri mé/, parlé par une petite fraction de Dogon à l'extrême Nord-Ouest du pays, et qui, bien que reconnu comme «dogon» par les autres, semble présenter des caractères totalement aberrants, serait fort utile pour établir des critères d'appartenance linguistique.*

### **6.2.1 Institutions**

Schools: 0

## **6.3 Bondum-dom**

### Bondum dom

*Dans la subdivision de Bandiagara, on le rencontre dans les cantons de Tintam (sauf Kendi<sup>11</sup> qui parle tombo et Mélo qui est peul), Borko, Dogani, Koutoumiri, Touré (en partie seulement); dans la subdivision de Douentza, il est parlé dans les cantons de Boré (en partie), Nadyomba (sauf Temba qui parle tombo), Tigné (en partie), Douentza (en partie; de nombreux villages parlent tombo, peul, etc). Le total est d'environ 9.000 Dogon.* (Cal56:67)

Greeting monikers: *Po iyo* or *Siyemboy*.

Population: 1987 census: 21,600; 1998 extrapolation: 24,700 = 3.8 percent.

Bondum-dom is spoken along the northern border of the plateau and is separated from the Tɔmmɔ-sɔ area to its south by a mainly uninhabited plain east of Dia and a deep ravine running westward from Dia to the cliff that ends the plateau. According to elders in various villages, there are two subvarieties of Bondum-dom—Kindyim in the west and Nadyamba in the east.

According to Denis Douyon (Dou98), there have been literacy classes in Bondum-dom sometime in the past, but not currently. According to John McKinney, Jr. (McK98), a partial translation of the New Testament in Bondum-dom (Nadyamba variety?) exists, but despite enquiries, we have been unable to locate it.

### **6.3.1 Intercomprehension**

It was reported that around 1989, Tɔrɔ-sɔ speaking teachers living in Borko used Bambara in their dealings with the local (Dogon) population since their variety was not understood (Sme98).

According to the elders of Tédié (known locally as Te), Nadyamba was easy for them to understand, whereas understanding Kindyim was much more difficult. Tèdié is a Tɔmmɔ-sɔ speaking village near the Nadyamba area.

### **6.3.2 Viability**

The village of Kendié used to be Bondum-dom, but is now virtually all Tɔmmɔ-sɔ.

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<sup>11</sup> The village spelled Kendi (distinct from Kendé) in Calame-Griaule's article is Kendié in this report.

### **6.3.3 Institutions**

Schools: 1

## **6.4 Dogulu-dom**

Dogul dom

*Il est parlé par 3.000 personnes environ; son aire comprend quelques villages des cantons de Kambari-Bandiagara, Oussabari-Ouroli et Saré, ainsi que le canton de Nandoli en entier. (Cal56:67)*

Population: 1987 census: 12,200; 1998 extrapolation: 15,700 = 2.4 percent.

Called *omogo* by Tɔmмо-so speakers, and *Dogulu-so* by Tɔrɔ-soo speakers.

The centre of the Dogulu-dom speech area is Nandoli.

### **6.4.1 Intercomprehension**

Dogulu-dom speakers take pride in the fact that, “We understand everybody; nobody understands us.” Some probing revealed that “everybody” here means the people from the “so” varieties: Tɔrɔ-soo, Tɔmмо-so, and Donno-so.

At several locations we recorded a story on cassette in preparation for a test that was to be conducted during the second stage of the survey. Several times during our travels we did some informal testing to see how the local population would react. We recorded stories in *Tɔrɔ-soo de la mission* (standard Dogon) at Sangha, Tɔmмо-so at Ningari, Bondum-dom (Kindyim subvariety) at Tintam, Donno-so at Bandiagara, Toro-tegu at Iwra, and Tomo-kan at Ségué. We played the Tɔrɔ-soo story in Sougoudonou (Nandoli), a Dogulu-dom village and we found that at least some Dogulu-dom speakers understood standard Dogon reasonably well. When we played the Tɔmмо-so, Donno-so, and Tomo-kan tapes in Sougoudonou, the first two were understood by at least some people, whereas the last one was not even recognised as being Dogon.

### **6.4.2 Institutions**

Schools: 0

## **6.5 Tiranige-diga**

Durleri dom

*Ce dialecte, appelé dulom so par les habitants des falaises, est parlé dans la région de Douléri (cantons de Douléri Sissongo et Douléri Sanabéri) qui représente une population d'environ 3.000 Dogon.*

Population: 1987 census: 3,200; 1998 extrapolation: 4,200 = 0.6 percent.

Called *duleri dom* in Cal56 (p. 66). Called *tiranogotoni* on the DNAFLA map (DNA82b). Called *kirge* by Bondum-dom speakers. Plungian (1994) uses the name *tiranige diga*, while also mentioning the name *dulo* for it.

Tiranige-diga is the main Dogon variety in the northeast corner of the plateau. We did not visit this speech area.

### **6.5.1 Institutions**

Schools: 0

## **6.6 Jamsay-tegu**

Dyamsay tegu, « dialecte de la paix »

*C'est le dialecte important du nord-est de la plaine du Gondo Séno; il s'étend au nord dans quelques cantons de la subdivision de Douentza, et au sud-est jusqu'au canton de Séno-Tendéli. Au total, il est parlé par environ 40.000 Dogon. Il se divise en quatre sous-dialectes assez différenciés, répartis dans les proportions suivantes:*

*I. domno tegu, « dialecte des Domno », considéré comme le plus pur des quatre, il est parlé dans les cantons de Yoro et Guiri, Dinangourou, et dans quelques cantons de la subdivision de Douentza (Dallah: 5 villages dogon sur 33; Dyanvéli: tout le canton, soit 7 villages; Hombori: une dizaine de villages; dans le canton de Douentza, la population est assez mélangée ainsi que les dialectes). Ce sous-dialecte domno, le plus important, est parlé par 20.000 personnes environ.*

*II. gono tegu, « dialecte du Gondo », parlé dans le Gondo Séno (Habbés et Foulbés) par environ 8.000 personnes.*

*III. bāma tegu, « dialecte de Bamba », le moins pur de tous, parlé par les villages du Bamba (moins ceux de Bamba-du-Haut et les villages de Yanda); par les trois villages du canton d'Ambo et par Orobane dans le canton de Gondo Séno Foulbés; soit environ 6.000 personnes au total.*

*IV. guru tegu, parlé dans le canton de Séno-Tendéli, ce qui fait également 6.000 personnes environ.*

*Le dyamsay est reconnu à peu près généralement comme le dialecte le plus ancien, celui qui aurait conservé l'état de le plus archaïque de la langue; il permet de se faire comprendre dans toute la plaine et au bord du plateau (particulièrement le dialecte domno qui est le plus pur), servant ainsi de dialecte véhiculaire. D'ailleurs il est avec le tombo la langue des chants, de certaines prières et des devises ou tige. Dans l'ordre de révélation des langues à l'ancêtre, le dyamsay, nous l'avons vu, venait le premier. (Cal56:64)*

Greeting moniker: *Jamsay*, originating from Fulfulde and meaning ‘peace’ (Cal56:64).

Population: 1987 census: 108,000; 1998 extrapolation: 130,000 = 20 percent.

These figures are probably too low because they exclude the Bama-tegu speakers (1987 census: 2,200; 1998 extrapolation: 2,500). We did not finish collecting language information on all villages in the plains, and it seems that the 1987 census skipped a part of the plains.

Jamsay-tegu is spoken in a large, but sparsely inhabited, area comprising the north and east of the plains, extending a little into Burkina Faso. Plungian (1994) stated that the subvariety called Guru-tegu is spoken in the *arrondissements* of Koro and Dinangourou (p. 179).

Bama-tegu is shown as a separate variety on our map to facilitate locating it. We did not visit any Jamsay-tegu village.

### **6.6.1 Intercomprehension**

Refer to section 7.2.1 for DNAFLA’s RTT results.

### **6.6.2 Language attitude**

Yegbe (1998) claimed that Christian Tɔmмо-sɔ and Jamsay-tegu speakers tend to know the Tɔrɔ-sɔ words for the various items sold at the annual Protestant Church convention, except for the typically Christian paraphernalia, but prefer to use their own variety in naming them (p. 18).

Furthermore:

*...many young Jamsay [Christians] prefer to hear sermons in Jamsay in their own village during Sunday services but can accept hearing them in Tɔrɔ-sɔ at multidialectal conferences. (Yeg98:17)*

Yegbe (1998) also wrote that Jamsay speakers switch back to Jamsay-tegu immediately after the Protestant church service is over (p. 24).

### **6.6.3 Institutions**

Schools: 14 + 1

Radio: There are radio broadcasts in Jamsay-tegu (Plu94:189). Yegbe mentions that Jamsay-tegu is used for announcing obituaries, and Tɔrɔ-sɔ for political and social issues (p. 6).

## **6.7 Donno-sɔ**

### **Kāmba-so, « dialecte de Kamba »**

*Il est parlé dans les cantons de Kambari-Bandiagara (à l'exception de trois villages parlant dogul), Kambari-Pérou, et dans quelques villages des cantons de Guimini et Endé (les autres parlant tene kā). Au total, environ 12.000 Dogon parlent ce dialecte qui se divise en deux sous-dialectes, (a) le kāmba-so proprement dit, parlé par les Kamba belem, « ceux de Kamba », et (b) le dono so, parlé par les Donom, « les gens du haut ». (Cal56:66)*

Population: 1987 census: 36,000; 1998 extrapolation: 45,300 = 7.0 percent.

Donno-sɔ is often used to indicate the whole kamba speech area, possibly as a result of the importance of Bandiagara, which is the capital of the *Cercle* of the same name. It apparently comes in two subvarieties, “pure” Kamba-so and Donno-sɔ. The pure variety is spoken around Kamba, and comes in two varieties again: Kamma golo and Kamma

taba. Donno-so is spoken in the area around Bandiagara, and is subdivided in Taba nongu, Gine banu mo, and Gondo. We visited Bandiagara, where gine banu mo is spoken.

According to Yegbe (1998), Donno-so is considered an “impure” variety of Dogon (i.e., one that has borrowed words from foreign languages). Donno-so speakers live in an area once ruled by the Toucouleur kingdom of El Hadj Omar Tall and during that time many Dogon living there became bilingual in Fulfulde (p. 16).

### **6.7.1 Intercomprehension**

We were told that kamba-so (i.e., Donno-so) and Tømø-so speakers tend to understand each other. Plungian (1994) agrees with this.

*Les dialectes tomme et Donno sont totalement intercompréhensibles, et une intercompréhension suffisante existe également avec les locuteurs Toro (la plupart des divergences concernent la phonétique, la grammaire et le lexique étant beaucoup moins affectés). (p. 178-179)*

Prost (1969) stated that Donno-so and Tomo-kan are mutually unintelligible.

Refer to section 7.2.1 for DNAFLA’s RTT results.

### **6.7.2 Language attitude**

Temé wrote that Donno-so, Tømø-so, and Togo-kan speaking Christians do not seem to mind hearing sermons in Toro-so at church conferences (Yeg98:17).

Among the Donno-so speakers in Bandiagara whom we asked, there was some resentment against Toro-so, since the Catholics had produced literacy and numeracy primers in Donno-so, but the books were just sitting there because they were not allowed to use them in school.

### **6.7.3 Institutions**

Schools: 9 + 2

Roman Catholic Church: The New Testament is in use by the Catholic parish center based in Bandiagara since it was published in 1988. The literacy and numeracy primers, which have been printed and shipped to Bandiagara by the Catholic church, are not currently in use because of the government’s decision to develop only standard Dogon.

After two serious droughts in the area, a production association *Mòlibèèmò* (‘Let’s unite’) was started to help people find alternative means of survival. It covers seventy-two villages and is also active with Donno-so literacy, publishing a periodical in the language. It was reported to us that there is a Donno-so school in Bandiagara.

In Bandiagara (Donno-so area), the DNAFLA has started a library with literature in standard Dogon.

## **6.8 Korandabo**

Population: 1987 census: 500; 1998 extrapolation: 700 = 0.1 percent.

Called *budu-tagu* in Plungian (1994:178). Tømø-so speakers of nearby Pirō called it *budu so* and claimed that Korandabo is the endonym for it. This was also confirmed by Bañgeri-me speakers at Niana.

Korandabo is only spoken in two hamlets (Dakuma and Sangou) that constitute the village of Boudou, on the northwest of the plateau. Apparently, Plungian and Tembiné were the first to mention this variety. We did not visit either hamlet.

### **6.8.1 Intercomprehension**

The village elders in nearby Pirō spoke about, “those poor people from Budu; none of their neighbours understands them.”

### **6.8.2 Institutions**

Schools: 0

## 6.9 Mombo

*Edyenje dō (ou idyoli dōyge)*

*Il est parlé dans les cantons de Pignari Makou et Pignari Tougoumé par environ 6.000 Dogon. Certains villages de Pignari Makou parlent un sous-dialecte appelé āmbāyge (Baboy, Téguéli, Nyongono, Pâ, Koko, Nyamina).*

*N.B. Ces deux dialectes sont réunis par les Dogon du centre sous le nom de kolum so, « dialectes du couchant ». (Cal56:66)*

Greeting moniker: *Mombo*

Population: 1987 census: 14,200; 1998 extrapolation: 18,800 = 2.9 percent.

Mombo is the endonymic glossonym. It is called *kolu-so* by Donno-so speakers, and *pigiari* (language of the district of Pigna) in Fulfulde. A subvariety called *helambo* is spoken in a few villages in the arrondissement of Goundaka. Those villages are: Kansila, Kowa, Pinia, and Tangadouba. A subvariety called *miambo* is spoken in a village called Makou.

The DNAFLA map (DNA82b) uses *kolu so* to denote the Mombo variety. The elders in Bandiougou explained the xenonym *kolu so* as the speech of the village of Kori-kori.

No language development work seems to have been done as yet. This is a geographical area that merits more linguistic investigation. Plungian (1994) states:

*la zone ejenge, qui semble la plus hétérogène, est divisé en plusieurs sous-dialectes voire dialectes autonomes, dont on ignore totalement la spécificité linguistique. (p 178)*

### 6.9.1 Intercomprehension

Some Mombo speakers claimed to be able to understand a bit of Donno-so, albeit with great difficulty. They also reported that Ampari-kora speakers understood them, but they could not understand Ampari-kori. Ampari-kora speakers came yearly to celebrate a rite in the Mombo area, so this might be due to learning the variety.

### 6.9.2 Institutions

Schools: 1

## 6.10 Naña-dama

*Nāya-tegu, « dialecte des oubliés »*

*Ce dialecte est parlé par moins de 3.000 Dogon dans le canton de Ouakara, à Kono dans le canton de Kassa, et dans quelques villages du canton de Tigné (subdivision de Douentza). (Cal56:67)*

Population: 1987 census: 2,400; 1998 extrapolation: 2,500 = 0.4 percent.

Naña-dama is the endonymic glossonym (Tem03). Calame-Griaule called it *nāya tegu*. It is listed as *nayam* on the DNAFLA map (DNA82b), and as *nanga-dama* in Plungian (1994).

Naña-dama is spoken in Wakara (on the cliff, not far from Douentza) and a few surrounding villages, and perhaps in the village of Oualo, north of Douentza, at the foot of the cliff of the Dyoundé plateau. We did not visit this speech area.

### 6.10.1 Intercomprehension

There is anecdotal evidence that the variety is inherently intelligible with Jamsay-tegu to some degree.

### 6.10.2 Institutions

Schools: 0.

## 6.11 Oru yille

*Ce dialecte (appelé tew tegu en dyamsay et bede so en Toro) est parlé dans les villages de Bamba-du-Haut (ceux de Bamba-du-Bas parlent le dyamsay bama tegu); il ne s'agit nullement d'un sous-dialecte du dyamsay,*

*mais d'un dialecte très particulier qui n'a d'analogie qu'avec celui de Yanda. Il est parlé par environ 2.000 Dogon qui doivent employer le dyamsay pour se faire comprendre de leurs congénères.* (Cal56:67)

Population: 1987 census: 400; 1998 extrapolation:  $400 = 0.1$  percent.

Oru yille is spoken in three tiny villages of Bamba du Haut. In addition to the xenonyms mentioned in Calame-Griaule (1956), Yanda-dom speakers call it “Tebl.”

### 6.11.1 Institutions

Schools: 0

## 6.12 Teju-kan

Tene tiŋi ou Tene kā

*Ce dialecte, le plus important du point de vue de l'extension puisqu'il est parlé par 50.000 Dogon environ dans le sud de la plaine, se divise en deux sous-groupes principaux.*<sup>12</sup>

I. *Tene kan proprement dit, parlé à l'ouest de cette zone par les Tégum (environ 20.000), dans les cantons de Endé (partiellement), Guimini, Séno-Bankasss, Séno-Tengroly-Bouzon, et aux limites dans quelques villages des cantons de Séno-Togol, Séno-Tendéli, Kambari-Bandiagara.* (Cal56:65)

Population: 1987 census: 43,900; 1998 extrapolation:  $53,800 = 8.3$  percent.

These numbers do not include the Togo-kan speakers, who are treated separately below.

Teju-kan is spoken in the area around Bankass. Plungian (1994) used the name *tengu-tingi* for what Calame-Griaule (1956) called *tene kan proprement dit*. Several authors, including Calame-Griaule above, have grouped Teju-kan and Togo-kan together as one variety. Names given to the combined variety are: Bankass (Ber53), Tene tini (Cal52), Tene tiŋi (Cal56), Tene kā (Cal56), and Tene-kan (Plu95).

We did speech-variety mapping in Abidjan with a Dogon from the village of Ennde. Teju-kan can be subdivided into Guimini-kan, Woru-kan, and Sagara, named after the villages of Guimini, Wol, and Sagara, respectively. When we found data indicating villages where *tene-kan* is spoken, we assumed this meant Teju-kan, and thus noted it as the Tene-kan subvariety of Teju-kan. Because Tene-kan is used by some authors to refer to the combination of Teju-kan and Togo-kan as one variety, we may have attributed some Togo-kan villages erroneously to Teju-kan. The significance of the different terms “tene” and “teju” (first part of glossonym) and “tiŋi” and “kan” (second part of the glossonym) is not clear to us.

### 6.12.1 Intercomprehension

There is some degree of inherent intelligibility between Teju-kan and Togo-kan speakers. Plungian and Tembiné wrote:

*Linguistiquement, seuls les dialectes tengu-tingi et Togo-kan présentent une affinité remarquable: entre les locuteurs de ces deux dialectes, l'intercompréhension est parfaitement possible (à l'instar des dialectes tommoso et Donno-so).* (Plu94:180)

Refer to section 7.2.1 for DNAFLA's RTT results.

### 6.12.2 Institutions

Schools: 6 + 1

## 6.13 Togo-kan

II. *Togo-kan, parlé par les Togom (environ 30.000) à l'est de cette zone dans les cantons de Séno-Tendéli et Séno-Togol.* (Cal56:65)

Plungian (1994) Population: 1987 census: 58,300; 1998 extrapolation:  $73,200 = 11.3$  percent.

Several authors, including Calame-Griaule, have grouped Togo-kan and Teju-kan together as one variety. Names attributed to the combined variety are listed in section 6.12, “Teju-kan.”

<sup>12</sup> Calame-Griaule listed Togo-kan as the second group, and together she called them Tene tiŋi or Tene kā. We separate these two groups and quote here only the first part, which corresponds to the variety we call Teju-kan.

We were told that Tamambala-kan (a subvariety of Tomo-kan) villages are also claimed by Togo-kan speakers, so possibly this is an intermediate variety. We did not visit a Togo-kan village.

### 6.13.1 Intercomprehension

There is some degree of inherent intelligibility between Togo-kan and teju-kan (see quote from Plungian (1994) given just above under Teju-kan).

Refer to section 7.2.1 for DNAFLA's RTT results.

### 6.13.2 Language attitude

Têmê wrote that Donno-so, Tɔmmo-so, and Togo-kan speaking Christians do not seem to mind hearing sermons in Toro-so at church conferences (Yeg98:17).

### 6.13.3 Institutions

Schools: 4

There is a Roman Catholic mission at Pel (Gal93:199).

## 6.14 Tɔmmo-so

Tombo so, « *dialecte des avertisseurs* »

*Il est parlé dans les cantons de Ouassabari-Amala, Ouassabari-Gougouna (sauf à Bolomo, qui est un village de culture de Sanga et parle Toro), Ouassabari-Ondougou et Indel, un village (Kendi<sup>13</sup>) du canton de Tintam (les autres parlent Bondum), Ouassabari-Ouroli et Saré (sauf trois villages parlant dogul), Bargué Tombogor-Ningari et Mori, Dè (en partie, car on y parle aussi Bondum et peul), Kassa (sauf Kono qui parle nāya), ceci pour la subdivision de Bandiagara; dans celle de Douentza, un village (Temba) du canton de Nadyomba (le reste parle Bondum), le canton de Tédyé, le canton de Tigné (dont la moitié environ parle Bondum) pratiquent également ce dialecte. L'ensemble forme un total d'environ 23.000 Dogon.*

*Ce dialecte se divise en deux sous-groupes principaux:*

*I. Le groupe de Ondom et Amala (au nord de l'aire du tombo dans la région de Ningari, Sarédina, etc.).*

*II. Le groupe de Wazouba (au sud du premier dans la région du canton de Ouassabari-Ouroli et Saré).*

*Il venait en second dans la révélation à l'ancêtre Amma Sérou; en effet, il est, d'après la tradition, le premier dialecte qui se soit différencié du dyamsay lors de la séparation des familles. Actuellement il présente un état plus archaïque de la langue que les dialectes voisins. Son aire de compréhension s'étend à peu près sur tout le plateau et dans la région des falaises (il n'est pas rare que des hommes de cette dernière région épousent des femmes tombo). Il est par excellence la langue des chansons, qui sont connues dans tout le pays, ses usagers ayant la réputation de tout mettre en chansons. (Cal56:65-66)*

Population: 1987 census: 49,600; 1998 extrapolation: 60,200 = 9.3 percent.

A third subvariety, Kassa-so, was described to us as quite different, with lots of Jamsay-tegu mixed in with it.

### 6.14.1 Intercomprehension

Plungian (1994) wrote:

*les dialectes tombo et Donno sont totalement intercompréhensibles, et une intercompréhension suffisante existe également avec les locuteurs Toro (la plupart des divergences concernent la phonétique, la grammaire et le lexique étant beaucoup moins affectés). (pp. 178–179)*

We were told that Tɔmmo-so and Kamba-so (i.e., Donno-so) speakers tend to understand each other. We found that Tɔmmo-so speakers close to the Toro-so area understand Toro-so speakers well, but as one moves further from the area this comprehension gradually reduces so that those furthest away have difficulty understanding it (*à peine*).

According to Togo (1984), the “female” speech variety Tɔmmo-so was used widely to sing initiation songs. It seems, however, that with the decline of the traditional religion Tɔmmo-so is losing its status as a language of wider communication, since we did not find reported understanding of Tɔmmo-so to extend beyond its immediate

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<sup>13</sup> The village spelled Kendi (distinct from Kendé) in Calame-Griaule's article is Kendié in this report.

neighbours. The elders of an isolated Tɔmmo-so speaking village, Pirō, situated at the very west of the plateau just north of Goundaka, told us that none of their neighbours (Mombo, Korandabo, and Tiranige-diga speaking) could understand them.

Refer to section 7.2.4 for DNAFLA's RTT results.

#### **6.14.2 Language attitude**

Têmê wrote that Donno-so, Tɔmmo-so, and Togo-kan speaking Christians do not seem to mind hearing sermons in Tɔrɔ-soo at church conferences (Yeg98:17).

Yeg98 claimed that Christian Tɔmmo-so and Jamsay-tegu speakers tend to know the Tɔrɔ-soo words for the various items sold at the annual protestant Church convention, except for the typically Christian paraphernalia, but prefer to use their own variety in naming them (p. 18).

We received one positive reaction from a Tɔmmo-so Christian, who saw Tɔrɔ-soo as the language of Christianity. In his village, he claimed, once people became Christians they would be willing to learn Tɔrɔ-soo. This correlates with Yegbe and Temé's assertion that Tɔrɔ-soo is used as a language of unity among Christians within a church environment. However, once they are out of the church environment, the situation changes; two Tɔmmo-so speaking Christians who meet in the street will generally speak Tɔmmo-so (Yeg98:21).

#### **6.14.3 Institutions**

Schools: 10 + 1

Yegbe (1998) claimed that less than 4 percent of the Tɔmmo-so speech community is Christian (p. 22).

### **6.15 Tomo-kan**

#### **Tomo kă**

*C'est le dialecte du sud-ouest de la plaine, parlé dans les cantons de Timiniri, Arou Habbés, Barasara, Bongoudié, Tibiri, Tori, Séno-Tambari, et une partie du canton de Séno-Tengroly-Bouzon; aux limites, on le rencontre dans quelques villages de Pignari-Makou, Diallaye, Koumounouri, Pana; toute cette région est fortement mélangée de Marka. Au total, environ 40.000 Dogon parlent ce dialecte. Ils se nomment eux-mêmes Doon et se disent originaires du pays tombo (cf. plus loin), d'où le nom de leur dialecte; mais celui-ci diffère complètement du tombo so. (Cal56:65)*

Population: 1987 census: 104,800; 1998 extrapolation: 132,800 = 20.5 percent.

Tomo-kan is one of the larger Dogon varieties, both numerically and geographically. It is spoken in the area southwest of Bankass, and it is known to be spoken in at least two villages in the finger of Burkina Faso west of Ouankoro. According to Yegbe (1998), Tomo-kan is not considered a "pure" variety of Dogon, meaning it has borrowed words from foreign languages (p. 9).

We identified eight subvarieties of Tomo-kan. They are: Aa-kan, Au-kan, Basara-kan, Caman-kan, Bɔŋgu-kan, Cibala-kan, Tamambala-kan, and Tɔ-kan. Tamambala-kan itself is again subdivided into "pure" Tamambala-kan, Sadya-kan, and Dogo-kan. The Tamambala-kan villages are also claimed by Togo-kan speakers, so perhaps this is an intermediate variety. For more details refer to appendix B (map of the Tomo-kan area).

#### **6.15.1 Intercomprehension**

According to information we collected at Ségué, intercomprehension is total among speakers of all Tomo-kan subvarieties. We recorded a story at Ségué (Au-kan subvariety) and played it in Timissa (Caman-kan subvariety) and Lanfiera (Bɔŋgu-kan subvariety), to see whether speakers of these subvarieties of Tomo-kan would understand the story from Ségué. The results were positive. Not only did the people correctly relate the story back to us, they also stated that "this was their language."

Prost (1969) stated that Tomo-kan is mutually unintelligible with Donno-so.

Yegbe (1998) reported that Tomo-kan speakers cannot use the Tɔrɔ-soo Scriptures.

Unlike the other dialects [Jamsay-tegu, Donno-so, Tɔmmo-so, Togo-kan], Tomo-kan is exclusively spoken and understood only by its native speakers. Then they can neither speak nor understand it [other Dogon varieties] well. (p. 9)

The ultimate conclusion we drew was that Toro-so represented a serious linguistic handicap among the Tomo-kan speakers. (p. 18)

We were told that Tomo-kan, Teju-kan, and Togo-kan speakers tend to understand each other.

In the southwestern part of the Tomo-kan area, near San, Bambara was reportedly commonly used as a secondary language in all domains.

Refer to section 7.2.1 for DNAFLA's RTT results.

### **6.15.2 Institutions**

Schools: 10 + 1

The Roman Catholics have a mission at Ségué. A Catholic translation team based in Ségué has translated the three-year lectionary into Tomo-kan, and it is seemingly used successfully in the Catholic church in Bankass. In 1998, a team was working on translating the New Testament.

## **6.16 Tɔ́rɔ́-sɔ́ɔ**

Toro so, « dialecte de ceux qui ont glissé au bas »

*C'est le dialecte de toute la falaise, de Yendoumman à Idyéli; il est parlé dans les cantons de Sanga, Dacol-Ibi, et dans quelques villages de Dacol-Iréli et Guimini, ainsi que dans quelques villages de culture de la plaine. Le total n'atteint pas 30.000 Dogon.*

*Les habitants de la falaise distinguent six sous-dialectes parlés dans les villages suivants: (a) Yougo; (b) Yendoumman, Touyogou, Koundou; (c) Ibi; (d) Néni, Banani, Pèguè; (e) Sanga, Bara (où sont des familles des Ogol, deux villages importants de Sanga); (f) Iréli, Yayé, Amani, Tiréli, Oulou, Kommokan, Idyéli (dans ce dernier village, on parle aussi tene kā).* (Cal56:65)

Population: 1987 census: 42,400; 1998 extrapolation: 50,000 = 7.7 percent.

DNAFLA (1981), Kéné (1997), and Tembiué (1998) called this variety *torobomu*. It is called *bomu tegu* (clumsy ones' speech) by their plains dwelling neighbors (Cal56:65). Presumably the plains dwellers are the Jamsay-tegu speakers.

Tɔ́rɔ́-sɔ́ɔ is spoken along a stretch of the cliff to the east of Bandiagara, including the village of Sangha. Plungian and Tembiné reported the subvarieties of Tɔ́rɔ́-sɔ́ɔ differently from Calame-Griaule (1956) quoted earlier.

*Le dialecte Toro est partagé en deux sous-dialectes principaux, dont l'un (qui connaît, à son tour, plusieurs variantes locales) est parlé dans la partie centrale du plateau (arrondissement de Sangha), tandis que l'autre est répandu dans la partie de la plaine contiguë, vers le sud et l'est de la falaise.* (Plu94:178)

### **6.16.1 Intercomprehension**

Plungian (1994) wrote:

*Les dialectes tombo et Donno sont totalement intercompréhensibles, et une intercompréhension suffisante existe également avec les locuteurs Toro (la plupart des divergences concernent la phonétique, la grammaire et le lexique étant beaucoup moins affectés).* (pp. 178–179)

Yegbe (1998) reported that Tomo-kan speakers cannot use the Tɔ́rɔ́-sɔ́ɔ Scriptures.

Refer to section 7.2.1 for DNAFLA's RTT results.

### **6.16.2 Institutions**

Schools: 7

The Malian government has selected the Tɔ́rɔ́-sɔ́ɔ speech variety as the single standard for writing Dogon. See section 4.5 “Standard Dogon” for more information on this.

The Protestants have their mission based in Sangha and the Catholics in Barapiréli. Some people distinguish Sangha-sɔ́ɔ from Tɔ́rɔ́-sɔ́ɔ, but we found no indications of anything but complete comprehension between the subvarieties of Tɔ́rɔ́-sɔ́ɔ. Within Sangha-sɔ́ɔ, a specific subvariety is *sangha-sɔ́ɔ de la mission*, which is spoken in the neighborhood where Christians from many Dogon regions, but mostly other Tɔ́rɔ́-sɔ́ɔ speaking regions, have found their place. It is

into this specific subvariety that the New Testament (ABM95) has been translated, and into which the Old Testament is currently being translated.

## 6.17 Tɔrɔ-tegu

### Toru tegu

*Ainsi appelé du nom de l'ancien fondateur du village de Toupétré dans le canton de Hombori (il ne faut pas le confondre avec le Toro so), ce dialecte est parlé par une douzaine de villages dans les cantons de Hombori, Sarignéré, Boni (subdivision de Douentza), soit par environ 2.500 ou 3.000 personnes. Bien que les usagers de ce dialecte le prétendent sans parenté avec le dyamsay (qu'ils comprennent un peu cependant), il doit être rattaché au même groupe. Ces gens ne comprennent absolument pas les dialectes du plateau et paraissent isolés parmi les Dogon. (Cal56:64)*

Greeting moniker: Ba-ni-c[w]on.

Population: 1987 census: 2,700; 1998 extrapolation: 2,900 = 0.5 percent.

On the DNAFLA map (DNA82b) the speech area was labeled “Tandam,” but this name was unknown to all Tɔrɔ-tegu speakers we asked.

Tɔrɔ-tegu is spoken on and around a small collection of isolated table mountains at the northern border of the Dogon plains area, around Boni. To the south, Jamsay-tegu is spoken, and no other Dogon variety is contiguous with it. Originally, the language was only spoken on the mountaintops (*tɔrɔ-tegu* means ‘mountain language’), but in recent times several villages have descended and are now situated at the foot of the mountain. Despite some inner variation, the Tɔrɔ-tegu speakers strongly feel that they speak a single language, and according to the various elders, an eight-year-old from one of the villages would soon understand most of the speech of any other of the Tɔrɔ-tegu villages.

The people, and even the subgroups within it, are very closed, preferring to marry within their own subgroup. There is no report of either emigration or immigration among them.

The list of the villages where Tɔrɔ-tegu is spoken and the subgroups within it are as follows:

1. Nenguéné, Diamaga, Tandi, Koyo-Sarnyéré (together called Sarnyéré).
2. Koyo-Imla (called Iwra in Tɔrɔ-tegu, called Yimla in Fulfulde), Loro-Habe (called Lombori in Tɔrɔ-tegu), Loro-Younga (called Logoro in tɔrɔ-tegu).
3. Banaga (the nearby Dogon village/quarter of Douna speaks Fulfulde).
4. Piringua.
5. Tabi, Touplèrè, Tèga.
6. Ela-Boni, Momni, Ela-na (together administratively united into Ela-Boni), Youna.

We are unsure whether Ouiguine is Tɔrɔ-tegu or not.

### 6.17.1 Institutions

Schools: 0. The only school in the area is the elementary school in Boni where French is the language of instruction.

## 6.18 Yanda-dom

### Yanda dom, « dialecte de Yanda »

*Il présente beaucoup d'analogies avec le dogul-dom; il est parlé par moins de 2.000 Dogon dans une partie des cantons de Gondo-Séno Foulbés et Bamba (villages de Yanda). (Cal56:67)*

Population: 1987 census: 1,400; 1998 extrapolation: 1,600 = 0.3 percent.

Called Haban daga by the Fulbê.

Yanda-dom is spoken in a small group of villages at the bottom of the cliff near Bamba. The villages are: Anana, Ante, Diankabou, Guinedie, Ogol, Omna, Tourougo, and Yadasongo.

### 6.18.1 Intercomprehension

The villagers claimed that their children all learn to speak Tɔrɔ-so, Tommo-so, and Jamsay-tegu at an early age.

## 6.18.2 Institutions

Schools: 1<sup>14</sup>

## 6.19 Isolate

We were told of two villages where a variety of Dogon is supposedly spoken that is different from all other varieties. These villages are Koumbel-Na and Oualo, both located in the *arrondissement* of Douentza near the cliff. We did not manage to visit these villages to collect further information and we wonder if these people might be Naja-dama speakers.

# 7. General results

The main linguistic tool used during the first stage was a standardized word and phrase list. This section will particularly show the diversity of the Dogon speech varieties.

## 7.1 Dogon variety groups

It is customary to divide the Dogon speech varieties into a few large groups, according to their word for ‘speech’, which normally is the second word in the speech variety name.

Berto (1953) identified fourteen Dogon varieties and classed them into five groups based on wordlist comparisons. We list the varieties by the names used in this report followed by Bertho’s names in parentheses:

- 1—1. Tomo-kan (Timiniri) 2. Teju-kan, Togo-kan (Bankass) 3. Jamsay-tegu (Humbébè) 4. Toro-tegu (Tabi)
- 2—5. Donno-so (Bandiagara or Donou-so) 6 and 7. Toro-so (Ireli and Sanga) 8. Tommo-so (Ninngari)
- 3—9. Dogulu-dom (Nanndoli) 10. Naja-dama (Wakara) 11. Bondum-dom (Tinntamm)
- 4—12. Tiranige-diga (Douleri) 13. Mombo and Ampari-kora (Pignari)
- 5—14. Bangeri-me (Dyeni or Yéni)

Plungian and Tembiné recognised three Dogon speech groups, but warned that this classification is open to debate.

*Il faut cependant tenir compte du caractère purement conventionnel de cette terminologie, puisque la racine varie considérablement même à l’intérieur d’un groupe.* (Plu94:178)

Nine varieties formed the northwest (**-dom**) group: Bondum-dom, Dogulu-dom, Tiranige-diga, Bangeri-me, Yanda-dom, Naja-dama, Mombo, Ampari-kora, Korandabo.

*Les dialectes de ce groupe affichent un très faible degré d’unité linguistique au niveau grammatical, phonétique et surtout sur le plan lexical. Aucun de ces dialects n’a jamais été objet d’une description systématique, certains d’entre eux n’étant connus que par leurs noms. Le degré d’intercompréhension est très bas même pour les dialectes voisins et dans quelques cas l’intercompréhension est totalement absente (la position la plus marginale semble être occupée par le dialecte numa-daw, qui plus que tous les autres pourrait avoir droit au statut d’une langue à part).* (Plu94:178)

Three varieties formed the central (**-so**) group: Tommo-so, Toro-so, Donno-so.

*Ces trois dialectes ont des affinités internes considérables (ce qui est, pour la région dogon, plutôt l’exception que la règle) : les dialectes tommo et Donno sont totalement intercompréhensibles, et une intercompréhension suffisante existe également avec les locuteurs Toro (la plupart des divergences concernent la phonétique, la grammaire et le lexique étant beaucoup moins affectés). Ces trois dialectes sont relativement mieux décrits que les autres.* (Plu94:178-179)

Five varieties formed the southeast (**-kan**) group: Tomo-kan, Togo-kan, Teju-kan, Jamsay-tegu, Toro-tegu.

*Linguistiquement, seuls les dialectes tengu-tingi et Togo-kan présentent une affinité remarquable : entre les locuteurs de ces deux dialectes, l’intercompréhension est parfaitement possible (à l’instar des dialectes tommo-so et Donno-so). [...] Le dialecte Tomo-kan se distingue par un grand nombre d’innovations phonétiques qui compliquent considérablement l’intercompréhension avec les dialectes voisins ; le dialecte Jamsay occupe une position plutôt intermédiaire entre les dialectes du groupe [kan] et ceux du groupe [so] (peut-être doit-il être*

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<sup>14</sup> The one school is in Diankabou, a multilingual village. If we were to attribute the school to one of the other speech varieties, this figure would be 0.

*considéré comme formant un groupe à part). Entre les dialectes tengu, togo et Jamsay, une certaine intercompréhension est possible (quoique incomplète).* (Plu94:180)

## 7.2 Assessing intercomprehension

Whereas an assessment of intercomprehension between speakers of various varieties was planned for the second stage of our survey, we only made informal inquiries into this during our travels. Most of what we report in this section comes from the literature we read.

### 7.2.1 Difficulties

DNAFLA recognized that intercomprehension is difficult and sometimes absent between certain Dogon varieties.

*La langue Dogon souffre d'une pluralité dialectale très marqué à telle enseigne que l'intercompréhension entre deux locuteurs de dialectes périphériques opposés devient difficile, voire même nulle.* (DNA81:2)

Plungian and Tembiné make it clear that intercomprehension between speakers of various Dogon varieties is a problem.

*L'intercompréhension à un degré satisfaisant n'est possible qu'entre les dialectes contigus ou très proches géographiquement (et là encore, cependant, il peut y avoir, semble-t-il, des cas difficiles); mais pour ce qui concerne les dialectes qui sont géographiquement éloignés les uns des autres, l'intercompréhension est absolument exclue. De plus, la région dogon se caractérise par l'absence d'une langue de communication pouvant servir de koïné inter-dialectale et sur laquelle linguistique de standardisation pourrait s'appuyer directement.* (Plu94:164)

We would often ask the people at the village we were visiting how they communicate with Dogons from other speech varieties. A difficulty here was that we found that in the majority of Dogon villages, most Dogon speech varieties seem unknown. Generally, only some of the neighbouring varieties are known, and even then they are often joined together under a few names with no regard to linguistic closeness. We found that many Dogons have to resort to Fulfulde (or Bambara) to communicate with Dogons from other speech varieties. There are a few exceptions, though. People who live near a major speech variety tend to learn that variety to some extent. Special cases are the Yandom speakers who seem to all learn Tɔrɔ-sɔɔ, Tɔmмо-sɔɔ, and Jamsay-tegu, and the Dogolu-dom speakers who tend to learn Tɔrɔ-sɔɔ, Tɔmмо-sɔɔ and Donno-sɔɔ. Speakers of these latter three varieties seem to have little trouble communicating, because these varieties are closely related.

### 7.2.2 Wordlists

J. A. Durieux analysed fifty items from nineteen wordlists according to the criteria explained in section 8.8.1. He assigned the lowest level of reliability<sup>15</sup> (status E: monolingual elicitation) to each wordlist and this produced a range of error (variance) of 17. The percentage of lexical items judged similar between each pair of wordlists is shown in table 5 at the intersection of row and column of the respective pairs. The percentages of lexical items judged similar to the Dogon standard variety (Tɔrɔ-sɔɔ) have a gray background. Scores above 63 percent are in bold print.

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<sup>15</sup> Reliability code of 2.575. See Simons (1977) for a discussion of the meaning of this figure.

**Table 5. Provisional lexical similarity percentages**

Yanda-dom from Yanda																		
49	Bondum-dom (Kindyim) from Tintam																	
42	49	Dogolu-dom from Sougoudonou																
36	31	44	Donno-so from Bandiagara															
38	31	35	69	Tommso-so from Ningari														
42	31	33	73	87	Tommso-so from Pirõ													
42	31	35	64	82	87	Tommso-so (Wazouba) from Kani-Goguna												
33	25	40	65	64	60	62	Toro-so from "Sangha de la mission"											
38	31	29	53	45	47	45	47	Tomo-kan from Ségué										
33	27	33	49	42	44	40	40	84	Tomo-kan from Timissa									
29	29	33	45	38	44	40	38	42	40	Toro-tegu from Iwra								
31	29	33	45	38	42	40	40	42	40	85	Toro-tegu from Piringua							
35	31	31	42	35	38	40	38	40	38	60	71	Toro-tegu from Nemguene						
44	36	36	35	33	33	33	29	31	33	29	29	Mombo	from Bandiougou					
33	33	31	27	25	25	24	24	27	25	24	25	20	75	Mombo from Makou				
31	29	24	25	25	25	24	24	27	33	27	31	24	53	47	aP			
29	35	31	29	27	27	25	24	25	31	27	29	22	51	47	aB			
27	33	31	31	27	27	25	22	24	29	25	27	20	51	51	78	85	aD	
9	7	5	7	11	9	13	9	11	9	11	9	5	9	13	9	13	11	b

aP = Ampari-kora from Pahandaga; aB = Ampari-kora from Baboye; aD = Ampari-kora from Danga; b = Bangeri-me from Niana

Varieties we have identified but which were not included in the lexical study above are: Jamsay-tegu, Teju-kan, Togo-kan, Tiranige-diga, Korandabo, Naja-dama, Oru-yille, and isolated villages (Koumbel-Na and Oualo).

We have reproduced wordlists from all these Dogon varieties except Korandabo, Oru-yille, and the two villages called isolates, in appendix D, “Dogon Wordlists.”

### 7.2.3 Summary of DNAFLA (1981)

The 1981 DNAFLA report provided information from four studies: wordlists, RTT, questionnaires, and grammatical study.

**WORDLISTS**—This was a reanalysis of the six wordlists from 1974, plus a new seventh one, using different criteria from those the 1974 team used to define similarity.<sup>16</sup> Consequently, their results differed. Following their procedure, we list the varieties (with our spellings) in order of most traits in common on the left to least traits in common on the right.

From 1981 report (DNA81:6)

Togo-kan    Teju-kan    Toro-so    Donno-so    Jamsay-tegu    Tommo-so    Tomo-kan.

From 1976 report (Gal93:203)

Toro-so    Togo-kan    Donno-so    Tommo-so    Jamsay-tegu    Tomo-kan

**RTT**—The DNAFLA (1981) report writers considered the average score of 70 percent to be the lower limit for possible intercomprehension. Based on this, they stated that among the seven varieties tested, only Toro-so, Donno-so, and Tommo-so speakers had a chance of understanding each other (DNA81:14).

**QUESTIONNAIRES**—It is unclear what level of confidence can be put in the responses to questions from the questionnaire reported in DNAFLA (1981). It is impossible to know what scale each respondent used to judge competency. No mention was made in the report as to whether or not the sample at each site included and was evenly distributed among all significant groups of people (e.g., per age group, sex, level of education) within the speech community. The analysis was based on five questions:

Which variety is best understood by the majority of Dogons? (one choice per person)

<sup>16</sup> Unfortunately, the wordlists themselves were not included in the report.

Which variety is the easiest to learn? (one choice per person)  
 Which varieties do you understand well? (multiple responses accepted)  
 Which varieties do you understand a little? (multiple responses accepted)  
 Which varieties don't you understand? (multiple responses accepted)

GRAMMATICAL STUDY—DNAFLA (1981) reported on two grammatical studies. One was based on verb suffixes and the other on the plural marker associated with nouns. Their procedure produced an ordering of the varieties according to the number of traits in common with the other varieties. Again, those with the most in common with others appear to the left of these lists.

verb suffixes comparison:

Teju-kan, Donno-so, Təmmo-so, Togo-kan, Tərə-so, Tomo-kan, Jamsay-tegu

plural marker comparison:

same score for Tərə-so, Donno-so, Təmmo-so, Jamsay-tegu, and Togo-kan

different morpheme for Teju-kan

no mention of Tomo-kan.

A committee was appointed to study the reports from each study above and to draw a general conclusion. They concluded that three varieties fared best: Tərə-so, Togo-kan, and Teju-kan, and then went on to state that the RTT results are more significant than the questionnaire results (DNA81:47). The rest of their conclusions are more precisely just summaries of the separate tests.

#### **7.2.4 Recorded text tests**

This section provides more details on the recorded text tests (RTT) reported in DNAFLA (1981). The DNAFLA team tested speakers of seven Dogon speech varieties. They administered one text per variety to ten persons individually per speech variety. The test sites and the variety spoken at each site were as follows:

**Table 6. Dogon RTT test sites**

Village	Speech variety
Sangha (Dini)	Tərə-so
Sokolo	Donno-so (Dono so subvariety)
Kendiē	Təmmo-so
Dianweli (ana pen)	Jamsay-tegu (Domno subvariety)
Tiedjekenda	Tomo-kan (Aa-kan subvariety)
Ogotēnè	Teju-kan
Koporo-pen	Togo-kan

Individual scores at each test site were reported in DNAFLA (1981:10–13). The average score for each test, at each site tested, is shown in table 7, “Dogon RTT average scores.”

**Table 7. Dogon RTT average scores**

Variety at test site	Variety listener heard						
	Toro-sɔɔ	Donno-sɔɔ	Təmmo-sɔɔ	Jamsay-tegu	Teju-kan	Togo-kan	Tomo-kan
Toro-sɔɔ	10	9.2	9.6	6.9	2.7	3.2	0
Donno-sɔɔ	9.7	10	9.7	0.8	2	0.9	0
Təmmo-sɔɔ	9.8	9.9	10	2.3	0.9	0.5	0
Jamsay-tegu	5	0.5	1.1	10	0.8	2.6	0
Teju-kan	3.2	1.4	1.3	1.6	10	3.8	2.3
Togo-kan	9.5	4.4	4.6	9.4	7.2	10	0.2
Tomo-kan	1.1	0.4	0.2	0.1	4.6	2.8	10

The standard deviation of each sample having an average score greater than 5 is shown in table 8, “Standard deviations of RTT samples.” The formula used was the one presented in Bergman (1990b) on page 8.1.7. The significance of these figures will be alluded to in the second half of section 8.6, “Justification for use of recorded text tests” and discussed more fully in section 9.3.4, “Intercomprehension” of this report (in the answer to the first question under the subheading “Response based on recorded text tests (RTT)”). In brief, if the standard variation is 15 percent or greater, it is probable that certain individuals had significant prior contact with the speech variety tested (Gri88:4.1.19).

**Table 8. Standard deviations of RTT samples**

Variety at test site	Variety listener heard						
	Toro-sɔɔ	Donno-sɔɔ	Təmmo-sɔɔ	Jamsay-tegu	Teju-kan	Togo-kan	Tomo-kan
Toro-sɔɔ	0%	8.8%	9.7%	40.94%	--	--	--
Donno-sɔɔ	4.8%	0%	10.8%	--	--	--	--
Təmmo-sɔɔ	7.1%	3.2%	0%	--	--	--	--
Jamsay-tegu	--	--	--	0%	--	--	--
Teju-kan	--	--	--	--	0%	--	--
Togo-kan	7.1%	--	--	10.7%	18.1%	0%	--
Tomo-kan	--	--	--	--	--	--	0%

### 7.2.5 Other languages

As a rule, Dogons have to resort to Fulfulde (or Bambara) to communicate with people from other ethnic groups.

In Plungian (1994) we found this insight:

*Les chiffres pour le peul et le bambara sont assez proches l'un de l'autre, mais il existe une différence importante entre ces deux langues en ce qui concerne le type de multilinguisme. En effet, le bilinguisme dogon-peul est largement attesté..., tandis que le bilinguisme dogon-bambara n'existe pratiquement pas ; il s'ensuit que le bambara est appris surtout comme une troisième langue. (p. 182)*

*De même, la connaissance du français n'est presque jamais attestée sans la double connaissance du peul et du bambara... Or, le français a un statut de quatrième langue, ce qui suppose un « passage » obligatoire préalable par le peul d'abord et le bambara ensuite. (p. 183)*

Plungian (1994) finds that multilingualism is the norm, with 17 percent of the sample being monolingual, 22 percent bilingual, 35 percent trilingual, 19 percent quadrilingual, and 7 percent speaking more than four languages.<sup>17</sup> Concerning distribution by zone we cite:

*La comparaison des zones dialectales d'après le répertoire linguistique (il faut tenir compte du caractère inéluctablement fragmentaire du tableau, pour la raison que nous n'avons choisi qu'un seul village par zone) montre clairement la différence entre les zones plutôt monolingues (tommo-so, Dogulu-dom et poiyo-dom, c'est à dire, la partie centrale du plateau) et le reste du plateau où le taux de monolingues est nul (ou presque). (p. 183)*

#### 7.2.5.1 Proficiency in Fulfulde

Fulfulde is the language of daily use of just over 10 percent of the population of Mali, and by just under a third of the population of the rural part of the *Région de Mopti* (MdP90).

Fulfulde often functions as a language of wider communication between speakers of different Dogon varieties (Cal68:viii, Plu94:176). In most villages, Dogons seem to learn Fulfulde at an early stage. A notable exception is the western part of the Tomo-kan area, where Bambara takes that role.

Plungian and Tembiné reported that 76 percent of their wide-ranging sample taken throughout Dogon land were proficient in Fulfulde. About one quarter of those who knew Fulfulde did not know any third language. In regard to geographical distribution, they stated:

*les zones les plus foulaniées sont celles du Jamsay, du togo et de l'ampari (100 percent des enquêtés parlent peul), ainsi que les zones Tomo-kan\*, tiranige, Donno et ejenge. (Plu94:183)*

*\*Il faut prendre en considération le fait que le village [Tomo-kan] choisi pour notre enquête se trouve tout près de la zone dialectale Donno ; dans les autres parties de la vaste zone Tomo-kan la présence du peul semble moins attestée (cf. aussi Galtier 1993). (footnote Plu94:191)*

#### 7.2.5.2 Proficiency in Bambara

Bambara (including Malinké and Dioula) is the language of daily use of a good 50 percent of the population of Mali, but of less than 7 percent of the population of the rural part of the *Région de Mopti* (MdP90).<sup>18</sup> Bambara is the main language of the *District de Bamako*, and the main national language of government and civil service, and dominates as the language of wider communication in the southern half of the country as a whole.

We found that Bambara proficiency was generally absent (a few people per village at most), except in the southwestern part of the Tomo-kan speaking area (near San).

Plungian and Tembiné reported that 61 percent of their wide-ranging sample taken in Dogon land knew Bambara (Plu94:182).

They also wrote:

*La présence du bambara...semble être associée plutôt à l'intégration de tel ou tel village aux activités commerciales et économiques maliennes qu'à un facteur purement géographique : par exemple, le taux des bamanophones est parmi les plus élevés à Sangha, il est assez important à Dourou et Korikori, soit partout où il y a des écoles. On notera aussi la faible présence du bambara dans les zones tommo-so, Tomo-kan et ampari. L'expansion du bambara se produit principalement par la voie des migrations, les locuteurs de cette langue étant surtout les jeunes gens qui ont quitté le pays dogon en quête de travail. (Plu94:183)*

It should be said that the *faible présence* of Bambara in the Tomo kan reported in the quote above was based on data obtained in only one village close to the Donno-so area (Plu94:191). The southwestern part of the Tomo-kan speaking area was not represented in the sample that led to this conclusion. There we found pervasive bilingualism reported for Bambara, and for Fulfulde it was the exception if present at all.

In light of DNAFLA's conclusions from their surveys, Galtier wrote:

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<sup>17</sup> See section 5.4, "Plungian and Tembiné" for methodological information on these figures.

<sup>18</sup> It should be noted, however, that the part of Dogon country that has contact with Bambara speakers lies just across the border in the *Région de Ségou*, so that in this case the rural part of the *Région de Mopti* is a less accurate indicator for Dogon country.

*d'un point de vue pratique, l'on constate que la zone monolingue dogon au centre du pays est précisément celle où le Toro-so est compris; au contraire, les zones périphériques où le Toro-so n'est pas compris sont des régions multilingues et ethniquement mélangées où le bambara et le peul s'impose comme langues de communication courante. Le seul endroit où pourrait se présenter une difficulté est l'arrondissement de Ségué de dialecte Tomo-kan (ne comprenant donc pas le Toro-so), qui était largement monolingue selon l'enquête scolaire de 1976 mais une nouvelle enquête en 1977 (Réflexion sur le choix du parler central dogon) a permis de montrer que, dans cet arrondissement, sur 15 personnes interrogées, 14 avaient une certaine pratique du bambara.* (Gal93:212)

#### 7.2.5.3 Proficiency in French

French is the language of daily use of a just over 0.1 percent of the population of Mali, and of very few (less than 0.025 percent) of the population of the rural part of the *Région de Mopti* (MdP90). However, it is the official language of Mali, and the language of education, so it is an obvious choice for an alternate language. In Mali as a whole, of those who were literate, 65 percent were literate in French. It is held in high respect as the only option for upward mobility.

Proficiency in French was generally absent (a few people per village at most), apart from a few villages that had regular outside contact (due, for example, to being centers of tourism or government administration or having had a school for a long time.) Even in these cases, proficiency in French was not common.

Plungian (1994) found 28 percent of the population in Dogon land proficient in French, exactly the same percentage as those who had had formal schooling (p.182).

### 7.3 Assessing attitudes

In the following subsections, all information is reported unless stated otherwise. This research question was not thoroughly looked into, because it was planned for stage two of the survey.

#### 7.3.1 Attitude toward local variety

The local speech variety was invariably highly valued in every village we visited. In some cases the allegiance seemed to be very clearly defined, as in Pirō, where *tɔmмо-sɔ de Kani-Goguna* (where the village founders came from) was seen as the ideal language for schooling, or in the western Tomo-kan area, where the Ségué variety was considered a good language to teach their children in school.

