

## Introduction

The language “system” of Bakola is very dynamic and to some extent, unstable. Multiple influences from neighbouring languages belonging to different Bantu A sub-groups do not favor a unified description in terms of system of contrasts and regularities. In addition to this state of affair, there is a tradition of mobility among inhabitants from one Bakola location to another, which favor multidirectional contacts from different dialects. Though the present description is aimed at giving a global picture of one the many varieties of Bakola, many instances of interdialectal variation, both at the lexical and grammatical levels, have constantly emerged from the interviews we had with speakers from Labtol to Ndama Lendi, through Bodi and Lepdjom, in the Basaa region.

If we compare the data used in the present study to the one collected in Bibira (Yasa region) by the Bakola Project<sup>1</sup> team a few months ago, it becomes clear that Renaud’s (1976) earlier appraisal of the sociolinguistic situation of Bajele/Bakola was fairly limitative. Renaud (1976 : 29) mentions the existence of two varieties of Bajele (another name for Bagyeli) as follows.

Nous avons donc deux parlers très proches –l’intercompréhension n’est pas gênée – sans répartition géographique particulière, et dont l’un peut être considéré comme plus conservateur que l’autre, tous deux étant d’ailleurs plus proche du Proto-Bantu que les langues du groupe MAKA (A.80 de M. GUTHRIE) auquel ils sont apparentés comme nous l’avons déjà annoncé. Ce sont les représentants du dialecte conservateur qui se disent Bakola , les autres se disant Bajele .

Renaud (1976 : 37) further points out the fact that his “discovery” of a second variety of Bajele was quite accidental. He had been working with his main informant in Yaoundé for some time when a second informant joined him, who happened to speak a different dialect from his main informant. It is not clear why Renaud could not hypothesize the existence of still more dialects, given that his “discovery” did not come out of thorough survey of all the Bakola field, but rather from a random sampling of two informants off the field, who could have been from any dialects of Bakola. The truth is, there are far more than just two dialects of Bakola/Bajele, and the question to know which one is the more conservative is still to be investigated closely. My personal experience of the field pleads for the existence of at least five varieties of Bakola, which I can schematically relate to the following regions: The variety spoken around the Campo-Maan reserve where there is much contact with the Fang language; the variety spoken in camps along the Campo-Kribi Road, e.g. Bibira, Mimbose etc., where there is much interaction with Mabi (dialect of Kwasio) and to some extent, Yasa and Bapuku (Batanga); the variety(ies ?) spoken along the Kribi Bipindi-Lolodorf road and in camps around Lolodorf, where the languages on contact form a continuum involving Mabi and Mvumbo (both dialects being Kwasio dialects) but also Basaa, notably in the Bipindi area and along the Lolodorf-Eséka road (from Ngoyang to Nkumbala); the variety spoken in the Basaa area in the Nyong-and-Kelle Division and towards the Ocean Division boarder (Ndamalendi, Lepdjom, etc.); the variety spoken along the Bipindi-Elog Batindi

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<sup>1</sup> The “Bakola Project” is a Language Documentation project of the DOBES initiative and funded by the Volkswagenstiftung.

road and the Song Bong-Elog Batindi roads through Ntogo and Ndong Lien, where Bakola interact mostly with Bakoko and Basaa. This tentative sociolinguistic profile is likely to be incomplete, considering other Bakola camps situated along the Kribi-Ebolowa road where Bulu is the dominant language, but for which I do not have yet any relevant data.

The study that follows is the outcome of a somewhat mixed data, because of multiple dialect input which we couldn't predict beforehand simply by relying on the sociolinguistic information that we had on the informants. In spite of this "lack of consistency" which I personally believe is more a richness than anything else, there is clearly a dominant trend in the speech productions of most speakers we have interviewed, which plead for the existence of a language variety related (but certainly not strictly limited) to a specific area of the Bakola landscape. Though the area we have investigated is situated in the Basaa region of the Nyong-and-Kelle Division (Ndamalendi, Bodi, Labtol) and in the border of the Ocean and Nyong-and-Kelle Divisions (Lepdjom), it would be schematical to conclude that the variety under study is the one spoken by Bakola who live in contact with the Basaa people in general. It should be noted on the one hand that Basaa language itself is subject to variation, and on the other hand, that contact between Bakola and Basaa is not the same in bilateral and in multilateral situations. A bilateral situation is one where Basaa is the only locus of contact, whereas a multilateral situation is the one where there are other languages of contact than Basaa. The area we have investigated in the Nyong-and-Kelle Division is a purely bilateral situation of contact. In Lepdjom (in the border of the Ocean and Nyong-and-Kelle divisions) however, most of the eldest natives also speak Ewondo in addition to Bakola and Basaa, thanks to the geographical proximity with the Ewondo "enclave" of the Bipindi Sub-Division (Melombo, Atog Boga, Kwa, Nsola). In this regard, and because this study is carried out within the framework of a language documentation project, my goal is not the quest of regularities at the cost of skewing the reality of language practices. My aim is to provide a quick appraisal of the functioning of Bakola language (spoken in the above-mentioned locations) and the dynamism that underlie this functioning. I expect this to be a starting point towards understanding and analyzing the immense variation that characterize the Bakola/Bagyeli language, and the changing process that affects it, both synchronically and diachronically.

### **1. Phonology**

The data I use for the phonological analysis is a word list of around 1200 entries. As mentioned above, many instances of variation appeared throughout the process of eliciting the word list. Working with more than one informant at once, which I thought would help in the "certification" of the "authenticity" of lexical entries, proved sometimes to raise more controversy among informants than consensus. One of the extreme examples of variation across speakers showed up in the verb "roast", where I recorded four different forms from the five speakers who were present during the elicitation session, *dùβà*, *bùβà*, *dùpò*, *bùpò*. However, two of them who happen to have been brought up in Lepdjom, came out with the same form, *bùβà*. It is obvious that any phonological analysis that would attempt to contrast the four different forms above would come to the conclusion that [d] and [β] for example

are allophones of the same phoneme. Within the limits of a given language variety however, these two sounds appear to be separate phonemes. For this reason, I have discriminated in the analysis those forms that were critically diverging from those that received a larger consensus from our main informants. The analysis that follows shows that The Bakola language is phonologically situated at the hinge between Kwasio (Bantu A80) on the one hand and the Bantu A (20) languages (duala, yasa, Bapuku, bano) of the coastal cluster on the other hand.

### 1.1 Consonant phonemes

**Table 1: Consonant inventory**

	Bilab	Lab-dent	Alveolar	Postalv	Palatal	Velar	Lab-velar
VI Stops	p		t			k	kp
Vd Stops							
Vd Implsvs	ɓ		d'		ɟ		
VI Affric		pf	ts	[tʃ]			
VI Fric		f	s				
Vd Fric	β		[z]			[ɣ]	
Pre Nasals	mb		nd			ŋg	ŋgɓ
Stops							
Prenasal Affric			[ndz]				
Prenasal Fric			nz				
Nasals	m		n		ɲ	ŋ	
Liquids			l				
Vd Trills			[r]				
Approximants					j		w

**Table 2: Consonants found in word or stem-initial position**

	Bilab	Lab-dent	Alveolar	Postalv	Palatal	Velar	Lab-velar
VI Stops	p		t			k	kp
Vd Stops							
Vd Implsvs	ɓ		d'		ɟ		
VI Affric		pf	ts	[tʃ]			
VI Fric		f	s				
Vd Fric	β					[ɣ]	
Pre Nasals	mb		nd			ŋg	ŋgɓ
Stops							
Prenasal Affric			ndz	[ndʒ]			
Prenasal Fric			nz				
Nasals	m		n		ɲ	ŋ	
Liquids			l				
Vd Trills							
Approximants					j		w

The following voiced fricative do not appear at word and stem-initial position : [r], [z], [ɣ]. Only the bilabial fricative [β] is an exception to this rule.

**Table 3: Consonants found in stem-medial position**

	Bilab	Alveolar	Postalv	Palatal	Velar	Lab-velar
Vd Fric	β	z			ɣ	
Pre Nasals						
Stops	mb	nd			ng	
Pre Nasals						
Affric		nz				
Nasals	m	n			ŋ	
Vd Trills		r				
Liquids		l				
Approximants				j		w

At stem medial position, all voiceless and implosive consonants are not attested, as well as the palatal nasal.

### 1.1.1 Discussion

The upper diacritic on the palatal stop signals devoicing, which occurs at word-initial positions, e.g. *ǰánzà* “to work”. Devoicing of the palatal stop is less significant if preceded by a nasal, as post-nasal voicing is known to be a widespread process among Bantu languages (Hyman, 2003), e.g. *̀̀-ǰê* “guest, stranger”.

NC complex are interpreted as monomorphemic because the language does not allow CC sequences. Their distribution is both word/stem-initial and stem-medial.

- (1) a. *mbù̀̀à* “hair”
- b. *lámbà* “to cook food”
- c. *ndè̀̀mé* “dream”
- d. *jè̀̀ndè* “to stumble”
- e. *ngè̀̀fi* “eyelash”
- f. *fì̀mó̀̀ngóló* “knuckle”

In addition to the distribution of NC complex, the realization of voiced stops is constrained by nasality. In other words, no voiced stop is attested in Bakola, unless in their prenasalized form. As it has just been mentioned, the nasal in Nǰ sequences is syllabic, because of the palatal stop devoicing, e.g. *̀̀-ǰê* “stranger” > *̀̀à-ǰê*, “strangers”. Likewise, sequences of nasal + voiceless stop are always bi-phonemic in Bakola, owing to the preceding nasal being

syllabic, e.g. *ɲ-kĩ* “brother in law” > *ɓà-kĩ* “brothers in law”; *m-fɔβí* “traitor” > *mìm-fɔβí* “traitors”; *ɲ-tólé* “an elderly person” > *mìɲ-tólé* “elderly people”; *ɲ-sɔzɔ* “be smoked”.

As concerns the status of implosives, their phonemicity is established through contrastive opposition of minimal pairs. The bilabial implosive can therefore be contrasted at the initial with the bilabial fricative as in (2).

- (2) a. *βè* “give” # *ɓè* “sow, plant”  
b. *lóβà* “bite, crunch” # *lóɓà* “heaven”

On its part, the implosive alveolar /d/ contrasts with the alveolar oral stop /t/ in the following minimal pair.

- (3) a. *ɗíɓà* “prevent” # *tíɓà* “trample”

### 1.1.2 Consonant variation

Dialectal variation in Bakola is robustly attested through consonant variation. The result being that, two or more sounds may be used alternatively in the same word without changing the meaning. Such instances of free consonant variation are not only salient when going from one village, but can also be observed within the same village. Free consonant variation within the same village is often indicative of the speaker’s origin<sup>2</sup>, or the consequence of interaction with French or neighboring languages<sup>3</sup>.

Examples of “free” variation are given in (4).

- (4) a. [ts] / [tʃ] as in [tsàmàlà] “spit” / [tʃàmàlà] “spit”  
b. [nz] / [ndz] as in [lìnzálè] “urine” / [lìndzálè] “spit”

“Free” consonant/vowel variation is not as free as it may suggest. It is a revelator of the speaker’s dialectal background. It certainly involves a larger paradigm of sounds than those mentioned in the present study, depending on how much inter-dialectal input the data has.

### 1.1.3 Consonant distribution

Comparing chart 2 and chart 3 shows that certain sounds are in complementary distribution. This is the case of the minimal pairs [s] / [z] and [k] / [ɣ], where the voiceless fricative [s] and stop [k] only appear at word initial position or at morpheme boundary (5), but are spirantized into [z] and [ɣ] respectively, at intervocalic positions root internally (6). The

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<sup>2</sup> E.g. In Ledjom where we collected most of the data for the present description, some of the inhabitants had grown up in other regions, and had settled in Lepdjom most of the time for marital reasons.

<sup>3</sup> This is the case of young speakers who have attended formal education in French.

distribution of [k] and [ɣ] is part of a symmetric patterning of consonants which doesn't allow voiceless vs voiced stops pairings as in many other Bantu languages, (p/b; t/d; k/g), but instead a voiceless stop vs fricative or sonorant pairing, e.g. p/β, t/r, k/ɣ.

- (5) a. *sâ* “father”  
 b. *ñ-sizà* “tendon”  
 c. *lón-di-sì* “to fill”  
 d. *ñ-kâyìli* “spine, backbone”  
 e. *mà -kǒ* “feet”

- (6) a. *pízè* “behind”  
 b. *βèyè* “shoulder”

Note that /nz/ is phonemic and occurs both word initially and in mid-stem positions as in *nzí nzálè* “bladder”, while [ns] is not. [ns] is indeed a consonant sequence made up of /n/ + /s/, where the homorganic /n/ is always syllabic. Such sequences only occur word initially, as in (5b) and (5d).

Of special interest is the case of the phonemes /ŋ/ and /ɲ/ which occurrence is constrained by non word-final environments. /ɲ/ is found exclusively in word or stem initial position, whereas /ŋ/ occurs only in intervocalic positions. However, none of the two sounds occurs in word final position; where this is expected to occur, both sounds seem to be realized as prosodic features into the preceding vowels.

- (7) a. *βwè* “to catch” > *βwènímà†* “be caught”  
 b. *mùrûŋ* (kwasio A81) “man” > *mùrû*

This elicitation approach is somehow artificial, and there is no clear empirical evidence from our data as to whether /ŋ/ and /ɲ/ are contextual realizations of nasal vowels counterparts (velar and palatal vowels) at specific positions, namely at intervocalic and final positions. Whereas /ŋ/ is only attested at intervocalic positions stem internally, which might favor the interpretation of V1[+nas] being de-nasalized in V1C(N).V2 sequences, the distribution of the palatal nasal /ɲ/ is less restricted, e.g. *juúli* “body”; *màpànà* “pain”. What appears to be the only factual evidence that could account for a unified interpretation of nasality as an autosegmental feature likely to be realized with a vowel or as an independent segmental entity is the free alternation (from one speaker to another or from the same speaker in different speech situations) between V[+nas] and V + C[+nas] at word final position as in (8).

- (8) a. *m̀bòò* ~ *m̀bòŋ* “cassava”  
 b. *tòò* ~ *tòŋ* “axe”  
 c. *̀̀tòò* ~ *̀̀tòŋ* “walking stick”

One of the reasons for this alternation could be the influence of neighboring languages such

as Basaa or Mvumbò where nasal vowels are absent. Thus, Bakola words ending in a nasal vowel are sometimes pronounced with a final nasal consonant as their cognates in these neighboring languages. This alternation is however mostly observable with velar vowels (u, o, ɔ, a)<sup>4</sup> and more less with palatal ones.

Another way of dealing with nasality in Bakola is to consider the process the other way round. As an hypothesis, nasal vowels might be thought to the result of a historical process of merger from a sequence of V + C[+nas]. This hypothesis is partly supported by the scarcity of nasal vowels in Bantu languages in general, and particularly in Bantu A languages, where Bakola is the only language with nasal vowels.

#### 1.1.4 Labio-dentals and labio-velars

Both the labiodentals /f/ and /pf/ and the labiovelars /kp/ and /ŋgʷ/ are quantitatively marginal compared to the average ratio of other phonemes in the system. A reason for this could be that these sounds have been introduced in the phonology of Bakola at a more recent period, mainly thanks to the contact with some of the neighboring languages. As an example, the only attestations of labio-dentals are found in the word *m̄pf̄ã* “noble” for the affricate, which is likely a borrowed word from languages of the Beti-Fang, e.g. (ewondo A70) *m̄f̄ãŋ* “noble”, and in the word *m̄f̄ɔ̄βi* “traitor” for the fricative. The same is true of labio-velars, which attestations are restricted to a limited list as shown in (9).

