

SURVEY REPORT ON THE SAN (SAMO) LANGUAGE

WRITTEN BY: JOHN BERTHELETTE

SIL International
2001

Contents

- 0 Introduction and Goals of the Survey
- 1 General Information
 - 1.1 Language Name and Classification
 - 1.2 Language Location
 - 1.3 Population
 - 1.4 Accessibility and Transport
 - 1.4.1 Roads: Quality and Availability
 - 1.4.2 Public Transport Systems
 - 1.4.3 Trails
 - 1.5 Religious Adherence
 - 1.5.1 Spiritual Life
 - 1.5.2 Christian Work in the Area
 - 1.5.3 Language Use Parameters within Church Services
 - 1.6 Schools/Education
 - 1.6.1 Types, Sites, and Size of schools
 - 1.6.2 Literacy Activities
 - 1.6.3 Attitude toward the Vernacular
 - 1.7 Facilities and Economics
 - 1.7.1 Supply Needs
 - 1.7.2 Medical Needs
 - 1.7.3 Governmental Facilities in the Area
 - 1.8 Traditional Culture
 - 1.8.1 Historical Notes
 - 1.8.2 Culture and Attitudes toward Culture
 - 1.8.3 Current Contact with Other Cultures
 - 1.9 Linguistic Work in the Language Area
 - 1.9.1 Work Accomplished in the Past
 - 1.9.2 Present Work
 - 1.9.3 Materials Published in the Language
- 2 Methodology
 - 2.1 Sampling
 - 2.2 Lexicostatistic Survey
 - 2.3 Dialect Intelligibility Survey
 - 2.4 Questionnaires
 - 2.5 Bilingualism Testing In Jula
- 3 Comprehension and Lexicostatistical Data
 - 3.1 Reported Dialect Groupings
 - 3.2 Results of the Recorded Text Tests
 - 3.3 Cognate Percentage Chart
 - 3.4 Areas for Further Study

4 Multilingual Issues

4.1 Language Use Description

4.1.1 Children's Language Use

4.1.2 Adults' Language Use

4.2 Results of the Jula Bilingualism Test

4.3 Language Attitudes as Reported

4.4 Summary

5 Recommendations

Appendices

1 Population Statistics

2 A Word List of Dialects in the San Region

Bibliography

1 References

2 Other Materials concerning San

3 Materials Published in the Language

4 Contacts for Further Information

San Survey Report

0 Introduction and Goals of the Survey

This paper concerns the results of a sociolinguistic survey conducted by John and Carol Berthelette, Byron and Annette Harrison, and Zanga Traoré. The survey was conducted in February and March 1996.

The survey was necessary due to a lack of data concerning the degree of intelligibility between San ([sā]) speakers (referred to in this paper as “Sanan”) in the northern language area and those of the southern area. Suzanne Platiel (1974) wrote of the presence of different dialects in the northern San region; in personal conversation, Richard Phillips (1996) talked of dialect differences between the southern area, where he was working, and the northern. Nevertheless, dialect intelligibility testing had not been carried out. Since a project for the development of San has long been underway in the Toma (southern) region, the Burkina Faso survey team considered it important to determine the degree of its comprehension throughout the language area. Thus, the four goals of the survey were:

- ◆ to gather basic demographic and dialectal information about the Sanan in the northern San-speaking region;
- ◆ to determine attitudes of those in the northern region toward both San and Jula, and to determine their level of competence in Jula;
- ◆ to test for both the lexical similarity and the degree of comprehension of the northern speakers to the southern dialect; and
- ◆ in the event of insufficient comprehension of southern speech by northerners, very positive attitudes toward the vernacular by northerners, and an insufficient ability to communicate in Jula, a further goal is to determine possible sites for a language development (adaptation) work.

1 General Information

1.1 Language Name and Classification

The *Ethnologue*, a classification of the world’s languages published by the Summer Institute of Linguistics, classifies the San language (code “SBD”) in the following manner: “Niger-Congo, Mandé, Eastern, Southeastern, Eastern, San” (Grimes 1992:168). The language most closely related is Bissa (Platiel 1974:147), found in southeastern Burkina Faso. The inhabitants of the San region refer to themselves as Sanan [sàñán] (pl.) (Ki 1985:1).

There is much debate concerning the San dialectal picture. M. Ky asserts that there is little or no intercomprehension between the various dialects; speakers of the various San dialects find it easier to use Jula (Ky 1983:11). Welmers (1958), in essence concurs, arguing that the linguistic variation between the northern and southern San areas is so great as to consider these speech forms different languages

(Platiel 1974:22). Platiel does not go so far as to call the two areas different languages, arguing instead for the idea of three general dialect regions in the San area.¹ She uses dialect names stemming from the San forms of the expression “I say that”, a system of names that other researchers use as well (see Ky 1983:11). In the northeast, this is pronounced “maya”, with its region being Kiembara and Bangassogo. She locates a second dialect, the “matya”, in the northwest. She divides this region into three subregions—far north, far west, and central—and states that these in turn are made up of related varieties. The third major dialect region, the “maka”, is the southern, of which Toma is the major town. She places the boundary of this region around 20 km south of Tougan, and asserts that the eight varieties of this region have very good intelligibility.

It must be stated, however, that much of the dialect question seems to hinge on one’s definition of “dialect” and “language”. If one puts heavy emphasis on a certain inter-intelligibility in these definitions, both linguists appear to be at least partially correct: Platiel in her identification of the various regions in the San area, and Welmers in his calling the northern and southern varieties distinct languages.²

For convenience, this report will follow Platiel’s manner of identifying the regions.

1.2 Language Location

The San-speaking territory in Burkina Faso lies almost exclusively within the Sourou and Nayala provinces, with the apparent exception of isolated villages which spill over into the Mouhoun province. Certain sources state that Mali has some Sanan as well (Drabo 1990:14). The San area’s two main population/administrative/commercial centers are Toma and Tougan. The region is quite vast, covering around 10,000 km². The northern San area is the smaller of the two, covering approximately 3,750 km².

The area can in general be classified as savanna. The northern area, averaging below 600 mm of rain per year, is noticeably drier than the southern area, which averages between 600 and 700 mm of rain per year (Laclavère 1993:16). The vegetation in the north is marked by scrub brush and thorn trees and the soil is more sandy.

Neighboring language/ethnic groups can be seen in figure 1.2.1.

¹Linguists such as Westermann, Bryan, and Prost suggest the presence of two Samo dialects; Lavergne de Tressan argues for the existence of three (Platiel 1974:18–22).

²Platiel, it should be noted, does state that the north-south division is the most important. She goes so far as to mention that in the cultural domain, those of one region consider those from the other as being foreigners.

Figure 1.2.1
General Map of Burkina Faso

BURKINA FASO

Carte Administratif

Janvier 1997



**Figure 1.2.2
Map of the San Region³**

Burkina Faso



1.3 Population

The estimated population, according to the 1985 national census, numbers the entire ethnic group at 185,000 (INSD 1991:1,7). The *Ethnologue* puts the figure at between 200,000 and 250,000 (Grimes 1992:168), which is more realistic assuming a population increase of 2.68% rate per year since the taking of the census (Laclavère 1993:24). Totaling the population of each village, based on the 1985 national census, we arrive at the following population figures for the dialects covered by this study:

³Adapted from CNRST/INSS 1988.

Table 1.3.1
Estimated population figures for the San dialects

Dialect Name	Region	Population (1985)	Est. Current Population (with 2.68% Annual Increase)
maka	Southern, surrounding Toma	61,883	84,996
matya	Northwest, to the west and north of Tougan (excluding Toéni area)	33,675	46,252
matya	Far Northwest (Toéni region)	9,942	13,655
maya	Northeast, surrounding Kiembara and Bangassogo	38,393	52,732
	Totals:	143,893	197,635

Please see table 1.1 in the appendix for a list of villages for each dialect.

1.4 Accessibility and Transport

1.4.1 Roads: Quality and Availability

Two major routes pass through the San-speaking area: National Route 21, which is generally well-maintained, links Ouagadougou, Koudougou, Réo, Toma, and Tougan, and continues past Toéni. National Route 10, newly redone, connects Déougou (and Bobo-Dioulasso) with Tougan, and continues on by way of Bounou and Kiembara to Ouahigouya. Departmental Route 25, linking Tougan with the Kassoum area (and continuing on to Lanfiera) is well-maintained at least to Kassoum.

These routes allow for a degree of access between the San dialect areas. Another result of good roads is greater ease of contact with neighboring ethnic groups, due to increased commercial activity. Nevertheless, the presence of good roads is a development only of this generation. Many San villages are still isolated during the rainy season to all but two-wheeled traffic.

1.4.2 Public Transport Systems

Since choices of travel within Burkina Faso are limited to, on the one hand, one's own bicycle or moped, or on the other hand, commercial bus or truck, the availability of public transport is an important consideration in assessing actual and potential contact with those of other ethnic groups within a larger language community. Public or commercial transport, be it by bus, bush taxi, or private merchants, is possible into the San region. However, many villages are fairly far removed from the major roads. Furthermore, the villages off the main routes, even if by only a few kilometers, can become inaccessible to four-wheeled vehicles during the rainy season.

1.4.3 *Trails*

Numerous trails exist between San villages. In the absence of well-maintained roads, these trails allow for contact by foot, bike, and moped between villages that are not separated by too great a distance.

1.5 Religious Adherence

1.5.1 *Spiritual Life*

The traditional religious practices remain a strong part of San culture. Census figures of 1973 put the number of those in the Toma region who practice the traditional religion at 55%, while those in Tougan number 39.5% (Zamane 1990:143).

At the same time, Islam also has many adherents among the Sanan. While the Sanan resisted Islam to the turn of this century, it appears that the cultural changes brought about through the French colonisation allowed for the spread of the Muslim faith (Pare 1990:164). As a result, the number of Muslims among the Sanan has been steadily growing since the 1930s and especially the 1940s (Pare 1990:137). Islam continues to spread as well because of its simplicity and ability to be adapted to different situations (Pare 1990:164). According to 1985 figures, 45% of the total San population are Muslim (Pare 1990:18).

We must also presume that among both Muslims and Christians, there are those who continue to practice the traditional ancestral devotion and sacrifices.

1.5.2 *Christian Work in the Area*

Regarding the religious situation, there has been both Roman Catholic and Protestant activity in the general San region for many decades. In the southern region, the Roman Catholics established a mission in Toma in 1913 (Zamane 1990:43). It is not known when the Assemblies of God and Christian and Missionary Alliance first began work in the south.

In the northern San area, the first Catholic priests arrived in 1927 in Kouy. They founded a church in Tougan in 1952 and one in Bangassogo in 1949 (Zamane 1990: 50). According to the Rev. André Ki, the total number of Catholics among the Tougan parish is slightly more than 10,000. An estimate of the current number of believers, presumably for the San territory as a whole, puts the Roman Catholics at 20,000 and 8,000 members of the Christian and Missionary Alliance churches (UBS 1996:22). See table 1.2 in the appendix for a list of Catholic and Protestant groups of believers in the northern San region.

1.5.3 *Language Use Parameters within Church Services*

The Catholic church has a long history of working in the vernacular, translating Scripture and other materials into San. Concerning the southern region, the Catholic

church published their own New Testament translation in the southern dialect after having teamed with the Christian and Missionary Alliance for a long time. The Christian and Missionary Alliance, with support from the United Bible Society, also produced a New Testament translation in the southern dialect, and have asked for help in the translation of the Old Testament (UBS 1996:22).

In the North the Catholic church conducts most of its services in San, and has produced materials for its needs (i. e. lectionaries, materials for training catechists, etc.) in two dialects: Kouy and Bangassogo (see section 2 of the appendix). They chose these two dialects after judging them to be the most easily understood. It must be stated that Jula is increasingly used during the Mass celebrated in the town of Tougan, since this congregation includes those from other ethnic groups.

Concerning the northern Protestant situation, Jula has until very recently been the language used. Acknowledging the difficulty in comprehension between the dialects, Protestant church leaders preferred the use of Jula, hoping that comprehension of Jula would be fairly high and that this one-language strategy would serve to unify the region. Church leaders were not convinced of the practicality of producing materials in the various dialects. It is only recently that Sanan pastors have begun to ask for materials in the dialect region of Kassoum, located west of Tougan (and whose speech differs appreciably from Kouy). They have shown interest to the extent that they have translated certain key Biblical terms into San. It is apparently the case that the church district leaders would now both welcome materials in the northern dialect and help in the effort. Phillips has known of problems in comprehension and sees the need for adapted materials. It is not clear, however, how much the Christian and Missionary Alliance administration would contribute to language development projects in the north.

1.6 Schools/Education

1.6.1 *Types, Sites, and Size of Schools*

Education is in general becoming an ever-increasing priority in the San region. Of the 61 known villages in the southern area, over half of them have schools, and slightly less than two-thirds of these schools have opened since 1980. The northern area has a smaller ratio of schools to the total number of villages—only one-third of the known San villages have schools—yet as in the south, access appears to be improving, as two-thirds of these schools have opened since 1980. Nevertheless, a great deal remains to be done both in encouraging the attendance of girls as well as in increasing the number of places for children. These two problems seem quite daunting for a region that is not as well off as others in the country. According to Ministry of Education statistics of 1994–1995, 33.56% of Sourou Province's girls attended school, while 47.58% of boys attended (MEBAM 1996).⁴ (See table 1.3 in the appendix, for a list of

⁴Sourou and Nayala Provinces are in the middle tier if one is to compare their rate of scolarisation with that of the other provinces of Burkina. The rates of scolarisation vary from above 80% for Kadiogo to less than 11% for Gnagna Province.

primary schools in San-speaking villages in these provinces). As is the case throughout the country, middle and high schools are much less common, forcing most potential students to travel outside of their home villages to attend (see table 1.4 in the appendix for a list).

Turning to the attitudes of the Sanan, they are generally highly motivated to attend school and to learn French. Nevertheless, certain factors counterbalance the move to educate the young. Perhaps the biggest single deterrent to educational access is not distance from schools, but parents' lack of money to send their children.

Another formal government educational activity is the program, Centre de Formation de Jeunes Agriculteurs. These CFJAs were developed to provide very basic education for those villages far removed from primary schools, and also are a way to educate children who don't have the means to go to primary schools. In the province of Sourou, the CFJAs in San villages carry out literacy in the vernacular. See table 1.5 in the appendix for a list of CFJA schools in the northern San region.

1.6.2 Literacy Activities

Several organizations have taken up the cause to increase literacy in San. The Christian and Missionary Alliance opened a literacy center in Toma in 1989 (UBS 1996:22). The Association National pour la Traduction de la Bible et l'Alphabétisation has begun work in literacy in the San area through its Literacy in the Churches program. In 1996, 18 centers operated in the San region. Twelve of the classes were conducted in San and six in Jula. 316 candidates were enrolled in the classes and 118 declared literate (Kompaoré 1996:4). (It is not known why certain San villages carried out programs in Jula rather than in San.)

The Bangassogo parish is also working to offer reading programs. It appears, however, that its activities have greatly diminished since the early 1990s, when it received funding from the program Ensemble Chassant L'Ignorance and la Famine, and had 13 centers and 19 classes. In 1996, only the village of Bangassogo held literacy classes. See table 1.6 in the appendix for a list of villages in which literacy classes have been held.

The DPEBA⁵ has been very involved in adult literacy efforts in the San region. Government adult literacy in the area is apparently conducted in Jula.

1.6.3 Attitude toward the Vernacular

As is the case with the other national languages, literacy in the vernacular must be conducted outside the primary and postprimary schools; French is the only language allowed in these schools. Therefore, literacy takes place through DPEBA, church literacy centers, and CFJAs.

⁵Direction Provinciale de Education de Base et de l'Alphabétisation.

1.7 Facilities and Economics

1.7.1 Supply Needs

The economic situation in the general San area is similar to that of most rural Burkina Faso: almost all of the Sanan are subsistence farmers. Most grow grains and raise small livestock if they have the means. Nevertheless, especially in the northern areas, the Sanan live a more precarious existence than many other people groups because of lesser rainfall. Also the San do not seem to be able to benefit from cash crops as well as other ethnic groups, apparently due to the drier climatic conditions. Small markets, held every few days, are found in many villages. Often, Mossi and Jula traders sell at these markets.

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

1.7.2 Medical Needs

As is true for all of Burkina Faso, medical treatment is an area of great need. Throughout the overall San area, small dispensaries, where one can obtain very basic medical care, exist in a number of villages. The Christian and Missionary Alliance mission has also provided specialty care for such problems as cleft palates and cataracts, working in conjunction with the hospital in Tougan. However, two obstacles hinder those outside of Tougan who need more urgent medical care: the distance to reach pharmacies, clinics, and hospitals, and the means to pay for the treatment. The clinics within reach of the Sanan are in Ouahigouya, Kiembara, Tougan, and Toma.

Needless to say, most San live relatively far (often at least a 2–3 hour journey by two-wheeled transportation) from clinics, the result being that by the time the sick arrive for treatment, illnesses have often become serious.

At the local pharmacies, the transactions usually take place in San, with translations into either Jula, French, or Mooré. Toma seems to be the only town where the local medical people speak San.

1.7.3 Governmental Facilities in the Area

In the great majority of cases, the departmental seats/prefectures fall within the San-speaking area. In the northeast region, French, Jula, and Mooré are spoken in these offices; French and Jula are the languages used in the northwest region. Police checkpoints are not uncommon; French is the language of use here. Several police barracks are found within the San-speaking area. Nevertheless, proficiency in either French or Jula (or Mooré in the eastern zone) is desirable.

1.8 Traditional Culture

1.8.1 *Historical Notes*

While much is still open to debate concerning the history of the Sanan, it appears that they arrived in their present location in various waves, occurring between the 13th and 16th centuries. According to tradition, they came from the west, in the present country of Guinea. The northern area may have been the earlier of the regions to be inhabited. In part, one can attribute the linguistic diversity in the northern regions to the Sanan coming at different periods (Pare 1984:15).

Another historical factor that seems to have encouraged dialectal diversity within San is their history of decentralization. Ky argues that the Sanan have a deep-seated distrust of hierarchical organization; their independent spirit struggles against anything that would constrain (Ky 1983:12). On the economic level, there appeared to be little trade between the regions (Pare 1984:18). Concerning the political sphere, Platiel writes that the village chief is the highest authority for the Sanan: there is not a regional ruling authority (Platiel 1974:12). Each village had much control over its own affairs, thus reducing contact to a certain degree. She adds, however, that villages set up certain alliances for such aspects of culture as hunts, marriages, and burning off fields. It is her argument that the present dialect divisions coincide with the areas of the village alliances (Platiel 1974:12).

1.8.2 *Culture and Attitudes toward Culture*

Several facets of the San culture affect the sociolinguistic situation. An obvious factor affecting culture (and cultural vitality) among the Sanan is the climate of their homeland. While the San are very attached to their land, it is clear that their land is not the most favorable for their farming lifestyle. The soil is quite poor, and especially after disappointing rainy seasons, food shortages occur.

As a second point, the differences between the dialect regions go beyond language. While no concrete examples are given, there are cultural differences as well (Ky 1990:17–19).

According to those responding to our questionnaires, most prefer the life of the village to life in the big cities. As is the case of many Burkina ethnic groups, many youth, especially women, spend some months or years trying to earn money either in the larger towns and cities of Burkina Faso or in Côte d'Ivoire. While it is impossible to know how many actually return to their home village, it would seem that a fairly high percentage do return after their moneymaking time. It stands to reason that one result of these stays is usually greater proficiency in Jula; that result, however, may be short-lived if the opportunities do not exist to use Jula in the village.

1.8.3 Current Contact with Other Cultures

To be sure, the world of the Sanan is larger now than 50 years ago. There is more opportunity for travel and contact both within the San region and across regional borders. In part due to the increasing outside contact, the Sanan have lost certain aspects of their culture (Platiel 1974:11), ranging from no longer crafting certain objects, to losing governing power, to moving to a money-based trading system (as opposed to barter), to changing religious beliefs and practices. Climate changes have also affected traditional culture. Phillips states that cotton spinning and weaving are becoming lost arts, due the fact that the diminished rainfall no longer supports cotton growing. Platiel, when assessing what has been lost, uses rather strong language: "the interaction of these factors has served to change the social equilibrium of San society, and thus to create malaise and a profound instability...even to the foundations of this society, which has been considerably shaken".⁶ (Platiel 1974:13).