#### 7.3.2 Attitudes toward other Dogon varieties

Yegbe and Temé claim that negative attitudes exist towards Donno-so and Tomo-kan as mixed, impure varieties, whereas they know of no such negative attitudes towards Togo-kan, Tɔmмо-sɔ, or Jamsay-tegu. These attitudes extend to the speakers of the two mixed varieties (Yeg98:9, 16–17).

According to Plungian and Tembiné, when their subjects were asked which speech variety they preferred (other than their own) for radio broadcasts, literacy, and schooling of children, they answered as shown in table 9, “Reported Speech Variety Preference.” The speakers of the variety in the first column chose a variety from the list in the top row across (Plu94:185).

**Table 9. Reported speech variety preference**

	Ampari-kora	Mombo	Tiranige-diga	Bondum-dom	Dogulu-dom	Təmmo-sɔ	Donno-sɔ	Tɔrɔ-sɔɔ	Jamsay-tegu	Togo-kan	Tteju-kan	Tomo-kan
Ampari-kora		+				+	(+)					
Mombo						+	+					
tiranige-diga						+						
Bondum-dom						+			(+)			
Dogulu-dom						+	(+)	(+)				
Təmmo-sɔ		(+)			(+)		(+)					
Donno-sɔ						+						
Tɔrɔ-sɔɔ						+	(+)					
Jamsay-tegu						(+)		(+)			(+)	
Togo-kan						(+)			(+)			
Tteju-kan						+			+	+		
Tomo-kan							+				+	

+ = chosen by a majority of the sample subjects

(+) = chosen by a minority of more than one

In our travels we did not find evidence of the positive attitudes towards Təmmo-sɔ that have been mentioned in the literature, and especially in Plungian (1994).<sup>19</sup>

### 7.3.3 Attitudes toward non-Dogon varieties

We observed, and Plungian (1994) reports, a certain hesitation towards the use of Fulfulde:

*Plusieurs informateurs soulignent leur réserve vis-à-vis du peul : même s'ils parlent cette langue, ils ont une tendance très nette à s'en abstenir dans la communication avec les Dogon. Cette tendance à « se distancier » du peul semble être beaucoup moins accentuée dans les régions nord du pays dogon, surtout dans les zones poiyo et tiranige ; elle est, en revanche, très caractéristique des zones (quoique foulaniées) Donno, Jamsay et quelques autres.* (p. 183)

This observation is in line with the fact that, when the OMM proposed starting literacy programs in Fulfulde, the response from the Dogon communities was that they would prefer literacy in Bambara, even though they understood it less.

Attitudes toward Bambara often are neutral. Plungian (1994) stated that the most common description given by a sample in their survey was *une langue utile* (p. 83). Sometimes Bambara is resented as a language of cultural imperialism.

## 7.4 Institutions

### 7.4.1 Christian

Vanderaa estimates that in 1991 about 3.5 percent of Dogons were Protestant and 3.5 percent Catholic, giving a total of 7 percent Christian (Van91).

The *Eglise Chrétienne Evangelique au pays Dogon* (ECED) is part of the *Eglise Chrétienne Evangelique au Mali*. ECED grew out of the mission activities of the Christian and Missionary Alliance (C&MA) mission.

In 1931, the C&MA sent Mr. and Mrs. F. J. McKinney to start working among the Dogons. The government gave them permission to occupy a deserted caravansary in Sangha, which they moved to in June of that same year. In 1937, the first church was dedicated at Sangha (Steiner n.d.:36–37, 39). C&MA had an important influence on the

<sup>19</sup> It should be kept in mind that table 8 shows results collected by a Təmmo-sɔ speaking Dogon. Perhaps politeness on the part of the sample subjects played a role in producing these results.

origin of the Dogon church. According to Temé, in the early days of the mission, many converts were chased from their home villages and came to Sangha, establishing a Christian community there. Their children tended to take on Tōro-sōo as their language of daily usage, thus adding weight to Tōro-sōo as the language of Christianity (Yeg98:10).

In 1944, Sangha became a center for short-term Bible schools where literacy and basic Bible doctrines were taught. The Dogon church grew and in 1950 it elected its own committee of laymen and pastors to govern the church, thus being the first ethnic group in Mali to organize a church (Steiner n.d.:41).

The ECED is organized into six church districts (Dou03) as shown in table 10.

**Table 10. ECED districts**

District	Range	Speech variety of members
Douenza and Bandiagara	both <i>Cercles</i>	Nanja-dama, Bondum-dom, Jamsay-tegu
Bankass	throughout <i>Cercle</i>	Tomo-kan, Teju-kan
Koro	12 of 16 <i>communes</i>	Jamsay-tegu, Tōro-sōo, Togo-kan, Teju-kan
Madougou	two <i>communes</i>	Tōro-sōo, Jamsay-tegu
Kopogona	two <i>communes</i>	Togo-kan
Mopti	three <i>communes</i>	Fulfulde, Bambara, and many Dogon varieties

The Assemblées de Dieu are based in Koro.

The Christian Reformed Church (CRC) does some literacy work.

The Roman Catholic Church in the Dogon area is part of the diocese of Mopti. Mission posts are active in Ségué (Tomo-kan), Barapiréli (Tōro-sōo), Pel (Togo-kan), and Bandiagara (Donno-sō) (Ser98). The most linguistically active of these seems to be the post in Bandiagara, which produced religious texts and a literacy primer in Donno-sō (Plu94:179) and has founded the *Groupe de Recherche des Coutumes Dogon* (GRCD).

#### 7.4.2 Muslim

Mosques and Koranic schools were not mapped in this survey.

Our impression was that the great majority of Dogons profess to be Muslims. Wherever we asked about traditional dances and rites, the answer was almost always that they no longer performed them now that they had become Muslims, although it is possible that they were not open about such things with us as strangers.

#### 7.4.3 Schools

The *Région de Mopti* is one of the least educationally developed regions of Mali. Some quotes from Ministère du Plan (1990), Analyse, Tome 4: “Fréquentation scolaire, scolarisation et alphabétisation” may suffice to set the general tenor:

*les régions à faible scolarisation (Mopti, Tombouctou et Gao). (p. 37)*

*Les taux de fréquentation [scolaire] les plus faibles sont enregistrés à Kayes (4,8%) et à Mopti (4,7%). (p. 62)*

*Mopti est la région avec la plus faible proportion de résidents de niveau supérieur (0,06%). (p. 99)*

From Ministère du Plan (1990):

*La scolarisation féminine [des enfants de 7 à 12 ans] est encore plus faible à Mopti que partout ailleurs avec 12,5% contre 13,4% à Kayes. (p. 13)*

In line with the low education figures, levels of literacy are decidedly low all over Dogon country. In many places the village elders understand the importance of literacy. Several villages have started some kind of education program.

The number of “premier cycle” schools serving each Dogon speech community is stated in sections titled “Institutions” under each variety listed in chapter 6. If any “second cycle” schools were present, their number is given after a plus (+) sign.

#### 7.4.4 DNAFLA

The Malian government's language policies as upheld by DNAFLA have played a major role in literacy work throughout the Dogon area. In the early 1980s, the author(s) of DNAFLA (1981) stated that they felt forced to seek only one Dogon variety to standardize due to limited human resources and finances (see quote in section 4.5, "Standard Dogon"). By 1996 the stance of DNAFLA was not to permit the production of written materials in any Dogon variety other than Tɔrɔ-sɔɔ.<sup>20</sup> Dogon speech communities unable to use Tɔrɔ-sɔɔ were expected to use Fulfulde, Bambara, or French for literacy programs.

#### 7.4.5 Nongovernmental organisations

SIL has been working in cooperation with the ECED and the United Bible Societies since late 1980 in translation of materials into the Tɔrɔ-sɔɔ speech variety.

Christian Reformed World Relief Canada (CRWRC) has done some literacy work among Dogons.

The *Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit* (GTZ), the *Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau*, and the *Deutsche EntwicklungsDienst* (DED) are cooperating organisations through which the German government channels its bilateral aid with Mali. Their main purpose is to plan and execute technical cooperation projects. In the Dogon area they have:

1. Built small water retention dams in the Dogon plateau.
2. Constructed a road from Bankass via Bandiagara to Kendié, improved other roads, and created or repaired water management dikes and dams.
3. Started local health centres and have done health education in the *Cercle de Bandiagara*.
4. Improved school facilities, trained teachers, and promoted basic education in the *Cercles* of Bandiagara, Douentza, Koro, and Bankass using *la méthode convergente*. We do not know if they have used standard Dogon or the local speech variety.
5. Started a local production association *Mòlibèèmò* (Donno-sɔɔ for 'let's stick together') which helps commercialise the sale of onions. It provides literacy education and publishes a journal in Donno-sɔɔ to both support literacy and to provide information.

SOS Save the Children (StC) is a British aid organisation that set up a health program in the *Cercle de Douentza* similar to what GTZ did in the *Cercle de Bandiagara*.

#### 7.4.6 Radio

Apparently, there are radio broadcasts in Tɔrɔ-sɔɔ and Jamsay (Plu94:189, Yeg98:6). We have no information on where the station(s) is/are located, how often and how long programs are broadcast, nor the geographical range of their reception.

### 8. Methodology

This section provides an overview of the survey process, from research questions to data interpretation, and a partial justification of the methodological decisions we made.

#### 8.1 Research questions

We stated in section 1.1 that the purpose of this survey was to provide data necessary for SIL administrators in Mali to decide whether or not there is a need for SIL to be further involved in various aspects of Dogon language development. In order to provide this information, we constructed questions to guide our research, and then answering these questions became our survey goals. In the case of Dogon, answers to our questions could not be found purely through **internal research**. That is to say, our research could not be solely based on information from Dogon speakers concerning their speech community and other speech communities with which it might be associated. Because of strong concern for unity among the Dogon, conclusions reached for any one speech community may be interpreted as political statements by other speech communities, organizations, and government agencies. For this reason **external research** was also necessary.

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<sup>20</sup> In May 1996, P. Togo, who was then head of the *Unité Dogon* of DNAFLA, made it clear in a conversation with the author that no literature is to be published in a Dogon speech variety other than Tɔrɔ-sɔɔ.

The internal questions we constructed concerned geo-linguistic information, comprehension, language viability, and language attitudes. They are:

1. How many speech varieties are there? Where are they spoken and by how many people?
2. Would members of the various Dogon speech communities adequately understand materials written in standard Dogon?
3. What is the level of intercomprehension among speakers of the various Dogon speech varieties?
4. Are the language varieties spoken in these communities viable, or are there indications of occurring or impending language shift?
5. What are the attitudes within these communities toward the local variety and toward standard Dogon?
6. Would they adequately understand materials written in Bambara, Fulfulde, or French?
7. What are the attitudes towards Bambara, Fulfulde, and French?

Given the complex sociolinguistic situation, the questions about attitude would need to be framed very carefully.

The external questions we posed concerned the goals, policies, and practices (concerning language and education) of institutions working in Dogon land (e.g., government, development agencies, religious groups). These questions were:

8. What institutions work where in Dogon land?
9. What are the institution's goals (as they concern language and education)?
10. What is the institution's policy concerning Dogon speech varieties?
11. What speech variety(s) or language(s) does the institution promote in Dogon land?

If our administrators determine that there is a **need** to develop more than one Dogon speech variety, then the question of **priority** should also be addressed. This report only focuses on providing information to determine whether a need exists.

## 8.2 Approaches

Given the constraints imposed by time, costs, and the local situation, the following approaches were chosen to collect the data necessary for answering the research questions.

Collect geo-linguistic information:

12. Read books and articles on the history of the Dogon people, where they are located, their speech varieties, and demographics.
13. Visit the speech communities to get additional data (“elder” questionnaire and speech variety mapping sessions).
14. Visit institutions and talk to personnel.

Test the potential for comprehending standard Dogon:

15. Assess lexical distance as computed from word comparisons (Standardized wordlist).
16. Assess grammatical distance by comparing phrases (Standardized phrase list).
17. Identify literature in use (observe and question literacy workers, religious workers, and other individuals).
18. Ask questions eliciting a self-report of language proficiency (Questionnaire).
19. Measure actual language proficiency (Recorded Text Tests).

Assess Language viability:

20. Deduce any domain restrictions (e.g., male versus female, age sets, educated) from answers to language choice questions addressed to individuals, religious workers, and village elders (Questionnaire).
21. Ascertain any language changes (shift) by questioning individuals and elders, and observing the language(s) used by children and their proficiency in them (Questionnaire and observation).

Identify language attitudes:

22. Ask questions eliciting judgments on changes in language use, desireability of literacy in the local variety, standard Dogon, Bambara, Fulfulde, and French (Questionnaire).
23. Ask groups of individuals, after they hear a story in some Dogon variety on tape, whether they thought the language variety was well-spoken.
24. Ask individuals about their own and their children's abilities in Bambara, Fulfulde, and French (informal).

Observation:

25. Observe which variety(s) or language(s) are used in which environment.

### 8.3 Data gathering

Because of the enormity of the task, it was decided to split the survey into three **stages**:

Stage one: collect basic information regarding speech varieties, their speech areas, and their relationships;

Stage two: perform more in-depth research on those varieties for which standard Dogon might be adequate.<sup>21</sup>

Stage three: find out how best to serve those varieties for which standard Dogon would not be adequate.

The rationale was that results from the first stage would allow us to plan the trips for the second stage. Once we knew where standard Dogon *might be adequate*, we could plan further tests to be performed there. Those further tests would show which of these varieties would indeed be able to use Tōrō-sōo literature, thereby defining the set of varieties for which it would not be acceptable.

A secondary rationale was that we could expect to learn more of the sociolinguistical situation of the Dogon area in the course of the trips. By delaying using the more subtle techniques until the later stages, we might be better prepared to use them.

The second and third stages were not executed, so this report only deals with the first stage.

### 8.4 Instruments (tests)

Selection of the research tools to be used is based on the quality of the data needed on the one hand, and the time and cost that can be invested on the other. The approaches that were agreed upon led us to choose the following survey instruments:

Stage one:

**Standardized word and phrase lists** collected in several suitably chosen Dogon villages.

**Opinions** on intercomprehension, based on taped samples from the various speech varieties.

**Community questionnaires** with questions looking into: language variety names and villages where it is spoken, intercomprehension, language choice, and attitudes toward literacy in the local variety, standard Dogon, Bambara, Fulfulde, and French.

Stage two:

**Recorded Text Tests** (RTT): texts in standard Dogon, and one in each of a set of aptly chosen local varieties to test for comprehension. A questionnaire to go with the RTT inquiring into subjective understanding of the texts heard and evaluation of the way it was spoken.

**Individual Sociolinguistic Questionnaires** (ISQ) with questions examining: language proficiency and language choices of subjects, their children, and children in general; literacy; attitudes towards use and development of the local variety, standard Dogon, Bambara, Fulfulde, and French.

Stage three:

Not decided.

### 8.5 Preparation and use of wordlist

A short list of ninety words and ten sentences was constructed as follows:

Intersecting the SIL Mali standard wordlist, the Swadesh 200 wordlist and the DNAFLA Dogon wordlist as used by Kéné (Ken97) yielded some eighty words, with almost no verbs. Common verbs were then added from the intersection of the SIL Mali and Swadesh lists. Finally, ten sentences were added from the thirty used by Wiesemann for a total of 100 entries.

For each of the word entries, the English, French, and Bambara forms were taken from the SIL Mali list, and Fulfulde translations were added by an SIL team familiar with the language.

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<sup>21</sup> See section 1.3 for the definition of adequate.

In practice, the resulting wordlist turned out to have some weak points. For instance, the words “this” and “that” were hard to elicit. It is possible that in many cases we have elicited “here” and “there” instead.

For the verbs, we asked for the imperative “as you would say it to a child.”

For the sentences, we gave a short description of a situation in which the utterance would be natural, and then asked how they would say it.

## 8.6 Justification for use of recorded text tests

The amount of comprehension between two speakers, each from different speech varieties and having little or no previous exposure to their speech differences, is an inherent quality that is often impossible to assess by interview. It is even more difficult in cases where the person being questioned is unaware of the existence of the other variety, or where strong attitudes play a role. The standard used for judging the quality of comprehension may vary considerably from one speaker to another so that “poor” by one with high standards might equal “fair” for a person with low standards. Therefore it was decided to resort to comprehension testing by means of recorded text tests (RTT), a method adapted from the one described in Casad (1974). It is assumed to be impossible for subjects to deliberately skew scores upwards, whereas negative attitudes could potentially lead to a downward skewing and thus lead to underestimating the degree of comprehension.

Since the degree of comprehension between persons naïve to (i.e., not having learned) each other’s speech variety is inherent, variation in test scores (between subjects of the same speech variety taking the same test) is expected to be low. Therefore, a sample of ten subjects has consistently born reliable results. When there is much variation in test scores among the subjects, one must suspect that those who scored high had significant previous exposure to the speech variety being tested. In other words, those persons likely *learned* to understand that speech variety and consequently those test results should not be considered a reliable measure of inherent intelligibility.

## 8.7 Problems encountered

The main unforeseen circumstances were: (1) the amount of time that was involved in travelling through Dogon country and (2) that during rainy season most of the plains were virtually unreachable by car.

## 8.8 Data analysis

### 8.8.1 Wordlists

Although word forms are nominal data, they have not been subjected to a  $\chi^2$  procedure, but were instead analysed through the computer program WORDSURV<sup>22</sup> (version 2.5b.9 of Wim89) to determine a degree of what might be loosely called “lexical distance.”

We attempted to follow Frank Blair’s method of classifying all phones into one of three categories (according to degrees of phonological similarity), and likewise imposed his limits (variable by word length) on how many correspondences of each category are permissible to still judge pairs of words as similar (Bla90:31–33). The modifications we made to Blair’s method are as follows:

Probable suffixes (including -go in nouns in the Dogul-dom list); probable repetitions; differences in length, tone, syllabicity, aspiration or nasalisation; and glottal stops have been ignored.

Because of the wide range in place of articulation for palatal plosives, all voiced plosives between /d/ and /g/, inclusive, were considered the same, as were all voiceless plosives between /t/ and /k/, inclusive.

Because of observed free variations, the following segments were considered the same: /r/, /f/, and /l/; /r/ and /d/; /in/ and /jn/; and //n/ and //in/.

Because of common change patterns between varieties, the following segments were considered the same: /m/, /w/ and /v/; /z/ in Yanda-dom and Donno-so and /j/ elsewhere; and /g/ in Tomo-kan and /// elsewhere.

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<sup>22</sup> WORDSURV does not apply a comparative linguistic method based on historical analysis, and thus does not determine cognates. Instead, the program performs a count of shared vocabulary between lists based on similarity groupings, working from the assumption that the degree of similarity as indicated by the researcher is directly and positively related to lexical intercomprehension.

The difference between /n/ and /nd/ was considered category 2 because though they are phonologically similar, they occurred rarely.

### 8.8.2 Census data

It was fortunate that during the course of the survey, preliminary results from the *Recensement Général de la Population et de l'Habitat du Mali*, which was held from 1 to 14 April 1988, became available. For more detailed information, the definitive results from the 1987 census have been used (MdP90). For political reasons, in this latter census, no information regarding tribal affiliation was collected, and linguistic information was published in separate tables, only tabulated by sex, region, and urban/rural environment.

In order to make this information useful for this survey, the following accommodations were made:

For the 2,000 or so villages in the Dogon area, 1987 census population figures were associated with speech variety information collected in the field during map sessions or obtained from Professor Issiaka Tembiné. The resulting population figures per speech variety are given in chapter 6, "Speech variety inventory."

The 1987 figures for the rural population of the *Région de Mopti* were used as indications for the (unpublished) figures for the number of Dogons. While it is not completely clear what definitions of urban and rural were used, it seems reasonable to assume that most of Dogon country would be considered rural and that the communities such as Sévaré and Mopti would be considered urban.

Many of the published tables stated figures for the population of 6 years of age and older. Where appropriate (e.g., total numbers of Dogon speakers), figures for the total population were estimated from these figures by assuming like proportions for the population under six years old. The formula we used was: (Positives<sup>23</sup> of six years and over) x (Total for all ages) / (Total of six years and over).

Where appropriate, estimates for 1988 were obtained by extrapolating according to the overall population growth. The 1998 population figures per speech variety as presented in chapter 6, "Speech variety inventory," were obtained by multiplying the 1987 population for each village with the growth figure for its *arrondissement*, so as to take the differing growth figures for different areas into consideration. The formula used was: (Positives in 1987) x (Total in 1998) / (Total in 1987).

It may be useful to comment here that for the 1998 census, a **resident** was someone who *either* had lived in the village for at least six months at the day of the census, *or* had indicated the intention of settling down in the village. Our population figures indicate the numbers of residents in this sense.

## 9. Conclusions

### 9.1 DNAFLA's 1974–1977 surveys

The half dozen or more sociolinguistic surveys DNAFLA was associated with during 1974–1977 were not all very well coordinated, but nevertheless it drew conclusions from them (Gal93:206). It is difficult to judge the validity of the conclusions as neither the questionnaires nor the results were provided in the reports we found. Additionally, we do not know if those interviewed were representative of a cross-section of the population as a whole. Despite the weaknesses, we note the conclusions reported by Galtier.

- *Le peul n'est en réalité parlé que sur la périphérie du pays dogon et dans les chefs-lieux importants.*
- *Si une langue autre que le dogon et le français doit être choisie, les Dogons préfèrent généralement que ce soit le bambara et non le peul. Non parce que les Dogons comprennent mieux le bambara que le peul, mais parce qu'ils se sentent plus d'affinités avec les cultivateurs bambaras qu'avec les bergers peuls, et qu'ils jugent le bambara plus utile que le peul dans la situation politique actuelle (le bambara étant la langue de la capitale Bamako et la principale "langue nationale" du Mali).* (Gal93:200–201)
- *Il existe de vastes zones au centre du pays dogon où la seule langue couramment parlée est le dogon et où ni le peul, ni le bambara n'ont beaucoup pénétré.*
- *les habitants des zones centrales refusent généralement d'être alphabétisés en peul, alors qu'ils sont intéressés par une alphabétisation soit en bambara, soit dans un autre parler dogon que le leur.*

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<sup>23</sup> "Positives" are subjects that exhibit the characteristic under investigation (as in medical tests).

- ... certains dialectes dogons sont mutuellement inintelligibles (par exemple, le tombo et le togo).
- Le Toro so est le dialecte le mieux compris par l'ensemble des Dogons interrogés (mis à part les locuteurs Tomo-kan).
- Les Dogons de religion chrétienne (catholiques ou protestantes) sont généralement capables de lire le dogon sous une forme ou une autre.
- Le peul est compris essentiellement à la périphérie du pays dogon.
- Le bambara est de plus en plus pratiqué au sud du pays dogon (circonscription de Bankass notamment) et dans la ville de Bandiagara.
- Dans certaines zones périphériques, les Dogons sont susceptibles d'accepter une alphabétisation en peul (cas du circonscription de Douentza et des bordures ouest et nord du circonscription de Bandiagara) ou une alphabétisation en bambara (cas des locuteurs Tomo-kan du circonscription de Bankass). (Gal93:206–207)

## 9.2 Background information

Information on how the Dogon people migrated to their present locations seems scant (or kept secret) even in places where the elders claimed that their ancestors came directly from Mande to the current village. No clear overall pattern emerged except one could say perhaps that they first settled along or in the cliff, then spread to the plateau, and eventually some descended into the plains.

## 9.3 Answers for our research questions

Each research question is indicated by a bullet preceding it. The questions will be answered from information found in the preceding chapters of this report.

### 9.3.1 Number of speech varieties

26. How many Dogon speech varieties are there?

From chapter 6 table 4, “Dogon speech varieties,” we have identified the following nineteen Dogon speech varieties. Subvarieties are enclosed in parentheses.

1. Jamsay-tegu (Domno-tegu, Gono-tegu, Bama-tegu, Guru-tegu)
2. Toro-tegu
3. Teju-kan
4. Togo-kan
5. Tomo-kan (Aa-kan, Au-kan, Basara-kan, Caman-kan, Bongu-kan, Cibaala-kan, Tamambala-kan)
6. Tɔ̃mɔ̃-so
7. Tɔ̃mɔ̃-so (Ondom and Amala villages, Wazouba village, Kassa-so)
8. Donno-so (Dono-so, Kamba-so)
9. Tiranige-diga
10. Mombo (Helabo, Miambo)
11. Ampari-kora
12. Bangeri-me
13. Korandabo
14. Bondum-dom (Kindyem, Nadyamba)
15. Dogulu-dom
16. Naŋa-dama
17. Yanda-dom
18. Oru-yille
19. isolated villages.

Lexically, Bangeri-me is very different from the other Dogon varieties. It remains an open question as to whether it should be classified as a Dogon language at all.

### **9.3.2 Location of speech varieties**

27. Where is each variety spoken?

Refer to appendix A map, “Dogon Speech Varieties” and appendix C, “List of Dogon Towns and Villages.”

### **9.3.3 Number of speakers**

28. How many persons speak each variety?

Choose a specific variety and refer to the section with that name in chapter 6, “Speech Variety Inventory.” An estimated population figure is listed there.

### **9.3.4 Intercomprehension**

Throughout this subsection it should be kept in mind that subjective information which reports insufficient comprehension is generally reliable, whereas subjective information reporting adequate comprehension is unreliable if no frame is provided to carefully define “adequate.”

29. Would members of the various Dogon speech communities adequately understand materials written in standard Dogon?

Before answering this question, it should be said that only one of two reasons can explain why a person can adequately understand a given speech variety. Firstly, it may be because it is inherently intelligible but if not, then secondly, he may have learned that variety. The responses here will only address this question from the standpoint of inherent intelligibility. We also point out that the threshold for defining “adequate” in this question is necessarily high as the goal is stated as having to do with understanding written materials, presumably not limited to one literary genre.

Response based on wordlist scores:

Our reason for analysing wordlists is to get an idea of the potential for inherent intelligibility. Ted Bergman, SIL’s international survey coordinator, recommends that when analyzing wordlists by the synchronic comparative method, if the percentage of cognates falls below 70 percent (including range of error), the speech forms should be classified as separate languages (Ber90c:8.1.5). In other words, if the percentage of cognates falls below 70 percent there is no hope of inherent intelligibility. SIL language surveys over the years have shown this to be true. The only way a speaker of one of those varieties would be able to understand the speech of someone speaking another of those varieties would be if he or she had learned it (i.e., acquired intelligibility). The converse, however, is not true: while low figures indicate a lack of intelligibility, high figures do not guarantee adequate comprehension.

Since the WordSurv computer program was not written to do a historical-comparative analysis of wordlists to determine true cognates, and since the surveyors were not qualified to do such a study, the analysis described in section 8.8.1 probably produced significantly lower scores than a thorough study of cognicity would produce.

With that in mind, the results<sup>24</sup> of the analysis of nineteen wordlists by J.A. Durieux (see table 5, “Provisional lexical similarity percentages”) indicate that **at least** three Dogon varieties could exhibit a degree of meaningful comprehension (i.e., inherent intelligibility). The three varieties are Toro-soo, Donno-so, and Tommo-so.

Response based on recorded text tests (RTT):

Marmor proposed that an average RTT score of 70 percent be used as the lower boundary for any degree of meaningful comprehension (Mar97). Grimes believes that any score below 75 percent indicates that comprehension is inadequate for trying to unify those speech varieties with one single orthography. She warns that it would be presumptuous to think that a score between 70–90 percent indicates that comprehension is necessarily adequate. For example, in Mexico, speakers of a certain speech variety who understood a narrative text from another variety did not understand texts from other genres. (Gri88:4.1.20–21) SIL in Mali has not considered a speech variety that received an average RTT score of less than 85 percent by speakers of another speech variety to be adequate for realizing literacy goals in their speech community.

Of the seven Dogon speech varieties (Toro-soo, Donno-so, Tommo-so, Jamsay-tegu, Tomo-kan, Teju-kan, Togo-kan) DNAFLA tested with RTT, the only sets of ten test takers in their survey who posted average scores above 70 percent

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<sup>24</sup> A raw score of 63 percent or more + 17 percent range of error = at least 70 percent

(i.e., 7.0) for the Tɔrɔ-sɔɔ text were Donno-sɔɔ, Tɔmмо-sɔɔ, and Togo-kan speakers. Although Tɔrɔ-sɔɔ speakers scored poorly on the Togo-kan text (3.2 average), Togo-kan speakers scored well on the Tɔrɔ-sɔɔ text (9.5 average), and the standard deviation of only 7.1 percent seems to indicate that it is an acceptable score.<sup>25</sup> It is likely, however, that all ten participants had much prior contact with Tɔrɔ-sɔɔ speakers and thus scored uniformly high on the test, given that the test site (Koporo pen) is located at the northwestern edge of the Togo-kan speaking area with Tɔrɔ-sɔɔ speakers in neighboring villages. The five questions asked to screen the test candidates did not include a question about prior contact with the varieties being tested.

Response based on subjective data (i.e., questionnaires, observation, opinion):

Please refer to section 6, “Speech variety inventory” and consult specific varieties, paying special attention to subsections titled “Intercomprehension.” The general observation can be made that speakers of varieties contiguous to the Tɔrɔ-sɔɔ speech community understand Tɔrɔ-sɔɔ the best, but even then, intelligibility tends to decrease as geographic distance increases.

30. What is the level of intercomprehension among speakers of the various Dogon speech varieties?

Response based on Wordlist scores:

The results of the analysis of nineteen wordlists by J. A. Durieux (see table 5, Provisional lexical similarity percentages), do not offer much hope of adequate intercomprehension between any of the eighteen (isolate excluded) identified Dogon varieties except within the cluster of Tɔrɔ-sɔɔ, Donno-sɔɔ, and Tɔmмо-sɔɔ. However, the author believes a more thorough study of the wordlists would produce a significantly higher percentage of items judged lexically similar (i.e., cognate) and would probably bring a number of the percentages above 70 percent. Instead of nineteen wordlists, SIL now has thirty-seven Dogon wordlists that could and should be analysed.

Response based on RTT scores:

This was to be the focus of stage two of this survey. The Durieux only collected and “hometown” tested a few texts in preparation for doing RTT during stage two. DNAFLA did recorded text testing with ten speakers from each of seven Dogon varieties (Tɔrɔ-sɔɔ, Donno-sɔɔ, Tɔmмо-sɔɔ, Jamsay-tegu, Tomo-kan, Teju-kan, and Togo-kan). The results (see section 7.3.2 Recorded text tests) show that there is a high degree of inherent comprehension between speakers of Tɔrɔ-sɔɔ, Donno-sɔɔ, and Tɔmмо-sɔɔ. It is unclear whether the high scores of the Togo-kan speakers on the Tɔrɔ-sɔɔ test (9.5) and Jamsay-tegu test (9.4) reflect uni-directional inherent comprehension or acquired comprehension (i.e., bilingualism) since the standard deviations are within acceptable limits but the inverse average scores were very low. We point out, however, that the Togo-kan test site of Koporo-pen is located at the northwest edge of the Togo-kan speaking area near several Tɔrɔ-sɔɔ speaking villages and one Jamsay-tegu speaking village named Bereli.

The high standard deviation calculated from the individual scores of the Togo-kan speakers on the Teju-kan test (18.1 percent), and from the scores of the Tɔrɔ-sɔɔ speakers on the Jamsay-tegu test (40.9 percent), indicates that bilingual proficiency is probably reflected in those average scores. The average score of the Teju-kan speakers on the Togo-kan test (3.8), and the average score of the Jamsay-tegu speakers on the Tɔrɔ-sɔɔ test (5.0), was very low in both cases. All the other average scores were well below the 70 percent figure which is figured to be the minimum required for any meaningful degree of comprehension.

It is a bit surprising that the analysis of the RTT scores between Teju-kan and Togo-kan speakers indicated some difficulties with intercomprehension. A casual comparison of the Teju-kan and Togo-kan wordlists reproduced from Kéné (1997) in appendix D, “Dogon Wordlists” is sufficient to see that the two lists are highly similar. Perhaps there are significant grammatical differences that hinder comprehension.

Response based on subjective information (questionnaires, observation, opinion):

Please refer to section 6, “Speech variety inventory” and consult specific varieties, paying special attention to subsections titled “intercomprehension.”

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<sup>25</sup> An unacceptable average score would have a standard deviation of 15 percent or more, indicating that some of the listeners probably had significant prior contact with the variety being tested and therefore acquired comprehension the rest did not have (Gri88:4.1.19). Such an average score should not be interpreted as reflecting the degree of inherent comprehension.

31. Would they adequately understand materials written in Bambara, Fulfulde, or French?

It seems that most adult Dogons speak functional Fulfulde, except in the southwestern part of the Tomo-kan speaking area (near San), where Bambara is the language of wider communication. Elsewhere, knowledge of Bambara is low and knowledge of French is rare. The fact that many Dogons apparently hold Fulfulde and Bambara in low esteem disqualifies them as languages for education and literacy in Dogon land.

### **9.3.5 Viability**

32. Are the language varieties spoken in these communities viable, or are there indications of occurring or impending language shift?

A first indication of language shift can be obtained from the language use data given in table 3, “Number of Dogon speakers six years and older in Mali in 1987.” Here, both the number of people raised in a Dogon-speaking family and the number of those who continue to speak it (column 4) are given. Analysing these figures, we see that of the total of those raised in a Dogon-speaking family (column 3, bottom row), almost 97 percent kept Dogon as their language of daily use (column 4, bottom row). The fraction of 0.4 percent people with other mother tongues who have adopted Dogon (e.g., due to intermarriage) as their language of use (column 5 minus column 4) does not significantly alter this figure. So disregarding that, approximately 3 percent of those raised in a Dogon-speaking family end up abandoning the language (column 3 minus column 5). Significantly, most of this loss occurs in urban areas (with a relative loss of 31 percent), where the Dogon population consists mainly of migrants. In rural areas the loss is only 1 percent.

If our focus is on the adult population, then these figures are artificially low. The census figures were based on persons 6 years of age and up; therefore, children were included who had not yet had an opportunity to adopt another language. Even so, these results seem to indicate that generally Dogon is not viable in the urban communities, but is highly viable in the rural areas.

During this survey, we did not find any indication of language shift for Dogon as a whole, except maybe in the southwestern part of the Tomo-kan area, near San, where Bambara was reportedly commonly used as a second language in all domains. Shift between Dogon speech varieties does exist, however, as evidenced by the village of Kendié, which used to be Bondum-dom, but is now virtually all Tɔmmo-sɔ. It seems to be rare on the plateau, however, and as far as we could gather, immigration is the main cause of such shifts. In the western part of the plains the process is somewhat more common, as people from other speech varieties descend into the plains to find richer soil.

In conclusion, **all Dogon varieties we visited seem viable**, but no in-depth study was done on this. As a whole, Dogons living in the rural Dogon-speaking areas are proud to speak and maintain their language. Some language loss to Bambara may occur in the Tomo-kan area near San, but the Tomo-kan speech community is very large both demographically and geographically. Census information regarding mother tongue versus other language use among Dogons in San, Ségou, and Bamako indicates that **displaced Dogons tend to lose their language quickly**.

### **9.3.6 Attitudes**

33. What are the attitudes within these communities toward the local variety and toward standard Dogon?

Attitudes toward standard Dogon were to be investigated in stage two. See section 7.3.1, “Attitude toward local variety.”

Temé assumed that within the Dogon Protestant church, Tɔrɔ-sɔɔ is seen as a “spiritual” language, appropriate for sermons, testimonies, and spiritual discussions. The fact that a Christian vocabulary is readily available in Tɔrɔ-sɔɔ may be a factor there, too.

34. What are the attitudes towards Bambara, Fulfulde, and French?

A sizeable number of Dogon speak Fulfulde, but it tends to be held in low respect except in some villages that contain a Fulani neighbourhood, or even a Fulani majority. It was refused as a language of education (as described in section 4.5, “Standard Dogon”).

Bambara is somewhat in the same situation, but to a lesser degree. It is considered a useful language for commerce and travel. Sometimes it is resented as a language of cultural imperialism.

French is an external language of wider communication, spoken by a small minority of Dogon people. It is taught in schools and held in high respect as the only option for upward mobility.

### **9.3.7 Institutions**

35. What institutions work where in Dogon land?
36. What are the institution's goals (as they concern language and education)?
37. What is the institution's policy concerning Dogon speech varieties?
38. What speech variety(s) or language(s) does the institution promote in Dogon land?

Please refer to section 7.4, “Institutions” for answers to the above questions. Also see sections titled, “Institutions” under specific speech varieties in section 6.

### **9.4 Development need**

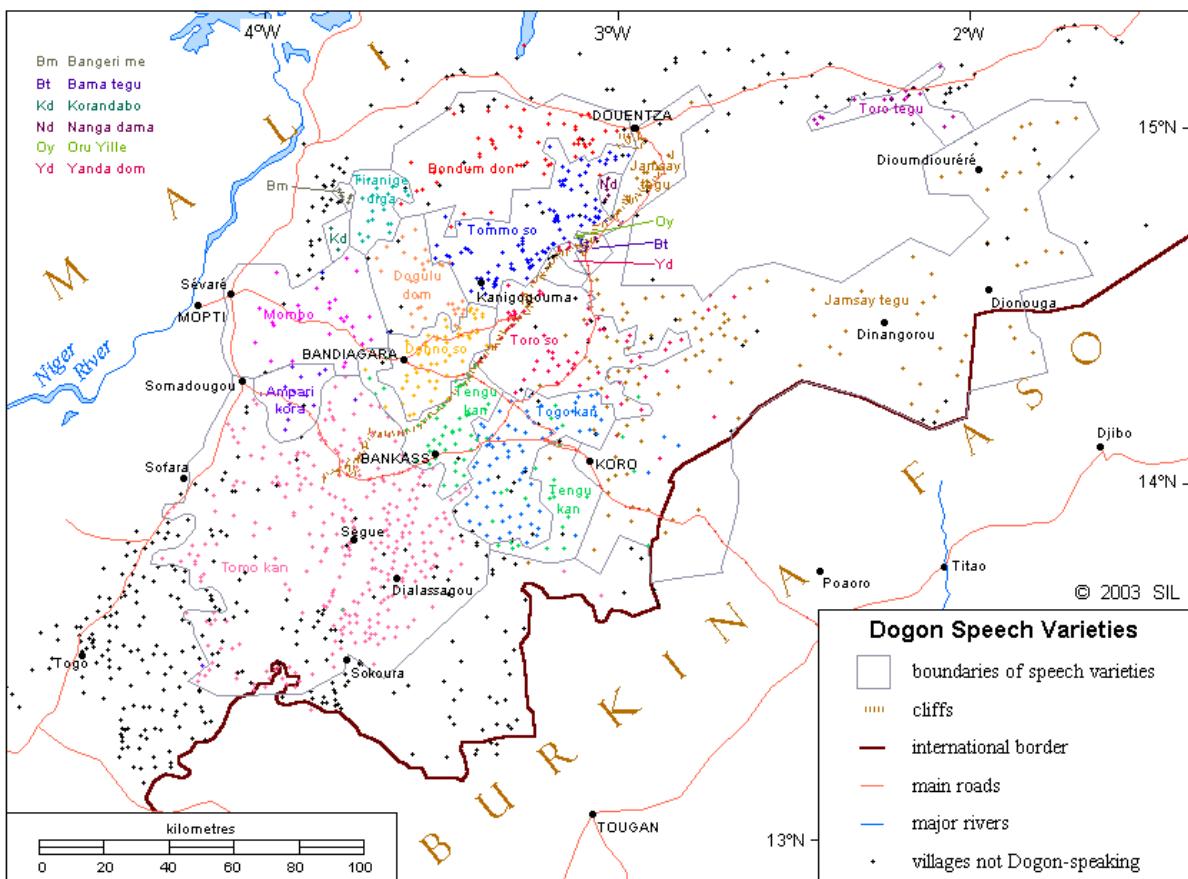
In recent years, the Malian government has not been favourable to the production of written materials in any Dogon variety other than Tɔrɔ-sɔɔ. Dogon speech communities unable to use Tɔrɔ-sɔɔ have been expected to use Fulfulde, Bambara, or French for literacy programs (refer to section 7.4.4, “DNAFLA”). Nevertheless, at least a couple of institutions have produced limited quantities of literature in nonstandard Dogon varieties.

Antoine Yegbe and Josué Temé (Yeg98) concluded that a language development program in Tomo-kan is politically feasible. The rationale behind the government’s linguistic policy, which considers the national languages to be tools for development, implies that development of any speech variety would be acceptable if it demonstrably furthers the development of its speech community.

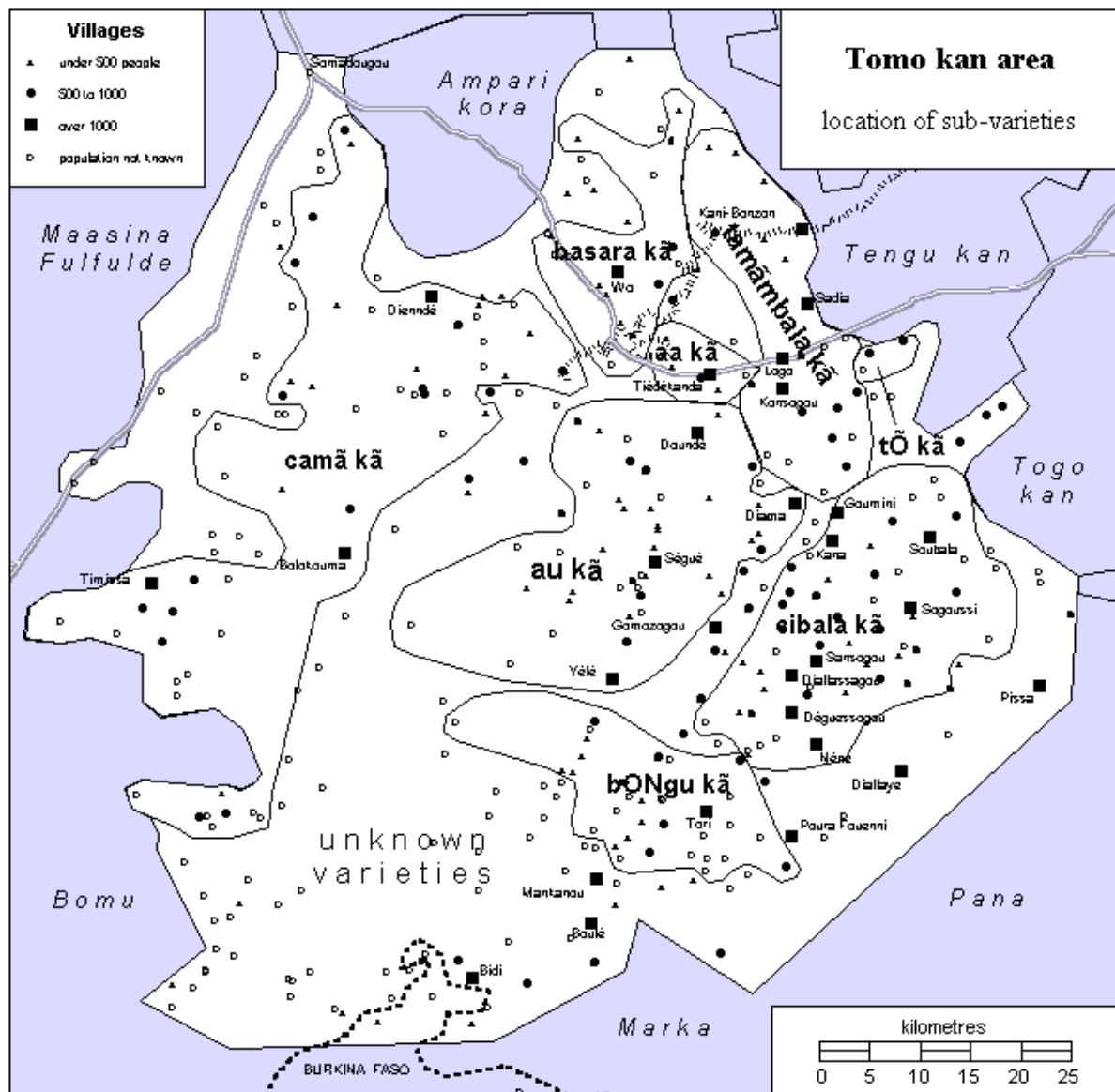
This report is not intended to evaluate whether or not there is a need to develop literature in one or more Dogon varieties besides Tɔrɔ-sɔɔ. Its aim is to provide information to help SIL administrators answer this question. The Malian government’s current language policy remains favourable to good linguistic research and further study of Dogon speech varieties. It is certain that development agencies could make more use of audio and visual media in nonstandard speech varieties than they have to date.

## Appendices

### Appendix A: Dogon Speech Varieties



## Appendix B: Tomo-kan area



## Appendix C: Dogon towns and villages

Data collected by J. A. Durieux in 1998-1999 for SIL Mali.

Edited by J. L. Hochstetler on May 14, 2003.

Villages in Dogon land where Dogon is not spoken, or where we do not know what language is spoken, have been omitted from this list.

Sorted by variety and Arrondissement

Region	Cercle	Arrondissement	Secteur	Pop.1987	Pop.1996	Pop.1998	Map name	Local name	Latitude	Longitude	Variety	Subvariety
Segou	Tominian	Koula		287		376	Pahandaha		13:29:10	4:10:40	ampari kora	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo		147		174	Baboye		14:16:00	3:56:40	ampari kora	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo		401		475	Bolimmba		14:14:40	3:52:50	ampari kora	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo		151		179	Danga		14:19:30	3:55:30	ampari kora	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo		229		271	Gamba		14:13:20	3:55:50	ampari kora	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo		162		192	Guennde'		14:09:00	3:56:30	ampari kora	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo		194		230	Kilimppo		14:17:50	3:53:50	ampari kora	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo		290		344	Koko		14:18:20	3:50:50	ampari kora	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo		207		245	Monaboundou		14:14:00	3:44:40	ampari kora	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo		673		798	Nando		14:15:20	3:55:10	ampari kora	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo		288		341	Niamina		14:10:40	3:56:10	ampari kora	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo		375		444	Nionongo		14:19:00	3:49:40	ampari kora	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo		942		1117	Pa		14:13:00	3:51:50	ampari kora	unknown
							Balaguine'	Balajina	14:15:00	4:00:50	ampari kora	unknown
							Niamina-De'ba		14:12:20	3:57:30	ampari kora	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Goundaka		211		285	Bara		14:48:20	3:45:30	bangeri me	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Goundaka		418		565	Bounou		14:47:50	3:45:40	bangeri me	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Goundaka		241		326	Niana		14:48:10	3:46:50	bangeri me	unknown
							Die'ni		14:47:10	3:45:50	bangeri me	unknown
							Digari		14:47:40	3:46:50	bangeri me	unknown
							Doro		14:49:20	3:47:20	bangeri me	unknown
							Due		14:48:20	3:47:00	bangeri me	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Bore'					Bajalu				bondum dom	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Bore'					Banolu				bondum dom	unknown

Mopti	Douentza	Bore'					Bara	Baroo	14:59:15	3:16:25	bondum dom	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Bore'					Barawalu				bondum dom	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Bore'					Chognolou	SoNolu	15:00:30	3:11:45	bondum dom	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Bore'	0		0		Dagani		14:57:20	3:13:30	bondum dom	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Bore'					Dagani	Dongani	14:57:20	3:13:35	bondum dom	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Bore'					Diole'	JOlE			bondum dom	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Bore'					Eburu				bondum dom	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Bore'					Gaa				bondum dom	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Bore'		1076		1164	Ibissa		15:02:50	3:16:00	bondum dom	kindyim
Mopti	Douentza	Bore'					Kidio	GindE	14:59:40	3:16:45	bondum dom	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Bore'	271		293		Kirou	KOlE	15:03:10	3:22:00	bondum dom	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Bore'					Kongoro	KOngElE	14:57:30	3:21:10	bondum dom	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Bore'		1484		1605	Koraberi	KOIObu	15:02:00	3:11:35	bondum dom	kindyim
Mopti	Douentza	Bore'					Kulu				bondum dom	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Bore'					Nombore'	NomOlu	14:57:45	3:21:30	bondum dom	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Bore'		839		908	Noumbol	NunbOlu	14:59:50	3:18:05	bondum dom	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Bore'	0		0		Onto	Onta	15:03:00	3:28:30	bondum dom	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Bore'		883		955	Samari	Semalu	14:58:10	3:16:40	bondum dom	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Bore'		0		0	Souki	SogElE	15:03:20	3:18:55	bondum dom	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Bore'					Talu				bondum dom	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Bore'		250		270	Tiboki	Tibu	15:02:10	3:27:45	bondum dom	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Bore'					Tiraninge				bondum dom	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Bore'					Tirere'	Tire	15:13:35	3:16:00	bondum dom	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Bore'					Tondife're'	TondifElE			bondum dom	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Bore'					Toumbali	Tunbalu	14:53:45	3:11:20	bondum dom	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Bore'					Toure'	TulE			bondum dom	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Douentza		461		472	Adia	Aaja	14:57:50	3:06:40	bondum dom	nadyamba
Mopti	Douentza	Douentza					Ambaka		14:54:55	3:07:05	bondum dom	nadyamba
Mopti	Douentza	Douentza		246		252	Dembeli-Goudapari	DEnbElu			bondum dom	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Douentza					Dembe're'	Dinbira	14:59:30	3:07:10	bondum dom	nadyamba
Mopti	Douentza	Douentza					Dimte'ro	Dubatolo	15:01:45	3:06:15	bondum dom	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Douentza					Dindali	Dindalu	14:57:55	3:06:20	bondum dom	nadyamba

Mopti	Douentza	Douentza		220		225	Dioni	Joonu	14:56:30	3:05:30	bondum dom	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Douentza					Fadiari	Bajalu	14:58:10	2:58:10	bondum dom	unknown
Mopti	Douentza						GONu				bondum dom	unknown
Mopti	Douentza						Gunduru				bondum dom	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Douentza		311		319	Hassa-Karba	Do	14:59:15	3:00:05	bondum dom	nadyamba
Mopti	Douentza	Douentza					Kori				bondum dom	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Douentza		757		775	Koubel-Koundia		14:59:10	3:02:00	bondum dom	nadyamba
Mopti	Douentza	Douentza					Koulo				bondum dom	nadyamba
Mopti	Douentza	Douentza					Madina				bondum dom	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Douentza		1590		1629	Mongui	Mugi	15:00:30	3:09:10	bondum dom	nadyamba
Mopti	Douentza	Douentza					Ne'ne'		14:57:00	3:07:15	bondum dom	nadyamba
Mopti	Douentza	Douentza					Ne're'	NElu	14:57:00	3:06:40	bondum dom	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Douentza		330		338	Ourkia	Olukiya	14:55:40	3:04:05	bondum dom	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Douentza		589		603	Ourodou	Oloduu	14:57:50	3:04:15	bondum dom	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Douentza					Ourodou		14:57:50	3:04:15	bondum dom	nadyamba
Mopti	Douentza	Douentza		264		270	Pele'-Koumbole'		14:57:05	3:05:40	bondum dom	nadyamba
Mopti	Douentza	Douentza					Siba	SEba	15:01:40	3:04:40	bondum dom	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Douentza		659		675	Sinnda	Sinda	15:02:00	3:04:50	bondum dom	kindyim
Mopti	Douentza	Douentza		474		485	Soroli		14:51:50	3:03:00	bondum dom	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Douentza		646		662	Tabako	Tabaa	15:00:00	3:07:10	bondum dom	nadyamba
Mopti	Bandiagara	Kendie		228		287	Aina		14:49:10	3:34:10	bondum dom	kindyim
Mopti	Bandiagara	Kendie					Ambavel	Ambeelu	14:49:20	3:33:15	bondum dom	kindyim
Mopti	Bandiagara	Kendie		0		0	Belle'		14:52:40	3:25:05	bondum dom	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Kendie		346		435	Be'ri	BErE	14:47:00	3:36:45	bondum dom	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Kendie		2777		3494	Borko	BOlO	14:57:00	3:21:20	bondum dom	kindyim
Mopti	Bandiagara	Kendie					Danjubanu				bondum dom	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Kendie					Daouli	Dauli	14:52:05	3:12:25	bondum dom	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Kendie		258		325	Dempari	DEnbalu	15:02:40	3:22:05	bondum dom	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Kendie		1161		1461	Dogani	DOgaani	14:53:55	3:35:15	bondum dom	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Kendie					GindE				bondum dom	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Kendie		298		375	Gobina				bondum dom	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Kendie					Gunduga				bondum dom	unknown

Mohti	Bandiagara	Kendie			308		388	Janwelu				bondum dom	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Kendie			217		273	Kounde				bondum dom	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Kendie			517		650	Koutoumel		14:52:10	3:30:00	bondum dom	kindyim
Mohti	Bandiagara	Kendie			0		0	Melo		14:58:00	3:23:40	bondum dom	kindyim
Mohti	Bandiagara	Kendie			565		711	Mennti-Souwi	Mendu-duu	14:54:50	3:23:30	bondum dom	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Kendie					Ologo	Menti-Kindi	Menduk Ki	14:55:20	3:23:30	bondum dom	kindyim
Mohti	Bandiagara	Kendie					Piro		OLOO	14:43:00	3:28:15	bondum dom	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Kendie			244		307	Pouti	Puru	14:52:15	3:31:10	bondum dom	kindyim
Mohti	Bandiagara	Kendie					Saare					bondum dom	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Kendie					Sangali		Cangalu	14:50:25	3:30:50	bondum dom	kindyim
Mohti	Bandiagara	Kendie					Tan		TaNu			bondum dom	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Kendie			234		294	Tapou	Tabu	14:49:10	3:34:15	bondum dom	kindyim
Mohti	Bandiagara	Kendie			1229		1546	Tinntam	Tindam	14:56:20	3:20:40	bondum dom	kindyim
Mohti	Bandiagara	Kendie					Tolo		Toloo	14:53:30	3:16:20	bondum dom	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Kendie			409.5		515	Toupe're'		14:45:20	3:26:10	bondum dom	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Kendie					UmEi					bondum dom	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Ningari			435		528	Dia	Dya	14:53:50	3:15:30	bondum dom	kindyim
Mohti	Bandiagara	Ningari			125		152	Ennde'guem	EndEgEmu	14:54:20	3:12:20	bondum dom	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Ningari			301.5		366	Enndie'		14:45:25	3:21:35	bondum dom	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Ningari			429		520	Tassembe'	SassEnbE	14:53:30	3:17:10	bondum dom	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Ningari			174		211	Yombol	YOmbOlu	14:53:25	3:11:50	bondum dom	unknown
							Lamordi			14:57:40	3:06:00	bondum dom	unknown
							Pete'-Koumbole'			14:57:00	3:04:45	bondum dom	nadyamba
Mohti	Bankass	Baye			375		553	Libe'		13:44:35	3:21:10	Dogon unknown	unknown
Mohti	Douentza	Bore'			167		181	Adioubata				Dogon unknown	unknown
Mohti	Douentza	Bore'			344		372	Kerinngo		15:12:20	3:40:15	Dogon unknown	unknown
Mohti	Douentza	Bore'			118		128	Madougou		15:19:35	3:15:50	Dogon unknown	unknown
Mohti	Douentza	Bore'			352		381	Te`ye		15:11:00	3:35:50	Dogon unknown	unknown
Mohti	Douentza	Bore'			300		325	Te'te'		15:03:00	3:29:00	Dogon unknown	unknown
Mohti	Douentza	Bore'			529		572	Wari		15:07:55	3:36:30	Dogon unknown	unknown