- (9) a. kpàkpà “toothbrush, tooth stick”  
 b. ñkpálé (in *sâ ñkpálé* “to behave in an unorderly manner”)

#### 1.1.5 Labialized and palatalized consonants

**Table 4 : Labialized consonants**

	Bilab	Velar
VI Stops		k <sup>w</sup>
Vd Stops		ŋg <sup>w</sup>
Vd Implsvs	ʃ <sup>w</sup>	
Nasals	m <sup>w</sup>	ŋ <sup>w</sup>

**Table 5: Palatalized consonants**

	Bilab	Alveolar	Velar
VI Stops		t <sup>j</sup>	k <sup>j</sup>
Vd Implsvs		d <sup>j</sup>	
Vd Fric	β <sup>j</sup>		
Nasals	m <sup>j</sup>		

<sup>4</sup> There is no contrastive distinction whether [a] is pronounced as central or back (velar).

The status of consonants modified by labialization and palatalization is somehow problematic. The most straightforward interpretation of these sounds would be to consider that they are derived from a glide formation process (Hyman, 2003). Such an analysis would mostly be morphophonemic-based, considering for example such cases where a labialized consonant stands for a noun prefix, e.g. m<sup>w</sup>-ánà “ child ”/ ɓ-ánà “ children ” ; m<sup>w</sup>-àná “ mouth” / m<sup>j</sup>-àná “ mouths ”. On the other hand, off-glide consonants are not only found in noun stems, but in verb stems as well, e.g. k<sup>w</sup>àḃà “ carve ” , k<sup>w</sup>ɔ̃ “ faint”, which doesn’t favor a morphophonemic interpretation. More so, sequences of V1V2 where V1 is the velar vowel /u/ or the palatal one /i/ are widely attested throughout the language, e.g. sùàlà “argue”; dīà “sit”. In addition, these sounds can enter into contrastive oppositions with their non labialized or non palatalized counterparts (10).

- (10) a. ɓ<sup>w</sup>à “ medicine” # ɓà “ word”;  
 b. k<sup>w</sup>àḃà “make smooth” # káyà “ shiver, tremble”  
 c. m<sup>w</sup>àná “mouth” # màná “ crossroads”

## 1.2 Vowels

Bakola has a canonical seven-vowel system of Proto-Bantu (Meeussen, 1967; Hyman, 2003), reprinted in table (6).

**Table 6: Vowel chart**

		Front	Central	Back
High	+ATR	i		u
Mid	+ATR	e		o
Mid	-ATR	ɛ		ɔ
Low	-ATR		a	

### 1.2.1 Vowel nasalization

Perhaps the most idiosyncratic feature of Bakola among other Bantu A languages and even at a larger Bantu scale, is the existence of nasalized vowels. The origin of this phenomenon is worth being investigated diachronically. As mentioned above, this could have been a result of a merger between post vocalic nasal velars and the preceding vowel, e.g. ɓòḃá “brain ” (Basaa, A40) > ɓòó (Bakola) “brain” ; mùrûḃ “man/male” (Kwasio, A80) ” > mùrû “man/male”. But the occurrence of velar nasal at post-vocalic positions tends to contradict this hypothesis, e.g. lónà “build”.

**Table 7: Vowel nasalization chart**

		Front	Central	Back
High	+ATR	ĩ		ũ
Mid	+ATR	ẽ		õ
Mid	-ATR	ɛ̃		ɔ̃
Low	-ATR		ã	



Nasal vowels are independent phonemes from their oral counterparts, since the two sounds categories enter into contrastive oppositions with one another. e.g. *ɲâ* “fingernail” # *ɲẫ* “grow up”; *mùrù* “person” *mùrû̃* “male”

### 1.2.2 Vowel length

Vowel length is a common phonological phenomenon in Bakola. In the data which served for this analysis however, only one minimal pair shows contrast between a long vowel and a short one, namely *nè* “mother” # *nèè* “poison (on arrow)”. Most often, vowel length is the result of stress, which occurs in three situations: 1) the initial syllable in content words of at least two syllables, e.g. *lì-kóyú* “upper grindind stone” is generally pronounced [*lì-kóyú*], *kómó* “bag” is pronounced [*kómó*], etc ; 2) nasal vowels are also generally lengthened, e.g. *kí* “neck” and *límá* “cheek” are respectively pronounced [*kíí*] and [*límáá*] ; 3) vowels bearing a contour tone, e.g. *m-bǎlè* “messenger” and *mbámbú* are respectively pronounced *m-bàálè* and *mbáámbúù*.

### 1.3 Tones

Bakola has two level tones (H and L) and two contour tones (HL and LH). The following oppositions show contrast between different tones :

- (11) a. H/L, e.g. *m<sup>w</sup>ànà* “mouth” # *m<sup>w</sup>ánà* “child” ; *ɓènà* “refuse” # *ɓéná* “buttock”  
 b. L/HL, e.g. *ɲà* “drink” # *ɲâ* “fingernail”  
 c. H/LH, e.g. *só* “firend” # *sǒ* “saw” ; *lòà* “insult” # *lòá* “slave”  
 d. LH/HL, e.g. *jâ* “song” # *jǎ* “copulate”

## 2. Noun Morphology

The canonical noun stem structure consists of a prefix and a root, e.g. *li-tólì* “navel”, *mw-ànà* “mouth”. In case of derivation, there can be formed a “prosodic stem” consisting of a prefix, a root and a suffix, e.g. *mì-ɲàɲà-là* “itch”. For most nouns however, the prefix surfaces only in the plural form, *ø-kĩy-ù* “life” vs *mà-kĩy-ù* “lives” ; *kálé* “elderly brother” vs *bà-kálé* “elderly brothers/sisters”.

Syllable structure in noun stems is predominantly CVCV. An alternative syllabification in noun stem could be the interpretation of disyllabic nouns as consisting of a CVC(V) root, where the bracketed V is a derivational suffix. This can be seen for instance in verb-to-noun derivation, e.g. *kĩy-à* “to live” > *ø-kĩy-ù* “life”, *sàβ-à* “to play” > *mà-sàβ-ù* “game”. Monosyllabic nouns all display a CV structures, where C can be either a simple consonant, *ø-tà* “father” or an NC complex, *ø-ndà* “grandchild”, *ø-mbà* “virgin”; complex

consonants in CV noun structure also include velarized and palatalized voiced stops, e.g. *b<sup>w</sup>ã* “medicine”, *d<sup>l</sup>ó* “lie”.

## 2.1 Noun class and gender

The noun system of Bakola is made up of singular and plural classes which paired up to form genders. As mentioned above, most singular nouns surface with a zero prefix in their singular form. Both singular and plural prefixes have an underlying low tone. As the head element in an NP, the noun triggers concord with its modifiers. The scheme of concord affixes associated with a given noun, together with gender pairing, are the main criteria that I use for noun classification. Table (8) above shows the different concord schemes that are attested throughout our data.

**Table 8 : Noun class agreement**

<i>Class</i>	<i>NPx</i>	<i>Allomorphs</i>	<i>Example</i>	<i>Meaning</i>	<i>Poss (ISG)</i>	<i>SM</i>	<i>Rel</i>	<i>Conn</i>
1	m <sup>w</sup> -	m̃-/ñ-/ŋ-	m <sup>w</sup> ánà	child	w-ǎ	à	wà	á
1a	m <sup>j</sup> -		m <sup>j</sup> òzô	forehead	w-ǎ	à	wà	á
1b	∅		tà	father	w-ǎ	à	wà	á
2	ɓà-	ɓ-	ɓàkĩ	In-laws	ɓ-ǎ	ɓá	ɓá	ɓá
3	m <sup>w</sup> -	m̃-/ñ-/ŋ-	m̃ɓálá	jaw	w-ǎ	ú	wá	ú
3a	∅		mò	belly	w-ǎ	ú	wá	ú
4	m̃N-	m <sup>j</sup> -	m̃m̃ɓálá	jaws	m <sup>j</sup> -ǎ	mí	mí	mí
5	lè-		lijè	tooth	l-ǎ	lí	lí	lí
5a	d̃-	d̃ <sup>l</sup> -	d̃ínà	name	l-ǎ	lí	lí	lí
6	mà-	m-	mínà	names	m-ǎ	má	má	má
7	∅		kóró	skin	j-ǎ	ì/jì	já	ì/jì
8	ɓì-		ɓìkóró	skins	ɓ <sup>j</sup> -ǎ/ɓ <sup>j</sup> ǎ	ɓì	ɓí	ɓí
9	∅		ŋgè	farm	ŋ-ǎ	ɓá	ŋà	ŋè
14	ɓ <sup>w</sup> -		ɓ <sup>w</sup> álè	canoe	ɓ <sup>j</sup> -ǎ/ɓ <sup>j</sup> ǎ	ɓì	ɓí	ɓí
14a	∅		ɓòǎ	brain	ɓ <sup>j</sup> -ǎ/ɓ <sup>j</sup> ǎ	ɓì	ɓí	ɓí

### 2.1.1 Discussion on noun classification

As shown in table (8), most class prefixes show allomorphy. Allomorphs are phonologically conditioned, depending on whether the root is vowel-initial or not. Vowel-initial roots cause vowel prefix deletion. Class 1 and class 3 nasal prefixes are syllabic and homorganic to the initial root consonant. Class 3 homorganic prefixes are retained in the plural form, resulting in double prefixation of some class 4 nouns, namely those with consonant initial roots, e.g. *ntólé* “old (man)” > *m̃ntólé* “old (men)”; *ŋkùndí* “barren woman” > *m̃ŋkùndí* “barren women”. Class 3 homorganic prefixes are treated as independent syllabic components from



Even though the language shows a clear trend in the class distribution of prenasalised nouns, it is still not robustly valid to stipulate that all nouns beginning with an NC sequence where NC is a unique sound have a zero prefix underlyingly. The derivation of such deverbatives as *mbàβà* “burden” < *βàβi* “carry” shows that this process is based on the adjunction of a nasal prefix which is homorganic to the root initial consonant. The underlying structure of *mbàβà* is therefore |m-βaβ-i-al, where *m-* is the derivative prefix. As such, *m-* should be considered as syllabic and therefore as a tone bearing unit. But considering that in the process of derivation, the implosive /β/ becomes oral, leading to a unified articulation of both the nasal and the oral bilabial, we are left with an argument for interpreting the NC initial sequence in *mbàβà* as monomorphemic. Likewise, NC sequences also appear at the initial of some verbs, without a possibility of interpreting them as bimorphemic, e.g. *ndǎ* “to cross”; *nzà* “to come”.

## 2.2 Gender

Singular/plural noun pairing in Bakola reveals both regular and irregular genders, as well as one-word genders, which are basically invariable nouns. Table (10), (11) and (12) below illustrate the gender system of Bakola.

**Table10: Regular genders**

<i>pairs</i>	<i>Examples</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
1/2	mùrù/βòrò	person
1a/2	m <sup>j</sup> òzô/βòzô	forehead
1b/2	kòγó/βàkòγó	uncle (mother’s brother)
3/4	m <sup>w</sup> ànà/m <sup>j</sup> ànà	mouth
3a/4	mð/mìm <sup>j</sup> ð	abdomen
5/6	lìtólì/màtólì	navel
5a/6	dǎmbà/màmbà	headpad
7/8	pímáá/βìpímáá	wall

**Table (11): Irregular genders**

<i>pairs</i>	<i>Examples</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
1/3	m <sup>w</sup> éyé/(mì)m <sup>j</sup> éyé	fish dam
3/6	m̀β̀ð̀/màβ̀ð̀	arm
7/6	d̀ð̀/màd̀ð̀	thigh
9/6	ɲámá	armpit
14/6	β̀ẁà̀/màβ̀ẁà̀	medicine
14a/8	β̀í̀r̀è̀l̀è̀/β̀ì̀β̀í̀r̀è̀l̀è̀	smoke

The brackets in 1/3 pairing show variation in the plural marking of  $m^w\acute{e}y\epsilon$ , which may be either  $m\grave{i}-m^j-\acute{e}y\acute{e}$  or  $m^j-\acute{e}y\epsilon$ . The two forms were obtained from two different speakers speaking roughly the same dialect. The fact that a noun from class 1 is inflected with a double prefix in class 4 is a clear indication that this phenomenon is typical of class 4 nouns, and that  $m\grave{i}-m^j-\acute{e}y\acute{e}$  here is inflected analogically.

**Table (12) : one-word genders**

<i>class</i>	<i>Examples</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
1	nzàmbê	God
2	màsàβù	game
4	m <sup>j</sup> ámbo	flour
6	màjà	milk
8	bijémbí	dance
9	nzà	hunger

## 2.3 The noun and its modifiers

### 2.3.1 Adjectives

As in other Bantu A languages, only a few adjectives are attested in Bakola. Note that criteria for selecting a given noun as an adjective are both semantic and morphological. A categorization based on an *a priori* perception of this grammatical class would skew the functioning of adjectives in Bakola by artificially inflating the list of what is to be considered as such from a strictly grammatical point of view. Adjectives may be used both predicatively and attributively. When used predicatively, adjectives are separated from the head noun by a copula which is a concord particle.

- (12)      b̀a-mbúà      bá-díβìlì      b̀a-ηgòyá      bá-nénè  
             cl2- dog   cl2-SM-PRES-stalk   cl2-wild pig   cl2-COP-big  
                   “Dogs (are) stalk(ing) a big wild pig”

As we will see further (2.3.7), nominals may be used predicatively without resorting to any verb form.

In the attributive form, adjectives directly follow the head noun, and the concord particle that is attached to them is purely determinative.

- (13)      m<sup>w</sup>-â      ñ-sàlí      á-nìnzàlà  
             cl1-child   cl1-young   cl1-SM-PRES-urinate  
                   “The baby urinates/is urinating”

Predicative nouns such as *̀̀n-tólé* “old” can also be used attributively, but they are not adjectives per se, in the sense that they stand for the head element in the noun phrase.

- (14) *̀̀n-tólé wá m-̀̀r̀̀*  
 cl3-old cl3-conn cl1-person  
 “an old man”

### 2.3.2 Quantifiers

Quantifying modifiers include numerals which can be grouped into two type : numbers, e.g. “one”, “two”, “three” (table 13), indefinite quantifiers, e.g. “others”, “all”, interrogatives, e.g. “how many”, “which” as shown in table (14).

**Table (13) Numbers**

<i>Numbers</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
<i>̀̀́úrũ</i>	one
<i>-bâ</i>	two
<i>-lálì</i>	three
<i>-nâ</i>	four
<i>-tânì</i>	five
<i>̀̀tówó</i>	six
<i>(è)mb<sup>w</sup>érí</i>	seven
<i>l̀̀mbì</i>	eight
<i>r̀̀ìb̀̀ùá/lib̀̀ùá</i>	nine
<i>l̀̀wómò</i>	ten

**Table (14) Other numerals**

<i>class</i>	<i>“others”</i>	<i>“all”</i>	<i>“how many”</i>	<i>“which”</i>
1	<i>m̀̀-pê</i>	<i>ɲè w-èè</i>		<i>wà-βě</i>
2	<i>b̀̀à-pê</i>	<i>b̀̀ô b-ê</i>	<i>b̀̀á-níé</i>	<i>b̀̀á-βé</i>
3	<i>m̀̀-pê</i>	<i>ẁ̀ô w-ê</i>		<i>ẁ̀á-βé</i>
4	<i>m̀̀m̀̀-pê</i>	<i>m̀̀ʝ m̀̀-ê</i>	<i>m̀̀í-níé</i>	<i>m̀̀í-βé</i>
5	<i>l̀̀i-pê</i>	<i>l̀̀ô l-ê</i>		<i>l̀̀í-βé</i>
6	<i>m̀̀à-pê</i>	<i>m̀̀ô m-ê</i>	<i>m̀̀á-níé</i>	<i>m̀̀á-βé</i>
7	<i>-pê</i>	<i>ɲ̀̀ô j-ê</i>		<i>ɲ̀̀á-βé</i>
8	<i>b̀̀i-pê</i>	<i>b̀̀ʝ b̀̀-ê</i>	<i>b̀̀í-níé</i>	<i>b̀̀í-βé</i>
9	<i>m̀̀-pê</i>	<i>ɲ̀̀ò ɲ-èè</i>		<i>ɲ̀̀à-βé</i>
14	<i>b̀̀i-pê</i>	<i>b̀̀ʝ b̀̀-ê</i>		<i>b̀̀í-βé</i>

Only numbers from one to five are subject to class agreement. Numbers from “six” to “ten” (see table 13 ), “one hundred” *b̀̀ójà* and “one thousand” *t̀̀́jini* (from English “thousand” and probably through Kwasio *t̀̀́gîn*) are genuine nouns; they bear an independent noun prefix, e.g. *̀̀n - tówó* “six”; *l̀̀i-wómò* “ten” and can stand as head of a noun phrase as in (15).