Platiel singles out the long-term (and apparently increasing) immigration of Mossi into what is traditionally San land as an important development in San cultural life (Platiel 1974:14). Though she maintains that the two ethnic groups maintain their distinctness, it is nonetheless true that certain villages in the eastern region have become Mooré-speaking. Phillips states as well that in certain southeastern villages, Sanan learn Mooré and Mossis learn San.

Furthermore, increased contact usually translates to higher competency in a trade language. The Sanan in the northern language region have a fair amount of such contact. In the northeastern area, Sanan learn Mooré. In the west, the Sanan have contact with Pana, Marka-dafin, and Tougan. Tougan has especially become a commercial center. To the north, the San's neighbors are the Kalemé. It is especially in the area to the west of the Mouhoun River that contact translates into greater proficiency in Jula.

1.9 Linguistic Work in the Language Area

1.9.1 Work Accomplished in the Past

Roman Catholic priests have been in the area for many decades, studying the language and producing lectionaries and primers. A joint language committee operated for a long time; a northern committee was formed in 1975. After one year, however, it was discontinued due to a lack of interest.

Certain linguists have likewise studied San, notably Platiel (who has written a thesis on the phonology and grammar of San, as well as various articles on further grammatical points) and Phillips of the Christian and Missionary Alliance mission.

⁶ "tous ces facteurs combinés ont contribué à modifier l'équilibre social de la société San, et par là, à créer un malaise et une instabilité profonde...les bases même de cette société ayant été considérablement perturbées."

Various university students have focused on San linguistics, including L. Drabo (1990), I. Ki (1985), J. M. Boro (1986), and F. Toé (1990). A. Prost (1950), W. Welmers (1958), and M. L. Morse (1967) have written about the classification of San. See section 2 in the bibliography for a list of linguistic, historical, and anthropological works about the Sanan.

1.9.2 Present Work

The Roman Catholics continue their work, especially in the Bangassogo region. A team continues to translate materials, mostly concerning agricultural themes and stories, into the Bangassogo dialect. R. Phillips is currently working on developing literature, including a dictionary.

1.9.3 Materials Published in the Language

In 1996, the New Testament was published in the Toma dialect both by the Christian and Missionary Alliance mission and by the Roman Catholic Church (the versions are quite similar). Over the years, other materials have been produced, including a primer and books of Old Testament portions. See section 3 in the bibliography for a list of materials published in San.

2 Methodology

2.1 Sampling

The sites chosen for research were in large part based on information supplied from the dissertation of Suzanne Platiel. In order to achieve our goal of testing lexical similarity and the degree of inherent intelligibility between the various dialect regions, we conducted research in the following villages:

Table 2.1.1
Village visited based on reported dialect boundaries

Dialect	Province/Region	Village
maka	Province: Nayala Southern, surrounding Toma	Toma
matya	Province: Sourou Northwest, to the west and north of Tougan	Kassoum Kouy Toéni
maya	Province: Sourou Northeast, surrounding Kiembara and Bangassogo	Bounou Kiembara Bangassogo Lankoué

2.2 Lexicostatistic Survey

To determine the degree of lexicostatistic similarity, we elicited a 230-item word list, one which includes various parts of speech. As part of our second pass through each village, we checked for discrepancies with data from contiguous dialects in order to avoid mistaken data and therefore to achieve purer results. The complete word list is in section 2 in the appendix.

2.3 Dialect Intelligibility Survey

In order to measure the degree of inherent intelligibility between speakers of the various dialects, our principal tool was the testing method developed by E. Casad, commonly referred to as the Recorded Text Test. The various steps are as follows:

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

A note about sampling: in the testing process in Village B, it is very important to be aware of and guard against the influence of factors that may skew the results, and in particular, factors which may allow respondents to achieve higher scores than they normally would. For example, it is important to choose candidates with very little or no previous contact with speakers of Village A. Such exposure may allow them to score higher on this test, one designed to measure “inherent” (natural) intelligibility. In table 3.3.1, it is the standard deviation column which signals high contact, and therefore learned intelligibility. A high (above 1.6) standard deviation, a result of a wide range of test scores, suggests that some test takers have “learned” to understand the speech tested. Learned intelligibility is generally not consistent within a population.

Conversely, it is just as important to find candidates who can master the question/answer technique of the Casad methodology. It is sometimes not an easy feat among those who have not gone to school. For this reason, in carrying out the Recorded Text Test among the San, we tested mainly CM2 students, whose ages range generally from 13–15. A side benefit of testing students is that they generally travel less than nonschooled teenagers.

In two cases as well, we carried out a shortened version of the Recorded Text Test, sometimes referred to as the Rapid Appraisal Recorded Text Test. This procedure, like the one described above, involves playing recorded (and transcribed) stories. However, Rapid Appraisal Recorded Text Test differs in major ways with the methodology described above. First, the test is conducted not individually but in a group setting, with five or six people listening at once. Second, instead of responding to specific questions drawn from the story, one person of the group is randomly selected to provide a summary of what he/she has heard. In the case of a doubtful response or mistaken facts, a second (and third) person can be chosen to summarize the part of the story. As a third difference, the scoring of the story is not as quantitative: rating is done on a three point scale of very well, partial, or very poor.

2.4 Questionnaires

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

2.5 Bilingualism Testing In Jula⁷

The Sentence Repetition Test (SRT) for the Jula language was developed by following the procedures of Radloff (1991). An SRT is comprised of 15 sentences, arranged in increasing order of difficulty. For each sentence answered correctly, 3 points are earned, with 45 being a maximum score. For each mistake, a point is subtracted from 3. The SRT used to assess proficiency in Jula was calibrated to a Reported Proficiency Evaluation (RPE) test.⁸ The sample used to calibrate the SRT with the RPE consisted of 83 people who were both native and second language Jula speakers. They were volunteers found in the city of Ouagadougou.

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

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

⁷Editor's note: R. Berger and S. Showalter have contributed significantly to this section.

⁸For a full description of the development of the Jula SRT, see Berthelette et al.(1995).

This calibration allows for a prediction of RPE levels based on the SRT scores, according to table 2.5.1:

Table 2.5.1
Predicted RPE level from SRT score.

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

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

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

San speakers were given the SRT to estimate their proficiency in Jula. The tester, Zanga Traoré, was instructed to visit a wide area in the village in order to make the sampling as representative as possible, using quotas based on sex and age. Villages were selected which had been exposed to varying levels of interethnic contact.

To understand the interacting influences of sex, age, and geographical location of villages on Jula proficiency, a factorial analysis of variance (ANOVA) statistical design was used on the SRT scores. This design was based on SRT data collected from both females and males whose ages were from 12 and up, and who lived in 10 villages. The specific factors examined were age with three levels: 12–25, 26–45, and 46+ years; villages with 10 levels; and sex with two levels. Interacting effects among these factors

were examined. The specific ANOVA selected for the analysis was the General Linear Model (GLM) because the requirement of a balanced design was not a precondition for its use. A balanced ANOVA design requires equal numbers of subjects at all factor levels. Another unique feature of the GLM is that it considers the correlation coefficients among age, sex, and villages. These relationships were examined by regression analysis which involves correlational analyses. The GLM makes adjustments in the factor level means and standard deviations which are predicted from the correlated data.

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

In general, language groups having the SRT means below 16 (level 3 on RPE scale) were prioritized for minority language development while language groups with significantly higher SRT means had a lower priority. Of course, attitudinal factors were also considered when priorities were determined (Bergman 1990:9.5.2).⁹

3 Comprehension and Lexicostatistical Data

3.1 Reported Dialect Groupings

It is always interesting (and challenging) to try to pinpoint how villagers perceive their own ability to understand other languages or dialects. Just as challenging is the attempt in table 3.1.1 to summarize the Sanan's attitudes.

⁹In 1989, the Summer Institute of Linguistics' Area Directors and Vice Presidents established the language assessment criteria for the organization. This work is a set of standards for such domains as dialect intelligibility, bilingual ability, etc., in an attempt to guide decision-making as to the need for language development in specific situations.

Table 3.1.1
Reported Comparison of the Ease of Understanding of San dialects

Respondent's Village	Reported Comprehension
Lankoué (maya)	easiest most difficult <-----> Kiembara Bangassogo Gomboro Bounou Tougan Toma
Kiembara (maya)	easiest most difficult <-----> Gomboro/Bangassogo/Lankoué/Bounou Tougan Toéni Kouy Toma
Bangassogo (maya)	easiest most difficult <-----> Gomboro Kiembara/Lankoué Kwarémengel Bounou Toéni Kouy/Tougan Toma
Bounou (maya)	easiest most difficult <-----> Bangassogo Kiembara Kwarémengel Kouy/Tougan Toma
Toéni (matya)	easiest most difficult <-----> Worou Kwarémengel Bangassogo/Kouy(some say one, some the other) Tougan Toma
Kouy (matya)	easiest most difficult <-----> Tougan Kassoum Daka Toéni Kiembara Bangassogo Toma
Kassoum (matya)	easiest most difficult <-----> Tougan Toma (they have little contact with those from Bangassogo/Kiembara)

In summary, the Sanan from the different dialect regions have definite opinions regarding differences in speech. Between the different dialects, the reported inter-comprehension is poor. As we shall see in table 3.2.1, these opinions generally fall in line with results from the Recorded Text Test. Nevertheless, the Sanan from the various groups are proud of their own dialects.

3.2 Results of the Recorded Text Tests

While it is true that some learning of other dialects takes place through contact, only a minority of the Sanan actually have the opportunity to do this. Thus, we are faced with the need for verifiable data to see if the Toma materials should be adapted, this in order to provide the northern dialects with the best possible opportunity to learn to read and write in their own language. Linguists who have worked with the Recorded Text Test have long debated the threshold of comprehension speakers of one dialect must attain if they are to be reasonably expected to profit from literacy materials and translations in another dialect. A common level set forth by many at the Summer Institute of Linguistics is between 80% and 85%. This figure, at first glance, may seem quite high. Yet one must take into account that the story played is a simple narrative, perhaps the easiest genre of discourse to understand.

Table 3.2.1 summarizes the results of the Recorded Text Test among the target villages:

Table 3.2.1
Results of the San Recorded Text Test

Village in which the test is conducted:	Text of Which Village	Number of Females Tested	Number of Males Tested	Percent Correct Answers	Standard Deviation ¹⁰
Kiembara (maya)	Kiembara	3	7	100	0.00
	Bangassogo	3	7	95.5	0.65
	Bounou	3	7	86	0.66
	Lankoué	3	7	89	1.28
	Kouy	3	7	39	0.70
	Toma	3	7	7.5	0.96
Bangassogo (maya)	Bangassogo	2	8	100	0.00
	Bounou	2	8	76	1.84
	Kiembara	2	8	91	0.70
	Kouy	2	8	28	1.65
	Toéni	2	8	75	0.87
	Toma	2	8	4	0.49
Bounou (maya)	Bounou	4	6	98	0.40
	Bangassogo	4	6	73	1.27
	Kiembara	4	6	83.5	0.71
	Kouy	4	6	38.5	1.29
	Toéni	4	6	52.5	1.29
	Toma	4	6	1	0.20
Toéni (matya)	Toéni	4	7	96.82	0.39
	Bangassogo	4	7	35.50	1.39
	Kiembara	4	7	59.09	0.51
	Kouy	4	7	57.27	1.05
	Kassoum	4	7	17.73	1.29
	Toma	4	7	2.73	0.62

¹⁰As stated previously, it is the standard deviation column which signals high contact, and therefore learned intelligibility. A high (above 1.6) standard deviation, a result of a wide range of test scores, suggests that some test takers have “learned” to understand the speech tested.

Village in which the test is conducted:	Text of Which Village	Number of Females Tested	Number of Males Tested	Percent Correct Answers	Standard Deviation ¹¹
Kouy (matya)	Kouy	3	7	99.5	0.15
	Toéni	3	7	33.5	1.05
	Kassoum	3	7	40.5	1.39
	Bangassogo	3	7	10	1.02
	Kiembara	3	7	30	0.92
	Toma	3	7	1.5	0.32

Kassoum (matya)	Kassoum	7	3	96	0.49
	Kouy	7	3	73	0.78
	Toéni	7	3	36	1.24
	Bangassogo	7	3	6	0.89
	Kiembara	7	3	20.5	0.65
	Toma	7	3	1	0.30

What can we conclude from table 3.2.1? As the major goal of the survey, we wanted verifiable data concerning the northern Sanan's comprehension of the Toma dialect, in order to determine if materials produced in that dialect could be used in the north. The results of the testing are clear: northern Sanan have extremely little inherent or natural understanding of the Toma dialect. Only isolated individuals could catch details from the story. Strictly taking into account inherent intelligibility, we see a strong case for the need of written materials produced in the northern area. It would appear that Welmers' calling these two zones separate languages is certainly justified.

At this point, we move to a second question: which dialect or dialects are most comprehensible throughout the northern San area? Answering this question based on the results of intelligibility testing is rather complicated: no one dialect is well understood throughout the whole area. As Platiel rightly asserted, the northern region contains various groupings of dialects. From the intelligibility data, there are (at least) three basic zones of sufficient intelligibility. The first is the northeastern zone, which comprises the largest land area, extending from Lankoué in the east to at least Bounou in the west. The two texts that were fairly well understood throughout were those of Kiembara and Bangassogo. Looking at the data, the percentages would indicate that the Kiembara speech is slightly better understood than that of Bangassogo, although this may or may not be due to Kiembara's role as a melting pot town. Referring again to Platiel's work, we see that there is a distinct difference between the dialect groupings of

¹¹As stated previously, it is the standard deviation column which signals high contact, and therefore learned intelligibility. A high (above 1.6) standard deviation, a result of a wide range of test scores, suggests that some test takers have "learned" to understand the speech tested.

this eastern region and the western region, which in this survey was represented by Kouy and Kassoum. To be specific, inherent intelligibility between the two is quite low (less than 30%). As a side note, however, it is interesting to see that the speech from Toéni was understood fairly well in all sites but Bounou.

The second zone of sufficient intelligibility is the northwestern, that of Kassoum/Kouy, with the Kouy speech apparently being better understood within this region. It would appear, furthermore, that this is a case of one-way intelligibility: those from the Kassoum area understand to a fair extent the Kouy dialect (73%), but those from Kouy do not understand the Kassoum area speech well (40%). It is notable that the inherent intelligibility of Kouy speech among those tested in Kassoum is less than 80%, the figure stated as our threshold. Certain subjects also seemed hesitant about basing written materials on the Kouy dialect, possibly because of negative attitudes toward that dialect.

The final zone is the far northern, that of Toéni. Speakers of this dialect appear to have less inherent intelligibility with the Kouy speech than was assumed, answering on the average only six questions out of ten in the testing. They surprisingly achieve the same results with the Kiembara text, surprising first because the test takers did worse on the Bangassogo text (40%), which lies between the Toéni and Kiembara, and surprising also, because of Platiel's identification of Toéni as part of the "matya" dialect (whereas Kiembara is maya).

To compare the results of the Rapid Appraisal Recorded Text Test with the normal Recorded Text Test, we conducted the Rapid Appraisal version as well at Kassoum. In this situation, we tested 5 boys, ages 14–16 years old, none of whom had contact with San speakers from the dialect areas in question.

Table 3.2.2
Results of the Rapid Appraisal Recorded Text Test at Kassoum

Text from which village	Evaluation of Comprehension	Details concerning understanding	Comments
Kouy	Well to partial	Missed 3 or 4 details.	They say it's easy to understand, and most know it comes from Kouy
Toéni	Very poor	Understood only 2 or 3 details.	
Bangassogo	Very poor	Understood only 1 sentence.	No idea where it comes from
Toma	Very poor	Understood nothing.	They say it's Sangho
Bounou	Very poor	Understood only 2 or 3 details.	

At Lankoué, we also chose to conduct the Rapid Appraisal Recorded Text Test, since it was reported that there was not much change with the Bangassogo and

Kiembara dialects. For this exercise, we worked with 6 children from CM2, 3 boys and 3 girls, all between the ages of 13 and 15. The only surprise was that the children found the Bangassogo story easier to understand than the Kiembara story, a surprise since Kiembara lies between Bangassogo and Lankoué geographically.

Table 3.2.3
Results of the Rapid Appraisal Recorded Text Test at Lankoué

Text from which village	Evaluation of Comprehension	Details concerning understanding	Comments
Kiembara	Well	Missed only 3 or 4 details.	Everyone (surprisingly) says it's hard to understand
Bangassogo	Well	Missed only 2 or 3 details.	They say it's the easiest story to understand.
Bounou	Very poor	Understand only 2 or 3 details	The story (pronunciation or word choice?) evoked laughter
Toéni	Partial	Together, they understood 3/4 of the details. Alone, they caught fewer details.	More difficult than Kiembara story
Kouy	Very poor	Make out very few words.	
Toma	Very poor	Don't understand anything.	Their teacher is from Toma. He easily summarizes the story after.

3.3 Cognate Percentage Chart

The cognate percentage chart, while not strongly reinforcing the scores from the RTT, neither undermine the conclusions. To put it simply, when comparing one San dialect to another, the percentage of lexical similarity is not high. The word lists were verified in order to best assure that differences did not simply involve the use of synonyms.

Table 3.3.1
Overall Lexical Similarity Percentages for the 1996 San Survey

Toma	
51 Kouy	
41 70 Kassoum	
47 55 44 Toéni	
53 67 52 60 Bounou	
49 60 49 58 74 Kiembara	
47 62 50 57 71 76 Bangassogo	
41 51 40 50 60 70 71 Lankoué	

Table 3.3.2 shows more clearly the groupings of the highest lexical similarity percentages. These figures coincide for the most part with both personal evaluations and Recorded Text Test scores. Note, however, that these figures are lower than expected. It is our experience that word list percentages within a dialect group generally lie at 80% or higher.

Table 3.3.2
Lexical Similarity Percentages Grouped According to Dialects

Maya	Matya
Kouy	Bounou
70 Kassoum	74 Kiembara
	71 76 Bangassogo
	60 70 71 Lankoué

For complete word lists for the villages above, see section 2 in the appendix.

3.4 Areas for Further Study

Several questions remain after the survey. The most perplexing is the unexpectedly low inherent intelligibility between the Toéni and Kouy regions.

A second point is that, due to size of the territory and the dialectal complexity, we did not test for intelligibility in the zone between Tougan and Bounou. According to Platiel, that area falls in the same dialect grouping as Kouy (Platiel 1974:4, map 1). Responses to our questionnaires indicate that this area is more closely tied with the eastern dialect.

Another matter has to do with the lower than expected percentages of lexical similarity. What would more in-depth study in the dialects show?

4 Multilingual Issues

4.1 Language Use Description

4.1.1 *Children's Language Use*

The language used in all Sanan courtyards is San, according to the respondents of our questionnaires. San continues to be taught, passed down to the children as their first language.

This fact notwithstanding, many villages have at least some inhabitants who are speakers of other languages or receive those from other people groups. Therefore, many Sanan children begin to learn a second language in their home regions.

In the eastern villages of Lankoué, Kiembara, and Bounou, this second language is for the most part Mooré, as many Mossi live in the region. In Bangassogo, however, the second language is Jula. A key question included in our questionnaires is whether many village children learn to speak a second language before age seven. In Kiembara, Bounou, and Lankoué, children often learn Mooré before this age. In Bangassogo, children do not learn a second language before age seven; most learn Jula through travels in their teenage years.

In the villages to the west and north of Tougan, including Toéni, Kouy, and Kassoum, the second language is Jula. In Toéni, few children learn to speak Jula before the age of seven; by their early teens, many seem to have learned it. It is probably true that in Kassoum and Kouy, learning Jula takes place at or before the age of seven.

4.1.2 *Adults' Language Use*

In normal communication between adult Sanan of the same dialect region, San is the language used. Even narrowing the discussion to the domain of traditional religious practice (for example, initiation rites and funeral practices), San is in general the language used. Protestants in the western region have traditionally used Jula in their church services. Muslims repeat prayers in Arabic, but often use Jula or Mooré to preach or to communicate among themselves.

Throughout the San region, there is opportunity to learn a trade language. As in the case of the children, Sanan of the eastern region continue to speak Mooré and appear to gain a high level of fluency. In fact, according to those questioned at Kiembara, certain villages that have traditionally been San, such as Ouri, Bompele, Zabo, Sissile, and Gorobara, now have Mooré as the vernacular.