Mopti	Koro	Diankabou		291		337	Damasongo		14:38:15	3:10:30	Dogon unknown	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Diankabou		132		153	Te'pe're'		14:36:50	3:11:30	Dogon unknown	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Diankabou		233		270	We're'		14:36:05	3:11:55	Dogon unknown	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Douentza		474		485	Coumbe-Na				Dogon unknown	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Douentza		286		293	Every				Dogon unknown	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Douentza		283		290	Fombory-Do				Dogon unknown	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Douentza		262		268	Guenebana				Dogon unknown	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Douentza		540		553	Kara				Dogon unknown	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Douentza		0		0	Lamordi		14:57:45	3:06:00	Dogon unknown	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Douentza		148		152	Tebi Maounde'		15:00:30	2:52:40	Dogon unknown	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Douentza		0		0	Tebi Toumbo		14:59:15	2:44:35	Dogon unknown	unknown
District of Bamako	elsewhere	elsewhere		6049		9338	elsewhere				Dogon unknown	unknown
Segou	Tominian	Koula		430		564	Kongorosso		13:31:10	4:09:00	Dogon unknown	unknown
Mopti	Mopti	Mopti-commune		4291		4582	elsewhere				Dogon unknown	unknown
Segou	San	San-commune		234		316	elsewhere				Dogon unknown	unknown
Segou	Segou	Segou-commune		960		990	elsewhere				Dogon unknown	unknown
Mopti	Bankass	Segue		307		356	Ngone Dogon				Dogon unknown	unknown
							Kontoni		13:43:35	4:04:30	Dogon unknown	unknown
							Sokoroto		14:57:30	2:55:10	Dogon unknown	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Bandiagara		642		831	Benndie'li		14:28:20	3:35:10	dogulu dom	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Bandiagara		239		309	Bini	Binou	14:27:40	3:32:50	dogulu dom	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Bandiagara		455		589	Boro		14:26:10	3:35:00	dogulu dom	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Kani-Gogouna	Nandoli	78	47.5	105	Domo		14:26:30	3:27:40	dogulu dom	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Kani-Gogouna	Nandoli	590	514	794	Gongo				dogulu dom	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Kani-Gogouna	Nandoli	67	61	90	Gue'me'ne'		14:29:20	3:27:00	dogulu dom	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Kani-Gogouna	Nandoli	184	122	248	Ka	Kaba-Leye	14:29:05	3:26:10	dogulu dom	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Kani-Gogouna	Nandoli	158	96	213	Kabadje'	Kaba-Do	14:28:30	3:27:30	dogulu dom	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Kani-Gogouna	Nandoli	359	362	483	Kadialy				dogulu dom	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Kani-Gogouna	Nandoli	96	125	129	Kine'				dogulu dom	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Kani-Gogouna	Nandoli	140	88	188	Koi'me'gou		14:29:10	3:27:50	dogulu dom	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Kani-Gogouna	Nandoli	753	444	1014	Me'ne'-Me'ne'				dogulu dom	unknown

Mohti	Bandiagara	Kani-Gogouna	Nandoli	719	636	968	Nandoli	Sougoudonou	14:30:00	3:28:00	dogulu dom	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Kani-Gogouna	Nandoli	123	232	166	Nandoli	Donou-Nandoli	14:30:10	3:28:45	dogulu dom	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Kani-Gogouna	Nandoli	127	163	171	Nantanga				dogulu dom	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Kani-Gogouna	Nandoli	262	59	353	Pe'de'ni	Pe'die'ni	14:30:30	3:26:20	dogulu dom	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Kani-Gogouna	Nandoli	307	258	413	Tabara		14:28:30	3:26:30	dogulu dom	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Kendie		207.5		261	Anga		14:42:35	3:34:20	dogulu dom	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Kendie		888		1117	Banguel-Toupe'		14:39:40	3:39:20	dogulu dom	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Kendie		608		765	Dongossori		14:37:50	3:34:30	dogulu dom	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Kendie		250		315	Dounali		14:39:20	3:32:40	dogulu dom	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Kendie		616		775	Douro		14:34:00	3:35:10	dogulu dom	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Kendie		469		590	Irguili				dogulu dom	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Kendie		357		449	Kenntaba		14:36:50	3:30:10	dogulu dom	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Kendie		436		549	Kenntaba		14:36:35	3:29:50	dogulu dom	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Kendie		1492		1877	Koundiala		14:31:10	3:34:00	dogulu dom	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Kendie		329		414	Madina		14:41:30	3:36:40	dogulu dom	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Kendie		192		242	Ogorba		14:37:00	3:28:40	dogulu dom	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Kendie		330		415	Pe'lani		14:36:50	3:33:10	dogulu dom	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Kendie		401		505	Sogodougou		14:37:20	3:32:20	dogulu dom	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Kendie		293		369	Somoli		14:35:55	3:33:00	dogulu dom	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara						Bendie'li		14:29:20	3:33:50	dogulu dom	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara						Benndie'li		14:29:40	3:33:30	dogulu dom	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara						Hore-Niva		14:35:40	3:40:10	dogulu dom	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara						Kia	Irigilu	14:38:50	3:36:20	dogulu dom	unknown
							Tinngourou		14:37:50	3:41:00	dogulu dom	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Bandiagara		706.5		914	Anakanda		14:13:10	3:36:40	donno so	taba noNu
Mohti	Bandiagara	Bandiagara		357		462	Andioubole	anjum bolo	14:24:30	3:29:20	donno so	ginE banu mo
Mohti	Bandiagara	Bandiagara		9485		12274	Bandiagara		14:21:00	3:36:30	donno so	ginE banu mo
Mohti	Bandiagara	Bandiagara		220		285	Bodio	bOzO	14:14:50	3:41:20	donno so	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Bandiagara		93		120	Bogolo	bogolo	14:19:00	3:43:00	donno so	taba noNu
Mohti	Bandiagara	Bandiagara		405		524	Daga		14:14:40	3:34:40	donno so	taba noNu
Mohti	Bandiagara	Bandiagara		356		461	Dandoli	dannolu	14:23:40	3:32:40	donno so	ginE banu mo

Mohti	Bandiagara	Bandiagara		37		48	Diombolodo	jOmbOlO-da	14:17:00	3:35:50	donno so	taba noNu
Mohti	Bandiagara	Bandiagara		377		488	Diombolole`ye	jOmbOlO- jOy	14:18:00	3:36:00	donno so	ginE banu mo
Mohti	Bandiagara	Bandiagara		506		655	Dioubai”rou	jubOlu	14:18:50	3:32:10	donno so	taba noNu
Mohti	Bandiagara	Bandiagara		1142		1478	Djiguibambo	gjEzummO	14:11:20	3:35:20	donno so	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Bandiagara		269		348	Doundioulo	bugu-dunjuru	14:17:30	3:42:20	donno so	taba noNu
Mohti	Bandiagara	Bandiagara		380		492	Gologoudo	golugu-da	14:24:30	3:30:40	donno so	ginE banu mo
Mohti	Bandiagara	Bandiagara		0		0	Gologoule'	golugu-joy	14:24:00	3:30:50	donno so	ginE banu mo
Mohti	Bandiagara	Bandiagara		249		322	Guine'yale'ma	ginE-yalEmO	14:25:00	3:27:10	donno so	Kamma golo
Mohti	Bandiagara	Bandiagara		381		493	Kalibombo		14:23:50	3:36:00	donno so	ginE banu mo
Mohti	Bandiagara	Bandiagara		345		446	Kassa				donno so	ginE banu mo
Mohti	Bandiagara	Bandiagara		605		783	Kokolo	kOkOlO	14:24:40	3:32:10	donno so	ginE banu mo
Mohti	Bandiagara	Bandiagara		80		104	Kolontanga		14:20:00	3:31:40	donno so	ginE banu mo
Mohti	Bandiagara	Bandiagara		378		489	Koundougou				donno so	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Bandiagara		607		786	Lougourougoumgou	lurgummO	14:24:30	3:27:10	donno so	Kamma golo
Mohti	Bandiagara	Bandiagara		264		342	Ogossogou	OgOssOgu	14:11:30	3:34:40	donno so	taba noNu
Mohti	Bandiagara	Bandiagara		171		221	Pel-Kanda				donno so	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Bandiagara		227		294	Pouralou	purOlu	14:23:00	3:32:50	donno so	ginE banu mo
Mohti	Bandiagara	Bandiagara		266		344	Sassari	sasa-di	14:18:30	3:34:10	donno so	ginE banu mo
Mohti	Bandiagara	Bandiagara		594		769	Sibi-Sibi		14:19:50	3:33:20	donno so	ginE banu mo
Mohti	Bandiagara	Bandiagara		339		439	Sinnkarma	sinkarmO	14:22:30	3:34:00	donno so	ginE banu mo
Mohti	Bandiagara	Bandiagara		510		660	Sokolo		14:19:20	3:34:25	donno so	ginE banu mo
Mohti	Bandiagara	Bandiagara		969		1254	Soroli	sollu	14:26:20	3:29:00	donno so	ginE banu mo
Mohti	Bandiagara	Bandiagara		203		263	Te'gourou	tebugulu	14:15:50	3:36:40	donno so	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Bandiagara		152		197	Tinntimbolo		14:27:25	3:29:20	donno so	ginE banu mo
Mohti	Bandiagara	Bandiagara		454		588	Tonniome	tonJon	14:21:40	3:34:00	donno so	ginE banu mo
Mohti	Bandiagara	Bandiagara		266		344	Vennde'gue'le'		14:21:40	3:32:10	donno so	ginE banu mo
Mohti	Bandiagara	Bandiagara		141		182	Wolo-Wolo	wOlO-wOlO	14:20:00	3:30:50	donno so	taba noNu
Mohti	Bandiagara	Dourou		927		1060	Dobolo	dObOlO	14:17:00	3:32:00	donno so	taba noNu
Mohti	Bandiagara	Dourou		847		969	Dourou		14:18:10	3:25:40	donno so	taba noNu
Mohti	Bandiagara	Dourou		526		601	Goulouumbo	golombo	14:15:50	3:31:00	donno so	taba noNu
Mohti	Bandiagara	Dourou		160.5		184	Konsogoudo		14:17:00	3:27:30	donno so	taba noNu
Mohti	Bandiagara	Dourou		579		662	Korou	koolu	14:17:55	3:27:20	donno so	taba noNu

Mopti	Bandiagara	Dourou		0		0	Nakomodo	nakOmmO-da	14:23:00	3:21:30	donno so	Kamma taba
Mopti	Bandiagara	Dourou		398		455	Nakomole'	nakOmmO-joy	14:23:00	3:22:20	donno so	Kamma taba
Mopti	Bandiagara	Dourou		1969		2252	Pelou	pEElu	14:20:30	3:26:20	donno so	Kamma taba
Mopti	Bandiagara	Dourou		670		766	Sassambourou		14:18:00	3:29:05	donno so	taba noNu
Mopti	Bandiagara	Dourou		1308		1496	Soninghe'	sOninge	14:13:40	3:31:50	donno so	taba noNu
Mopti	Bandiagara	Dourou		720		823	Ve'die'		14:21:30	3:28:30	donno so	Kamma taba
Mopti	Bandiagara	Dourou		153		175	Yame'		14:20:30	3:29:20	donno so	Kamma taba
Mopti	Bandiagara	Kani-Gogouna	Menthely	155	129	209	Bissongo	bisoNo	14:29:00	3:24:00	donno so	gOndO
Mopti	Bandiagara	Kani-Gogouna	Menthely	254	363	342	Boundou	bundu	14:28:20	3:23:00	donno so	gOndO
Mopti	Bandiagara	Kani-Gogouna	Menthely	226	184	304	Dologou	dOOlOn	14:28:20	3:24:30	donno so	gOndO
Mopti	Bandiagara	Kani-Gogouna		78	47.5	105	Domo		14:26:30	3:27:40	donno so	ginE banu mo
Mopti	Bandiagara	Kani-Gogouna	Menthely	72	104	97	Donnou-Menthely				donno so	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Kani-Gogouna	Menthely	439	303	591	Gondodie'		14:27:40	3:24:10	donno so	gOndO
Mopti	Bandiagara	Kani-Gogouna	Menthely	291	277	392	Kediely				donno so	gOndO
Mopti	Bandiagara	Kani-Gogouna	Menthely	140	146	188	Kongoli	koNulu	14:27:50	3:23:00	donno so	gOndO
Mopti	Bandiagara	Kani-Gogouna	Menthely	356	277	479	Moe	Moe'-Leye	14:28:55	3:25:05	donno so	gOndO
Mopti	Bandiagara	Kani-Gogouna	Menthely	221	279	297	Moe	Moe'-Do	14:29:15	3:25:00	donno so	gOndO
Mopti	Bandiagara	Kani-Gogouna	Menthely	164	151	221	Molou	Moly	14:27:50	3:26:20	donno so	gOndO
Mopti	Bandiagara	Kani-Gogouna	Menthely	654	723	880	Tabitonga	tabutONO	14:28:30	3:23:00	donno so	gOndO
Mopti	Koro	Koro		110		133	Adourakame'		14:12:40	3:01:40	donno so	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koro		617.25		747	Dangate'ne'		14:14:00	2:58:15	donno so	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koro		305		369	Torou		14:13:10	2:59:20	donno so	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Sangha		519		613	Gandakilama	ganda-kilEmO	14:24:20	3:25:10	donno so	Kamma taba
Mopti	Bandiagara	Sangha					Kamana	kamma-naa	14:25:20	3:24:00	donno so	Kamma taba
Mopti	Bandiagara	Sangha					Kamana	kamma-naa	14:25:20	3:24:00	donno so	Kamma taba
Mopti	Bandiagara	Sangha		466		551	Kamba-Bandie'	kamma-banjEm	14:25:40	3:24:00	donno so	Kamma taba
Mopti	Bandiagara	Sangha		440		520	Kamba-Djiguili	kOmmO-digilu	14:25:30	3:24:40	donno so	Kamma taba
Mopti	Bandiagara	Sangha		120		142	Sare'me		14:24:45	3:25:30	donno so	Kamma taba
Mopti	Bandiagara	Sangha		687		812	Sinnde'	sendee	14:25:10	3:25:00	donno so	Kamma taba
							Bargoumou	bargommo	14:16:10	3:33:50	donno so	taba noNu
							Dagabide'	dagapizE	14:24:50	3:26:30	donno so	Kamma golo
							Doumbougou	dumOgu	14:26:00	3:26:50	donno so	Kamma golo

					Ede'	EzE	14:17:00	3:30:40	donna so	taba noNu	
					Erume				donna so	unknown	
					Erusaja				donna so	unknown	
					GEdubOmO				donna so	taba noNu	
					Inndarou	indElu	14:14:10	3:28:50	donna so	taba noNu	
					JOmbOlO Kanda				donna so	unknown	
					Kai"	kai	14:23:40	3:29:00	donna so	unknown	
					Kom		14:11:00	3:39:00	donna so	taba noNu	
					Orotouna	OritunnO	14:12:40	3:39:30	donna so	taba noNu	
					Tabagolo				donna so	ginE banu mo	
					Yawakanda	jabakanda	14:21:30	3:41:20	donna so	unknown	
Mopti	Douentza	Douentza		1385	1419	Oualo		15:04:20	2:55:30	isolate	unknown
						Koumbel-Na		14:55:00	2:59:00	isolate	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Diankabou		1072	1242	Amba		14:47:30	2:58:05	jamsay tegu	bama tegu
Mopti	Koro	Diankabou		741	858	Anakila		14:34:10	3:03:33	jamsay tegu	dinangourou
Mopti	Koro	Diankabou		525	608	Aouguine'		14:45:40	2:59:50	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Diankabou				Bamba-tennde		14:41:10	3:03:40	jamsay tegu	bama tegu
Mopti	Koro	Diankabou		240	278	Daga		14:39:40	3:05:10	jamsay tegu	bama tegu
Mopti	Koro	Diankabou		340	394	De'gue're'		14:39:00	3:06:25	jamsay tegu	bama tegu
Mopti	Koro	Diankabou		220	255	Dianga		14:41:00	3:06:10	jamsay tegu	bama tegu
Mopti	Koro	Diankabou		729	844	Diankabou		14:35:00	3:05:00	jamsay tegu	dinangourou
Mopti	Koro	Diankabou		661	766	Ende`m		14:30:10	2:59:10	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Diankabou		1090	1263	Gondo Ogorou		14:34:15	2:54:00	jamsay tegu	gono tegu
Mopti	Koro	Diankabou		468	542	Kadiave're'		14:33:50	3:04:25	jamsay tegu	Dinangourou
Mopti	Koro	Diankabou		187	217	Kinnde'		14:31:50	3:03:10	jamsay tegu	Dinangourou
Mopti	Koro	Diankabou		210	243	Kobadie'		14:31:00	2:55:15	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Diankabou		405	469	Koudianga		14:39:00	3:05:25	jamsay tegu	bama tegu
Mopti	Koro	Diankabou		199	231	Nguiroga		14:31:20	2:52:20	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Diankabou		1126	1304	Okoye'ri		14:49:45	2:54:45	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Diankabou		1099	1273	Pe`rgue'		14:48:05	2:58:20	jamsay tegu	unknown

Mopti	Koro	Diankabou		468		542	Pejema		14:40:20	3:05:15	jamsay tegu	bama tegu
Mopti	Koro	Diankabou		158		183	Sogou		14:45:20	3:00:10	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Diankabou		0		0	Sourinnde'		14:32:20	3:04:20	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Diankabou		69.5		81	Tanali		14:43:40	2:59:20	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Diankabou		136		158	Tankouli		14:43:20	2:59:35	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Diankabou					Warana		14:28:40	2:58:20	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Diankabou		512		593	Yre'bann		14:40:10	3:06:10	jamsay tegu	bama tegu
Mopti	Koro	Dinangourou		731		944	Akoumbouro		14:28:30	2:08:50	jamsay tegu	domno
Mopti	Koro	Dinangourou		982		1269	Bangadie'		14:35:10	2:06:20	jamsay tegu	domno
Mopti	Koro	Dinangourou		598		772	Die'se're'		14:28:10	2:26:30	jamsay tegu	domno
Mopti	Koro	Dinangourou		4399		5683	Dinangorou		14:27:00	2:14:30	jamsay tegu	domno
Mopti	Koro	Dinangourou		3581		4626	Douari		14:32:15	2:18:30	jamsay tegu	domno
Mopti	Koro	Dinangourou		696		899	Gangafani		14:20:30	2:01:20	jamsay tegu	domno
Mopti	Koro	Dinangourou		1159		1497	Gangafani		14:22:50	2:23:50	jamsay tegu	domno
Mopti	Koro	Dinangourou		1005		1298	Giri		14:19:20	2:11:15	jamsay tegu	domno
Mopti	Koro	Dinangourou		953		1231	Guimini		14:21:45	2:22:00	jamsay tegu	domno
Mopti	Koro	Dinangourou		921		1190	Kassanga		14:30:25	2:08:00	jamsay tegu	domno
Mopti	Koro	Dinangourou		296		382	Kindi		14:13:20	2:09:50	jamsay tegu	domno
Mopti	Koro	Dinangourou		1679		2169	Koba		14:32:30	2:26:40	jamsay tegu	domno
Mopti	Koro	Dinangourou		1397		1805	Koutaka		14:22:30	2:05:00	jamsay tegu	domno
Mopti	Koro	Dinangourou		623		805	Lou		14:11:55	2:05:35	jamsay tegu	domno
Mopti	Koro	Dinangourou		467		603	Omo		14:19:50	2:28:45	jamsay tegu	domno
Mopti	Koro	Dinangourou		396		512	Sari		14:25:30	2:21:00	jamsay tegu	domno
Mopti	Koro	Dinangourou		1314		1697	Tonou				jamsay tegu	domno
Mopti	Koro	Dinangourou		1155		1492	Ye're'mdourou		14:31:10	2:06:00	jamsay tegu	domno
Mopti	Koro	Dinangourou		4523		5843	Yoro		14:16:40	2:08:20	jamsay tegu	domno
Mopti	Koro	Dioungani					Adou		14:16:55	2:40:40	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Dioungani					Aldouma		14:23:00	2:38:30	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Dioungani					Anakanda		14:28:35	2:46:55	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Dioungani		395		676	Anouma				jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Dioungani					Bidi		14:25:05	2:43:55	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Dioungani		205.5		352	Bodewal				jamsay tegu	unknown

Mopti	Koro	Dioungani		1065		1823	Daidourou		14:24:45	2:41:50	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Dioungani					Daidourou		14:24:45	2:41:50	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Dioungani		137.5		235	Dianve'li		14:27:50	2:38:20	jamsay tegu	domno
Mopti	Koro	Dioungani		1131		1936	Dioungani		14:18:45	2:44:20	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Dioungani		1590		2722	Dounape'		14:20:40	2:48:20	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Dioungani					Ganki		14:28:20	2:41:45	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Dioungani					Gon		14:24:00	2:45:45	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Dioungani		457		782	Gourtি		14:16:10	2:49:40	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Dioungani					Kambagara		14:27:20	2:41:00	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Dioungani					Ke`re`nde'		14:27:45	2:45:25	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Dioungani					Korosongo		14:23:50	2:38:05	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Dioungani		881		1508	Mbana		14:27:30	2:49:25	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Dioungani					Niaki		14:32:40	2:37:30	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Dioungani					Noufa		14:26:05	2:42:35	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Dioungani					Orosoro		14:22:05	2:45:20	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Dioungani					Oya		14:24:15	2:39:45	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Dioungani		402		688	Pondourou		14:16:30	2:56:20	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Dioungani					Sadia		14:25:55	2:46:40	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Dioungani					Saloudi		14:26:55	2:41:50	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Dioungani		1165		1995	Sobangouma		14:10:50	2:39:20	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Dioungani		973		1666	Tanfadala		14:29:30	2:43:15	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Dioungani					Titroa		14:21:25	2:46:45	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Dioungani					Tolodie'		14:31:30	2:48:45	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Dioungani					Waande`n		14:20:45	2:42:35	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Dioungani					Ye`hi		14:33:50	2:34:30	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Dioungani		1109		1899	Yourou		14:14:50	2:53:00	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Douentza		631		646	Be`ni		14:51:10	2:56:40	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Douentza		284		291	Boumban		14:52:15	2:55:25	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Douentza		1805		1849	Dianve'li Ke`sé`l		14:53:50	2:53:50	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Douentza		1100		1127	Dianve'li Maounde'		14:52:20	2:55:00	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Douentza		225		230	Djime'	Gime`l	14:52:50	2:53:05	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Douentza		3723		3813	Douma		14:55:00	2:51:10	jamsay tegu	unknown

Mopti	Douentza	Douentza		836		856	Gamni		14:50:40	2:55:00	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Douentza		940		963	Gombori	Fombori	14:58:50	2:56:20	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Douentza		1075		1101	Gono		15:04:00	2:47:20	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Douentza		2505		2566	Se'taka	Pe'taka	15:01:20	2:51:00	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koporokenienra		971		1198	Be're'li		14:16:20	3:13:10	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koro		110		133	Adourakame'		14:12:40	3:01:40	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koro		163		197	Am ou Ouro Korogara		14:10:30	2:55:40	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koro		539		653	Bargo (Kiri)		13:56:00	2:57:25	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koro		417.5		506	Bennbara		14:06:15	3:09:45	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koro		915.5		1109	Bono		14:08:10	2:59:55	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koro		617.25		747	Dangate'ne'		14:14:00	2:58:15	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koro					De'e'ro		13:53:25	2:57:40	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koro					Dim-De'ima		14:06:55	2:55:55	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koro		226		274	Dim-Na		14:01:30	2:58:20	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koro		197.5		239	Domni		14:16:45	2:59:35	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koro		577		699	Ene'		14:08:50	3:03:55	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koro		666		806	Kiri		13:58:25	3:01:35	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koro		9540		11552	Koro		14:03:50	3:04:40	jamsay tegu	guru
Mopti	Koro	Koro					Lemde'		13:48:45	3:03:55	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koro					Nangabara		13:55:25	2:54:35	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koro		789		955	Ogodourou		14:00:25	3:01:35	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koro					Ogossin		14:01:15	3:00:20	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koro		431.5		523	Ombo		14:04:10	2:52:45	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koro		1028		1245	Omo		14:09:40	2:58:15	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koro		470		569	Ponhnnon		13:54:20	3:01:25	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koro		717		868	Sadjiri		14:04:20	3:00:15	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koro		268.5		325	Tere				jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koro		305		369	Torou		14:13:10	2:59:20	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koro		1126		1363	Yadianga		14:04:10	3:11:30	jamsay tegu	guru
Mopti	Koro	Madougou		1058		1173	Anakanda		14:29:35	3:04:25	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Madougou					Anakila		14:29:10	3:02:25	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Madougou		1286		1426	Bande'		14:17:50	3:01:30	jamsay tegu	unknown

Mopti	Koro	Madougou		881		977	Banikani		14:20:25	3:04:40	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Madougou		285		316	Bore'		14:23:55	3:00:05	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Madougou					Dande`rou		14:23:30	2:55:30	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Madougou		663.5		736	Domblossougou		14:21:15	3:05:30	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Madougou					Dorou		14:27:30	3:05:40	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Madougou		540		599	Douma		14:18:45	2:51:35	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Madougou		447		496	Gangouroubouro		14:24:35	3:01:40	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Madougou		225		249	Goudiodourou		14:19:25	3:03:30	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Madougou					Kagounou		14:19:15	2:56:05	jamsay tegu	Karakinde'
Mopti	Koro	Madougou		600		665	Karakinde'		14:24:40	2:54:10	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Madougou		404		448	Kasawa		14:22:30	2:58:00	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Madougou		89		99	Kingie				jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Madougou		874.6667		970	Madougou		14:24:00	3:04:50	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Madougou		907		1006	Mante'ou		14:27:20	2:59:00	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Madougou		430.5		477	Nangadourou		14:20:00	3:07:15	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Madougou		708		785	Ogote`ne'		14:18:50	2:58:10	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Madougou		269.5		299	Pourali		14:22:00	3:06:50	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Madougou		661		733	Samanagoro		14:17:30	3:04:50	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Madougou		368		408	Se'dourou		14:19:15	3:07:30	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Madougou		547		607	Sorou		14:24:45	3:08:45	jamsay tegu	Arou
Mopti	Koro	Madougou		787		873	Tantoumo		14:18:50	2:59:45	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Madougou		193.5		215	Tenndiou		14:22:00	3:11:00	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Madougou		496		550	Yague'me'		14:20:55	3:01:20	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Madougou		413		458	Yassi		14:15:50	3:02:50	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Madougou		320.5		355	Yoroupe'e		14:17:50	2:55:10	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Mondoro		386		383	Banay		14:36:40	1:51:55	jamsay tegu	pomoru
Mopti	Douentza	Mondoro		2472		2452	Dionouga	Diolouna	14:32:50	1:56:40	jamsay tegu	pomoru
Mopti	Douentza	Mondoro		120.5		120	Dioumdioure're'		14:52:25	1:58:20	jamsay tegu	pomoru
Mopti	Douentza	Mondoro		152.5		151	Dioumdioure're'		14:53:00	1:58:20	jamsay tegu	pomoru
Mopti	Douentza	Mondoro		525		521	Dougoussa		15:00:25	1:49:40	jamsay tegu	pomoru
Mopti	Douentza	Mondoro		1778		1764	Douna		14:38:40	1:44:20	jamsay tegu	pomoru
Mopti	Douentza	Mondoro		1044		1036	Ise`y		14:52:20	2:01:30	jamsay tegu	pomoru

Mopti	Douentza	Mondoro		1919		1904	Mondoro		14:40:30	1:57:00	jamsay tegu	pomoru
Mopti	Douentza	Mondoro		2496		2476	Niangassagou		14:39:00	1:46:50	jamsay tegu	pomoru
Mopti	Douentza	Mondoro		588		583	Orotougna		14:24:45	2:00:40	jamsay tegu	pomoru
Mopti	Douentza	Mondoro		858		851	Sambaladio		14:49:25	1:57:00	jamsay tegu	pomoru
Mopti	Douentza	Mondoro		2005		1989	Tiguila		14:52:20	1:51:20	jamsay tegu	pomoru
Mopti	Douentza	Mondoro		512		508	Toi"kana		14:37:05	1:50:20	jamsay tegu	pomoru
Mopti	Douentza	Mondoro		731		725	Toule've`ndou		14:51:25	2:04:40	jamsay tegu	pomoru
Mopti	Douentza	Mondoro		1090		1081	Wanderabere		15:01:25	1:41:55	jamsay tegu	pomoru
Mopti	Bandiagara	Sangha					Arou		14:29:35	3:15:25	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Toroli					Toui		13:46:35	3:15:05	jamsay tegu	unknown
B. Faso							Digue'l		14:26:15	1:53:05	jamsay tegu	domno
B. Faso							Doubare		13:51:35	2:51:50	jamsay tegu	unknown
B. Faso							Doundoubangou		14:24:20	1:52:25	jamsay tegu	domno
							Fe'te' Noti		14:59:50	1:51:05	jamsay tegu	pomoru
							Gue'n Tiguila		14:53:35	1:48:10	jamsay tegu	pomoru
							Korkana		14:51:30	1:54:20	jamsay tegu	pomoru
B. Faso							Lassa Ve'ndou		14:21:50	1:49:05	jamsay tegu	domno
							Oussoua		15:00:45	1:45:00	jamsay tegu	pomoru
							Pe'to Kobi		14:52:20	1:53:40	jamsay tegu	pomoru
							Sabanga		14:18:00	2:02:00	jamsay tegu	unknown
							Sare' Dina		14:46:00	1:50:25	jamsay tegu	pomoru
							Se'be'ndourou	Se'gue'ndourou	14:58:00	1:52:20	jamsay tegu	pomoru
							Tabata		14:16:55	2:58:30	jamsay tegu	unknown
B. Faso							Tou		13:55:30	2:46:15	jamsay tegu	unknown
							Woussouma		15:07:00	2:35:40	jamsay tegu	unknown
B. Faso							Yense'		13:53:50	2:50:30	jamsay tegu	unknown
							Yirma		14:38:00	2:09:40	jamsay tegu	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Goundaka		536		724	Boudou	Dakuma	14:39:10	3:47:40	korandabo	unknown
							Sangou		14:42:50	3:48:50	korandabo	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Bandiagara					Bile				ombo	unknown

Mopti	Bandiagara	Bandiagara		59		76	De'guimbe're'		14:20:10	3:46:20	ombo	Mombo
Mopti	Bandiagara	Bandiagara		576		745	Kori-Kori		14:24:30	3:45:00	ombo	Mombo
Mopti	Bandiagara	Bandiagara		590		764	Ngoro		14:19:30	3:46:30	ombo	Mombo
Mopti	Bandiagara	Bandiagara		444		575	Sibo		14:26:20	3:45:10	ombo	Mombo
Mopti	Bandiagara	Bandiagara		1653		2139	Songo	sOngO	14:24:10	3:42:00	ombo	Mombo
Mopti	Bandiagara	Bandiagara		265		343	Tile'	Tile	14:23:20	3:43:30	ombo	Mombo
Mopti	Bandiagara	Bandiagara		1050		1359	Tougoume'	Tugume	14:28:00	3:42:20	ombo	Mombo
Mopti	Bandiagara	Bandiagara					Wau				ombo	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Goundaka		1962		2652	Bandiougou		14:29:50	3:54:20	ombo	Mombo
Mopti	Bandiagara	Goundaka					Dianve'li		14:35:25	3:58:00	ombo	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Goundaka		537		726	Fiko		14:27:30	3:54:10	ombo	Mombo
Mopti	Bandiagara	Goundaka		129		174	Kakoli		14:29:20	3:49:00	ombo	Mombo
Mopti	Bandiagara	Goundaka		317		428	Kansila		14:26:30	3:58:40	ombo	helambo
Mopti	Bandiagara	Goundaka					Ke'ma		14:25:00	3:49:00	ombo	Mombo
Mopti	Bandiagara	Goundaka		501		677	Kori-Maounde'		14:27:10	3:46:40	ombo	Mombo
Mopti	Bandiagara	Goundaka		889		1202	Kowa		14:29:20	4:01:00	ombo	helambo
Mopti	Bandiagara	Goundaka		832		1125	Makou		14:20:30	3:55:30	ombo	miambo
Mopti	Bandiagara	Goundaka		228		308	Ninngari		14:27:40	3:47:00	ombo	Mombo
Mopti	Bandiagara	Goundaka		1318		1781	Pinia	Pigna~	14:23:30	4:01:50	ombo	helambo
Mopti	Bandiagara	Goundaka		734		992	Sinnkarma	Singama	14:30:50	3:48:00	ombo	Mombo
Mopti	Bandiagara	Goundaka		546		738	Tangadouba		14:26:50	3:58:50	ombo	helambo
Mopti	Bandiagara	Goundaka		152		205	Toumpou		14:30:20	3:49:00	ombo	Mombo
Mopti	Bandiagara	Goundaka		1325		1791	Tounkari		14:35:30	3:44:20	ombo	Mombo
Mopti	Bandiagara						KOgO				ombo	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara						Sare'-Aire'		14:37:40	3:46:10	ombo	Mombo
							Iguri	Ebegele	14:28:00	3:46:00	ombo	Mombo
							Ororo		14:20:30	3:59:00	ombo	Mombo
							Soroboro		14:32:40	3:51:10	ombo	Mombo
Mopti	Koro	Diankabou		803		930	Kono		14:47:40	3:02:00	naja dama	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ningari		398		483	Namakoro		14:49:15	3:01:40	naja dama	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ningari		151		183	Pergassaye		14:48:20	3:01:30	naja dama	unknown

Mopti	Bandiagara	Ningari		785		952	Wakara		14:51:10	3:01:25	naja dama	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Diankabou		111		129	Bennde'		14:41:30	3:06:15	oru yille	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Diankabou		95		110	Mande'		14:41:25	3:06:25	oru yille	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Diankabou		179		207	Tombogo		14:41:35	3:06:55	oru yille	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Bandiagara		322		417	Ndiombo		14:25:10	3:39:00	cs commt	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Diankabou		321		372	Antagada		14:46:15	3:03:45	cs commt	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Diankabou		334		387	Antagadou		14:44:50	3:03:45	cs commt	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Diankabou		169		196	Antaka		14:43:45	3:04:00	cs commt	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Diankabou		456		528	Be'die'		14:41:05	3:06:25	cs commt	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Diankabou		563		652	Berda		14:44:00	3:02:00	cs commt	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Diankabou		1100		1274	Berdossou		14:44:30	3:03:15	cs commt	Kassa
Mopti	Koro	Diankabou		219		254	Dianga		14:41:00	3:06:10	cs commt	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Diankabou					Endu				cs commt	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Diankabou					Pelinga		14:44:45	3:05:25	cs commt	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Diankabou					Po				cs commt	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Diankabou		227		263	Santaba		14:44:10	3:04:35	cs commt	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Diankabou		702		813	Saou		14:44:45	3:03:20	cs commt	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Diankabou		133		154	Sasamba		14:43:50	2:59:00	cs commt	Kassa so
Mopti	Koro	Diankabou		589		682	Simmde'		14:45:50	3:03:05	cs commt	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Diankabou		482		558	Temmbodie		14:43:20	3:06:15	cs commt	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Douentza					Ambake'le'		14:54:15	3:03:05	cs commt	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Douentza		270		277	Andj		14:50:40	3:09:15	cs commt	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Douentza					Arde'		14:54:30	3:01:50	cs commt	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Douentza					Are Na				cs commt	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Douentza					Dalemu				cs commt	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Douentza					Dangadie'		14:50:20	3:09:20	cs commt	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Douentza		464		475	De'gue'nda		14:50:55	3:08:50	cs commt	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Douentza					DENEduu				cs commt	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Douentza		0		0	Dounde'		14:49:15	3:07:55	cs commt	unknown
Mopti	Douentza	Douentza		350		358	Entaga				cs commt	unknown

Mohti	Douentza	Douentza					Genu					cs cmmct	unknown
Mohti	Douentza	Douentza					GEtaba					cs cmmct	unknown
Mohti	Douentza	Douentza		415		425	Gue'ne'			14:50:00	3:09:10	cs cmmct	unknown
Mohti	Douentza	Douentza					KEnDonno					cs cmmct	unknown
Mohti	Douentza	Douentza		471		482	Obe			14:53:25	3:04:50	cs cmmct	unknown
Mohti	Douentza	Douentza		151		155	Ogodiambia			14:52:10	3:05:25	cs cmmct	unknown
Mohti	Douentza	Douentza		517		530	Ogoure'			14:50:00	3:09:40	cs cmmct	unknown
Mohti	Douentza	Douentza					Pangana			14:54:55	3:00:15	cs cmmct	unknown
Mohti	Douentza	Douentza		797		816	Panganin			14:55:30	3:01:10	cs cmmct	unknown
Mohti	Douentza	Douentza		372		381	Pangassol			14:54:20	3:00:15	cs cmmct	unknown
Mohti	Douentza	Douentza		285		292	Saoura-Ambile			14:52:30	3:08:15	cs cmmct	unknown
Mohti	Douentza	Douentza		753		771	Saoura-Koum			14:53:10	3:09:25	cs cmmct	unknown
Mohti	Douentza	Douentza					Se'me'le'-Tanga			14:51:40	3:06:25	cs cmmct	unknown
Mohti	Douentza	Douentza					Soi					cs cmmct	unknown
Mohti	Douentza	Douentza		894		916	Temmba			14:56:30	3:11:25	cs cmmct	unknown
Mohti	Douentza	Douentza					Temmbokou			14:54:25	3:06:15	cs cmmct	unknown
Mohti	Douentza	Douentza		496		508	Tine'			14:53:45	3:02:05	cs cmmct	unknown
Mohti	Douentza	Douentza		391		400	Togo Togo			14:50:50	3:09:50	cs cmmct	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Goundaka		614		830	Piro	Piro~		14:35:20	3:50:20	cs cmmct	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Kani-Gogouna					Ame're'			14:37:25	3:15:30	cs cmmct	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Kani-Gogouna	Kani	622	619	837	Assa			14:34:00	3:23:20	cs cmmct	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Kani-Gogouna	Kani	287	442	386	Bine'			14:34:10	3:22:00	cs cmmct	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Kani-Gogouna	Ouroly	436	862	587	Dianou			14:33:30	3:20:50	cs cmmct	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Kani-Gogouna	Sal	319	457	429	Dimi			14:36:50	3:18:10	cs cmmct	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Kani-Gogouna	Amala	547	556	736	Ditanga			14:36:20	3:15:00	cs cmmct	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Kani-Gogouna	Ouroly	326	372	439	Embisson	Imbisson		14:34:30	3:20:30	cs cmmct	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Kani-Gogouna	Ouroly				Gagnaga			14:33:25	3:21:05	cs cmmct	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Kani-Gogouna	Amala	540	1218	727	Goue'ne'			14:36:30	3:14:30	cs cmmct	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Kani-Gogouna	Kani	357	440	481	Goundioli	Goundoli-Dogon		14:36:40	3:20:10	cs cmmct	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Kani-Gogouna	Kani	369	385	497	Goundioli	Goundoli-Djeninke'		14:36:40	3:20:10	cs cmmct	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Kani-Gogouna	Ouroly	343	509	462	Ire'li-Bolo			14:34:20	3:15:30	cs cmmct	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Kani-Gogouna	Kani	940	1689	1265	Kani-Gogouna			14:33:40	3:23:10	cs cmmct	unknown

Mocti	Bandiagara	Kani-Gogouna	Kani	499	489	672	Kansago	Kansongo	14:34:30	3:23:10	cs commt	unknown
Mocti	Bandiagara	Kani-Gogouna	Kani	467	736	629	Nounou		14:34:20	3:23:50	cs commt	unknown
Mocti	Bandiagara	Kani-Gogouna	Sal	440	697	592	Ogolo		14:36:00	3:18:10	cs commt	unknown
Mocti	Bandiagara	Kani-Gogouna	Kani	310	437	417	Ologuina		14:31:50	3:22:30	cs commt	unknown
Mocti	Bandiagara	Kani-Gogouna	Amala	184	429	248	Omonia		14:37:00	3:15:10	cs commt	unknown
Mocti	Bandiagara	Kani-Gogouna	Kani	220	324	296	Ouro-Songo		14:32:40	3:22:55	cs commt	unknown
Mocti	Bandiagara	Kani-Gogouna	Ouroly	230	310	310	Ouroli-Tolo		14:33:50	3:20:40	cs commt	unknown
Mocti	Bandiagara	Kani-Gogouna	Sal	378	748	509	Pombogou	Sombougou	14:38:50	3:19:35	cs commt	unknown
Mocti	Bandiagara	Kani-Gogouna	Amala	27	261	36	Sobo		14:37:30	3:13:20	cs commt	unknown
Mocti	Bandiagara	Kani-Gogouna	Sal	204	284	275	Sol-Djeninke'				cs commt	unknown
Mocti	Bandiagara	Kani-Gogouna	Sal	333	384	448	Sol-Dogon				cs commt	unknown
Mocti	Bandiagara	Kani-Gogouna	Sal				Tapadjima		14:36:10	3:18:10	cs commt	unknown
Mocti	Bandiagara	Kani-Gogouna	Ouroly	1143	1121	1539	Te'ne'		14:33:10	3:20:40	cs commt	unknown
Mocti	Bandiagara	Kani-Gogouna					Ulolu				cs commt	unknown
Mocti	Bandiagara	Kani-Gogouna					Wana		14:38:40	3:25:00	cs commt	unknown
Mocti	Bandiagara	Kani-Gogouna	Kani	65	98	87	Wara		14:35:20	3:22:00	cs commt	unknown
Mocti	Bandiagara	Kani-Gogouna	Ouroly		228		Waye'	Oye'	14:33:00	3:21:00	cs commt	unknown
Mocti	Bandiagara	Kendie		207.5		261	Anga		14:42:35	3:34:20	cs commt	unknown
Mocti	Bandiagara	Kendie		870		1095	Dantiande'		14:43:40	3:22:00	cs commt	unknown
Mocti	Bandiagara	Kendie		133		167	Dany				cs commt	unknown
Mocti	Bandiagara	Kendie		396		498	Dassi		14:37:40	3:31:00	cs commt	unknown
Mocti	Bandiagara	Kendie		548		689	Die		14:36:50	3:28:10	cs commt	unknown
Mocti	Bandiagara	Kendie		126		159	Djanga		14:39:10	3:25:30	cs commt	unknown
Mocti	Bandiagara	Kendie		408		513	Enndeguem		14:38:00	3:28:30	cs commt	unknown
Mocti	Bandiagara	Kendie		142		179	Enngre'		14:43:35	3:26:50	cs commt	unknown
Mocti	Bandiagara	Kendie		795		1000	Kenndie'		14:32:10	3:25:00	cs commt	unknown
Mocti	Bandiagara	Kendie		1124		1414	Kinde'		14:40:00	3:30:40	cs commt	unknown
Mocti	Bandiagara	Kendie		781		983	Nombo		14:44:40	3:29:20	cs commt	unknown
Mocti	Bandiagara	Kendie		414		521	Touol		14:38:50	3:26:40	cs commt	unknown
Mocti	Bandiagara	Kendie		409.5		515	Toupe're'	KubEIE	14:45:20	3:26:10	cs commt	unknown
Mocti	Koro	Madougou		874.6667		970	Madougou		14:24:00	3:04:50	cs commt	unknown
Mocti	Bandiagara	Ningari		496		601	Bana-Kane'		14:45:50	3:10:50	cs commt	unknown

Mohti	Bandiagara	Ningari		597		724	Bargue		14:47:35	3:03:45	cs commct	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Ningari					Daga		14:40:15	3:10:40	cs commct	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Ningari		212		257	Daga-Daga		14:44:25	3:10:15	cs commct	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Ningari		484		587	Dale'kanda		14:46:40	3:05:20	cs commct	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Ningari					Daleku				cs commct	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Ningari		62		75	Dama		14:39:30	3:25:50	cs commct	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Ningari		306		371	Dama		14:39:30	3:26:00	cs commct	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Ningari		1053		1277	Damada		14:44:00	3:10:45	cs commct	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Ningari		1395		1692	De'		14:46:40	3:15:30	cs commct	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Ningari					Debeduu				cs commct	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Ningari		380		461	Dianganda		14:42:30	3:09:55	cs commct	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Ningari		449		544	Dimbou		14:44:40	3:10:20	cs commct	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Ningari		152		184	Dimmbe'le'		14:38:50	3:12:15	cs commct	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Ningari					DOdiyE				cs commct	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Ningari		226		274	Doloum		14:50:10	3:06:10	cs commct	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Ningari		575		697	Donnou				cs commct	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Ningari		381		462	Doumogou		14:41:15	3:16:15	cs commct	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Ningari		301.5		366	Enndie'		14:45:25	3:21:35	cs commct	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Ningari		865		1049	Guie' Kanda		14:38:55	3:12:50	cs commct	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Ningari		502		609	Indell		14:40:10	3:11:00	cs commct	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Ningari		339		411	Kame'ly		14:41:15	3:09:00	cs commct	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Ningari		750		910	Ke'diou		14:40:35	3:16:05	cs commct	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Ningari		1335		1619	Kile'gou		14:46:00	3:11:30	cs commct	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Ningari		614		745	Kombe'rou		14:39:20	3:16:05	cs commct	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Ningari		183		222	Komboga		14:37:25	3:14:35	cs commct	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Ningari		558		677	Komogui		14:39:05	3:16:10	cs commct	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Ningari		595		722	Komodia		14:39:50	3:16:50	cs commct	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Ningari		296		359	Komogue'ne'		14:40:10	3:16:15	cs commct	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Ningari		257		312	Kondiougou				cs commct	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Ningari		231		280	Madougou		14:43:55	3:10:25	cs commct	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Ningari		500		606	Matanga		14:44:30	3:10:35	cs commct	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Ningari		294		357	Ne'me'		14:43:55	3:10:30	cs commct	unknown

Mopti	Bandiagara	Ningari		660		800	Ondougou		14:38:30	3:13:40	cs commct	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ningari					OrOsegu				cs commct	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ningari		518		628	Sade'gue'		14:44:50	3:08:15	cs commct	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ningari		0		0	Sade'gue'		14:45:05	3:07:30	cs commct	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ningari		1076		1305	Sare'dina		14:47:15	3:13:20	cs commct	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ningari		127		154	Se'me'li		14:44:55	3:10:15	cs commct	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ningari		56		68	Sobodi		14:37:25	3:13:15	cs commct	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ningari		2234		2709	Sougui		14:39:50	3:06:10	cs commct	Ningari
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ningari					Tagadu				cs commct	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ningari		375		455	Tai:loda		14:44:00	3:10:05	cs commct	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ningari		203		246	Te'biguie'		14:44:00	3:10:30	cs commct	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ningari		285		346	Te'gou		14:36:10	3:14:50	cs commct	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ningari					Te'gue'diou		14:39:25	3:11:50	cs commct	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ningari					Yeemu				cs commct	unknown
							Die'ribana		14:55:05	2:58:05	cs commct	unknown
							Dongosori	Dondodori	14:38:10	3:29:10	cs commct	unknown
							Ke'na		14:35:50	3:17:30	cs commct	unknown
							Mori		14:44:30	3:10:30	cs commct	unknown
							Oro-Songo		14:32:40	3:23:00	cs commct	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Diankabou					SEgEmaran				ccs crct	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Diankabou		137		159	Se'gue'mara		14:31:25	3:04:45	ccs crct	Yougo
Mopti	Koro	Diankabou		451		522	Soye		14:29:20	3:05:00	ccs crct	Yougo
Mopti	Koro	Dioungani		205.5		352	Bodewal				ccs crct	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Dioungani					Dide'ki		14:24:10	2:49:00	ccs crct	ire'li
Mopti	Koro	Dioungani					Didia		14:11:00	2:43:30	ccs crct	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Dioungani					Goungou		14:31:10	2:40:05	ccs crct	Yougo
Mopti	Koro	Dioungani		930		1592	Nawadie'		14:29:05	2:44:25	ccs crct	Yougo
Mopti	Koro	Dioungani					Pe'toy Mbe'loy		14:31:30	2:44:10	ccs crct	ire'li
Mopti	Koro	Dioungani					YaNasaju				ccs crct	unknown
		Dioungani					OrOkooru				ccs crct	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Dourou		516		590	Idie'li-Douno		14:20:10	3:23:40	ccs crct	ire'li

Mohti	Bandiagara	Dourou		324		370	Idie'li-Goudana		14:20:25	3:23:25	ccs ctc	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Dourou		1025		1172	Komokani		14:21:10	3:22:30	ccs ctc	ire'li
Mohti	Bandiagara	Dourou		198		226	Ouro		14:22:50	3:21:40	ccs ctc	ire'li
Mohti	Bandiagara	Kani-Gogouna	Ouroly	409	464	551	Bolomo		14:33:10	3:18:30	ccs ctc	Sanga
Mohti	Koro	Koporokenienia		859		1059	De'ri		14:15:10	3:17:20	ccs ctc	unknown
Mohti	Koro	Koro		110		133	Adourakame'		14:12:40	3:01:40	ccs ctc	unknown
Mohti	Koro	Koro		163		197	Am ou Ouro Korogara		14:10:30	2:55:40	ccs ctc	unknown
Mohti	Koro	Koro		447		541	Anamoella		14:18:50	3:11:40	ccs ctc	ire'li
Mohti	Koro	Koro		915.5		1109	Bono		14:08:00	3:00:00	ccs ctc	unknown
Mohti	Koro	Koro		617.25		747	Dangate'ne'		14:14:00	2:58:15	ccs ctc	unknown
Mohti	Koro	Koro		197.5		239	Domni		14:16:45	2:59:35	ccs ctc	unknown
Mohti	Koro	Koro					Gondoum		14:12:10	2:56:00	ccs ctc	unknown
Mohti	Koro	Koro					Goudiadourou		14:20:20	3:13:40	ccs ctc	ire'li
Mohti	Koro	Koro		257		311	Kamokoro		14:14:25	3:01:45	ccs ctc	unknown
Mohti	Koro	Koro					Nema		14:19:45	3:10:05	ccs ctc	unknown
Mohti	Koro	Koro		431.5		523	Ombo		14:04:10	2:52:45	ccs ctc	unknown
Mohti	Koro	Koro		740		896	Patin		14:16:20	3:06:20	ccs ctc	Yenndouma
Mohti	Koro	Koro		305		369	Torou		14:13:10	2:59:20	ccs ctc	unknown
Mohti	Koro	Koro		2307		2794	Youdiou		14:16:45	3:10:15	ccs ctc	ire'li
Mohti	Koro	Madougou		1001		1110	Anagadia		14:21:15	2:56:10	ccs ctc	ibi
Mohti	Koro	Madougou					AnapErE				ccs ctc	unknown
Mohti	Koro	Madougou					Anranan				ccs ctc	unknown
Mohti	Koro	Madougou					Bakin				ccs ctc	unknown
Mohti	Koro	Madougou		1579		1751	Barapire'		14:18:25	3:03:15	ccs ctc	ire'li
Mohti	Koro	Madougou					BEEEmE				ccs ctc	unknown
Mohti	Koro	Madougou		124		137	Bine'dama		14:27:35	3:03:20	ccs ctc	Yougo
Mohti	Koro	Madougou		285		316	Bore'		14:23:55	3:00:05	ccs ctc	unknown
Mohti	Koro	Madougou					Bormon		14:24:40	3:12:30	ccs ctc	ne'ni
Mohti	Koro	Madougou					DaNanburo				ccs ctc	unknown
Mohti	Koro	Madougou					Diennsagou		14:25:50	3:03:00	ccs ctc	Yougo
Mohti	Koro	Madougou		663.5		736	Domblossougou		14:21:15	3:05:30	ccs ctc	unknown
Mohti	Koro	Madougou					Dorou		14:27:30	3:05:40	ccs ctc	ibi

Mopti	Koro	Madougou		540		599	Douma		14:18:45	2:51:35	ccs ctc	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Madougou					Enreun				ccs ctc	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Madougou		447		496	Gangouroubouro		14:24:35	3:01:40	ccs ctc	ibi
Mopti	Koro	Madougou		1012		1122	Gawa		14:24:50	2:57:50	ccs ctc	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Madougou					GemunE				ccs ctc	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Madougou					Gonu				ccs ctc	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Madougou					Gue` mde'		14:22:25	2:51:40	ccs ctc	ibi
Mopti	Koro	Madougou					JangujO				ccs ctc	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Madougou		336		373	Kasawa		14:23:45	2:58:15	ccs ctc	ibi
Mopti	Koro	Madougou					KinEjhun				ccs ctc	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Madougou		89		99	Kingie				ccs ctc	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Madougou		874.6667		970	Madougou		14:24:00	3:04:50	ccs ctc	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Madougou					Mana				ccs ctc	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Madougou		525		582	Nahabe'ne'		14:18:20	3:08:15	ccs ctc	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Madougou		430.5		477	Nangadourou		14:20:00	3:07:15	ccs ctc	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Madougou		258		286	Naye		14:25:50	3:02:15	ccs ctc	Yougo
Mopti	Koro	Madougou					NEmudulEi				ccs ctc	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Madougou					OrOjurO				ccs ctc	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Madougou		410		455	Orokamba	Orokom	14:27:25	3:04:35	ccs ctc	Yougo
Mopti	Koro	Madougou		269.5		299	Pourali		14:22:00	3:06:50	ccs ctc	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Madougou					Sanaoro		14:20:30	3:08:15	ccs ctc	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Madougou		368		408	Se'dourou		14:19:15	3:07:30	ccs ctc	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Madougou		494		548	Sime'rou		14:26:35	3:05:10	ccs ctc	Yougo
Mopti	Koro	Madougou		233		258	Tagourou		14:20:55	3:10:55	ccs ctc	ire'li
Mopti	Koro	Madougou		556		617	Tanoa		14:19:05	3:14:05	ccs ctc	ire'li
Mopti	Koro	Madougou		276		306	Tanoa		14:19:05	3:14:05	ccs ctc	ire'li
Mopti	Koro	Madougou					Tanouma		14:20:30	2:57:40	ccs ctc	Sangha
Mopti	Koro	Madougou		439		487	Tenndiou		14:22:15	3:11:40	ccs ctc	ire'li
Mopti	Koro	Madougou		193.5		215	Tenndiou		14:22:00	3:11:00	ccs ctc	ne'ni
Mopti	Koro	Madougou					Teuguru				ccs ctc	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Madougou					Tialoudi		14:23:40	2:51:00	ccs ctc	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Madougou					Urokun				ccs ctc	unknown