- (15) *l̀̀i -wómò l̀̀i b̀̀i-sèl*  
 cl5-ten cl5-conn cl8-basket  
 “ten baskets”

Numbers from eleven to nineteen are formed by association of two numbers of which *l̀̀i -wómò* is the base, while the second is the coordinate.

- (16) *lì -wómò nà [βúríú<sup>4</sup>, bá-bâ, bá-láli....]*  
 cl5-ten and one cl2-two cl2-three  
 “eleven, twelve, thirteen...”

“Twenty”, “thirty”, “forty” up to “ninety” are numbered after *lì -wómò*, and represent each a quantity of “tens”.

- e.g. (17) *mà-wómò má-bá<sup>4</sup>, mà-wómò má-láli, mà-wómò má-nâ*, etc.  
 cl6-ten cl2-two cl6-ten cl2-three cl6-ten cl2-four  
 “Twenty” “thirty” “forty”

### 2.3.3 Possessives and connectives

Bakola speakers resort to both possessive determinants and connectives to express possession. Determinants are used to express deixis or anaphora. Connectives are used in genitive constructions as markers of determination to express a wide range of relationships such as possession, origin, location, time reference, attributive (18b) etc. There exist two types of connectives in Bakola : variable and invariable ones. The former agree in class with the head noun prefix, while the latter is *ngá* “of” which is invariable (18).

- (18) a. *m-ê wá ndáβò*  
 cl3- door cl3-conn house  
 “The door of the house”
- b. *m-ùrù wà pímù*  
 cl1- person cl1-conn strength  
 “A strong person/man”
- c. *mìn-lâ mí βì-jò*  
 cl4- speech cl4-conn cl8- laughter  
 “funny stories”
- d. *ngè jà mà-léndí*  
 field cl3-conn cl6-palm tree  
 “palm tree’s field”
- e. *mbóyà ngá Simono*  
 Residence conn Simono  
 “Simono’s residence”

The connective may be a tone (19b) or may not surface at all (19a).

- (19) a. *díà m-β<sup>w</sup>à w-ê*  
 meal cl3-morning cl3-all  
 “breakfast”
- b. *bandá ní-lémà*  
 hold-Deverb cl3-conn-heart  
 “breakfast”(stylistic)

The list of variable connectives and possessives of Bakola is shown in table (15)

**Table 15 : Possessives and connectives**

class	Conn.	Possessives					
		Singular			Plural		
		1SG	2SG	3SG	1PL	2PL	3PL
1	wà	w-ǎ	w-ǒ	w-ě	w-àzí	w-àńó	w-àβú
2	ḡá	ḡ-ǎ	ḡ-ó	ḡ-é	ḡ-ází	ḡ-ánó	ḡ-áβú
3	wá	w-ǎ	w-ó	w-é	w-ází	w-ánó	w-áβú
4	mí	m <sup>j</sup> -ǎ/m <sup>j</sup> -ǎ	m <sup>j</sup> -ó	m <sup>j</sup> -é	m <sup>j</sup> -ází	m <sup>j</sup> -ánó	m <sup>j</sup> -áβú
5	lí	l-ǎ	l-ó	l-é	l-ází	l-ánó	l-áβú
6	má	m-ǎ/	m-ó	m-é	m-ází	m-ánó	m-áβú
7	já	j-ǎ/j-ǎ	j-ó	j-é	j-ází	j-ánó	j-áβú
8	ḡí	ḡ <sup>j</sup> -ǎ/ḡ <sup>j</sup> -ǎ	ḡ-ó	ḡ <sup>j</sup> -é	ḡ <sup>j</sup> -ází	ḡ <sup>j</sup> -ánó	ḡ <sup>j</sup> -áβú
9	ɲà/ɲgà	ɲ-ǎ	ɲ-ó	ɲ-é	ɲ-ází	ɲ-ánó	ɲ-áβú
14	ḡí	ḡ <sup>j</sup> -ǎ/ḡ <sup>j</sup> -ǎ	ḡ-ó	ḡ <sup>j</sup> -é	ḡ <sup>j</sup> -ází	ḡ <sup>j</sup> -ánó	ḡ <sup>j</sup> -áβú

Tone variation in 1SG possessive is associated with the tone melody of the head noun. There is a tone contrast process whereby nouns ending with a low or falling tone cause a high tone on the possessive, while high tone cause a rising tone on the possessive.

- (20) a. lòá j-ǎ “my slave” > ḡì-lòá ḡ<sup>j</sup>-ǎ “my slaves”  
 b. j-ǎ j-ǎ “my whistle ” > ḡì-j-ǎ ḡ<sup>j</sup>-ǎ “my whistles ”  
 c. ḡ<sup>w</sup>á ḡ<sup>j</sup>-ǎ “my illness ” > màḡ<sup>w</sup>á má “my illnesses ”  
 d. ì-kilá l-ǎ “my (drop of) blood ” > mà-kilá m-ǎ “my (drops of) blood ”  
 e. ì-lô l-ǎ “my ear ” > mà-lô m-ǎ “my ears”

Only class 1 and 3 form an exception to this rule, given that tone variation is the sole marker of contrast between 1SG possessive for both classes.

### 2.3.4 Demonstratives, presentatives and relatives

Demonstratives in Bakola are of two types : those that express (spatial) deixis and those that express anaphora (see table 16). Deixis is conveyed by a morpheme with a CV structure which reflects the class prefix of the head noun. When the object or person being referred to is close to the place of utterance, the demonstrative bears a falling tone contour. If the object or person being referred to is far from the place of utterance, the vowel of the morpheme is lengthened and the tone is high. Both forms are equivalent to the “this” and “that” demonstratives respectively. Vowel lengthening on the “that” demonstrative has a focus function, and serve to point to a referent which is distant but visible by the speakers from the



place of utterance. It is likely a result of a prosodic marking on the demonstrative, in the sense that, stressing the syllable is a pragmatic resource for directing the receiver's attention towards the object or person being referred to.

Anaphoric demonstratives is expressed by two independent morphemes, one of which is a deictic demonstrative with a low tone, while the other is the invariable morpheme *ndé*.

As to relatives, they are nominal particles which agree with the noun class prefix. Because relatives are anaphoric, they may be combined with anaphoric demonstrative to lay emphasis on the subject.

- (21) é ɓ - òrò ɓâ ké ɓà ndé ɓâ mìm-ɓírú  
 PREST cl2-person cl2-REL-PRES go.PRES cl2-Agr DEM.Anaph cl2-SM-COP cl4-dirt  
 "These people you see going over there are dirty"

**Table (16) : Demonstratives and Relatives**

<i>class</i>	<i>"This"</i>	<i>"That"</i>	<i>Anaphoric</i>	<i>Relatives</i>
1	nû	núú	nù ndé	wà
2	ɓâ	ɓáá	ɓà ndé	ɓá
3	wû	wúú	wù ndé	wá
4	mî	míí	mì ndé	mí
5	lí	líí	lí ndé	lí
6	mâ	máá	mà ndé	má
7	jî	jíí	jì ndé	jà
8	ɓî	ɓíí	ɓì ndé	ɓí
9	ɲî	ɲíí	ɲè ndé	ɲà
14	ɓî	ɓíí	ɓì ndé	ɓí

In addition to the demonstratives that appear in the above table, Bakola also has an invariable form *ɓà* "there/here/this/that" which has a wide range of deictic reference as in example (22) that follows.

- (22) pélâ ò wúmí-má<sup>+</sup> ɓá<sup>+</sup>, ɓá-Lífɔmbè ɓâ, nâ wè ké  
 time 2SG.SM leave-PERF here Loc-cl2-Lifombè here, that 2SG go.PRES  
 When you go from here, here at the Lifombè's place, that you are going to

ɓà-Sìmonò. wě ké ɓà, sémbélé ní-pàyú ɓà...  
 cl2-Simono SG.SM.IMP go.IMP like this reach.IMP Loc.cl3-path there  
 The Simono's place. You go like this, get to the path there....

From the above example, the morpheme *βà* looks more like a discourse marker than a nominal (demonstrative) per se. It is a generic particle which refers to a shared knowledge, either because it has been mentioned earlier in the discourse, because it is immediately experiencable by the audience from the place of utterance or because the speaker assumes that the element of experience being referred to is known by his audience.

Presentatives are mostly prosodic realizations which root themselves on epenthetic segments, some of which may agree with the initial segment of the head nominal as in (23a). The default form for presentatives is *é* which also functions as a locative (23c).

- (23) a. ndáβù wàzì “our house” > (ú/é) wàzì “ours”  
 b. é nà ndé “like that”  
 c. é tǒ “at the stream”.

### 2.3.5 Subject pronouns, object pronouns and subject concord morphemes.

Possessive pronouns are not dealt with in this section, given that these morphemes have the same forms as their determinant counterparts. A presentative (tonal or segmental) may be inserted before the possessive morpheme to mark deixis. Subject and object pronouns referring to the person are presented in table (17). In Bakola as in other Bantu languages, a subject noun or pronoun in a sentence is usually “duplicated” before the verb in the form of a verbal prefix (24a). When the subject refers to an element of the experience which is known or which reference has been earlier activated in the mind of the audience, a verbal prefix is used independently to refer to the subject (24b). Each noun class is represented by a specific verbal prefix.

- (24) a. b̂à - tsírú      b̂à      d̂ià      mà - d̂ià  
 cl2- animal    cl2-SM-PRES    eat    cl4-food  
 “The animals eat food”
- b.      b̂à      d̂ià      mà - d̂ià  
 cl2-SM-PRES    eat    cl4-food  
 “They (animals) eat food”

Subject and object personal pronouns have almost the same forms. Differences are observable only on the tone panel.

**Table 17 : Subject pronouns, object pronouns and subject concord morphemes**

<i>Persos</i>	<i>Person Morphemes</i>			<i>Class</i>	<i>Class morphemes</i>			
	<i>PP</i> ( <i>SM</i> )	<i>VP</i> ( <i>SM</i> )	<i>PP</i> ( <i>D/I.O</i> )		<i>VP<sub>x</sub></i> ( <i>SM</i> )	<i>VP<sub>x</sub></i> ( <i>D.OM</i> )	<i>VP<sub>x</sub></i> ( <i>I.OM</i> )	
SG	1	mè	mè	mè	1	ɲè, à	ɲè	ɲè
	2	wè	wè	wè	2	ɓá	ɓò	ɓò
	3	ɲè	à	ɲè	3	ú	wò	wô
PL	1	ɓĩ	ɓí	ɓĩ	4	mí	mʲò	mʲò
	2	ɓʷè	ɓú	ɓʷè	5	lí	lò	lô
	3	ɓò	ɓá	ɓò	6	má	mò	mô
				7	ì	jò	jô	
				8	ɓì	ɓʲò	ɓʲò	
				9	ɲì	ɲò	ɲô	
				14	ɓì	ɓʲò	ɓʲò	

### 3. Verb Morphology

The canonical verb root in Bakola is CV1.CV2, where V2 may be deleted in oral speech in case of suffixation of a derivational extension, e.g. *làβ-à* “to talk” > *làβ-là* “to talk to each other”; *jàγ-à* “to buy” > *jàγ-sì* “to sell”. A few disyllabic roots in CV1.V1 are also attested, e.g. *ɗià* “to sit”, *lòà* “to insult”. Some other roots are monosyllabic with a CV configuration, e.g. *ɲê* “to see”, *lâ* “to tell”. In the infinitive form, the verb is marked by a low or falling tone on the last syllable, e.g. *lèlà* “to cry/weep”; *púndà* “to fear”; *ɲâ* “to suckle”.

#### 3.1 Verb Derivation

Verb derivation is a common process in Bantu languages, whereby derivational morphemes are added to the verb root to add more meaning to the verb. The derived form generally has a different valency from that of the original verb. In Bakola, verb derivation is most of the time an inherent phenomenon than a productive linguistic process. We talk of derivation as inherent to the verb stem because most verbs surfacing with a CV1.CV2.CV3 shape are likely a result of a historical derivation whereby a suffix with a CV structure has been added to an initial stem (25). But a semantic reconstruction of both the original stem and the suffix input to the present meaning of such derived verbs is not easy to decide, and might lead to speculations in the absence of diachronic material to allow traceability. The following examples give an illustration of this phenomenon.

- (25) a. mèyèlè < \* mèyè-lè “ to admit”.                      b. sòmèlè < \* sòmè-lè “to thank”  
 c. jéyèlè < \* jéyè-lè “ to plead, to implore”              d. líyìlì < \* líyì-lì “ to accompany”  
 e. nàmàlà < \* nàmà-là “ to grumble,”                      f. páyàlà < \* páyà-là “ to explain”  
 g. bèyàlà < \* bèyà-là “ to imitate”

In the above examples, though the base has a configuration of a canonical Bakola verb stem, such underived stems doesn't have an independent meaning. Likewise, what appears to be verb extensions in these examples, e.g. *lè, lì, sà*, do not carry a semantic content that could fit them into one of the traditional categories of Bantu verb extensions. Such inherently extended verb stems can therefore be said to be semantically unanalysable.

Morphologically however, the regular patterning of the final syllable in verb stems suggest the existence of a CV suffix where C is represented by *l* while V can be one of the following vowels: *i, e, a, ɔ*. The number of vowels that can appear at that position is not limited to those mentioned. Free variation has often been observed between two or more vowels at that position, e.g. *tsémèlè ~ tsémèlè ~ tsímìlì* “sneeze” or *líyìlì ~ léyèlè* “to guide”. Variation of the suffix can be explained either by allomorphy or polymorphy. A polymorphy interpretation of these suffixes would owe to phonological arguments. Vowel harmony between the final vowel of the stem and the vowel of the suffix is triggered by regressive assimilation, which pleads for the existence of different suffix morphemes, On the other hand, in the absence of a concrete meaning associated with each specific suffix, there can be no valid interpretation of such forms as polymorphemic.

**Table 18 : Non productive CV verb suffixes**

<i>Suffix</i>	<i>Allomorphs</i>	<i>Examples</i>	<i>Meaning</i>	
CV (C=l)	lè	léβèlè	“ to chase”	
		sòmèlè	“ to greet”	
		jóyèlè	“ to hear/listen”	
		díβìlì	“to fence”	
	lì	líyìlì	“to guide/accompany”	
		wómbìlì	“ to weed”	
		pùmbàlà	“ to harvest”	
		là	tséndàlà	“to barter/exchange”
			líyàlà	“ to inherit”
		lò	kózdòlò	“ to cough”
móyòlò	“to husk”			

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A common characteristic of the verbs in table (18) is that they describes actions which are initiated by an agent and which end result is the transformation of a pre-existing state. Other extensions are attested in Bakola which show a more productive property. They can derive an extended verb stem from an existing and analysable base. This is the case of *-sì* for the *reversive* and *-zè* for the *applicative*. Complex stems with the suffix *-bà* have a reflexive meaning, but the original verb stem is not semantically analyzable (table 19).