As for the Sanan of the western region, a general observation is that as one approaches Tougan and Kassoum, the use of Jula increases. According to answers from our questionnaires in Toéni, Kouy, and Kassoum, for example, most people are faced with the need to speak Jula daily, while this is not true in the eastern region. It also appears that in general, the younger (teenage) segment of the population, who travel frequently, learn Jula quite well. As a final note, it appears that the Bangassogo region provides the least opportunity for use of a trade language.

4.2 Results of the Jula Bilingualism Test

The Jula Sentence Repetition Test was administered in six of the villages in which we had carried out the Recorded Text Test. The primary goal in testing was to cover as much of the northern San region as possible. The following table summarizes the choice of villages:

Table 4.2.1
Choice of Test Sites for Jula Sentence Repetition Test

Region	Village	Village Characteristics
Northeast	Kiembara	On the road between Ouahigouya and Gourcy (two Mossi towns) and Tougan. One-half of the village is Mossi, and Mooré is the predominant trade language. Jula is used sparingly.
Northeast	Bangassogo	Mooré influence here is apparently less than in Kiembara. Jula is used more often than in Kiembara, but less often than in those villages further to the west.
Northwest	Toéni	At the northwestern edge of the San area. Trade language used with neighbors is Jula/Bambara.
Northwest	Tougan	Town of many ethnic groups. Jula use is very heavy. It is even the main language used in various courtyards
Northwest	Kassoum	Located in area of much interethnic contact (with Markadafin).
Northwest	Kouy	Located 15 km to the north of Tougan, a town which has become a Jula center. Going to market therefore means needing to use some Jula. Otherwise, the village has only minor contact with other ethnic groups.

The tests were carried out by Zanga Traoré in February 1996. The choice of candidates generally involved quota sampling (as opposed to strict random sampling) over as wide an area of the village as possible at the time. Table 4.2.2 shows the results of these tests.

Table 4.2.2
Means and Standard Deviations of SRT Scores
for the San (Samo) People Group According to Village, Age, and Sex

Factor	Level	Mean	Standard Deviation	Number of Test takers	P
Village	Kiembara	11.10	1.04	45	sig
	Bangassogo	9.36	1.04	44	
	Toéni	17.61	1.05	43	
	Tougan	21.12	1.08	41	
	Kassoum	22.51	1.03	44	
	Kouy	15.16	1.02	45	
Sex	Female	15.85	0.60	131	ns
	Male	16.44	0.60	131	
Age	12–25	14.64	0.50	171	sig
	26–45	17.65	0.69	91	
Village x Sex	Ki x F	11.57	1.46	22	sig
	Ki x M	10.63	1.41	23	
	B x F	9.89	1.43	22	
	B x M	8.83	1.46	22	
	Toé x F	18.30	1.48	21	
	Toé x M	16.91	1.43	22	
	Tou x F	19.86	1.48	21	
	Tou x M	22.39	1.51	20	
	Ka x F	23.53	1.43	22	
	Ka x M	21.49	1.43	22	
	Ko x F	11.95	1.41	23	
	Ko x M	18.38	1.43	22	
Village x Age	Ki x 12–25	8.77	1.20	30	ns
	Ki x 26–45	13.43	1.70	15	
	B x 12–25	9.09	1.22	29	
	B x 26–45	9.63	1.70	15	
	Toe x 12–25	14.96	1.24	28	
	Toe x 26–45	20.25	1.70	15	
	Tou x 12–25	20.68	1.26	27	
	Tou x 26–45	21.57	1.75	14	
	Ka x 12–25	19.89	1.24	28	
	Ka 26–45	25.12	1.64	16	
	Ko x 12–25	14.46	1.22	29	
	Ko x 26–45	15.88	1.64	16	
Sex x Age	F x 12–25	15.36	0.71	86	sig
	F x 26–45	16.34	0.98	45	
	M x 12–25	13.92	0.71	85	
	M x 26–45	18.96	0.97	46	

In general, the scores were low. Only in the villages of Kassoum, Tougan and Toéni was the average higher than the threshold of 16, the lowest SRT score corresponding to level 3 of the RPE scale. Higher competence in Kassoum and Tougan is logical: both are areas of great interethnic contact. As was expected, the scores were very low in the northeastern (maya) villages of Kiembara and Bangassogo, a region where Mooré has an influence. The competence in Toéni was significantly different from this northeastern region, and especially higher within the adult category. The Toéni results are somewhat surprising, as one would expect Jula (and Bambara, a closely related language) to be more widely used.

Adult males scored significantly higher than young males. The difference between the age groups is not as marked among the females.

In conclusion, the levels attained are not high enough to expect that the majority of the population in San communities could make effective use of written materials in Jula. Even those who scored the highest on the SRT could only be compared to RPE level 3, which is adequately bilingual if other societal or attitudinal factors encourage Jula literacy. While there are some factors to encourage the use of Jula (Protestant church language policy) others (strong use of San language at home and in San villages) indicate the continued use of San in many domains of language use.

4.3 Language Attitudes as Reported

It is clear that the real language of the heart is San. Many Sanan would like to learn to read and write in San because it is their language. Sanan attitudes are reflected as well through their answers concerning the language choice of their religious practices. When it comes to conducting the important cultural practices, the Sanan state that using Jula is out of the question. All of the Sanan questioned state that their language will carry on into the next generations.

Regarding Jula and Mooré, the Sanan, by the need to communicate with their neighbors, have an impetus to learn these languages. Some Sanan, for example, feel that literacy in a trade language is important as a means to better learn the trade language.

French is a prestige language; in most cases, mastering it is one prerequisite to getting a good job. Nevertheless, fairly few do master it, and once out of school and settled in normal village life, most gradually lose some of their ability through disuse.

4.4 Summary

As is the case among so many Burkinabè ethnic groups, competence in Jula is a major question. Are women and men equally fluent in Jula? Are they fluent enough to understand even religious terms?

Overshadowing any competence in Jula are their attitudes toward their own language. Speakers of the different dialects of San in the northern region are strongly

attached to their mother tongue; from a developmental point of view, the local variety of San would certainly be the best language for the teaching of literacy. It would be a shame to not take advantage of their desire to read and write in it.

A final reminder, however: in certain areas of the southern San region, bilingualism in Jula is a topic that will require further attention. In the Kassoum and northwestern San areas, where there exists the greatest amounts of interethnic contact, one must continue to look for signs of language shift.

5 Recommendations

This report has shown that the Toma dialect of San is not easily intelligible among Sanan of the northern language area. It is my recommendation that two projects be carried out in the northern San language area and that both involve the use of CARLA (Computer Assisted Related Language Adaptation).¹²

The first definite need is in the western, or matya, dialect region. The choice as to where to allocate is not clear; there are reasons for and against choosing a site in either the Kassoum speech area itself or in the Kouy area. A major barrier to overcome is that speakers from neither speech area are apparently keen to use materials from the other, with one of the major problems being a Protestant/Catholic rivalry. It would be up to the allocated team to meet in consultation with influential dialect speakers—Catholic and Protestant church leaders, and village heads—in order to decide on the best site. The alternative to finding a mutually-agreeable site, of course, is to work in both speech areas.

The second definite need is in the eastern, or maya, dialect area. Concerning this area, the choice of an allocation site is fairly straightforward. While Kiembara is an important town politically and economically, the Catholic Church has done a great amount of work in the Bangassogo speech, to the point that a large portion of the population have strong attitudes in favor of the dialect. Furthermore, it would be a shame to not take advantage of the work already begun there.

In addition, we must note that the Toéni dialect needs further study. Judging strictly from the Recorded Text Test results, the inherent intelligibility between the Toéni speech and the matya and maya is insufficient to allow for use of materials from the latter dialects. Yet the findings of the Recorded Text Test should be confirmed by more in-depth research. Both teams should have as a high priority further study of the Toéni dialect situation, evaluating the interrelationship between the dialects and the sociolinguistic situation as a whole.

¹²For a more complete description of CARLA, please refer to “Deciding whether to use CADA for a translation project.” by Mann and Weber (1990). The complete reference is found in section 1 of the bibliography.

I realize that a recommendation of two projects does not encourage the development of a standardized variety of San. Nevertheless, if we in SIL desire to provide every people group with literature in a form that they can easily understand, and if we wish to provide the best possible stepping-stone to literacy in French, it is very likely that at least two projects are needed.

Appendices

1 Population Statistics

Table 1.1
San Villages by Dialect

Province	Department	Village	Dialect	Other Ethnic Group in Village ¹³	Population
Mouhoun	Tchériba	Bissandérou	maka	Nuni	426
Mouhoun	Tchériba	Orobié	maka		148
Mouhoun	Tchériba	Youbou	maka		343
Nayala	Gassan	Dieré	maka		1710
Nayala	Gassan	Djimbara	maka		1317
Nayala	Gassan	Gassan	maka	Marka	2389
Nayala	Gassan	Labara	maka		995
Nayala	Gassan	Laré	maka		680
Nayala	Gassan	Moara	maka		1109
Nayala	Gassan	Téri	maka		349
Nayala	Gossina	Bosson	maka		474
Nayala	Gossina	Boun	maka		26
Nayala	Gossina	Gossina	maka	Marka	1181
Nayala	Gossina	Kalabo	maka		586
Nayala	Gossina	Koayo	maka		697
Nayala	Gossina	Le Koun	maka		260
Nayala	Gossina	Madamao	maka		291
Nayala	Gossina	Massako	maka		479
Nayala	Gossina	Naboro	maka		53
Nayala	Gossina	Nianonkoré	maka		113
Nayala	Gossina	Nypon	maka		657
Nayala	Gossina	Sui	maka	Mooré	726
Nayala	Gossina	Tandou	maka		111
Nayala	Gossina	Tarba	maka		458
Nayala	Gossina	Zebassé	maka	Nuni	612
Nayala	Kougny	Goin	maka	Marka	530
Nayala	Kougny	Gougnan	maka		864
Nayala	Kougny	Gouri	maka	Marka	447
Nayala	Kougny	Kamba	maka		1100
Nayala	Kougny	Kibiri	maka		406
Nayala	Kougny	Kougny	maka		3332
Nayala	Kougny	Niaré	maka		1581
Nayala	Kougny	Nimina	maka		1478
Nayala	Kougny	Sébéré	maka		1187
Nayala	Kougny	Tiouma	maka		823

¹³We have tried to take into account the presence of non-Sanan in these villages by reducing the figures listed in the INSD 1985 Census Book.

Province	Department	Village	Dialect	Other Ethnic Group in Village ¹⁴	Population
Nayala	Toma	Goa	maka		343
Nayala	Toma	Goussi	maka		301
Nayala	Toma	Koin	maka		2195
Nayala	Toma	Kola	maka	Mooré	341
Nayala	Toma	Konti	maka		309
Nayala	Toma	Niemé	maka		454
Nayala	Toma	Nyon	maka		416
Nayala	Toma	Pankélé	maka		1296
Nayala	Toma	Samba	maka		380
Nayala	Toma	Sawa	maka		647
Nayala	Toma	Sien	maka		527
Nayala	Toma	Siepa	maka		678
Nayala	Toma	To	maka		1134
Nayala	Toma	Toma	maka		6468
Nayala	Toma	Yayo	maka	Mooré	58
Nayala	Toma	Zouma	maka		1982
Nayala	Yaba	Biba	maka		2478
Nayala	Yaba	Bo	maka		723
Nayala	Yaba	Bounou	maka		2046
Nayala	Yaba	Kéra	maka		696
Nayala	Yaba	Kisson	maka		375
Nayala	Yaba	La	maka		359
Nayala	Yaba	Loguin	maka		832
Nayala	Yaba	Sapala	maka		988
Nayala	Yaba	Saran	maka		789
Nayala	Yaba	Siena	maka		1005
Nayala	Yaba	Tiema	maka	Mooré	572
Nayala	Yaba	Tosson	maka		681
Nayala	Yaba	Yaba	maka		4874
				Total:	61,883
Sourou	Di	Benkadi	matya		?
Sourou	Di	Poura	matya		584
Sourou	Kassoum	Bangassi	matya		925
Sourou	Kassoum	Bao	matya		412
Sourou	Kassoum	Bassam	matya		931
Sourou	Kassoum	Bonro	matya		384
Sourou	Kassoum	Diele	matya		615
Sourou	Kassoum	Doussoula	matya		320
Sourou	Kassoum	Fialla	matya		114
Sourou	Kassoum	Fian	matya		441

¹⁴We have tried to take into account the presence of non-Sanan in these villages by reducing the figures listed in the INSD 1985 Census Book.

Province	Department	Village	Dialect	Other Ethnic Group in Village ¹⁵	Population
Sourou	Kassoum	Fianra	matya		344
Sourou	Kassoum	Kankani	matya		275
Sourou	Kassoum	Kassoum	matya		1224
Sourou	Kassoum	Koularé	matya		109
Sourou	Kassoum	Kourani	matya		334
Sourou	Kassoum	Mara-Grand	matya		891
Sourou	Kassoum	Mara-Petit	matya		219
Sourou	Kassoum	Ourkoum	matya		331
Sourou	Kassoum	P'Nare	matya		201
Sourou	Kassoum	Peni	matya		621
Sourou	Kassoum	Sorona	matya		126
Sourou	Kassoum	Soumara Boumba	matya		1353
Sourou	Kassoum	Soumarani	matya		421
Sourou	Kassoum	Tianra	matya		234
Sourou	Kassoum	Tiao	matya		1009
Sourou	Kassoum	Tombila	matya	Marka	196
Sourou	Kassoum	Toungourou	matya	Marka	193
Sourou	Kassoum	Wawara	matya		162
Sourou	Lanfiéra	Guiedougou	matya	Marka	2008
Sourou	Lanfiéra	Lanfiéra	matya	Marka	431
Sourou	Tougan	Da	matya		2282
Sourou	Tougan	Dimboro	matya		769
Sourou	Tougan	Diouroum	matya		1457
Sourou	Tougan	Dissi	matya		969
Sourou	Tougan	Gonou	matya		337
Sourou	Tougan	Gosson	matya		354
Sourou	Tougan	Kassan	matya		2755
Sourou	Tougan	Kawara	matya		1974
Sourou	Tougan	Kouy	matya		2480
Sourou	Tougan	Nassan	matya		1210
Sourou	Tougan	Tougan	matya	Jula	3147
Sourou	Tougan	Tourgare	matya		534
Sourou	Tougan	Zinzin	matya		?
				Total:	33,675
Sourou	Toéni	Dagale	matya?		681
Sourou	Toéni	Domoni	matya?		686
Sourou	Toéni	Dounkou	matya?		1085
Sourou	Toéni	Gome	matya?	Peul	347
Sourou	Toéni	Gon	matya?		783
Sourou	Toéni	Gorguéré	matya?		252
Sourou	Toéni	Kware-Manguel	matya?		2388

¹⁵We have tried to take into account the presence of non-Sanan in these villages by reducing the figures listed in the INSD 1985 Census Book.

Province	Department	Village	Dialect	Other Ethnic Group in Village ¹⁶	Population
Sourou	Toéni	Kware-Toksel	matya?		476
Sourou	Toéni	Louta	matya?		1793
Sourou	Toéni	Toéni	matya?		1451
				Total:	9,942
Sourou	Gomboro	Ganagoulo	maya		271
Sourou	Gomboro	Gomboro	maya		4233
Sourou	Gomboro	Konga	maya		1276
Sourou	Gomboro	Sia	maya		1309
Sourou	Kiembara	Bangassogo	maya		4367
Sourou	Kiembara	Gan	maya		917
Sourou	Kiembara	Goueré	maya	Mooré	464
Sourou	Kiembara	Gouyalle	maya		1467
Sourou	Kiembara	Kiembara	maya	Mooré	2004
Sourou	Kiembara	Ouelle	maya		2166
Sourou	Lankoué	Lankoué Samo	maya		1051
Sourou	Lankoué	Rassouli	maya		1497
Sourou	Lankoué	Tourouba	maya		1171
Sourou	Toéni	Sanan	maya		324
Sourou	Toéni	Sanga	maya		258
Sourou	Toéni	Sémé	maya	Kalemse	398
Sourou	Tougan	Bonou	maya	Mooré	1360
Sourou	Tougan	Bouare	maya		1203
Sourou	Tougan	Boussoum	maya		2320
Sourou	Tougan	Daka	maya		2429
Sourou	Tougan	Guimou	maya		1773
Sourou	Tougan	Niankore	maya		3069
Sourou	Tougan	Touare	maya		1514
Sourou	Tougan	Yéguéré	maya		1553
				Total:	38,393

¹⁶We have tried to take into account the presence of non-Sanan in these villages by reducing the figures listed in the INSD 1985 Census Book.

Table 1.2
Catholic and Protestant Groups in the Northern San Region¹⁷

List of Abbreviations

AG: Assemblies of God (Assemblées de Dieu)

CMA: Christian and Missionary Alliance
 (Alliance Chrétienne)

Province	Dialect Region	Department	Village	Affiliation of Church in the Village
Sourou	maya	Gomboro	Ganagoulo	RCC
Sourou	maya	Gomboro	Gomboro	RCC
Sourou	maya	Gomboro	Konga	AG (PR) RCC
Sourou	maya	Gomboro	Sia	RCC
Sourou	maya	Kiembara	Bangassogo	AG (PR) CMA (PR) RCC
Sourou	maya	Kiembara	Gan	RCC
Sourou	maya	Kiembara	Gouyale	RCC
Sourou	maya	Kiembara	Kiembara	AG (PR) CMA (PR) RCC
Sourou	maya	Kiembara	Ori	AG (PR)
Sourou	maya	Kiembara	Ouellé	AG (PR) RCC
Sourou	maya	Lankoué	Lankoué	AG (PR) RCC
Sourou	maya	Lankoué	Rassouli	AG (PR) RCC
Sourou	maya	Lankoué	Toroba	AG (PR) RCC
Sourou	maya	Tougan	Bounou	AG (PR) RCC
Sourou	maya	Tougan	Boussoum	CMA (PR) RCC
Sourou	maya	Tougan	Buare	CMA?(PR) RCC
Sourou	maya	Tougan	Daka	CMA (PR) RCC
Sourou	maya	Tougan	Guimou	CMA?(PR)
Sourou	maya	Tougan	Niankéré	CMA (PR) RCC
Sourou	maya	Tougan	Toare	CMA?(PR)
Sourou	maya	Tougan	Yeguere	CMA?(PR) RCC
Sourou	matya	Kassoum	Bangassi	CMA?(PR)
Sourou	matya	Kassoum	Bansé	RCC
Sourou	matya	Kassoum	Bao	CMA?(PR)
Sourou	matya	Kassoum	Bassan	CMA (PR) RCC
Sourou	matya	Kassoum	Bonro	CMA (PR) RCC

¹⁷The Protestant information is in part based on a list of villages in which there is a Protestant pastor, and therefore presumably a church, supplied by the Fédération des Eglises et Missions Evangéliques (FEME 1987). Other Protestant congregations cited by Sow Elie but not found on our maps include Sissilé, Daré and Gyéroudougou.