Mohti	Koro	Madougou		496		550	Yague'me'		14:20:55	3:01:20	ccs ctc	unknown
Mohti	Koro	Madougou		413		458	Yassi		14:15:50	3:02:50	ccs ctc	unknown
Mohti	Koro	Madougou		320.5		355	Yoroupe'e		14:17:50	2:55:10	ccs ctc	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Sangha		819		968	Amani		14:24:20	3:19:55	ccs ctc	ire'li
Mohti	Bandiagara	Sangha		142		168	Amani		14:24:20	3:19:55	ccs ctc	ire'li
Mohti	Bandiagara	Sangha		121		143	Amani		14:24:20	3:19:55	ccs ctc	ire'li
Mohti	Bandiagara	Sangha		382		451	Amani		14:24:20	3:19:55	ccs ctc	ire'li
Mohti	Bandiagara	Sangha					AnabaNala				ccs ctc	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Sangha					Bakin-soonOn				ccs ctc	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Sangha		99		117	Banani		14:27:30	3:17:30	ccs ctc	ne'ni
Mohti	Bandiagara	Sangha		97		115	Banani		14:27:30	3:17:30	ccs ctc	ne'ni
Mohti	Bandiagara	Sangha		138		163	Banani		14:27:30	3:17:30	ccs ctc	ne'ni
Mohti	Bandiagara	Sangha		212		251	Banani		14:27:30	3:17:30	ccs ctc	ne'ni
Mohti	Bandiagara	Sangha		563		665	Bongo		14:28:25	3:17:25	ccs ctc	Sanga
Mohti	Bandiagara	Sangha					DanyaNumu				ccs ctc	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Sangha		376		444	Diamini		14:28:45	3:17:40	ccs ctc	Sanga
Mohti	Bandiagara	Sangha		470		555	Dini		14:28:00	3:17:35	ccs ctc	Sanga
Mohti	Bandiagara	Sangha					Entenherun				ccs ctc	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Sangha		200		236	Gogoli		14:27:45	3:17:25	ccs ctc	Sanga
Mohti	Bandiagara	Sangha					GOndomu				ccs ctc	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Sangha					GorogOnu				ccs ctc	unknown
Mohti	Bandiagara	Sangha		96		113	Ibi		14:28:55	3:15:50	ccs ctc	ibi
Mohti	Bandiagara	Sangha		195		230	Ibi		14:28:55	3:15:50	ccs ctc	ibi
Mohti	Bandiagara	Sangha		361		427	Ibi		14:28:55	3:15:50	ccs ctc	ibi
Mohti	Bandiagara	Sangha		220		260	Ibi		14:28:55	3:15:50	ccs ctc	ibi
Mohti	Bandiagara	Sangha		142		168	Ibi		14:28:55	3:15:50	ccs ctc	ibi
Mohti	Bandiagara	Sangha					Ibi		14:28:55	3:15:50	ccs ctc	ibi
Mohti	Bandiagara	Sangha					Ibi		14:28:55	3:15:50	ccs ctc	ibi
Mohti	Bandiagara	Sangha					Ibi		14:28:55	3:15:50	ccs ctc	ibi
Mohti	Bandiagara	Sangha					Ibi		14:28:55	3:15:50	ccs ctc	ibi
Mohti	Bandiagara	Sangha		433		512	Ire'li		14:26:00	3:18:35	ccs ctc	ire'li
Mohti	Bandiagara	Sangha		139		164	Ire'li		14:26:00	3:18:35	ccs ctc	ire'li

Mopti	Bandiagara	Sangha		93		110	Ire'li		14:26:00	3:18:35	ccs ctc	ire'li
Mopti	Bandiagara	Sangha		462		546	Ire'li		14:26:00	3:18:35	ccs ctc	ire'li
Mopti	Bandiagara	Sangha		89		105	Ire'li		14:26:00	3:18:35	ccs ctc	ire'li
Mopti	Bandiagara	Sangha		117		138	Ire'li		14:26:00	3:18:35	ccs ctc	ire'li
Mopti	Bandiagara	Sangha		192		227	Ire'li		14:26:00	3:18:35	ccs ctc	ire'li
Mopti	Bandiagara	Sangha		183		216	Ire'li		14:26:00	3:18:35	ccs ctc	ire'li
Mopti	Bandiagara	Sangha					JEmuto				ccs ctc	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Sangha					Kaara				ccs ctc	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Sangha					Kerugamaran				ccs ctc	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Sangha		393		464	Koundou		14:30:30	3:15:10	ccs ctc	Yenndouma
Mopti	Bandiagara	Sangha		486		574	Koundou		14:30:30	3:15:10	ccs ctc	Yenndouma
Mopti	Bandiagara	Sangha		19		22	Koundou		14:30:30	3:15:10	ccs ctc	Yenndouma
Mopti	Bandiagara	Sangha		176		208	Koundou		14:30:30	3:15:10	ccs ctc	Yenndouma
Mopti	Bandiagara	Sangha					Koundou		14:30:30	3:15:10	ccs ctc	Yenndouma
Mopti	Bandiagara	Sangha					Koundou		14:30:30	3:15:10	ccs ctc	Yenndouma
Mopti	Bandiagara	Sangha					Koundou		14:30:30	3:15:10	ccs ctc	Yenndouma
Mopti	Bandiagara	Sangha					Madina				ccs ctc	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Sangha		143		169	Ne'ni		14:28:00	3:16:40	ccs ctc	ne'ni
Mopti	Bandiagara	Sangha		151		178	Ne'ni		14:28:00	3:16:40	ccs ctc	ne'ni
Mopti	Bandiagara	Sangha		57		67	Ne'ni		14:28:00	3:16:40	ccs ctc	ne'ni
Mopti	Bandiagara	Sangha		217		256	Ne'ni		14:28:00	3:16:40	ccs ctc	ne'ni
Mopti	Bandiagara	Sangha		803		949	Ogol		14:28:00	3:18:15	ccs ctc	Sanga
Mopti	Bandiagara	Sangha		1481		1750	Ogol		14:27:30	3:18:30	ccs ctc	Sanga
Mopti	Bandiagara	Sangha		177		209	Pe'gue'		14:26:25	3:17:55	ccs ctc	ne'ni
Mopti	Bandiagara	Sangha		359		424	Sanga		14:28:10	3:18:10	ccs ctc	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Sangha		786		929	Sanga		14:28:45	3:17:40	ccs ctc	Sanga
Mopti	Bandiagara	Sangha		485		573	Sanga		14:28:45	3:17:40	ccs ctc	Sanga
Mopti	Bandiagara	Sangha		438		518	Sangui		14:28:40	3:18:40	ccs ctc	Sanga
Mopti	Bandiagara	Sangha					SoonOn-apai				ccs ctc	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Sangha					SoonOn-bissi				ccs ctc	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Sangha					Tagana				ccs ctc	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Sangha					TasOkO				ccs ctc	unknown

Mocti	Bandiagara	Sangha		800		946	Tiogou		14:31:45	3:16:10	točo sōcō	Yenndouma
Mocti	Bandiagara	Sangha		2745		3244	Tirelli		14:22:50	3:20:50	točo sōcō	ire'li
Mocti	Bandiagara	Sangha					Wagalamu				točo sōcō	unknown
Mocti	Bandiagara	Sangha		185		219	Yane'		14:25:40	3:18:55	točo sōcō	ire'li
Mocti	Bandiagara	Sangha		275		325	Yenndouma		14:33:55	3:14:20	točo sōcō	Yenndouma
Mocti	Bandiagara	Sangha		78		92	Yenndouma		14:33:55	3:14:20	točo sōcō	Yenndouma
Mocti	Bandiagara	Sangha		194		229	Yenndouma		14:33:55	3:14:20	točo sōcō	Yenndouma
Mocti	Bandiagara	Sangha		362		428	Yenndouma		14:33:55	3:14:20	točo sōcō	Yenndouma
Mocti	Bandiagara	Sangha		654		773	Yenndouma		14:33:55	3:14:20	točo sōcō	Yenndouma
Mocti	Bandiagara	Sangha					Yenndouma		14:33:55	3:14:20	točo sōcō	Yenndouma
Mocti	Bandiagara	Sangha		74		87	Yougodogorou		14:31:50	3:12:40	točo sōcō	Yougo
Mocti	Bankass	Bankass		250		295	Yougona		14:31:45	3:13:10	točo sōcō	Yougo
Mocti	Bankass	Bankass		136		161	Yougopiri		14:32:10	3:13:10	točo sōcō	Yougo
							Ogobe'ne'		14:17:25	3:15:55	točo sōcō	unknown
							Soban				točo sōcō	unknown
Mocti	Bankass	Bankass					Barafe'ra		14:06:10	3:32:20	teju kan	teju kan
Mocti	Bankass	Bankass		292		329	Dorodon		14:06:25	3:27:30	teju kan	teju kan
Mocti	Bankass	Bankass					Durkou		14:08:35	3:28:00	teju kan	teju kan
Mocti	Bankass	Bankass		174		196	Goro		14:03:00	3:32:05	teju kan	teju kan
Mocti	Bankass	Bankass		753		848	Kende'		13:59:30	3:29:40	teju kan	teju kan
Mocti	Bankass	Bankass		871		981	Kourounde'		14:07:10	3:31:10	teju kan	teju kan
Mocti	Bankass	Bankass		378		426	Nangoudama		14:06:30	3:30:10	teju kan	teju kan
Mocti	Bankass	Bankass		315.5		355	Ogossogou		14:01:55	3:27:35	teju kan	teju kan
Mocti	Bankass	Bankass		405		456	Sogou		14:09:20	3:29:20	teju kan	teju kan
Mocti	Bankass	Bankass		399		449	Sogou		14:09:20	3:29:20	teju kan	teju kan
Mocti	Bankass	Bankass		502		565	Sokora		14:05:25	3:29:20	teju kan	teju kan
Mocti	Bankass	Bankass					Sondol		14:07:50	3:29:50	teju kan	teju kan
Mocti	Koro	Koporokenienia					Iribanga		14:08:50	3:26:45	teju kan	teju kan
Mocti	Koro	Koro					Bone'e`		14:07:45	2:59:00	teju kan	teju kan
Mocti	Koro	Koro		284		344	De'rou		14:02:25	3:14:00	teju kan	teju kan
Mocti	Koro	Koro					Gomesso		13:49:30	2:54:40	teju kan	teju kan

Mopti	Koro	Koro				Ogobinoui		14:01:50	2:57:10	teju kan	teju kan
Mopti	Koro	Toroli		857	1126	Anakaga		14:00:05	3:17:40	teju kan	teju kan
Mopti	Koro	Toroli		392	515	Le'dje'ko		13:57:20	3:11:35	teju kan	teju kan
Mopti	Koro	Toroli				Topri		13:58:15	3:19:50	teju kan	teju kan
Mopti	Bandiagara	Goundaka		170	230	Boui		14:51:00	3:44:00	tiranige diga	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Goundaka		130	176	Damagari		14:47:50	3:43:20	tiranige diga	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Goundaka		204	276	Djigui		14:46:00	3:39:50	tiranige diga	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Goundaka		175	237	Gourari		14:49:30	3:41:00	tiranige diga	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Goundaka		80	108	Guimari		14:48:10	3:40:40	tiranige diga	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Goundaka		260	351	Ke'ti		14:45:40	3:41:50	tiranige diga	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Goundaka		127	172	Se'mo		14:44:00	3:42:30	tiranige diga	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Goundaka		380	514	Sissongo		14:40:40	3:43:30	tiranige diga	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Kendie		229	288	De'gui	Dej-i	14:49:00	3:36:05	tiranige diga	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Kendie		118	148	Ninngo		14:49:45	3:38:20	tiranige diga	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Kendie		728	916	Some'		14:43:40	3:38:30	tiranige diga	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Kendie		232	292	Tanga		14:48:30	3:39:00	tiranige diga	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Kendie		355	447	Te'ta		14:43:40	3:39:10	tiranige diga	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara					Kile'gou		14:42:00	3:38:50	tiranige diga	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara					Sokari		14:41:30	3:42:30	tiranige diga	unknown
						Dougo		14:48:20	3:41:50	tiranige diga	unknown
						Emmbari		14:41:50	3:43:50	tiranige diga	unknown
						Korenndiou		14:51:05	3:42:30	tiranige diga	unknown
						Ne'ou		14:44:20	3:41:50	tiranige diga	unknown
						Toumba		14:48:20	3:35:40	tiranige diga	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Dioungani		168	288	Sabe're'		14:14:30	2:56:20	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koporokenienia		88	109	Adakaoura		14:06:25	3:21:45	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koporokenienia				Anamouila		14:07:25	3:21:40	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koporokenienia		615	758	Andiamama		14:03:20	3:24:00	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koporokenienia		226	279	Bama		14:05:15	3:18:40	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koporokenienia		1641	2024	Baraniongole'		14:01:40	3:16:10	togo kan	unknown

Mopti	Koro	Koporokenienia		1063		1311	Beniouma		14:09:50	3:23:10	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koporokenienia		482		594	Djime'rou		14:09:35	3:18:40	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koporokenienia		238		294	Don		14:11:00	3:15:10	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koporokenienia		877		1082	Gomou		14:11:55	3:20:00	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koporokenienia		927		1143	Gue'ourou		14:10:10	3:14:15	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koporokenienia		806		994	Kombo-Ogourou		14:14:25	3:15:00	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koporokenienia		1011		1247	Kontogourou		14:05:55	3:21:10	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koporokenienia		1403		1730	Koporo-Ke'nier-na		14:07:50	3:21:20	togo kan	togo kan
Mopti	Koro	Koporokenienia		2602		3209	Koporoke'nier-Pe'		14:13:40	3:18:00	togo kan	togo kan
Mopti	Koro	Koporokenienia					Mombourou		14:06:20	3:16:45	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koporokenienia		645		795	Ongo				togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koporokenienia		363		448	Oro				togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koporokenienia					Orose'gou		14:06:15	3:22:15	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koporokenienia		2866		3535	Pel		14:05:10	3:16:15	togo kan	togo kan
Mopti	Koro	Koporokenienia		354		437	Pe'rigourou		14:09:25	3:22:45	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koporokenienia		409		504	Perkana		14:07:55	3:23:35	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koporokenienia		881		1087	Pomboro-Dodiou		14:09:15	3:10:20	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koporokenienia		1498		1847	Samani		14:13:00	3:13:00	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koporokenienia		426		525	Sassougo		14:08:20	3:11:15	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koporokenienia		910		1122	Sembe're'		14:08:50	3:17:25	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koporokenienia		700		863	Sogourou		14:02:50	3:21:50	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koporokenienia		446		550	Taounougou		14:06:30	3:19:20	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koporokenienia		1274		1571	Te'me'golo		14:08:25	3:15:40	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koporokenienia		842		1038	Tie'mama		14:07:30	3:20:10	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koporokenienia		441		544	Timessogou		14:04:15	3:18:40	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koporokenienia		826		1019	Tina		14:07:30	3:12:40	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koporokenienia					Tonou		14:04:05	3:20:35	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koro		110		133	Adourakame'		14:12:40	3:01:40	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koro		318		385	Anabene				togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koro					Andakaga		14:08:10	3:03:35	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koro		1447		1752	Dana		14:10:30	3:02:40	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koro		717		868	Danadourou		14:11:15	3:03:50	togo kan	unknown

Mopti	Koro	Koro		134		162	Dim-Sogo		14:01:45	2:54:45	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koro		257		311	Kamokoro		14:14:25	3:01:45	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koro		432		523	Lere		14:12:45	3:03:55	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koro		538		651	Ogodourou		14:13:30	3:07:05	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koro		1275		1544	Ogodourouna				togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koro		1368		1657	Oropa		14:12:00	3:15:30	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koro		201		243	Orowara		14:07:45	2:52:05	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koro		823		997	Pe'ne'		14:08:35	3:06:25	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koro		1049		1270	Se'gne'be'ne'		14:09:00	3:04:35	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koro		255		309	Se'gouma-Sougou		14:14:35	3:04:30	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koro		982		1189	Souan		14:14:30	3:06:40	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koro		979		1185	Tourou		14:12:05	3:07:35	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koro		1126		1363	Yadianga		14:04:10	3:11:30	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Koro		843		1021	Zon		13:51:00	3:07:10	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Madougou		563		624	Ourokou		14:15:00	3:03:30	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Toroli		343		451	Andjouna-Tena				togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Toroli		1227		1612	Azanga		13:56:00	3:22:10	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Toroli		553		726	Babouro		13:50:00	3:15:25	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Toroli		252		331	Baratigue'ne'		13:58:15	3:21:05	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Toroli					Barayogoule'kana		13:59:45	3:14:35	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Toroli		1344		1766	Birga		14:02:30	3:15:35	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Toroli		249		327	Bondo-Boura				togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Toroli		568		746	Dinnga		14:00:35	3:16:40	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Toroli		756		993	Dompe'le'		13:51:35	3:18:20	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Toroli		1076		1414	Donhale'		13:56:05	3:15:10	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Toroli		388		510	Dounoupa		13:52:15	3:13:25	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Toroli		554		728	Ganague'ne'kouro		13:50:40	3:20:05	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Toroli		1185		1557	Gandourou		13:52:35	3:16:35	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Toroli		513		674	Gassogou		13:53:35	3:25:15	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Toroli		758		996	Gouroussinde'		13:53:25	3:19:30	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Toroli		735		966	Gue're'ssogou		13:54:40	3:16:25	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Toroli		769		1010	Guine'ourou		14:00:25	3:22:00	togo kan	unknown

Mopti	Koro	Toroli					Kamekoru				togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Toroli		320		420	Kaniana		13:57:30	3:24:00	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Toroli		384		504	Ne'ma		13:53:00	3:14:45	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Toroli		322		423	Ombon		13:54:10	3:18:20	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Toroli		583		766	Ote'kana		13:59:55	3:23:20	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Toroli		345		453	Pe'le'dourou		13:56:20	3:25:40	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Toroli		505		663	Saale'		13:56:10	3:19:45	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Toroli		430		565	Tagourou		13:51:10	3:13:45	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Toroli		505		663	Tanossougou		14:02:45	3:24:30	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Toroli		1021		1341	Tansogou		13:52:55	3:23:20	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Toroli		747		981	Te'na		13:51:00	3:22:15	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Toroli		588		772	Tomboguina		14:00:55	3:20:15	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Koro	Toroli		2847		3740	Toroli		13:55:10	3:13:10	togo kan	unknown
							Sogou		14:06:15	2:49:30	togo kan	unknown
Mopti	Bankass	Kani-Bonzon		216		370	Sokanda		13:59:50	3:41:30	tomo kan	aa ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Kani-Bonzon		455		780	Tarakoro		14:00:25	3:42:30	tomo kan	aa ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Kani-Bonzon		610		1045	Tie'de'kanda	cedekanda	14:00:40	3:42:00	tomo kan	aa ka~
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo		155		184	Garou-Do	garudo	14:02:40	3:44:20	tomo kan	aa ka~
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo		394		467	Garou-Le'	garule	14:01:05	3:44:00	tomo kan	aa ka~
							Damakana	dambokanda	14:00:40	3:40:00	tomo kan	aa ka~
							Gandaga		13:59:40	3:52:20	tomo kan	aa ka~
Mopti							sO~gO ?anda				tomo kan	aa ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Diallassagou		926		1102	Diamma	Jama	13:53:40	3:37:20	tomo kan	au ka~
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo		255		302	Wini	wi~ni	13:58:10	3:49:10	tomo kan	au ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Segue					Ara		13:49:10	3:45:50	tomo kan	au ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Segue		309		358	Balawa	bala?wa	13:53:40	3:39:20	tomo kan	au ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Segue		244		283	Basse'ri		13:53:00	3:38:50	tomo kan	au ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Segue		381		442	Bawe'ma		13:54:00	3:42:00	tomo kan	au ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Segue		226		262	Bentingue'	KO?ObEntenge	13:53:55	3:46:55	tomo kan	au ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Segue		177		205	Bou		13:51:20	3:45:00	tomo kan	au ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Segue		451		523	Diam		13:48:40	3:45:45	tomo kan	au ka~

Mopti	Bankass	Segue		181		210	Dienna	JEna	13:51:45	3:39:40	tomo kan	au ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Segue		187		217	Dienna	JEna	13:52:10	3:39:20	tomo kan	au ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Segue		280		325	Dinyi		13:53:30	3:45:10	tomo kan	au ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Segue		57		66	Dioboro		13:49:10	3:52:00	tomo kan	au ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Segue		636		737	Djile'		13:55:30	3:45:30	tomo kan	au ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Segue		152		176	Dobe'		13:52:20	3:44:50	tomo kan	au ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Segue		382		443	Dom		13:48:50	3:41:20	tomo kan	au ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Segue		257		298	Dome`	dOmE	13:57:40	3:48:00	tomo kan	au ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Segue		978		1134	Dounde'	du~di~	13:57:30	3:42:40	tomo kan	au ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Segue		28		32	Kassogou		13:48:30	3:49:40	tomo kan	au ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Segue					Kobo		13:57:10	3:46:30	tomo kan	au ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Segue		299		347	Kobogo	kObO?O	13:58:30	3:41:30	tomo kan	au ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Segue		393		456	Kogo	KO?O	13:53:30	3:46:40	tomo kan	au ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Segue		499		579	Koume'lobogan	KumE'lO?Oba~	13:55:40	3:39:40	tomo kan	au ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Segue		325		377	Nassagou		13:49:50	3:42:00	tomo kan	au ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Segue		133		154	Niando	JOndo	13:47:40	3:46:20	tomo kan	au ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Segue		377		437	Orossogou		13:52:30	3:44:50	tomo kan	au ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Segue		623		722	Sama		13:46:10	3:46:35	tomo kan	au ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Segue					Sambo		13:49:10	3:46:50	tomo kan	au ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Segue		948		1099	Se'gue'	SE?E	13:50:30	3:45:00	tomo kan	au ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Segue		573		664	Soban	sOba~	13:51:10	3:39:10	tomo kan	au ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Segue		100		116	Sonfounou		13:49:30	3:46:10	tomo kan	au ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Segue		271		314	Tagale'	Ta?alE~	13:49:50	3:45:30	tomo kan	au ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Segue		119		138	Tilabo		13:49:00	3:49:30	tomo kan	au ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Segue		557		646	Tyi	ci	13:56:00	3:46:20	tomo kan	au ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Segue		89		103	Tyilapanga	cilapaNa	13:53:10	3:50:00	tomo kan	au ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Segue		131		152	Ye'gue're'		13:51:15	3:47:50	tomo kan	au ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Segue		1056		1224	Ye'le'		13:44:10	3:47:20	tomo kan	au ka~
Mopti	Bankass						Ja~wakOIO				tomo kan	au ka~
Mopti	Bankass						Sama Kanda				tomo kan	au ka~
							Diounda		13:47:50	3:45:40	tomo kan	au ka~
							Doro	dOrO	13:51:20	3:52:30	tomo kan	au ka~

						Insogou		13:49:50	3:45:40	tomo kan	au ka~	
						Kambiama		13:51:05	3:50:10	tomo kan	au ka~	
						Konode'	konodE~	13:47:10	3:58:20	tomo kan	au ka~	
						Kougodie'gue'		13:54:40	3:48:40	tomo kan	au ka~	
						Lampie'ra	lampiara	13:45:05	3:52:50	tomo kan	au ka~	
						Obo		13:46:40	3:50:30	tomo kan	au ka~	
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo		658		780	Ama		14:05:30	3:44:50	tomo kan	basara ka~
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo		560		664	Diallo				tomo kan	basara ka~
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo		353		418	Gani-Do	ga~	14:02:50	3:46:10	tomo kan	basara ka~
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo					Gani-Le'		14:01:15	3:47:20	tomo kan	basara ka~
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo		344		408	Gasoungou	gEsungu	14:13:30	3:49:10	tomo kan	basara ka~
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo		207		245	Monaboundou	monabundu	14:15:00	3:43:40	tomo kan	basara ka~
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo		357		423	Nandoli	mE~dolo	14:03:30	3:46:50	tomo kan	basara ka~
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo					Nomono		14:07:10	3:50:25	tomo kan	basara ka~
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo		63		75	Nomono-Bondo		14:08:10	3:50:40	tomo kan	basara ka~
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo					Nomono-Tinnde'		14:07:05	3:49:40	tomo kan	basara ka~
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo					Parou	paru	14:11:30	3:45:00	tomo kan	basara ka~
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo		460		545	Simi	sumi	14:07:30	3:44:00	tomo kan	basara ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Diallassagou		765		910	Bobosso	Booso	13:39:45	3:40:20	tomo kan	bONGU ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Diallassagou		480		571	Kourou Kanda	kuru kanda	13:40:00	3:44:50	tomo kan	bONGU ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Diallassagou		3838		4566	Tori	tOOri	13:37:00	3:42:10	tomo kan	bONGU ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Segue		210		243	Dao		13:41:00	3:48:40	tomo kan	bONGU ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Segue		714		828	Koulou	kulu	13:41:50	3:48:20	tomo kan	bONGU ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Segue		231		268	So		13:40:05	3:49:00	tomo kan	bONGU ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Segue		228		264	Sodjinadou	sojina~du	13:38:35	3:46:45	tomo kan	bONGU ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Segue		188		218	Tissogou	cisogu	13:39:10	3:49:30	tomo kan	bONGU ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Sokoura		251		331	Bounde'ri	Bou~deheri	13:36:30	3:45:40	tomo kan	bONGU ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Sokoura		329		433	Dianwe'le'		13:35:10	3:47:10	tomo kan	bONGU ka~

Mopti	Bankass	Sokoura		364		479	Djinaban	jinaba~	13:39:20	3:50:00	tomo kan	bONgu ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Sokoura		692		911	Hamdallaye		13:34:00	3:37:50	tomo kan	bONgu ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Sokoura		362		477	Nongo	nO~?O~pErE	13:37:40	3:45:40	tomo kan	bONgu ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Sokoura		443		583	Ogoboro	O?ObOrO	13:36:20	3:44:30	tomo kan	bONgu ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Sokoura		633		834	Se`	sE	13:34:50	3:45:20	tomo kan	bONgu ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Sokoura		99		130	Wankorowe'li		13:35:40	3:46:30	tomo kan	bONgu ka~
							Aridiana		13:34:30	3:41:10	tomo kan	bONgu ka~
							Be'rimbe'	bErEmbE	13:36:20	3:40:50	tomo kan	bONgu ka~
							Dadiou		13:36:00	3:48:20	tomo kan	bONgu ka~
							Djinassogou		13:41:30	3:48:30	tomo kan	bONgu ka~
							Donkono	dO~kO~nO	13:34:30	3:42:05	tomo kan	bONgu ka~
							Lanfie'ra	lampiara	13:33:50	3:42:10	tomo kan	bONgu ka~
							Lingui		13:38:40	3:46:35	tomo kan	bONgu ka~
							Ne'ma		13:37:40	3:44:30	tomo kan	bONgu ka~
							Niaabougou	nya?abugu	13:41:55	3:55:50	tomo kan	bONgu ka~
							Oroe`le'ne		13:37:45	3:44:40	tomo kan	bONgu ka~
							Oronse're'	WErE~serede	13:35:40	3:39:10	tomo kan	bONgu ka~
							Sirabougou		13:34:40	3:43:00	tomo kan	bONgu ka~
							Sirakoro		13:37:50	3:46:20	tomo kan	bONgu ka~
							We'dikoro	We~de~koro	13:35:45	3:42:15	tomo kan	bONgu ka~
							We're'gara		13:34:30	3:46:50	tomo kan	bONgu ka~
							Yalankoro	yara~kOrO	13:37:05	3:47:05	tomo kan	bONgu ka~
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo		198		235	Balaguira	balagina	14:00:05	4:03:40	tomo kan	cama~ ka~
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo		861		1021	Bolokouma		13:51:00	4:02:00	tomo kan	cama~ ka~
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo					Die'messougou	jEmEso?u	13:59:40	3:56:20	tomo kan	cama~ ka~
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo		966		1145	Diennde'		14:04:50	3:57:15	tomo kan	cama~ ka~
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo		498		590	Dienngue'-Dina		14:03:20	3:55:45	tomo kan	cama~ ka~
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo					Dounde'		14:12:20	3:49:00	tomo kan	cama~ ka~
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo		807		957	Fangadougou	Pangadougou	14:09:10	4:03:45	tomo kan	cama~ ka~
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo					Kembe'di	kEmbedi	13:59:55	3:58:50	tomo kan	cama~ ka~
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo		392		465	Korondoli	kOrOdoli	14:04:30	4:02:20	tomo kan	cama~ ka~
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo		189		224	Kourou	kuru	14:01:00	3:58:00	tomo kan	cama~ ka~

Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo		243		288	Modjodje'	mujEjE	14:13:10	4:01:35	tomo kan	cama~ ka~
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo		803		952	Modjodje'	mujEjE	14:13:50	4:02:00	tomo kan	cama~ ka~
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo		679		805	Ne'ne'	nEnE	13:59:35	3:57:35	tomo kan	cama~ ka~
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo		486		576	Ne'ne'		13:59:55	3:57:45	tomo kan	cama~ ka~
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo		321		380	Ogassogou		14:00:40	3:53:10	tomo kan	cama~ ka~
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo		251		297	Oundou		14:02:55	3:51:50	tomo kan	cama~ ka~
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo		491		582	Pe'rou	pyero	14:06:40	4:04:40	tomo kan	cama~ ka~
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo		731		866	Sango	saNgo OrO	13:53:20	4:01:40	tomo kan	cama~ ka~
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo		141		167	Sine' Kana		14:00:20	4:04:50	tomo kan	cama~ ka~
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo		466		552	So		14:00:50	3:50:00	tomo kan	cama~ ka~
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo		235		279	Tabia	tEbia	14:04:30	3:54:35	tomo kan	cama~ ka~
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo		371		440	Te'nemoussagou	Toumousogou	13:54:30	4:05:20	tomo kan	cama~ ka~
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo		534		633	Yaro		13:59:30	4:05:20	tomo kan	cama~ ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Segue		163		189	Kassogou	kOsogu	13:58:40	3:54:10	tomo kan	cama~ ka~
Segou	Tominian	Timissa		394		539	Be'le'daga		13:36:55	4:08:30	tomo kan	cama~ ka~
Segou	Tominian	Timissa		296		405	Diamakan	jamaka~	13:38:05	4:08:40	tomo kan	cama~ ka~
Segou	Tominian	Timissa		651		891	Dounde'daga	du~dE~da?a	13:48:00	4:13:00	tomo kan	cama~ ka~
Segou	Tominian	Timissa		426		583	Fatoumadaga		13:47:50	4:11:25	tomo kan	cama~ ka~
Segou	Tominian	Timissa		0		0	Koundiadaga		13:46:50	4:11:55	tomo kan	cama~ ka~
Segou	Tominian	Timissa		441		604	Ningodaga		13:36:40	4:09:55	tomo kan	cama~ ka~
Segou	Tominian	Timissa		444		608	Soui		13:46:10	4:11:55	tomo kan	cama~ ka~
Segou	Tominian	Timissa		430		589	Te're'dougou		13:49:35	4:10:15	tomo kan	cama~ ka~
Segou	Tominian	Timissa		1559		2135	Timissa	timisa	13:49:20	4:12:30	tomo kan	cama~ ka~
							Bayidaga		13:44:05	4:11:05	tomo kan	cama~ ka~
							Be'gnima		14:02:30	3:54:20	tomo kan	cama~ ka~
							Diankweidaga		13:44:30	4:10:30	tomo kan	cama~ ka~
							Diawe'li		13:55:10	4:08:30	tomo kan	cama~ ka~
							Djidjina	jijina	14:04:30	3:52:40	tomo kan	cama~ ka~
							Koule'bala	kulebala	13:57:50	4:08:50	tomo kan	cama~ ka~
							Morodaga		13:36:15	4:09:10	tomo kan	cama~ ka~
							Nioumasso		13:47:20	4:17:30	tomo kan	cama~ ka~
							Nyagambo	Ja?ambo	13:57:30	3:56:30	tomo kan	cama~ ka~

						Orossogou		14:01:10	3:54:20	tomo kan	cama~ ka~	
						Ousmanadaga	?usmanada?a	13:46:40	4:14:20	tomo kan	cama~ ka~	
						Samabougou	sema~bugu	13:49:40	4:08:15	tomo kan	cama~ ka~	
						Sindaga		13:43:20	4:11:05	tomo kan	cama~ ka~	
						Sobe'daga		13:36:40	4:06:30	tomo kan	cama~ ka~	
						Soukarodaga		13:38:00	4:13:20	tomo kan	cama~ ka~	
						Wassou	Yasso	14:04:10	4:00:25	tomo kan	cama~ ka~	
Mopti	Bankass	Diallassagou		512		609	Anamounie'la	Andamodyoula	13:52:40	3:32:00	tomo kan	cibala ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Diallassagou		747		889	Aridiana		13:48:50	3:28:30	tomo kan	cibala ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Diallassagou		376		447	Baraguina		13:43:30	3:34:30	tomo kan	cibala ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Diallassagou		499		594	Bazogou	Bagasogou	13:46:50	3:32:40	tomo kan	cibala ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Diallassagou		219		261	Bazogou Kanda	Bagasogou Kanda	13:46:10	3:34:20	tomo kan	cibala ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Diallassagou		1629		1938	De'guessogou		13:42:20	3:37:30	tomo kan	cibala ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Diallassagou					Dia	Diabole'	13:45:40	3:38:20	tomo kan	cibala ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Diallassagou		2428		2889	Diallassagou	JaasOgu	13:44:20	3:37:30	tomo kan	cibala ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Diallassagou		404		481	Dianga	Dianga~	13:45:10	3:40:10	tomo kan	cibala ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Diallassagou		763		908	Dianwe'li	Jawule~	13:43:20	3:36:40	tomo kan	cibala ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Diallassagou		716		852	Diensagou		13:44:10	3:32:40	tomo kan	cibala ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Diallassagou		233		277	Dinda	Dinda~	13:45:30	3:31:40	tomo kan	cibala ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Diallassagou		109		130	Dinto	Dyito~	13:43:40	3:39:00	tomo kan	cibala ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Diallassagou		871		1036	Goumini	gumu	13:53:10	3:35:00	tomo kan	cibala ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Diallassagou		266		316	Insogou		13:44:40	3:39:10	tomo kan	cibala ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Diallassagou		229		272	Insogou		13:47:40	3:30:50	tomo kan	cibala ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Diallassagou		842		1002	Kana		13:51:40	3:35:20	tomo kan	cibala ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Diallassagou		423		503	Kike'le'	Tyitye`le`	13:48:10	3:38:00	tomo kan	cibala ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Diallassagou		459		546	Koume'		13:48:00	3:39:50	tomo kan	cibala ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Diallassagou		630		750	Lagassagou		13:50:10	3:37:30	tomo kan	cibala ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Diallassagou					Lagassagou Kanda		13:50:50	3:36:30	tomo kan	cibala ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Diallassagou		546		650	Lessogou		13:48:40	3:36:10	tomo kan	cibala ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Diallassagou		510		607	Maka	Maga	13:46:00	3:36:00	tomo kan	cibala ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Diallassagou		580		690	Masse'	Magase`gue`	13:47:30	3:35:00	tomo kan	cibala ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Diallassagou		370		440	Minima	Minima~	13:45:50	3:30:40	tomo kan	cibala ka~

Mopti	Bankass	Diallassagou		406		483	Minima Kanda	MIInima~ Kanda	13:44:00	3:31:10	tomo kan	cibala ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Diallassagou		319		380	Mougue'	mO~?O~	13:42:30	3:40:20	tomo kan	cibala ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Diallassagou		299		356	Ne'ma		13:51:30	3:33:10	tomo kan	cibala ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Diallassagou		1881		2238	Ne'ne'	Ne`ne`	13:40:40	3:36:10	tomo kan	cibala ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Diallassagou		424		504	Ortogue're'	Orotyegere	13:53:00	3:28:30	tomo kan	cibala ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Diallassagou		788		937	Pansadougou	Pasogoudou	13:49:50	3:33:00	tomo kan	cibala ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Diallassagou					Sangala		13:40:20	3:39:50	tomo kan	cibala ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Diallassagou		1001		1191	Sansogou		13:45:10	3:36:10	tomo kan	cibala ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Diallassagou		233		277	Siratinti	Sirati~ti~	13:43:40	3:28:50	tomo kan	cibala ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Diallassagou		1175		1398	Sogoussi		13:48:00	3:31:00	tomo kan	cibala ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Diallassagou		690		821	Sokolo		13:46:50	3:38:00	tomo kan	cibala ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Diallassagou		198		236	Sokoro Kanda	Sokolo Kanda	13:45:00	3:33:20	tomo kan	cibala ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Diallassagou		1505		1791	Soubala	Soubara	13:51:50	3:30:00	tomo kan	cibala ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Diallassagou		263		313	Tie'mara	Tyembala	13:49:40	3:35:30	tomo kan	cibala ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Diallassagou		385		458	Tire'		13:40:10	3:39:50	tomo kan	cibala ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Diallassagou		88		105	Wendiana		13:42:20	3:39:40	tomo kan	cibala ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Segue		524		607	Djinajo		13:48:50	3:37:40	tomo kan	cibala ka~
						Bahada			13:50:00	3:31:40	tomo kan	cibala ka~
						Bale'	Baali	13:41:50	3:42:10	tomo kan	cibala ka~	
						Boule'	Bolle	13:41:00	3:38:20	tomo kan	cibala ka~	
						De'me'dia	Deemadia~	13:43:50	3:36:30	tomo kan	cibala ka~	
						Dinda Kanda	Dinda~ Kanda	13:46:00	3:31:20	tomo kan	cibala ka~	
						Dion		13:50:40	3:28:00	tomo kan	cibala ka~	
						Forodou		13:54:00	3:30:50	tomo kan	cibala ka~	
						Koundougou	Koundogo	13:50:10	3:26:20	tomo kan	cibala ka~	
						Nai”de'		13:40:40	3:39:10	tomo kan	cibala ka~	
						Sodo	Sodo~	13:46:20	3:26:40	tomo kan	cibala ka~	
						Tanhama		13:48:30	3:33:00	tomo kan	cibala ka~	
						Yende'		13:55:00	3:29:40	tomo kan	cibala ka~	
						Yende' Kanda		13:54:00	3:29:20	tomo kan	cibala ka~	
Mopti	Bankass	Bankass		755		850	Guiwagou		13:59:40	3:34:00	tomo kan	tama~mbala ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Bankass		616		693	Soula		13:57:10	3:35:20	tomo kan	tama~mbala ka~

Mopti	Bankass	Bankass		851		958	Soula Kanda		13:55:40	3:34:30	tomo kan	tama~mbala ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Bankass		499		562	We'lingara		13:58:50	3:35:00	tomo kan	tama~mbala ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Kani-Bonzon		265		454	Ambassa		14:00:10	3:39:40	tomo kan	tama~mbala ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Kani-Bonzon		2101		3600	Dimmbal		14:01:40	3:37:00	tomo kan	tama~mbala ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Kani-Bonzon					Foulamdamá		13:56:00	3:37:40	tomo kan	tama~mbala ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Kani-Bonzon		151		259	Gama		14:07:00	3:37:50	tomo kan	tama~mbala ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Kani-Bonzon					Kanaogo		13:56:20	3:38:50	tomo kan	tama~mbala ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Kani-Bonzon		1434		2457	Konsogou		13:59:50	3:38:00	tomo kan	tama~mbala ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Kani-Bonzon		994		1703	Logo		14:01:30	3:38:00	tomo kan	tama~mbala ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Kani-Bonzon		310		531	Sonkoun		13:58:40	3:37:00	tomo kan	tama~mbala ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Kani-Bonzon		139		238	Yaso		14:08:00	3:40:30	tomo kan	tama~mbala ka~
Mopti	Bankass						Ubanhie're'	Ubanjala	13:54:20	3:35:40	tomo kan	tama~mbala ka~
							Orossogou		13:57:20	3:34:10	tomo kan	tama~mbala ka~
							Sadiakanda		14:02:40	3:34:30	tomo kan	tama~mbala ka~
							Tobara		14:02:10	3:35:40	tomo kan	tama~mbala ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Kani-Bonzon		225		386	Dogo	dO?O	14:08:20	3:41:40	tomo kan	tama~mbala ka~: dOgO ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Kani-Bonzon		147		252	Dogo	dO?O	14:08:20	3:41:40	tomo kan	tama~mbala ka~: dOgO ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Kani-Bonzon		546		936	Dogo	dO?O	14:08:20	3:41:40	tomo kan	tama~mbala ka~: dOgO ka~
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo		150		178	E'gue'la	Yagala	14:12:40	3:40:35	tomo kan	tama~mbala ka~: dOgO ka~
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo		144		171	E'gue'la	Yagala	14:13:00	3:42:00	tomo kan	tama~mbala ka~: dOgO ka~
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo		201		238	Ele'	Ere'	14:08:00	3:39:00	tomo kan	tama~mbala ka~: dOgO ka~
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo		284		337	Kom	kOmO	14:11:10	3:39:00	tomo kan	tama~mbala ka~: dOgO ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Kani-Bonzon		1924		3297	Kani-Bonzon		14:08:30	3:37:00	tomo kan	tama~mbala ka~: saJa ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Kani-Bonzon		1055		1808	Sadia		14:04:30	3:36:40	tomo kan	tama~mbala ka~: saJa ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Bankass					Manaodi		14:00:55	3:33:35	tomo kan	tO~ ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Bankass		547		616	Ogodire'		14:01:45	3:33:15	tomo kan	tO~ ka~
Mopti	Bankass	Bankass		536		603	Tinnto		14:02:25	3:31:25	tomo kan	tO~ ka~
Mopti	Koro	Koro					Lourougan		13:45:10	3:09:10	tomo kan	tO~ ka~
Mopti	Koro	Koro					Nanda		13:41:05	3:02:50	tomo kan	tO~ ka~
Mopti	Bandiagara	Bandiagara		220		285	Bodio		14:15:00	3:41:10	tomo kan	unknown
Mopti	Bankass	Bankass		490		552	Koumoudou		13:58:25	3:26:50	tomo kan	unknown
Mopti	Bankass	Bankass					Se'gue're'ban		13:59:30	3:32:00	tomo kan	unknown

Mopti	Bankass	Bankass		568		639	Sogara		13:58:55	3:26:00	tomo kan	unknown
Mopti	Bankass	Baye		215.5		318	Dian		13:47:45	3:22:15	tomo kan	unknown
Mopti	Bankass	Baye		1397		2059	Pissa		13:43:50	3:24:00	tomo kan	unknown
Mopti	Bankass	Diallassagou		360		428	Bogodougou	Bogodou	13:45:00	3:28:20	tomo kan	unknown
Mopti	Bankass	Diallassagou		1554		1849	Diallaye		13:39:10	3:31:30	tomo kan	unknown
Mopti	Bankass	Diallassagou		543		646	Dougara		13:57:00	3:28:20	tomo kan	unknown
Mopti	Bankass	Diallassagou		511		608	Doukoro		13:41:10	3:43:30	tomo kan	unknown
Mopti	Bankass	Diallassagou		1020		1214	Gomozogou	Gombosogou	13:47:00	3:41:40	tomo kan	unknown
Mopti	Bankass	Diallassagou		696		828	Kologo-Habbe				tomo kan	unknown
Mopti	Bankass	Diallassagou		531		632	Kouna		13:38:40	3:39:00	tomo kan	unknown
Mopti	Bankass	Diallassagou					Lagabo Kanda				tomo kan	unknown
Mopti	Bankass	Diallassagou		745		886	Ounouna		13:45:40	3:41:40	tomo kan	unknown
Mopti	Bankass	Diallassagou		1426		1697	Poura Fouenni	Pirase'ni	13:35:40	3:37:30	tomo kan	unknown
Mopti	Bankass	Diallassagou		277		330	Wa		13:45:40	3:41:10	tomo kan	unknown
Mopti	Bankass	Diallassagou		679		808	Yale'ma		13:43:10	3:42:30	tomo kan	unknown
Mopti	Bankass	Kani-Bonzon		360		617	Dembo				tomo kan	unknown
Mopti	Bankass	Kani-Bonzon					Gouwele				tomo kan	unknown
Mopti	Bankass	Kani-Bonzon					Kourou Kanda				tomo kan	unknown
Mopti	Bankass	Kani-Bonzon					Manfori				tomo kan	unknown
Mopti	Bankass	Kani-Bonzon		214		367	Se'gobala		14:10:30	3:49:45	tomo kan	unknown
Mopti	Bankass	Kani-Bonzon		776		1330	Sonleye				tomo kan	unknown
Mopti	Bankass	Kani-Bonzon					Soungouma				tomo kan	unknown
Segou	Tominian	Koula		166		218	Kouna-Habe`		13:25:00	4:02:00	tomo kan	unknown
Segou	Tominian	Koula		104		136	Kouna-Mindolo		13:26:10	4:02:05	tomo kan	unknown
Segou	Tominian	Koula		410		537	Lanfie'ra	Anda Kanda	13:29:40	4:08:55	tomo kan	unknown
Segou	Tominian	Koula		310		406	Siradji		13:27:40	4:11:20	tomo kan	unknown
Mopti	Bankass	Ouenkoro		851		1211	Bidi		13:28:00	3:55:00	tomo kan	unknown
Mopti	Bankass	Ouenkoro		490		698	Kourouni		13:27:40	3:52:00	tomo kan	unknown
Mopti	Bankass	Ouenkoro		223		317	Saran		13:25:35	3:55:00	tomo kan	unknown
Mopti	Bankass	Ouenkoro		114		162	Yaran		13:25:40	4:00:05	tomo kan	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo		180		213	Dogobala		14:10:40	3:48:20	tomo kan	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo		540		640	Doumbo		13:55:00	3:55:10	tomo kan	unknown

Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo		585		693	Konsogou		13:55:55	3:52:10	tomo kan	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo		189		224	Sonngobia		14:09:00	3:46:30	tomo kan	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo		233		276	Te'gue're'		14:17:45	3:46:20	tomo kan	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo					Tiamaguina		13:59:00	3:50:20	tomo kan	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo		626		742	Tianassogou		13:59:40	3:54:00	tomo kan	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo		257		305	Tiangara		14:05:00	3:53:20	tomo kan	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo		263		312	Tiokani	Sokani	14:07:40	4:05:25	tomo kan	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo		183		217	Touenne'		13:54:20	3:55:10	tomo kan	unknown
Mopti	Bandiagara	Ouo		441		523	Toumouni		14:04:40	3:44:00	tomo kan	unknown
Mopti	Bankass	Segue		574		665	Toussogou		13:50:00	3:40:10	tomo kan	unknown
Mopti	Bankass	Segue					Wagata				tomo kan	unknown
Mopti	Bankass	Segue					Wenben				tomo kan	unknown
Mopti	Bankass	Sokoura		873		1150	Boule'		13:31:00	3:48:30	tomo kan	unknown
Mopti	Bankass	Sokoura		457		602	Ira		13:28:50	3:48:20	tomo kan	unknown
Mopti	Bankass	Sokoura		166		219	Kolonkan	Koro~kan	13:33:20	3:42:50	tomo kan	unknown
Mopti	Bankass	Sokoura		329		433	Koumbouriba		13:33:00	3:44:40	tomo kan	unknown
Mopti	Bankass	Sokoura		901		1187	Mankanou		13:33:20	3:48:10	tomo kan	unknown
Mopti	Bankass	Sokoura		224		295	Te'gue'		13:32:00	3:47:10	tomo kan	unknown
Mopti	Bankass	Sokoura		625		823	Zogara		13:29:20	3:41:25	tomo kan	unknown
Segou	Tominian	Timissa		201		275	Yadoni		13:32:05	4:07:40	tomo kan	unknown
Mopti	Djenne						Kountaraka		13:54:50	4:16:40	tomo kan	unknown
							Ablay	He`be`	13:26:30	3:54:05	tomo kan	unknown
							Antoumadaga		13:27:05	4:04:55	tomo kan	unknown
							Bara		13:49:10	3:39:00	tomo kan	unknown
							Be're'dougou		13:28:00	4:05:00	tomo kan	unknown
							Bounguel	Boinge'	14:09:50	4:06:20	tomo kan	unknown
B. Faso							Daga		13:28:55	3:57:45	tomo kan	unknown
							Diensay		13:32:50	3:40:50	tomo kan	unknown
							Djimindo		13:36:50	3:34:40	tomo kan	unknown
							Doussogou		13:52:20	3:59:10	tomo kan	unknown
							Gani		13:26:30	4:11:25	tomo kan	unknown

					Gouari		13:35:40	3:35:40	tomo kan	unknown
					Kaka				tomo kan	unknown
					Kaladorou		13:52:40	3:36:10	tomo kan	unknown
					Kie'ra	Kiara	14:08:50	4:05:40	tomo kan	unknown
					Kiri	Tiri	13:32:00	4:05:35	tomo kan	unknown
					Ko		13:38:10	3:53:40	tomo kan	unknown
					Kombori		13:26:05	3:56:15	tomo kan	unknown
					Lanfie'ra		13:29:00	3:55:45	tomo kan	unknown
					Logobara		14:02:30	3:40:40	tomo kan	unknown
					Mankina		13:28:20	3:59:40	tomo kan	unknown
					Mansaba		13:55:55	4:15:40	tomo kan	unknown
					Niadara	Ne`ne`daga	13:27:30	4:10:10	tomo kan	unknown
					Niama		13:28:30	3:58:25	tomo kan	unknown
					Oro Kourou Kanda		13:39:50	3:44:10	tomo kan	unknown
					Ouro Mali		14:05:55	4:00:10	tomo kan	unknown
					Pessogou		14:11:10	3:48:40	tomo kan	unknown
					Sanakoro		13:32:45	4:04:20	tomo kan	unknown
					Sango-Tiennde'		14:08:20	3:50:50	tomo kan	unknown
					Sassambare'		13:26:55	3:59:20	tomo kan	unknown
					Sassambare'		13:27:00	3:57:05	tomo kan	unknown
					Se'rida		13:51:40	3:36:40	tomo kan	unknown
B. Faso					Sie'wali		13:21:50	3:52:20	tomo kan	unknown
					Siila				tomo kan	unknown
					Siridaga		13:28:30	4:09:30	tomo kan	unknown
					Somadougou		14:16:10	4:03:40	tomo kan	unknown
					Tasse're'ma		13:54:50	3:39:10	tomo kan	unknown
					Tinani	Tinini	13:33:40	3:39:50	tomo kan	unknown
					Torokouma		13:43:00	3:56:30	tomo kan	unknown
					Toti		14:16:00	3:48:00	tomo kan	unknown
					Wadian	Kodian	13:32:30	4:09:40	tomo kan	unknown
					Wendiana Kanda		13:37:50	3:40:50	tomo kan	unknown

Mohti	Douentza	Boni		61		65	Bandaga		15:04:40	2:13:20	toro tegu	unknown
Mohti	Douentza	Boni		265		284	Dyamaga		15:01:00	2:26:20	toro tegu	unknown
Mohti	Douentza	Boni		134		143	Ela Boni		15:04:30	2:14:30	toro tegu	unknown
Mohti	Douentza	Boni		130		139	Koyo		15:01:40	2:25:20	toro tegu	unknown
Mohti	Douentza	Boni		208		223	Koyo Imla	Iwra	15:04:30	2:11:00	toro tegu	unknown
Mohti	Douentza	Boni					Loro-Younga	Logoro	15:05:50	2:10:50	toro tegu	unknown
Mohti	Douentza	Boni		266		285	Loro Habe'	Lombori	15:05:00	2:10:40	toro tegu	unknown
Mohti	Douentza	Boni					Momni		15:04:30	2:19:30	toro tegu	unknown
Mohti	Douentza	Boni		962		1030	Nemgue'ne		15:01:20	2:25:00	toro tegu	unknown
Mohti	Douentza	Boni		245		262	Piringa		15:06:20	2:09:20	toro tegu	unknown
Mohti	Douentza	Boni		311		333	Tandi		15:00:30	2:26:00	toro tegu	unknown
Mohti	Douentza	Boni		152		163	Youna		15:05:20	2:08:20	toro tegu	unknown
Mohti	Douentza						Tabi		15:01:40	2:02:40	toro tegu	unknown
Mohti	Douentza						Te'ga		15:00:00	2:04:20	toro tegu	unknown
Mohti	Douentza						Toupe're'		15:10:00	2:05:00	toro tegu	unknown
Mohti	Koro	Diankabou		138		160	Anana		14:40:25	3:08:05	yanda dom	unknown
Mohti	Koro	Diankabou		0		0	Diankabou		14:35:00	3:05:00	yanda dom	unknown
Mohti	Koro	Diankabou		471		546	Guine'die'		14:39:10	3:08:40	yanda dom	unknown
Mohti	Koro	Diankabou		161		187	Ogol	Owalpe'pe'	14:39:10	3:09:50	yanda dom	unknown
Mohti	Koro	Diankabou		348		403	Tourougo		14:39:25	3:08:20	yanda dom	unknown
Mohti	Koro	Diankabou		258		299	Yadasongo		14:39:45	3:08:00	yanda dom	unknown
							Ante'	Onggo	14:39:00	3:09:50	yanda dom	unknown
							Omna	Komma	14:39:40	3:10:10	yanda dom	unknown