**Table 19 : Productive verb extensions**

<i>Extensions</i>	<i>Stem</i>	<i>Meaning</i>	<i>Suffix</i>	<i>Extended stem</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
Applicative	dʔà	“to eat”	-zè	délèzè	“ to feed”
	jéyà(-là)	“to learn”	-zè	jéyèzè	“to teach”
Reversive	jàyà	“ to buy”	-sì	jày(ì)sì	“ to sell”
	tèyè	“ to be soft”	-sì	tèyèsì	“ to soften”
Reflexive	?		-bà	sáyàbà	“ to choke”
	?		-bà	jóyàbà	“to apply ointment to oneself”
	?		-bè	jéyèbè	“to lean (oneself) against”

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The reversive can also be expressed through the suffix *-là*, e.g. *tìlì* “ to tie” > *tìà-là* “ to loosen” which adds some kind of causative meaning to the existing stem.

### 3.2 Verb Conjugation : tense, aspect, negation and mood

This section will adopt a more variationist approach than the preceding ones. Extreme variation in language use among the Bakola as pointed out earlier, is particularly salient when it comes to verb inflection through conjugation. As a consequence, different but mutually related forms have been recorded from one speaker to the other within the same village. Leaving aside the fact that inhabitants of the same village might have different origins and therefore might have developed different grammatical paradigms, variation in verb conjugation appears to be one of the most dynamic subsystems of the language. For this reason I will avoid making any decision on what is to be considered as the generic inflectional morpheme in case of two or more competing forms. Instead, I will report all possible inflectional paradigms that have emerged from the different interviews and text that served for the present study.

Inflection is marked both through segmental and tone morphemes.

### 3.2.1 Present tense

The tense marking of the present tense are given in table (20). I use the following symbols:  $\Sigma$  to represent the verb stem, SM for subject marker (noun, pronoun, verb prefix),  $H_0$  for floating high tone and  $H_0^s$  for substitutive floating high tone to the left. Italics are used to indicate competing forms (dialectal variation?). Vowel lengthening is symbolized by a column.

**Table 20 : Present tense conjugation**

<i>Aspect</i>	<i>AFF/ NEG</i>	<i>Marking</i>	<i>Example</i>	<i>Main use</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
			á-dʰà		“he eats/he is about to eat/he uses to eat”
		$H_0^s$ -SM- $\Sigma$	á-jánzà	Present, near, habitual	“he works, he is about to work/he uses to work”
	AFF	$H_0^s$ -SM- $\Sigma$ - $H_0^s$	á-dʰá mà-dʰà á-jánzá mà-ŋgè		“he eats food” “he cultivates the fields”
IPFV			â-dʰá-lâ mà-dʰà â-dʰáá mà-dʰà â déé mà-dʰà	Negative, prohibitive	“He doesn’t eat food”/he will not eat food (shortly)”
	NEG	$H_0$ -SM- $H_0^s$ - $\Sigma$ -lâ/ $H_0$ -SM- $H_0^s$ - $\Sigma$ :	â-jánzá-lâ mà-ŋgè â-jánzáá mà-ŋgè		“he doesn’t cultivate the fields/he will not cultivate the field (shortly)”
			à-dê-dʰà mà-dʰà à-dî-dʰà mà-dʰà à ndî-dʰà mà-dʰà	Ongoing now	“He is eating food (now)”
PROG	AFF	SM-dê- $\Sigma$ SM-dî- $\Sigma$ SM-ndî- $\Sigma$	à-dê-jánzà mà-dʰà à-dî-jánzà mà-dʰà à ndî- jánzà mà-dʰà		“He is cultivating the fields (now)”
	NEG	$H_0$ -SM- $H_0^s$ - $\Sigma$ -lâ/ $H_0$ -SM- $H_0^s$ - $\Sigma$	â-dʰá-lâ mà-dʰà â-dʰáá mà-dʰà â déé mà-dʰà	Negative, prohibitive	“He is not eating food”

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Bakola has the same forms for both the negative form of the present and the present progressive negative. A paraphrastic form exists for the present progressive, which uses the auxiliary ɓè ~ βè “to be” as in (26).

- (26) à-sì-ḃé-lâ̂ (é) sálé  
3SG-NEG-be.PRS-NEG.(LOC) work  
“he is not at work”

The default negative marker for the present tense is the morpheme *-lâ̂*. But this marker can be replaced by a simple lengthening of the final vowel of the verb stem, as a result of stress. Negation is therefore also marked through prosody. Tense marking may cause some phonological modifications on the verb root, e.g. á-dʔà “he eats” > â déé “He is not eating”.

### 3.2.1.1 Other aspects related to the present tense

The present completive (table 21) is a commonly used verb form. It is used to express completed actions or processes at the time of utterance, and actions which are about to be carried out, but which the speakers envisages are already completed. When the present perfective is used with a resultative meaning, the verb is used intransitively, e.g. à *démá*<sup>+</sup> “he has eaten/ he is fed up” vs à *démá*<sup>+</sup> *ɓìkòndò* “he has eaten plantain”.

The habitual aspect is marked by the use of the auxiliary ɓè “to be”. The tilde indicates reduplication (cf. Leipzig Glossing Rules) and the plus (+) symbol indicates word boundary

**Table 21 : Other present tense aspects**

<i>Aspect</i>	<i>AFF/NEG</i>	<i>Marking</i>	<i>Examples</i>	<i>Main use</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
COMPL	AFF	SM- Σ-H <sub>o</sub> <sup>+</sup> -má	à-dé-má <sup>+</sup> mà-d <sup>+</sup> à à-jánzí-má <sup>+</sup> mà-ηgè	Completion, Resultative	“He as eaten food/he has finished eating food” “he has cultivated the fields/he has finished cultivating the fields”
	AFF		á-6é d <sup>+</sup> à-d <sup>+</sup> à mà-d <sup>+</sup> à		“He usually eats food”
HAB	AFF	H <sub>o</sub> <sup>s</sup> - SM-6è + Σ ~	á-6é jánzà-jánzà mà-ηgè	habitual	“He usually cultivates the fields”
	NEG	H <sub>o</sub> - SM-6è -lâ + Σ ~	â-6é-lâ d <sup>+</sup> à-d <sup>+</sup> à mà-d <sup>+</sup> à â-6é-lâ jánzà-jánzà		“He doesn’t usually eat food” “He doesn’t usually cultivate the fields”.
		H <sub>o</sub> - SM-6è: + Σ ~	â 6éé d <sup>+</sup> à-d <sup>+</sup> à mà-d <sup>+</sup> à â 6éé jánzà-jánzà		“He doesn’t usually eat food” “He doesn’t usually cultivate the fields”.
			à-ló-kà- (à)-d <sup>+</sup> à ñ-lézè à-nó-kà- (à)-d <sup>+</sup> à ñ-lézè		He has just eaten rice/he has just been eating rice
		SM- ló-kà- (SM)-Σ	ǎ-kà- (à)-d <sup>+</sup> à ñ-lézè à-nó-d <sup>+</sup> à ñ-lézè		
		H <sub>o</sub> - SM-sà- 6è + (SM)- Σ	á-sà-6è (à)-d <sup>+</sup> à ñ-lézè		He has not just eating rice/he has not been eating rice

What we call here “present perfective” is more an aspectual than a tense inflection. Emphasis is more on the outcome of the process than on the time of its performance. For this reason, the perfective marker *-ma<sup>+</sup>* can be used to express present, past and future actions, as long as the speaker envisages the action from its point of completion; e.g. *à-dé-má<sup>+</sup> mà-d<sup>+</sup>à* could also mean “he had eaten food”.



### 3.2.2 Past tense

**Table 22 : Past tense conjugation**

<i>Aspect</i>	<i>AFF/ NEG</i>	<i>Marking</i>	<i>Examples</i>	<i>Main use</i>	<i>Meaning</i>	
PFV	AFF	SM-H <sub>o</sub> <sup>s</sup> -Σ	à-dé bì-kòndò m̀-ḃ <sup>w</sup> à w-ê	Recent past	“He ate plantain this morning”	
			à-jánzì m̀-ḃ <sup>w</sup> à w-ê		“He worked this morning”	
	NEG	H <sub>o</sub> <sup>s</sup> -SM-sà- Σ	á-sà-d’á bì-kòndò m̀-ḃ <sup>w</sup> à wê		“He didn’t eat plantain this morning”	
			á-sà-jánzà m̀-ḃ <sup>w</sup> à wê		“He didn’t work this morning”	
	AFF	H <sub>o</sub> <sup>s</sup> †-SM-Σ	áá <sup>†</sup> -d’é <sup>†</sup> nàkòyó		General past,	“He ate yesterday”
			áá <sup>†</sup> -já <sup>†</sup> nzì <sup>†</sup> nàkòyó			“He worked yesterday”
NEG	H <sub>o</sub> <sup>s</sup> †-SM-sá-Σ	áá <sup>†</sup> -sá <sup>†</sup> -d’á <sup>†</sup> nàkòyó	“He didn’t eat yesterday”			
		áá <sup>†</sup> -sá <sup>†</sup> -já <sup>†</sup> nzì <sup>†</sup> nàkòyó	“He didn’t work yesterday”			
	H <sub>o</sub> <sup>s</sup> -SM-sà-Σ	ǎ-sà-d’á nàkòyó	“He didn’t eat yesterday”			
		ǎ-sà-jánzà nàkòyó	“He didn’t work yesterday”			

**Table 23: Other past tense aspects**

<i>Aspect</i>	<i>AFF/ NEG</i>	<i>Marking</i>	<i>Examples</i>	<i>Main use</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
PROG	AFF	H <sub>o</sub> <sup>s</sup> + - SM-6è + SM - Σ~	áá <sup>+</sup> -6é <sup>+</sup> à-d <sup>o</sup> à	Recent past	“He was eating”
	NEG	H <sub>o</sub> <sup>s</sup> + - SM-sà-6è + SM- Σ~	á-sá <sup>+</sup> -6é <sup>+</sup> à-d <sup>o</sup> à		“He was not eating”
HAB	AFF	H <sub>o</sub> <sup>s</sup> + -SM-Σ~	áá <sup>+</sup> -dĕ-dĕ mà-d <sup>o</sup> à	Past habits	“he was usually eating food”
	NEG	H <sub>o</sub> <sup>s</sup> + - SM- sà-6è- SM- Σ~	á-sá <sup>+</sup> -6é <sup>+</sup> à-d <sup>o</sup> à mà-d <sup>o</sup> à		“He was not usually eating food”
COMPL		SM-6 <sup>w</sup> à-H <sub>o</sub> <sup>s</sup> - Σ	à-6 <sup>w</sup> à á-d <sup>o</sup> à mà-d <sup>o</sup> à		“he had already eaten”

**3.2.3 Future tense****Table 24 : Future tense conjugation**

<i>Aspect</i>	<i>AFF/ NEG</i>	<i>Marking</i>	<i>Example</i>	<i>Main use</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
IPFV	AFF	SM: - Σ	àà-d <sup>o</sup> à ñ-lézè	General future	“He will eat rice”
	NEG	SM- sî- H <sub>o</sub> <sup>s</sup> - 6è -lâ + Σ	à sî-6é-lâ d <sup>o</sup> à ñ-lézè		“He will not eat rice”
	AFF	SM-6è + SM- Σ	à-6è à-d <sup>o</sup> à ñ-lézè		“He will be eating rice”
	NEG	SM- sî- H <sub>o</sub> <sup>s</sup> - 6è -lâ- 6è + SM-Σ	à-sî-6é-lâ-6è à-d <sup>o</sup> à ñ-lézè	Negative, prohibitive	“He will/shall not be eating rice”
		SM-Σ~	àà-d <sup>o</sup> à-d <sup>o</sup> à ñ-lézè	habitual	“He will usually eat rice”
	SM- sî- H <sub>o</sub> <sup>s</sup> - 6è -lâ + SM-Σ	à-sî-6é-lâ à-d <sup>o</sup> à-d <sup>o</sup> à ñ-lézè	“He will not usually eat rice”		

### 3.2.4 The imperative mood

**Table 25 : The imperative**

<i>Mood</i>	<i>AFF/ NEG</i>	<i>Marking</i>	<i>Example</i>	<i>Main use</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
IMP	AFF		dʔá màdʔà	1SG	“Eat food”
			bí d̄ɛyá màdʔà	1PL	“Lest’s eat food”
			bí d̄îyâ màdʔà		
	NEG		dʔàyâ màdʔà	2PL	“Eat food”
			sâ dʔà màdʔà	1SG	“Don’t eat food”
			bí sâyá dʔà màdʔà	1PL	“Let’s not eat food”
		bî dʔálâ màdʔà			
		bú sâyá dʔà màdʔà	2PL	“Don’t eat food”	
		bú sâná dʔà màdʔà			
		bú sâ dʔà màdʔà			

### 3.2.5 The cohortative mood

The marking of the cohortative mood is somehow problematic in Bakola, at least among our informants. It is more likely that this mood is basically paraphrastic, using complex constructions with a cohortative verb as subordinator.

e.g. (27)      mé    jèyèlè   nâ   á-kîyî  
                  1SG.PRS   beg   that 3SG.IMP-recover  
                  “I pray that he should recover”

There has not been a consensus among our informants as to whether the morphosyntactic marker *tô* for the cohortative is originally Bakola or not. Some speakers argue that this marker is borrowed from Basaa, a neighboring dominant language, while others do not discriminate it. The forms that appear in the following table are therefore likely to be controversial.

**Table 26: The cohortative mood**

<i>Mood</i>	<i>AFF/NEG</i>	<i>Marking</i>	<i>Example</i>	<i>Main use</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
	NEG	H <sup>s</sup> - Σ - t̂	á kiyî t̂		“May he recover”
COH	AFF	SM- Σ - H <sup>t</sup> -má + t̂	á d̂à t̂ à kiyímá <sup>t</sup> t̂ à démá <sup>t</sup> t̂	wish	“May he eat”

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### 3.2.6 Other markers

Verb conjugation in Bakola is also marked through free grammatical categories. This is the case of the conditional mood which uses the adverb *kâ* “if” to express probability.

- (28) *kâ mē kóβì mà-d̂à, mē d̂à*  
 If 1SG find cl6-food 1SG.PRS eat  
 “should I have some food, I will eat”

The modal *wēà* “have to” is used for axiological statements.

### 3.2.7 The auxiliary *βē/βē* “to be” and the verb *β̂ē* “to have”

The auxiliary *βē* or its variant *βē* serve in the conjugation of other verbs, as shown in (29).

- (29) *á-βē d̂à-d̂à mà-d̂à*  
 1SG-be eat.DUP cl6-food  
 “He usually eats food”

Both the verbs *β̂ē* “to have” and *βē* “to be” have an irregular conjugation, which is what justifies the fact that they are treated here separately. The stem of the verb “to have” changes significantly when inflected in the present tense, whereas the stem of the verb “to be” does not surface at all, and is only implied in the present tense, mostly when followed by a subject complement (SBJ.COMPL), as illustrated in table (27).

**Table 27 : Auxiliaries**

	<i>b<sup>w</sup>è</i> “to have”	<i>βè/βè</i> “to be”	Example	Meaning
1SG	<i>mè b<sup>w</sup>èré</i>	<i>mè (+ SBJ.COMPL)</i>	<i>mè mùrù nénì</i>	“I am a rich/an important person Etc.
2SG	<i>wè b<sup>w</sup>èré</i>	<i>wè (+ SBJ.COMPL)</i>	<i>wè mùrù nénì</i>	
3SG	<i>ɲè/à-b<sup>w</sup>èré</i>	<i>ɲè (+ SBJ.COMPL)</i>	<i>ɲè mùrù nénì</i>	
1PL	<i>bí b<sup>w</sup>èré</i>	<i>bí (+ SBJ.COMPL)</i>	<i>bí bòrò bá-nénì</i>	
2PL	<i>bú b<sup>w</sup>èré</i>	<i>bú (+ SBJ.COMPL)</i>	<i>bú bòrò bá-nénì</i>	
3PL	<i>bá-b<sup>w</sup>èré</i>	<i>bá (+ SBJ.COMPL)</i>	<i>bá bòrò bá-nénì</i>	

#### 4. Questions

Content or yes/no questions are marked by a particular intonation pitch at the end of the utterance. The final pitch contour depends on the pragmatic orientation of the utterance. In the case of non-oriented questions, i.e. when the questioner does not expect a specific answer, questioning is done by “lowering”. This questioning modality is attested in other Bantu A languages which are in direct contact with Bakola (see Ngué Um & Makasso, 2009). Lowering of the final intonation contour is triggered by a floating low tone which causes downstep on the tone of the final syllable when it is high. When the final tone is low, it merges with the floating tone. The floating tone bearing unit is usually an epenthetic vowel which is a duplication of the final vowel. I use the falling arrow to symbolize the final intonation.