Province	Dialect Region	Department	Village	Affiliation of Church in the Village
Sourou	matya	Kassoum	Bourgou	CMA?(PR) RCC
Sourou	matya	Kassoum	Dari	RCC
Sourou	matya	Kassoum	Diélé	CMA?(PR)
Sourou	matya	Kassoum	Dian	CMA (PR)
Sourou	matya	Kassoum	Dianra	CMA?(PR)
Sourou	matya	Kassoum	Doussoula	CMA?(PR)
Sourou	matya	Kassoum	Kassoum Foulbe	CMA (PR) RCC
Sourou	matya	Kassoum	Kourani	RCC
Sourou	matya	Kassoum	Mara	RCC
Sourou	matya	Kassoum	Nare	RCC
Sourou	matya	Kassoum	Oroukoun	CMA?(PR)
Sourou	matya	Kassoum	Pini	CMA (PR)
Sourou	matya	Kassoum	Poro	RCC
Sourou	matya	Kassoum	Poura	CMA?(PR) RCC
Sourou	matya	Kassoum	Soumara Boumba	CMA?(PR)
Sourou	matya	Kassoum	Soumaran	CMA?(PR)
Sourou	matya	Kassoum	Tianra	RCC
Sourou	matya	Kassoum	Tiao	CMA (PR) RCC
Sourou	matya	Kassoum	Toéré	CMA (PR)
Sourou	matya	Kassoum	Tombila	CMA?(PR) RCC
Sourou	matya	Kassoum	Tounkourou	RCC
Sourou	matya	Kassoum	Tourou	RCC
Sourou	matya	Kassoum	Wawara	CMA?(PR) RCC
Sourou	matya	Kassoum	Yo	RCC
Sourou	matya	Tougan	Diouroum	CMA (PR) RCC
Sourou	matya	Tougan	Dissi	CMA (PR) RCC
Sourou	matya	Tougan	Gosson	CMA (PR) RCC
Sourou	matya	Tougan	Kassan	CMA (PR)
Sourou	matya	Tougan	Kouy	CMA (PR) RCC
Sourou	matya	Tougan	Nassan	CMA (PR) RCC
Sourou	matya	Tougan	Tougan	CMA (PR) RCC
Sourou	matya	Tougan	Toungare	CMA (PR) RCC
Sourou	matya?	Toéni	Dagalé	RCC
Sourou	matya?	Toéni	Domoni	RCC
Sourou	matya?	Toéni	Dounkou	CMA (PR)
Sourou	matya?	Toéni	Kwarmenguel	CMA (PR) RCC
Sourou	matya?	Toéni	Luta	RCC
Sourou	matya?	Toéni	Ouorou	RCC
Sourou	matya?	Toéni	Soro	AG (PR)
Sourou	matya?	Toéni	Toéni	CMA (PR) RCC

Table 1.3
Primary Schools in the San Area (1992–1993)

Province	Department	Village	Date of School Opening	Number of Classes	Total Enrollment	Number of Girls	Number of Boys
Nayala	Gassan	Diéré	1954	5	395	160	235
Nayala	Gassan	Djimbara	1986	3	156	58	98
Nayala	Gassan	Gassan	1980	2	56	14	42
Nayala	Gossina	Gossina	1959	6	423	159	264
Nayala	Gossina	Kalabo	1980	3	120	43	77
Nayala	Kougny	Goin	1988	3	135	50	85
Nayala	Kougny	Kougny	1955	6	370	137	233
Nayala	Kougny	Niaré	1993	1	76	31	45
Nayala	Kougny	Nimina	1981	6	254	100	154
Nayala	Kougny	Sébéré	1985	3	143	55	88
Nayala	Kougny	Tiouma	1992	1	70	31	39
Nayala	Toma	Koin	1962	6	424	205	219
Nayala	Toma	Niemé	1985	3	109	48	61
Nayala	Toma	Nyon	1985	3	129	52	77
Nayala	Toma	Pankélé	1962	3	134	51	83
Nayala	Toma	Sien	1982	3	167	77	90
Nayala	Toma	To	1983	3	130	50	80
Nayala	Toma	Toma	1942	6	422	203	219
Nayala	Toma	Toma	1921	6	392	182	210
Nayala	Toma	Toma	1982	6	493	239	254
Nayala	Toma	Toma	1964	6	439	220	220
Nayala	Toma	Zouma	1984	3	196	80	116
Nayala	Yaba	Bo	1985	4	135	60	75
Nayala	Yaba	Biba	1960	6	454	191	263
Nayala	Yaba	Bounou	1980	6	445	208	237
Nayala	Yaba	Kéra	1981	3	188	66	122
Nayala	Yaba	Kisson	1984	3	94	30	64
Nayala	Yaba	Saran	1984	6	340	143	197
Nayala	Yaba	Siéna	1993	1	67	24	43
Nayala	Yaba	Tosson	1993	1	33	18	15
Nayala	Yaba	Yaba	1952	6	405	190	215
Nayala	Yaba	Yaba	1982	6	340	155	185
Sourou	Di	Benkadi	1993	1	61	33	28
Sourou	Gomboro	Gomboro	1958	6	367	134	233
Sourou	Gomboro	Konga	1987	3	125	43	83
Sourou	Kassoum	Dianra	1978	3	119	42	77
Sourou	Kassoum	Kassoum	1956	6	238	85	153
Sourou	Kassoum	Mara Grand	1992	1	109	41	68
Sourou	Kassoum	Soumara-Boumba	1982	3	136	46	90
Sourou	Kassoum	Tiao	1956	3	204	73	131
Sourou	Kiembara	Bangassogo	1956	3	218	87	131

Province	Department	Village	Date of School Opening	Number of Classes	Total Enrollment	Number of Girls	Number of Boys
Sourou	Kiembara	Kièmbara	1936	6	455	200	255
Sourou	Kiembara	Ouelle	1984	3	115	33	82
Sourou	Lankoué	Rassouli	1985	3	133	40	93
Sourou	Lankoué	Tourouba	1988	3	159	48	111
Sourou	Toéni	Dounkou	1988	3	137	50	87
Sourou	Toéni	Kwarémenguel	1960	3	129	38	91
Sourou	Toéni	Kwarémenguel	1984	3	153	45	108
Sourou	Toéni	Toéni	1955	4	269	75	194
Sourou	Tougan	Bonou	1962	6	340	112	228
Sourou	Tougan	Bouare	1983	3	183	78	105
Sourou	Tougan	Boussoum	1984	5	250	111	139
Sourou	Tougan	Da	1954	6	416	191	225
Sourou	Tougan	Daka	1985	3	218	105	113
Sourou	Tougan	Diouroum	1980	3	152	62	90
Sourou	Tougan	Dissi	1988	3	128	53	75
Sourou	Tougan	Goron	1987	3	192	48	144
Sourou	Tougan	Guimou	1990	2	125	54	71
Sourou	Tougan	Kassan	1963	4	316	137	179
Sourou	Tougan	Kawara	1980	5	276	115	161
Sourou	Tougan	Kouy	1963	6	353	148	205
Sourou	Tougan	Niankoré	1960	3	206	85	121
Sourou	Tougan	Nassan	1990	2	123	47	76
Sourou	Tougan	Tougan	1988	3	124	53	71
Sourou	Tougan	Tougan	1980	6	411	202	209
Sourou	Tougan	Tougan	1954	7	595	295	300
Sourou	Tougan	Yéguéré	1986	2	97	39	58

Table 1.3
Middle and High Schools in the Southern San Region

Village Visited	Closest Middle Schools	Closest High Schools
Lankoué	Kiembara	Ouahigouya
Kiembara	Kiembara	Tougan
Bangassogo	Kiembara	Tougan
Bounou	Kiembara	Tougan
Toéni	Tougan	Tougan
Kouy	Tougan	Tougan
Kassoum	Kassoum	Tougan
Toma	Toma	Toma

Table 1.4
CFJA Locations in the Northern San Area
(1993–1994, DFPP 1994:10)

Province	Department	Village	Number of Participants
Sourou	Gomboro	Sia	30
Sourou	Gomboro	Konga	23
Sourou	Kassoum	Bassan	23
Sourou	Kassoum	Moara Grand ¹⁸	42
Sourou	Kassoum	Soumbara-Bouumba	6
Sourou	Kassoum	Tombila	16
Sourou	Tougan	Boussoum	49
Sourou	Tougan	Daka	41
Sourou	Tougan	Diouroum	25
Sourou	Tougan	Guimou	35
Sourou	Tougan	Yéguéré	29

Table 1.5
San Villages Known to Have Held Literacy Classes

Toma region ¹⁹	Bangassogo region ²⁰
Biba	Bangassogo beginner and adult
Bounou	Gan
Kéra	Gandagulo
Koin (Assemblies of God and Baptist)	Gomboro beginner and adult
Siéna	Guyele
Toma	Kiembara beginner and adult
Tosson	Konga
Tougan	Lankoé
Yaba	Ouélé
Yayo	Rassuli
Zare	Sia
Zoun	Sané beginner and adult
	Toroba beginner and adult

¹⁸There are two Moara Grands. One is Marka, the other Samo. We are not sure if we are correct in citing the Samo village as the one with the CFJA.

¹⁹Source: Elie Sow, Pastor.

²⁰Source: Robert Domba, catechist.

2 A Word List of Dialects in the San Region

012 grand frère	[mō:gūlō]	<i>Lankoué</i>	[mà:s ^w ērē]	<i>Bounou</i>
	[gō:ligì]	<i>Toma</i>	[mà:sōrō]	<i>Kiembara</i>
	[gūlōgūn]	<i>Kiembara</i>	[mùsōrō]	<i>Kouy</i>
	[gūlūg ^w ēnī]	<i>Bounou</i>	[mī:gūlē]	<i>Toma</i>
	[jē:jē]	<i>Toéni</i>	[càmō]	<i>Toéni</i>
	[je:gundana]	<i>Bangassogo</i>	[cōmō]	<i>Kassoum</i>
	[je:gule:na]	<i>Kouy</i>		
	[je:gu:la]	<i>Kassoum</i>		
013 petite soeur	[dā:lō:dānà]	<i>Bounou</i>	017 guérisseur	
	[dālō:nà]	<i>Kouy</i>	[nīsēbówùlè]	<i>Kassoum</i>
	[dá:lō:nē]	<i>Bangassogo</i>	[jī:sē:dēwùlè]	<i>Kouy</i>
	[dā:lō:rà]	<i>Kassoum</i>	[zē:dēwùlì]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
	[dā:lō]	<i>Kiembara</i>	[jī:sēdānà]	<i>Lankoué</i>
	[dānlē:]	<i>Toéni</i>	[jī:sēdònà]	<i>Toéni</i>
	[diēlō]	<i>Toma</i>	[zēdānà]	<i>Kiembara</i>
	[mādā:nē]	<i>Lankoué</i>	[zēdònà]	<i>Bounou</i>
014 petit frère	[mā:dā:nē]	<i>Lankoué</i>	[dāg ^w ābōlē]	<i>Toma</i>
	[dānē:]	<i>Toéni</i>	[būsūbásawùrù]	<i>Toéni</i>
	[neā:gūnī]	<i>Kiembara</i>		
	[diēgīnī]	<i>Toma</i>		
	[dagūlē:nà]	<i>Kouy</i>		
	[da:gū:là]	<i>Kassoum</i>		
	[dā:g ^w énidānè]	<i>Bounou</i>	018 forgeron	
	[da:gīndānā]	<i>Bangassogo</i>	[kīijà]	<i>Kiembara</i>
015 chef	[cīrī]	<i>Lankoué Kiembara</i>	[kōjpā]	<i>Toéni</i>
		<i>Kassoum Kouy</i>	[k ^w ējà]	<i>Lankoué</i>
	[cīrī]	<i>Bounou</i>	[k ^w ējà]	<i>Bounou</i>
	[tīrī]	<i>Bangassogo</i>	[kūnā]	<i>Kassoum</i>
	[kī]	<i>Toma</i>	[kūnjà]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
	[ci]	<i>Toéni</i>	[kūnī]	<i>Kouy</i>
			[fū:]	<i>Toma</i>
016 ancien	[g ^w ē:g ^w isī]	<i>Lankoué</i>	019 balaphoniste	
	[sō:sērē]	<i>Lankoué</i>	[balafonjeli]	<i>Lankoué</i>
	[sē:s ^w ōrē]	<i>Bangassogo</i>	[balafonjeli]	<i>Kiembara</i>

020 village		025 toit	
[kíbírí]	<i>Lankoué</i>	[cà:là]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[cíbírí]	<i>Kiembara</i>	[cá:lá]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[cíbírí]	<i>Bounou Bangassogo</i>	[cã:lã]	<i>Toéni</i>
[kìwì]	<i>Toma</i>	[cãlã]	<i>Bounou Bangassogo</i>
[gānā]	<i>Toéni Kassoum Kouy</i>	[kãlã]	<i>Toma</i>
[kilã]		[kilã]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[celã]		[celã]	<i>Kouy</i>
021 case		026 pagne	
[bùbù]	<i>Toma Toéni</i>	[ze:né]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[bùgù]	<i>Bounou</i>	[zõ:në]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[cō]	<i>Toéni</i>	[mònā]	<i>Toma</i>
[cē]	<i>Kassoum Kouy</i>	[mẽnè]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[cè]	<i>Bangassogo</i>	[jãmẽnè]	<i>Kouy</i>
[cè:]	<i>Lankoué</i>	[jèrẽzò]	<i>Toéni</i>
[cī]	<i>Kouy</i>	[kènìzwānè]	<i>Bounou</i>
[sūgúdì]	<i>Kiembara</i>	[kè:zwánì]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
022 mur		027 boubou	
[kásí]	<i>Lankoué</i>	[dònè]	<i>Kouy</i>
[késí]	<i>Kiembara</i>	[dõ:kē]	<i>Toma</i>
[kësí]	<i>Bounou</i>	[dàngè]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[kāsí]	<i>Bangassogo</i>	[fõrõbíjá]	<i>Toéni</i>
[kjälā]	<i>Toma</i>	[fidírì]	<i>Kiembara Bounou</i>
[cēprāmè]	<i>Kouy</i>	[tõgõjã]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[cēmèrè]	<i>Bounou</i>		<i>Kassoum</i>
[cēmè]	<i>Toéni</i>		
[tisēlē]	<i>Kassoum</i>		
023 porte		028 sandales	
[kʷèlèngā]	<i>Lankoué</i>	[kʷā:sì]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[kōlingā]	<i>Bangassogo</i>	[k̃sō]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[kōlējā]	<i>Kiembara</i>	[k̃sō]	<i>Kiembara Toma</i>
[gʷõ]	<i>Toéni</i>	[k̃sò]	<i>Bounou</i>
[cēnēlēkūrù]	<i>Kouy</i>	[kʷāsī]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[cānlēkū]	<i>Kassoum</i>	[kʷāsè]	<i>Toéni</i>
[cālēlè]	<i>Bounou</i>	[kʷāsē]	<i>Kouy</i>
[k̃ē:lē]	<i>Toma</i>		
024 grenier		029 bague	
[dōnò]	<i>Kiembara</i>	[zānī]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[dò]	<i>Toma</i>	[nūbiŋà]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[dò]	<i>Toéni</i>	[ká:rá]	<i>Toma</i>
[tōngō]	<i>Lankoué</i>	[gʷāmàsèlā]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[tōngō]	<i>Bangassogo</i>	[wasanemazane]	<i>Kouy</i>
[k̃aw]	<i>Bounou</i>	[wa:sa:ma:zā]	<i>Toéni</i>
[kūlē]	<i>Kassoum</i>	[sílámànì]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[dūlē]	<i>Kouy</i>	[sèlã]	<i>Bounou</i>

030 collier	[gí:]	<i>Toma</i>	[sòlòyà]	<i>Kiembara</i>
	[bɔlɔmá:fò]	<i>Bounou</i>	[sòlòyā]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
	[wí:náfò]	<i>Lankoué</i>	[sɔrɔ]	<i>Toma</i>
	[wú:rúfɔ]	<i>Kiembara</i>	[kʷɛréntàlì]	<i>Lankoué</i>
	[wū:rūfɔ]	<i>Bangassogo</i>	[kʷɛ:tèwùlì]	<i>Kiembara</i>
	[zwánùjèrè]	<i>Kouy</i>	[mēnētāwùlè]	<i>Kassoum</i>
	[wōgónójé:]	<i>Toéni</i>	[mēnētòwùlè]	<i>Kouy</i>
	[zōnōbô:]	<i>Kassoum</i>		
031 fusil				
	[màrlàfɔ]	<i>Kiembara</i>	036 calebasse	
	[màrfɔ]	<i>Toma Bangassogo</i>	[p̄ànē]	<i>Bounou</i>
	[mārfā]	<i>Kassoum</i>	[p̄ēr̄:]	<i>Toéni</i>
	[màrfò]	<i>Bounou</i>	[bă:nī]	<i>Lankoué</i>
	[mà:fò]	<i>Toéni</i>	[bă:nē]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
	[màfɔ]	<i>Kouy</i>	[bă:né]	<i>Kiembara</i>
	[pŭ:mbàrà]	<i>Lankoué</i>	[pă:]	<i>Toma</i>
			[pēnlɔ]	<i>Kouy</i>
			[pēlē]	<i>Kassoum</i>
032 flèche				
	[k̄l̄è]	<i>Toma</i>	037 panier	
	[să:]	<i>Kassoum</i>	[kàsē]	<i>Toéni Bangassogo</i>
	[săkʷɛr̄e]	<i>Lankoué</i>	[kàsī]	<i>Lankoué</i>
	[kàr̄e]	<i>Kiembara Bounou</i>	[kásenē]	<i>Kiembara</i>
	[kāré]	<i>Bangassogo</i>	[kàsēnē]	<i>Bounou</i>
	[kāl̄e]	<i>Kouy</i>	[kākăw]	<i>Toma</i>
	[kā]	<i>Toéni</i>	[z̄i]	<i>Lankoué</i>
			[d̄ò:]	<i>Kassoum</i>
			[d̄ɔ]	<i>Kouy</i>
			[d̄ōyānè]	<i>Bounou</i>
033 arc				
	[să:]	<i>Toéni</i>		
	[să]	<i>Lankoué Kiembara Kouy</i>	038 graisse	
		<i>Bounou</i>	[j̄l̄on̄ɔ]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
	[să]	<i>Bangassogo</i>	[j̄l̄ón̄ɔ]	<i>Lankoué</i>
	[să]	<i>Toma</i>	[j̄l̄on̄ē]	<i>Kiembara</i>
	[săni]	<i>Kassoum</i>	[j̄l̄ō]	<i>Bounou</i>
			[j̄l̄ē]	<i>Toma</i>
			[j̄l̄ēn]	<i>Toéni</i>
			[j̄l̄ēl̄e]	<i>Kassoum Kouy</i>
034 corde				
	[b̄ér̄e]	<i>Lankoué</i>	039 lait	
	[b̄ár̄e]	<i>Kiembara</i>	[nónó]	<i>Lankoué</i>
	[b̄ár̄e]	<i>Bounou Bangassogo</i>	[nōn̄ɔ]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
	[b̄äl̄e]	<i>Kouy</i>	[n̄ūmū]	<i>Toéni</i>
	[b̄âl̄]	<i>Kassoum</i>	[j̄í]	<i>Bounou</i>
	[b̄ă:]	<i>Toéni</i>	[d̄ijă]	<i>Kiembara</i>
	[b̄iē]	<i>Toma</i>	[d̄iñă]	<i>Kassoum Kouy</i>
			[b̄òjă]	<i>Toma</i>
035 tisserand				
	[sòlōgā]	<i>Toéni Kouy Bounou</i>		

040 sel

[jímbí]	<i>Lankoué Kiembara</i>
[jìmbí]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[jě̄]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[jě̄]	<i>Kouy</i>
[ní]	<i>Bounou</i>
[jèp̄í]	<i>Toéni</i>
[jìsí]	<i>Toma</i>

041 bâton

[bālā]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[bālā]	<i>Toma</i>
[bārlà]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[bāmbālā]	<i>Bounou</i>
[bēmbālè]	<i>Kouy</i>
[gāgālā]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[hḡw̄́]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[bā:sālā]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[tā:mā:bā]	<i>Toéni</i>

042 daba

[ḡírā]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[dīrā]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[kà:nè]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[kānà]	<i>Toma</i>
[kānā]	<i>Toéni Kassoum</i>
[kānè]	<i>Bounou</i>
[sú]	<i>Kouy</i>

043 hache

[sém̄é]	<i>Toma</i>
[sāŋqānē]	<i>Bounou</i>
[sàyā]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[sāgā]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[sàgā]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[sà:]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[zā:]	<i>Toéni</i>
[sàlē]	<i>Kouy</i>

044 champs

[fūrē]	<i>Toéni</i>
[wùrū]	<i>Toma</i>
[wūrū]	<i>Kassoum Kouy Bounou</i>
[tárá]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[tārā]	<i>Lankoué Bangassogo</i>

045 riz

[mēlā]	<i>Kouy Bounou Bangassogo</i>
[mēlā]	<i>Toéni</i>
[mēlē]	<i>Toma</i>
[málò]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[màl]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[mʷ̄í]	<i>Lankoué</i>

046 gros mil

[jèfūtā:]	<i>Toéni</i>
[jítā:nē]	<i>Kouy</i>
[jíntā:n]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[jètā:]	<i>Bounou</i>
[jètā:]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[jè:tā]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[jètā]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[ḡɔm̄]	<i>Toma</i>

047 petit mil

[jènānē]	<i>Bounou</i>
[jìnā:nè]	<i>Kouy</i>
[jànā]	<i>Toma</i>
[jínâ:]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[jěj]	<i>Toéni</i>
[jñijkʷ̄nè]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[jékñnd̄]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[jètñgđ]	<i>Bangassogo</i>