## Appendix D: Dogon Wordlists

SIL Mali, BP 2232, Bamako, MALI		For full references, please see end of this sheet																
		Compiled Feb-Sept 2003 by: Michael Jemphrey, J Lee Hochstetler, PJ Higby, Richard Margetts																
Source		1 Bertho	2 Bertho	3 Durieux	4 Durieux	5 Durieux	6 Newcomer	7 Kene	8 Newcomer	9 Kene	10 Kene	11 Kene	12 Durieux	13 Durieux	14 Durieux	15 Durieux	16 Durieux yanda dom	17 Durieux
Speech Name		tiranige diga	naga dama	toro tegu from nemguene	toro tegu from iwra	toro tegu from piringua	jamsay from mondoro	jamsay	tegu kan from nombori	tegu kan	togo kan	tomo kan	tomo kan from ségué	tomo kan from timissa	bondum dom from tintam	bangeri me from niana	from tourougou quarter of yanda	tmma so from ningari
English	French	duleri	wakara		dyamsay		tegu kan	tegu	togo	tomo			kindyim					
afternoon	après-midi	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	daaqani	xx	daganu	daganu	dafanu	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
all	tout	xx	xx	ceduŋa	cehunde	cehule	kofu: \ fu	xx	sā: \ wɔijpu: \ pu	xx	xx	kɔfu \ fu:		medindi	neparā	c̄em	kem	
animal	animal	dumɔ	arisogem	xx	xx	xx	arsege	beru \ arasege	arsege	arsege	bye	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
arm	bras	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	numɔ	numɔ \ numokɔ̄ɔ	numɔ	numɔ	numa	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
arrow	flèche	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	tʃim	kem	kē	kenhu	kenhi	con	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
ash	cendre	xx	xx	do:zu	dunzu	dɔ:su	dəwə	xx	dow̄ɛ	xx	xx	d̄ūɛ	d̄v̄ɛ	dore:	b'rentyɛ	d̄w̄ɛ	?undo	
axe	hache	sič	ndɔ	xx	xx	xx	sej	gurɔ	gurɔ	dɔ	gurɔ	dɔ	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
back	dos	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	guŋʃene	cene	dogo \ dogokene	dogo	dogo	dugulo	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
bad	mauvais	xx	xx	dʒenda	dʒenda	dʒena	mɔŋju	mɔŋju	mɔŋju	mɔŋnyu	mɔŋju	mɔdʒu	mɔdʒu	?enda	begā	cugomɔ	siele	
balanzan tree	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
banco	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	legu	xx	osoro	osoro	osoro	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
bark	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	kukow	xx	koko	koko	ku	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
basket	panier	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	tadʒu	taju \ tasu	toguru	toguru	tuuru	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
bean	haricot	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	nun	xx	nin	nin	nyihin	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
beard	barbe	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	beokurʌ	bew	be:	bew	bew	bya	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
bee	abeille	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	nu:karawa	pynkarawa	kɔgɔpereju \ ne	kɔgerenyinyi kɔgɔyuŋu	kɔgɔyuŋu	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
bird	oiseau	nie	ligi	s <sup>h</sup> a <sup>i</sup>	s <sup>h</sup> a <sup>i</sup>	sai	sā:dʒi	saju	sadʒu	saju	saju	sadʒu	sadʒu	ni:	dɔrɔme?	?qan	sada	
bit	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	kawara	xx	kawara	kawara	mu?uru	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
bite	mordre	xx	xx	cera	cera	cera	tʃeru \ tʃera:ra	xx	kere	xx	xx	cara	cara	kera	nore?	ceda \ tidʒakerə		
black	noir	gemyɛ	gemu	dʒem	dʒem	dʒem	dʒem	jem	ḡe	gew	gen	jen	dʒɔ	dʒen	gemū	kipore	dʒeme	gem
blacksmith	forgeron	dubu	ire	xx	xx	xx	jemen	xx	jeme	jeme	jeme	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
blaze	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	nunwɔnene	xx	nyimbila	nyiyembila	nyaiubi	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
blood	sang	geni	gondugo	lim	lij	lij	ne:	nənhi	ne \ ni	ni	nən	nyi	jī	ni: \ ji	geni	dɔndi \ dondi	dʒidʒu	?ile
boat / canoe	piroque	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	farogo,koro	sərugokoro	dikoro	sərugokoro	sərugokoro	sənigokoro	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx
body	corps	go	gesu	xx	xx	xx	didžugudžu	geju	giye?	ge	giye	jiye	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx
bone	os	kini	kinɔ	kina	kira	kira \ kida:kire	kire	kire	kī:	kinrin	kinrin	cile	cile	kinaj	nore	cina	ce	
bow	arc	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	toijŋ	tonhi	kɔmote	tenhu	ten	cen	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx

brother (same father)	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx
brother (same mother)	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx
bush	buisson	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	uu	xx	unu	unu	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx
buttocks	fesse	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	bo:tumə	bətumə	bərəkawara	bərəkan	bərəkawara	bolo	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx
calabash	calebasse	holi	kosu	xx	xx	xx	ka:dʒu	səbəl	kadʒu \ kodʒu	bəlu	bəlu	bəli	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx
cat	chat	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	nini[w]jē	niniwen	dono	dono	dono	dondo	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx
chest	poitrine	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	gɔ̃jə	gɔ̃jə	goŋo	gɔ̃jə	gɔ̃jə	gɔ̃on	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx
chicken	poule	sīdʒya-ye	endʒe-yam	xx	xx	xx	ɛneja:	ɛnye	kogo \ eŋe	kogo	kogo	kugo	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx
child	enfant	xx	xx	?in	ijnteqnu	i	xx	in	xx	in	in	in	?inū	?i	?indi	ia:me?	?ine	?i ?ulum
cloud	nuage	xx	xx	kur <sup>3</sup> wa	k <sup>u</sup> rɔ	kurua	kuruɔ	kuruwɔ	anakumo	korobara	kuruwo	korobara	kolobala	kur <sup>3</sup> karu	kundekunde	poro?	kulbala	kulumu
come	venir	yɔgɔ	yo	jeli	jeri	jeri	jerara	xx	jere	xx	xx	xx	ala	jala	wo	nuima?	wɔ	jəla
cow	vache	na	naghām	xx	xx	xx	na:ŋa	na	najana:	na	na	nahan	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx
cowrie shell	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	cəeru	xx	kɔgɔ	kɔgɔ	kɔlo	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
crocodile	crocodile	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	aija	aya	aje	aye	aye	ɛ	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx
custom	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	atəm	xx	atemu	atemu	landa	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
daughter	fille	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	jɪ:n	nen	ĩ \ nẽi	nyenhin	nyenhin	nyonhin	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx
day	jour	xx	xx	nində	nɔŋdə	nujurɔ	ni	ni	isige:	ni	ni	i?ija	da?adʒi	?igidža	?usu:	nehū	wa	ba <sup>1</sup>
day after tomorrow	après-demain	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	yogodene	xx	yogodenren	yogodenren	yugojene	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
die	mourir	tibe	tibe	nuɔ	nu <sup>o</sup>	nuɔ	nuwara	xx	no: \ nu:	xx	xx	numu	numu	tiba	ia: <sup>u</sup> a <sup>i</sup>	tibe	jimai	
dog	chien	indgyε	nənim	?isi	njenu	ne:nu	idʒū	isu \ iju	isi	isi	uju	?udʒu	?udʒu	ɪgg <sup>w</sup> ε	k <sup>u</sup> reme?	ŋdʒε	?ide	
donkey	âne	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	dʒanduru	jamduru	jonturu	jonduru	jonjuru	jondu	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
drink	boire	jo-bwe	nō	ne	ne	ne	nəwə	xx	no:	xx	xx	nō	nō	nimam	i <sup>ɛ</sup>	n <sup>1</sup> a	nordəm	
ear	oreille	sugunu	sunu	sun:u	suguru	suguru	suŋ	sun	suguru	sugu	suguru	sugu	sugu	sunu	taja	sun	sugulu	
eat	manger	jja	kou	?i	le	le	jii \ kajnī:na	xx	ji: \ ĩ	xx	xx	jiǎ	nja	k <sup>w</sup> enam	dia \ d <sup>1</sup> a	nja	njedəm	
egg	oeuf	xx	xx	t <sup>h</sup> a:ru \ tha:lu	ta:ru	taru	taru	taru	ta	taru	taw	ta	ta <sup>o</sup>	polū	kō	tolu	tal	
eight	huit	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	gaara	gaara	sila	sira	sila	sila	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
eighty	quatre-vingt	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	perugara	suŋ	dəgəsəŋ	pesira	pesila	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
elephant	éléphant	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	dundanja	dundanja	duju \ goŋe	barabo	dunja	balago	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
eleven	onze	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	peruturusaga	perelurusaga	pereturusaga	pereturesaga	peretusoga	pyeletureso?ax	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
else	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	laga	xx	pere	pere	hore	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
eye	oeil	giryē	giro	gire	giro	giro \ giro	girə,ĩ	gire	gire	giri	gire	jirim	dʒirĩ	giro	dʒirĩ \ si <sup>u</sup> ε	dʒidie	giře <sup>i</sup>	
face	visage	giri-umbulu	giro-mbulu	xx	xx	xx	girifana	girepanran	gribana	giribanran	girebanran	jiribala	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
far	loin/lointain	xx	xx	wa:ga	wa:ga	waaga	waga \ di:waga	waga	wage	waga	we? <sup>ε</sup>	ɛ? <sup>ε</sup>	ɛ? <sup>ε</sup>	gana <sup>i</sup> ndu	wadʒu	wagø		



house	maison	giba	undo	xx	xx	xx	uro	uro	gini \ gmu	giren	girin	jina	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx
human being	personne	sodʒo	nu	noninij	nuri in	nonij	inim	inen	n:a \ neŋe	neŋe	nan	nyeʔen	jɛ̃?ɛ	neŋɛ	nu	iueře	?no	?nde
hunter	chasseur	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	danan	danan	dana	dana	suson	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
I	je	xx	xx	mbie	mi:	mi	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	mi:	mi	mi	mi	mi	mi
iron	fer	mɛ-ŋho \ dubéinda	xx	xx	xx	xx	irim	inrejem	ĩ:ri	inrengew	inwinrigèn	inajon	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx
jug	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	daanja	xx	denhu	den	jen	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
junior brother	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	ɔjin	xx	unjon	sugɔ	injan	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
kill	tuer	gɛa	gya	wɔ:	wɔwɔ	wɔ:	woij	xx	dana \ da	xx	xx	xx	dala	da	dʒa	i'yla	dʒa	diale
king	roi/chef	amiru	ambiri	xx	xx	xx	əgoŋ	əgoŋ	əgo	əgoŋ	əgoŋ	əgoŋ	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx
knee	genou	kündʒu-nō	kündʒu	lipɛ	kuanŋgo	kualinje	neŋe	neŋe	juŋənɔ	neŋerekun	neŋerekun	yŋolo	kuba	jungolo	nakindʒu	bu'ɛ kukume	kunzu	juŋulu
knife	couteau	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	siru	siru	sī:nɛ	sin	sin	cinda	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx
know	savoir	xx	xx	zugobera	?ita	?ita	dʒugɔ	xx	tiwije	xx	xx	xx	dʒuga \	dʒuga?	be	ha:so	z"ɔ	del'
large	grand	mba	gawa	xx	xx	xx	dimene \	xx	gara \ mana	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx
leaf	feuille	xx	xx	kurɔ	kɔtɔ	kɔtɔ	ti[w]ékurɔ	kurɔ	kuro	kurɔ	kurɔ	kɔ	kɔʷ	kɔᵘ	komba	pʷāiē	kulɔ \ kula	nyɔ
leather	cuir	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	gudžu	gusu	gudžu	gu	guju	gu	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx
lizard	lézard	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	atſinji	[a]ceeŋj	omi	keju	keju	congu	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx
load	fardeau, charge	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	du \ dududžu	du	da \ duwo	da	duwo	duwa	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx
long	long	xx	xx	guru	guru	guru	guru	xx	guru	xx	xx	gɛbe	gɛbe	dʒala	bende	zala	pala	
mad	fou	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	wejegin /	xx	kekegin	kekegin	cice	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
maize	maïs	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	poronyu	xx	mejereme	manyaranhè majereyunin	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
man	homme	dab-ana	anam	?a:nu	a:nu	?anu	an	an[u]	ãran	an	anran	an	?ă:	ă	?an	g"ɔ	?an \ ?an	?an:a
many	beaucoup/nombreux	xx	xx	halimutulus <sup>i</sup>	mutu	mutu	bɔŋokə \ bɔŋɔ	xx	gara: \ dʒo:	xx	xx	xx	gara	gara	s'en	kipeře	ka <sup>io</sup> nu	ju:l
mat	natte	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	kara	sugɔ	sɔgɔ	sugɔ	sugɔ	suba	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx
means	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	dawuru	xx	dawuru	dawuru	debere	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
meat	viande	nama	nama	na:	navă	na:	nɔwɔ	nɔnwon	nɔ:uwă	nanwan	nanwon	nama	nama	nama	ŋɔ	nama	nama	nama
medicine	médicament	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	loij	xx	dʒoŋu \ lo	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx
monkey	singe	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	ɔ:ntɔ	ɔ:nɔn	ɔmɔnɔ	ɔmɔrɔ	onron	ɔne	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx
moon	lune	enjhani	bwau \ wau	?iwa	?iwa	?iwa	ɛ:	ɛ	ɔ:	ɔ	ɔ	uwa	?^a	?^a	sa'ɛ	vi'ɛ?	s'wa	?iɛ
morning	matin	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	je:dʒe	yeje	a:ga	aaga	aaga	a?a	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx
mortar	mortier	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	ma:na:	mɔna	dogoro	dakoro	dogoro	dujon	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx
mother	mère	ine	de	na	na:	na	na:	na	na:	na	na	na \ na:	nă	ni:	ĩa	ni:	na	
mouse	souris	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	dʒudžɔŋ	ujuwɔ	unkuru	onw	unkuru	oin	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx
mouth	bouche	omo	no	ka	ka:	ka	ka:	ka	kă \ aŋa	kan	kan	kan	kă	kă	?ibii	nō	cenzɛ	ken:e \

name	nom	xx	xx	su: <sup>i</sup>	insun \ injun	isun \ iʃun bən[u]	bon	bo: \ bō \ tige	inrinbon	bon	umbolo	?mbolo	?ini bo	?inin	namani	no?in	bɔ <sup>i</sup>
ape	nuque	xx	xx	xx	xx	goro	goro	goro	goro	goro	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx
neck	cou	mō̄	kərɔ̄	kərɔ̄	kərɔ̄	kərɔ̄	kərɔ̄	kərɔ̄	kərɔ̄	kərɔ̄	kəlɔ̄	kəlɔ̄	mō̄	kʷa	kʷəlɔ̄	?odɔ̄	
night	nuit	xx	xx	ja: <sup>i</sup> ŋa	ja: <sup>i</sup> ŋa	ja: <sup>i</sup> ŋa	da:ga	ja: <sup>i</sup> ŋa \ ja: <sup>i</sup> ŋa	daaga	daaga	da:a	ja: <sup>i</sup> ŋa \ da:a ja: <sup>i</sup> ŋa	jā̄	jihū̄	denda	diga	
nine	neuf	xx	xx	xx	xx	larə[ə]	laruwa	twə	tuwa	tuwa	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
ninety	quatre-vingt-dix	xx	xx	xx	xx	pela:rɔ̄	sunjperu	sujuperu	petuwa	petuwa	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
nose	nez	xx	xx	kʰine	kin̥	cilo	kine	kiren	kinu \ kini	kirin	cini	cini	cini	kindʒaq̄	sumbe	cimza:	
oil	huile	no	ligi	xx	xx	nuij	nuij	nuij \ nuij	nij̄i	nij̄i	nyi	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
one	un	tooma	tuma	turu	turu	turu	turu	ti:	turu	turu	hina	ci:	ci:	toman	ti: <sup>i</sup>	tuma:	
palmaceoe	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	koŋo	xx	koŋo	koŋo	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
panther	panthère	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	nyurɔ̄n	xx	nyuŋɔ̄rɔ̄n	nyuŋɔ̄rɔ̄n	nyɔ̄nɔ̄n	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
peanut	arachide	xx	xx	xx	xx	e:re	ere	e:remuyu \ e:xena:	ere	ere	ele	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
pepper	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	cepel	xx	kepolu	kepolu	ceperi	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
pestle	pilon	xx	xx	xx	xx	ma:t̄i:	motin	dōi \ dā̄i	dahin	dohin	duŋe	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
place	endroit	xx	xx	xx	xx	di \ di:dŋ̄i	din	depu \ npa	nyan	nyan	don	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
rain	pluie	odū-mi	bondi \	?a:na	?a:r̄i	?a:r̄i	ani	anran	anadi	anrun	ele	?ele	?ele	dʒɔ̄	?anju	?ana	
rat	rat	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	guguju	xx	guguju	guguju	guju	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
red	rouge	buni	banū̄	baŋ̄	ban	ban:	ban	bā \ bānu	ban	ban	bā̄	bā̄	banū̄	kibu: <sup>i</sup> ɛ	ban	ban	
rice	riz	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	ara	xx	ara	ara	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
road	route	oyi	osu	xx	xx	ədʒika:	xx	odʒu	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
robe	robe	xx	xx	xx	xx	juruwa	arkoy	arugo \ aruko	arko	arko	arko	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
root	racine	xx	xx	xx	ce:gu	ce:ku	bərakij	bərəceŋ̄	bərədū \ dūdū	bərədu	bələwə	bələwə	ºoº	?ondʒi	d̄ai: <sup>i</sup>	dilu	
saliva	salive	sondi	xx	kamnali	kalu	kalu	jərəni	yərəni	turodi \ kandi	turodi	turenji	t̄rendʒi	turēdʒi	sunde	nɔ̄pə	sunzu	
salt	sel	xx	xx	nɪ:m	neŋ̄	neŋ̄	nem	nem	mē̄:	men	miyen	m̄iɛ̄	m̄iɛ̄:	nəmē	gendʒe \ genje	nim	
sand	sable	xx	xx	?isесумо	?isjobunq̄o	?isyme <sup>i</sup>	sisom	susom	sənə \ səsənə	sonson	sənsənə	sa'aba	sa?aba	sondödö <sup>o</sup>	niime	sənзом	
say	dire	xx	xx	ga	ga	ga	tiga:ra	xx	gim̄u \ git̄je	xx	xx	ho	ho	dama	ŋkane \ ŋka:ne	dama	
scorpion	scorpion	xx	xx	xx	xx	ne:mne	nemme	moi:j̄e	mimtam̄u	memtam̄u	muni	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
see	voir	balie	ŋela \ yim	?ɔ̄	wɔ̄	wɔ̄	eij \ dʒɪrl̄,ɛ:	xx	ɔ̄	xx	q <sup>u</sup> a	dʒere	jenam	s <sup>v</sup> ra	tidʒa \ tədʒajao <sup>m</sup>		
seed	graine	xx	xx	t <sup>h</sup> ou	to:wu	tou	ĩ	in	inəu[m] \ ĩ \ sā̄	in	in	lo?i	ĩ \ i	sie	de?	citoŋ̄o	
senior brother	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	dere	xx	den	den	jiyen	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
seven	sept	xx	xx	xx	xx	sui[j]	sunhi	so	so	so	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
seventy	soixante-dix	xx	xx	xx	xx	persui \ perfui	perusunhi	pe:sɔ̄	peso	peso	pyeso	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
sheep	mouton	amba	perighem	xx	xx	beri	peeju / peesupedžu	peju	peju	peji	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	

short	court	xx	xx	tukɔ <sup>i</sup>	tukei	tukei	gɔij	gonhi	dege	dege	dege	gure	g <sup>u</sup> ɛ	g <sup>v</sup> ɛ	dendū	dogi	dene	dumbu	
side/flank	flanc	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	bene	xx	beregere	beregere	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
six	six	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	kurɔij	kuroy	kuriye	kure	kurey	kule	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
sixty	soixante	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	pef[u]kuruɔij	perukuroi	pelkulije	pekure	pekurey	pyekule	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
sky	ciel	a	yeru	?ar <sup>ə</sup> kumni	ja:ru	jaru	jerimana	yarmana	arahara	arakara	arakara	alankundamb	?alākundābā	?alākundābā	?asənādo	?asəkala	?alakala	?alakala	
slave	esclave	guna	gundam	xx	xx	gu:nun	gunɔn	guno	gunon	gunon	gunanw	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
sleep	dormir	xx	xx	le <sup>i</sup>	le <sup>o</sup>	leo	dʒini	xx	gine	xx	xx	l <sup>u</sup> ere	u <sup>u</sup> ere	n̩i:i	i:ðu:ðo	n̩u	n̩ydom		
small	petit	ky̩e	degū	t <sup>h</sup> edʒe <sup>i</sup>	tejge <sup>i</sup>	tege <sup>i</sup>	teij \ daga	xx	daga \ dagu \	xx	xx	xx	sini \ sisini	bo̩:ri	wonduu	kirame	cimsa <sup>i</sup>	ka:la	
smoke	fumée	kumi	kumbo	kumɔ	kumɔ	kumɔ	kukumo	kukumo	kukumo	kukumo	kukumi	kükumi	kukumi	kumbu	je	kumu \	kumu		
snake	serpent	xx	xx	?isepɔr	?iʃo:ʃe:ssɔ	?iʃofor <sup>u</sup>	luluro	luro	ju:ro	luro	lu?ure	nu?ur?e	jure	si:ndʒala	kerneke?	numzu	jir <sup>e</sup>		
some	quelques	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	gama	xx	gama	gama	gembe	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
someone	quelqu'un	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	inenturu	xx	nejetunɔ	nantunɔ	nyehina	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
sorrow	chagrin	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	manugu	xx	managu	manugu	menegi	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
sow	semier	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	tɔ	xx	le	le	ya	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
spear	lance	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	saru	saru	saru	saru	gaja	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
spider	araignée	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	nɔ:ɾɔda:	nunɔnɔnɔn	nonono	nɔnɔron	nɔnɔron	lɔ:lɔ	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
spirit	esprit	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	hakile	xx	hakile	hakile	ga?alen	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
star	étoile	kolɔnkolɔ	hwa-kɔrɔ	?ã:nsemble	simli \ simbli	?ansimli	toro	toro	toro	toro	toro	tulen	tule	tulẽ	?asikole	tyryeme	sənakelə	tundul <sup>wi</sup>	
stomach	ventre	xx	xx	puru	b <sup>h</sup> e:te	puru	berɛ	xx	bini \ bimu	xx	xx	bindi \ binda	bini \ bindi	kulu	kore \ kore	bede	bərə		
stone	pierre	kini	kuno	t <sup>h</sup> u <sup>w</sup> o	tu <sup>w</sup> o	tuo	tumo	tu: \ tuwɔ	tu	tuwo	tubu	tubu	tubu	kinu	sim <sup>ə</sup> e	cin	tib <sup>e</sup>		
stranger	étranger	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	yerin	xx	yerin	yerin	yoron	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
swim	nager	xx	xx	mugo	mugo	mugo	ni:je	xx	be:me \ we:ne	xx	xx	mugo \ u <sup>u</sup> ana	mugo \ n <sup>u</sup> ana	bandi	?aniwɔre	bugu	dimugu		
tail	queue	xx	xx	dira	dira	dira	duro	duro	duro	duro	jila	dʒila	dʒila	dulɔ	mati	dul <sup>w</sup> ɔ	dulɔ		
ten	dix	pyelu	peru	xx	xx	peru	peru	peru	peru	pye	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
that	ce...là	xx	xx	ntɔ:bazanj <sup>wi</sup>	nde <sup>i</sup> \ bajzə	"denunju	nuŋɔ	xx	jo	xx	xx	cukɔ \	namba	m̩u	kewe	kuba \ ?ajə	jiba		
thief	voleur	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	gugɔiŋ	guguyin	gīgī \ joŋ	gungun	gingin	youn	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
thigh	cuisse	pagha	pagha	xx	xx	xx	digʌnɔ:wɔ	paga / da	paga	paga	paga	paa	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
thing	chose	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	tʃe	kije	ədʒɔ \ edʒe	əjɔ	əjɔ	əjɔ	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
thirteen	treize	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	perutansaga	peeretoomisaperetansaga	peretaanusag	peretoonusa	pyeletaandisaxx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
thirty	trente	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	pe:f[u]ta:n	petaanu	petam	petaanu	petaanu	pyetoondi	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
this	ce...ci	xx	xx	ŋgubaza	ŋgubajzə	wo	nuŋɔ	xx	nuŋɔ \ no:	xx	xx	ŋjkɔ	camba	ŋgu	?ima	bo \ je	nɔnɔ		
thorn	épine	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	duduwo	dudo	giye	jiye	jiye	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx		
three	trois	xx	xx	ta:li	ta:ndi	ta:li	ta:n	taanu	ta:n	taanu	taanu	taandi	ta:ndi \	ta:ndi	ketaro	ietandu \	tand <sup>o</sup>		

today	aujourd'hui	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	idʒe?	ije	ije	ije	ije	iyē	iyē	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx
tomorrow	demain	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	jogo	yogo	jogo	yogo	yogo	yugo	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
tongue	langue	xx	xx	lele	lenda	lēla	nene	nene	nene	nene	nereden	jeredē	leredē \	nemdo	nqñere	nemda	nide \		
tooth	dent	ini	ina	gine	dʒin̩	dino	e:ne	inren	ni \ mu	inrin	inrin	ini	?ini	?inu	nas̩i	?in	?ip \ ?in		
tortoise	tortue	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	akəŋjoro	aku	angūru \	angujuru	ankujuru	waja	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
tree	arbre	ti:i-jo	timō	tʰi:wā	tiva	tivā	ti[w]ē	tiwen	time	time	cuma	cuma	cuma	tim̩	d̩'a	time	time		
twelve	douze	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	peruleijsaga	pereleysaga	perel̩saga	perel̩saga	perel̩saga	pyełel̩sa?̩a	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
twenty	vingt	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	pe:le	pelley	pelij	peloy	peeløy	pyelœ	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
two	deux	nyga	woyi	le <sup>i</sup>	le <sup>i</sup> \ lij	le <sup>i</sup>	leij	ley	loij	loy	loy	lœ	l <sup>u</sup> ɛ <sup>i</sup> \ lo:	l <sup>v</sup> ɛ	nu <sup>i</sup>	jindo	iено:	n:e <sup>i</sup>	
urine	urine	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	susuro	usurɔn	isini	insirin	insirin	injuru	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
village	village	idʒo	iso	xx	xx	xx	ana	ana	ana	ana	ana	anda	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
voice	voix	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	mine	miren	mini	miren	mirin	mina	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
walk	marcher	unu	inō	jejo	jejo	j eo	ja \ jara	xx	jeja:	xx	xx	jeja	ja	?inu	ŋwɔ:wɔre	?un	?odɔ:i		
water	eau	mi	ni	ni	ni	n̩i	ni:	ni	di:	di	di	ji	dʒi	dʒi	ŋge	v̩iɛ	ndʒu	di	
weaver	tisserand	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	surugon	surugon	suruge	surugon	surugon	surugan	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
what	quoi	xx	xx	ŋje	je:	?ese	i:p̩dʒe	inye	in̩ge	ije	ije	yəkɔma	iokɔ: <sup>i</sup>	?əndʒo	jəŋge <sup>i</sup>	ia	kin'ema	pdʒe <sup>i</sup>	
when	quand	xx	xx	jagend <sup>i</sup>	jaga cenda	jaratɔŋ <sup>o</sup>	janjanama	yanjanra	pjanra	yadoguru	yadoguru	yəkɔaji	'a?adʒi \	'a?adʒu	?əŋgisara	nene	?ara	wagad <sup>o</sup>	
where	où	xx	xx	jadʒe	jaga	jaga	jo:lema	yəw	ja	ya	ya	yamba	jnamba <sup>i</sup>	n̩imba	?anij	k'wote	?amba	jaba	
white	blanc	pulye	pilu	piri	piru	p̩iri	piru	piru	piri \ p̩iru	pii	piri	pii	pi	pi:	pylɔŋ	kisim̩	p̩le	pił̩	
who	qui	xx	xx	ŋa <sup>i</sup>	?a'e	?ae	ileijma	xx	a:	xx	xx	o:	o:	?am	ia	?am	?ajn		
wind	vent	injine	usunō	?ozo	unsu	?ɔ:su	ɔ:ŋjɔ	onyo	o:ŋo \ o:ndʒu	onye	onye	ejere	?edʒere	?edʒere	?enanu	pe <u>u</u> ere	?mnj	?od <u>u</u> r <sup>u</sup>	
wing	aile	xx	xx	dʒete	dʒeta	dʒeta	gamju	gamja	gqna	ganya	ganya	ganja	kandʒa	gandʒa	karakara	ko	kakada	kar <sup>o</sup> kar <sup>o</sup>	
work	travail	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	bire	bire	wana \ bire	wana	bire	wana	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
yesterday	hier	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	ja:	yaa	ja:	yaa	yaa	yaa	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
you	xx	xx	xx	?uje	?u:w	?u	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	?a	?ali	?o	?au	?ɔ	?u		

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Wordlists used by permission (derived from Gérard Galtier's 1974 lists plus three of unstated origin).

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Wordlists collected in 1998 and reproduced here by permission. \*Tomm-so wordlist from dimbily is not in thesis.

18 Durieux	19 Durieux	20 Kene	21 Newcomer	22 Durieux	23 Kene	24 Newcomer	25 Durieux	26 Kene	27 Durieux	28 Kene	29 Calame	30 Durieux	31 Kene	32 Kene	33 Newcomer	34 Durieux	35 Durieux	36 Durieux	37 Durieux
təməm sə from pirō wazouba təməm sə from dimbily təməm sə from sougoudonou dogulu dom from bandiagara donno sə from bandiagara donno sə from sangha mission tərə səs from sangha mombo from bandiouogou mombo mombo from kori mombo from makou miombo from danga ampari from baboye ampari from ampari from pahandaga																			
xx	xx	digənam	xx	tomoso	dəgulusa	donoso	donno	torobom	pıjnari	kəlu sə	kolum								
kē <sup>u</sup>	cē <sup>u</sup>	xx	xx	fu	dəndiga	xx	xx	digenan	xx	digenanhı	xx	xx	dendamu	daademon	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx
xx	xx	bəlu	xx	xx	bəlugu	nama	kojawe	xx	fu: \ pu:	xx	xx	sele	xx	xx	sele	səpɔ̄ <sup>i</sup>	sau	sa <sup>o</sup>	kemene
xx	xx	numɔ̄	xx	xx	numɔ̄	numɔ̄	xx	numɔ̄	xx	nonɔ̄n	xx	xx	nuwen	nuwen	n[uw]e	xx	xx	xx	xx
xx	xx	kem	xx	xx	kem	kejŋ	xx	kem	xx	kenhu	xx	xx	kem	kem	tō̄fə	xx	xx	xx	xx
?undɔ̄?	?undɔ̄	xx	xx	dɔ̄:	xx	undo	?unjɔ̄	xx	?unɔ̄	xx	xx	d̄ēe	xx	xx	dwe[ij]	dɔ̄ <sup>i</sup>	d̄ɔ̄ <sup>i</sup>	dɔ̄ <sup>i</sup>	d̄ɔ̄ <sup>i</sup>
xx	xx	gulɔ̄	xx	xx	gulɔ̄gu	gulɔ̄,ana \	xx	gulɔ̄	xx	guro	xx	xx	gulɔ̄	gula	gula	xx	xx	xx	xx
xx	xx	onnu	xx	xx	ndəŋ	onu	xx	unnu	xx	onu	xx	xx	tundu	tundu	tundu	xx	xx	xx	xx
sīele \	jamal	sala \ padie	xx	dʒəno:bonu	ngellemboni pa:de	genew:əlo \	paze	?esəla \ mɔ̄nu monnyu	xx	pɔ̄londa	polɔ̄oli	xx	mɔ̄li	polɔ̄li	jedeguno	dʒerɔ̄ru	dʒururu		
xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx
xx	xx	njumu	xx	xx	sogu	xx	xx	imini	xx	imji	xx	xx	əgo	əgo	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx
xx	xx	kobu	xx	xx	kəmbulu	xx	xx	kombe	xx	kobu	xx	xx	kombolie	diabe	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx
xx	xx	tadu	xx	xx	tasiki	tadu	xx	tazu	xx	taju	xx	xx	taji	tonguni	tonggoni	xx	xx	xx	xx
xx	xx	numu	xx	xx	numu	xx	xx	num	xx	nun	xx	xx	numuge	nunge	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx
xx	xx	be	be \ bekulo	xx	bekiŋeļe	be	xx	be	xx	be	xx	xx	dəmunjəkule	bekule	be:kule:	xx	xx	xx	xx
xx	xx	nyenhi	xx	xx	omono	peŋ	xx	nyem	xx	nyenhi	xx	xx	ənbəgənə	omənə	əmboguna	xx	xx	xx	xx
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dʒem <sup>u</sup>	dʒem	gem	xx	dʒemə̄	gemmeŋ	gē̄	dʒem	gem	dʒē̄	genw	geu	̄ɔ̄rdə	yoreja	weruole	wedade	kolo	koro	koro	koro
xx	xx	jemmenē	xx	xx	irin	xx	xx	irine	xx	irine	xx	xx	dembe	dembe	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx
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kie	kie	kie	xx	cənaŋ	kenengu	kei[j]	ce	kee	ki:	kii	ki:	gɔ̄we \ qɔ̄:we \	gwin	namaganwegə:we:	gɔ̄ge	gawa	gawa	ga <sup>u</sup> a	
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nō	nō	xx	xx	na	xx	dʒino	nō	xx	nō	xx	nō	nā	xx	ənɔ:gə	na	n <sup>u</sup> a	n <sup>u</sup> a	n <sup>o</sup> a		
sugul	sugulu	sugulu	sugur <sup>l</sup>	sujunu \ su	sugulu	sugulu	suguru	suguru	suguru	sugule	sugule	sugulije	sugule	suguru	suguru	suguru				
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xx	xx	waluwalne	xx	xx	g̥olug̥olu	xx	xx	waluwal	xx	waruwara	xx	xx	kubɔkubi	kubɔkube	xx	xx	xx	xx	
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ga:le? \	ga:le <sup>i</sup>	xx	xx	dage:g <sup>o</sup> bo	xx	ga:leij	daj <sup>i</sup>	xx	ga:l̥a \ ge <sup>i</sup> le	xx	xx	sebalo	xx	xx	deja:bo	k̥idi	k̥edən̥i	k̥ite:p̥i	bɔrui
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jan̥ \	jan̥	nyan̥	xx	gogo	gogo	jan̥	njan̥	nyan̥	jna:ū	yanhu	yau	dʒen̥i	geni	jeni	dʒimi	dʒeni	genε	genε	genε
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n <sup>y</sup> ɛ \ n <sup>i</sup> ɛ	timen <sup>y</sup> ɛ	nyuron	xx	kəmkəmbe	kube	timenujo	nuijo \ nuijo	nuijo	kuro	liye	xx	kube	kōbe	kube	kōbe	koə	koə	koə	
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palago	pala	xx	džalanj	xx	pala	pala	xx	papara	xx	golo	xx	xx	gulija:bo	golodža	jem <sup>u</sup> ém <sup>u</sup> ɛ	mǎŋš	mǎjɛ		
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dʒol <sup>u</sup>	ga:ga	xx	džinebo	xx	ga	gazu	xx	gai	xx	xx	dʒ <sup>æ</sup> a:	xx	xx	dʒa:mba \	d <sup>u</sup> a:	dʒo	dʒo	bo	
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bu <sup>u</sup> wo	bɔ <sup>e</sup>	boy	xx	?inu	inoo	bɔij	bo <sup>i</sup>	boy	bo <sup>i</sup>	boy	boy	?un <sup>u?</sup>	unu	ini	ini	?unu	jini	?ini	?ini
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?ədə?	?ədə	kələkələ	xx	mə:g <sup>u</sup>	məgu	kə:ləkə:lə	kələkələ	kələkələ kəkərə \	kəkərə	xx	paro	paru	paru	paro?	pado?	p <sup>h</sup> ado	pato		
<sup>i</sup> aŋa	dige	dige	xx	jaga	yaga	jaya	jaya	diiga	dige	dige	yaya	do	do	don	do[w]o	dogo	dondo	d <u>u</u> :nu	dondo
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xx	xx	perende	xx	xx	keperu	xx	xx	keberu	xx	kepel	xx	xx	keperi	keperi	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx
xx	xx	kuy	xx	xx	kumeigu	doi \ do:na, i	xx	donai	xx	kuimai	xx	xx	dowe	xx	dɔ:[w]ě	xx	xx	xx	xx
xx	xx	yalu	xx	xx	yalu	jal	xx	yalu	xx	denhi	xx	xx	genhu	genhu	dʒe:	xx	xx	xx	xx
?ana di	?ana	ana	xx	?ala	ala	ana	?ana	ana	?ānā	anran	xx	kuma:ŋga	kumanga	kəməŋgamī	k <sup>u</sup> ma:ŋga	birəŋə	b̥i:ŋə mi	biŋəŋə	
xx	xx	gudugudu	xx	xx	guzuguzu	xx	xx	guzuguz	xx	guguyu	xx	xx	debuguju	gujuguju	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx
ban <sup>?</sup>	ban	banu	xx	ban <sup>u</sup>	banu	ban	banə	banu	banu	banru	banu	bə:mə	bombia	buni	bunu	bə:mbe	jebə:mbe	jabə:mə	bə:mbe
xx	xx	ara	xx	xx	ara	xx	xx	ara	xx	ara	xx	xx	ere	ere	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx
xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	odu	xx	xx	xx	xx	odu	xx	xx	xx	odi	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx
xx	xx	səwynamə	xx	xx	wasila	argejpaj	xx	argey	xx	argoy	xx	xx	sɔi	sɔi	swebāij	xx	xx	xx	xx
wil <sup>?</sup>	vil	welu	xx	kaso	kaso	timedundu	kazi	kadu	bərədʒu	du	xx	dulu	dulu	dundun	dundun	dulu	kadʒi	duru	duru
julə?	ylə	yulə	xx	dondʒe	donje	dondʒi	dʒəŋdʒi	donji	jugudža \	yuguja	xx	səndʒi	sonji	sonji	səndje	səndʒi	səndʒomi	sosomi	
nem <sup>u?</sup>	nə:m	nem	xx	ŋemu	nemu	nem	n̥in	nem	ne:u	nenhu	xx	ne:u	nemu	nemu	ne:o	ne:u	mendʒe	mendʒe	mese
səl <sup>u</sup> mo	səl <sup>u</sup> mo	sələmu	xx	sənə:	sənəizilogu	sələmeij	sələmə:	sələmə	səsəŋ	sonsonhu	xx	səinda	səinda	səinda	nuso <sup>i</sup>	sobugare	sobugari	sobogari	
gegedi	taga \ səo	xx	xx	gina	xx	ge \ sojə	ge	xx	taga	xx	taga \gi	dama	xx	xx	gunəŋə	dama?	pora	pora	pora
xx	xx	momie	xx	xx	bombo	momeij	xx	mome	xx	monyonho	xx	xx	numuma	nunu	nunu	xx	xx	xx	xx
jegeda	i:ende?	xx	xx	wula	xx	dʒende \ wa	wa	xx	jene	xx	ie	sem <sup>u</sup>	xx	xx	malijego	s <sup>i</sup> em <sup>u</sup>	jina	manda	mata
tou	?i: \ nɪŋdʒil i	xx	xx	?endʒe	endien	ju:,i \	xx	i	toj	i	xx	nugudes:e	se	se	se	s <sup>i</sup> e	jes <i>en</i> ji	segina	j <sup>f</sup> eni
xx	xx	dele	derekanda	xx	dele	xx	xx	dele	xx	dere	xx	xx	de	de	de	xx	xx	xx	xx
xx	xx	soy	soi	xx	sɔi	sɔj	xx	sɔy	xx	sɔy	sɔy	xx	sɔli	sɔli	sɔli	xx	xx	xx	xx
xx	xx	pesoy	pelsoi	xx	pesoi	pelsoij	xx	pesoy	xx	pesoy	pelusoy	xx	talumasugəp	singipeluol	smŋipelu, ulija	xx	xx	xx	xx
xx	xx	pedu	xx	xx	pezugu	pedija \ pedu	xx	pezu	xx	peju	xx	xx	damna	anna	a:najɔ:	xx	xx	xx	xx

dumbugodumbi	dumbu	xx	deno	dенно	dene	dumbu	dumbu	dumi:	dumu	xx	dunguru	dunguru	də̄junta	dungulijabo	dungudu	jedejidenji	deju	deni \	
xx	xx	pumbum	xx	xx	yelə	xx	yelə	xx	bene	xx	xx	bendə̄lə	bendole	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
xx	xx	kuloy	kulei	xx	kulei	kule	xx	kulei	xx	kuroi	kuloy	xx	kulei	kuleij	xx	xx	xx	xx	
xx	xx	pəlkuley	pəlkulei	xx	pəlkuloi	pəlkuleij	xx	pəlkulexx	pəlkuroy pəlkulox	pəlkuroy pəlkulox	talumasəgo	pəlkulə	pəlkuleij	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
?alakala?	?alagala	alakala	xx	?algulu	aligilu	aligi	?aligilu\	aligilu	?alagala	arakara	xx	?amana kumbə	amanakolo	amanakolo adankolo	?amana	?agara	b̄īrə̄jə̄	?ə̄rə̄	
xx	xx	gunə̄nə̄	xx	xx	gunn	gun,nə̄nə̄ \	xx	gunə̄nə̄	xx	gunə̄nə̄	xx	xx	gunda	gunda	xx	xx	xx	xx	
jeje	jej <sup>e</sup>	xx	xx	nojo	xx	giri	jeije	xx	ḡīrje	xx	giruye	nojo	xx	nə̄riŋge	nojo	?endo	?eno	?endo	
gale <sup>i</sup>	ga:le \ dagi	xx	xx	da:geg <sup>ə</sup> bo	xx	daij	?uzi	xx	?usi	xx	xx	ŋkale	xx	xx	dedʒa:bə̄	?enkalie	jekedende	kedeni	bə̄ruū
kum:o?	kum:o	kummo	xx	kum:e	kumu	kumo	kum:o	kuk:umu	kukumu	xx	kumbe	kumbe	kumbu	kumbe	kumbe	kumbe	kumbe	kumbe	
jire	jire	yire	xx	nemesegu	n	juguru	ju:guru	yuguru	yugulu	yuguru	yuguru	nombodʒi	n	num	nə̄məndʒi	nə̄məndʒi	naŋka	nukʷa	
xx	xx	gambe	xx	xx	gamble	xx	xx	gambam	xx	gama	xx	xx	ntaana	gamge	xx	xx	xx	xx	
xx	xx	indetumə̄	xx	xx	notə̄mə̄	xx	xx	indetu	xx	ineturu	xx	xx	ntato	indatangu	xx	xx	xx	xx	
xx	xx	adabu \ tenhi	xx	xx	tagse	xx	xx	mandug	xx	nimiji	xx	xx	naale	naale	xx	xx	xx	xx	
xx	xx	tə̄	xx	xx	toi	xx	xx	tə̄	xx	to	xx	xx	tomu	toi	xx	xx	xx	xx	
xx	xx	wara	xx	xx	wara	wara	xx	wara	xx	saru	xx	xx	sabie	saabi	sabije	xx	xx	xx	
xx	xx	jajaa	xx	xx	naala	na:nu	xx	nanu	xx	jijan	xx	xx	nala	nana	marangjegjedit	xx	xx	xx	
xx	xx	hakile	xx	xx	hakile	xx	xx	hakile	xx	hakile	xx	xx	hakile	hakile	xx	xx	xx	xx	
tondolo	tondolo <sup>i</sup>	tondolo	xx	tolo	tolo	to:li	tolu	tolo	tolo	toro	xx	?odžegelə	xx	ank	namankə̄lə̄	?odžegelə \ j̄'enkaranjk j̄'ekeneke īyekoneko			
bere?	bere	xx	xx	berə̄	xx	kə̄lə̄ \	berebere \	xx	bere	xx	bere	pidʒo	xx	xx	pidi	panga	gʷoe	cχʷe	kʷe
dumbə̄?	dumbə̄	dumbə̄y	xx	kinu <sup>ə̄</sup>	kin	tibu	tibu	tibu	cibu	tibu	tibu	cini	kiniwe	kini	kini	ʔena	kini	dondi	
xx	xx	yonjun	xx	xx	bemme	xx	xx	wonjun	xx	binba	xx	xx	bemba	binba	xx	xx	xx	xx	
bupə̄	mug <sup>ə̄</sup>	xx	xx	bə̄pə̄ \ bə̄pə̄ja	xx	muge:du	wen:ə̄	xx	bania	xx	xx	wanda	xx	xx	wendə̄go	wanda	wanda	wana: ūanda	
dulə̄?	dulə̄	dulə̄	xx	dulə̄	dulə̄	dulə̄	dulə̄	dulə̄	dulə̄	dulə̄	dilə̄	dilə̄	dulə̄	dulə̄	dilə̄	dilə̄	dilə̄	dilə̄	
xx	xx	pēlu	pēl	xx	pēlu	pēl	xx	pēlu	xx	peru	pēlu	xx	pēelu	pēlu	pēlu	pēlu	xx	xx	
jiba	ni:mbə̄?	xx	xx	?na	xx	kɔ̄nə̄ \ nə̄go	ngɔ̄na	xx	kɔ̄	xx	xx	?enda	xx	xx	mbɔ̄nə̄u	?imba?	na	nə̄ñ	
xx	xx	guguyne	xx	xx	guŋguŋgu	gege:ne	xx	gege:ne	xx	guguyne	xx	xx	gui	gionga	dʒiŋga	xx	xx	xx	
xx	xx	paga	xx	xx	paga	kubopaga	xx	paga	xx	paga	xx	xx	peŋjele	peŋjele	peŋjele	xx	xx	xx	
xx	xx	kide	xx	xx	go	kide	xx	kize	xx	kije	xx	xx	xx	xx	je:	xx	xx	xx	
xx	xx	pəlutaandugesige	pəlgo:tādugo:sigo	xx	pəlutaandisig	pəltandusige	xx	pəlutaan	xx	pəlutaandus	xx	xx	pəlutaandisu	pəlutaandus	pəlutaandisug	xx	xx	xx	
xx	xx	peraandu	perə̄du \ petə̄du	xx	perandu	pe:randu	xx	perandu	xx	petaanu	pəluta:n	xx	tampə̄nə̄	petandi	peta:ndu	xx	xx	xx	
nə̄	nə̄:mbə̄?	xx	xx	?ogu	xx	nə̄go?	nə̄go	xx	?ɔ̄	xx	xx	ni	xx	xx	mbə̄ge	nu	?ā	naŋgo	
xx	xx	jie	xx	xx	geegu	ge:i[j]	xx	jee	xx	jiji	xx	xx	xx	xx	dʒo[u]	xx	xx	xx	
ta:nd <sup>ə̄</sup>	ta:ndu	taandu	tādu	ta:nd <sup>u</sup>	taandu	ta:ndu	ta:ndu	ta:ndu	ta:nu	taanu	ta:nu	ta:nd <sup>i</sup>	taandu	taandu	ta:ndi	ta:ndi	tā:ndi	tā:ti	

xx	xx	iye	xx	xx	iye	iye	xx	iye	xx	iye	xx	iye	xx	njo	yo	ijo	xx	xx	xx	xx
xx	xx	yogo	xx	xx	eeni	jo:go	xx	yogo	xx	yogo	xx	yogo	xx	øga	øga	øgo	xx	xx	xx	xx
ninde	ninde	ninde	xx	nenda \	nenda	nende	nende	nene	nine	nine	nine	nine	nine	nemude	nende	nende	nëte	?ent <sup>i</sup> e	?ëse	?ence
?in <sup>u</sup> ?	?ini	inu	xx	?inu	ino	inu	?inu	inu	t <sup>h</sup> on <sup>o</sup>	tunru	tonu	?ini	ini	ini	ini	?inisie	kenda	ken:a	kenda	
xx	xx	kire	xx	xx	kire	angunguru	xx	angungu	xx	angunguru	xx	angunguru	xx	gun	gun	gunkababe \	xx	xx	xx	xx
time \	time	time	xx	kijun <sup>ö</sup>	ki	time	tim:e	timme	timu	timhu	timu	cindigo	tindig	tinig <sup>o</sup>	tinig <sup>o</sup>	tindug <sup>o</sup>	tirijg <sup>o</sup>	cynk <sup>o</sup>	cink <sup>o</sup>	
xx	xx	pelugeneysige	pelgo'neigo'sigo'	xx	peluneigesig	pel,leisige	xx	peluleys	xx	perileysige	xx	pelunegasug	pelunegasu	pelunenjgasugo	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx	
xx	xx	peneiy	xx	xx	peneigu	pe:ne	xx	peni	xx	peley	peluley	xx	peeninga	peninga	penenjga	xx	xx	xx	xx	
ne <sup>i</sup>	ne <sup>i</sup>	ney	nei	ne:go	neigo	le	le: <sup>i</sup> \ le <sup>i</sup>	lei	le <sup>i</sup>	ley	ley	ne:nja	nega	nega	ne:jga	ne:ga	?ë:jga	?e:jga	?ri:ka	
xx	xx	injari	xx	xx	njaa	indʒa:re	xx	injari	xx	isaru	xx	xx	mɔnji	mɔnji	mɔ:ndʒi	xx	xx	xx	xx	
xx	xx	damma	xx	xx	poroo	anda	xx	anda	xx	ana	xx	xx	dugu	dugu	dugu	xx	xx	xx	xx	
xx	xx	mie	xx	xx	domu	me:	xx	mee	xx	mii	xx	xx	nɔlɔ	nɔlɔ	nɔlɔ	xx	xx	xx	xx	
?odo <sup>i</sup>	^a:	xx	xx	?inu	xx	jede	jeze	xx	jɔ: <sup>i</sup> ja	xx	xx	?unu	xx	xx	unugo	?unu	nara	nara	nara	
di	di	di	xx	?njə	nje	di	di	di	dʒi:	di	di:	m̩i:	mi	mi	m̩i	mi	mi	mi	mi	
xx	xx	gedetine	xx	xx	geditine	xx	geditine	xx	gezutey	xx	sɔ:itiyene	xx	xx	xx	xx	gjedtiiu	xx	xx	xx	
?ndʒe <sup>i</sup> \	?ndʒe	inje	xx	?ŋgoni	ngoj	ndʒe	ndʒə	inje	ndʒe <sup>i</sup>	inje	xx	"dʒege	nge	xx	indʒeje	ŋgesie	?ingewe	?indʒo	?indʒe	
ba'a:na	wariana	yaana	xx	?a:na	aguwarin	warajogo	jouna	yɔ:godog	warunge <sup>i</sup> \	yanran	xx	manan <sup>ga</sup>	menuwari	wagurumanmanan <sup>ga</sup>	wanale \	?iŋge	wana	?u:anati		
jaba <sup>i</sup>	jaba:	yaba	xx	?aŋa	aŋa	jogora	jɔ:gora \ jɛ:rayɔ:gora	jago	yago	xx	mape	ma	ma	manda	wole	ūa:ūy	womb <sup>o</sup>	ūa:u		
pyl	pil	pilu	xx	pila \ pilā	pilan	pilu	pilu	piru \ pilu	piru	pilu	sima	tombia	sima	tombo	tombo	jetombo	tom:o	tombo		
?ai	?a:	xx	xx	?ami	xx	aŋŋ	?a	xx	?a	xx	?a <sup>i</sup>	xx	xx	aij	?a <sup>i</sup>	wa	waw	?oa		
?odolo	?odolo	odoro	xx	?en:aj	eniiej	dʒe:de	ge:ze	ieʒe	?oŋɔ:	onyo	xx	?e:le:le	yale	yale	jale	^ale?	?er:e	?erere	?ereri	
karkar	karkar <sup>o</sup>	karkar	xx	gamb <sup>o</sup> ruj	gamburun	gambulu	gamburu	gambur	gam <sup>u</sup> zu	gamuru	xx	gumbegumbe	gube	gube	karakara	pere	ga:nda	ga:nta	ganta	
xx	xx	bire	xx	xx	walu	walu	xx	walu	xx	bire	xx	xx	kanhi	wale	wale	xx	xx	xx	xx	
xx	xx	ya	xx	xx	nija	ja	xx	yaa	xx	yaa	xx	xx	yaago	yaago	ja:gu	xx	xx	xx	xx	
?u	?u	xx	xx	?o	xx	xx	?u	xx	?u	xx	?o	xx	xx	?o	xx	?o	xx	?o		

## Kéné

Kéné, Alphonse. *Some aspects of Dogon standardization. A comparative lexicostatistic study of ten (10) dialects of the Dogon language* .

Mémoire de fin d'études. Bamako: E.N.Sup. pp. 26 + 2 maps + 6 pgs wordlists.

Wordlists used by permission (derived from Gérard Galtier's 1974 lists plus three of unstated origin).