(30) a. *wê* *dʒá* *á<sup>+</sup>↘*  
 2SG.PRS.NEG eat.NEG Q  
 “don’t you eat ?”

b. *wê* *ké* *é<sup>+</sup>↘*  
 2SG.PRS.NEG go.NEG Q  
 “don’t you go?”

c. *wè* *ndí* - *dʒà* *à* ↘  
 2SG PROG-eat Q  
 “Are you eating ?”

d. *wé* *sǐlì* *ì* ↘  
 2SG.PRS know Q  
 “do you know ?”

Confirm-yes/no questions, which answer is oriented towards an expected positive or negative pole, are marked by a floating high tone at the end of the utterance. The floating high tone bearing unit is also an epenthetic vowel which is a copy of the final vowel of the last syllable (31). Confirm-yes/no questions can be signaled by the tag *ngà* followed the floating high tone (32).

(31) mà-ndyù má mà - léndí má má<sup>+</sup>-ndè é ↗  
 Cl6-wine cl6.Conn cl6-palm tree that cl6-anaph  
 “ Is it palm wine ? ”

(32) wè sî - bé ná nzà. ngà á  
 2SG.PRS NEG-be with hunger Q  
 “ you are not hungry, are you? ”

“Wh” questions can be expressed through a variety of interrogatives lexemes : *nzá* “who ?”, *ndé* “ what/which ?”, *lípóyò lín dé* “ why ”, *ná* “ how ? ”, *βé* “ where ? ”, *dóβà lín dé* “ when ? (lit. what day ? )”. Time-related questions may also be expressed using the lexeme *màwùlà* “ hours ” followed by the interrogative (*má*)-*nié* “how many”, to mean “what time”.

## 5. Clause structure

The canonical clause structure is SVO.

(33) ngĩlà à - túyí Ì - nzò é nzèlá témá  
 gorilla 3SG-devastate cl5-banana tree LOC path middle  
 “The gorilla devastated a banana tree in the middle of the path”

When the verb valency calls for two arguments, the one that immediately follows the verb is the recipient/benefactor, and then we have the experiencer.

(34) a. mé jánzí m-ùrù mà-ngě  
 1SG.PRS work.APPL cl1-person cl6-field  
 “I cultivate the fields for somebody”

“Wh” arguments such can be kept in situ (35) or moved at the end of the utterance, depending on the pragmatic aims of the speaker. Wh-movement generally signals an emphatic mood which the presentative *é* further stresses (36).

(35) wě d'á ndé  
 2SG.PRS eat what  
 “what do you eat/are you eating ? ”

(36) é ná wě jémbà  
PREST how 2SG.PRS dance  
“ how do you dance ? ”

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## Texts :

### Text 1 : way description

pélâ ò wúmí-má' βá', bá-Lifombê βâ, nâ wê ké bà-Simònò, wê ké βà, sémbélé mí-pàyú βà, wê lã ñgè, ndáβù ñgá é ʔèè, mbóyà ñgá ʔèè. wê sèñgí ñ-kòlé wê wázíβí kàsà. wê lã ñgè, wê wázíβí é βà-Mbà. wê sílí mà-mbóyà jé bà-Ahidjo, wê ké βè nà m-bò wá 6-ùrû, wá 6-áá kòlà wê ké-lâ m-bò wá 6-ùrû nzilá m-bò wá 6-ùrû jí ké ílò wá mí-pàyú bà-Màtàà. wê kè wàààà, wê sémbélé ñgèè nà ñgòndó jì ñgá Bíyágâ. wê dǒlí mí-pàyú ké bòzò nzèlá m-ùrû ké-lâ wê wê ké pé' nzèlá bèà, nà mbò wá báá kòlà. é nà ndé té wé kèè é? ʔèhè. kè wé ké ó nà ndé, wê wázíβí ñgèè ñgá Nzèé wà Biyéégè. wê sílí jò lã. lã wé lã mbò, wê ké βèè nzèlá nà nzèlá nà nzèlá, m-àna mà-pè má sì-βé βò ndé ná. m-àna má má ké é nzèlá jà 6-ùrû é pè í ké mí-pàyú sì-βé-lâ nà lì-jò. wê lã ñgè, Lifombê é m-àna mé. wê ké βè nà mà-pàyú wò-wè mí mbù má-bò má 6-ùrû mâ, wàààà, wê kè wàsàβà ñgilà à túyí linzò é nzèlá témá. wê lã ñgè. m-àna mâ mbò má-ndé' bòsò ndá bòlá mí-pàyú, βè tè, βè bèà tè mbo, 6-ùrû bà ké wê jí jé-ní nzèlá jà 6-ùrû. wê kè wàààà, wê wàsìβí lí-βòdá lí bí jéé bóyè mà-bàmbú. mà-pàyú jé kè bòzò, nòñgò nà m-bò wá 6-áá... wá 6-ùrû. ká wê ké-má', wé ndâ ñgè mà-bóyà wá mw-àna tò. ndâ wé lã wò, wê sémbílí é, é ñgèè nà ñgòndó. sílí tíbà ñgèè nà ñgòndó jò nà jò nà jò wè múà βé? é ñgèè nà kàkâ. wê ñgèè nà kàkâ, ndáβò jà βi-béndé βèè télí βò jí-ndé'. wê mà-bùrì nà mà-bùrì, mà-léndí mâ táálí βò má nà ndé', mà-bòndzà, mà-bòndzà mà-bòndzà. wê kè ná wàsàβà βé? ñgèè nà mbò. wê sílí lã ñgèè jà mbò jò-jèè vét, wê kè wàsàβà βé? ñkòyó neni wá léé. dùmà lí bóyó nzèlá lóβà. wê wàsìβí d-úmà lí télí, ñ-kòyó βè bóyó tè bòzò βò (wú)-ndé'. wê sùbá tò. ndâà tò, wê ndí-kè. mìn-òyó bá ké bà kíyáá mí nzèlá, wê lã m'-ò. wê wàsìβí βé? ñgèè nà mà-léndí, jì ñgá Simònò. é Sòwétò. ndè nà wê sílí-má' ñgèè nà mà-léndí, wê télí ná βé, é tò. kâ wê sílí-má' tò jí-ndé' wê ké ná βò-ndé ná mwána kìrì já sìyí βè βò (jí)ndé' tò wê jè mà-bùrì mâ βò má-ndé', wê dǒlí mà-bùrì mà-wéé' mà-ndé. kâ wê síβé nà dísò, wê dǒlí mà-bùrì mâ βò má-ndé'. wê wàsìβí é, é m-àna, bí-bèbéla. m-àna mâ píze ndúyú pè βé mbò. ndé wê sémbé lí bí-bèbéla. wê líyí m-àna má tè mò, wê múà é ñgèè nà má-sá, bí-bèbéla bí βò nà mà-léndí. ndè nà wê sílí-má' lã β'-ò β'-è βó-ndé, wê kóyó júlù tè bòzò ndâ ná βò-ndé ndâ nà mw-àna kìrì já sìyí, wê múà βé? ʔèhè. líkóyá sí. ndè nà wê lã-má' lì-kóyá, wê múà βé? ñ-sólò té wù-ndé. wê sílí lã ñ-sólò wê jàndá ñ-kòyó. jànda wê jànda ñ-kòyó wê múà ñgèè nà kàkâ. kâ wê wàsìβí-má' ñgèè nà kàkâ, wê múà βé? lì-dã βé lì-βò lí-ndé', lí bí jà mà-díβá, lí bí sejà. wê ké βò wàààà, mâ m-àna má-bá'. m-àna má ké bà-Mòñgò nà m-àna má ké bà-kálé. kâ wê múà (é) màna má-ndé', wê sì-βé ná jò ná wê wàsìβí-má' bà-Simònò. wê wàsìβí-má' bà-Simònò. tò wé jè m-àna má má ké βò-ndé mà-ndé ó sémbílí βè mbóyà ñgá Simònò. tš m-àna βè wé kè, wê kée βè mbóyà ñgá Simònò.

Simònò sàlà ñzèlà á nè-méré bá-nà bà-kalé βé<sup>+</sup> mbòya βé jí-ndé<sup>+</sup>. é b<sup>w</sup>aré pè Bìjágà βéè wê. kâ wê sílí-má<sup>+</sup> βð-ndé, wê ké m-pàyú, lúmá ñ-kòò é pè wê sílí é ké kùmbê, nâ ó mbé kè m-pàyú. wê ké βð-ndé. wê lǎngá mà-mbóyà. wê lǎngá mà-mbóyà. mbóyà ñgá Simònò ñð-βê mà-tááló βð jí ndé<sup>+</sup> nà sààlé wà nà ñàà. wê lǎ ñgè wê wásíβi m̀pê ñi βó ndé<sup>+</sup> bá léβá nâ mbóyà bà-dzù ñð-βê ñi βð (jí)-ndé<sup>+</sup>. kâ wê sílí-má<sup>+</sup> ndâ lǎ βó-ndé<sup>+</sup>, wê káá kè, wê kéé. wê βéè m̀pà- ñzilá nâ ñzilá. m̀pàyú βé βð wú-ndé<sup>+</sup>. nâ ñê wê sémbíli kàsà Málumbê, kâ wê múà kàsá mà-lumbê, wê múà é mànà. é mànà βé bá lóβá nâ f<sup>w</sup>àjê. é βó<sup>+</sup> bá sá ndáβð ñi-βðmá βð-ndé. wê ké-má<sup>+</sup>.

### Translation

Quand tu quittes d'ici chez Lipombe ici pour aller chez les Simono. Tu pars ici là, tu arrives en route là, tu dépasses (comme ça) la maison de la consession de Yèè, tu descends la colline, tu arrives au pont, tu dépasses, tu arrives Chez Mba. Tu finis de traverser le village de chez les Ahidjo, tu vas seulement du côté de la main droite ; du côté de la main gauche, tu ne pars pas ; tu ne pars pas du côté de la main gauche. La piste de la main droite, ça va vers la tête (en amont) de la route de Chez Mataa. Tu pars, tu arrives au champ de concombre de Biyaga. Tu regardes la route qui va devant, la route où les gens ne passent pas là-bas. Tu vas du côté de la route qui brille, du côté de la main gauche. N'est-ce pas comme ça que tu pars ? d'accord ! En allant de la sorte, tu arrives au champ de Nzèè, fils de Biyegè. Tu finis de dépasser ça (le champ). Après avoir dépassé là, tu marches simplement le long de la piste, sur la piste, sur la piste, il n'y a plus un autre carrefour là. La piste (chemin) que les gens empruntent régulièrement ne s'ignore pas. Tu dépasses Lipombè, son carrefour. Tu marche simplement tout le long de la route, en suivant l'ornière tracée par les pieds des gens. Tu vas arriver là où le gorille avait déchiquetté le bananier, au milieu de la route. Tu dépasses, le carrefour qui est là ; là aussi se trouve une route abandonnée, et c'est à partir de là qu'elle est plus visible, comme les gens passent par là. Elle est visible, la piste des gens. Tu marches, tu arrives au parc où on range souvent les planches débitées. La route qui va devant, prends du côté de la main droite. Si tu pars, tu traverses la vallée de la petite rivière. Dès que tu traverses ça, tu arrives au champ de concombre. Finis de longer le champ de concombre, ça et ça, et ça, Tu arrives où ? au champ de cacao. Tu es au champ de cacao, voilà la maison en tôles qui est dressée là. Tu vas le long des jachères, des jachères, des jachères, voilà les palmiers qui commencent là, mabonza, mabonza, mabonza<sup>6</sup>. Tu vas arriver où ? au champ de manioc. Tu finis de dépasser tout le champ de manioc, tu vas arriver où ? sur le gros tronc d'arbre de Lèng. Le fromager est couché sur la piste. Tu arrives au fromager qui est debout, voilà le tronc d'arbre couché là devant. Tu descends au ruisseau, tu raverses le ruisseau, tu continue de marcher. Les troncs qu'on avait coupés sont sur la piste ; tu les dépasses. Tu arrives où ? au champ de palmiers de Simono, à Soweto. Quand tu finis le champ de palmiers, tu es maintenant arrivé où ?, au ruisseau. Si tu finis le ruisseau-là, tu pars encore là, une petite parcelle de forêt qui est là. Même si tu vois les jachères qui sont là, tu regardes plutôt les jachères qui sont de l'autre côté. Si tu n'es pas vigilant, tu ne peux pas voir pas les jachères qui sont de l'autre côté là. Tu arrives au carrefour, les arbres fruitiers, le carrefour est d'abord derrière comme ça. Tu laisses le carrefour là, tu arrives au champ de safoutiers, les arbres fruitiers sont là avec les palmiers. Quand tu as finis de dépasser tout ça là, tu continues simplement tout droit devant toi (seulement), la petite parcelle de forêt, tu arrives où ? sous le Likoga (Azobe). Quand tu dépasses le Likoga, tu arrives où ? voilà la rivière n'est-ce pas ? tu finis de dépasser la rivière, tu traverses le tronc. Dès que tu as

<sup>6</sup> Mabonza : espèce d'arbuste rampante qui produit des graines dont raffolent les oiseaux.

traversé doucement le tronc, tu arrives au champ de cacao. Si tu arrives au champ de cacao, Tu te retrouves où ? Il y a une source là, d'où on boit de l'eau, où on se lave. Tu pars là, waaaa, il y a deux pistes. La piste qui va chez Mongo et la piste qui va chez Kalé. Si tu es déjà au carrefour là, Tu ne pourras plus te douter que tu es arrivé chez Simono. Tu es arrivé chez Simono. Même si tu passes par le chemin qui va de ce côté-ci, tu arrives au village de Simono. Même en prenant le chemin qui va de l'autre côté-là, tu arrives dans la concession de Simono. Simono se partage les pistes avec ses sœurs, voilà le village là. De l'autre côté/en face c'est Biyaga qui est là-bas. Si tu finis là, tu vas en route, tournes le dos du côté de la route, tu fais comme si tu veux aller en route. Tu marches là, tu dépasses les concessions. Tu dépasses les concessions. C'est le village de Simono qui est au début là, où son père sa mère ont été enterrés, tu dépasses alors, tu arrives ; l'autre (village) est là, on appelle le village Dadju ; voilà ça qui est là. Si tu finis de dépasser là, tu continues de marcher, tu vas. Marche simplement en suivant la route. Voilà la route qui est là. Jusqu'au moment où tu arrives au pont de Malumbè. Si tu es au pont de Malumbè, tu es arrivé au carrefour. Tu es arrivé au carrefour qu'on appelle la maison du foyer. C'est là qu'on fait les réunions. Tu t'en vas.