048 gombo

[kô:]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[kùnū]	<i>Toma</i>
[kūnì]	<i>Kouy</i>
[kùnì]	<i>Bounou</i>
[fɔ:rɔ]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[fɔ:ró]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[fɔ:rō]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[kòkđn]	<i>Toéni</i>

049 arachide

[mēncēŋgānī]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[mānjā:nē]	<i>Kouy</i>
[mācē:nè]	<i>Bounou</i>
[mīncā:n]	<i>Toéni</i>
[māncā]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[sōŋkánà]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[sōŋkānà]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[jû:]	<i>Toma</i>

050 séSAME

[j̄is̄iñ̄i]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[jāñgāsāñi]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[jñāñgàsáné]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[jñā:sāñ]	<i>Toma</i>
[f̄'èñā]	<i>Bounou</i>
[fūnnā]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[fūjāñ]	<i>Toéni</i>
[fūnné]	<i>Kouy</i>

051 fONIO

[p̄iñ̄i]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[pín̄i]	<i>Kouy</i>
[p̄in̄i]	<i>Bounou</i>
[pén̄]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[pí]	<i>Toma</i>
[fí]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[fē]	<i>Toéni</i>
[f̄'é]	<i>Bangassogo</i>

052 maïS

[kāmā:nā]	<i>Lankoué Kiembara</i>
[kāmānē]	<i>Bounou</i>
[mō:s̄i:]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[mōs̄e:]	<i>Toéni</i>
[m̄'ōs̄w̄i]	<i>Toma</i>
[fē:rénj̄i]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[bāmbār̄e]	<i>Kouy</i>

053 arbre

[j̄id̄a]	<i>Lankoué Toéni</i>
[j̄id̄ā]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[dá]	<i>Kiembara Kassoum Kouy</i>
[dā]	<i>Toma Bounou</i>

054 forêt

[tō:rō]	<i>Kouy</i>
[dā:]	<i>Toma</i>
[dē:]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[sāñgā]	<i>Lankoué Kiembara</i>
[sāñgā]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[kùrùmū]	<i>Bounou</i>
[kùrùmū]	<i>Toéni</i>

055 bois

[j̄ḡw̄ɔ]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[j̄ḡɔ]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[j̄ḡō]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[ḡw̄ē]	<i>Toéni</i>
[ḡō:]	<i>Toma</i>
[ḡō]	<i>Bounou</i>
[w̄ō]	<i>Kassoum Kouy</i>

056 herbe

[bū]	<i>Toéni</i>
[bú]	<i>Toma</i>
[gūrù]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[búrú]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[būrū]	<i>Kassoum Kouy Bounou</i>
[brù]	<i>Bangassogo</i>

057 karité

[kūrù]	<i>Lankoué Kassoum Kouy</i>
	<i>Bounou Bangassogo</i>

[kú]	<i>Toéni</i>
[kùj̄e:nē]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[kùnē]	<i>Toma</i>
[k̄w̄erē]	<i>Bangassogo</i>

058 fleur

[ḡv̄:]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[dābū]	<i>Bounou</i>
[dāpū]	<i>Toma</i>
[ābū]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[bū:]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[bū:]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[bū]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[b̄v̄i]	<i>Toéni</i>
[b̄v̄i]	<i>Kouy</i>

059 fruit

[j̄id̄nē:bē:r̄e]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[j̄id̄nē]	<i>Toéni</i>
[j̄id̄nē]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[dā:nī]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[dā:nē]	<i>Kouy</i>
[dā:nē]	<i>Bounou</i>
[dā:nē]	<i>Toma</i>
[nē]	<i>Kiembara</i>

060 feuille	[lā:rē]	<i>Lankoué</i>	[tōbē]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
	[lā:rē]	<i>Bangassogo</i>	[tóngó]	<i>Lankoué</i>
	[lá:ré]	<i>Kiembara</i>	[tâ:]	<i>Toma</i>
	[lā:]	<i>Toéni</i>		
	[dālūgū]	<i>Bounou</i>	[gĕ]	<i>Toma</i>
	[dā:lū]	<i>Kouy</i>	[gī]	<i>Toéni</i>
	[dàlū]	<i>Toma</i>	[gínì]	<i>Lankoué Bounou</i>
	[lèw]	<i>Kassoum</i>	[gíní]	<i>Kiembara</i>
			[jínì]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
			[jílì]	<i>Kassoum Kouy</i>
061 branche	[gūlē]	<i>Kiembara</i>		
	[gùlē]	<i>Kouy</i>		
	[gùlē]	<i>Bounou Bangassogo</i>		
	[dāgùlē]	<i>Bounou</i>	[dē:nē]	<i>Bounou</i>
	[dàgō]	<i>Toma</i>	[dēr]	<i>Kassoum</i>
	[jā:lē]	<i>Kassoum</i>	[didâ]	<i>Toma</i>
	[gʷǎ:n]	<i>Toéni</i>	[dūdà]	<i>Lankoué</i>
	[kārā]	<i>Lankoué</i>	[dū]	<i>Toéni</i>
			[dūrù]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
			[dírī]	<i>Kiembara</i>
			[dārī]	<i>Kouy</i>
062 écorce	[jídāfòrò]	<i>Lankoué</i>		
	[dàfòrò]	<i>Toma</i>		
	[dāfòrò]	<i>Bounou</i>	[sôl]	<i>Kassoum</i>
	[fòrò]	<i>Bounou Bangassogo</i>	[sõ:]	<i>Toéni</i>
	[fòrò]	<i>Kiembara</i>	[sûsò]	<i>Lankoué</i>
	[fòrò]	<i>Kassoum</i>	[sõ:sõ]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
	[fòrò]	<i>Kouy</i>	[sùwî]	<i>Toma</i>
	[bô]	<i>Toéni</i>	[sûrû]	<i>Kouy Bounou</i>
			[sûrû]	<i>Kiembara</i>
063 racine	[wārā]	<i>Bangassogo</i>		
	[jidāwārā]	<i>Lankoué</i>	[sř:]	<i>Toéni</i>
	[dāgʷānē]	<i>Kouy</i>	[sř:]	<i>Kassoum</i>
	[gʷànē]	<i>Kassoum</i>	[sř:rī]	<i>Lankoué Bounou</i>
	[gʷānē]	<i>Bounou</i>		
	[gānā]	<i>Kiembara</i>	[sř:rī]	
	[jídāgʷò:]	<i>Toéni</i>	[sř:rī]	
	[dāgʷò:]	<i>Toma</i>	[sèrē]	
064 animal				
	[b̥ā:rē]	<i>Kouy</i>	[bʷx̥:]	<i>Toma</i>
	[bijā]	<i>Kassoum</i>	[bô]	<i>Toéni</i>
	[tōbārè]	<i>Kouy</i>	[bùrù]	<i>Kiembara</i>
	[tóbé]	<i>Kiembara</i>	[bürû]	<i>Kassoum Kouy</i>
	[tōbē]	<i>Toéni</i>	[bùrû]	<i>Bounou Bangassogo</i>
	[tōbè]	<i>Bounou</i>	[bìrī]	<i>Lankoué</i>
069 chèvre				

070 hyène		075 termite	
[wūpī]	<i>Toéni</i>	[bē:]	<i>Toéni</i>
[kūntū]	<i>Kassoum</i>	[bí]	<i>Toma</i>
[kūtūrū]	<i>Kouy</i>	[b̄ērē]	<i>Kouy</i>
[kūrū]	<i>Toma</i>	[bērē]	<i>Lankoué Bangassogo</i>
[kùrùfúní]	<i>Kiembara</i>	[béré]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[kùrùfiní]	<i>Bounou Bangassogo</i>	[bār]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[kùféní]	<i>Lankoué</i>	[zwā:rē]	<i>Kouy</i>
		[zùmā]	<i>Bounou</i>
		[sējgērē]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
071 porc		076 fourmi	
[kūrūkūrū]	<i>Lankoué</i>	[būrīnī]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[būrē]	<i>Kiembara</i>	[bō:nè]	<i>Toéni</i>
[būrūnī]	<i>Bangassogo</i>	[bō:rō]	<i>Bounou</i>
[bērīnī]	<i>Kouy</i>	[búmbōrō]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[brīmī]	<i>Kassoum</i>	[būmbōrō]	<i>Kouy</i>
[brē:nī]	<i>Bounou</i>	[bōmbōrō]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[birī]	<i>Toma</i>	[bōmbōrō]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[bīrō]	<i>Toéni</i>	[bōbō:]	<i>Toma</i>
072 oiseau		077 sauterelle	
[bā:lémānè]	<i>Lankoué</i>	[psī]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[bā:mānī]	<i>Kiembara</i>	[būsē]	<i>Toéni</i>
[bānnē]	<i>Kouy</i>	[bīsē]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[bā:nē]	<i>Bounou Bangassogo</i>	[bīsī]	<i>Toma Kouy Bangassogo</i>
[bān]	<i>Kassoum</i>	[bīsē]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[mā:]	<i>Toma</i>	[bīsē]	<i>Bounou</i>
[bā:]	<i>Toéni</i>		
073 poule		078 singe	
[kʷōrō]	<i>Kouy</i>	[kā:rē]	<i>Bounou</i>
[kōlō]	<i>Lankoué Kiembara</i>	[kā:rē]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
	<i>Bangassogo</i>	[kā:rē]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[kōrō]	<i>Bounou</i>	[kā:rē]	<i>Kouy</i>
[kō:]	<i>Toéni</i>	[kā:rā]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[kō:]	<i>Kassoum</i>	[kārā]	<i>Toma</i>
[kō]	<i>Toma</i>	[kār]	<i>Kassoum</i>
		[kā:]	<i>Toéni</i>
074 araignée		079 lion	
[zū:zōrō]	<i>Kouy</i>	[jā:kānē]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[dūdʷā:li]	<i>Kassoum</i>	[jà:kānē]	<i>Bounou</i>
[nō]	<i>Toma</i>	[jākāndā]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[nènàŋgō]	<i>Lankoué</i>	[jākānā]	<i>Toéni</i>
[nànàŋgō]	<i>Kiembara</i>	[jārākāndā]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[nànàŋgō]	<i>Bounou Bangassogo</i>	[jārā]	<i>Kassoum Kouy</i>
[nējōn]	<i>Toéni</i>	[jārā]	<i>Toma</i>
[gō:]	<i>Kassoum</i>	[jārā]	

080 éléphant

[bẽ̄]	<i>Kiembara Bangassogo</i>
[b̄ɛ̄]	<i>Kouy</i>
[b̄ẽ̄]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[b̄ẽ̄]	<i>Bounou</i>
[b̄ɔ̄r̄ō]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[d̄ònād̄h̄ī:]	<i>Toma</i>
[b̄īà:ḡā]	<i>Toéni</i>

085 oeuf

[j̄ír̄ī]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[j̄ì]	<i>Toéni</i>
[àj̄ír̄]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[j̄ír̄ī]	<i>Bounou</i>
[ḡí:]	<i>Toma</i>
[ḡír̄ī]	<i>Kouy</i>
[ḡw̄ír̄ī]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[ḡùr̄ī]	<i>Bangassogo</i>

081 serpent

[m̄īñ̄ē]	<i>Toma</i>
[m̄éné̄]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[m̄ènē̄]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[m̄ènē̄]	<i>Bounou Bangassogo</i>
[m̄én̄]	<i>Toéni</i>
[m̄é̄l̄ē]	<i>Kouy</i>
[m̄ùl̄ē]	<i>Kassoum</i>

086 queue

[m̄ùn̄ī]	<i>Lankoué Bounou</i>
[m̄ín̄ī]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[m̄ōn̄ī]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[m̄òl̄]	<i>Kouy</i>
[m̄ùl̄ī]	<i>Toéni</i>
[m̄ñ̄ī]	<i>Toma</i>
[m̄w̄ñ̄:]	

082 poisson

[zàl̄ē]	<i>Kouy</i>
[zâl̄]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[zò]	<i>Toma</i>
[kōmō̄]	<i>Bounou</i>
[k̄õn̄]	<i>Toéni</i>
[p̄é̄:r̄è̄]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[p̄é̄:r̄è̄]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[p̄é̄r̄è̄]	<i>Lankoué</i>

087 viande

[s̄él̄]	<i>Toma</i>
[s̄í:]	<i>Toéni</i>
[s̄í̄]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[s̄ín̄ī]	<i>Lankoué Bangassogo</i>
[s̄ín̄ī]	<i>Bounou</i>
[s̄íl̄ī]	<i>Kouy</i>

083 aile

[ḡān̄à̄]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[ḡíñ̄]	<i>Kouy</i>
[j̄á]	<i>Bounou</i>
[d̄j̄á:l̄ē]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[k̄á:l̄ē]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[j̄á:k̄á:]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[j̄á:k̄á:]	<i>Toma</i>

088 sang

[j̄òm̄á̄]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[j̄àm̄á̄]	<i>Kiembara Toéni</i>
[m̄ă:]	<i>Bounou</i>
[m̄ă̄]	<i>Toma</i>
[m̄à̄]	<i>Kassoum Kouy</i>

084 corne

[b̄é̄]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[b̄én̄é̄]	<i>Bounou</i>
[b̄é̄nd̄é̄]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[b̄é̄nd̄é̄]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[b̄é̄nc̄é̄]	<i>Toéni</i>
[b̄é̄l̄é̄]	<i>Kouy</i>
[b̄úl̄é̄]	<i>Kassoum</i>

089 os

[w̄é̄]	<i>Toma</i>
[w̄é̄f̄é̄]	<i>Lankoué Bangassogo</i>
[j̄é̄f̄é̄]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[j̄é̄f̄é̄]	<i>Kouy</i>
[j̄á̄f̄é̄]	<i>Bounou</i>

090 corps	095 poils
[āmē:]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[mē:]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[mē]	<i>Kouy Bounou Bangassogo</i>
[mè]	<i>Lankoué Toéni</i>
[gʷān̩]	<i>Toma</i>
091 peau	
[c̄í]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[c̄ī]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[c̄i]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[c̄í]	<i>Toéni Kouy</i>
[k̄i]	<i>Toma</i>
[āc̄í]	<i>Bounou</i>
[m̄ē:k̄ū:]	<i>Kassoum</i>
092 tête	096 nez
[m̄i:]	<i>Toma</i>
[j̄i:]	<i>Toéni</i>
[j̄in̄]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[j̄in̄i]	<i>Kiembara Bounou</i>
[j̄in̄i]	<i>Kouy</i>
[j̄in̄i]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[jin̄i]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
093 visage	097 oreille
[j̄ē:j̄ʷōn̄ō]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[j̄é:ḡòr̄à]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[j̄ēḡùr̄à]	<i>Bounou</i>
[j̄áḡùr̄à]	<i>Kouy Bangassogo</i>
[j̄ē:ḡū]	<i>Toéni</i>
[j̄ā:n̄ō]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[j̄ɔr̄à]	<i>Toma</i>
094 cheveux	098 oeil
[j̄in̄i:k̄ă]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[j̄in̄k̄ă]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[j̄in̄k̄ă]	<i>Bounou</i>
[j̄in̄k̄ă]	<i>Kouy</i>
[j̄i:k̄ă]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[j̄i:k̄ă]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[j̄i:k̄ă]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[m̄i:k̄ă]	<i>Toma</i>
	099 bouche
	[l̄i]
	[l̄ē]
	[l̄ē]
	[l̄é]
	[l̄é]

100 dent	[s̩m̩ē]	<i>Kouy</i>	[wúrú]	<i>Kiembara Bangassogo</i>
	[s̩n̩]	<i>Kassoum</i>	[wūrū]	<i>Bounou</i>
	[s̩ɔ̩]	<i>Toma</i>	[wō]	<i>Toéni</i>
	[s̩ɔ̩]	<i>Lankoué</i>	[wírī]	<i>Lankoué</i>
	[s̩ɔ̩]	<i>Kiembara Bounou</i>	[wí:]	<i>Toma</i>
		<i>Bangassogo</i>	[zô:]	<i>Kassoum</i>
	[s̩ɛ̩]	<i>Toéni</i>	[zwā]	<i>Kouy</i>
101 langue				
	[l̩w̩ɔ̩]	<i>Toma</i>	[t̩ɛ̩]	<i>Toma</i>
	[n̩en̩]	<i>Toéni</i>	[b̩ēŋgò]	<i>Kiembara</i>
	[n̩ēn̩]	<i>Kassoum Kouy</i>	[b̩ēŋgò]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
	[l̩m̩in̩]	<i>Lankoué</i>	[b̩ēŋgò]	<i>Lankoué</i>
	[l̩l̩ēn̩]	<i>Bangassogo</i>	[b̩āù]	<i>Bounou</i>
	[l̩l̩l̩n̩]	<i>Kiembara</i>	[f̩ɔ̩r̩ō]	<i>Kassoum</i>
	[l̩ēn̩]	<i>Bounou</i>	[f̩ɔ̩b̩è]	<i>Kouy</i>
			[f̩ɔ̩]	<i>Toéni</i>
102 bras				
	[jān̩d̩]	<i>Toéni</i>		
	[g̩ā]	<i>Kouy</i>	[f̩ɔ̩r̩ɔ̩p̩il̩in̩]	<i>Lankoué</i>
	[k̩ā]	<i>Lankoué</i>	[f̩ɔ̩r̩ɔ̩]	<i>Kiembara Kouy</i>
	[j̩ā]	<i>Kiembara Kassoum</i>	[f̩ɔ̩r̩ò]	<i>Bounou Bangassogo</i>
		<i>Bounou Bangassogo</i>	[k̩ʷɔ̩r̩ò]	<i>Toma</i>
	[j̩ā]	<i>Toma</i>	[s̩ol̩ò]	<i>Toéni Kassoum</i>
103 jambe				
	[g̩ʷā̩]	<i>Toma</i>	[b̩ūnd̩ù]	<i>Lankoué</i>
	[g̩ɔ̩]	<i>Toéni</i>	[b̩ūn̩ù]	<i>Kiembara</i>
	[g̩á:n̩ē]	<i>Kiembara</i>	[b̩ūn̩ù]	<i>Kouy Bounou</i>
	[g̩ʷān̩ē]	<i>Kouy</i>	[g̩ō]	<i>Toéni</i>
	[g̩ʷēn̩ē]	<i>Bounou</i>	[n̩ô]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
	[g̩ʷāl̩]	<i>Kassoum</i>	[n̩ò]	<i>Toma</i>
	[w̩ār̩ā]	<i>Lankoué Bangassogo</i>	[nwâ̩n̩]	<i>Kassoum</i>
104 doigt				
	[koromani]	<i>Lankoué</i>	[s̩ūs̩ù]	<i>Bounou</i>
	[g̩òsán̩é]	<i>Kiembara</i>	[k̩ʷèr̩é]	<i>Lankoué</i>
	[g̩ūl̩è:n̩è]	<i>Bounou</i>	[k̩ʷɔ̩n̩ē]	<i>Toma</i>
	[w̩ūs̩àn̩è]	<i>Bangassogo</i>	[b̩ō:n̩ò]	<i>Bounou</i>
	[w̩ās̩â:n̩è]	<i>Kouy</i>	[b̩ón̩ú]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
	[w̩às̩â:]	<i>Toéni</i>	[s̩ēn̩è]	<i>Toéni</i>
	[w̩ēn̩ē]	<i>Kassoum</i>	[s̩ím̩í]	<i>Toma</i>
	[g̩ʷō]	<i>Toma</i>	[m̩ín̩í]	<i>Kiembara</i>
			[n̩àn̩ā]	<i>Kassoum</i>
			[n̩ēn̩ā]	<i>Kouy</i>
105 cou				

110 mauvais

[ã:bèzā:nā]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[fõ:bà:ràgā]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[fõ:bà:bà]	<i>Toéni</i>
[bā:mbá]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[bà:mbā]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[mā:mbā:rà]	<i>Toma</i>
[bū:bū:rè]	<i>Kouy</i>
[bū:bū:rè]	<i>Bounou</i>
[ã:bá:bò:tò]	<i>Bounou</i>

[lõ:gūlū]	<i>Toéni</i>
[lā:bà:gūlō]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[lā:mùkūnī]	<i>Kouy</i>

111 dos

[kír]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[dõ]	<i>Kouy</i>
[dõ:]	<i>Toma</i>
[dõ:n]	<i>Toéni</i>
[dõŋgõ]	<i>Lankoué Kiembara</i>
	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[dõŋjõ]	<i>Bounou</i>