	<b>Kene-1 torobom</b>	<b>Kene-2 donno</b>	<b>Kene-3 tonbo</b>	<b>Kene-4 jamsay</b>	<b>Kene-5 teju</b>	<b>Kene-6 togo</b>	<b>Kene-7 tomo</b>	<b>Kene-8 kəlu sə</b>	<b>Kene-9 dəgulusə</b>	<b>Kene-10 pignari</b>
<b>Page 1</b>										
1 animal	arsege	bəlu	bəlu	arsege	arsege	arsege	bye	bəlu	bəlugu	bəluge
2 arrow	kenhu	kem	kem	kenhu	kenhi	con	kem	kem	kem	kem
3 axe	guro	gulə	gulə	guro	də	guro	də	gula	guləgu	gulə
4 leather	guju	guzu	gudu	gusu	gu	guju	gu	gudu	guzugu	guju
5 basket	taju	tazu	tadu	taju \ tasu	toguru	toguru	tuuru	tonguni	tasiki	taji
6 bee	nyenhi	nyem	nyenhi	pynkaruwa	kəgerenyinyi	kəgøyunu	kəgøyunu	omono	omono	ənbəgənə
7 bird	sasa	saza	sada	saju	saju	saju	saju	inei	ineigu	nije
8 bow	to	to	to	tonhi	tenhu	ten	cen	ton	to	tən
9 boat / canoe	sərugəkoro	sərugəkoro	sərugəgumə	sərugəkoro	sərugəkoro	sərugəkoro	sənigəkoro	kin	koro	kin
10 cat	gama	gamma	gamma	niniwən	dono	dono	dondo	ganwən	gaŋu	ga
11 chicken	εnye	enje	enje	εnye	kogo	kogo	kugo	sija	əllə	sijiga
12 king	ənəgə	ənəgə	ənəgə	ənən	ənən	ənən	ənən	ənən	əgnə	əgnə
13 child	i	i	i	in	in	in	in	we	egu	we
14 cow	na	na	naa	na	na	na	nahan	na	nagu	naa
15 crocodile	anyonw	agem	ajiem	aya	aye	aye	ɛ	kamana	amia	kambagana
16 beard	be	be	be	bew	bew	bew	bya	bekule	bekiŋele	dəmunjəkule
17 stranger	binba	wonjun	yonjun	yerin	yerin	yerin	yoron	binba	bemme	bemba
18 day	bai	bai	bai	ni	ni	ni	i?ija	deni	denu	deni
19 dog	iji	izi	ize \ ide	isu \ iju	isi	isi	uju	inje	uŋən	nke
20 elephant	xx	xx	gonhen	dunḍaŋa	barabo	duŋa	balago	nige	nige	nige
21 frog	εŋere	εŋele	εŋele	εŋere	εŋere	εŋere	wəlekuŋju	oŋne	bəbu	oŋne
22 fish	iju	izu	isu	isu	kəgerə	kəgərə	kəle	kəgule	isigu	kəgule
23 jug	toroy	dem	tondo	daaŋa	denhu	den	jen	ɔjə	ndiŋ	ənhi
24 fly (n.)	yējerēn	yējēle	yējēle	nyujem	niŋidəgə	nyujudəgə	nolndə?ə	giine	gəjənə	giina
25 goat	ənren	əne	əne	beru	ənren	ənren	ge	una	ina	una
26 calabash	bəlu	boliri	kəməbogu	səbəl	bəlu	bəlu	boli	boliri	kəməgu	tumbə
27 hill	koko	koko	koekoe	tərətumbo	gomu	koko	sənəŋə	pəge	pegulo	səŋəŋ
28 hole	lolu	lolu	nolu	ənrən	təju	loru	tonguola	kəmbo	eenij	gəle
29 hole (indepth)	bono	bondo	bondo	unrun	unrun	unrun	tongu	əndən	ondən	wele

30 house	ginru	gine	gine	uro	giren	girin	jina	debu	mbumu	debu
31 knife	poru	polu	polu	siru	sin	sin	cinda	tala	polugu	tola
32 panther	yunron	yuno	tarasəgələ	nyurən	nyuŋərən	nyuŋərən	nyuŋərən	dəluga	dəlugu	kəmbə
33 lizard	genhu	gem	gem	[a]ceeŋ	keŋu	keŋu	congu	gongu	gemu	gongu
34 load	də	dende	duyə	du	da	duwə	duwa	duende	duanda	duere
35 mad	wejegin	wezeweze	wezeweze	wejegin / wesegi	kekegin	kekegin	cice	keege	wezige	keege
36 man	aine	anana	anna	an[u]	an	anran	an	wala	ana	wala

**Page 2**

37 peanut	eriyə	ɛlə	ɛlekələ	ɛrə	ɛrə	ɛrə	ɛlə	xx	xx	xx
38 monkey	onron	ɔmənɔ	ɔmənɔ	ɔnron	ɔmərɔ	onron	ɔnə	omono	xx	ombolo
39 maize	sanremə	samaemə	samaemə	poronyu	mejəremə	manyaranhemə	majəreyunin	duluma	samuyogo	dilima
40 mortar	kuina	dona	kuna	məna	dakoro	dogoro	dujon	xx	kunnun	xx
41 night	dige	diiga	dige	daaga	daaga	daaga	da?a	don	yaga	do
42 palmaceoe	kojo	sim	simu	kooŋo	koŋo	koŋo	koŋo	simu	sim	sinhu
43 path	oju	ozu	odu / osu	odu / osu	oju	oju	oju	odu	ozugu	eju
44 pestle	kuimai	donai	kuy	mətin	dahin	dohin	dunje	xx	kumeigu	dowe
45 human being	ine	inde	inde	inen	neŋe	nan	nye?en	nda	noo	nta
46 bit	kabara	kabala	kabulu	kawara	kawara	kawara	mu?uru	kabile	kabulu	dumbule
47 place	denhi	yalu	yalu	din	nyan	nyan	don	genhu	yalu	genhu
48 mouse	aiguru	ay	ay	ujuwə	onw	unkuru	oin	swa	gee	swa
49 hunter	danana	danana	andolnə	danan	dana	dana	suson	daana	daana	daana
50 rat	guguyu	guzuguzu	gudugudu	guguju	guguju	guguju	guju	gugujuju	guzuguzu	debuguju
51 scorpion	monyonho	mome	momie	nemme	mimtamu	memtamu	muni	nunu	bombo	numuma
52 sheep	peju	pezu	pedu	peeju / peesu	peju	peju	peji	anna	pezugu	damna
53 slave	gunɔnɔ	gunɔnɔ	gunɔnɔ	gunɔn	gunon	gunon	gunanw	gunda	gunn	gunda
54 snake	yuguru	yuguru	yire	luro	luro	luro	lu?ure	num	n	n
55 spear	saru	wara	wara	saru	saru	saru	gaja	saabi	wara	sabie
56 spider	jijan	nanu	jajaa	nunɔnɔn	nɔnɔron	nɔnɔron	lələ	nana	naala	nala
57 mat	yən	yεŋε	unjo	sugə	sugə	sugə	suba	bingo	niigu	bingo
58 weaver	soitiyene	gɛʒuteyne	gedetine	surugən	surugon	surugon	surugan	xx	xx	xx
59 spirit	hakile	hakile	hakile	hakile	hakile	hakile	ga?alen	hakile	hakile	hakile
60 star	toro	tolo	tondolo	toro	toro	toro	tulen	ank	tolo	xx
61 stone	tibu	tibu	dumboy	tumo	tu	tuwo	tubu	kini	kin	kiniwe
62 custom	atemu	atembu	atembu	atem	atemu	atemu	landa	xx	xx	xx

63	thing	kijɛ	kize	kide	kijɛ	ɔjɔ	ɔjɔ	ɔjɔ	xx	go	xx
64	thorn	jiji	jee	jie	dudo	jiye	jiye	jiye	xx	geegu	xx
65	tortoise	angunguru	angunguru	kire	aku	angujuru	ankujuru	waja	gun	kire	gun
66	village	ana	anda	damma	ana	ana	ana	anda	dugu	poroo	dugu
67	tree	tinhu	timme	time	tiwen	time	time	cuma	tinigo	ki	tindig

74 moon	iye	ugo	iye	ε	ɔ	ɔ	uwa	wε	wɔ:gu	wε
75 sky	arakara	aligilu	alakala	yarmana	arakara	arakara	alankundamba	amanakolo	aligilu	amanakolo
76 ashes	uno	undo	undo	donyon	donyen	dɔnyen	duwen	duε	də	dwe
77 balanzan	seŋe	seŋe	seŋe	seŋe	kunɔ	seŋe	kunhini	kunu	seenge	kumu
78 thief	guguyne	gɛgenɛ	guguyne	guguyin	gungun	gingin	youn	gionga	guŋguŋgu	gui
79 robe	argoy	argey	sɔwynamɔ	arkoy	arko	arko	korobara	soi	wasila	soi
80 cloud	kurumɔ	kulumɔ	kulumɔ	kuwuɔ	korobara	kuwo	korobara	ali	alikulumɔ	əlo
81 ground	mine	taw	taw	ujubay	nyan	nyan	nyan	soi	taagu	soi
82 fire	yanhu	nyaŋ	nyaŋ	nuwɔ	nyi	nyiyen	nya	jeni	gogo	geni
83 firewood	tinru	tinu	tinu	tin	tin	cun	teenge	teeju	teenge	
84 smoke	kukumu	kumɔ	kummo	kukumo	kunkumo	kunkumo	kunkumi	kumbe	kumu	kumbe
85 food	pana	pana	pana	pana	pana	pana	pana	yεniɔgɔ	paju	xx
86 bush	unu	undu	undu	uun	unu	unu	xx	jibigu	kurubo	kɔmbəlɔ
87 God	ama	amba	amba	ama	ama	ama	amba	amana	amba	amana
88 grass	dɔgɔ	keru	keru	ɔyo	gunu	guguru	guyni	kɔju	kɔgu	kɔju
89 honey	iye	ige	iye	yuŋ	te	te	cya	ige	ngu	ige
90 iron	inrugew	inegemu	inegemu	inrejem	inrengew	inwinrigen	inajon	dubewerede	inegemε	dubeyoreja
91 leaf	liye	nuiŋɔ	nuyon	kuɾɔ	kuɾɔ	kuɾɔ	kɔ	kube	kube	kɔbe
92 blaze	yanhubije	nyambize	nyangide	nunwɔnene	nyimbila	nyiyembila	nyaiubi	jenibila	kokopilan	jenipɔilε
93 meat	nanwa	nama	nama	nɔnwan	nanwan	nanwon	nama	nama	namaa	nama
94 medecine	loo	noo	noo	loy	loo	loo	loe	jongu	oju	ile
95 cowrie shell	keere	keele	keele	ceeru	kɔgɔ	kɔgɔ	kɔlɔ	tanei	kεlejilan	tɔnjε
96 banco	imji	imini	njumu	legu	osoro	osoro	osoro	ɔgɔ	sogu	ɔgɔ
97 oil	nii	nee	nie	nuŋ	niji	niji	nyi	nun	neegu	nun
98 rain	anran	ana	ana	anran	anrun	anrun	ɛlɛ	kumanga	ala	kumanga
99 rice	ara	ara	ara	ara	ara	ara	ere	ara	ere	
100 salt	nenu	nem	nem	nem	men	men	miyen	nemu	nemu	nemu
101 sand	sonsonhu	sɔlɔmɔ	sɔlumɔ	susɔm	sonson	sɔnsɔs	sa'aba	sɔinda	sɔnɔzilogu	sɔinda
102 farmer	waruwarane	waluwalane	waluwalne	waruwaran	kurɔkuwɔ	waruwaran	kuberekuben	kubɔkube	gɔlugɔlu	kubɔkubi
103 sorrow	nimiji	mandugudi	adabu \ tenhi	manugu	manugu	manugu	meneŋi	naale	tagse	naale
104 water	di	di	di	ni	di	di	ji	mi	nŋe	mi
105 wind	onyo	iɛʒɛ	odoro	onyo	onye	onye	ɛjere	yale	ɛniiɛŋ	yale
106 work	bire	walu	bire	bire	wana	bire	wana	wale	walu	kanhi
107 pepper	kepel	keberu	perende	cepel	kepolu	kepolu	ceperi	keperi	keperi	keperi

108	back	onu	unnu	onnu	cene	dogo	dogo	dugulo	tundu	ndɔŋ	tundu
109	belly	bere	berebere	bere	bere	bini	bini	bindi	pijo	bərɔ	janga
110	side/flanc	bene	yɛlɛ	pumbum	bene	beregere	beregere	beregere	bendole	yelɔ	bendele

111 blood	ili	ni	ilie	nенhi	ni	nen	nyi	jenge	gejunu	baga
112 body	goju	gozu	godu	geju	ge	giye	jiye	goju	gozugu	wenama
113 bone	kii	kee	kie	kiren	kinrin	kinrin	cile	namaganwen	kenengu	gwin
114 chest	gegenye	genye	genyu	gəŋjə	gəŋjə	gəŋjə	gənən	genin	gən	
115 ear	suguru	sugulu	sugulu	sun	sugu	suguru	sugu	sugule	su	sugule
116 eye	giri	giri	gire	gire	giri	gire	jirim	gire	gire	gire
117 face	giripara	girimbulu	gireumbolo	girepanran	giribanran	girebanran	jiribala	gireumbulu	giriumbulu	gireumbulu
118 buttocks	bərəlunjə	larujumbə	bədu	bətumə	bərəkan	bərəkawara	bolo	sukunde	dumməkabu	sukunde
119 thigh	paga	paga	paga	paga / da	paga	paga	paa	pejele	paga	pejele
120 nape	dədərə	dərə	dərə	goro	goro	goro	goro	gulu	dənə	gulu
121 arm	nonnən	numə	numə	numə	numə	numə	numa	nuwen	numə	nuwen
122 head	ku	ku	ku	kun	kunogoro	kunogoro	gondo	ko	kiigu	ko
123 heart	kinelomloro	kindjogojaga	kindendoonu	kenelomlau	kenejogojaga	kenejogojaga	celenjo?oja	dongose	kinedone	dongose
124 knee	yəŋjərən	yəŋjolo	yəŋjolo	neŋje	neŋerekun	neŋerekun	yəŋjolo	kunjuga	kunjuga	kunjuga
125 mouth	aŋa	kene	kennə	ka	kan	kan	kan	donu	kenni	donu
126 name	boy	boy	boy	bon	inrinbon	bon	umbolo	ini	inoo	unu
127 neck	kəkərə	kələkələ	kələkələ	kərə	kərə	kərə	kələ	paru	məgu	paru
128 nose	kinru	kinu	kinu	kireñ	kirin	kirin	cini	kinja	kinjo	kinja
129 saliva	yuguja	donji	yulə	yərəni	turədi	turədi	turenji	sonji	donje	sonji
130 donkey	janduru	janduru	jandulu	jamduru	jonduru	jonjuru	jondu	kənna	dulugu	kolugo
131 tongue	nine	nendə	nində	nene	nene	nene	yereden	nendə	nenda	nemude
132 tooth	tunru	inu	inu	inren	inrin	inrin	ini	ini	ino	ini
133 urine	isaru	injari	injari	usurən	insirin	insirin	injuru	məŋji	nja	məŋji
134 voice	mii	mee	miə	miren	miren	mirin	mina	nələ	domu	nələ
135 egg	taru	talı	talı	taru	ta	taru	taw	pole	polo	pole
136 root	du	kadu	welu	bərəceŋ	bərədu	bərədu	bələwə	dundun	kaso	dulu
137 seed	i	i	i	in	in	in	se	əndien	se	
138 tail	dulə	dulə	dulə	duro	duro	duro	jila	dulə	dulə	dilə
139 wing	gamuru	gamburu	karkaru	gamja	ganya	ganya	ganja	gube	gamburun	gube
140 father	ba	ba	ba	de	dede	dede	bon	ba	de	ba
141 mother	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	ni	ni	ni
142 senior brother	dere	dele	dele	dere	dən	dən	jiyen	də	dele	də
143 junior brother	suŋjərən	suŋçənə	sugənə	ɔjin	unjon	sugə	injan	nəbə	njən	nəbnəbə
144 daughter	iyə	yaanai	iyai	nən	nyenhin	nyenhin	nyonhin	weyo	eyə	weyə

145	friend	anruge	anuge	anuge	ten	tan	tan	can	nolo	nale	nolo
146	brother of mother	ninyu	lezu	ninju	leju	ninyi	ninyi	yuju	neji	nesu	neji
147	brother of father	badagi	babu	babe	boru	bɔse	bɔse	bwesε	bɔbɔ	babe	babe

148 grand parent	tire	tire	tire	tire	tire	ciran	seji	tire	tori
149 one	turu	turu	tumə	turu	turu	hina	tida	təmə	tera
150 two	ley	lei	ney	ley	løy	lœ	nega	neigo	nega
151 three	taanu	taandu	taandu	taanu	taanu	taandi	taandu	taandu	taandu
152 four	nay	nay	nay	nay	nanhi	naay	kēejō	kēesō	kēejō
153 five	numonron	n?nə	n?nə	nunhui	nunə	nuna	numu	nənə	nəmu
154 six	kuroi	kulei	kuloy	kuroy	kure	kurey	kule	kulei	kulei
155 seven	søy	søy	søy	sunhi	sø	sø	søli	søi	søli
156 eight	gaara	gagara	gagira	gaara	sira	sila	seelu	seele	seele
157 nine	tuwo	tugə	tuwə	laruwa	tuwa	tuwa	tuuwa	tuugə	tuuwa
158 ten	peru	peelu	pelu	peru	pew	peru	pye	pelu	peelu
159 eleven	periturusige	peeluturusige	pelugeturugesige	perelurusaga	pereturesaga	peretusoga	pyeletureso?a	peluteremasugo	pelutəməsige
160 twelve	perileysige	peluleysige	pelugeneysige	pereleysaga	pereləsaga	pereləysoga	pyeleləsa?a	pelunegasugo	peluneigesige
161 thirteen	pelutandusigə	pelutaandusige	pelutaandugesige	peeretoomisaga	peretaanusaga	peretoonusaga	pyeletaandisa?a	pelutandusuga	pelutaandisuge
162 twenty	pely	peni	penev	pelley	pəloy	peəloy	pyeləe	peninga	peneigu
163 thirty	petaanu	perandu	peraandu	petaanu	petaanu	petaanu	pyetoondi	petandi	perandu
164 forty	penanhi	penay	penay	pennai	penanhi	penanhi	pyena	de	de
165 fifty	penumonron	pə?nə	pennə	penumi	penune	penune	pyenuna	dendopelu	pennə
166 sixty	pelukroy	pelukuley	pelukuley	perukuroi	pekure	pekurey	pyekule	pelukuləe	pelukuloi
167 seventy	pesøy	pesøy	pesøy	perusunhi	pesə	pesə	pyesə	singipeluola	pesəi
168 eighty	pegagara	kesuŋ	kesuŋ	suiŋ	pesira	pesila	xx	singi	siju
169 ninety	petuwa	kesunlekejepelu	kesunlekelerelu	suŋperu	petuwa	petuwa	pyetuwa	sinjidopelw	siŋjanpelu
170 bark	kobu	kombe	kobu	kukow	koko	koko	ku	diabe	kombulu
171 tall	gabu	tolo / gabu	gabu	guru	guru	guru	gebe	golola	jalan
172 short	dumu	dumbu	dumbu	gonhi	dege	dege	gure	dəpunta	dенно
173 red	banru	banu	banu	ban	ban	ban	bon	buni	banu
174 white	piru	pilu	pilu	piru	pii	piri	pii	sima	pilan
175 black	genw	gem	gem	jəm	gew	gen	jen	wəruole	gemmeŋ
176 good	εju	sen	sien	εju	sen	sen	siyen	məmmia	ellan
177 bad	monnyu	paze	sala \ padie	mɔnyu	mɔnju	mɔnnyu	mɔnju	xx	ngellemboni
178 what	inje	inje	inje	inye	ije	ije	yəkoma	xx	ngoŋ
179 that/who	a	a	a	a	a	a	yoma	aa	ammu
180 bean	nun	num	numu	nun	nin	nin	nyihin	nunge	numu
181 where	yago	yəgəra	yaba	yəw	ya	ya	yamba	ma	aŋa

182 when	yanran	yəgədoguru	yaana	yaŋra	yadoguru	yadoguru	yəkəaji	wagurumiye	aguwarin	mənuwari
183 far	wage	wagu	wage	waga	wage	waga	wəʔe	waja	wage	waja
184 someone	ineturu	indeturu	indetumə	inenturu	nəŋetuŋə	nantumə	nyəhina	indatangu	notəmə	ntato

185 morning	aga	aga	aga	yeje	aaga	aaga	a?a	egagun	yega	egage
186 afternoon	digenanhi	digenan	digenam	daagani	daganu	daganu	da?anu	daademon	dendiga	dendamu
187 blacksmith	irine	irine	jemmene	jemen	jeme	jeme	jeme	dembé	irin	dembé
188 means	daburu	dabulu	dabile	dawuru	dawuru	dawuru	debere	dabile	dabulu	daale
189 else	waja	yaga	yaga	laga	pere	pere	hore	yeto	laga	eto
190 some	gama	gambam	gambe	gama	gama	gama	gembé	gamge	gamble	ntaana
191 get in	yo	yo	yo	nu	nu	nu	lu	nua	nu	nua
192 a little / a few	dagaa	galei	galay	dagaa	ajara	dagaa	twelə	dejun	dagegu	bale
193 today	iye	iye	iye	ije	ije	iye	iye	yo	iye	njo
194 yesterday	yaa	yaa	ya	yaa	yaa	yaa	yaa	yaago	nija	yaago
195 tomorrow	yogo	yogo	yogo	yogo	yogo	yogo	yugo	øga	øeni	øga
196 get out	go	go	go	go	go	go	go	go	go	gundo
197 day after tomorrow	yogodenren	yogodene	yogodene	yogodene	yogodenren	yogodenren	yugojene	øganna	endene	øgantuno
198 harvest	geru	g̊elu	gie	j̊eru	geru	geru	kondu	geli	g̊elu	geli
199 field	mine	mine	minne	egu	bara	bara	iyey	yala	yala	yala
200 sow	tɔ	tɔ	tɔ	tɔ	le	le	ya	toi	toŋ	tomu

## Bertho

Bertho, J. 1953. *La place des dialectes Dogon (dogo) de la falaise de Bandiagara parmi les autres groupes linguistiques de la zone soudanaise.*  
in Bulletin de l'Institut Français de l'Afrique Noire. Vol. XV. Dakar: BIFAN. pp. 405-441.

French	English	tiranige diga duleri	naja dama wakara
personne	human being	sodʒo	nu
homme	man	dab-ana	anam
femme	woman	ye	yam
père	father	baba	ba
mère	mother	inɛ	de
roi/chef	king	amiru	ambiri
esclave	slave	guna	gundam
viande	meat	nama	nama
animal	animal	dumɔ	arisogem
chien	dog	indgyɛ	nənim
vache	cow	na	naghām
mouton	sheep	amba	perighem
chèvre	goat	una	bəfi
poisson	fish	idʒi	isi
oiseau	bird	nie	ligi
poule	chicken	ṣidʒya-ye	ɛndʒe-yam
corps	body	go	gesu
tête	head	kogo	ku-kɔsu

visage	face	giri-umbulu	giro-mbulo
bouche	mouth	omo	no
dent	tooth	ini	ina
oeil	eye	girye	giro
oreille	ear	sugunu	sunu
cuisse	thigh	paghā	paghā
genou	knee	kündʒu-nō	kündʒu
cou	neck	mō	kɔrɔ
coeur	heart	dōjese \ bembe	kyəndo
os	bone	kini	kinō
forest	forêt	gulo	dugi
arbre	tree	tiī-ŋo	timō
calabase	calabash	holi	kosu
hache	axe	siē	ndō
fer	iron	mε-ŋho \ dubε	inda
forgeron	blacksmith	dubu	ire
maison	house	giba	undo
village	village	idʒo	iso
route/chemin	road	oyi	osu
ciel	sky	a	yeru
dieu	god	a	dʒendjɛ
soleil	sun	ijnine	usū

lune	moon	eŋhani	bwau \ wau
étoile	star	kolõnkolõ	hwa-kɔrɔ
pierre	stone	kini	kuno
terre	ground	ta-gu	donõ
vent	wind	injine	usunõ
feu	fire	gεu	go
eau	water	mi	ni
pluie	rain	odū-mi	bondi \ yawuye
salive	saliva	sondi	xx
lait	milk	ɛmɛ	ɛmɛ
sang	blood	gəni	gondugo
huile	oil	no	ligi
fumée	smoke	kumi	kumbo
blanc	white	pulye	pilu
noir	black	gəmye	gemu
rouge	red	buni	banũ
grand	large	mba	gawa
petit	small	kyẽ	degũ
un	one	tooma	tuma
deux	two	nyga	woyi
cinq	five	nimi	nimi
dix	ten	pyεlu	peru

quarante	forty	dε	pεr-noy
manger	eat	jna	kou
boire	drink	no-bwe	nō
voir	see	balie	pεla \ yim
entendre	hear	nūde \ muja	numi \ nde-ndo
donner	give	da	ndi
prendre	take	ya	aya
marcher	walk	unu	inō
venir	come	yøgø	yo
voler (oiseaux/ε fly (v.)	fly (v.)	pilio	kisio
tuer	kill	gεa	gya
mourir	die	tibε	tibε
parler	speak	dama	dama
acheter	buy	dona	εvha
vendre	sell	tula	turo

## Durieux

Durieux, B. &amp; E. Data entered from handwritten wordlists collected in 1998. Property of SIL Bamako.

KEY: \[backslash] separates synonymous utterances

Number in Durieux Survey List	English	French	D	E	F	I	P	C	O	A	B	J	R	S	G	H	K	L	M	N	Q
1 eye	œil	gire	giro	giro \ giro	dʒiři	djiři	giro	džiři \ si^u	džidie	qir̥e^i	giri	giri \ džiri	qir̥e:qu	giru	giri	džire	džide	gido	gido	gito	
2 ear	oreille	sun:u	suguru	suguru	sugu	su:gu	sunu	tajia	sun	sugulu	sugul	sugulu	sujunu \	sugulu	suguru	sugul:e	sugule	suguru	suguru	suguru	
3 nose	nez	kʰine	kinđ	cilo	cini	cini	kindžaj	sumbe	cmza:	kini	kin^u	kin^i \ kin^i	kindžo	kinu	cenu	ki:ndža	ci:ndža	kini	kini	kini	
4 mouth	bouche	ka	ka:	ka	kā	kā	žibii	nō	cen:e	ken:e \ ken:a	ken:e	cena	cen:u	ken:e \ kejne	cene	don^i	žimbi	žimbi	žimbi	žimbi	
5 tooth	dent	gine	džiňo	dino	žini	žini	žinu	nasi	žin	žin \ žin	žinu	žinu	žinu \ t̥ono	žinu	žinisie	kenda	kenda	kenda	kenda	kenda	
6 tongue	langue	lele	lenda	lela	jeredě	leredě \ jerede	nemđo	nqperē	nemda	ni:de \ ni:jde	ninde	ni:nde	nenda \ nenda	ne:nde	nine	ne:de	žent̥e	žes̥e	žes̥e	žes̥e	
7 head	tête	kʰu	ku:	ku	gondo	gondo	ki	dege	kʷo	dana	ku	dana	ki:q^u \ kiq^u	ku	dānā	ko	ko	ko	ko	ko	
8 neck	cou	kɔ:ro	kɔ:ro	kɔ:ro	kolo	kolo	mo	kʷa	kʷəlo	?odo	?odo?	?odo	mo:q^u	kolo:kolo	kokoro \ kokoło	paro	paro?	pado?	pado?	pado?	
9 stomach	ventre	puru	b'exte	puru	bindi \ binda	bini \ bindi	kulu	kore \ kore	bede	bərə	bere?	bere	bere	berebere \ bebere	bere	pidžo	ŋanja	gʷoe	cz^u	k^o	
10 knee	genou	lije	kuaniŋgo	kualiŋge	kuba pungolo	jungolo	nakindžu	bu:č kukume	kunzu	jugulu	jugulu	jugulu	jogolo	jogoro \ jogolo	kundžuga	kunduga \ kundžuga	kudžu	kudu	kusu		
11 bone	os	kina	kira	kira \ kida	cile	cile	kinaj	nore	cina	ce	kie	kie	cen:q	ce	ki:	g̥we \ q̥we \ go:ge	gawa	ga^u	ga^u		
12 blood	sang	im	lij	lij	nī	nī: \ nī	geni	dondi \ dondi	džidžu	?ile	?ile	?ile	dženine	ni \ ni:	?ili	baga	gondige	?aga	?aga		
13 saliva	salive	kammali	kalu	kalu	t̥rendži	turéđzi	sunde	nɔ:ne	sunzu	jylo	julə?	ylə?	dondže	džondži	jugudža \ jumđza	sondži	sondži	sondžomi	sosomí		
14 heart	coeur	kele	cendžupnu	kelatđo	cenene / sā	cele le	kinda	bme	cinda	kinde	kinde	kinde	kinde	kinde	dongose	donojse	dōwe	dōwe	dōwe	dōwe	
15 being	personne	noninij	nuri in	nonij	nɛ:ž	neŋe	nu	l'ere	?no	?nde	?nde	?nde	?no \ ?egu	ndei	?ine	nta?	?adamawe	ntagoro	?inde	?ntagoro	
16 man	homme	?anu	aznu	?anu	ča:	ča	?an	qʷɔ:	?an \ ?an	?an:ma	?an:ma	?an:ma	?an:ma	?an:ma	wola	?indawala	ndanžara	tagoro	?tanara	tagoro	
17 father	père	ba	ba:	ba	bō / bō:	bō	ba	de	baba	baba	ba	ba \ nde	ba \ de^i	ba: \ ba:nə	ba	bobo	ba	ba	ba	ba	
18 mother	mère	na	na:	na	na \ na:	nā	ni:	ia	ni:	na	na	na	ni:n^i \ dara	nda \ na	na \ nane	ni	nine	nene	nene	ne	
19 child	xx	?in	ijtenpu	i	?inū	?i	?indi	čame?	?ine	?i \ ?ulum	?i	?i:	?egu	?i \ ?idagi	pue	vʷe	be	be	be \ beseg̥e	be	
20 name	nom	su:q	insun \ insun	isun \ isun	?mbolo	?inib	?inib	namani	no?in	bo^i	bu:wo	bo^e	?inu	bo^i	?un?	?unu	jini	?ini	?ini	?ini	
21 dog	chien	?isi	njenu	nemu	?udžu	?udžu	?gʷe	kʷremē?	?idže	?ide?	?ide? \ ?ife?	?ise	?joŋ	?idžu	nc̥e	nc̥e nc̥e	?inke	?inče	?inče	?inče	
22 tail	queue	dira	dira	dira	džila	džila	dulo	mati	dulə?	dulə?	dulə?	dulə	dulə	dulə	dilo	dilo	diro	diro?	diro?	diro?	
23 bird	oiseau	sʰa:i	sa:i	sci	sadžu	sadžu	ni:	dōrōme?	?jan	sada?	sada?	sada?	leqe:q^u	saza saza	sasa	nedže	nidže	nini	nip̥iwe	nimi^e	
24 wing	aile	džete	džeta	džeta	kandža	kandža	karakara	ko	kakada	kar^kar^	karkar	kar^kar^	qamb̥runq	gamburu	qamʷzu	gumbegumbe	pere	qa^u	qa^u	ganta	
25 egg	œuf	?b:ru \ tha:lu	taru	taru	ta	ta^o	polū	kō	tolu	tal	tal	tal	pole	tal^u	talu	pole	pole	pori	pori	pori	
26 snake	serpent	?isepor	?iſo?eſſo	?iſo?eſſo	?nu?ur?e	jure	si:ndžala	kerneke?	numzu	jir̥e	jire	jire	nemesegu	jurguru	jugulu	nombodži	nombodži	napka	nok̥a	nukʷa	
27 fish	poisson	?aasi	nima^o	nina	kʷw̥e?ełe	kʷegele	?isi	yiekoronjñ \	?izu	?id̥?	?isu \ ?idu	?is^u	?isigu	?izu	?isu	kq̥q^le	kq̥q^le	kogore \ kogore	kogure	kogure	
28 meat	viande	na:	nu:q	na:	nama	nama	nama	nama	nama	nama?	nama	nama	nama	nama	nama	nama	nama	nama	nama	nama	
29 tree	arbre	?i:w̥a	tiva	tivă	cuma	cuma	timđ	d'ā	time	time	time	time	ki:juŋđ	tim:ə	timu	cindigo	tindugo	tirijo	cinko	cinko	
30 leaf	feuille	kuro	koto	koto	kō:w	kō:w	komba	p̥a:ji:ē	kulə \ kulənđ	n̥e \ n̥e	timen̥e	timen̥e	komkombə	nupo \ nupo	kuro	kube	kobe	koa	koa	koa	
31 root	racine	xx	ce:gu	ce:ku	bołowa	ʷo	?ondži	d̥ai:či	dilu	wil	wil?	vil	kaso	kazi	borodžu	dulu	kadži	duru	duru	duru	
32 seed	graine	?ou	to:w̥u	tou	lo:i	?i \ ?i	sie	de?	citə:q	pana	tou	?i: \ ni:gdžil	?endže	xx	toj	nugudes:ə	s̥e	ies̥en̥i	segina	ſ̥en̥i	
33 grass	xx	s̥o:lo	sondo	solo	gʷmi	gʷini	šoomi	gudže	?o:a	kn̥i	kn̥i \ bn̥i	keru	bele	keru	dōgo	kadži	kadži	kosi	kosi		
34 road/path	route	?osu	?osu	?osu	?udžu	?udžu	?udžu	?uzu	jembe	?ozu	?oduna	?odu?	?odu?	?osugu	?ozu	?odžu	odži	?edži	?ewa	?idži	?isimi
35 salt	sel	nřm	nej	nej	m̥e	m̥e	ne:me	gendže \ genje	nim	n:em	nem?	nem?	nemu	nin	ne:u	ne:u	mendže	mendže	mese	mese	
36 fire	feu	nu:q	nu:q	nu:q	pa:	pa:	gʷundu	b're	gʷolo	nam	naŋ \ naŋ	naŋ	gogo	naŋ	pa:?	džen̥i	džen̥i	gene	gene	gene	
37 smoke	fumée	kumo	kumo	kumđ	kükumi	kükumi	kumbu	je	kumu \	kumu	kumđo?	kumđo	kumđo	kukum̥u	kumbe	kumbe	kumbe	kumbe	kumbe	kumbe	
38 ash	cendre	do:zu	dunzu	də:zu	d̥e:č	d̥e:č	dōre:	b'rentye	d̥e:č	žundə?	žundə?	žundə?	žundə?	žundə?	d̥e:č	do:i	d̥o:i	do:i	d̥o:i	d̥o:i	
39 night	nuit	ja:ja	ja:ja	ja:ja	jaŋga \ da?ə	jaŋga	ja:č	jihū	denda	diga	jaŋa	jaŋa	dige	jaŋa	dige	do	dogo	dondo	dono:u	dono:u	
40 moon	lune	?iwa	?iwa	?iwa	?a	?a	sa:č	vi:?	s:wa	?ie	?ie	?ie	wə:gu	?ugo	?iepiłu	ve	ve	i:č	i:č	i:č	
41 star	étoile	?ānsimbile	simli \	?ansimli	tule	tulč	?asikolę	tyryeme	sonakele	tundulʷi	tundolo	tundolo	tolo	tolo	?odžegelə	?odžegelə \ ?odžogelə	i:enkarankara	i:ekeneke	i:ekeneke		
42 day	jour	nindo	nɔ:ndo	nɔ:ndo	da?adži	?iđiča	?usu:	neħū	wa	ba:i	nondenu?	?aga	?isiga	nondenu	ba:i \ ?aga	džewen̥i	džeňe \ genje	geňendo	geňendo	geňendo	
43 sky	ciel	?ar:kumni	jaru	jaru	?alakundăba	?alakondăba	?asan	?gra:ndo	?asakala	?alakala?	?alagala	?algalu	?aligilu \ ?olgilu	?alagala	?amanā kumb̥o	?amanā kolo	?agarā	b̥rōn:č	?o:ro	?o:ro	
44 cloud	nuage	?ur:w̥a	kʷo	kuru	kolobala	kur:karu	kundekunde	poro?	kulbalá	kulumu	kulumu?	kulumu?	daqu?	?ana kulumo \ ?ana	?ana kulumo	?olge	?ale?	?are	?oro	?oro	
45 wind	vent	?ozo	unsu	?ɔ:su	?edžere	?edžere	?enanu	pe:re	?mn̥j	?od̥r̥u	?odolo	?odolo	?en:ŋ	ge:ze	?o:ŋ	?elele	?ale?	?ere	?erere	?ereri	
46 rain	pluie	?ama	?a:rā	?a:rā	?ele	?ele	?ale	d̥ɔ:č	?anju	?ana	?ana di	?ana	?ala	?ana	?ană	kumanjga	kʷma:ŋga	b̥rōq̥o	b̥rōq̥o mi	b̥rōq̥o	
47 water	eau	pi	ni	n:i	dži	dži	þge	vi:č	ndžu	di	di	di	di	?nja	dži:	m̥i:	mi	mi	mi	mi	

48 stone	pierre	t <sup>u</sup> w <sup>o</sup>	tu <sup>w</sup> o	tuo	tubu	tubu	kinu	sim <sup>i</sup> e	cin	tib <sup>o</sup>	dumbo?	dumbo	kin <sup>u</sup> p	tibu	cibu	cini	ceni	?ena	kini	dondi
49 sand	sable	?isesumo	?isjobuŋno	?isyme <sup>i</sup>	sa?aba	sagaba	sondōdō <sup>p</sup>	niime	sonzom	sol <sup>u</sup> mō	sol <sup>u</sup> mō	sono džirigu <sup>p</sup>	solomi:	sōsōj	soinda	nuso <sup>i</sup>	sobugare	sobogari \sosobogari	toda	tota
50 one	un	turu	turu	turu	ci:	ci:	toman	ti:e	tuma:	t'i	ti	ti:	tomo	ti: turu \ ti:ru	tir	ti:ra	te:da	?eŋga	?eŋga	?iŋga
51 two	deux	le <sup>i</sup>	le <sup>i</sup> \ lij	le <sup>i</sup>	l <sup>v</sup> e <sup>i</sup> \ lo:	l <sup>v</sup> e	nu <sup>i</sup>	jindo	'eno:	ne <sup>i</sup>	ne <sup>i</sup>	ne:go	le: <sup>i</sup> \ le <sup>i</sup>	le <sup>i</sup>	ne:ga	ne:ga	?eŋga	?eŋga	?iŋga	
52 three	trois	ta:li	ta:ndi	ta:li	ta:ndi \ tame	ta:ndi	taädi	ketaro	ietandu \	tand <sup>a</sup>	tand <sup>a</sup>	tandu	tand <sup>u</sup>	tanu	tand <sup>i</sup>	tandi	tandi	tandi	tandi	tāti
53 four	quatre	nai	na <sup>i</sup>	na <sup>i</sup>	na: <sup>i</sup>	na:	kese <sup>j</sup>	kenēi	'ecezo	na <sup>i</sup>	na <sup>i</sup>	na <sup>i</sup>	ce:so	na: <sup>i</sup>	na <sup>i</sup>	ce:dʒo	cedʒo	ni:	ni:	ni:
54 five	cinq	numoi	nuji	nui	nuna	nuna	numij	kendundi	ienum	n:o	n:o	n:o \ n:n:o	n:o	nūmōñō	nom <sup>u</sup>	nom	nom \ nɔm <sup>u</sup>	numu	numu	num <sup>u</sup>
55 long	long	guru	guru	guru	gebe	gebe	džala	bende	zala	pala	pala	džalaj	pala	papara	golo	golodža	jem'ém <sup>v</sup> e	mđnđ	mđjē	
56 short	court	tukɔ <sup>i</sup>	tukei	tukei	q <sup>u</sup> e	q <sup>v</sup> e	dendū	dogi	dene	dumbu	dumbu	dumbu	dumbu	dumi:	dunguru	djenjideňi	denu	deni \ denj	denu	džerobo
57 good	bon	dženj	dženj	dženj	sě	sijekš	nej	gā \ gāš	s <sup>i</sup> e	si <sup>i</sup>	si <sup>i</sup>	dženo:bo	sě \ gene	?esiwɔ	po:lo	polo	jedže	džerobo	džurubu	
58 bad	mauvais	dženda	dženda	džena	modžu	modžu	ženda	begā	cugomo	siele	siélē \ padže	jamol	dženorbonu	genew:əlo \ sěla \	?esəla \ majpu	polonda	pololi	jedeguno	džeroru	džururu
59 few	peu	tegej	tegej	tegej	da:žama \ t <sup>u</sup> ele <sup>u</sup>	bōri \ bōr <sup>v</sup> e	wundu	kirame	kicmđžim	ga:la	gale? \ dagi?	qa:le <sup>i</sup>	dage:q <sup>v</sup> bo	daj <sup>i</sup>	qa'la \ qe'le	sebalo	kidi	kđen	kiteži	bōrui
60 red	rouge	ban	ban	ban	bā	bā	banū	kibu <sup>i</sup> e	ban	ban <sup>u</sup>	ban	ban <sup>u</sup>	ban	banu	bombō	bombē	jebo:mbe	jabo:mbe	bombe	
61 black	noir	džem	džem	džem	džō	dženj	gemü	kipore	džeme	gem	džem <sup>u</sup>	džem	džem	džē <sup>u</sup>	ordō	kolo	koro	koro	koro	
62 white	blanc	piri	piri	piri	pi:	pi:	pyłøy	kisimā	p'le	pi:ž	pył	pil	pila \ pilā	pilu	pilu \ pilu	sima	tombo	jetombo	tom:o	tombo
63 who	qui	na <sup>i</sup>	?a:e	?ae	o <sup>i</sup>	o <sup>i</sup>	žam	žam	?am	?am	?ai	?a:	?ami	?a	?a <sup>i</sup>	?a <sup>i</sup>	wa	waw	?oa	
64 what	quoi	qje	je:	?ese	žokɔ <sup>i</sup>	?ndžo	ženqe <sup>i</sup>	žokɔ <sup>i</sup>	žndžo	ža:	žndže	žndže \ nqne	žndže	žngoni	ndžo	ndže <sup>i</sup>	"džege	ŋgesie	?indžo	?indže
65 where	où	jadže	jaga	jaga	nambā <sup>i</sup>	nām̄ba	žanjin	k <sup>w</sup> ote	?ambā	jaba <sup>i</sup>	jaba:	?anja	?jogora \ jerā	jago	maje	wole	ūa <sup>v</sup> y	wambō	u <sup>a</sup> u	
66 far	loin/lointain	wa:ga	waaga	waaga	ž?e?	ž?e?	xx	qana <sup>u</sup> ndu	wadžu	wago	wago	wagu:	wowage	waga	wadža	wadžobo	wacu	žadžu		
67 when	quand	jagena <sup>i</sup>	jaga	cenda	jaratžo <sup>o</sup>	a?adži \	a?adžu	?angisara	nene	?aru	waqad <sup>o</sup>	ba'a:na	wariana	?ana	jouna	warunge <sup>i</sup> \	mananga	wanale \ vage	?inge	wana
68 I	xx	mbie	mi:	mi	mi:	mi:	mi	mi	mi	mi	mi	mu	mu	mu	mu	mi	mi	mi	mi \ miu	
69 you	xx	?uje	?u:w	?u	?a	?ali	?o	?au	?o	?u	?u	?u	?u	?u	?o	?o	?o	?o	?o	
70 this	ce...ci	ŋgubaza	ŋgubanza	wo	ŋgko	camba	ŋgu	?ima	bo \ je	nono	no	no:mbe?	?ogu	ŋgo	?ɔ	ni	nu	?ā	ŋango	nandege
71 that	ce...là	ntɔ:bazang <sup>w</sup> i	nde <sup>i</sup> \ banža	"denugju	čuko \ ?ilaz:čuko	namba	mū	kewe	kuba \ ?anje	iba	jiba	ni:mbe?	?na	ngona	ko	?enda	?imba?	na	nō	nandoro
72 all	tout	cedžuna	cehunde	cehule	ko:fu \ ko:jure:fu	fu:	medindi	neparā	čem	kem	kē <sup>u</sup>	čē <sup>u</sup>	fu	kojawe	fu \ pu:	sele	sap <sup>i</sup>	sau	sa <sup>o</sup>	kemene
73 many	beaucoup	halimutulus <sup>j</sup>	motu	mutu	gara	gara	s'en	kipere	ka:nu	ju:l	džol <sup>u</sup>	ga:ga	džinebo	gau	gai	dž <sup>v</sup> a:	d'a:	džo	džo	bo
74 large/big	grand	ga	na	na:	gara	gara	gindonj	barō	golembo	gago	gago	d'e	binumbo	po	dž <i>e</i> <sup>i</sup>	gago \ baji \	bō <sup>j</sup>	jedogo \ dogo	dogodogo	dogere
75 small	petit	t <sup>h</sup> edže <sup>i</sup>	teje <sup>i</sup>	teqe <sup>i</sup>	sini \ sisini	bo <sup>v</sup> ři	wonduu	kirame	čimsa <sup>j</sup>	ka:la	qale <sup>i</sup>	gale \ dagi	da:qe:q <sup>v</sup> bo	?uzi	?usi	ŋkale	?enkalie	jeke:de:de	kedeni	bōrū
76 drink	boire	ne	ne	nō	nō	nō	nāmam	ž <sup>i</sup> e	n'a	nōrdəm	no	nō	nō	nō	nā	nā	nā	nā	nā	
77 eat	manger	ži	le	le	nā	nja	k <sup>w</sup> enam	dia \ d'a	nja	njedem	žn'e	?ŋe	na	njā	kaja	pa	žā	ja	ja	ja
78 see	voir	?o	wō	wō	q <sup>u</sup> a	džere	jenam	s'ra	tudža	ja:s <sup>m</sup>	jege:da	i:ende?	wula	wa	jene	sem <sup>u</sup>	s'ēm <sup>u</sup>	jina	manda	
79 hear	entendre	?ega	?ega	?ega	a:ža	jaga	ndum	no	nindžu	?era <sup>om</sup>	?egēgada	?ege	nendio	ege	cenije	nund <sup>e</sup>	nundž <sup>u</sup>	mana	cito	nuco
80 sleep	dormir	le <sup>i</sup>	le <sup>v</sup>	leo	l <sup>v</sup> ere	l <sup>v</sup> ere	n'i	l <sup>v</sup> ado	n'u	nijydom	jeje	jei <sup>e</sup>	nojo	jejē	q'rije	nojo	nojo	?endo	?eno	?endo
81 die	mourir	nua	nu <sup>o</sup>	nua	numu	numu	tiba	ž'a:ži	tibe	jimai	jim <sup>e</sup>	jim <sup>e</sup>	tiba	jime	d'a	doga	d'a	d'a	d'a	
82 kill	tuer	wō:	wō:wō	wō:	dala	da	dža	žvra	dža	da:le	da	da:	ta:a	da	džewa	džewa	s'ēma	dža	dja	
83 swim	nager	mugo	mugo	mugo	muqo \ "ana	muqo \ n <sup>u</sup> ana	bandi	naniwore a <sup>v</sup> eqoro	bugu	dimugu	buŋe	muq <sup>o</sup>	beja \ be <sup>v</sup> ja	wen:ε	bania	wanda	wanda	wanda	wana	"anda
84 walk	marcher	jejo	jejo	jeo	jeja	ja	?inu	?ŋ <sup>v</sup> ore	?un	?odo <sup>i</sup>	?odo <sup>i</sup>	i:a	?inu	jeze	ža:ja	?unu	?unu	nara	nara	nara
85 give	donner	?ou	?o <sup>u</sup>	?o <sup>u</sup>	?o <sup>u</sup>	?o	ndira	nando <sup>u</sup> a <sup>j</sup>	ndr	?ob <sup>u</sup>	?obo	?ob <sup>u</sup>	?nda	?obo	teba	deqa \ mintan <sup>u</sup>	tawa	tawa	ta <sup>v</sup> a	
86 say	dire	ga	ga	ga	ho	ho	dama	ŋkane \ ŋka:žne	dama	ſoo	gegedi	taga \ ſoo	gina	ge	taga	dama	dama?	pora	pora	pora
87 know	savoir	zugobera	?ita	?ita	džuga \ ?embe	džuga?	be	haso	z <sup>u</sup> ɔ	del <sup>l</sup>	di:le	džugɔ	tigia	?igubi	džugo	jara	jara	mandra	dā:ta	
88 come	venir	jeli	jeri	jeri	ala	jala	wo	nuimā?	wo	žela	jele	?ele	mēna	jele	ve	?ego	?egu	?egu	?egu	
89 bite	mordre	cera	cera	cera	cara	cara	kera	nore?	ceda \	kera	kere	kere	cera	kere	cere	nunga	nunga	diga	diga	
90 fly (v.)	voler (ois)	kiro	kiro	kilo	culo	cylo	pirie	dapiru	cilio	ki:li	ki:li	ki:li	kilio	kile	kilie	pnanda	kiligo?	kirio	kirio	kirio

## Durieux Phrases

Durieux, B. & E. Data entered from handwritten wordlists collected in 1998. Property of SIL Bamako.

### KEY

\ [backslash] separates synonymous utterances

[] indicates that the enclosed sound was barely pronounced such that the transcriber was unsure whether to include or omit it

Speech Name	Source	91	92	93
English		He fell (yesterday).	The man fell (yesterday).	He is falling.
French		Il est tombé (hier).	L'homme est tombé (hier).	Il est en train de tomber.
toro tegu from nemguene	Durieux	nuni lubo <sup>i</sup> ja:	lubo <sup>i</sup> wɔ	ja lu: ki lɔ
toro tegu from iwra	Durieux	lu bɛ wɔ	?anɔŋgu lube	nkowa <sup>?a</sup> luru
toro tegu from piringua	Durieux	sa ɔ lu bo	?an <sup>ə</sup> kuŋ lu bɔrɛ	ŋ onɔ <sup>rɔ</sup> wa <sup>a</sup> lu ruŋ
tomo kan from ségué	Durieux	bɛ?ɛ	[ko] ?ã:m bɛ?ɛ \ ?ã: jɛ bɛ?ɛ	ba?a uɔ
tomo kan from timissa	Durieux	bɛge	?ã kɔ bɛge	ko baga wɔ
bondum dom from tintam [kindyim]	Durieux	mu jowe	?an jo:bι:	jombubu
baŋgeri me from niana	Durieux	ti <sup>v</sup> ɛ	?agvɔ tivɛ	dano ti <sup>v</sup> ɛ
yanda dom from tourougou quarter of yanda	Durieux	<sup>i</sup> a p <sup>ə</sup> le	no v <sup>i</sup> ap <sup>ə</sup> le	p <sup>ə</sup> lembo \ p <sup>ə</sup> le <sup>m</sup> bo
tɔmmɔ sɔ from ningari	Durieux	numba <sup>i</sup>	ndɛ numba <sup>i</sup>	numbi [n]gada
tɔmmɔ sɔ from pirō	Durieux	numbe	?ana: ga numbe	ko numbogode
tɔmmɔ sɔ from wazouba	Durieux	nunumbe	?ana gẽ numbe	wo numbo gu se
dogulu dom from sougoudonou	Durieux	jɛge	?no jege	jegeradʒo
donno sɔ from bandiagara	Durieux	nu:mbe	?indɔ nu:mbe	[wo] numbowɔ
tɔɔ sɔɔ from sangha mission	Durieux	wo nunum [u]	?ainɛ gɔ n [ja] numabe	wo numowɔ

mombo from bandiougou	Durieux	jɪ kindɛ	wale <sup>i</sup> nkindɛ	cindɔmbo
miambo from makou	Durieux	tibɛ?	?indawala tibɛ:	tibɔwu
ampari from danga	Durieux	jɛgɛ	tagoro jɛgɛ	jegɛrgabo
ampari from baboye	Durieux	jɛgɛ	tagɔrɔ jɛgɛ	jegɛrgabo
ampari from pahandaga	Durieux	jɛgɛ jɛgɛ	?a jɛgɛ	jegɛrgabo

**94**

If he had fallen, that would have been bad (but he did not fall).  
S'il était tombé, ça aurait été mal (mais il n'est pas tombé).

?o lu bo<sup>i</sup> djε gjen da  
so lu: sɔ: nɔ wode ?anonja  
sa ɔ lu:sɔ ma gjen:a  
uɔ jɔ?a bɔ?ɛ kɛ , lɔ ?ɔ sɔ  
wo begɛ kɛ wa lɔ ?ɔ so  
jowɛ de nim  
se ti<sup>v</sup>ε pẽ dʒinekɛ jare  
pɔle berde na<sup>i</sup> tɔ:be  
numbr [n]gabo numbab ajo ?umbarmabe  
numbabe<sup>u</sup> dʒimede numbul  
wo numba: be: ge<sup>i</sup> ma:gə biebe  
jegɛ biɛna dʒimob<sup>i</sup>ɛ  
[wo] numba wobele  
wo numabe biaje, mɔni:bibijɛbe

**95**

Don't fall!  
Ne tombe pas!

jeri a lu: le  
?e lu: ler  
° lu: si ku  
ba?a le  
ba ?a le  
jɔ:la  
mati<sup>v</sup>a de  
pɔle la  
numbona gu  
numbog<sup>u</sup>  
numbo na: ge  
jegela  
numbu naw  
numu noŋ de

**96**

Who will fall? The man will fall.  
Qui va tomber? L'homme va tomber.

ŋ ?ai lu:lɔ ko ?anəgujɛ lu: lɔ  
?aja lu:ru ma ?anɔŋgu ?aluru  
?aja lu: ru ?anu ka lu: ru  
iɔ ba?a so \ ?ãm ba?a so  
iɔ ba?a wɔ ?ãkɔ ba?a so  
?am jo<sup>a</sup>nani \ ?an jonani  
i a manən ti<sup>v</sup>a ?ag<sup>v</sup>ɔ m<sup>i</sup>enenti<sup>v</sup>a  
?am pəlo no pəlo  
ndɛ numba: numbo na  
?a numədə \ ?anaga numbodə  
?a numbo de \ ?anage numbo de  
?ami jegø mbo<sup>i</sup> ?ana jegɛ<sup>i</sup>  
?a numbuze ?ndɔ numbuze  
?a numodo ?aine numodo

n kində bœni, ?u do mbɔiε  
tibɛnɛ ?idʒedʒowe  
jegɛ o jɛgɛwɛ ja  
jegɛrɛ sere ?ince  
jɛgɛwɛni dajaru<sup>wɛ</sup>

nkindanda      ?a:ie <sup>n</sup>kindɔmbo ntaɔm<sup>n</sup>kindɔmbo  
tibanda          ?ai tibabu \ wala tibabu  
jegurade        wa jegɛ \ tagoro jegɛ  
jegura            wa jegabɔ tagɔrɔ jegabɔ  
jɛ gura           na banya je ga boɛ \ ?ntagoro jɛ geri ga bɔ

## 97

When he will fall, tell me.  
Quand il va tomber, dis-le moi.

ŋ genajə lu: lɔ te gon di  
lubewɔ ma de tegu  
kwa lu:ru ma da tegu  
"o ?adʒi bε ?e "a ?ndo fo  
wo ba?a dʒiri me ?ũn do ho  
mu jona'ke madama  
s'ε dəmenti<sup>v</sup>a ha diga ni<sup>v</sup>e  
pəle mo de mi damda  
ndə numbojo minta<sup>ŋ</sup>ga  
numbe mintaga  
umbo je ge<sup>i</sup> mi n taga  
jegə bina: mi pola  
numbuze jo mintaka  
waru wu:nuimo<sup>i</sup>do do<sup>w</sup>aje mu<sup>m</sup> bərə baga

## 98

He ate (yesterday) food.  
Il a mangé (hier) de la nouriture.

?e ?iwẽ wɔja:  
ja lisɔ le  
lε li o ſuvo  
[<sup>u</sup>o] pana ne  
ja ne  
juŋke  
di a dʒege  
za n<sup>j</sup>em niŋaga  
jala ja<sup>um</sup>  
ŋele ŋa:də  
wo njele ?nja:bε  
njelẽg<sup>⁹</sup> njε  
[wo] nja njabe  
wo [ja] kajabe

## 99

Is he eating meat?  
Est-il en train de manger de la viande?

ŋwɔŋ wɔja kɔna:ko ku lij ma  
ja da wɔ ?a kuru kɔnawā ma  
halij na kuru ma  
jnama kubo ma  
nama kubo wo  
nama kupusu  
?ani dã ŋgatõ  
nama kugumbo ma  
nama temə s<sup>i</sup>em  
nama temede  
wo nama temε g<sup>i</sup> sema:  
nama temeb<sup>u</sup>  
wo nama temew wɔma  
wo hama tẽ mẽw wɔma

## 100

That man there wants to eat some fish.  
Cet homme-ci veut manger du poisson.

ko ?a:nunu ?iwa kotasi ɲu ku mu  
hanunju ?iuaku ni:na  
?anɔŋgu jɔ: nina kumɔ  
nkɔ ?ã kɔ ku?ele kuse?iba  
?nkɔ ba?a k<sup>w</sup>egelε kubu so  
?an a?um ?ise kubile dindəbeji  
kama: nẽ ta<sup>v</sup>ãŋõ  
nɔ:ŋga i:zu kube ?ebabo ma  
ndənɔ id teme namogɔm  
?ana ?isin temede  
?an:a no wo ?isu teme nama go  
?ogu bele isigu teme:  
ndə ŋɔ ?izu tema ni namã  
?ainε kɔ wo ?izu teme ?ibewɔ

dəmbu lɔ̃ni mintara	jɔ̃ŋge je	namae <sup>n</sup> temə boga	<sup>n</sup> tani kog <sup>u</sup> le temɔ̄: cəniana
ndʒewagati tibabu	je jəna	nama tembu	wala ni kog <sup>u</sup> le temeli cejana
wakati ?ajεgε mi ɳa pɔ̄ra	jiwa ?ajε	nama teme niŋa bo	kogure teme niŋa bia
jegərgabo jεgenε mi ɳa pɔ̄ra	jiwɔ̄ je	nama teme niŋabo	tagɔ̄rɔ̄ kogore teme nikε
jεgeeri gabo ni mi ɳa pora	ji <sup>u</sup> a <sup>i</sup> ɛ	nama tema bo <sup>i</sup> a:	nabaŋa kolgure tema m <sup>b</sup> oma

## Newcomer

Newcomer, Betsy. 2000. *Exploring dialect difference of Dogon speakers in Mali*. Senior thesis. Bryn Mawr, PA: Bryn Mawr College. pp. 53 + four wordlists + maps.

Wordlists collected in 1998 and reproduced here by permission. \*Tommo-so wordlist is not in thesis.