### Bakola/English Lexicon

#### a

**àwá** *n.* splendor, glory, thank you.

#### b

**β̂à** *v.* intercede, mediate.

**β̂ã** *v.* appease, pacify.

**β̂wâ** *Pl: m'â. n 14/4 (??).* illness, disease.

**β̂wâ** *v.* bear (child), give birth.

**β̂wã** *Pl: màβ̂wã. n ?/6.* medicine.

**β̂ã ?** *Pl: β̂iβ̂ã. n 7/8.* word.

**β̂ã mβ̂iá** *v.* resolve, settle (dispute).

**β̂ààlè** *v.* announce.

**β̂ábã** (be) second.

**β̂wáβ̂wálè** *Pl: β̂iβ̂wáβ̂wálè. n 7.* womb.

**β̂àβ̂i** *v.* carry (in arms).

**β̂àβ̂i (é) ñlò** *v.* carry on head.

**β̂àβ̂i ñkò** *v.* carry (child) on back.

**β̂àβ̂isi** *v.* load (v).

**β̂àyèlè** *v.* look after.

**β̂àyèlè** *v.* store (up).

**β̂àyèlè** *v.* offer (v).

**β̂àyò** *n ?/7.* hoe (n).

**β̂àkàtè** *n ?* ladder.

**β̂âlà** *Pl: kúβ̂àlà. v.* uncover.

**β̂álálè** (be) third.

**β̂wálè** *Pl: málè. n 14/6.* canoe.

**β̂wáli** *v.* (be) born.

**β̂ámàlà** *v.* shout (v), cry out.

**β̂àpê** other (men).

**β̂wázà** *v.* think.

**β̂wázà** *v.* remember.

**β̂wázà** *v.* despise, disdain.

**β̂é** where?

**β̂è** *v.* give.

**β̂ê** *v.* to pay.

**β̂ê** *v.* pay (for goods, services, etc.).

**β̂ê** *v.* evade.

**β̂wè** *v.* have, possess.

**β̂è** *v.* cultivate, farm (v).

**β̂è** *v.* sow, plant.

**β̂wê** you (pl.).

**ḡè lijánè** v. (be) bald.  
**ḡé màléḡá** v. advise.  
**(ḡè) mìḡḡírúú** (be) dirty.  
**(ḡè) ḡḡfúḡáni** (be) clean.  
**ḡè mùrù néni** v. (be) rich.  
**ḡè nà pímù** v. (be) able (to).  
**ḡè nà pímù** v. (be) strong  
 (physically).  
**ḡ<sup>w</sup>è nà pímù** rape.  
**ḡè ndimá wá likená ?** v. (be)  
 myopic, (be) shortsighted.  
**ḡè ḡḡḡḡḡlí** Pl: **ḡè ḡḡḡḡḡlé.** v. (be)  
 poor.  
**ḡè nzà** v. (be) hungry, hunger (v).  
**-ḡé (waḡe)?** which (one)?  
**ḡèà** v. (be) red.  
**ḡèà** v. (be) brown.  
**ḡèà** Pl: **ḡèálà.** v. (be) yellow.  
**ḡèḡà** (be) ugly.  
**ḡéḡálà** Pl: **ḡìḡéḡálà.** n 7/8. danger.  
**ḡèḡálà já mùrù?** Pl: **ḡìḡéḡálà ḡí**  
**ḡùrù.** n 7/8. wicked person ?  
**ḡéḡè** pant.  
**ḡèḡè** v. breathe.  
**ḡèḡèè** adv. towards.  
**ḡèḡèè** beside.  
**ḡèḡèè** adv. near.  
**ḡèyà** v. mark out, peg out (ground).  
**ḡèyàlà** v. imitate.  
**ḡèyè** Pl: **ḡìḡèyè.** n 7. shoulder.  
**ḡèyùù** v. draw (picture).  
**ḡèjà** v. belch.  
**ḡ<sup>w</sup>èlémā lilámḡà** v. trapped (animal).  
**ḡéḡḡè ḡ<sup>l</sup>lò** v. blow nose.  
**ḡénà** Pl: **ḡìḡénà.** n 7. buttock.  
**ḡènà** v. refuse.  
**ḡénà ḡìḡémò** kiss (v).  
**ḡèràḡà** v. perspire, sweat.  
**ḡ<sup>w</sup>èrèḡè** v. (be) sweet.  
**ḡèzà** Pl: **ḡìḡèzà.** n 7/8. bone.  
**ḡèzà já ḡḡpómḡó** Pl: **ḡìḡèzà ḡí**  
**mimpómḡó.** n 7. shin.  
**ḡí** we (incl.).  
**ḡí sǎsǎ** v. (be) same.  
**ḡíḡà** v. suck.  
**ḡíḡà** two (2).  
**ḡíḡá** Pl: **ḡìḡíḡá.** n 7. shoulder blade.  
**ḡíḡà (já m<sup>w</sup>ànà)** Pl: **ḡ<sup>l</sup>á (ḡí m<sup>w</sup>ànà).**  
 n. lip.  
**ḡìḡèzà nà ḡìḡèzà** n. skeleton.  
**ḡìḡójà ḡíḡā** two hundred (200).  
**ḡìḡójà ḡítáni** five hundred (500).

**ḡìḡùwò** Pl: **ḡàḡìḡùwò.** n ?/2. alcohol  
 (general).  
**ḡíyàlà** touch, feel (active).  
**ìḡéḡḡì** n 8. dance (n).  
**ḡílà** v. kick.  
**ḡílà** v. spank (child).  
**ḡílà** Pl: **k<sup>w</sup>èsè.** v. conquer, defeat.  
**ḡílà libǎzi** v. slap (v).  
**ḡílà likǎ** v. divine, prophesy (v).  
**ḡílàli** three (3).  
**ḡímàlà** v. groan (with pain).  
**ḡímàlà** v. grunt (from effort).  
**ḡínà** four (4).  
**ḡìná** Pl: **ḡìḡìná.** n 7. finger.  
**ḡíndà** v. hate (v).  
**ḡíndà** v. to hate.  
**ḡíndà** v. (be) black.  
**ḡíndà** (be) blue. Pl: **ḡíúú.**  
**ḡíḡ** v. (be) bad.  
**ḡíḡ** adv. poorly.  
**ḡìràḡà** v. turn round (intr).  
**ḡìrìlè** v. stir.  
**ḡítáni** five (5).  
**ḡìzìli** Pl: **ḡízà.** v. cover (v).  
**ḡḡ** v. (be) cold (objects).  
**ḡ<sup>l</sup>ǎ** Pl: **ḡìḡ<sup>l</sup>ǎ.** n 14/7. whistle (n).  
**ḡḡ** v. spoil (food) (intr).  
**ḡḡ** Pl: **ḡḡzàḡà.** v. (be) wet.  
**ḡḡ** they (human).  
**ḡḡà** v. wake up (intr).  
**ḡóè** Pl: **ḡìḡòè.** n 7/8. deaf (mute)  
 person.  
**ḡòyà** Pl: **ḡìḡòyà.** n 7/8. mortar,  
 pounding pot.  
**ḡòyà** v. harvest, collect (honey from  
 hive).  
**ḡóyò** v. (be) lying down.  
**ḡóyó já mùrù** Pl: **ḡìḡóyó ḡí ḡùrù.**  
 n 7/8. mad person.  
**ḡóyòl** Pl: **ḡìḡoyolo.** n. inheritance.  
**ḡóyòlò** n. descendant.  
**ḡójà** Pl: **ḡìḡójà.** n 7/8. hundred (100).  
**ḡólà wònè** v. shell (groundnuts) (v).  
**ḡòmà** v. clap (hands).  
**ḡòmà pḡ** v. account (report) (n).  
**ḡòndò** Pl: **k<sup>w</sup>àmbèlè.** v. peel (v).  
**ḡòḡ** Pl: **ḡàḡòḡ.** n 1/2. brain.  
**ḡòrà** v. rest.  
**ḡòrò ḡḡḡè** everybody.  
**ḡórò ndélé** v. wear clothes.  
**ḡórò ndélé** v. dress (v).  
**ḡótòlè** n ? pot (for water).  
**ḡòzà** forget.

**bùbà** v. roast.  
**bùbà** v. bake (in ashes).  
**bùbū** (be) abundant.  
**bùbū** enough.  
**búyàlà ñpfà** boast, brag.  
**búyù** v. coagulate, clot.

**bùyù** n. tobacco pipe.  
**bùmù** Pl: **ḡbùmù**. n 7/8. swelling.  
**bùmù** Pl: **ḡbùmù**. n 7/8. tumour.  
**βúrŭ** one (1).  
**βúùli** v. blow (with mouth).  
**βùzà** v. limp.

## d

**dà** v. eat.  
**dàlè** v. draw water.  
**dàmbà** Pl: **màmbà**. n 5/6. headpad.  
**dási** n. gift.  
**dédéyù** Pl: **ḡdédéyù**. n 7/8.  
breastbone.  
**déyè** v. admire.  
**dèlà** v. (be) difficult.  
**dèlà** v. (be) expensive.  
**dèlà** v. (be) hard.  
**dèlà** v. harden.  
**délèsè ñsù** v. poison (a person) (v).  
**délèzè** v. feed (animals).  
**dià** v. sit.  
**dià** v. dwell, inhabit.  
**dià** Pl: **ḡdià**. n 7/8. chair.  
**diá βóó** v. (be) silent.  
**diá βóó** v. calm (oneself).  
**dià ḡb<sup>w</sup>à wê** n 5. breakfast.  
**dià mízò** v. (be) awake, alert.  
**díβà** v. close, shut (tr).  
**díβà** v. stop up.

**díβà** v. prevent.  
**díβà** v. obstruct.  
**díβili** v. stalk (v).  
**díβili (ḡkáyá)** v. fence in (v).  
**díy<sup>w</sup>à** v. (be) fierce.  
**dínà** Pl: **mínà**. n 5/6. reputation.  
**dínà** Pl: **mínà**. n 5/6. name.  
**dízi lí βéná** Pl: **mízi má βéná**. n 5.  
anus.  
**dízò** Pl: **mízò**. n 5. eye.  
**dò** Pl: **màdò**. n 5. thigh.  
**dó** Pl: **ḡdó**. n 7/8. lie (n)  
(falsehood).  
**dóβà líndé** when?  
**dólo** Pl: **mólo**. n 5. nose.  
**dòlò** n 5/? abscess.  
**dòòle** v. look at, watch.  
**dòzi** v. judge (v).  
**dúyà ḡ<sup>w</sup>álè** v. paddle (v).  
**dúyú** Pl: **múyú**. n 5/6. latrine, toilet.  
**dzà** Pl: **ḡdzà**. n 7/8. herd (cattle,  
sheep) (n).

## e

(é) **βà** here.  
(é) **pě** there.

-ê (**wə wə**)? everywhere.  
**èmb<sup>w</sup>êrí** seven (7).

## h

**hámà** Pl: **ḡhámà**. n 1/2. hammer.

**hámà** Pl: **ḡhámà**. n !/2. club, cudgel.

## i

(i) **jèndímā** v. (be) smooth.

## j

- jâ** lie down.  
**jâ** v. copulate, have sexual intercourse.  
**jă** *Pl: ɓijă. n 7/8.* song.  
**jàɣà** v. buy.  
**jàɣsì** v. sell.  
**jâlè** v. fry.  
**jànà nà** v. say goodbye, take leave of.  
**jándá** *Pl: ɓijándá. n 7/8.* track (animal) (n).  
**jánzà** v. serve (to work).  
**jázalà** v. yawn.  
**jéɣà** v. resemble.  
**jèɣà** v. protect by charm.  
**jéɣàlà** v. learn.  
**jéɣèβè** v. lean against (intr).  
**jèɣèlè** v. plead, implore.  
**jèɣèlè** v. beg (for money).  
**jèɣèlè** v. pray.  
**jéɣèzè** v. teach.  
**jémbà** v. dance (v).  
**jèmbá** (be) equal.  
**jémɔ̄** *Pl: ɓijémɔ̄. n 7.* tongue.  
**jènàβà** v. domesticate, tame.  
**jèndè** v. stumble.  
**jèndè** v. (be) slippery.  
**jézè (βéá)** v. fetch (firewood).
- jíβà** v. steal.  
**jíbà** v. plunder (a town).  
**jílà** v. (be) sated.  
**jò** v. laugh.  
**jóɣà** v. obey.  
**jóɣà βézé** v. (be) thirsty, thirst (v).  
**jóɣà jòzì** v. (be) hot (of person).  
**jóɣà libúyú** v. (be) angry.  
**jóɣà mànà nà** v. throb (with pain).  
**jóɣà màtùlì** feel (passive).  
**jóɣà ndùɣú** v. suffer.  
**jóɣà sòni** v 1. (be) shy.  
**jóɣàβà** v. apply (ointment), besmear.  
**jóɣàlà** v. agree.  
**jóɣèlè** v. hear.  
**jóɣèlè** v. listen.  
**jóɣèlè** v. smell (v).  
**jóɣèlè** v. caress (v).  
**jóɣò** v. swim.  
**jòjê** all.  
**jòjê** whole.  
**jólà** v. kill, murder.  
**jòlè** v. (be) bitter.  
**jónà** v. (be) hot (objects).  
**jòrì** v. deceive.  
**jòsì** *Pl: jòzì.* v. haggle, negotiate a price.

## k

- kâ** conj. if.  
**kâ** adv. perhaps.  
**k<sup>w</sup>à** v. fail.  
**k<sup>j</sup>â** (be) new.  
**k<sup>w</sup>à lilàβà** v. (be) guilty.  
**k<sup>w</sup>à lilàβà** (be) wrong.  
**káyà** v. shiver, tremble.  
**k<sup>w</sup>àɣà** v. carve.  
**k<sup>w</sup>àɣà** *Pl: jèndè.* v. make smooth.  
**káyà (dómbá)** v. pack (v).  
**kàlà** *Pl: ɓikàlà. n 7/8.* mat.  
**kálé** *Pl: ɓàkálé. n 1/2.* sister.  
**k<sup>w</sup>àlè** v. love (v).  
**kàmbà** v. forbid.  
**kàmbà** v. protect, defend.  
**kàndá** *Pl: ɓikàndá. n 7/8.* proverb.
- kápéndà** *Pl: ɓàkápéndà. n 1/2.* potter.  
**kápéndà** *Pl: ɓàkápéndà. n 1/2.* weaver.  
**kàrà** v. rule over, dominate.  
**kè** n. shave (v).  
**k<sup>j</sup>è** *Pl: ɓik<sup>j</sup>è. n 7/8.* head of arrow.  
**ké ?** v. walk.  
**ké jò** v. sleep (v).  
**kè kèndù** v. travel, go on a trip (v).  
**kè líyilì** v. herd, tend (cattle, sheep) (v).  
**kè mbílê** v. run.  
**kè nà** v. take (away), carry away.  
**kè ñjòβu?** v. fish (v).  
**kèyèlè** v. taste.  
**kèyèlè** v. try.

**k<sup>w</sup>èlè** *v.* cut down (tree).  
**k<sup>w</sup>èlì** *v.* hurt oneself.  
**k<sup>w</sup>èlì** *v.* wound (animal).  
**kèmbè** *Pl: ìkèmbè. n 7/8.* nasal mucus, snot.  
**kèndù** *Pl: ìkèndù. n 7/8.* journey, trip (n).  
**kèrìlì** *v.* gnaw.  
**kí** *Pl: màkí. n 5.* neck.  
**kíyà** *v.* cut (tr).  
**kíyà ìkílè** *v.* chop into pieces.  
**kíyà kí** *v.* slaughter, kill (animal for butchering).  
**kíyà (mbùṅà já) ñlô** *v.* cut (hair).  
**kíyà ñlá** decide (judgement).  
**kìyù** *n 7.* life.  
**kilà** (be) taboo. *Pl: ìkìlà.*  
**kílè** *Pl: ìkílè. n 7/8.* grinding stone.  
**kìlì** half.  
**kìlì já mùrù** *Pl: ìkìlì bí ìmùrù. n 7/8.* dwarf.  
**kìlì já ndáβù** *Pl: ìkìlì bí ndáβù. n 7/8.* room.  
**kìlì já ndáβù** *Pl: ìkìlì bí ndáβù. n 7/8.* bedroom.  
**kìlì já sàzà** *Pl: ìkìlì bí sàzà. n 1/2.* baby sling.  
**kìlì já sórì** *Pl: ìkìlì bí sórì. n 7/8.* loincloth.  
**kìmà** *v.* knead.  
**kísínì** *Pl: ìkísínì. n 1/2.* kitchen.  
**kísòṅè** *Pl: ìkísòṅè. n 7/8.* town, city.  
**k<sup>w</sup>è** *v.* faint.  
**k<sup>w</sup>è** *v.* capsize.  
**kó (liló)** *Pl: màkó. n 7/6.* earwax.  
**kóβì** *Pl: ìkóβì. n 1/2.* cup.  
**kòyà** *v.* benefit, suit.