115 ciel

[bâr]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[lā:mè]	<i>Kouy</i>
[lémē]	<i>Bounou</i>
[lém̩b̩i]	<i>Lankoué Bangassogo</i>
[lím̩b̩i]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[lāwùqʷānā]	<i>Toma</i>
[lõ:gõ]	<i>Toéni</i>

112 âme

[jilē]	<i>Kouy</i>
[nín̩i]	<i>Lankoué Kiembara</i>
[nín̩i]	<i>Bounou</i>
[mē:rē]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[mè:rē]	<i>Kouy</i>
[mèrègē]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[jí:rí]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[télém̩b̩wē:]	<i>Toma</i>
[pā:pè]	<i>Toéni</i>

117 lune

[mín̩i]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[mún̩i]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[mún̩i]	<i>Bounou</i>
[mōn̩i]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[mõ]	<i>Toéni</i>
[mūli]	<i>Kouy</i>
[mõl]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[mʷ̩i]	<i>Toma</i>

113 vie

[járéj̩kò]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[jékō]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[jék̩d̩]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[jíkó]	<i>Toma</i>
[jánkò]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[jék̩d̩]	<i>Bounou</i>
[jék̩umā]	<i>Kouy</i>
[bū:rē]	<i>Toéni</i>

118 étoile

[lè:rē]	<i>Toma</i>
[jíjõ]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[jéjē]	<i>Toéni</i>
[jójđgđnē]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[jíjõnē]	<i>Kouy</i>
[jwā:jwānè]	<i>Bounou</i>
[jđjwđnē]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[jè:nē]	<i>Lankoué</i>

114 dieu

[lõ:rō]	<i>Bounou</i>
[lā:bā:rà]	<i>Lankoué Kassoum</i>
	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[lā:rà]	<i>Kouy</i>
[lāwà]	<i>Toma</i>

119 matin

[ɲé:lē]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[jē:lē]	<i>Bounou</i>
[bàjēlē]	<i>Toma</i>
[bālēlē]	<i>Kouy</i>
[jè:fēlēlē]	<i>Toéni</i>
[lēŋkì]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[lēŋkìnì]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[bōmbò]	<i>Kassoum</i>

120 jour

[wūsēgō]	<i>Toéni</i>
[jēfūlēmà]	<i>Kouy</i>
[ljèàwā]	<i>Toma</i>
[lémē:mà]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[lémēnē]	<i>Kiembara Bangassogo</i>
[lémé:rè]	<i>Kouy</i>
[lémèrè]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[lémèrè]	<i>Bounou</i>

121 nuit

[gō:nānē]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[gīnī]	<i>Toéni</i>
[gō:nā]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[gūrūmbō]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[tēlō]	<i>Toma</i>
[jékìnì]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[dīsinī]	<i>Bounou</i>
[dī:cì]	<i>Kouy</i>

122 mois

[mīnì]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[múnī]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[mūnī]	<i>Bounou</i>
[mōnì]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[mʷī]	<i>Toma</i>
[mūlī]	<i>Kouy</i>
[mōl]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[mū]	<i>Toéni</i>

123 année

[lē]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[lē]	<i>Kiembara Toéni Bounou</i>
[lē]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[lē:]	<i>Toma</i>
[cērè]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[cè]	<i>Kouy</i>

124 vent

[pībērē]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[pērē]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[pēlē]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[pēlē]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[pēlē]	<i>Kouy</i>
[pēlō]	<i>Bounou</i>
[pīē]	<i>Toéni</i>
[pīē]	<i>Toma</i>

125 feu

[psā:]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[té]	<i>Toma</i>
[cē]	<i>Lankoué Toéni Kouy</i>
[cé]	<i>Bounou</i>
[k̥ē]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[k̥ē]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[tógō]	<i>Kassoum</i>

126 fumée

[témá]	<i>Toma</i>
[cēkūmbē]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[cēkündé]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[cēkūnī]	<i>Toéni</i>
[cēkúyà]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[cēkʷī]	<i>Bounou</i>
[cā:]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[cēsā]	<i>Kouy</i>

127 eau

[mú]	<i>Lankoué Toma Kouy</i>
[mū]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[mū]	<i>Bounou</i>
[mū]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[mū]	<i>Toéni Kassoum</i>

128 pluie

[lā]	<i>Bounou Bangassogo</i>
[lā:]	<i>Toéni Kassoum</i>
[lāmū]	<i>Lankoué</i>

129 **terre**

[tújènè]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[tâ:]	<i>Toma</i>
[tūrū]	<i>Kassoum Kouy Bounou</i>
[tú]	<i>Lankoué Bangassogo</i>
[tō]	<i>Toéni</i>

130 **nuage**

[wárágò]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[wàrùgò]	<i>Bounou</i>
[wà:gò]	<i>Toéni</i>
[wòrò]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[wàwùrò]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[bälè]	<i>Kouy</i>
[bär]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[lambaharā]	<i>Toma</i>

131 **rocher**

[jé:dídàrà]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[jè:fū:]	<i>Toma</i>
[jè:rē]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[jè:rè]	<i>Kouy</i>
[jè:gūlū]	<i>Toéni Bangassogo</i>
[jè:gūlū]	<i>Bounou</i>
[pärā]	<i>Toéni</i>
[bärā]	<i>Kassoum</i>

132 **sable**

[cě:cě:]	<i>Bounou</i>
[jásõntānā]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[jnā:só:táné]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[nīsēlé]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[jnīsēlē]	<i>Kouy</i>
[nōsō]	<i>Toma</i>
[mō:sē]	<i>Toéni</i>
[bī:sīrī]	<i>Lankoué</i>

133 **poussière**

[cēmūmūnū]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[cēmōnā]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[cēnóná]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[ps ^w â]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[bùsùmā]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[bùsùmū]	<i>Toéni</i>
[būsūnī]	<i>Bounou</i>
[būsū]	<i>Kouy</i>
[gùsū]	<i>Toma</i>

134 **chemin**

[zī:]	<i>Toma</i>
[zēlē]	<i>Kouy</i>
[zērē]	<i>Lankoué Kiembara</i>
[zērè]	<i>Bounou</i>
[zērē]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[zē]	<i>Toéni</i>
[zār]	<i>Kassoum</i>

135 **fer**

[zānē]	<i>Kouy</i>
[f ^w àlē]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[fɔló]	<i>Toma</i>
[fɔlè]	<i>Bounou</i>
[fā:lī:]	<i>Toéni</i>
[fāl]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[pāngūrū]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[sū]	<i>Bangassogo</i>

136 **blanc**

[fī:]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[fōfú]	<i>Toéni</i>
[fū]	<i>Toma</i>
[fú]	<i>Kouy Bounou</i>
[fú]	<i>Lankoué Bangassogo</i>
[fū]	<i>Kiembara</i>

137 **noir**

[cī:]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[cī]	<i>Kiembara Toéni Kouy</i>
[cī]	<i>Lankoué Bounou</i>
[cī]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[tē]	<i>Toma</i>

138 **chaud**

[fōfúrú]	<i>Bounou</i>
[fūrū]	<i>Toéni</i>
[fūrù]	<i>Kouy</i>
[fú]	<i>Toma</i>
[fō:ló]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[fōlò]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[fōló]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[āflájò]	<i>Kassoum</i>

139 froid	[jántóró]	<i>Bangassogo</i>	[kāsā]	<i>Toéni</i>
	[pāntōrō]	<i>Kiembara Bounou</i>		
	[jnàtōtō]	<i>Toma</i>	[kō:lō]	<i>Kouy</i>
	[jnā:rō]	<i>Lankoué Toéni</i>	[kō:lō]	<i>Kassoum</i>
	[pālē]	<i>Kouy</i>	[kʷíndí]	<i>Lankoué</i>
	[àjàlējā]	<i>Kassoum</i>	[kū]	<i>Toéni</i>
			[kūnū]	<i>Toma</i>
140 sec			[kúníní]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
	[lāgā:jā]	<i>Kassoum</i>	[kúninī]	<i>Kiembara</i>
	[lāgā:rē]	<i>Kouy</i>	[zēnā:nè]	<i>Bounou</i>
	[lāgārē]	<i>Bounou</i>	[jnāmēnē]	<i>Lankoué</i>
	[lāgàrè]	<i>Bangassogo</i>	[jnà:lō]	<i>Kassoum</i>
	[lā:gērī]	<i>Lankoué</i>		
	[lā:rè]	<i>Toéni</i>		
	[lágá]	<i>Kiembara</i>	[mēsā]	<i>Lankoué</i>
	[lā:]	<i>Toma</i>	[sā]	<i>Toéni Bounou</i>
	[g̊ērē]	<i>Toma</i>	[sà]	<i>Kiembara Kouy</i>
			[sá]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
141 fort			[sâ:]	<i>Kassoum</i>
	[pāngābā]	<i>Lankoué</i>	[sâsâ]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
	[pă:]	<i>Toéni</i>	[sâsā]	<i>Toma</i>
	[dāgālā]	<i>Lankoué</i>		
	[kākā]	<i>Toma</i>		
	[tētē:rè]	<i>Kouy</i>	[kūníní]	<i>Kiembara</i>
	[dīrī]	<i>Bangassogo</i>	[kúninī]	<i>Bounou</i>
	[jīrī]	<i>Kiembara</i>	[kúníní]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
	[jīrī]	<i>Bounou</i>	[kūnū]	<i>Toma</i>
	[gūrè]	<i>Kassoum</i>	[kʷíndí]	<i>Lankoué</i>
			[kū]	<i>Toéni</i>
142 faible			[kʷē:lō]	<i>Kassoum</i>
	[pāngābájèkō]	<i>Bangassogo</i>	[kō:lō]	<i>Kouy</i>
	[dāgālākō]	<i>Lankoué</i>		
	[fāgō]	<i>Kiembara</i>		
	[fō:ngō]	<i>Kassoum</i>	[tápérē]	<i>Lankoué</i>
	[pāwèlā]	<i>Toma</i>	[sě]	<i>Toéni</i>
	[kākāwā]	<i>Toma</i>	[că:]	<i>Kassoum Kouy</i>
	[kākābā]	<i>Toéni Kouy</i>	[tā:]	<i>Toma</i>
	[kōkō]	<i>Bounou</i>	[tă:]	<i>Kiembara Bangassogo</i>
			[tă:]	<i>Bounou</i>
143 grand				
	[sâ:]	<i>Kassoum</i>		
	[sā]	<i>Lankoué</i>		
	[să]	<i>Bounou</i>		
	[sà]	<i>Kiembara Kouy</i>		
	[sá]	<i>Bangassogo</i>		
	[sâsā]	<i>Toma</i>		

148	mensonge	[sū̄ē]	<i>Toma</i>	[pērē]	<i>Toma</i>
		[sònē]	<i>Kouy</i>	153	lourd
		[sòbērē]	<i>Kassoum</i>	[gūgūnì]	<i>Toma</i>
		[wàndā]	<i>Toéni</i>	[gúgúrú]	<i>Lankoué</i>
		[lē:wèrē]	<i>Lankoué</i>	[hgūrū]	<i>Bounou</i>
		[bìnawàrè]	<i>Bounou</i>	[gūrū]	<i>Toéni</i>
		[bìnà]	<i>Kiembara</i>	[gūrū]	<i>Kassoum Kouy</i>
		[bēná]	<i>Bangassogo</i>	[gōrō]	<i>Kiembara</i>
		[bēná]		[gōrō]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
149	vendre				
		[fāmēsā]	<i>Lankoué</i>	154	léger
		[ànèsā]	<i>Kassoum</i>	[fūjā]	<i>Toéni</i>
		[ànésā]	<i>Toéni</i>	[fā:gō]	<i>Lankoué</i>
		[ànèsā]	<i>Kouy</i>	[fāyó]	<i>Kiembara</i>
		[āgăsă]	<i>Kiembara</i>	[kăkăbă]	<i>Kouy</i>
		[ābăsă]	<i>Bangassogo</i>	[kăkă]	<i>Kassoum</i>
		[āsă]	<i>Bounou</i>	[kăkă]	<i>Bounou</i>
		[āsă]	<i>Toma</i>	[kăgă]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
150	dormir				
		[inìwārē]	<i>Toéni</i>	[jā:să:]	<i>Toéni</i>
		[āgájāwă]	<i>Kiembara</i>	[pūsă]	<i>Toma</i>
		[ābăjébă]	<i>Bangassogo</i>		
		[ājèbă]	<i>Bounou</i>	155	loin
		[āmijī]	<i>Lankoué</i>	[děnsă]	<i>Kiembara</i>
		[āpjérđ]	<i>Kassoum</i>	[kăsă]	<i>Toéni</i>
		[āpjàwđ]	<i>Kouy</i>	[să]	<i>Bounou</i>
		[āpùwđ]	<i>Toma</i>	[să]	<i>Lankoué</i>
151	large				
		[pâ:m]	<i>Toéni</i>	[să]	<i>Kassoum Kouy</i>
		[pèmă]	<i>Toma</i>	[să]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
		[pāră]	<i>Lankoué</i>	[să]	<i>Toma</i>
		[hgūlū]	<i>Bounou</i>	[să]	<i>Kouy</i>
		[dūlū]	<i>Kassoum</i>	[să]	<i>Lankoué</i>
		[dōlō]	<i>Kouy</i>	[fūsă]	<i>Toma</i>
		[mārē]	<i>Kiembara</i>	[dijesó]	<i>Kiembara</i>
		[kʷè:lē]	<i>Bangassogo</i>	[gjé:să]	<i>Toéni</i>
152	mince				
		[mísènè]	<i>Kouy</i>		
		[mèsénè]	<i>Kassoum Lankoué</i>		
		[mĕséné]	<i>Kiembara</i>		
		[mēsēlē]	<i>Bangassogo</i>		
		[mēsēm]	<i>Toéni</i>		
		[ŋā:nè]	<i>Bounou</i>		

157 aigu	[s ^w ō:s ^w ō:]	<i>Bangassogo</i>	[kēkōrō]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
	[sōsō]	<i>Kiembara</i>	[pūsīnī]	<i>Toma</i>
	[sísámé]	<i>Lankoué</i>	[zīnī]	<i>Bounou</i>
	[pípēnē]	<i>Kouy</i>	[kānājā]	<i>Kassoum</i>
	[pépéné]	<i>Toma</i>		
	[pēpēnē]	<i>Bounou</i>	[g ^w isī]	<i>Lankoué</i>
	[pēpē]	<i>Toéni</i>	[zīzī]	<i>Toma</i>
	[kâl]	<i>Kassoum</i>	[ʃō]	<i>Bounou</i>
			[sō]	<i>Kiembara</i>
158 sale	[nōj ^w ā]	<i>Kassoum</i>	[sō]	<i>Toéni</i>
	[gōgōmā]	<i>Kiembara</i>	[sōsōrē]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
	[gūgūmā]	<i>Bounou</i>	[fēsōrē]	<i>Kouy</i>
	[gōgōrē]	<i>Toma</i>	[àsōgō]	<i>Kassoum</i>
	[gūg ^w ērē]	<i>Kouy</i>	[cāmō]	<i>Toéni</i>
	[g ^w à:lē]	<i>Toéni</i>		
	[g ^w ā:lē]	<i>Bangassogo</i>	[té:]	<i>Toma</i>
	[g ^w ō:lē]	<i>Lankoué</i>	[fōjērē]	<i>Lankoué</i>
	[dīdāgē]	<i>Lankoué</i>	[fētōrē]	<i>Kouy</i>
			[tō:rē]	<i>Toéni</i>
159 pourri	[p̄ā:rē]	<i>Kouy</i>	[kōjō]	<i>Toéni</i>
	[p̄ā:rē]	<i>Lankoué</i>	[jūjgūnī]	<i>Bounou</i>
	[p̄iā]	<i>Bangassogo</i>	[ànsōkō]	<i>Lankoué</i>
	[p̄iā]	<i>Kiembara</i>	[mā:lē]	<i>Kiembara</i>
	[p̄iā]	<i>Toéni</i>	[mānī]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
	[p̄iē]	<i>Kassoum</i>	[àbùlālē]	<i>Kassoum</i>
	[p̄iē]	<i>Bounou</i>		
	[bō:]	<i>Toma</i>		
160 droit	[tēlējā]	<i>Kassoum</i>	[àmámbí]	<i>Toma</i>
	[tēlēlē]	<i>Bounou</i>	[āfāb ^j ērē]	<i>Bounou</i>
	[cēlēlē]	<i>Bangassogo</i>	[ābābrī]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
	[cīlēlē]	<i>Kiembara</i>	[ābābērē]	<i>Lankoué</i>
	[g ^w ē:lē]	<i>Lankoué</i>	[àgàbērē]	<i>Kiembara</i>
	[g ^w ē:lē]	<i>Kouy</i>	[mā:bērē]	<i>Toéni</i>
	[tē:tā:]	<i>Toéni</i>	[ànèbērē]	<i>Kassoum</i>
	[pēpērē]	<i>Toma</i>	[ānēbárē]	<i>Kouy</i>
161 courbé	[kōmbō:lē]	<i>Kiembara</i>	[ànémī]	<i>Kassoum</i>
	[kōk ^w rē]	<i>Toéni</i>	[ánémī]	<i>Kouy</i>
	[kōk ^w arē]	<i>Kouy</i>	[ābāmī]	<i>Lankoué</i>
	[kúkáró]	<i>Lankoué</i>	[ābāmī]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
	[kōkōrē]	<i>Bounou</i>	[mā:mī]	<i>Toéni</i>
			[àgámī]	<i>Kiembara</i>
			[ămī]	<i>Toma</i>
162 vieux	[g ^w isī]			
	[zīzī]			
	[ʃō]			
	[sō]			
163 jeune	[tē:]			
	[fōjērē]			
	[fētōrē]			
	[tō:rē]			
164 manger	[àmámbí]			
	[āfāb ^j ērē]			
	[ābābrī]			
	[ābābērē]			
	[àgàbērē]			
	[mā:bērē]			
	[ànèbērē]			
	[ānēbárē]			
165 boire	[ànémī]			
	[ánémī]			
	[ābāmī]			
	[ābāmī]			
	[mā:mī]			
	[àgámī]			
	[ămī]			

[fõmírī]	<i>Bounou</i>	[àgá:pià]	<i>Kiembara</i>
		[àbājà]	<i>Lankoué Bangassogo</i>
166 voir			
[māgá:jè]	<i>Bounou</i>	171 monter	
[mā:jì]	<i>Toéni</i>	[àjérè]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[ābājí]	<i>Bangassogo</i>	[ābājérī]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[ànèjè]	<i>Kassoum</i>	[àjārā]	<i>Toéni</i>
[ābājè]	<i>Lankoué</i>	[mándièrè]	<i>Bounou</i>
[ànìjè]	<i>Kouy</i>	[ādì]	<i>Toma</i>
[àgá:jè]	<i>Kiembara</i>	[àdērē]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[ājè]	<i>Toma</i>	[àdérē]	<i>Kiembara</i>
		[ājádérè]	<i>Kouy</i>
167 regarder			
[ābālāmà]	<i>Lankoué</i>	172 aller	
[ālámà]	<i>Bangassogo</i>	[māwùlè]	<i>Bounou</i>
[ājágàmà]	<i>Kouy</i>	[àwūrō]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[ānègámà]	<i>Toéni</i>	[ājáwórdò]	<i>Kouy</i>
[àgá:mā]	<i>Kiembara</i>	[àwōrò]	<i>Toéni</i>
[āgâ:mà]	<i>Kassoum</i>	[āwō]	<i>Toma</i>
[ágāmā]	<i>Bounou</i>	[àwórò]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[āgà]	<i>Toma</i>	[ātā]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
		[ābātā]	<i>Lankoué</i>
168 compter			
[ànèmā]	<i>Kassoum</i>	173 partir	
[ānámè]	<i>Kouy</i>	[ābácibíkó]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[ābā:lésè]	<i>Bangassogo</i>	[ābājínì]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[àgánìngìsè]	<i>Kiembara</i>	[aqěni]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[ābānìngì]	<i>Lankoué</i>	[àqēnì]	<i>Bounou</i>
[āgánèjè]	<i>Bounou</i>	[āmbʷā]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[ánimī]	<i>Toma</i>	[āwō]	<i>Toma</i>
[ā:nírì]	<i>Toéni</i>	[àgūbōdò]	<i>Kiembara</i>
		[ājásórdò]	<i>Kouy</i>
		[àsōrō]	<i>Toéni</i>
169 donner			
[ānākā:là]	<i>Kassoum</i>	174 venir	
[ă:kō:là]	<i>Toéni</i>	[àdá?]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[ānākō]	<i>Kouy</i>	[àdā]	<i>Toéni Kassoum</i>
[ākò]	<i>Toma</i>	[ādā]	<i>Toma</i>
[ābākā]	<i>Lankoué</i>	[ādà]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[ābākà]	<i>Bangassogo</i>	[dā]	<i>Bounou</i>
[àgákò]	<i>Kiembara</i>	[ābādà]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[āgákò]	<i>Bounou</i>	[ājádà]	<i>Kouy</i>
170 finir			
[ànèjā]	<i>Kassoum</i>		
[ājājā]	<i>Kouy</i>		
[ājnà]	<i>Toma</i>		
[àjnā]	<i>Toéni Bounou</i>		