English	French	New-1 jamsay-tegu from Mondoro	New-2 mombo [Kolum] from Kori- Kori	New-3 tengu-kan from Nombori	New-4 donno-so from Bandiagara	New-5 *tommo so from dimbily
1 one	un	turu	tida	ti:	ti	ti
2 two	deux	leij	ne:ŋga	lɔij	le	neɪ
3 three	trois	ta:n	ta:ndi	ta:n	ta:ndu	tădu
4 four	quatre	naij	kje:do	naij	naij	nai
5 five	cinq	nui	no:mu	nune	nə?	nō
6 six	six	kuroij	kuleij	kurije	kule	kulei
7 seven	sept	sui[j]	so:li	so	soij	soi
8 eight	huit	ga:ra	se:li	sila	gagara	gagira
9 nine	neuf	laɾɔ[a]	to:wa	twa	tu:gɔ	tuwa
10 ten	dix	peru	pɛ:lu	peru	pel	pel
11 eleven	onze	peruturusaga	pelutirasugo	pereturusaga	pelturosige	pelgo'turugo'sigo'
12 twelve	douze	peruleijsaga	pelunenjgasugo	perelɔsaga	pel,leijsige	pelgo'neigo'sigo'
13 thirteen	treize	perutansaga	pelutandisugo	peretansaga	pelta:ndusige	pelgo'tădugo'sigo'
14 fourteen	quatorze	perunaijsaga	pelukjedəsugo	perenaijsaga	pelnai[j]sige	xx
15 fifteen	quinze	perunuvisaga	pelunuməsugo	perenunesaga	pelhosige	xx
16 sixteen	seize	perukurisaga	pelukuleijsugo	perekuleijsaga	pelkulei[j]sige	xx
17 seventeen	dix-sept	perusuisaga	pelusɔlisugo	peresɔsaga	pelsɔjsige	xx
18 eighteen	dix-huit	perugarasaga	peluselisugo	peresilasaga	pelgagarasige	xx
19 nineteen	dix-neuf	perularɔsaga	pelutuwəsugo	peretuwasaga	peltu:gəsige	xx
20 twenty	vingt	pe:le	pene:ŋga	pelɔij	pe:ne	xx
21 twenty-one	vingt et un	pe:leturusaga	pene:ŋgatirasugo	peloturusaga	pe:neturosige	xx
22 thirty	trente	pe:r[u]ta:n	peta:ndu	peta:n	pe:randu	perădu \ pətădu
23 forty	quarante	pe:naij \ perunaij	de	penaij	pe:naij	penai
24 fifty	cinquante	pe:nui	de:ndupelu	penune	pe:nə?	pelnō
25 sixty	soixante	per[u]kuroij	pelkuleij	pelkulije	pelkuleij	pelkulei

26	seventy	soixante-dix	persui \ pεfjui	singipelu,ulija	pε:sc:	pelsɔij	pelsɔi
27	eighty	quatre-vingt	pεruغا:ra	singi	dəgəsən̩j	pε:gagara	kəsum \ pəlgagira
28	ninety	quatre-vingt-dix	pela:rɔ	singidupe:lu	suŋupəru	pε:tu:go	pəltowa \ kəsumlekelep̩l
29	one-hundred	cent	suŋ	singidupenenga	suŋupəle	kε:sū \ ke:suŋ	xx
30	father	père	de:	ba	bō:	ba	meba
31	mother	mère	na:	ni:	na:	na	na
32	father's brother	frère du père	boru	bɔbɔ	bɔse: \ bagara	babeij	xx
33	father's sister	soeur du père	ne:ne	bɔ:	nimu	nine	xx
34	mother's brother	frère de la mère	lidʒu	nedi	niju	əbi	xx
35	mother's sister	soeur de la mère	nəregari[n]	bɔ:	nime	xx	xx
36	brother	frère	ədʒəgari \ ɔ:dʒo	de: \ nobe:	larasugēderē	sana	xx
37	sister	soeur	jeijsagari \ jeijsadagapodʒe		larasugēderē	sa	xx
38	son	fils	in	wewalawe	ĩ \ ana,ĩ[ŋ]	i	xx
39	daughter	fille	ju:n	wejawe	ĩ \ neĩ	jani	im \ iem
40	grandson	petit-fils	tiriwẽ	sedʒewalawe	tiriwe	tiremine	xx
41	granddaughter	petite-fille	tiriwẽjɛ:n	sedʒedʒɔ:we \ sedʒe	tiriwe	xx	xx
42	grandfather	grand-père	metirʌ,an	tori?	baba	bapaij	xx
43	grandmother	grande-mère	metirʌ,ju:n	sedi?	nana	tijijama	xx
44	son-in-law	beau-fils	metirʌ,aɪj̩n	amaliwala	ãwa	ama	xx
45	daughter-in-law	belle-fille	metirʌ,ju:n	amalijɔ:we	tiriwe	ama	xx
46	father-in-law	beau-père	õ,an	amaliwala	ãwa \ baba	xx	xx
47	mother-in-law	belle-mère	õ,ju:n	amalijɔ:	ãwa \ nana	xx	xx
48	face	visage	girifana	giri,uŋgulu	giribana	giriumbolo	girumbolo
49	skull	crâne	danakine	kotorokoro	konogoro	dana	xx
50	brain	cervelle	kuŋbɔ:rt[ʌ]m	ko:bogo	kunogorobɔn	jiru	xx
51	head	tête	kuŋ	kɔ	kunogoro	ku	ku
52	hair (of head)	cheveux	kuŋkuŋ	kɔkuleij	kuŋkuro	kinjèle	xx
53	nose	nez	kine	kindʒa	kimu \ kimi	kini	kin
54	ear	oreille	suŋ	sugulije	suguru	sugulu	sugu'l
55	cheek	joue	lege	tegamo	lege \ mana	ene,ene	xx

56 beard	barbe	beokura	be:kule:	be:	be	be \ bekulo
57 chin	menton	beo	be:	̑w̑	be	xx
58 jaw	machoire	̑[w]egaŋa	̑wa	̑w̑ȇk̑i	be	xx
59 mouth	bouche	ka:	doni	kā \ aja	ke:ne	xx
60 lip	lèvre	ka:nɔ:w̑	doni	kādʒo \ kākū[ŋ]	ke:ne	xx
61 tongue	langue	nɛ:ne	ne:nde	nene	nɛ:nde	xx
62 tooth	dent	ɛ:ne	ini	mi \ mu	inu	xx
63 neck	cou	kɔ:rɔ	paru	kɔ:rɔ	kɔ:ləkɔ:lɔ	xx
64 nape	nuque	go:ro	gulu	goro	dɔ:rɔ	xx
65 throat	gorge	jækɔ,odʒu	olię	jɔ:gɔ:gurulu	ana,me	xx
66 chest	poitrine	gɔ:jɔ	gɔ:	go:jo	gi:ne	xx
67 breast	sein	iru	odʒje	iri \ iru	ir	xx
68 hand	main	numɔ	nuwetebɔ	numo	numɔ	xx
69 fingernail	ongle	numɔko:ru	kɔ:mble	numokɔ:ju	numɔkɔ:mbili	xx
70 claw	griffe	numɔko:ru	kɔ:mble	kuwokɔ:ni	kɔ:mlipala	xx
71 elbow	coude	numɔtɔ:j	kolo	numotɔ:tu	numɔpege	xx
72 shoulder	épaule	titɔ:w̑	kɔ:lɔ:kɔ:lɔ	go:ju	tabtab	xx
73 armpit	aiselle	kikara	guba	kaka:	karukaru	xx
74 finger	doigt	numɔ,ĩ	nuwɛ:se	numo:i \ numi \ kɔ:iŋ	umeij	xx
75 back	dos	guŋtʃen̑e	tundu	dogo \ dogokene	onu	xx
76 heart	coeur	tʃen̑etumɔ	dongo,se:	kenedʒogo	kinde	xx
77 stomach	ventre	bɛ:re	pidi	bini \ binu	kɔ:lɔ \ bɛ:rebɛ:re	xx
78 liver	foie	tʃen̑epa:lam	dongo	kenelalaga	kinde	xx
79 kidney	rein	naru	tʃiba?	dī	xx	xx
80 guts	intestins	kɔ:ri	nuli	kɔ:f̑i	bindu	xx
81 foot	pied	kɔ[w̑]	se	kuwɔ \ kuwataga	kubɔ	xx
82 leg	jambe	diga	se:t̑ebɔ	kuwɔ	paga	xx
83 heel	talon	kɔ:rɔgoru	segulu	kuwɔgoro	kubɔtaga	xx
84 knee	genou	nɛ:ne	kundžuga	juŋɔ:n̑o	jonulu	xx
85 toe	orteil	kɔ,ĩ	se:se:kɔŋgɔ:le	kuw̑e	kubɔgiru	xx

86 rib	côte	gəjəkine	se:jne:	gəjə	jel	xx
87 lung	poumon	pudʒupadʒu	pudufa:du	keneput:dʒupa:dʒu	kinde	xx
88 buttocks	xx	bɔ:tumɔ	sukundi	bɔ:rɔkawara	xx	xx
89 anus	anus	bɔ:rɔbi	susugul[i]je	bɔ:rɔbudʒi	onu	xx
90 penis	penis	tere	sugu	tere	tere	xx
91 vagina	vagin	xx	sugusebe	ijnu	la:ru	xx
92 testicles	testicules	dɔ:rɔ,i	dɔ:lɔ?	todʒu	tere,i	xx
93 thigh	cuisse	digʌnə:wɔ	pengele	paga	kubopaga	xx
94 hips	hanche	dɔ:ri	pengele	samu \ dī	doū	xx
95 navel	nombril	koun	bɔ:ŋgɔ	bɔ:gī	bɔ:ŋgi	xx
96 body	corps	didʒugudʒu	godi	gije?	godu	xx
97 skin	peau	gudʒu	gudu	gijegudʒu	gudu	xx
98 hair	poil du corps	didʒukɔ:rɔ	kule:	gijkekurɔ	godukiŋgele	xx
99 blood	sang	ne:	dʒe:ŋge:	ne \ ni	ni	xx
100 bladder	vessie	pililm	mondʒiqʌdo:li	isirüde	meregiri	xx
101 gall	bile	kənəge:lum	galādʒimbe?	kenekakara	xx	xx
102 bone	os	kire	gā:wε:	kī:	kei[j]	xx
103 vein	veine	ne,udʒu	djengekadje	ne,odʒu	ni;odu	xx
104 urine	urine	susuro	mə:ndʒi	isini	indʒa:re	xx
105 faeces	défécation	be:	sugɔ	be \ bi	bede	xx
106 sweat	sueur	ogu	uddʒe?	o:gu \ ogudi	sənedi	xx
107 saliva	salive	jɔ:rɔni	sə:ndje	turodi \ kandi	dondʒi	xx
108 voice	voix	mine	nə:lɔ	mini	me:	xx
109 language	langage	ka:trigu	do	tiŋe \ tiŋi	sɔ:	xx
110 sleep	sommeil	dʒini	nɔ:rɪŋge	gine	giri	xx
111 dream	rêve	jaŋa,mujnu	amandʒi	jaŋamujuru	jaŋajiru	xx
112 death	mort	nuwɔ	dɔ:	nu \ ju	jimu	xx
113 corpse	cadavre	nuwɔ	xx	nu \ ju	jimu	xx
114 life	vie	ɛ:xu	jan̩go	adūrū \ neñe \ kini	kinda \ kinu	xx
115 sickness	maladie	si:lɛ	uru	numo	lulo	xx

116 cough	toux	kogoја	koroli	kodžugo \ kogudžo	kodige	xx
117 fever	fièvre	kuŋdžogo	kodžimi	gijenu	godunumo	xx
118 sore	plaie	mən	nina	me:	menu	xx
119 deaf	sourd	sunduŋ	nundanda	suguruduŋ[u]	suguluęge:le	xx
120 mute	muet	mu:mo	mu:ma	suguruduŋ[u] \ abo	sə,soijele	xx
121 blind	aveugle	dʒimnu:	džiriga	girimu	giri,mme	xx
122 see	voir	eij \ džirʌ,ε:	malijego	ɔ	džendę \ wa	xx
123 to hear	entendre	agara	nu:ndžugə	ege	ege	xx
124 to smell	sentir	agara	tumbəgo	ege \ džinʌ, ege	džinje:	xx
125 to touch	toucher, palper	təu \ tɔwə	naruŋə	tauwa	igibe:du	xx
126 to taste	goûter	newe	na:ndəgo	te: \ ta:	na:nda	xx
127 eyebrow	sourcil	džirekuro	girekuleko:lo	girekoŋorokuro	giriķingele	xx
128 arm	bras	numə	n[uw]e	numə \ numokoro	numə	xx
129 fist	poing	numokumo	nu[w]ēkumbe	numokumə	numokumə	xx
130 eye	oeil	girʌ,ĩ	girise:	gire	giri	xx
131 twin	jumeau	dže:nim	tantanje?	dženje	džinje	xx
132 forehead	front	džime	gindo	dime \ dimusaga	dimudimu	xx
133 earlobe	lobe de l'oreille	su:nduro	sugulisigulu	sugurudoro	sugulu	xx
134 gray hair	cheveux blancs	kuŋkuropiru	kokoletombo	kūpiru	kiŋgēlepili	xx
135 eyelash	cil	džirikuro	girekule	girekuro	girekiŋgele	xx
136 pubic hair	poils pubiens	demekuro	džobokule	damakuro	xx	xx
137 clitoris	clitoris	xx	suguginja	iŋukenenę	laru	xx
138 tear	larme	džireni:	girʌmi:	giredi:	girindi	xx
139 ear wax	cérumen	sunbe:	sugulesugo	sugurube: \ sugurubij \ sugulubedi	xx	
140 mucus	morve	kinebōru	kindžami:	kimbōru	kinipōru	xx
141 saliva	bave	kaputo	sə:ndždže:	kā:di \ aŋadi	do:ndži	xx
142 breast milk	lait de femme	iruni:	ədžemi	irudi	ir	xx
143 bone marrow	mo%olle	xx	xx	mōrə \ džerege	xx	xx
144 puss	pus	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx
145 scar	cicatrice	nārawa	ninapande	mənāwānā	menubadade	xx

146 name	nom	bən[u]	ini	bo: \ bō \ tige	bəij	xx
147 ghost	esprit	hakile	hakile	kinε	jiri	xx
148 human being	personne	inm	nda?	n:a \ neŋε	indε	xx
149 man	homme	an	wala?	ãfan	a:nə	xx
150 woman	femme	ji:n	jɔ:	jɛ \ ja	janə	xx
151 boy	garçon	aĩn	sagala	ãrɛ:	ana,i	xx
152 girl	fille	je:n	wi:jɔ	je \ naij	jani	xx
153 baby	bébé	inban	ɔre[ij]	ibā	i	xx
154 wife	épouse	ji:n	jɔ:[d]nje:	je: \ ja	janə	xx
155 husband	mari	a:ga	walanje:	ege	ige	xx
156 co-wife	co-épouse	agajin \ agaja:	jɔ:ela	egeja	igija	xx
157 parent	parent	manam	təgu	mene \ mana	mere	xx
158 neighbor	voisin	matəwən	pəngu	bə: \ ginədiŋεbaŋa	bə:	xx
159 old man	vieil homme	angan	kanu?	ana	ana:na	xx
160 old woman	vieille femme	jingan	jɔ:kanu?	jan:a	jana:na	xx
161 king	roi/chef	əgən	ami:lu	əgə	ku:baŋa	xx
162 slave	esclave	gu:nun	gunda	guno	gun,nənə \ gu:nɔja	xx
163 god	dieu	a:ma	adamana	ama	am:ba	xx
164 doctor	guérisseur	dʒəŋ[u]dʒəŋyan	dʒəŋgudʒəŋgu	dʒəŋgu \ dʒəŋgi \ dʒodʒəŋudʒəŋune		xx
165 medicine	médicament	loij	dʒəŋgu	dʒəŋu \ lo	nowo	xx
166 guest	hôte	jirini	bi:m̩ba	te:mabaŋa \ jeri	jondzine	xx
167 friend	ami	tene	nolo	ti,ana \ lagă	anige	xx
168 hunter	chasseur	danan	da:na	dana	dana:na	xx
169 weaver	tisserand	surugən	gjedlatiu	surugɛ	gəditi:ne	xx
170 potter	potier	da:ŋama:n	ədemāu	de:ma:	irne	xx
171 thief	voleur	gugɔiŋ	džiŋga	g̃iŋi \ joŋ	gege:ne	xx
172 village	village	ana	dugu	ana	anda	xx
173 house	maison	uro	debu	gini \ gmu	ginei[j]	xx
174 room	chambre	uro,ĩ	guda	gini,ĩ \ gmu,ĩ	ginekəlɔ	xx
175 corner	coin	urɔberɛ	ɛ:ŋgo	boŋu	pe:ne	xx

176 wall	mur	gowo	debʌtundu	dʒigʌ	kere	xx
177 door	porte	ma:ka	olije	mırıkā	tajə	xx
178 roof	toit	legerε	kumbɔ	kumonu	dembu	xx
179 road	route	ədʒika:	odi	odʒu	odu	xx
180 well	puits	akəŋərɔ	əndɔ \ sa:	ɔ:te \ ete	ɔ	xx
181 spring	source	ni,ədʒu	xx	di:gire	wɔu	xx
182 farm	plantation	edʒu	jala	timeliwu \ ədʒeliwu \ xx		xx
183 hoe	houe	kɔri	da:mbe	ko \ kuŋ	kouŋ	xx
184 sickle	faucille	kɔrɔwaij	kɔ:mɔ	kɔrɔ	kɔ:mɔ	xx
185 stick	bâton	bɛrε	tuma	ba:ga	tana	xx
186 spear	lance	saru	sabije	saru	wara	xx
187 drum	tambour	gɔmbin	boli	be \ bõ	boij	xx
188 basket	panier	tadʒu	tongoni	toguru	tadu	xx
189 mat	natte	ka:ra	kaga	sɔgo	jeŋe	xx
190 bow	arc	tɔijŋ	tɔ:	kɔmɔte	kentana	xx
191 arrow	flèche	tʃim	tɔʃe	kẽ	keŋj	xx
192 knife	couteau	ʃiru	tala	sĩ:ne	polu	xx
193 scissors	ciseaux	sizo	mesike:sɛ	menukedʒɛ	xx	xx
194 axe	hache	seŋ	gula	guro	gulɔ,ana \ gulɔja:	xx
195 rope	corde	suŋ	singi	suŋu	suŋ	xx
196 calabash	calebasse	ka:dʒu	kɔbe	kadʒu \ kodʒu	kodu	xx
197 pot	pot	tunɔno:	əbukɔbe	di:kɔnɔ \ de:ŋi	logudu	xx
198 thing	chose	tʃe	jε:	ədʒɔ \ edʒɛ	kide	xx
199 work	travail	bire	wale	wa:na \ bire	walu	xx
200 war	guerre	kɔmɔ	kɔmbɔ	kɔmɔ	kɔmbɔ	xx
201 hole	trou	ənɔ	kombo	unu \ budʒu \ lo:ru	bondo	xx
202 money	argent	bu:du	dumɔ	budu \ kere \ ke:ru	kεlɛ	xx
203 market	marché	ɛwe	iба	ɛwe	ibe	xx
204 load	fardéau, charge	du \ dududžu	edɔŋga \ dɔ:nde	da \ duwo	dɛ:nde	xx
205 boat / canoe	piroque	ʃarogo,koro	kiŋ	dikoro	koro	xx

206 robe	vêtement ample	juruwa	swebāij	arugo \ aruko	argejpaij	xx
207 clothing	vêtement	anagōij	swe:	tuŋ	soij	xx
208 shoe	chaussure	tagu	taddʒe	taga	taga	xx
209 hat	chapeau	kunjko:	džibili	pı̄ugu \ pı̄igi	domo \ piripu	xx
210 poison	poison	pəsəij	pəsene:	dugo \ pəsō	dugo \ pəson	xx
211 taboo	tabou/interdit	haramasa \ d̪wə	dama	daŋʌ \ gadžu	dama	xx
212 charm	sortilège	dugu \ da:bu	xx	ja:watewu	dugo	xx
213 promise	promise	kədudeij	əralambə \ ənegirimbə	kã,o: \ aja,oij	xx	xx
214 dowry	dot	ja:gifagu	pologodumo	se:reədʒə \ se:re,edʒə gobukelə	xx	xx
215 initiation	initiation	mɔ:ru	xx	sɔ:bana \ sɔ:banu	tumonejo	xx
216 circumcision	circumcision	aranəu \ tṣerekun	kondikilo	amagunəkūnu \ pənəkəndu	xx	xx
217 silo	grenier	gɔ:	panja	gɔ:	ge:	xx
218 courtyard	cour	da:ratʃenə	gombolo	gomoro	gomolo	xx
219 cemetery	cimetière	ɔ:nɔ:sāij	seli	ɔ:jɔ:sāij	sel	xx
220 tomb	tombe	ɔ:nɔ:sāij	seliwe:	ɔ:jɔ:sāij	bədo	xx
221 leather	cuir	gudʒu	gudu:jegudije	gudʒu	dʒandadu	xx
222 pestle	pilon	ma:ti:	dɔ:[w]ě	doĩ \ dāi	doi \ do:na,i	xx
223 mortar	mortier	ma:na:	dɔ:ni?	dogoro	do:na	xx
224 key	clé	tʃēwi	bɔ:[w]ě	kēwē \ taŋaij	taŋi	xx
225 hook	hameçon	mirim,ĩ	dʒam,ite	mĩr[ʌ]ně	menu:menu	xx
226 anvil	enclume	duwə	dana	dana	dubo,ine	xx
227 knife handle	manche de couteau	kudžu	kuda?	si:nedaju \ si:nekudžipolokudu	xx	xx
228 blade of knife	lame de couteau	síru,ĩ	taladoni	si:ne,ĩ	polu	xx
229 fan	éventail	o:gudžu:	udžegubidže:	pi:lupala	belidžube:du	xx
230 laundry	linge	jíru	s[w]ě:nəmandže?	tū	soij	xx
231 comb	peigne	kuŋsan	kosalije	kū:joro	xx	xx
232 necklace	collier	kərədoŋ	ki:ŋgo	digě	dugeij	xx
233 bed	lit	te:nu	tendi?	te:nu	te:ndu	xx
234 pillar	pilier de maison	džuŋ	simba	dʒe \ dʒe	džiŋ	xx
235 seat	siège	koro	do:ŋge	tuŋo \ tuŋuru \ deŋa	dondanji	xx

236 water	eau	ni:	mĩ	di:	di	xx
237 river	rivière	goro	əndələ	goro \ goru	golo	xx
238 rain	pluie	ani	kəməŋgamĩ	anadi	ana	xx
239 cloud	nuage	kuruč	ale	anakumo	anagulɔ:mbɔ	xx
240 smoke	fumée	kukumo	kumbu	kukumo	kumo	xx
241 dew	rosée	omoni:	elolomi:	oromodi:	wobu	xx
242 fog	brouillard	sundu	ulelekumbe	ba:purugu	bapurugunj	xx
243 thunder	tonnerre	anato:	kumaŋgawe	araharaduru	anadədu	xx
244 lightning	éclair	anawaij	kumaŋgagiremɔli	araharagiregeru	anadədu	xx
245 sky	ciel	jərimana	adankolo	arahara	aligi	xx
246 wind	vent	ɔŋjɔ	jale	o:ŋo \ o:ndʒu	dʒe:dɛ	xx
247 sun	soleil	ni:nı:	dʒɛ	nunumu \ nana	na:ŋ	xx
248 moon	lune	ɛ:	[w]ě	ɔ:	ugo,i	xx
249 star	étoile	toro	ŋamankələ	toro	to:li	xx
250 fire	feu	nuč	dʒimı	ne \ jaŋu	ŋaŋ	xx
251 coal	charbon	gərədʒim	ke:ŋgo	gēwē	gəməle	xx
252 ash	cendre	dəwə	dwe[ij]	do:wɛ	undo	xx
253 tree	arbre	ti[w]ě	tinič	time	time	xx
254 leaf	feuille	ti[w]ěkuro	kube	kuro	timenuŋo	xx
255 root	racine	bɔrakiŋ	dundun	bɔrədū \ dūdū	timedundu	xx
256 branch	branche	ti[w]ěnuməi[n]	nɔ:[w]:e:	numowěj \ nuɔi	timenumo	xx
257 trunk	tronc	ti[w]ěna:	dundun	duŋunu	timelaru	xx
258 fruit	fruit	ti[w]ě,ĩ[n]	tinigo:weij	ĩ	time,i	xx
259 flower	fleur	ti[w]ěfurɔ	pulo	pujo \ pije	pujo	xx
260 thorn	épine	duduwo	dʒõ[u]	giye	ge:i[j]	xx
261 grass	herbe	ɔiç	kɔdi	guguru \ keru	bele	xx
262 hill	colline	paij	pego	soŋɔ \ so:ŋu	pegele	xx
263 ground	sol	idžubaij	sweij	osoro \ ja:nta	tai[j]	xx
264 mud	boue	piŋtum	ɔgɔlə	lɔgo	undžuŋ	xx
265 dust	poussière	kɔŋɔ	kundale	purugunj	porogunj	xx

266	forest	forêt	un	gurubu	unu	olusolo	xx
267	stone	pierre	tumo	kini	tu: \ tuwɔ	tibu	xx
268	iron	fer	irim	dube	ĩ:ri	ine	xx
269	copper	cuivre	mɛnba:n	dubebunu	mɛnubā	ineban	xx
270	gold	or	kaŋa	kaŋe	kaŋe	kaŋe	xx
271	silver	argent	budu	tʃardi	saredi	ke:le	xx
272	sand	sable	sisɔm	sɔinda	sɔnɔ \ cnɔsɔ	sɔlomeij	xx
273	footprint	trace de pas	kɔ:namara	dʒimutāgena \ dʒi[n]u,untagakuwɔ \ kuwanamkubona:ma			xx
274	kindling	bois à brûler	tiŋ	trŋge	fɪ \ tni \ tmu	tmetegedu	xx
275	charcoal	braise/charbon de nuwətʃire		ke:ŋgo	ŋembe: \ ŋaŋubi:	ŋjambedi	xx
276	rubber	caoutchouc	mana	mana \ manami	ma:ra \ mana	mana	xx
277	soot	suie	kukumɔaga	ɔdenke:ŋgo	kukumɔaga	kumɔbede	xx
278	suds	mousse	futo	pulɔ?	jugɔrɔ	kaŋa	xx
279	rust	rouille	ĩ:nɛmpɛij	ɛ:ndʒɔ	ĩnije	mesɔnjo	xx
280	straw	paille	koŋono:	kɔdjima:[w]i	konogo \ gonogo \ ke:tɛl \ kɔnɔŋgɔ		xx
281	dung	fumier, engrais	biguru \ lugu	ubu	binugu \ anasara,ɛ:	ubu	xx
282	shadow	ombre	tʃitfenedɔidžu \ tʃined:kindo		kindɛ \ ɲandū	kinde	xx
283	light	lumière	nuwəbodžu	jɛdɛ \ pelele	widɛ		xx
284	baobab tree	baobab	ɔrɔna:	ɔrɔ	gɔrɔ	ɔrɔ	xx
285	bamboo	bambou	xx	gi:wɛ:	kaři	gɔgitana	xx
286	reed	roseau	xx	bu:du	po:ni		xx
287	seed	graine	ĩ	se	inɔu[m] \ ĩ \ sã	ju:,i \ saneme,i	xx
288	xx	caclédrat	peруna:	pela	peru	pel	xx
289	xx	fromager	dʒimna:	an[i]ja	dʒi \ dʒu	dʒiŋ	xx
290	xx	néré	jɔ:rɔ	pori	jɔ:rɔ	jurɔ	xx
291	xx	ronier	geledžina:	ſiu	ko:mona:	siŋ	xx
292	animal	animal	aſege	beli	bɛru \ arasege	nama	xx
293	hyena	hyène	tita:	ta	ta:	tara	xx
294	bat	chauve-souris	kitʃidžuwa:džu	wadi \ kidikidi	kikidžu		xx
295	scorpion	scorpion	ne:mne	nunu	mɔijɛ	momeij	xx

296 worm	vers	susum	sī	susuŋ	su:du	xx
297 chameleon	caméléon	əgədʒi:ne	moinē:	ẽfisine	əndenje	xx
298 termite	termite/fourmi	blatutumuru	tū	dʒā:tū	tu	xx
299 ant	fourmi	tſitſenpiru \ tſitſen	sundžuguna	meme \ məməgẽ \ məmənemene \ menemene	xx	xx
300 anthill	fourmillière	tſitſentum	tolo	arukẽgire	ke:gir	xx
301 lion	lion	dunijara	jara	jara \ duŋujara	jara	xx
302 leopard	léopard/panthère	ka:maſuma	indʒeganẽdi \ tſibədanjəjənəo \ juŋū	xx	xx	xx
303 elephant	éléphant	duŋdanya	nige	duŋu \ gəŋe	gəŋeij	xx
304 buffalo	buffle	waru	cau	ko: \ ka:	ogurunaja	xx
305 baboon	babouin	kanri	kale	dəge	xx	xx
306 monkey	singe	ɔ:nrɔ	ɔmədə	ɔmənɔ	ɔməlɔ	xx
307 crocodile	crocodile	aija	n:ata	aje	age	xx
308 hippopotamus	hippopotame	baŋ	ngabu	sana,ana	xx	xx
309 lizard	lézard	atſiŋi	wāu	o:ni	jeŋ	xx
310 snake	serpent	luluro	nɔməndži	ju:ro	juguru	xx
311 tortoise	tortue	akəŋərɔ	guŋkababe \ guŋ	aŋgūru \ wadʒjakire	aŋgunguru	xx
312 spider	araignée	nɔ:rəda:	marangjegjeditſu \	nonono	na:nu	xx
313 flea	puce	karumka:	nūgamgulu \ siperede	kidžu	semə	xx
314 mosquito	moustique	kitſen[w]ẽ	o:we	õŋkerə \ ouŋ	odogolo	xx
315 fly (n.)	mouche	ni:dʒem	dje:nə	ŋeŋ \ ŋeŋe	jəŋgili	xx
316 bee	abeille	nu:karawa	əmboguna	kədəŋe:ŋu \ ŋe	ŋeŋ	xx
317 honey	miel	juŋ	ige	tijə	ige	xx
318 frog	grenouille	iŋgerə:	ɔŋgonpanda	ɛŋenenaŋa	beŋkuŋdžu	xx
319 squirrel	écureuil	kuwɔiŋ	kūwā	kuna:	kẽ	xx
320 cow	vache	na:ŋa	na	naŋana:	naŋa	xx
321 bull	taureau	naŋa,ãra	nau:ala	naŋa,ana / naŋadžaŋaŋa,ana	xx	xx
322 goat	chèvre	bɛ:ru	una	ɛ:nə	ɛnə	xx
323 buck	bouc	bɛruãra	unawala	agiwu	ɛnə,ana	xx
324 sheep	brebis	bəri	a:najɔ:	pedžu	pedija \ pedu	xx
325 ram	bélier	bɛruðžaŋ	anawala	džaŋu	pedu,ana	xx

326 horse	cheval	som	sondʒoni	so \ sɔŋ	souŋ	xx
327 mare	jument	somija:	sondʒonidʒo	so:na:	soŋja:	xx
328 donkey	âne	dʒanduru	kɔŋja	jonturu	dʒandʒulu	xx
329 antelope	antilope	kari	kidi	wiru	wil	xx
330 rabbit	lapin/lièvre	dʒɔŋɔ	jome	jɔ:ŋo	jome	xx
331 chicken	poule	εneja:	sida	kogo \ eje	endʒe	xx
332 rooster	coq	εjla,āra	sidawala	kogo,ana \ eje,ana	endʒe,ana	xx
333 guinea-fowl	pintade	ŋam	a:ŋu	ja:ŋa \ ja:ŋi	jakuma	xx
334 mouse	souris	dʒudʒɔŋ	swa	uŋkuru	aij	xx
335 bush rat	rat de forêt	edʒudʒudʒɔŋ	siguswa	gugudʒu	gudugudu	xx
336 pigeon	pigeon	gugumu	gumbagumba	gumokaddʒa	sada	xx
337 duck	canard	tənkənɔijdʒo	elo	tagajere	ele	xx
338 turkey	dinde	furo,ɔno,ma,epe	fida,onasida	xx	xx	xx
339 dog	chien	idʒū	indʒe	isi	idu	xx
340 cat	chat	nini[w]ē	ga:[w]ē	dono	gama	xx
341 bird	oiseau	sã:dži	ni:[w]ē	sadžu	sada	xx
342 feather	plume	kuro	kule	kuro	kuru	xx
343 wing	aile	gamnu	karakara	gajna	gambulu	xx
344 egg	oeuf	taru	pole	taru	taluu	xx
345 vulture	vautour	džugara	duba	duwo?	dubɔ	xx
346 hawk	épervier	tit[e]ju	tebu	tete	tebutebu	xx
347 horn	corne	kire	xx	kire	kile	xx
348 tail	queue	duro	dulɔ	duro	dulɔ	xx
349 flying ant	fourmi volante	xx	kakirikiri	kikije \ ke:	mənəmənə	xx
350 iguana	iguane	xx	xx	aqiu	xx	xx
351 wildcat	chat sauvage	edʒuniniwe	kɔŋga:[w]ē	baradono	ogolugama	xx
352 pig	porc/cochon	to:ru	debu,aluwa	toru	tolu	xx
353 shell	coquillage	kiko[wu]	pɔləkombule	ki:go	kelepil	xx
354 porcupine	porc-épic	kemseje	ke:me	ke:me	umulugudu	xx
355 hedgehog	hérisson	əgərəpe,[i]ju	nugulu,[u]mbandʒe	əgərəbe[dʒu]	umulugududaij	xx

356 viper	vipère	kikədʒu	kədikədi \ ansana	jurona:	jugurumu	xx
357 python	pithon	lulurəna	nomondʒi,ansaja	jurommu	xx	xx
358 venom	venin	tɔ:kɔ	nomondžio:ndʒi	tɔ:gɔ	xx	xx
359 butterfly	papillon	pililum	angeō	titije	gombəna:gombə	xx
360 wasp	guêpe	dʒidʒēwē	ginjilima	ga:na	nanu	xx
361 leech	sangsue	dʒililm	to:ndo?	tutunu	tuntun	xx
362 cricket	sauterelle	kika:	kaija	ka:	ka:ka	xx
363 parrot	perroquet	sago:	gɔij	sa:ku:	sadasɔ:sɔ:jine	xx
364 sparrow	hirondelle	əgəsirum	[w]ēle[w]ēle	we:wer[e]	sugu	xx
365 bird tail	queue d'oiseau	sādʒidurɔ	ni[w]ēdulɔ?	sadžidurɔ	sada;dulo	xx
366 bird nest	nid d'oiseau	sādžikurɔ	ni[w]ēguru	sadžukuru	sadagini	xx
367 fish tail	queue de poisson	idžudurɔ	kəgule,dulɔ	kəgərəduro	ididulɔ	xx
368 fish scale	écailler de poisson	idžuko:	kəgulekedələ	kəgərəkoko:	xx	xx
369 bird throat	gésier de volaille	jəgəbərɔ	ni[w]ē,əle	gagarinjə	endžekələkəlɔ	xx
370 food	nourriture	kənji:	gu:re \ pani	bana	jja:	xx
371 meat	viande	nəwɔ	nama	n:auwā	nama	xx
372 fish	poisson	i:dʒu	kogole	kəkərɔ	idu	xx
373 soup	bouillon	xx	omo	nāwādi	əmo	xx
374 milk	lait	ɛm	ɛmɛ	ire \ iru	iru	xx
375 salt	sel	nəm	nēo	mē:	nəm	xx
376 onion	oignon	dʒəwɔ,̄i	dʒaba	dʒauwa	dʒaba	xx
377 oil	huile	nuij	nū	niju \ niŋi	ne:	xx
378 fat	graisse	se	siwɔ	sije \ siwe	se:ŋ	xx
379 peanut	arachide	ɛ:rɛ	ələŋgedundele \ ələŋgegoe:remuju \ ε:rena:	ɛle	xx	
380 kola nut	noix de cola1	gɔ:rɔ	wo:lo	go:ro	wolo	xx
381 tea	quinquéliba2	xx	xx	xx	xx	xx
382 champignon	mushroom	ta:bim	dalagabɔli	pulɔ[n]terə \ ju:rolo	tarabɔij	xx
383 day	jour	ni	deni	isige:	baij	xx
384 night	nuit	da:ga	do[w]o	ja:nja \ jaŋa	janja	xx
385 morning	matin	je:dʒje	ega:gu	a:ga	a:ga	xx

386 noon	midi	jnipidarakene	gjě:tege	numotegē \ nanatege nantige	xx	
387 evening	soir	da:gani:	də:ndəmə	daganuiju \ dəganeij di:ga	xx	
388 sunrise	lever du soleil	ninituij	djě:tumbə	numotumugu \ nanatnantomu	xx	
389 sunset	coucher du soleil	nininup	djě:dɔ	nujonumbugu \ nana nanumbo	xx	
390 new moon	nouvelle lune	ɛ:kana	wekanda	ɔ:ñ:bã	ugəkanda	xx
391 full moon	plaine lune	ɛ:piru	weto:mbo	ɔ:piru	ugopili	xx
392 month	mois	ɛ:	wetombo \ we	ɔ:	ugo	xx
393 year	année	anakudžu	waija	anakudžu	anagudu	xx
394 rainy season	saison des pluies	gine	dʒina	gimige: \ gmiŋge \ dʒiŋinega:	xx	
395 dry season	saison sèche	ni:bana	dʒe:ndžu	nanabārā \ nuju:bārā namba:nu	xx	
396 time	temps	wagat	wagaru	doguru	wa:ru \ doguru	xx
397 today	aujourd'hui	idʒe?	ijo	ije	i:je	xx
398 yesterday	hier	ja:	ja:gu	ja:	ja	xx
399 tomorrow	demain	jogo	əgo	jogo	jo:go	xx
400 lunch	repas à midi	nuwəka:	gili	a:gabana \ isigeba:ja agapana	xx	
401 dinner	repas du soir	da:gafana	pani	dagabana \ de:geba:ndige:pana	xx	
402 present year	année en cours	nəwɔ	na:we:ja	nō \ jo:	juga	xx
403 last year	année précédente	ga:ru	go:li	ga:ri \ ga:re:	ga:li	xx
404 next year	année suivante	jəgɔnaj[g]aru	na:ngoli	jogona:ju	anagudu:je \ ba:go:i:j	xx
405 spend the day	passer la journée	edʒidegu \ degu	gjε:rɔ:ji,tangamə	de:ge	denuturu	xx
406 spend the night	passer la nuit	ginini:li	sɔ:ŋgələ	na:	ja:ŋaturu:ja \ ja:ŋaturu:N	xx
407 get up too late	se lever trop tard	girʌsinu:nɔ:li \ ɔ:gɔ:nunukwaijɔ:,idije	warungorola	nanegija:nɛ,[in]gele	xx	
408 leave at dawn	partir à l'aube	nisi:ru	dʒə:ŋgənau,indʒɔ	a:gajegu:ja	base:nebolo	xx
409 last, to stay	durer, rester longtɔ:u		jɔ:mɔ:go	tāwa	tamadu	xx
410 moment	moment/laps de tewagatu		wagari	doguru \ kərukɔ:rɔ	waruturu	xx
411 truth	vérité	tɔ:ijɔ	tɔ:nə	tɔ:ŋɔ:nə	nana	xx
412 lie	mensonge	kɔ:ru	kalabu	bɪnəkədʒe \ kɔ:ru	bilimo	xx
413 place	place	di \ di:dn̩j	dʒe:	deju \ njə	jal	xx
414 be possible	être possible	ga:nago	bilalabɔ	kidžedžu \ kijena:	emese:je \ emese:je:du	xx
415 be accustomed	avoir l'habitude de	xx	nu:nđe	we:dʒe	werijedu	xx

416	be in a hurry	être pressé	əgo:ra	na:dʒugə	kenegara	numənde:du	xx
417	standing	être debout	idʒu	i:ndʒo:gə	ige	ijedu	xx
418	hanging	être suspendu	dona:	dʒamugə \ dʒeligo	dʒedʒere	dzeledu	xx
419	be angry	être fâche	dʒau	kolamugo	kənepara	ləgəmədu \ kindələgər	xx
420	be ashamed	être honteux	i:pu	dəgə	dəgə:a:	dogowa \ dəgəwadu	xx
421	be astonished	être étonné	te:rə \ hāij:datanə	haunde	tetewe:ke:	aluka:gu	xx
422	be tired	être fatigué	d̥e	nenebo	d̥ij̥e	dijau:	xx
423	fatigue	fatigue	d̥e	nem̥dʒe	d̥in̥j̥e \ diŋ̥a	dei:je	xx
424	hunger	faim	dʒe	kuga	gi:e	ge:	xx
425	thirst	soif	ninən	mi:kun̥ga	dinowu	dino:lu	xx
426	intelligence	intelligence	man \ hakile	hakileŋ̥ga	hakile \ manugo	jiriseije \ mandigi	xx
427	dizziness	vertige	girijuru	girimə:wibili	girewiru	girijigile	xx
428	be pregnant	être enceinte	bəregin	pidiga	jalor̥i \ loru	beredža \ beredže\	xx
429	be wrong	avoir tort	t̥ōij̥osara	t̥onəsandija	d̥azarugubere	biliməməij \ giliməseij	xx
430	be right	avoir raison	t̥ōij̥odžə:ru	t̥onəsi:ja	t̥ɔj̥onəberə	nanaməij \ nanaseije	xx
431	make jealous	jalouser	i:re	ha:sidu	pənənəbe	igija:kana	xx
432	be clever	être malin	sojo	silalija	so:mo	sau[n]dədu \ sausau	xx
433	need (verb)	avoir besoin	denedžem	hadjja,si:ju\ namjigə	kasi:jə \ nawə	namedu	xx
434	be full ("filled")	être plein	dʒo:nu	si:nabo	dʒo:	dʒo:ndo \ dʒo:ndogala	xx
435	be full ("stuffed")	être rassasié	bai:ja	sinigə	ba:	mimbadu \ ba:ju	xx
436	be a gourmand	être gourmand	k̥ridugu	nəlŋ̥ga	kən̥igi \ kən̥igu	bindigme	xx
437	be drunk	être ivre	ləgəgaru	kəndje,nū	bimunu	kəndžənəidžne	xx
438	be crazy	être fou	we:gedžu	kje:kje	kekedaw \ ke:ge	wedegime	xx
439	be sick	être malade	se:ləleli	uru,ljugə	nunugə	džingime	xx
440	get better	aller mieux	irekə	irumbo	irekana	erewə \ erewokana	xx
441	be older	être plus âgé	gara	kanumija	garā	wolepaj \ pajnde:ndu	xx
442	be different	être différent	kotula	pimandaga	dei	woledej \ deŋgube:	xx
443	sleep on back	être couché sur le g̥ijtʃenemanaŋju		tundukombi;ju	ganagu,ime	gaijane,undže \ ondže:	xx
444	sleep on side	être couché sur le pənemanaŋju		seŋekombi;ju	bəregeregū,ime	pe:nene,undže	xx
445	sleep in stomach	être couché sur le benemanaŋju		pidukombi;ju	wawawa	dabidžane,undže \ dab	xx

446 to be wet	être mouillé	tem \ tema	embaguqɔ	ɔrε	ɛ:ndedu	xx
447 to be rotten	être pourri	ɔij	dinjumugɔ	ɔmu \ ɔmɔ	ɔmədu	xx
448 to be equal	être égal	tʃeutʃeu	jembijambo	kereu	ke:ke	xx
449 to have holes	être toué	molu	mu:re	loru	kidəlolu \ donogolo	xx
450 to be solid	être solide	dij	kandʒjakandʒabɔ	kedʒe: \ ej	tonobedu \ to:nobe:	xx
451 be arguing	être en dispute	seasī	ka[w]āka[w]ādʒu	bəgərə \ dʒaije	kiredu	xx
452 heavy	lourd	dudʒu \ tʃe:dudʒu	edɔŋga \ dəndʒa:bo	dogu	dogodo	xx
453 light	léger	jen \ tʃe:jen	ja[ɔ]ja[ɔ]bo	jenu \ jərū	[w]ēij	xx
454 white	blanc	piru	tombo	piri \ piru	pilu	xx
455 black	noir	dʒem	wedʌdɛ	g̃	g̃	xx
456 red	rouge	ban	bunu	bā \ bānu	ban	xx
457 green	vert	ɔiç,ɔru	kədʒikəlu	jeru \ weru	weru	xx
458 yellow	jaune	jɔrɔpire \ saij	pədipunange	jɔrɔpuŋu	jurəpuno	xx
459 blue	bleu	buləbulɔ	bula	bulebulə	bulə	xx
460 large	grand	dimene \ dʒəkɔ:lɔ	baŋabɔ \ jebala \	gara \ mana	po:	xx
461 small	petit	teij \ daga	dedʒa:bɔ	daga \ dagu \ udžu	daij	xx
462 many	beaucoup/nombre	bɔŋjɔ:kɔ \ bɔŋjɔ	dʒa:mba \ dʒuwa:bo	gara: \ dʒo:	ga	xx
463 few	peu	t̄eijkɔ	deja:bo	daga:	ga:leij	xx
464 all	tout	kofu: \ fu	sele	sā: \ wɔiŋpu: \ pu	nana	xx
465 thick	épais	xx	elijabo	nāwadogu	waija	xx
466 thin	mince	ujukɔ	nondʒa:bo	udʒi:	udu	xx
467 wide	large	wa:	bambijabo	wa:	waija	xx
468 narrow	étroit	upu	pəmbijabo	emu \ emi	emu	xx
469 hard	dur	dij	ma:gebo	kedʒe \ māij	tono	xx
470 soft	doux/tendre	jɔru	məmbo	joroju \ ɔnənənɔ	ɔnənɔ	xx
471 sweet	doux/sucré	iru	elilibo	ɛrewʌ:le \ e:lu	ɛle	xx
472 bitter	amer	dʒi:ru	tonton:bo	kakara \ karakara	gal	xx
473 sour	aigre	nɔm	amamabo	tɔŋutoŋu	gala	xx
474 deep	profond	wo:ro	sumbijabo	worouŋ	tow[u]	xx
475 shallow	peu profond	garaworola	sumbjija,ɔli	dere	daijtow[u]	xx

476	long	guru	gulija:bo	guru	pala	xx
477	short	court	goiŋ	dun̩gulijabo	dege	dene
478	good	bon	iru	epɔ:lɔ	sẽ \ seu	sẽ
479	bad	mauvais	mɔ̃ju	mɔli	mɔ̃ju	pa:de
480	dirty	sale	lɔgo \ lɔgoju	neme	newe \ gẽ	neme
481	clean	propre	ɛdʒe	ɛde	sese \ ege	eda:d[ɛ]
482	fat	gros	ɔwa \ ɔwu \ se:gu	jebalagabala	mana \ dem[ʌ]re	ama
483	thin	maigre	doŋ	juəndʒa:bo	doju \ komo	kому
484	dear	cher	miten,nan	kajama	naū \ hire	ibe
485	cheap	bon marché	ewenā:ra \ dən,nā:ra	ibapɔ:lɔ	dənjɔ:ru \ dən,nana	nana
486	near	proche/près	pene \ penekuŋ	berijabo \ wadʒa,ɔli	xx	beru
487	far	loin/lointain	waga \ di:waga	wadʒabo \ dʒi[ɔ]wagi	waga	wagu
488	beautiful	beau	ãra,edžu \ dʒa,edžu	jaga	sẽij \ anasene \ jasen̩edu	xx
489	ugly	laid	ãramɔ̃ju \ jamɔ̃pu	jagandiga \ jagandigadžamɔ̃nu	anamɔ̃indžu \ eduwolo	xx
490	hot	chaud	ɔgu	na:gabo	no:nu \ barubaru	numo
491	cold	froid	jujuwɔ:	kililabo	kirilu	kele
492	strong	fort	fajə	sembe	eij	sembe
493	weak	faible	lɔk	sembenandedže \ sembesjɔru	[w]ẽij	xx
494	other	autre	xx	jeto?	pege	kidejaga
495	bright	brillant	aŋana:ra	taijrembo	doworodo:ro \ jerelel	xx
496	ripe	mûr	i:jɛ	wule?	ire	ile
497	unripe	cru/vert	koro	kolɔ	koro	ko:lo
498	entire	entier	kofu	sele	jo:je: \ se:o	kunu
499	healthy	sain/bien portant	se:lɛ[se]	alape:mbo	se:ose:o \ kajjakajja se:o	xx
500	empty	vide	wo:mi \ diwo:m	sala	ko:ro	igedu
501	lazy	paresseux	wal[ʌ]gu	kubanduga	walag̩i \ walag̩u	walagine
502	rich	riche	daijgu	dumɔ:ŋga	ɔgo,ĩ \ bərubajja	bel[u]bajja
503	self	même, en personne	wɔ:kana	e:la:	te: \ kaja	miteij
504	alone	seul	kɔ:turu	tinana	tuni \ santuno	meturu
505	eat	manger	ji \ kajini:na	ɛŋɔ:ga	ji: \ i	ja:na

506 drink	boire	nəwə	ənə:gə	nə:	dʒinə	xx
507 swallow	avaler	mine \ cε[be]mine	mi:ndogə	mənu	mine	xx
508 urinate	uriner	ʃunəfui	mɔndʒimɔndʒimbia	ʃisnūši	ndʒarisa	xx
509 defecate	défèquer	bε:be	bə:ŋguru	bε \ bi	bidə:bide	xx
510 do	faire	kāra \ bire	kanugə	kana \ bire	kana	xx
511 go	aller	ja:	andugə	ja	bolo	xx
512 come	venir	jerara	eguŋə	jere	jε:le	xx
513 return	retourner	pilurejerara	egugə \ kililiŋə	pilimujere \ kigeremukingele		xx
514 enter	entrer	nū \ nūrə	nɔ:gə	ni: \ nū \ jo:	jo \ dʒo	xx
515 go out	sortir	go \ gora	go:gə	go	go	xx
516 walk	marcher	ja \ jara	unuŋə	jeja:	jede	xx
517 go up	monter	uru \ urara	diŋgə	dau[w]a	damba	xx
518 go down	descendre	ʃugu \ sugara	sigugə	sugo	sugo	xx
519 run	courir	dʒəu \ dʒəara	duruŋə \ du	dʒəwo	dʒəba	xx
520 mount an animal	monter un animal	uru \ urara	bəlikundigə	uriye \ ure	jane	xx
521 hit	frapper	lagu	bundugə	laga \ dəŋjə	təbəle	xx
522 beat	battre	bara:na	teb[u]ləgə	laddʒa \ laga	be:nde	xx
523 kill	tuер	wɔij	dʒe:wəgə	dana \ da	da	xx
524 insult	insulter	də \ də:rə	duwəgə	də	de:de:du	xx
525 pull	tirer	badʒu \ badʒa:ra	jimbəgə	badʒa	dʒimbe	xx
526 push	pousser	dam	dambəgə	deme	damba	xx
527 carry	porter	dedʒa \ de:i:jβ	bamb[j]igə	ko:we \ suwe \ pəne \ du:je		xx
528 bring	apporter	dʒe:ru	soŋgəgə	je:re	dʒe:le	xx
529 lift	soulever	dʒe:jnu	dʒjendʒəgə	jiŋe	dʒe:ne	xx
530 put down	déposer	de:ne	də:ndəgə	uŋuno \ dunə	da:nda	xx
531 lie down	être étendu	tāij	sananabi:ju	auworu	undʒe	xx
532 sleep	dormir	dʒimini	nu:jugə	ginləno[w]ɛ \ girijoru je:je:		xx
533 dream	rêver	janamuju[muju]	jaŋamujumɔŋjəno			xx
534 rest	se reposer	dəru \ də:re	ne:lugə	sədinəmə	de:le	xx
535 open	ouvrir	lil:le \ lil,:lu	baõlugə	piŋene \ pinene	piŋele	xx

536 close	fermer	timne?	ba:nduqɔ	piŋɛ \ pine	pi:nde	xx
537 bury	enterrer	biju \ biwe	bedeqɔ	bije	bige	xx
538 read	lire	lugo	kanugɔ	dʒaŋa	dʒaŋga	xx
539 write	écrire	tɔŋ	nɔŋqɔ	toŋo	tɔŋo	xx
540 gather	réunir	mɔ:nɔ	maŋgamugɔ	mono	mɔ:ndɔ	xx
541 accompany	accompagner	ni:ne \ ninu	ni:nɔdɔgɔ	ni:ne	ni:ndedu	xx
542 burn	brûler	dɛ:re \ deij	dʒa:rugɔ	te:re	tegedu	xx
543 roast	rôtir	sime \ simāra	nã:wugɔ	sime	waije	xx
544 boil	bouillir	əgəru \ əgərara	wandamugɔ	dʒa:na	dʒa:ndʌ	xx
545 sing	chanter	nuya:ra	nɔwəgɔ	nuya	nujonujo	xx
546 say	dire	tiga:ra	gunqɔ	ginu \ gi:jɛ	ge \ sɔjɛ	xx
547 talk	discuter	pila:ra	kãwãdžugɔ	togutogu	sɔŋelɔ	xx
548 tell	raconter	pila:ra	ti:lqɔ	kələmɔ	soijedu	xx
549 ask	demander	udžura:ra	sarugɔ	geŋɛ \ uŋɔnɔ	tubotubo	xx
550 answer	repondre	sa:ra	abuljugɔ	sa:	jabile	xx
551 desire	désirer	da:rara	ka:ŋjugɔ	da:ra	name	xx
552 refuse	refuser	jçwɔli	abandžja	jowola	jabalu	xx
553 twist	tordre/tresser	gɔju \ gɔjara	kundžugɔ	na \ munɔ \ mi:nema	kama	xx
554 chop/slice	trancher	daŋaru	kabugɔ	kedʒɛ \ gumɔnɔ	kede	xx
555 cut	couper	kedžu	porugɔ	kedʒɛ	du:mbo	xx
556 tear	déchirer	ka:ru \ ka:rara	kaŋgagugɔ	ka:ra	kine	xx
557 build	bâtir	mana \ mäij	da:ndogɔ	udʒo	udədu	xx
558 dress	s'habiller	anagɔŋkɔi̯j	ŋamb[ʃ]igɔ	tükunɔ	daledu	xx
559 undress	se déshabiller	anagɔŋko:lu	ŋambulugɔ	tüsara	pəmbədu	xx
560 put away	remiser/ranger	kədenetʃi:ne \ mɔ:nɔ	je:gurugɔ	jegʌre	mɔ:ndədu	xx
561 hide	cacher	baŋaru	ku:rogɔ	ke:nu \ baŋana	dʒərədu	xx
562 steal	voler	gū[n]jara	džiŋɔ	gukuj \ gĩ \ kirije	gje:du \ gẽ:du	xx
563 help	aider	baru	barugɔ	bara	baradu	xx
564 fall	tomber	num \ numaran	jegɔgɔ	baga \ numbo	numbodu	xx
565 think	penser	man \ manaran	na:lijegɔ	managa	mandigedu	xx