**kòyó** *Pl: ìkòyó. n 1/2.* mother's relatives.  
**kóyó** *Pl: ìkóyó. n 7/8.* skull.  
**kòyò** *v.* grind.  
**kòlà** *v.* add.  
**kòlà** *v.* increase (intr).  
**kòlè** *v.* help.  
**kòlè** *v.* borrow.  
**kòlè** *v.* lend.  
**kòlì** *v.* snore.  
**kòmbà** *v.* mend, repair.  
**kómó** *Pl: màkómó. n 5/6.* bag.  
**kómó** *Pl: màkómó. n 5/6.* pocket.  
**kòṅà** *v.* bow (as in greeting).  
**kòndá** *Pl: ìkòndá. n 7/8.* shoe, sandal.  
**kònzà mùrù** *n.* (be) kind.  
**kònzà wà mùrù** (be) honest.  
**kònzà wà mùrù** *n 1.* (be) fair, just.  
**kóró** *Pl: ìkóró. n 7.* skin (of man).  
**kózà** *v.* assemble, meet together.  
**kózà** *v.* arrange.  
**kózà** *v.* heap up.  
**kózzlò** *v.* cough (v).  
**kpàkpà** *Pl: ìkpàkpà. n 1/2.* tooth stick, toothbrush.  
**kùbala?** *v.* bale out (canoe, boat).  
**kùbàlà** *v.* open (tr).  
**kúyù** *n.* (domestic) servant.  
**kúmá** *Pl: ìkúmá. n 1/2.* chief, headman.  
**kùrà** *v.* palpitate (of heart).  
**kùrà (lìbèṅgé)** *Pl: bílà lìbèṅgé. v.* ring (bell) (v).  
**kùrùbù** *Pl: màkùrùbù. n.* chest.  
**kùrùkùrù** *n ?* pap, mushy food.  
**kúzá** *Pl: ìkúzá. n 7.* fist.

## 1

**lâ** *v.* say.  
**lâ** *v.* tell, recount (story).  
**lâ** count (v).  
**làβà** *v.* speak, talk.  
**làβà nà likíkàmbò** *v.* stutter.  
**lâlà** *v.* chat (v).  
**lámà** *v.* prepare (food to cook).  
**lámà** *v.* cook (v).  
**lámà** *v.* set (trap).  
**làràlà** *v.* meet, encounter.  
**lé** *Pl: ìilé. n 7/8.* wood.  
**léβà** *v.* invite.

**léβà** *v.* call (someone).  
**léβè** *v.* lick.  
**léβèlè** *v.* show.  
**léβèlè** *v.* follow.  
**léβèlè** *v.* chase (v).  
**léβèlè βìná** *v.* indicate, point (as with the finger).  
**léyèlè** *v.* guide (v).  
**léyì já** *v.* sing.  
**lèlà** *v.* cry, weep.  
**lèmbà** *v.* bewitch, cast spell.  
**lîà** *v.* clear (land for planting).

**lìḡwà** *Pl: màḡwà. n 5/6. hernia (umbilical).*  
**lìḡámḡó** *Pl: màḡámḡó. n 5/6. plank (n).*  
**lìḡázà** *Pl: màḡázà. n 5/6. twin.*  
**lìḡéḡù** *Pl: màḡéḡù. n 5/6. fever (not malaria).*  
**lìḡéḡù lí ḡwâ** *Pl: màḡéḡù má ḡwâ. n 5/6. malaria (fever).*  
**lìḡélè** *Pl: màḡélè. n 5. breast.*  
**lìḡèḡḡé** *Pl: màḡèḡḡé. n 5/6. bell.*  
**lìḡì** *n 5. excrement, faeces.*  
**lìḡímbḡ** *some (men).*  
**lìḡìndì** *Pl: màḡìndì. n 5. testicle.*  
**lìḡḡ** *Pl: màḡḡ. n 5. knee.*  
**lìḡḡ lí ḡḡḡ** *Pl: màḡḡ má ḡḡḡ. n 5. elbow.*  
**lìḡḡ lí ḡḡḡ** *Pl: màḡḡ má màḡḡ. n 1/2. sole.*  
**lìḡóḡà** *Pl: màḡóḡà. n 5/6. lung.*  
**lìḡóḡé** *Pl: màḡóḡé. n 5/6. calabash.*  
**lìḡóḡḡ** *Pl: màḡóḡḡ. n 5/6. bathing place.*  
**lìḡómḡ** *Pl: màḡómḡ. n 5/6. price.*  
**lìḡòrù** *Pl: màḡòrù. n 5/6. ringworm.*  
**lìḡúzí** *Pl: màḡúzí. n 5/6. doorway.*  
**lìḡà lí kòḡó wê** *Pl: màḡà lí kòḡó wê. n 5/6. evening meal.*  
**líḡàlà** *v. inherit.*  
**líḡìlì** *v. accompany.*  
**líḡìlì** *v. lead, guide (v).*  
**lìḡè** *Pl: màḡè. n 5. tooth.*  
**lìḡé** *Pl: màḡé. n 5/6. burn (n).*  
**lìḡè lí ḡḡḡḡ** *Pl: màḡè má ḡḡḡḡ. n 5/6. fishhook.*  
**lìḡá** *Pl: màḡá. n 5/6. fan (n).*  
**lìḡá?** *Pl: màḡá. n 5/6. (be) green.*  
**lìḡàḡá** *Pl: màḡàḡá. n 5/6. relative (by blood).*  
**lìḡàḡá** *Pl: màḡàḡá. n 5/6. tribe.*  
**lìḡàḡí** *Pl: màḡàḡí. n 5/6. promise (n).*  
**lìḡèḡù** *Pl: màḡèḡù. n 5. molar tooth.*  
**lìḡéḡì** *Pl: màḡéḡì. n 5/6. voice.*  
**lìḡèḡḡè** *n 5. (be) sticky.*  
**lìḡìlá** *Pl: màḡìlá. n 5/6. blood.*  
**lìḡìndá** *Pl: màḡìndá. n 5/6. feast.*  
**lìḡḡ** *Pl: màḡḡ. n 5/6. arrow.*  
**lìḡḡ lí kḡḡ** *Pl: màḡḡ má kḡḡ. n 7. nape of neck.*  
**lìḡóḡú** *Pl: màḡóḡú. n 5/6. upper grinding stone.*  
**lìḡórí** *Pl: màḡórí. n 5/6. fork (in path).*

**lìḡḡzì lí ḡḡḡ** *Pl: màḡḡzì má ḡḡḡ. n. palm (of hand).*  
**lìḡùmá** *Pl: màḡùmá. n 5/6. heap (n).*  
**lìḡùndù** *Pl: màḡùndù. n 5/6. beam, rafter.*  
**lìḡùndù** *Pl: màḡùndù. n 5/6. garbage dump.*  
**lìḡùrè** *Pl: màḡùrè. n 5/6. stupid person.*  
**lìḡùrè lí mùrù** *Pl: màḡùrè má bùrù. n 5/6. stupid.*  
**lìḡàḡà** *Pl: màḡàḡà. n 5/6. language.*  
**lìḡámḡí** *Pl: màḡámḡí. n 5/6. fish trap.*  
**lìḡámḡḡ** *Pl: màḡámḡḡ. n 5/6. lamp, torch.*  
**lìḡámḡḡ** *Pl: màḡámḡḡ. n 5/6. trap (n).*  
**lìḡḡ** *Pl: màḡḡ. n 5. ear.*  
**lìḡḡyùù** *n 5. curse (n).*  
**lìḡmà** *v. hollow out (log).*  
**lìḡmà** *v. dig.*  
**lìḡmá** *Pl: màḡmá. n 5. cheek.*  
**lìḡmà** *v. flee, run away from.*  
**lìḡmà** *v. escape.*  
**lìḡmḡí** *Pl: ḡìlìḡmḡí. n 7/8. box.*  
**lìḡmḡúlì** *splinter, sliver (n). Pl: màḡmḡúlì.*  
**lìḡmìnúú** *Pl: màḡmìnúú. n. throat.*  
**lìḡmḡḡḡḡ** *Pl: màḡmḡḡḡḡ. n 7. knuckle.*  
**lìḡmḡḡḡḡ lí lìḡḡnzi** *Pl: màḡmḡḡḡḡ má màḡḡnzi. n. wrist.*  
**lìḡndḡ** *n 5. (be) dark (colour).*  
**lìḡndùrúú** *Pl: màḡndùrúú. n. hump (of hunchback).*  
**lìḡnzálè** *Pl: màḡnzálè. n 5/6. urine.*  
**lìḡnzólì** *Pl: màḡnzólì. n 5/6. tears (n).*  
**lìḡpáḡé** *Pl: màḡpáḡé. n 5/6. meaning (n).*  
**lìḡpóḡò líndé** *why?*  
**lìḡìláwá lí ḡḡkòlé** *down.*  
**lìḡsòḡè** *Pl: màḡsòḡè. n 5/6. death.*  
**lìḡè** *Pl: màḡè. n 5/6. saliva.*  
**lìḡìḡá** *Pl: màḡìḡá. n 5/5. knot.*  
**lìḡtólì** *Pl: màḡtólì. n 5. navel.*  
**lìḡtólì lí mḡwâ ḡsàlí** *Pl: màḡtólì má mḡwâ ḡsàlí. n 5. umbilical cord.*  
**lìḡwázè** *Pl: màḡwázè. n 5/6. young man.*  
**lìḡwèḡì** *Pl: màḡwèḡì. n 5. hip.*  
**lìḡwómò** *Pl: màḡwómò. n 5/6. ten (10).*  
**lìḡwómò nà ḡíḡā** *twelve (12).*  
**lìḡwómò nà ḡíḡáḡì** *thirteen (13).*  
**lìḡwómò nà ḡíḡā** *fourteen (14).*  
**lìḡwómò nà ḡíḡānì** *fifteen (15).*



**lìwómò nà ßúrũ** eleven (11).  
**lìwómò nà èmb<sup>w</sup>êrí** seventeen (17).  
**lìwómò nà lèmbì** eighteen (18).  
**lìwómò nà ñtówó** sixteen (16).  
**lìwómò nà rìßùá** nineteen (19).  
**lô** *n.* leprosy.  
**lô** *v.* sew.  
**lô** *v.* weave.  
**lóa** *v.* insult (*v.*).  
**lóa** *Pl:* ßilóa. *n* 7/8. slave.  
**lóbà** *v.* bite (*v.*).  
**lóbà** *v.* crunch.  
**lóbà** up.  
**lóbà** over, above.  
**lòyò** *v.* curse (*v.*).

**lómà** *v.* send (someone to do something).  
**lómà** *v.* send (something to someone).  
**lèmbì** eight (8).  
**lónà** *v.* deny.  
**lóngà** *v.* build.  
**lóngá** (be) together.  
**lóngá já nàni** *Pl:* ßilóngá ßí nàni. *n* 7/8. army.  
**(lona) na** with.  
**lòndá** *Pl:* ßilòndá. *n* 7/8. ring (finger).  
**lòndímā** *v.* (be) full.  
**lòndìsì** *v.* fill.  
**lùmà** *Pl:* ßilùmà. *n* 7/8. mask (*n*).  
**lúmà màbóó** *v.* kneel.  
**lúmà ñtúmà** stab.

## m

**m<sup>w</sup>á ñsàlí** *n* 1. young.  
**màßíná** *n* 6. pus.  
**màßó** *n* 6. fat.  
**màd'á** *n* 6. food.  
**màd'á mà líyílímā** *n.* leftovers.  
**m<sup>w</sup>áyà** *n* ? castrated.  
**màjójàlà** *n* 6. agreement.  
**màjójàlà** *n* 6. compromise.  
**màkémbo** *n* 6. salt.  
**màlàßá** *n* 6. problem, trouble.  
**m<sup>w</sup>álé kòlà** *Pl:* ßálé kòlà. *n* 1/2. woman.  
**m<sup>w</sup>álé kòlà** *Pl:* ßálé kòlà. *n* 1/2. sister-in-law.  
**m<sup>w</sup>álé kòlà (wa k'eyu)?** *n* 1. wife.  
**m<sup>w</sup>álé kòlà wà mìmß<sup>w</sup>àmì** *n* 1/2. prostitute.  
**màlôj** *n* 6. insult (*n*).  
**màlómè** *Pl:* lilómè. *n* 5/6. semen.  
**m<sup>j</sup>ámbo** *n* 4. flour.  
**mànà** *n* 6. crossroads, intersection.  
**m<sup>w</sup>ánà** *Pl:* ßánà. *n* 1/2. child.  
**m<sup>w</sup>ánà** *Pl:* m<sup>j</sup>ánà. *n.* mouth.  
**màjā** *n* 6. milk (*n*).  
**m<sup>w</sup>ánà à mō pùmú** *n* 1. fetus.  
**m<sup>w</sup>ánà m<sup>w</sup>álé kòlà** *n* 1. girl.  
**m<sup>w</sup>ánà m<sup>w</sup>álé kòlà** *n* 1/2. daughter.  
**m<sup>w</sup>ánà mùrũ** *n* 1. boy.  
**m<sup>w</sup>ánà mùrũ** *n* 1/2. son.  
**m<sup>w</sup>ánà ñjk'á** *n* 1. baby.  
**m<sup>w</sup>ánà jùlé** *n* 1. orphan.  
**m<sup>w</sup>ánà pánzi** *n.* bowl.  
**m<sup>w</sup>ánà (sâ)** few (things).

**m<sup>w</sup>ánà wà ndáßù sí** *n* 1. bastard, illegitimate child.  
**màjànà** *n* 6. pain (*n*).  
**màndzá** *n* 6. balafon.  
**màjòyù má màléndí** *n* 6. palm wine.  
**màsàßù** *n* 6. game.  
**màsòzì** *n* 6. pride.  
**màtùli** *n* 6. odour, smell (*n*).  
**màwómò èmb<sup>w</sup>êrí** seventy (70).  
**màwómò lèmbì** eighty (80).  
**màwómò mábā** twenty (20).  
**màwómò mábā nà ßíßā** twenty-two (22).  
**màwómò mábā nà ßúrũ** twenty-one (21).  
**màwómò máláli** thirty (30).  
**màwómò mánā** forty (40).  
**màwómò mátáni** fifty (50).  
**màwómò ñtówó** sixty (60).  
**màwómò rìßùá** ninety (90).  
**mbà** *Pl:* ßàmbà. *n* 1/2. virgin.  
**mbâ** *n* ? peace.  
**mbâ** (be) good.  
**mbâ** (be) perfect.  
**mbâ** (be) beautiful.  
**mbâ** (be) important.  
**mbâ** *adv.* well (*adv.*).  
**mbâ mbáá jà mùrù** (be) healthy, (be) well.  
**mbäàle** *Pl:* màmbäàle. *n* 5/6. announcement.  
**mbàßà** *Pl:* màmbàßà. *n* ?/6. load, burden (*n*).