175 **courir**

[ãbãbrásì]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[àbrẽsì]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[ãníbísí]	<i>Bounou</i>
[àbísí]	<i>Kiembara Toéni</i>
	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[ãbãsí]	<i>Toma</i>
[ãnémá]	<i>Kouy</i>

176 **voler**

[ànèk'ã:nã]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[ànàk'wéjá]	<i>Kouy</i>
[ãk'wã]	<i>Toma</i>
[kóná]	<i>Bounou</i>
[ãbãkúndù]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[ãbãkúndù]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[àgãkúndõ]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[ãnékùnà]	<i>Toéni</i>

177 **frapper**

[àníg'é]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[ãbãjé]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[ãbãjé]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[àgájé]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[àjé]	<i>Toéni</i>
[ànèjé]	<i>Kouy</i>
[jéré]	<i>Bounou</i>
[ãdè]	<i>Toma</i>

178 **casser**

[ànèwí]	<i>Toéni</i>
[ãbãwí]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[ànèjú]	<i>Kassoum Kouy</i>
[ãjú]	<i>Toma</i>
[àgãjéré]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[ãbãjérè]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[àjáré]	<i>Bounou</i>

179 **couper**

[ãbãcéní]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[ãbákánè]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[àgákánè]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[àgákánè]	<i>Bounou</i>
[ànèkánè]	<i>Kouy</i>
[ànèkánè]	<i>Toéni</i>
[ànèká]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[ãkùrù]	<i>Toma</i>

180 **tuer**

[ãdè]	<i>Toma</i>
[jé]	<i>Bounou</i>
[ãbãjé]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[ànãjé]	<i>Toéni</i>
[ànèjé]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[ànèjjé]	<i>Kouy</i>
[àgájé?àgá?]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[ãbãjé:ŋkà]	<i>Lankoué</i>

181 **mourir**

[]	<i>Lankoué Kiembara Toéni</i>
	<i>Kassoum Kouy Bounou</i>
	<i>Toma Bangassogo</i>

182 **parler**

[ã:plé]	<i>Toéni</i>
[ãbãplé]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[àgápé?]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[ànèplé]	<i>Kouy</i>
[àsèpērē]	<i>Bounou</i>
[ãbãpēnèpē]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[ãpā:nè]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[ábùdā]	<i>Toma</i>

183 **pleurer**

[àmpé]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[ãbälákà:rà]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[àwūpērè]	<i>Toéni</i>
[àgàwúpé?]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[àjàwúpē]	<i>Kouy</i>
[ãwúpè]	<i>Toma</i>
[ãbãwúpè]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[wúpé]	<i>Bounou</i>

184 **recevoir**

[ànèsōrlò]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[ãbãsí]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[ãbãsí]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[ãgásí]	<i>Bounou</i>
[ãjé]	<i>Toma</i>
[ànèjé]	<i>Kouy</i>
[àgájé]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[ãbájí]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[ã:jé]	<i>Toéni</i>

185 acheter	[ãp̩i:]	<i>Toma</i>	[ãbásà:rà]	<i>Lankoué</i>
	[ãmẽmpẽrẽ]	<i>Lankoué</i>	[àgàsárá]	<i>Kiembara</i>
	[ãbápérè]	<i>Bangassogo</i>	[ãdùwà]	<i>Toma</i>
	[àgápérè]	<i>Kiembara</i>		
	[ãp̩erẽ]	<i>Toéni</i>	[ãbázõrõ]	<i>Lankoué</i>
	[péré]	<i>Bounou</i>	[ãgázõrõ]	<i>Bounou</i>
	[ànèpẽ:fẽ]	<i>Kouy</i>	[ànázõrõ]	<i>Kassoum</i>
	[ànèpẽ:]	<i>Kassoum</i>	[ànázõrõ]	<i>Kouy</i>
			[ãnézõrẽ]	<i>Toéni</i>
186 mordre	[ãkù]	<i>Toéni</i>	[ã:zò]	<i>Toma</i>
	[ànèsõ:lõ]	<i>Kassoum</i>	[ãbásúrì]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
	[ãsõ:dõ]	<i>Toma</i>	[àgápírì]	<i>Kiembara</i>
	[ànásündõ]	<i>Kouy</i>	[ãbácúmbò]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
	[àgásúndõ:mà]	<i>Kiembara</i>		
	[ãgásúndõ:mà]	<i>Bounou</i>	[ãgjáttà]	<i>Toma</i>
	[ãsórlómà]	<i>Bangassogo</i>	[àjājinâtûru]	<i>Kouy</i>
	[ãmésómà]	<i>Lankoué</i>	[àjínâtù]	<i>Kassoum</i>
187 savoir	[ã:ldò]	<i>Toéni</i>	[jénátò]	<i>Toéni</i>
	[ãdõ]	<i>Toma</i>	[ãgájènã]	<i>Bounou</i>
	[ãbádõ]	<i>Bangassogo</i>	[ãbágánã]	<i>Lankoué</i>
	[ãbádõ]	<i>Lankoué</i>	[àgáná]	<i>Kiembara</i>
	[àgádõ]	<i>Kiembara</i>	[àgáná]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
	[ãgá:dõ]	<i>Bounou</i>		
	[ànèdõ]	<i>Kassoum</i>		
	[ãnádónè]	<i>Kouy</i>		
188 tirer	[ãménjírà]	<i>Lankoué</i>		
	[ã:bò]	<i>Toéni</i>	[ànèjíñè]	<i>Kassoum</i>
	[àgábáñgàsì]	<i>Kiembara</i>	[àgájènà]	<i>Kiembara</i>
	[ãbábáñgò]	<i>Bangassogo</i>	[àgájènà]	<i>Bounou</i>
	[bánérẽ]	<i>Bounou</i>	[ã:nò:]	<i>Toma</i>
	[ãnëbénè]	<i>Kouy</i>		
	[ànèbâñ]	<i>Kassoum</i>		
	[ãbâ:]	<i>Toma</i>		
189 se baigner	[ànázõrõ]	<i>Kassoum</i>		
	[ànázõrõ]	<i>Kouy</i>	[ãbázù]	<i>Kouy</i>
	[ãnézõrẽ]	<i>Toéni</i>	[ã:zù]	<i>Toéni</i>
	[àgázõró]	<i>Kiembara</i>	[ã:zù]	<i>Toma</i>
	[ãbázõrõ]	<i>Bangassogo</i>		
	[ãgázõrõ]	<i>Bounou</i>		

190 laver	[ãbázõrõ]	<i>Lankoué</i>
	[ãgázõrõ]	<i>Bounou</i>
	[ànázõrõ]	<i>Kassoum</i>
	[ànázõrõ]	<i>Kouy</i>
	[ãnézõrẽ]	<i>Toéni</i>
191 s'asseoir	[ã:zò]	<i>Toma</i>
	[ãbásúrì]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
	[àgápírì]	<i>Kiembara</i>
	[ãbácúmbò]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
192 pousser	[ãgjáttà]	<i>Toma</i>
	[àjājinâtûru]	<i>Kouy</i>
	[àjínâtù]	<i>Kassoum</i>
	[jénátò]	<i>Toéni</i>
	[ãgájènã]	<i>Bounou</i>
	[ãbágánã]	<i>Lankoué</i>
	[àgáná]	<i>Kiembara</i>
	[àgáná]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
193 jeter	[ãbájéndã]	<i>Lankoué</i>
	[ãbájéndá]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
	[àjéjtà]	<i>Toéni</i>
	[ànàjíñè]	<i>Kouy</i>
	[ànèjíñè]	<i>Kassoum</i>
	[àgájènà]	<i>Kiembara</i>
	[àgájènà]	<i>Bounou</i>
	[ã:nò:]	<i>Toma</i>

194 accrocher

[ãlò:rè]	<i>Toéni</i>
[ã:lò:]	<i>Toma</i>
[ãnélà]	<i>Kouy</i>
[ãbãlòyò]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[ãbálòyò]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[ãgálòyò]	<i>Bounou</i>
[àgálògò]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[ànèlwãmà]	<i>Kassoum</i>

[ànètã:]

Kassoum

195 lever

[ãjū]	<i>Toma</i>
[àgásā]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[ãjásà]	<i>Kouy</i>
[àsâ:]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[ásā:lémī]	<i>Bounou</i>
[ãsálù]	<i>Toéni</i>
[àbàndò]	<i>Lankoué Bangassogo</i>

199 attacher

[àgájìrè?]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[ãgájèrè]	<i>Bounou</i>
[ãnájérè]	<i>Kouy</i>
[ànàjérè]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[ãjèrè]	<i>Toéni</i>
[ãbájérè]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[ãbãjírì]	<i>Lankoué</i>

[ã:jí]

Toma

196 construire

[č:dò]	<i>Toéni</i>
[ãdò]	<i>Toma</i>
[ãbādɔ]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[ãbādò]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[àgádò]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[ãgádɔ]	<i>Bounou</i>
[ãnēdò]	<i>Kouy</i>
[ànèjò]	<i>Kassoum</i>

200 tomber

[ãjámènà]	<i>Kouy</i>
[ã:mènà]	<i>Bounou</i>
[àméná]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[ãménà:]	<i>Toma</i>
[ãbàmèndā]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[àmèndā]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[àmèrà]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[àmèrā]	<i>Toéni</i>

201 chanter

[àbèlèrè]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[àgálèlò]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[ãbälèlò]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[álwèlò]	<i>Toma</i>
[á:lèlò]	<i>Bounou</i>
[à:là:lò]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[àlè:lò]	<i>Kouy</i>
[ã:lò]	<i>Toéni</i>

197 creuser

[ãbãfúrò]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[àgáfúrù]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[ãfúrù]	<i>Toéni</i>
[ànèfúrù]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[ànàfúrù]	<i>Kouy</i>
[ãgáfɔ]	<i>Bounou</i>
[ãbãfò]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[ãfò]	<i>Toma</i>
[ànàfɔ]	<i>Kouy</i>
[fù]	<i>Kiembara</i>

202 sentir

[anepswāmà]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[ànègjimà]	<i>Kouy</i>
[ãgjmà]	<i>Toma</i>
[á:gjmà]	<i>Toéni</i>
[ãbāqí:mà]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[ãbājímà]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[àgàjímà]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[ãgájímà]	<i>Bounou</i>

198 tisser

[ãtà]	<i>Toéni</i>
[ãtà]	<i>Toma</i>
[ãnätà]	<i>Kouy</i>
[ãbāntà]	<i>Lankoué Bangassogo</i>
[àgátà]	<i>Kiembara Bounou</i>

203 penser

[ànèjì:tā:sì]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[à:tà:sè]	<i>Toéni</i>
[ānátásè]	<i>Kouy</i>
[ātásè]	<i>Toma</i>
[ābátákàsì]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[ābátágásè]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[àgátágásè]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[āgátàyásè]	<i>Bounou</i>

204 attraper

[àgákū]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[āgákū]	<i>Bounou</i>
[ābákū]	<i>Lankoué Bangassogo</i>
[ànègū]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[ànàgū]	<i>Kouy</i>
[ākū]	<i>Toéni</i>
[ākū:]	<i>Toma</i>

205 vomir

[ābāpō:sì]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[àpósí]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[āpʷēsì]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[āpísè]	<i>Toma</i>
[àpísí]	<i>Toéni Kassoum Bounou</i>
[àjàpísí]	<i>Kouy</i>

206 être debout

[āgúràlē]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[gʷànērē]	<i>Bounou</i>
[āmēljgʷé:lē]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[āgʷàlō]	<i>Toma</i>
[āmānjgōnò]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[ògōnò]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[āgʷónò]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[ājásà]	<i>Kouy</i>
[àsà]	<i>Toéni</i>

207 tenir

[āmēljkū]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[àgákū]	<i>Kiembara Bounou</i>
[ànègū]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[ànàgū]	<i>Kouy</i>
[ābákū]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[ā:kū:]	<i>Toma</i>
[ākū]	<i>Toéni</i>
[àgátàmbò]	<i>Kiembara</i>

208 danser

[āmēmbēkù]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[àgábēwò]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[āgábèwò]	<i>Bounou</i>
[ābábéwò]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[àbèbrā:wò]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[àjàbèwò]	<i>Kouy</i>
[ábèwò]	<i>Toéni</i>
[ābèbà]	<i>Toma</i>

209 beaucoup

[m̩n̩]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[mōnō]	<i>Bounou</i>
[àmō]	<i>Toéni</i>
[mōndērè]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[mʷè:lē]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[mʷā:lē]	<i>Kouy</i>
[mʷōlē]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[gig̩ā]	<i>Toma</i>
[kin̩]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[gúló]	<i>Kiembara</i>

210 peu

[bʷē]	<i>Toma</i>
[ká:kō]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[gʷānēnē]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[jnā:nè]	<i>Bounou</i>
[jnánè]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[jnā:lō]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[jná:ló]	<i>Kouy</i>
[bám]	<i>Toéni</i>

211 un

[dōnōnē]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[dé:né]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[dē:nē]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[cè:lē]	<i>Toéni</i>
[jòrō]	<i>Bounou</i>
[gōrō]	<i>Kassoum Kouy</i>
[gó]	<i>Toma</i>

212 deux	[fūrā]	<i>Lankoué</i>	[sōpārā]	<i>Toéni</i>
	[fɔ̄rā]	<i>Kiembara</i>	[sōpārā]	<i>Bounou</i>
	[fārā]	<i>Bangassogo</i>	[sōfūrā]	<i>Lankoué</i>
	[pārā]	<i>Toéni Kassoum Kouy</i>	[sōfɔ̄rā]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
		<i>Bounou</i>		<i>Kiembara</i>
	[pā]	<i>Toma</i>		
213 trois	[sò]	<i>Toma</i>	[kīsī]	<i>Kassoum</i>
	[cō:]	<i>Kouy</i>	[kīwísí]	<i>Toma</i>
	[cō:w]	<i>Kassoum</i>	[tīgīsī]	<i>Kouy Bounou</i>
	[kákò]	<i>Kiembara</i>	[kīgīsī]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
	[kà:kū]	<i>Lankoué</i>	[cīgīsī]	<i>Lankoué</i>
	[kà:kō]	<i>Toéni Bounou</i>	[tīgīsīgī]	<i>Kiembara</i>
	[kàkō]	<i>Bangassogo</i>		<i>Toéni</i>
214 quatre	[s̄l̄:]	<i>Kassoum</i>	[mānāngōrō]	<i>Toma</i>
	[s̄l̄:]	<i>Kouy</i>	[mānā:ŋgōrō]	<i>Kassoum</i>
	[s̄l̄:]	<i>Toma</i>	[mīnāŋgōrō]	<i>Kouy</i>
	[s̄l̄:r̄:]	<i>Lankoué</i>	[gʷāŋōrō]	<i>Bounou</i>
	[s̄l̄:r̄:]	<i>Kiembara Bangassogo</i>	[sōwūsī]	<i>Lankoué</i>
	[t̄l̄:s̄l̄:]	<i>Toéni</i>	[ʃō:sī]	<i>Kiembara</i>
	[k̄l̄:s̄l̄:]	<i>Bounou</i>	[sō:sī]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
215 cinq	[sō:r̄ō]	<i>Toéni Toma</i>	[m̄l̄:]	<i>Toéni</i>
	[sō:r̄ō]	<i>Bounou</i>	[bú]	<i>Lankoué Bounou</i>
	[sō:r̄ō]	<i>Kassoum Kouy</i>	[bū]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
	[sō:r̄ō]	<i>Bangassogo</i>	[bū]	<i>Kiembara</i>
	[sō:r̄ō]	<i>Kiembara</i>	[fū:]	<i>Kassoum Kouy</i>
	[sō:r̄ō]	<i>Lankoué</i>	[fū]	<i>Toma</i>
216 six	[sōr̄ō]	<i>Lankoué</i>	[nōŋgēnē]	<i>Lankoué</i>
	[sōr̄ō]	<i>Kiembara</i>	[nōŋgōnī]	<i>Kiembara</i>
	[sōr̄ō]	<i>Toéni</i>	[nōŋgōnē]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
	[sōr̄ō]	<i>Bounou Bangassogo</i>	[nāwūnē]	<i>Bounou</i>
	[sōr̄ō]	<i>Toma</i>	[nō:nē]	<i>Kouy</i>
	[sār̄ō]	<i>Kouy</i>	[nōn]	<i>Toéni</i>
	[sā]	<i>Kassoum</i>	[nó:]	<i>Toma</i>
			[sō:lō]	<i>Kassoum</i>
217 sept	[kisō]	<i>Kouy</i>		
	[cō]	<i>Kassoum</i>		
	[s̄b̄:bā:]	<i>Toma</i>		
222 âne			[dīndímí]	<i>Lankoué</i>
			[dōndōnī]	<i>Kiembara</i>
			[dūndūnī]	<i>Bounou</i>

[dúndúmí]	<i>Bangassogo</i>	227 sauce	<i>Lankoué Bangassogo</i>
[dūndūlī]	<i>Kouy</i>	[dō]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[dúndún]	<i>Kassoum</i>	[dó]	<i>Bounou</i>
[dūndū]	<i>Toma</i>	[dō:]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[dūdū]	<i>Toéni</i>	[dū:]	<i>Kouy</i>
223 chercher		[dū]	<i>Toma</i>
[āgá:di]	<i>Toéni</i>	[gjē]	<i>Toéni</i>
[āgālī]	<i>Toma</i>		
[ājā:jì]	<i>Kassoum</i>	228 lièvre	<i>Lankoué</i>
[āgājì]	<i>Bounou</i>	[fē:nī]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[āmējágùjè]	<i>Lankoué</i>	[fō:nī]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[āgājá:wú:jì]	<i>Kiembara</i>	[fūríní]	<i>Bounou</i>
[ājágʷē:]	<i>Bangassogo</i>	[fūrēnī]	<i>Toéni</i>
[ājājójì]	<i>Kouy</i>	[fūrēl]	<i>Kouy</i>
224 trouver		[fūlī]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[āmējì]	<i>Lankoué</i>	[fōl]	<i>Toma</i>
[āgá:jì]	<i>Kiembara</i>	[fōwé]	
[ājì]	<i>Toéni</i>	229 mort	<i>Lankoué</i>
[āgājè]	<i>Bounou</i>	[jigírl̩]	<i>Kouy</i>
[ābājè]	<i>Bangassogo</i>	[gī:rl̩]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[ānèjè]	<i>Kassoum</i>	[gěj]	<i>Toma Bounou</i>
[ānējē]	<i>Kouy</i>	[gā]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[ājè]	<i>Toma</i>	[gà]	<i>Lankoué Toéni</i>
225 demander		[gā]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[àlā:kō]	<i>Toéni</i>	230 sauter	
[àlēkōjì]	<i>Bounou</i>	[àkōrō]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[àbānlèkā]	<i>Lankoué</i>	[àkōrō]	<i>Kassoum</i>
[àlā:kā]	<i>Bangassogo</i>	[àkóró]	<i>Bounou</i>
[āgájnàjgò]	<i>Kiembara</i>	[āmējkóró]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[ānōndà]	<i>Toma</i>	[āgákóró]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[ànèjónō]	<i>Kassoum</i>	[ājāpórl̩]	<i>Kouy</i>
[ànijūnū]	<i>Kouy</i>	[āpàrè]	<i>Toma</i>
226 répondre		[ā:làmbò]	<i>Toéni</i>
[ā:jè:pè]	<i>Toéni</i>	231 dire	
[ācélepè]	<i>Toéni</i>	[ābāpí]	<i>Bangassogo</i>
[ābāléjòlò]	<i>Lankoué</i>	[ànèpē]	<i>Kouy</i>
[ābālí:sì]	<i>Bangassogo</i>	[āpē]	<i>Lankoué</i>
[āgálēsì]	<i>Kiembara</i>	[àgápē?]	<i>Kiembara</i>
[āgálēsì]	<i>Bounou</i>	[āgá:pē]	<i>Bounou</i>
[ànélē:sì]	<i>Kassoum</i>	[ā:pē]	<i>Toéni</i>
[ànìlēsì]	<i>Kouy</i>	[āpē]	<i>Toma</i>
[ālēsì]	<i>Toma</i>	[āpā:nè]	<i>Kassoum</i>

Lieu/Place	Enquêteur/Researcher	Date de recherche/Research date
Toma (variété 'maka')	Carol Berthelette	21 février 1996
Kouy (variété 'matya')	Carol Berthelette	22 février 1996
Kassoum (variété 'matya')	Carol Berthelette	27 février 1996
Toéni (variété 'matya')	Carol Berthelette	23 février 1996
Bounou (variété 'maya')	Carol Berthelette	5 février 1996
Kiembara (variété 'maya')	Annette Harrison	31 janvier 1996
Bangassogo (variété 'maya')	Carol Berthelette	3 février 1996
Lankoué (variété 'maya')	Carol Berthelette	6 février 1996

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

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

Bibliography

1 References

- Bergman, T. G. (ed.). 1990. Survey reference manual. 2nd edition. Dallas, TX : Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Berthelette, John, Gregg Pruett, and Rebecca Pruett. 1995. Development of the Jula Sentence Repetition Test. Report to the Société Internationale de Linguistique, Burkina Faso. ms.
- Boro, J. M. 1986. Eléments de phonologie sani, parler de Tougan (Burkina Faso). Mémoire de maîtrise. Ouagadougou: Université de Ouagadougou, IN.SU.L.L.A.
- Centre National de Recherche Scientifique et Technique (CNRST) et l'Institut National des Sciences Sociales (INSS). 1988. Carte linguistique du Burkina Faso. Ouagadougou: Institut Géographique du Burkina.
- Direction de la Formation Professionnelle des Producteurs (DFPP). 1994. Liste des CFJA ouverts: campagne 1993–1994. Ouagadougou: DFPP, Service de la Programmation du Suivi et de l'Evaluation.