566 know	savoir	dʒugə	jarogə	̄wijɛ	igibe:du	xx
567 remember	se souvenir	ma:nadʒe:ru	na:ljəgo	sã:nanama	na:ledu	xx
568 forget	oublier	naŋ	idʒʌrəgo	naja	na:du	xx
569 dig	creuser/labourer	dʒāiŋ \ dʒa:na	gandžugə \ kubəgo	wanja \ wara \ dʒa:	wandžja \ wala	xx
570 weed	sarcler/arracher le:wɔm		umbəgo	mɔmɔməmə	guguru mɔmu	xx
571 teach	enseigner	inmdʒanju	kanamugə	jeŋuba:na	dʒanjamadu	xx
572 learn	étudier/apprendre	dʒanju	nundəgo	dʒanjudžanju	bagedu	xx
573 cry out	crier	pe:	kəməgo	sumokonu	dədedu	xx
574 laugh	rire	m[w]ɔu	mandugo	mo:	mɔij	xx
575 drive away	chasser/éloigner/r̥digu \ waŋanu		pijo:go	nana \ dige	nanadu	xx
576 seize	saisir/tenir	aɪj	dindžogə	a:	agadu	xx
577 take	prendre	jaŋu \ jaŋa	neməgo	jowo	dʒenjedu	xx
578 give	donner	ɔɪj \ ɔ:ra	ndəgo	ono \ onu	obodu	xx
579 bite	mordre	tʃeru \ tʃera:ra	nunğəgo	kere	kereodu	xx
580 shoot/toss	lancer/jeter une pi:kam \ kama:na		gudžugə \ kəgo:go	kama \ dʒumo	kambadu	xx
581 sell	vendre	dən \ dəna:na	so:logə	dono	dənədu	xx
582 buy	acheter	eu \ ewada	sɔ:go	ewə	ebedu	xx
583 call	appeler	bɔnara \ bɔnɔnu	dʒalugə	boru \ bɔrɔ	bododu	xx
584 sit	s'asseoir/être assisdədiŋ \ dije		dajugə	dadanya \ deŋi:	danjedu	xx
585 give birth	accoucher	ī:nanu \ nanara	nahugə	nana	laladu \ ondžedu	xx
586 throw	jeter	kam \ kama:na	kəgo:go	kamadaga \ dʒumodckambadu		xx
587 follow	suivre	digu \ gundiŋu	dʒindžəgo	tagije \ tagə	dimbe \ dimbedu	xx
588 die	mourir	nuwara	dəŋ:go	no: \ nu:	jimedu	xx
589 forge (metal)	forger	dəwɔ	dədəgo	duwəduwɔ	dubodu	xx
590 increase	augmenter	baru \ bara	barugo	bara	baradu	xx
591 decrease	diminuer	gama	gambulugo	wa:ra \ gama	gambaladu	xx
592 dance	danser	gɔwɔ	je:bəgo	gɔ:go	gɔgo	xx
593 walk	se promener	jiluwu	dʒigiliŋo	kɔlɔnɔ \ kolomo	jaledu	xx
594 fly (v.)	voler (oiseaux/avitsfiru \ tsire		pililəgo	kire \ kirije	kiledu	xx
595 jump	sauter	pere	təmbəgo	kire \ kirije	tombodu	xx

596 sneeze	éternuer	ɛgedʒesaij	idiləgo	edʒegesa:	idiqe:saij	xx
597 yawn	bâiller	ka:kɔij	ababagubugo	o:ŋodara	giriba:le:	xx
598 finish	finir	dɔŋgonu	gõ[wɔ]logə	donowo	ŋamje?	xx
599 begin	commencer	tumnu	dəgoðəgo	tɔrə	tɔlədu	xx
600 fill	remplir	dʒo:nu	dʒə:məgo	dʒo:no	dʒo:ndodu	xx
601 marry	épouser	dʒeij	kiriðugo	dʒe: \ è	ja:tajanda	xx
602 show	montrer	tr:ru	ta:rugo	to:ro \ ta:ra	tagadu	xx
603 dry up	sécher	tāij	ma:wāmugə	ma:ja	maŋemədu	xx
604 surpass	surpasser	xx	taŋgamugə	saragara	xx	xx
605 tie	nouer/attacher	pagu	muŋgugo \ pəgugə	dige \ paga \ kəmo	kəmođu	xx
606 untie	dénouer/détacher	pagaradagu	pagulugo \ muŋgulugo	pagara \ kəmoňə	əmołđu	xx
607 pour	verser	juwə	tuwɔ:go	togo \ juwo	jubodu	xx
608 sweep	balayer	semə	dʒe:ndžəgo	semə	sembedu	xx
609 blow (wind)	souffler (vent)	soij,o:ŋjɔ	gindumugə	go: \ ɔŋjəgo:	purodu	xx
610 blow (mouth)	souffler (la bouch)fjε		pubulumugə	puijε \ pi:jε	sudeij	xx
611 obtain	obtenir	bərə	dʒe:rəgo	bərə	beidžju	xx
612 weave	tisser	fi \ karafī	tijo:go	ti:je	te:du	xx
613 plait/pleat	tresser (nattes)	fi \ urufi	mundugo	ti:je	te:du	xx
614 divide	diviser	godʒo	kuləgo	sa:ja \ pege	gambaladu	xx
615 break	casser	dʒəgo	adagugo	pad[a]la \ polo \ peređžogđu		xx
616 resemble	ressembler	time[sa]	pimijabo	mure:	mulo	xx
617 lack	manquer de	wəfu	ntembeli	na:wɛ	kideselə	xx
618 avoid	éviter	jegu	dadikanamʌ	ba:ra	odupada	xx
619 wait	attendre	tigλ?	nɔrijəgo	dome	dəme:du	xx
620 grow/increase	croître	xx	dʒaŋguligo	gawa	gabadu	xx
621 swell	gonfler	pida	pirilijego	pi:rə	piredu	xx
622 glide	glisser	taridžukɔ	sa:ndžugə	sadʒe:	sadədu	xx
623 breathe	respirer	ji:n	nidlugo	ju:nə	nini	xx
624 lick	lécher	de:gu	nəlegə	dəgə	dəgedu	xx
625 suck	sucer/téter	ɔpu	arugo	ɔŋjɔ \ ara	əndžədu \ aradu	xx

626 smoke (tobacco)	fumer (tabac)	nɔij \ nɔ:	çɔ:go	nɔ:	nɔ:du	xx
627 stay awake	éveiller	aŋadalijesa	julgo	koro \ widʒe	jemedu	xx
628 cohabit	cohabiter	dim \ ɔ:ɔdim	bõ,ibijugo	pajɛ:	mo:lebi	xx
629 vomit	vomir	tɔj	sɔringasɔ: \ sɔ:go	guro	wededu	xx
630 tickle	chatouiller	digudigu	donjemejeme	didekõo	tabadu	xx
631 put	poser/placer	dε:nε	du:ndəgo	u:nɔ \ be	da:ndadu	xx
632 cover	couvrir	timnu	jamburugɔ	time \ pime	jembedu \ te:ndedu	xx
633 embrace	êtreindre	ugu	ɔləgo	kāwā	xx	xx
634 envelop	envelopper	timnu \ dεu	pundugɔ	gərɔ \ munɔ	jembedu	xx
635 add	ajouter	bara	barugɔ	bara	baradu	xx
636 accumulate	accumuler	dʒi:me?	mæŋgamugɔ	mɔ:nɔ	mɔ:ndədu	xx
637 join	joindre	ja:tẽm	di:ŋo:gɔ	bare:	digedu	xx
638 separate	séparer	gɔidžu	kabagugɔ	kawa \ kawaga	kabadu	xx
639 turn/invert	se retourner	piluwu	gɔndəgo	bine \ kigeremo	kigile:du	xx
640 shake	secouer	dʒiguru	ji:go:gɔ	ji:ge	dʒigedu	xx
641 pierce	percer	mo:lu	səbəgo	səwɔ \ lorogo	səbədu	xx
642 bend/bow	incliner/courber	gɔju \ uru	gɔndagugɔ	gəgəremə	gəŋgeridu	xx
643 wipe/rub	essuyer/frooter	mẽɔ \ mewe	sudəgo	suŋjɔ	sudədu	xx
644 wash	laver	sumo	məgo:gɔ	sumo	məgo:du	xx
645 wipe/dry (dish)	essuyer (vaisselle)	suŋjuru	udʒesudɔ	suŋs	sudɔ	xx
646 look	regarder	dʒεŋnerejana	mal[ij]ugɔ	gəre \ gε:nε	gəndədu	xx
647 find	trouver	bεrε \ turu	dʒε:rɔ:gɔ	bεrε \ temε	wa:du	xx
648 measure	mesurer	tū:wɔ	tuməgo	tuij	tumədu	xx
649 be quiet	se taire	akatimne	duna:imbɔ	dε:nε \ di:nε	keŋkeŋ	xx
650 agree	être d'accord	jowu \ jɔ:mõnɔ	a[we]jūgɔ	jɔwɔ	jabuŋ	xx
651 allow	permettre	dagakanu	xx	daga	jabadu	xx
652 forbid	interdire	haramu	kanla?	ta:ma \	ga:ndadu	xx
653 announce	annoncer	tegu	ta:rugɔ	kiwerudo:no	tagadu	xx
654 threaten	menacer	lidiwu	õ:ta:re	gɪrlawirɔ,udʒo	nindədu	xx
655 tell a lie	mentir à	kɔrukɔru	tagutagu	kandənɔ \ bmekejekəbilimolala	xx	

656 cheat	tromper/duper	dʒama	dʒambanja \ dʒambakarلو:رمۇ \ lo:roma	dobodu	xx	
657 whistle	siffler	fi	pẽ:bugo	wire \ sudʒo	purodu	xx
658 send	envoyer	fi:	soŋgogo	tinu \ tije \ ti:	te:du	xx
659 leave	laisser	daga	də:ndəgo	daga	padadu	xx
660 pass	passer	gaija	taŋgamugo	gara	gala	xx
661 fight	combattre	dʒeɪdj	pədijɔ:gə	dʒaije	dʒag[ʌ]le:du	xx
662 feed birds	picorer (volaille)	sɔgu	dʒɔ:gɔ:gə	dʒɔ:gə	dʒɔ:ŋgə	xx
663 cook	cuisiner	ja:siru	nja:siru	ja:sire \ dʒja:na	si:re:du \ dʒandadu	xx
664 pound	piler	toro	telego	tere \ dojo	doŋgodu	xx
665 knead	pétrir	taru	ɔlijamugo	lo:ro	lo:lodu	xx
666 fear	craindre	le[ʌ]	sike	lige \ liwe \ le:	ne:	xx
667 hate	ha:r	wajnu	de:džugo	iwire \ iwile	ibe:le	xx
668 lend	prêter	jεŋunu \ lubu	jarijamugo	jeruge:	obodu	xx
669 borrow	emprunter	jɔu	jarijamugo	jerugemu \ jerugema	je:re	xx
670 pay	payer	tədʒɔ \ εu	sədəgo	tədʒɔ	tudədu \ ebu	xx
671 bewitch	ensorceler	dugu	kəlumugo	dugo	dugo	xx
672 want/need	vouloir/avoir besodenedʒem		namji:gə	nāwē	namedu	xx
673 like/love	aimer	dene	kanjugə	iwine	ibē	xx
674 receive/accept	recevoir/accepter	jəwədʒem	jabugo \ abugo	bərə \ jəwə	jabadu \ kidebelə	xx
675 to be born	naître	i:naru	nahugo	na:rē	lolu \ laledu	xx
676 snore	ronfler	gədərədənu	nindilugo	gərələdənu \ duro	gərdədənjo	xx
677 lower the head	baisser la tête	kunṣuŋunu	ko:tumuru	konogənabərəkənu	ku:džu:ro	xx
678 raise the head	lever la tête	kunđženu	kədžendžo	konogərodžeikā	ku:džene	xx
679 nod	acquiescer de la tēkunđžuŋunu		kojigurumu	konogərojuŋ	ku:džige	xx
680 wink	cligner de l'oeil	girekuŋ	kumjekumulo	girekamajja	giridžige	xx
681 whisper	chuchoter	kāij,jo:ru	temalo	ge:re	degedegesoijə \ daijdai	xx
682 hesitate/doubt	hésiter/douter	hɔ:ro:lum	sikə	keneləlo[i]	kindəlejlej \ mandige	xx
683 listen	écouter	tseguru	nundjugə	keŋene	keŋjedu	xx
684 make a mistake	se tromper	wɔ:fu	saddžugo	ligidže \ sane	maradu \ ma:du <sup>h</sup>	xx
685 excuse	excuser	ja:fu	ja:fəŋgu	kawurube: \ kaukana	dʒafkandžu	xx

686 dare	oser	da:ru	na:lijugo	karasije:	jabadu	xx
687 to do on purpose	faire exprès	i:nsekaru	mənəmənə,akani	məməga:\ məməge:	mənəmənəleijkanjū\ m	xx
688 try	essayer	karajaj	dəgəgo	bəregere \ sujuno	kangendu	xx
689 to say wrong	médire	tigatſeneli	xx	boijojo	dʒebedu	xx
690 limp	boiter	tegataga	tiwulugo	dege	tegedu	xx
691 stay	rester	beij \ be:a	wandža	sige \ wije	be:du	xx
692 stay behind	rester en arrière	gulabeij	tununga,wandža	dogotaga	unube \ unudembe	xx
693 look for	chercher	tſeluguru	jolgo	dene \ dunu	də:ne \ dənedene	xx
694 cross	traverser	taŋagaru	taŋugugo	kedžetā \ kedžegara	kədedu	xx
695 move(from house,déménager		adu	indžogo	taja	taŋadu	xx
696 swim	nager	ni:je	wəndəgo	be:ne \ we:ne	muge:du	xx
697 crawl	ramper	bumu	wabalijugo	ja:ra	jagile:du	xx
698 shave	se raser	kāij	kaijugə	kā:	ka:du	xx
699 comb	se peigner	san	saljugo	jo:ru	xx	xx
700 put in the mouth	mettre dans la bouche	rekunj	dəniŋkilə	kākunə \ njapnja	kenenekundodu	xx
701 chew	mâcher	toguru	buguləgo	sagamu \ sagama	təmedu	xx
702 nurse	téter	ařu	undžugə	ařa \ əŋjə	aradu \ əndžədu	xx
703 spit	cracher	toij	soiŋndžəsə:	turo \ buřə	gulədu \ turədu	xx
704 tremble	trembler	tʃewe[u]	suləsulə	kiwe	kimedu	xx
705 choke	s'étrangler	pɔru	pa[w]igo	pane	panedu	xx
706 wipe (nose)	se moucher	pɔru	kinđža,ibə	sīje	sindžedu	xx
707 push (button)	s'appuyer	tidžu	nədəgo	di:je \ tamuge	tabija \ tabije:du	xx
708 hold by the waist	se ceindre	dɔij,aŋ	pəndəgo	kōme:	pagedu	xx
709 dive	plonger	nibəremutu	mi:pudəm,mɔjnu	di:bijikirinū	dinejɔij \ di:jənəleij	xx
710 hurry	se dépêcher	əguru	na:džugə	əgərə \ əgure	numinde:du	xx
711 carry in arms	porter dans les branuməberedženu		nwe:ndə,djindu	dženje	numonədženje	xx
712 carry on back	porter sur le dos	gwintſenedēij	bambigo	gome:	bombedu	xx
713 carry on shoulder	porter sur l'épaule	t̪owəmanadēij	kələkələdəndu:jo	dare: \ soje:	tabtab,nejene\ \ tabtab	xx
714 carry on head	porter sur la tête	kumanadēij	daləndodu:jo	duwe	dujedu	xx
715 carry on stomach	porter sur le ventr̪	beremanadēij	əŋgədžja	xx	berəbereneja:nda \ ber	xx

716 greet	saluer	po:nū	tijamugō	po:no	po:ndodu	xx
717 applause	applaudir	numōperu	pilugo	numoperebana \ pepegurubaij	xx	
718 massage	masser	mōju	pugudōgo	pugudžu	lebedu	xx
719 apply (ointment)	oindre/huiler	nūjscon	nombjugō	para	paradu	xx
720 slap	gifler	līgālagu	tegomobundo	togo	manatēbelē	xx
721 hurt	blesser	baramu	barami	bā:gomo \ bā:gomu	džimige:du	xx
722 sacrifice	sacrifier	sadaga	sadaga	buro	salamba, obo	xx
723 pinch	pincer	εm	kemijego	ke:me	kemedu	xx
724 nurse/care for	soigner	džoŋ	džoŋgəgo	džoŋə \ džoŋukunə	džoŋədu	xx
725 offer	offrir	xx	džindžemugō	onə \ onu	obodu	xx
726 exchange	échanger	ti:l,lu	dīlalamugō	tile:	tile:du	xx
727 share a meal	partager un repas	jaŋamuru	ja:kulə	baŋanuməgoŋə	ja:gambala \ gambala	xx
728 play	jouer	tʃenewē	merego	dugərə \ kerekenə	kededu	xx
729 struggle	lutter	a:džiru	podijego	adžeru,a: \ aseru,a:	adžiri \ adžiri,ala	xx
730 knock down	assommer	lagadžaru	kirikanomə	laga \ bunə	bendesugu	xx
731 demolish	démolir	džegu	wuluwugō	worugo	jambala	xx
732 chop down	abattre	tʃerʌdžaru	bundedžeo	kedʒe	kededu \ tɔ:du	xx
733 attach	attacher	pagu	pagugo	kəmə	kəmədu	xx
734 detach	détacher de	pagaradagu	pagulugo	kəmənə	kəmələdu	xx
735 hook onto	accrocher à	gəguru	džamugō \ dželijego	džere	dzeledu	xx
736 tear (from)	arracher	badžadagu	umbəgo	məmə	momodu	xx
737 remove	ôter	kolu	jaŋbulugo	pomo \ goŋu	go:ndodu	xx
738 spill on purpose	renverser exprès	he:nsedamadžaru	mənəmənəbndlje	togo \ juwə \ demesurmənəmənəlejtogodu	xx	
739 spill by accident	renverser par erreidinela;damadžaru		jeganabndlje	togo \ juwə	mənəmənəlejtogol \ m:	xx
740 damage	abîmer/gâter	nuŋunu	jaŋinago:le	joŋo \ junugo \ jenu	jambaladu	xx
741 destroy	détruire	halaku	jaŋmina,peu	joŋo \ junugo	jamatebe \ džemejamb	xx
742 smash (by hand)	écraser (de la main)	pugudžu	namugō	nawa \ pəgədžoma	namadu	xx
743 gut (animal)	dépecer	pan	pindugo	pana	urədu	xx
744 fold	plier	min	pundugo	muno \ mine	munədu	xx
745 unfold	déplier	minaradagu	pundulugo	munənə \ minene	munolo:du	xx

746 let go of	lâcher	badʒadagu	dudugə	kamandaga	ja:rə	xx
747 drop	laisser tomber	daganum	de:ndajegama	kamandaga \ dʒumənjaradu \ ja:ranutſilu	xx	
748 put down	déposer	dɪn	dundo:gə	sunugu \ uŋuno \ dun:du:ŋodu	xx	
749 pick up	ramasser	turomə:nu	tʃje:wəgə	bara \ turo \ jeŋe \ dʒkebədu	xx	
750 choose	choisir	ŋɛm	ŋembəgə	jeme \ ŋɛmɛ	jembədu	xx
751 scratch	gratter	inewogu	ka:dəgə	wɔ:gə \ kədʒə	wɔ:rədu	xx
752 empty	vider	wɔ:mədagu	tangamugə	togo \ budʒu	togodu	xx
753 repair	réparer	tʃe:nu	jegurugə	jegere \ danaga	jegeredu	xx
754 mix	mélanger	gāru	nɪgidugə	ligidʒema \ bire	ligidedu	xx
755 lock	fermer à clé	səgu	dagəgə	səgo	dagadu	xx
756 unlock	ouvrir à clé	səguru	dagulugə	səgərə	dagaladu	xx
757 light	allumer	taŋunu	niŋgamugə	tanaga \ ki:nɛ	tegedu	xx
758 extinguish	éteindre	ugu	minigugə	dana \ sū	se:ndu	xx
759 erase	effacer	supuru	sudəgə	suŋə \ me:nemə	sudədu	xx
760 dust	épousseter	supurudagu	kundaligo:mə	pogo \ təgə	purugujsudə \ sudədu	xx
761 throw seeds	semier	tɔij \ ju	tu[w]ět̪	lɛ	toij	xx
762 fetch water	puiser	ni:badʒu	mi:kinu	di:kɔ:	dikəbə	xx
763 soak	faire tremper	nisoij	emburəgə	enən	ɛ:ndədu	xx
764 rinse	rincer	sagu	bubəgə	saga \ samana	sagadu	xx
765 dye	teindre	gara	galakɪlə	suwo \ kono	galakundu	xx
766 sew	coudre	adʒiru	kuijəgə	lo: \ adžara	nə:du	xx
767 hem	ourler	minu	mindugə	tomonono	munodu	xx
768 filter	filtrer	te:ru	sedʒəgə	sedʒe \ jiri	sedədu	xx
769 sharpen	aiguiser	ne:ru	bimbəgə	nene	ɛle:mɔ:du	xx
770 plaster	crépir	taru	tarugə	tara	taradu	xx
771 peel	éplucher	septu	kəməlugə	ko:ro	kombolodu	xx
772 grind	broyer/réuire en p̪pinam,taŋnu		namikunenə	naja	do:ŋgodu	xx
773 stick	coller	taru	dangugə	daja \ tara	taradu \ dʒabādu	xx
774 hammer	clouer	pegu	pegəgə	pege	pegedu	xx
775 cover again	recouvrir	tmnu	kõdeŋaburu	goro	jemberedu	xx

776 graze	brouter	ɔŋi	kəditemə	gire	bıliteme	xx
777 milk	traire	ẽu	ɛməgo	ẽwẽ	emedu	xx
778 herd	élever du bétail	asegano:wu	beltoamu	arusegeko: \aruseŋembelumaja	xx	
779 pluck (fowl)	plumer (une volailgudžu		gudəgo	gudʒo	gudədu	xx
780 nest	couver (une volailou		ubijəgo	uwə:	ube:du	xx
781 perch	percher	molu	nɔ[w]ẽkəŋubije?	ara,urɔ	dʒeledu	xx
782 melt	fondre	dʒəgu \ səŋuru	ʃi[w]ějumugɔ	tənənə	jemedu	xx
783 swell	gonfler	pido	jalikilo	pu:je \ pu:ru	piredu	xx
784 suffice	suffire	adžukɔ	belenabo	ba:	ba:du	xx
785 harm	faire mal	mənukaru	gimumugɔ	dʒū \ dʒunə	pa:de:kana	xx
786 cost	coûter	ẽikɔ	ko:ge	donu \ kā \ aŋa \ dəkja:nde:du	xx	
787 braid	tresser	fí \ kuŋkɔrɔ	mundugɔ	muno \ e:re	eredu	xx
788 rain	pleuvoir	miru	kumaŋgawɔ:	lo	me:du \ aname:	xx
789 stop raining	cesser pleuvoir	mirudagu	kumaŋgade:nde	ko:ru	ana,ine	xx
790 sting	piquer	pegu	səbəgo	ke:re \ ba:ra \ səwə	səbədu	xx
791 follow	suivre	dimu	dindʒəgo	tagə	dimbe:du	xx
792 count	compter	lugu	nugugɔ	lugu	lugodu \ lüge:	xx
793 listen	écouter	tseguru	nundžugɔ	keŋlənə \ keŋləne	keŋjedu	xx
794 overflow	déborder	dʒo:lɔgʌ	piŋgi:jaliye	sune \ bure	dʒowanegala	xx
795 moan	gémir	duru	nundunudo	duro	kəmədu	xx
796 fish	pêcher	idžu,aij	kogole,imbu	mi:nəkunə	ide,aga	xx
797 lose	perdre	maru	marugo	mə:ne	ma:ri \ maragala:du	xx
798 recover (health)	aller mieux	samduko	irumbɔ	irekije	e:ro:kana	xx
799 trip	trébucher	dəjlononum	dəndʒjəgo \ jigulu	dɔnje: \ tomu	tombodu	xx
800 give back	rendre	jeij	ndəgo	onu \ ənə	obodu	xx
801 where	où	jo:lema	manda	ja	jogora	xx
802 when	quand	janjanama	mananja	ŋjana	warajogo	xx
803 how	comment	indžema	indžena	jaŋ[ʌ]ŋjaŋ[ʌ]	jogɔndži	xx
804 how many	combien	aŋaijma	angaij	a:ŋa	aŋa	xx
805 why	pourquoi	indžema	indženau	iŋgegija	indžilijga	xx

806 here	ici	de:nujə	ibõ	ne \ ni \ ï	ngone	xx
807 there	là	de:nujə	dʒenu	ji:	kɔ:ne	xx
808 this	ce...ci	nujə	mboge	nun \ nɔ:	ngɔ?	xx
809 that	ce...là	nujə	mbənau	jə	kɔ:na \ ngɔ	xx
810 thus	donc	xx	mamboni	kojine \ kojide	jenu \ jingja	xx
811 who	qui	ileijma	aij	a:	a:j	xx
812 what	quoi	i:jdʒe	indʒeje	iŋge	ndʒe	xx
813 everyone	chacun	tʃe:kã	je:sele	tuturupu	ndema	xx
814 everything	chaque chose	tʃe:kãfu	je:sele	ədʒəpərɔ	kidawɔij	xx
815 no one	aucun	tʃe:kãfu	jdanau,bjana,ɔli	ədʒɔ:pɔ [n]	indetule	xx
816 nothing	rien	tʃe:kãfu	esala	ədʒɔ:pɔ [n] \ ko:pepe	kitule	xx
817 inside	dedans/à l'intérieur	bərləle	pidinda	biməkū \ binetə	kɔ:ne	xx
818 outside	dehors/à l'extérieur	bumole	paranda	da:rato \ bantə	parda	xx
819 above	sur/au-dessus	komana \ komanana:	ko:lo \ kologakolo	kū \ kūnɔŋç	kɔ:ne	xx
820 below	sous/au-dessous	dɔidžu \ kɔdɔidžule	sugunda \ sugarsugunda	dʒokuŋ \ donjokū	kɔlɔra	xx
821 front	devant/en face de	jiredaga	tegu	gireto	girne	xx
822 behind	derrière	guŋle	tundu	dogot[Λ]	onune	xx
823 left	à gauche	numobanale	na:ga	nana	numona:nda	xx
824 right	à droite	numoŋa:le	nujan	ŋja:	numoŋa:	xx
825 between	entre/au milieu de	tʃenana:	bilanja	kene \ keŋenena:	binene	xx
826 north	nord	tɔ:o	dule:ru	donobara	samagine	xx
827 south	sud	mujuro	bale:ru	barasoro	tɛŋutanya	xx
828 east	est	du:daga	a:sugu	dudaga	du	xx
829 west	ouest	te:ndaga	a:tigu	teŋunu \ teŋudaga	kɔluŋtanya	xx
830 brother (same)	xx	xx	xx	xx	babəi \ badagi \ badie	
831 brother (same)	xx	xx	xx	xx	ningju	
832 junior brother	xx	xx	xx	xx	misugɔnɔ \ sugɔ	
833 senior brother	xx	xx	xx	xx	derekanda	

## Calame-Griaule

English	French	toro sɔɔ from sangha
black	noir	gɛu
blood	sang	i:li
bone	os	ki:
die	mourir	yime
dog	chien	idu
drink	boire	nō
ear	oreille	suguru
eat	manger	kaya \tɛ:mɛ
egg	oeuf	talu
eye	oeil	giru
fifty	cinquante	pelunumono
fire	feu	yau
fish	poisson	idu
five	cinq	numono
four	quatre	nay
give	donner	obo
ground	terre	mine
head	tête	ku:
hear	entendre	ɛgɛ

knee	genou	yoŋolo
know	savoir	igi
leather	cuir	gudu
man	homme	ana
moon	lune	ie \ pilu
mouth	bouche	kene \ aŋa
name	nom	boy
night	nuit	yanya
nine	neuf	tuo
ninety	quatre-vingt-dix	suŋulepelu
nose	nez	kinu
one	un	ti: \ turu
red	rouge	banu
road	route	odu
say	dire	taga \gi \ va
scorpion	scorpion	xx
see	voir	ie
seven	sept	soy
seventy	soixante-dix	pelusoy
six	six	kuloy
sixty	soixante	pelukuloy

sleep	dormir	giruye
snake	serpent	yuguru
stomach	ventre	bere
stone	pierre	tibu
ten	dix	pelu
thirty	trente	pəluta:nu
three	trois	ta:nu
tongue	langue	ni:ŋe
tooth	dent	tonu
tree	arbre	timu
twenty	vingt	pəluley
two	deux	ley
water	eau	di:
white	blanc	pilu

### Appendix E: Dogon Word and Phrase List Questionnaire

To save space, an empty column for the elicited Dogon forms has been removed from the list.

<b>LISTE DE MOTS ET PHRASES (DOGON)</b>		<b>Enonceur : nom :</b>
Effectué le:		Sexe, âge:
A:		né à:
Par:		grandi à:
Langue d'élicitation:		nom du parler:
Contrôlé par:		niveau scolaire:

#	<b>English</b>	<b>Bambara</b>	<b>Français</b>	<b>Fulfulde</b>
1	eye	nyè	œil	
2	ear	tulo	oreille	
3	nose	nun	nez	
4	mouth	da	bouche	
5	tooth	nyi	dent	
6	tongue	nèen	langue	
7	head	kungolo	tête	
8	neck	kan	cou	
9	tummy, belly	kònòbara	ventre	
10	knee	kunbere	genou	
11	bone	kolò	os	
12	blood	joli	sang	
13	saliva	daji	salive	
14	heart	sòn; dusukun	cœur	
15	human	hadamaden; mògòninfin	être humain	
16	man	cè	homme (mâle)	
17	father (Dad)	fa-cè	père	
18	mother (Mom)	ba-muso	mère	
19	child (parent's)	den	enfant	
20	name (personal)	tògò	(pré)nom	
21	dog	wulu	chien	
22	tail	ku	queue	
23	bird	kònò	oiseau	
24	wing	kaman	aile	
25	egg (bird's)	fan	œuf	
26	snake	sa	serpent	
27	fish	jègè	poisson	
28	meat (cow's)	sogo	viande	
29	tree	jiri	arbre	
30	leaf (tree)	fura = bulu	feuille	

31	root (tree)	dili	racine
32	seed	kisè	graine (de semence)
33	grass	bin	herbe
34	path	sira	chemin
35	salt	kògò	sel
36	fire	tasuma	feu
37	smoke	sisi	fumée
38	ash	bugurijè	cendre
39	night (time)	su	(temps qu'il fait) nuit
40	moon	kalo	lune
41	star	dolo	étoile
42	day(time)	tile	(temps qu'il fait) jour
43	sky	san; kaba; sankolo	ciel
44	cloud	san-fin; kabanogo; kabasen; muntan	nuage
45	wind	finyè	vent
46	rain	san-ji	pluie
47	water	ji	eau
48	stone (rock)	bèlè; kabakuru	pierre
49	sand	cèncèn	sable
50	one	kèlèn	un
51	two	fila	deux
52	three	saba	trois
53	four	naani	quatre
54	five	duuru	cinq
55	long (thing)	jan	long (horizontal)
56	short (thing)	surun	court
57	good	nyi; nyuman	bon (qualité)
58	bad	a man di	mauvais (qualité)
59	few	dò; man siya	un peu de
60	red	bileman	rouge
61	black	finman	noir
62	white	jèman	blanc
63	who	jòn	qui
64	what	mun	quoi
65	where	min	où
66	far	yòrò jan	loin
67	when?	tuma jumèn	quand?
68	I	ne	je
69	you (thou)	i	tu
70	this	nin	ceci
71	that	o	cela
72	all	bèe; kuru	le tout
73	many	caman	beaucoup
74	big	belebele; bon	grand (chose)

75	small	fitini	petit (chose)
76	drink	min	boire
77	eat	dun	manger
78	see	ye	voir
79	hear	mèn	entendre
80	sleep	sundògò	dormir
81	die	sa	mourir
82	kill	faga	tuer
83	swim	nòn	nager
84	walk	taama	marcher
85	give	di; ni	donner
86	say	fò; ko	dire
87	know	dòn	savoir (connaître)
88	come	na	venir
89	bite	cin	mordre
90	fly	pan	voler (comme oiseau)

**Phrases:**

- 91 Il est tombé (hier)  
 92 L'homme est tombé (hier)  
 93 Il est en train de tomber  
 94 S'il était tombé, ça aurait été mal (mais il n'est pas tombé)  
 95 Ne tombe pas!  
 96 Qui va tomber? L'homme va tomber.  
 97 Quand il va tomber, dis-le moi  
 98 Il a mangé (hier) de la nourriture  
 99 Est-il en train de manger de la viande?  
 100 Cet homme-ci veut manger du poisson

## **Appendix F: Dogon Elder Questionnaire**

For the sake of space, some empty question slots have been removed (this has been indicated by English text), and some fill-in tables have been shortened by removing all but two of the empty rows.

<b>Questionnaire pour les Notables</b>	coordonnés:
Effectué le:	nom du Chef:
à:	adresse postale:
par:	interprète:

## A. Nomenclature et taxonomie

Monsieur le chef, vous êtes originaire de quel village?

M [NOM], notre interprète, vient de [SANGHA?]. Il appelle sa langue [DOGON SO]. Et vous-même, vous appelez votre langue à vous comment dans votre propre langue?

Quelqu'un qui parle le [DOGON SO], il l'appelle [SINGULIER] ou [PLURIEL]. Et vous, comment appelez-vous les gens qui parlent [LANGUE]?

Plus précisément, il appelle sa dialecte **[TORO SO]**. Et vous, vous appelez votre dialecte comment? Et celui qui le parle? Et s'il y a plusieurs?

Et dans le **[DIALECTE]**, vous pouvez être encore plus précise pour indiquer ce que vous parlez?

{space for further subdivisions (up to 5) omitted}

Pour vous tous, c'est votre langue à vous aussi? Est-ce qu'il y a des gens qui habitent dans ce village mais qui ne parlent pas cette langue? Comment s'appellent-ils? (a) Singulier et (b) pluriel. (c) Qu'est-ce qu'ils parlent? (d) Il y en a beaucoup?

{space for further subdivisions (up to 5) omitted}

Est-ce qu'il y a des gens ici qui parlent [LANGUAGE] comme première langue? Il y en a beaucoup? (Voir table en bas: Tòrò sò, Tomo kan, Ampari, Kòlu so, Donno so, Tengu kan, Togo kan, Dògulu, Numadaw, Tiranogotoni, Po iyo, Tommo so, Nangam, Yanda dom, Jamsay, Tandam, ..., Peul, Bambara, Francais, Allemand, Anglais, ...)

(a) Comment vous appelez-vous comme groupe? (a) Singulier et (b) pluriel. (c) Et vos voisins, comment ils vous appellent? (d) Est-ce que c'est un bon nom ou pas?

{space for further subdivisions (up to 5) omitted}

## B. Géographie et contacts

Les réponses à indiquer sur la carte

Langue

(a) Est-ce qu'il y a d'autres villages où on parle [NIVEAU]? (b) Qu'est-ce qu'on parle à ...? (c) Est-ce qu'il y a encore d'autres villages près d'ici? Qu'est-ce qu'on parle là-bas?

Est-ce la seule langue que l'on parle là-bas?

Qu'est-ce que l'on y parle encore? (Tòrò sò, ..., Peul, Bambara, Français)

Est-ce que ce sont les mêmes gens qui parlent plusieurs langues, ou est-ce que ce sont des groupes différentes?

Liens

(a) Le grand marché, c'est où? (b) Pour faire la commerce, vous allez où encore? (c) C'est d'où qu'on vient ici pour faire la commerce?

Vous allez où pour les rites de passage?

(a) Est-ce qu'il y a des gens qui viennent ici pour habiter? Ils viennent d'où? (b) Est-ce qu'il y a des gens d'ici qui quittent le village pour habiter ailleurs? Ils vont où?

(a) Pour vous marier, les hommes d'ici vont où pour trouver des femmes? (b) Où est-ce qu'ils vont habiter après le mariage? (c) Et leurs enfants, ils vont apprendre quelle langue?

(a) Et les femmes d'ici trouvent des maris ou? (b) Elles vont habiter où après le mariage? (c) Et leurs enfants, ils vont parler quelle langue?

Village	L1	L2, L3	Bilg.	Commerce	Rites	Déménage
Mariage: Village	Fournit (m, f)	Résidence		Langue des enfants		

## C. Compréhension

Pour chaque langage, demandez:

Est-ce que vous rencontrez souvent des gens [PARLER]? Ils viennent ici, ou vous allez là-bas?

Les gens [PARLER], si vous les parlez, vous parlez en quelle langue?

Ils vous comprennent bien?

Et eux, ils vont répondre en quelle langue?

Et vous le comprendra bien?

Un enfant de huit ans d'ici, de [VILLAGE], qui n'a jamais quitté le village, est-ce qu'il va comprendre quelqu'un [PARLER]?

Si non, quand il grandit, c'est à quel âge qu'il va comprendre?

Parler	Contacte	Vs parlez	Il comprend	Il parle	Vs comprenez	Quel âge
Tòrò sò						
Peul						
Bambara						
Français						

## D. Éducation

Où est l'école la plus proche? (a) Coranique  
 (b) Élémentaire Communautaire — Publique

Est-ce qu'il y a des enfants d'ici vont à l'école? a: Oui — Non, b: Oui — Non

Ou? (a, b)

A l'école élémentaire, les professeurs parlent quelle langue aux élèves? V — F

Les élèves apprennent à lire et écrire quelles langues? V — F

Et les adultes, est-ce qu'eux, ils peuvent aussi apprendre à lire et à écrire ici? Oui — Non

Si oui, on apprend à lire et écrire en quelle langue?

C'est qui qui l'a commencé?

Combien de personnes ont participé à ce programme? (par an)

Est-ce que dans le passé jamais quelqu'un est venu ici pour demander des questions, un peu comme nous, pour écrire quelque chose sur votre langue ou votre groupe?

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Griaule, M. et G. Dieterlen. 1965. *Le renard pâle—Tome I: Le mythe cosmogonique—Fascicule 1: La Création du Monde.* Travaux et mémoires de l’Institut d’Ethnologie LXXII. Paris: Université de Paris.

*Contains a good general introduction into Dogon life: tribes, clans, castes, economical life, cults, etc. The library of the National Museum in Bamako has a copy.*

**Gri66**

Griaule, M. 1966. *Dieu d'eau.* Paris: Fayard.

*An English translation is in the SIL Bamako library*

**Gri93**

Griaule, M. 1993. *Masques Dogon*, Travaux et mémoires de l’Institut d’Ethnologie XXXIII, Paris: Université de Paris.

*The library of the National Museum in Bamako has a copy*

**Gri88**

Grimes, Barbara F. 1988. *Why Test Intelligibility. Notes on Linguistics* 42, pp. 39–64. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics. Also in Ber90b. pp. 4.1.1–26.

*Ber90b is in SIL Bamako library.*

**Gri95**

Grimes, J.E. 1995. *Language Survey Reference Guide*. Dallas, Texas: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

*An excellent concise overview of the various techniques used in language survey.*

**Gri96**

Grimes, B.F. (ed.). 1996. 13<sup>th</sup> ed. *Ethnologue—Languages of the World*. Dallas, Texas: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

*Virtually every SIL library has one or more copies*

**Gue75**

Guerrier, E. 1975. *Essai sur la cosmogonie des Dogon—l'arche du Nommo*. Les portes de l'étrange. Paris: Robert Laffont.

*Tries to explain Dogon mythology from ancient space travel. The library of the Centre Djoliba has a copy.*

**Gui77**

Guindo, P. et G. Galtier. juin 1977. *Reflexion sur le choix du parler central Dogon*. Bamako: DNAFLA. Dactylographie.

*Photocopy in SIL Bamako library. Cf. Gal76.*

**Gui03**

Guindo, Paul. February 2003. Personal communication with J. L. Hochstetler. Bamako.

**Hol51**

Holas. 1951. *L'Homme noir d'Afrique*.

*Cited on p. 409 of Bertho 1953.*

**Jaa94**

JAARS. 1994. *WORDSURV Version 2.5 and Addendum to Manual*. Dallas, Texas: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

**Jol93**

Jolly, E. 1993. *Textes Dogon. Traduits et Annotés*. Thèse de Doctorat d'ethnologie, Annexe 4 et 5. multigr. Paris: Université de Paris X-Nanterre.

*Not yet located.*

**Kar79**

Karagodyo, E. E. 1979. *Systèmes d'attribution des prénoms chez les Dogon: exemples du Cibara*. In *Etudes Maliennes 1*, pp. 43–53.

*Not yet located.*

**Kar84**

Karambe, H. 1984. *Le mythe du “Sigi” Dogon: Symbole ou réalité*. Mémoire de fin d'études de l'Ecole Normale Supérieure. Bamako: E.N.Sup.

*Mostly Tōrō-sō. Contains terms for masks, rituals, etc. The E.N.Sup. library has a copy.*

**Kas83**

Kassogue, A. et M. Ouologuem. 1983. *Tihinlé, récit funéraire dogon: transcrit, traduit et commenté*. Mémoire de fin d'études de l'Ecole Normale Supérieure. Bamako: E.N.Sup.

*Tihinlé is a long narrative discourse in tɔmmo-so. The E.N.Sup. library has a copy.*

**Kas87**

Kassambara, M. 1987. *La phrase complexe en bondum (parler du haut-pays dogon)*. Mémoire de DER Lettres, E.N.Sup. multigr. Bamako.

*Not yet located.*

**Ken97**

Kéné, Alphonse. 1997. *Some Aspects of Dogon Standardisation—A Comparative Lexicostatistic Study of Ten (10) Dialects of the Dogon Language*. Mémoire de fin d'études de l'Ecole Normale Supérieure. Bamako: E.N.Sup.

*Contains 200-item wordlists in ten varieties. Seven lists are derived from Galtier's work and three are from Kéné. The English department library at E.N.Sup. has a copy. SIL Bamako library has a Photocopy.*

**Ker09**

Kersaint-Gilly, J. 1909. *Monographie du Cercle de Bandiagara*. In *Bulletin du Comité d'Etudes Historiques et Scientifiques de l'A.O.F.*

*Not yet located.*

**Ker69**

Kervran, R. P. M. et R. P. A. Prost. 1969. *Les parlers Dogon I: Donno-so*, Documents Linguistiques de la Faculté de Dakar 16.

*Superseded by Ker86. Available in DNAFLA's library.*

**Ker85**

Kervran, R. P. M.; A. A. Tembely et D. P. Kassougué. 1985. *Chants de la Mort—les chants du Gummō—chez les Dogon Donnon—Région de Bandiagara—2: Les chants de Gummō-na*, Bandiagara: Paroisse catholique.

*Mostly song texts with translation, interpretation and cultural notes. Contains a map of the donno-so area. Available in the library of the Centre Djoliba in the manuscript section.*

**Ker86**

Kervran, R. P. M. et R. P. A. Prost. 1986. *Un parler Dogon: Le Donno-so — notes de grammaire*. Bandiagara, Mali: Paroisse catholique.

*An extensive grammar, including speech variety map. A much expanded version of Ker69, which it replaces. Available in the library of the Centre Djoliba in the manuscript section.*

**Ker93**

Kervran, R. P. M. 1993. *Dictionnaire dogon-français—Donno-so, région de Bandiagara*. Tournettes, France: Maison des Pères Blancs.

*Ambéré André Tembely has a copy, and one of a previous edition(1982), too. Issiaka Tembiné has a copy, too.*

**Kod86**

Kodio, K. 1986. *Konvergentnye i divergentnye tendencii v dialektnom areale dogon* (*Tendances divergentes et convergentes dans l'aire dialectale Dogon*). Thèse de doctorat. Moscow: Linguistic Institute.

*Not yet located.*

**Kod98**

Kodio, Timothée. 1998. Personal communication with Durieux. Sangha and Bamako.

*Bible translator in Sangha.*

**Kou03**

Kouriba, Joseph. April 2003. Personal communication with Hochstetler. Sikasso.

**LAV53**

Lavergne de Tressan, M. 1953. *Inventaire linguistique de l'Afrique Occidentale Française et du Togo*. Dakar: IFAN. [cf. pp. 214–216].

*Not located.*

**Leg71a**

Leger, J. 1971. *Dictionnaire Dogon—Tomo-kan*.

*The Catholic parish in Ségué has a copy*

**Leg71b**

Leger, J. 1971. *Grammaire Dogon—Tomo-kan*.

*The Catholic parish in Ségué has a copy*

**Lei38**

Leiris, M. n.d. Les langues de la société des hommes chez les Dogons de Sanga (Soudan Français). *Anthropologie* 48, pp. 444–447.

*Not located.*

**Lei48**

Leiris, Michel. 1948. *La langue secrète des Dogons de Sanga (Soudan français)*. Travaux et mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie de l'Université de Paris no. 50. Université de Paris.

*Contains a grammar and lexicon of Sigui, a secret cult language closely related to Toro so. Also much general background material. The library of the National Museum in Bamako has a copy*

**Lov77**

Loving, R. and G. F. Simons. 1997. *Language variation and survey techniques*, Workpapers in Papua New Guinea languages 21. Ukarumpa, Papua New Guinea: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

**Mar97**

Marmor, T. 1997. *SIL Togo-Bénin Branch Criteria for Evaluating Language Assessment Data and for Establishing the Need for SIL Involvement in Various Aspects of Language Development*. Togo-Bénin: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

**McK98**

McKinney, John. JR. 1998. Personal communication with Durieux. Sevare.

**MdP90**

Ministère du Plan, DNSI. 1990. *Recensement General de la Population et de l'Habitat—Résultats définitifs*. Bamako: Bureau Central de Recensement.

*Describes the results of the 1987 census. Volume 0: Ensemble du Pays is subdivided into Tome 1: Population, Economie, Habitat and Tome 2: Repertoire de Village. Other volumes deal with one Région each. Can be consulted and copied at the BCR.*

**Mei52**

Meillet A.; M.Cohen (ed.). 1952. *Les langues du monde*. Paris: CNRS-Champion. [cf. chap. "Les langues du Soudan et de la Guinée" par M. Delafosse et A. Caquot].

*Not located.*

**MdP98**

Ministère du Plan, DNSI. 1998. *Recensement General de la Population et de l'Habitat—Résultats provisoires*. Bamako: Bureau Central de Recensement.

*Describes the main results of the 1998 census. Can be consulted and copied at the BCR.*

**Min79**

Minta, M. 1979. *Le "Koroba" ou chants populaires en milieu dogon; transcrits, traduits et commentés*, Mémoire de fin d'études de l'Ecole Normale Supérieure. Bamako: E.N.Sup.

*The "beaten calabash" songs in tɔmmo-sɔ that describe the migration to Dogon country. The E.N.Sup. library has a copy.*

**Nad84**

Naden, Tony. 1984. Gur. In Ben89a. pp. 140–168.

*In SIL Bamako Library.*

**New00**

Newcomer, Betsy. 2000. *Exploring Dialect Difference of Dogon Speakers in Mali*. Senior theses. Bryn Mawr College, USA.

*In SIL Bamako library. Contains 829 item wordlists in jamsay-tegu, mombo, teju-kan, and donno-sɔ.*

**Nia83**

Niangaly, A. et G. Togo. *L'alphabétisation fonctionnelle dans les O.D.R. le cas de l'O.M.M.* Mémoire de fin d'études de l'Ecole Normale Supérieure. Bamako: E.N.Sup.

*The decision for standard Dogon made when the Opération de Développement Rural started education in Dogon country. In the Centre Djoliba and the E.N.Sup. library.*

**Ols87**

Olsen, E. 1987. *Some aspects of tonal accent in Dogon*. M.A. thesis. London: SOAS, London University.

*In SIL Bamako library.*

**Ong88**

Ongoïba, Oumar S. 1988. *Etude phonologique du dogon, variante gamsaj (Mali)*, Thèse de doctorat. Québec: Université Laval.

*The father of this Jamsay Dogon lives in Douentza, and can be reached through the “Commandant d’Arondissement.” Not yet located*

**Oua78**

Ouane, Adama. 1978. *Quelques Données Sociolinguistiques sur le Mali*. In Bar78.

*Reportedly deals with Manding, Fulfulde, Tamasheq, Songhai, Sonoufo-Minyanka, Soninké, Dogon, Bomu, Bozo, Hasanya, Mooré, and Wolof.*

**Oua91**

Ouane, Adama. 1991. *Language Standardization in Mali*. In Standardization of National Languages, Symposium on Language Standardization. 2–3 February 1991. Edited by Utta von Gleich and Ekkehard Wolff. Web article at [http://www.unesco.org/education/pdf/35\\_57.pdf](http://www.unesco.org/education/pdf/35_57.pdf).

**Pal57**

Palau-Marti, M. 1957. *Les Dogon*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

*Not located.*

**Plu92**

Plungian, V. 1994. *Glagol v agglutinativnom jazyke (na materiale dogon) (Le verbe dans une langue agglutinante: Le cas du dogon)*. Moscow: Linguistic Institute.

**Plu94**

Plungian, Vladimir A. et Issiaka Tembine, 1994. *Vers une description sociolinguistique du pays Dogon: attitudes linguistiques et problèmes de standardisation*. In Dum94, pp. 163–195.

*Photocopy in SIL Bamako library.*

**Plu95**

Plungian, Vladimir. 1995. *Dogon*. Languages of the world/Materials 64. München/Newcastle: Lincom Europa.

*Issiaka Tembiné has a copy. Five pages on tɔmмо-sɔ̄ phonology and the rest is a grammatical sketch of tɔmмо-sɔ̄.*

**Poi72**

Poirier, J. (ed). 1972. *Ethnologie Régionale I—Afrique-Océanie*. Encyclopédie de la Pleiade. Paris: Editions Gallimard.

*Contains quite a few scattered remarks about the Dogon as contrasted to other African peoples. The E.N.Sup. library has a copy.*

**Pro69**

Prost, André. 1969. *Les parlers Dogon II: Togo kā*. Documents Linguistics, No 17. Université de Dakar. pp. 144.

*Available in the DNAFLA library*

**Sag78**

Sagara, E. et E. Togo. 1978. *Contes Dogon: reflets de la société et leçons de la vie sociale.* Mémoire de fin d'études de l'Ecole Normale Supérieure. Bamako: E.N.Sup.

*The E.N.Sup. library has a copy.*

**Sag83**

Sagara, M. et Y. Sagara. 1983. *Symbolisme des prénoms Dogon (dialectes Togo-kan et Gimini-kan).* Mémoire de fin d'études de l'Ecole Normale Supérieure. Bamako: E.N.Sup.

*The E.N.Sup. library has a copy.*

**San83**

Sangare, S. N. 1983. *Le "Sigi": forme et fonctions.* Mémoire de fin d'études de l'Ecole Normale Supérieure. Bamako: E.N.Sup.

*The E.N.Sup. library has a copy.*

**San88**

Sangare, T. 1988. *Wangrin: un homme—un destin.* Mémoire de fin d'études de l'Ecole Normale Supérieure. Bamako: E.N.Sup.

*The E.N.Sup. library has a copy.*

**SBU86**

La Société Biblique -UBS-EPF. 1986. *Aru Kaana.* Abidjan.

*Not located. 2<sup>nd</sup> printing of BFB57 New Testament in toro-soo variety.*

**Seb71**

Sebeok, Thomas A (ed). 1971. Current trends in linguistics, vol. 7: *Linguistics in Sub-Saharan Africa.* The Hague, Paris: Mouton.

*Language classifications based on GRE63. Copy not located.*

**Ser98**

Serbo, J. 1998. Personal communication with Durieux. Sevare.

*At that time, bishop of Mopti.*

**Sim77**

Simons, G. 1977. Tables of significance for lexicostatistics. In Lov77.

**Sim90**

Simons, G. 1990. Finding Centers of Communication. In Ber90b, pp. 7.2.1–7.2.23.

**Sme98**

Smeltzer, Susan. 1998. Personal communication with Durieux. Bamako.

**Sten.d.**

Steiner, Rebecca. n.d. Chapter 8: The Gospel and the Dogon tribe. In *On to Timbuctoo*, pp. 36–41.

**Tem86**

Tembiné, I. 1986. *Kategorial'naja sistema mladopis'mennogo jazyka (na materiale dogon)* (*Système categoriel d'une langue à tradition orale : le cas du dogon*). Moscow: Linguistic Institute.

*This is the professor at the E.N.Sup.*

**Tem96**

Temé, D. 1996. *A descriptive study of the verb in “Toro-so”, the Dogon standard dialect.* Mémoire de fin d'études de l'Ecole Normale Supérieure. Bamako: E.N.Sup.

*Not yet located. This is probably Dagoula dit Josué.*

**Tem98**

Tembiné, Issiaka. 1998. Personal communication with Durieux. Bamako.

*This is the professor at the E.N.Sup.*

**Tem03**

Tembiné, Issiaka. March 2003. Personal correspondence with Hochstetler. Bamako

**Tes82**

Tessougué, J. et A. Togo. 1982. *Les Variations dialectales de la langue Dogon à partir du Jamsay, Togo-kan, Tòmò-kan et Tòrò-sò.* Mémoire de fin d'études de l'Ecole Normale Supérieure. Bamako: E.N.Sup.

*The E.N.Sup. library has a copy.*

**Tim87**

Timbiné, A. 1987. *La phrase assertive simple en tombo (dialecte dogon).* Mémoire de fin d'études de l'Ecole Normale Supérieure. Bamako: E.N.Sup.

*The E.N.Sup. library has a copy.*

**Tog84**

Togo, Th. 1984. *Quelques chants initiatiques dogon chantés en tombò sò à l'occasion de la circoncision,* Mémoire de fin d'études de l'Ecole Normale Supérieure. Bamako: E.N.Sup.

*The E.N.Sup. library has a copy.*

**Van91**

Vanderaa, L. 1991. *A Survey for Christian Reformed World Missions of Missions and Churches in West Africa.* Kalamazoo, Michigan: Christian Reformed World Missions.

*A worthwhile collection of educated guesses as to population sizes, numbers of Christians, etc. of Malian people groups.*

**Wes52**

Westermann, Diedrich and Margaret A. Bryan. 1952. *Languages of West Africa. Handbook of African languages 2.* London: Oxford University Press; Dawsons of Pall Mall for International African Institute. Reprinted with updated bibliography, ed. by D.W. Arnott, 1970.

*A photocopy of sections concerning Malian languages is in SIL Bamako library.*

**Wil89**

Williamson, Kay, 1989. *Niger-Congo Overview*, In Ben89a, pp. 3–45.

**Wil00**

Williamson, Kay and Roger Blench. 2000. *Niger-Congo*, pp. 10–42. In *African Languages: An introduction*. Bernd Heine and Derek Nurse (eds). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

*The book is in SIL Bamako library.*

**Wim89**

Wimbish, J. S., 1989 *Wordsurv: A Program for Analyzing Language Survey Wordlists*. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

**Yeg98**

Yegbe, Antoine and Josué Temé. 1998. *Criteria to conduct a dialectal survey among the Dogon of Mali for Bible translation purposes*. manuscript. Nairobi: Nairobi Evangelical Graduate School of Theology.

*Photocopy in SIL Bamako Library.*

**Zah69**

Zahan, D. 1969. *La viande et la graine—Mythologie dogon*. Paris: Présence Africaine.

*The library of the Centre Djoliba has a copy.*