- Drabo, Lassina. 1990. Etude de quelques interférences du san sur l'expression écrite française. Mémoire de maîtrise. Ouagadougou: Université de Ouagadougou, Institut Supérieur des Langues, des Lettres, et des Arts.
- Fédération des Eglises et Missions Evangéliques (FEME). 1997. Liste de pasteurs inscrits. ms.
- Greenberg, J. H. 1963. The Languages of Africa. International Journal of American Linguistics 29:1–171.
- Grimes, Barbara. 1992. Ethnologue: languages of the world. 12th ed. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Hatfield, Deborah, ed. ms. A critical appraisal of assessment of bilingualism in SIL using the Sentence Repetition Test. Proceedings of roundtable discussions, Oct 31–Nov 3, 2000. Dallas, Texas. Work in progress.
- Institut National de la Statistique et de la Démographie (INSD). 1991. Recensement général de la population: Burkina Faso 1985. (Volume I: Ensemble du Pays). Ouagadougou: Institut National de la Statistique et de la Démographie.
- Ki, Immanuel. 1985. Contribution à l'étude phonologique du san : san du sud ou parler de Toma. Mémoire de maîtrise. Ouagadougou: Université de Ouagadougou, Ecole Supérieure de Lettres et des Sciences Humaines.
- Kompaoré, Daniel. 1996. Echos de l'ANTBA. Ouagadougou: ANTBA. 3.
- Ky, Jean Celestin. 1990. Pour une étude des masques du Sanpié (nord-ouest du Burkina Faso). Mémoire de D. E. A. Paris: Université de Paris I (Panthéon/Sorbonne).
- Ky, Maurice. 1983. L'esclavage d'après la tradition orale et les séquelles de celui-ci dans la conscience collective de la population des villages de Toma et de Biba en pays Samogho (Haute-Volta). Mémoire de fin de stage de formation à la fonction d'inspecteur de l'enseignement secondaire. Saint Claud: Ecole Normale Supérieure, CRFED.
- Laclavère, Georges. 1993. Atlas du Burkina Faso. Paris: Les Editions Jeune Afrique.
- Mann, William C., and David Weber. 1990. Deciding whether to use CADA for a translation project. Survey Reference Manual. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

- Ministère de l'Enseignement de Base et de l'Alphabétisation de Masse (MEBAM). 1996. Carte de Burkina Faso: Taux brut de scolarisation par province (année 1994–1995). Ouagadougou: DEP/MEBAM/UNICEF.
- Morse, M. L. 1967. The question of Samogo. *Journal of African Languages* 6:61–80.
- Pare, Harana. 1984. La société Samo de la fin du XIX^e siècle et la conquête coloniale française: approche socio-historique. Mémoire de Histoire et Archéologie. Ouagadougou: Université de Ouagadougou, Ecole Supérieure des Lettres et de Sciences Humaines.
- Pare, Issouf. 1990. Islamisation et colonisation dans le sud San de 1840 à 1961: cas de la conscription de Kougny. Mémoire de maîtrise. Ouagadougou: Université de Ouagadougou, IN.S.H.U.S., Département de Histoire et d'Archéologie.
- Phillips, Richard. 1996. Personal communication.
- Platiel, Suzanne. 1974. Description du parler Sande Toma. Thèse pour le doctorat d'Etat. Paris: Université de René Descartes.
- Prost, A. 1950. La langue bissa: grammaire et dictionnaire. Etudes Voltaïques, Mémoire 1. Ouagadougou: Centre Institut Français de l'Afrique Noire (IFAN).
- Radloff, Carla. 1991. Sentence repetition testing for studies of community bilingualism. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics/University of Texas-Arlington.
- Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL). 1987. Second language oral proficiency evaluation. *Notes on Linguistics* 40:24–54.
- Toé, Francine Généviève. 1990. Essai d'analyse contrastive français-san (dans le perspective d'une méthodologie d'enseignement du français en milieu San). Mémoire de maîtrise. Ouagadougou: Université de Ouagadougou, Institut Supérieur des Langues, des Lettres, et des Arts.
- Welmers, W. 1958. The Mandé languages. Monograph series on languages and linguistics. Washington: Georgetown University Press. 11:9–24.
- Zamane, Maxime Emmanuel. 1990. Le Christianisme en pays San (1913–1973). Mémoire de maîtrise. Ouagadougou: Université de Ouagadougou, Institut des Sciences Humaines et Sociales.
- United Bible Societies (UBS). 1996. UBS World Report.

2 Other Materials concerning San¹⁸

- Barry, Alimata. Evaluation des communautés villageoises Bwa et Samo durant le XIX et début XX siècles. Mémoire de DEA. Bordeaux: Centre d'étude d'Afrique Noire.
- Héritier-Izard, Françoise. 1973. La paix et la pluie: rapports d'autorité et rapports au sacré chez les Samo. *L'Homme - Revue Africaine d'Anthropologie*. Paris: Mouton. 13 (3):121–138.
- Héritier-Izard, Françoise. 1975. Des cauris et des hommes: production d'esclaves et accumulation des cauris chez les Samo (Haute-Volta). *L'Esclavage en Afrique Précoloniale*. Paris: Mespéro.
- Héritier-Izard, Françoise. 1977. L'identité Samo. *L'Identité*. Paris: Grasset.
- Héritier-Izard, Françoise. 1981. L'exercice de la parenté. Gallimard: Seuil.
- Kaboré, S. V. 1980. Etude de milieu et de la cooperative de Guiédougou. Ouagadougou: Institut Supérieur Polytechnique.
- Ki, J. C. No date. Préliminaires à une approche sémiotique de danses traditionnelles sã.
- Ky, Jean Célestin. 1989. Les masques dans la société san de Nimi. Mémoire de maîtrise. Ouagadougou: Université de Ouagadougou, Institut des Sciences Humaines et Sociales.
- Ky, M. 1986. Les Sanan d'aujourd'hui. *Connaissances du Burkina*. Ouagadougou: Université de Ouagadougou.
- Pehaut, Y., et P. Rouamba. 1958. Vallée du Sourou, cartes ethniques et cartes des densités des cercles de Déodougou, Ouahigouya, et Tougan, au 1/200.000. Bordeaux: I.S.H.A.
- Platiel, S. 1981. La formation des verbes en San. *Mandenkan* 2:69–83.
- Platiel, S. 1969. Les monèmes prédictifs en San (parler maka). Ann. Université de Abidjan, Série H (Linguistique). Fascicule hors série.
- Platiel, S. 1980. La relation de détermination en San. Extrait de *Itinérances*. 1:211–228.
- Platiel, S. 1983. Les procédés de formation en San. *Mandenkan* 6:75–89.

¹⁸Unfortunately, some of the bibliographical information was not available at the time of writing.

- Platiel, S. 1987. A propos du système vocalique en sâñ. *Mandenkan* 14–15 (numéro spéciale):251–264.
- Platiel, S. 1990. Les sous-catégories du procès en sâñ, diathèse et composition. *Mandenkan* 19:69–81.
- Platiel, S. No date. La langue samo: rapport de mission. Unpublished ms.
- Platiel, S. No date. Les contes de l'enfant terrible dans la littérature orale San. Extraits...111–175.
- Tauxier, L. 1917. *Le Noir du Yatenga: Mossi, Ninirosse, Samos, Yarsé, Silmi-Mossi*. Peul. Paris: Larose.
- Toé, Elizabeth. 1986. La perceptions des faits climatiques par la population rurale du pays samo. Mémoire de maîtrise. Ouagadougou: Université de Ouagadougou.
- Toé, P. 1970. Résistance à l'occupation française sur la boucle de la Volta Noire pendant la guerre de 1914–1918. Mémoire de maîtrise. Reims: Université de Reims.
- Toé, Patrice. 1989. Formation et développement en milieu rural: cas de la formation des jeunes agriculteurs dans trois villages en pays “san”. Mémoire de maîtrise. Nantes: Université de Nantes, Département de Sociologie.
- Toé, Patrice. No date. Les transformations sono-agraires en pays San. Mémoire de D.E.A. Paris: E.H.E.S.S.
- Toé, Seraphine. 1992. Monographie d'une troupe de danse traditionnelle. Mémoire de maîtrise. Ouagadougou: Université de Ouagadougou.
- Traoré, Lancina. 1965. Coûtumes, cérémonies et danses qui se font à l'occasion des funérailles en pays samo (région du Nord). Ouagadougou: ENA.
- Yaro, J. sans date. Quelques coûtumes des Samo du Canton de Rassouli (cercle de Tougan, Haute-Volta): Les travaux agricoles et la possession de la terre dans leurs rapports avec les coûtumes et les croyances religieuses. Ouagadougou: C.V.R.S.
- Zerbo, Y. 1984. La contribution des Sana aux grands travaux et à la mise en valeur des terres irriguées de l'office du Niger (1960–1964). Mémoire de maîtrise. Ouagadougou: Université de Ouagadougou.

3 Materials Published in the Language

3.1 *Toma dialect*

Sous-commission nationale du San, comité sud. No date. Daraa n sèwè (primer in San). Bobo-Dioulasso, Burkina Faso: Imprimerie de la Savane.

Sous-commission nationale du San, comité sud. 1975. Yiézu Boo Ni: Yiézu n Lawa nyin koé wo la (adaptation de la première partie de "Chrétiens aujourd'hui": manuel de catéchèse pour adultes). Toma: Paroisse de Toma.

Sous-commission nationale du San, comité sud. 1983. Marki (Evangile selon Marc en langue San). Toma, Burkina Faso: Alliance Chrétienne.

Sous-commission nationale du San, comité sud. 1986. Marki (Evangile selon Marc en langue San). Lomé: The Bible Society.

Sous-commission nationale du San, comité sud. 1989. Lawa a Boo Baän Konon: a kònpe ka Boo Mii Ni (Bref index biblique thématique en langue San). Toma: Eglise de l'Alliance Chrétienne.

Sous-commission nationale du San, comité sud. 1989. San Loe (chants). Toma: Eglise de l'Alliance Chrétienne.

Sous-commission nationale du San, comité sud. 1990. Lawa nyankole tiin daraaii boo (Leçons pour conduire les nouveaux convertis au baptême). Toma: Eglise de l'Alliance Chrétienne.

Sous-commission nationale du San, comité sud. 1992. Eclipse: Daraa mèn nò yii éclipse a sii góó nè?. Toma: Eglise de l'Alliance Chrétienne.

Sous-commission nationale du San, comité sud. 1993. Ka daa wo San sèwè pè 1 (Initiation à la lecture du San). Toma: Eglise de l'Alliance Chrétienne.

Sous-commission nationale du San, comité sud. 1993. Ka daa wo San sèwè pè 2 (Initiation à la lecture du San). Toma: Eglise de l'Alliance Chrétienne.

Sous-commission nationale du San, comité sud. 1993. Ka daa wo San sèwè pè 3 (Initiation à la lecture du San). Toma: Eglise de l'Alliance Chrétienne.

Sous-commission nationale du San, comité sud. 1993. Lawa tɔ bon loen kònón (Une sélection de 50 Psaumes en langue San). Ouagadougou: Eglise de l'Alliance Chrétienne.

Sous-commission nationale du San, comité sud. 1993. Lawa to bon loen kōnōn: a 50 ne wó gogōñ Loe séwé ne Lawa a Boo góñ ne (Une sélection de 50 Psaumes en langue San). Ouagadougou: Alliance Biblique du Burkina Faso.

Sous-commission nationale du San, comité sud. 1993. Zozefu Boo: Sii simaa wole (Joseph, l'homme de la persévérence). Toma: Eglise de l'Alliance Chrétienne.

Sous-commission nationale du San, comité sud, 1994. Davida Boo: Din kɔ Lawa la wole (David, l'homme qui s'est donné à Dieu). Toma: Eglise de l'Alliance Chrétienne.

Sous-commission nationale du San, comité sud. 1994. Lawa a Boo Tii Kōñ. Typographie Vaticane.

Sous-commission nationale du San, comité sud, 1994. Marki: Ka Daa wo N Daraa Marki Séwé Ganaa (Etudions l'Evangile de Marc). Toma: Eglise de l'Alliance Chrétienne.

Sous-commission nationale du San, comité sud. 1994. Siin Giala Kōn Séwé laanka Bo Bèrèbaa Nen Séwé (Les livres de Genèse et d'Exode en langue San (Samo)). Ouagadougou: Eglise de l'Alliance Chrétienne.

Sous-commission nationale du San, comité sud. 1994. Siin Giala Kōn Séwé laanka Bo Bèrèbaa Nen Séwé (Les livres de Genèse et d'Exode en langue San (Samo)). Ouagadougou: Alliance Biblique du Burkina Faso.

Sous-commission nationale du San, comité sud. 1995. Muizu: minin bo bèrebaa-n wole (Moïse—libérateur des esclaves). Toma: Eglise de l'Alliance Chrétienne.

Sous-commission nationale du San, comité sud. 1995. Boo Tii Kōñ: Woa Dēnaa Yezu Krita a Kiéen-doa Dii Boo. Ouagadougou: Alliance Biblique du Burkina Faso.

Sous-commission nationale du San, comité sud. 1995. Golee Yezu Li. London: SGM International.

Sous-commission nationale du San, comité sud. 1995. Kɔ Yezu Le. London: SGM International.

Sous-commission nationale du San, comité sud. 1995. Doree Si. London: SGM International.

Sous-commission nationale du San, comité sud. 1995. San Loe 2 (chants). Toma: Eglise de l'Alliance Chrétienne.

Sous-commission nationale du San, comité sud. Daa. London: Société pour la distribution des Saintes Ecritures.

Sous-commission nationale du San, comité sud. N Too Ko. London: Société pour la distribution des Saintes Ecritures.

3.2 Kouy dialect

Sous-commission nationale du San, comité nord. No date. Didie sèbe (primer in San). Bobo-Dioulasso, Burkina Faso: Imprimerie de la Savane.

Sous-commission nationale du San, comité nord. 1976. Nouveau Catéchuménat, 2me année (pour former les Catéchistes). Paroisse de Tougan.

Sous-commission nationale du San, comité nord. 1979. San lɔrɛ (cantiques en langue Sandu nord). Tougan: Mission Protestante.

Sous-commission nationale du San, comité nord. Catéchisme pour les enfants. Paroisse de Tougan.

Sous-commission nationale du San, comité nord. Commentaires pour les lectures de dimanche, années A et C. Paroisse de Tougan.

Sous-commission nationale du San, comité nord. Evangiles selon les Saints Matthieu et Marc. Paroisse de Tougan.

Sous-commission nationale du San, comité nord. Evangile selon Saint Jean. Paroisse de Tougan.

Sous-commission nationale du San, comité nord. Evangile selon Saint Luc. Paroisse de Tougan.

Sous-commission nationale du San, comité nord. La liturgie des Messes de l'Avent, Noël, Carême, et Pâques. Paroisse de Tougan.

Sous-commission nationale du San, comité nord. Lectures de dimanche de l'année A. Paroisse de Tougan.

Sous-commission nationale du San, comité nord. Lectures de dimanche de l'année B. Paroisse de Tougan.

Sous-commission nationale du San, comité nord. Lectures de dimanche de l'année C. Paroisse de Tougan.

Sous-commission nationale du San, comité nord. Livret pour la prière du dimanche: célébration sans prêtre. Paroisse de Tougan.

Sous-commission nationale du San, comité nord. Nouveau Catechumenat, 1ere année. Vol. I and II. Paroisse de Tougan.

Sous-commission nationale du San, comité nord. Rituel San(pour les célébrations de Baptême, etc.). Paroisse de Tougan.

Sous-commission nationale du San, comité nord. Textes Bibliques pour la Messe. Manuscrits non-publiées. Paroisse de Tougan.

3.3 *Bangassogo Dialect*

Sous-commission nationale du San, comité nord. 1955. Noun-Kwa Bilin Marc Ba Sege en Sanné (Samoga). Trans. by Somzibia Ouédraogo. Gomberé: Eglise de l'Alliance Chrétienne.

Sous-commission nationale du San, comité nord. 1993. jimaase sèben foranfɔn: le foranfɔ (b). Kiembara: Paroisse de Kiembara.

Sous-commission nationale du San, comité nord. 1993. Marki sɔbɛ ne ba libanzilli ce sege (évangile selon Saint Matthieu, Paroisse de Kiembara). Bobo-Dioulasso: Imprimerie de la Savane.

Sous-commission nationale du San, comité nord. 1993. saan dedeyã sèbe (syllabaire en San, dialecte de Bangassogo). Kiembara: Paroisse de Kiembara.

Sous-commission nationale du San, comité nord. 1993. “yẽ pẽ Dana, n̄ leludaan n'a too kere!” Samiyele (Samuel). Kiembara: Paroisse de Kiembara.

Sous-commission nationale du San, comité nord. Evangile selon Saint-Luc. Kiembara: Paroisse de Kiembara.

Sous-commission nationale du San, comité nord. Lexique San-français (dialecte de Bangassogo). Kiembara: Paroisse de Kiembara.

Sous-commission nationale du San, comité nord. Macu sɔbɛ ne ba libanzilli ce sege (évangile selon Saint Matthieu, Paroisse de Kiembara). Bobo-Dioulasso: Imprimerie de la Savane.

Sous-commission nationale du San, comité nord. Jeenwe koon fo toro (Inades-formation). Kiembara: Paroisse de Kiembara.

Sous-commission nationale du San, comité nord. n ne tu weeen bilngi lón ne?
(Inades-formation no. 3). Kiembara: Paroisse de Kiembara.

Sous-commission nationale du San, comité nord. Zâ sobe ne ba evâzil ce sege
(Evangile selon Saint Jean). Kiembara: Paroisse de Kiembara.

Sous-commission nationale du San, comité nord. Zâ sobe ne ba sebe ce sege (Lettres
de Saint Jean). Kiembara: Paroisse de Kiembara.

4 Contacts for Further Information

Robert Domba, Catholic catechist from Kiembara involved in literacy
Pastor Isaac Gyere, Pini (the pastor who has shown the most interest in a northern
adaptation)

Curée André KI, Tougan

Ellie Sow, pastor at Toma, and district supervisor for Literacy in the Churches'
program of ANTBA

Noël Zerbo, former secretary of defunct Northern San Language Committee