**m̄bálá** *Pl: mimbálá. n 3. jaw.*  
**m̄bälè** *Pl: mambälè. n 9/6.*  
 messenger.  
**mbámbélé** *Pl: bàmábámbélé. n 1/2.*  
 fellow-wife.  
**mbám bú** *Pl: bàmábám bú. n 1/2.*  
 ancestor.  
**mbám bú** *Pl: bàmábám bú. n 1/2.*  
 grandparent.  
**mbànzì** *Pl: màmànzì. n 7/6. rib.*  
**m̄bànzì** *Pl: mimbànzì. n 3/4. bow*  
 (hunting).  
**m̄bázà** *Pl: mimbázà. n 3/4. camp,*  
 encampment.  
**m̄bázà** *Pl: mimbázà. n 3/4. shelter*  
 (n).  
**m̄bè** *Pl: mimbè. n 3/4. big(gest) drum.*  
**m̄bê** *Pl: mimbê. n 3/4. door, doorway*  
 cover.  
**m̄bèbù** *Pl: mimbèbù ? n 3/4. breath.*  
**m̄bébù** *Pl: mimbébù. n 3/4. (be)*  
 selfish.  
**mbé lá** *Pl: mambé lá. n 5/6. well (n).*  
**mbè lí** *Pl: mambè lí. n. vagina.*  
**mbéndá** *Pl: mambéndá. n 5/6. law.*  
**m̄bézálá** *Pl: mimbézálá. n 3/4. (be)*  
 alive.  
**m̄bìmbà** *Pl: mimbìmbà. n 3/4. (be)*  
 impotent.  
**m̄bô** *Pl: mambô. n 5. arm.*  
**m̄bô** *Pl: mambô. n 5. hand.*  
**m̄bô wá bálé kòlà** left (direction).  
**m̄bô wá bûrû** right (direction).  
**mbóyà** *Pl: mambóyà. n 5/6. village.*  
**mbòyó** *Pl: mambòyó. n 5/6. footprint*  
 (human).  
**mbò lá** *Pl: mambò lá. n ?/6. debt.*  
**m̄bómbì** *Pl: mimbómbì. n 3/4.*  
 daughter-in-law.  
**mbómbó** *n 1. namesake.*  
**m̄bòmbò** *n 3. bundle (n).*  
**mbòngá** *Pl: bìmbòngá. n 7(?)/8. bead.*  
**mbòngá** *Pl: bìmbòngá. n 7/8. earring.*  
**m̄bòrò** *Pl: mimbòrò. n 3/4. wrinkle*  
 (on skin).  
**mbú** *Pl: mambú. n ?/6. mold (n).*  
**m̄búmbá** *Pl: mimbúmbá. n 3/4.*  
 rubbish.  
**mbùngà** *Pl: mambùngà. n 9. hair (of*  
 head).  
**mbùngà** *Pl: mambùngà. n 9. hair (of*  
 body).  
**mè** I.

**m<sup>w</sup>éyé** *Pl: m<sup>j</sup>eye. n 1/4. fish dam.*  
**mèyèlè** *v. admit (to a wrong).*  
**mèyèlè** *v. accept, receive.*  
**méré** (be) alone.  
**méré** owner.  
**m̄fóbí** *Pl: mimfóbí. n 3. (be) curious.*  
**m̄fóbí** *Pl: mimfóbí. n 3/4. traitor.*  
**m̄fóbí** *Pl: mimfóbí. n 3/4. gossip (n).*  
**mìnà** *v. swallow.*  
**mìpàyàlà** *n 4. itch (the itch).*  
**mìní** *n 3. labour (n), birth pains.*  
**mìṅkàrì** *n 4. quarrel.*  
**mìṅ<sup>w</sup>úmá** *n 4. clan.*  
**m̄m̄** yes.  
<sup>?</sup>**m̄<sup>?</sup>m̄** no.  
**mò** *Pl: mìm<sup>j</sup>ò. n. abdomen (external).*  
**mò ṅpùmú** *Pl: mìm<sup>j</sup>ò ṅpùmú. n.*  
 stomach (internal).  
**mò sí** *Pl: mìm<sup>j</sup>ò sí. n 3. waist.*  
**mò u loḅala** *v. stomachache, upset*  
 stomach.  
**móyòlò** *v. husk (corn) (v).*  
**mōnì** *n. money.*  
**m<sup>j</sup>òzò** *Pl: bòzò. n 1. forehead.*  
**m<sup>j</sup>òzò** *Pl: bòzò. n 1. face.*  
**m̄pàlí** *Pl: mimpàlí. n 3/4. cooking pot*  
 (earthenware).  
**m̄pèà** *Pl: bàpèà. n 1/2. god (lesser),*  
 fetish (spirit).  
**m̄pfà** *Pl: mimpfà. n 3/4. (be) great,*  
 (be) powerful.  
**m̄píyù** *Pl: mimpíyù. n 3/4. kidney.*  
**m̄pírà** *Pl: mimpírà. n 3/4. bracelet.*  
**m̄póm bó** *Pl: mimpóm bó. n 5. leg.*  
**mũ** *n 6. oil.*  
**múà mbà mbáá** *v. heal (tr), cure (v).*  
**múà mbà mbáá** get well, recover.  
**mùrù** *Pl: boro. n 1. human being,*  
 person.  
**mùrù** *n 1. self.*  
**mùrù** *Pl: bûrû. n 1/2. man (male).*  
**mùrù à b<sup>w</sup>èré likúli** *n 1. hunchback.*  
**mùrù à bólá likéli** *n. (be) eloquent.*  
**mùrù jà ṅté** *n 1. giant.*  
**mùrù kiyá siyí** *n 1. bush dweller.*  
**mùrù nènì** *Pl: bòrò bá nènì. n 1/2.*  
 rich man.  
**mùrù nû** this (man).  
**mùrù núú** that (man).  
**mùrù wá bǎ bǎtsírú** *n 1/2. butcher*  
 (n).  
**mùrù wà bingǎ** *n 1/2. medicine man,*  
 traditional healer.

**mùrù wà ìnggà** *n* 1/2. fetish priest.  
**mùrù wà jàngó** *n* 1. hunter.  
**mùrù wà jázá** *n* 1. farmer.  
**mùrù wà jíβà** *n* 1/2. thief.  
**mùrù wà jízàβà** *n* 1. (be) patient.  
**mùrù wà kápéndà** *n* 1/2. blacksmith.  
**mùrù wà kèndù** *n* 1. traveler.  
**mùrù wà litèyè** *n* 1. (be) lazy.  
**mùrù wà màk<sup>w</sup>ází** (be) restless, (be) unsettled.  
**mùrù wà màkízì** *n* 1. trader.

**mùrù wà mìnjómá** *n* 1/2. beggar.  
**mùrù wà ná bàyá** *n* 1. neighbour.  
**mùrù wà ngàβù** *n* 1. (be) generous.  
**mùrù wà ngámí** *n* 1/2. fortune-teller, diviner.  
**mùrù wà ñlémà** *n* 1. (be) courageous, (be) brave.  
**mùrù wà nzíí** *n* 1. (be) jealous.  
**mùrù wà pèyù** (be) wise.  
**mùrù wà púndà** *n* 1. coward.  
**mwèmàlà** *v.* smile.

## n

**ná** *adv.* how?  
**nà** *conj.* and.  
**nâ** *conj.* because.  
**nâ** *v.* grow up.  
**jà** *v.* drink.  
**jà** *Pl: ìjâ.* *n* 7. fingernail.  
**jà** *v.* nurse, suckle (baby) (tr).  
**ngà** *n* ? amulet, charm, fetish.  
**nã ßù** many.  
**(nã) jà** far.  
**jà mùrù** *Pl: ßàná ßòrò.* *n* 1/2. adult.  
**jàyà** *v.* defecate.  
**jàyà ñsùlù** *v.* break wind, fart.  
**jàlà** *v.* chew.  
**jàlé** *Pl: ßànalé.* *n* 1/2. brother-in-law.  
**jàmàlà** *v.* grumble, complain.  
**jàmbá** *Pl: mànámbá.* *n.* armpit.  
**ngámá wà màpèyá** *n.* lance (spear) (n).  
**jàmìzì ðínà** *v.* slander (v).  
**jànà** *v.* give pain, hurt.  
**jànà** ferment (alcohol) (v).  
**jànì** *n* 7. war.  
**ngàrè** *Pl: ìngàrè.* *n* 7/8. market (n).  
**nãzì** *v.* bring up (a child).  
**ng<sup>w</sup>ázì** *Pl: ìng<sup>w</sup>ázì.* *n* 7/8. whip (n).  
**ngbámàlà** *v.* (be) sour.  
**ndà** *Pl: ßàndà.* *n* 1/2. grandchild.  
**ndà** *v.* cross (river).  
**ndà màkiyù** *v.* succeed (exam).  
**ndáβù** *Pl: màndáβù.* *n* ?/6. compound, house.  
**ndáβù** *Pl: màndáβù.* *n* ?/6. hut.  
**ndáβù jà ßòrò** *n* 9. family.  
**ndàlòò** *n.* tobacco.  
**ndé** what?  
**ndê** *v.* wander.

**ndélé** *Pl: ßìndélé.* *n* 7/8. article of clothing, clothes.  
**ndélé** *Pl: ßìndélé.* *n* 7/8. cloth.  
**ndélé jà màβô** *Pl: ßìndélé bí màβô.* *n* 7/8. shirt.  
**ndèmbó** *Pl: ßàndèmbó.* *n* 1/2. brother.  
**ndèmbó** *Pl: ßàndèmbó.* *n* 1/2. cousin.  
**ndèmé** *Pl: màndèmé.* *n* 5/6. dream (n).  
**ndìmí** *Pl: ßàndìmí ?* *n.* blind.  
**ndìmí** *Pl: ßàndìmí ?* *n.* blind person.  
**ndìndòyù** *Pl: màndìndòyù.* *n* 5/6. needle.  
**ndóyú** *Pl: ßàndóyú.* *n* 1/2. (be) stubborn.  
**ndòlé** *Pl: mindòlé.* *n* 3/4. log.  
**ndóó** *Pl: màndóó.* *n.* clitoris.  
**ndùyà** *Pl: ßìndùyà.* *n* 7/8. stopper, plug.  
**ndùyú** *n* 9. hardship, distress.  
**ndùyù ?** *Pl: mindùyù ?* *n* ?/4. sorrow (n).  
**ndùlá** *Pl: mindùlá.* *n* 3/4. roof.  
**nè** *Pl: ßàné.* *n* 1/2. mother.  
**nè** *Pl: ßàné.* *n* 1/2. mother's sister (aunt).  
**nè** *Pl: ßàné.* *n* 1/2. father's sister (aunt).  
**jè** he (human).  
**jê** *v.* see.  
**ngè** *Pl: màngè.* *n* 9/6. field.  
**nèè** *n* 7. poison (on arrow).  
**jèè** *v.* please, satisfy.  
**ngéyá** *Pl: ßìngéyá.* *n.* eyebrow.  
**ngéyá** *Pl: ßìngéyá.* *n.* eyelid.  
**ngéli** *n* ? witchcraft.  
**ngèlì** *Pl: ßìngèlì.* *n* 9. eyelash.  
**jémálá** (be) tight.

**ɲɛmbé** *Pl: ɓɲɛmbé. n 7/8. gun.*  
**ɲémèlè** *v. tighten (tr).*  
**ɲíàlà** *v. whisper (v).*  
**ɲíàlà** *v. mumble.*  
**-níé (ɓanie)?** *adv. how many (people)?*  
**ɲìyìzì** *v. answer, reply (v).*  
**ɲìyìzì** *v. take revenge.*  
**ɲìyìzì** *Pl: ɲìyìsì. v. return (tr), give back.*  
**ɲízàlà** *v. urinate.*  
**ɲjà** *Pl: ɓɲjà. n 7/8. chisel (n).*  
**ɲjà** *Pl: miɲjà. n 3/4. intestines.*  
**ɲjê** *Pl: ɓajê? n 1/2. guest, visitor.*  
**ɲjê** *Pl: ɓajê. n 1/2. stranger (unknown person).*  
**ɲjê wá mùrù** *Pl: ɓajê ɓá ɓòrò. n 1/2. host.*  
**ɲjéyá** *(be) intelligent.*  
**ɲjòɓù** *n 1/3. fisherman.*  
**ɲk'á** *Pl: miɲk'á. n 3/4. pimple.*  
**ɲkáyá** *Pl: miɲkáyá. n 3. side (of body).*  
**ɲkáyálá** *Pl: miɲkáyálá. n 3/4. fence (n).*  
**ɲkáyálá** *Pl: miɲkáyálá. n 3/4. cattle pen.*  
**ɲkàyìlì** *Pl: miɲkàyìlì. n 3/4. spine, backbone.*  
**ɲk'wálá** *Pl: miɲk'wálá. n 3/4. machete, cutlass.*  
**ɲkàmè** *Pl: miɲkàmè. n 3/4. birdlime (adhesive to catch birds).*  
**ɲk'wázá** *Pl: miɲk'wázá. n 3/4. fishing line.*  
**ɲkázì** *Pl: miɲkázì. n 3/4. (be) thin.*  
**ɲkèyú** *Pl: miɲkèyú. n 3. chin.*  
**ɲkélá** *Pl: miɲkélá. n 3/4. handle.*  
**ɲkélá wá lámè** *Pl: miɲkélá mí lámè. n 3/4. razor.*  
**ɲkĩ** *Pl: ɓàkĩ. n 1/2. in-law, relative by marriage.*  
**ɲkĩ** *Pl: ɓàkĩ. n 1/2. father-in-law.*  
**ɲkĩ** *Pl: ɓàkĩ. n 1/2. mother-in-law.*  
**ɲkĩ** *Pl: ɓàkĩ. n 1/2. son-in-law.*  
**ɲkõ** *Pl: màkõ. n 3. foot.*  
**ɲkõ** *Pl: miɲkõ. n 3. back.*  
**ɲkõ wá tóyò** *Pl: miɲkõ mí tóyò. n 3/4. ladle.*  
**ɲkòlé** *Pl: miɲkòlé. n 3/4. strap (n).*  
**ɲkòlé** *Pl: miɲkòlé. n 3/4. string (n).*  
**ɲkòlé** *Pl: miɲkòlé. n 3/4. rope.*

**ɲkómá** *Pl: miɲkómá. n 3/4. prisoner, captive.*  
**ɲkúɓálá** *Pl: miɲkúɓálá? n 3/4. (be) open.*  
**ɲkúyù** *Pl: miɲkúyù. n 3/4. demon, evil spirit.*  
**ɲkúyù** *Pl: miɲkúyù. n 3/4. spirit (of dead person) (invisible).*  
**ɲkúmbòlò** *n 3. diarrhea.*  
**ɲkùndí** *Pl: miɲkùndí. n 3/4. barren woman.*  
**ɲkúzà** *Pl: miɲkúzà. n 3/4. widow.*  
**ɲkúzà wá mùrù** *Pl: miɲkúzà mí ɓùrù. n 3/4. widower.*  
**ɲlâ** *Pl: minlâ. n 3/4. story (tale).*  
**ɲlâ** *Pl: minlâ. n 3/4. speech, discourse.*  
**ɲlàmbó** *Pl: minlàmbó. n 3/4. country, ethnic area.*  
**ɲlèè** *Pl: minlèè. n 3/4. frontier (of ethnic area).*  
**ɲlèè** *Pl: minlèè. n 3/4. boundary (of field).*  
**ɲlèè** *Pl: minlèè. n 3/4. bait.*  
**ɲlèmbà** *Pl: ɓàlèmbà. n 1/2. sorcerer (male).*  
**ɲlèmbà** *Pl: ɓàlèmbà. n 1/2. witch (female).*  
**ɲlémò** *Pl: minlémò. n 3/4. heart.*  
**ɲlò** *Pl: minlò. n 3. head.*  
**ɲlò u ɓole** *v. headache.*  
**ɲlò wá ɗóɓà** *east.*  
**ɲlò wá ɗóɓà ò kémā jā** *west.*  
**ɲlómè** *Pl: ɓàlómè. n 1/2. husband.*  
**ɲlòngá** *Pl: minlòngá. n 3/4. metal pot.*  
**ɲlòngá** *Pl: minlòngá. n 3/4. bucket, pail.*  
**ɲlò** *Pl: ɲê. v b. get, obtain.*  
**ɲlò** *Pl: ɓìɲlò. n 7/8. bed.*  
**ɲlò** *v. (be) lost.*  
**ɲlò ɲìbùmù** *v. (be) pregnant.*  
**ɲlò ɲgàmà** *v. right, (be) correct.*  
**ɲlò ɲélé** *v. hope (v).*  
**ɲlò ɲalé** *v. hire (v).*  
**ɲgòɓà** *Pl: ɓìɲgòɓà. n 7/8 (?). sickle.*  
**ɲgòyèlè** *v. tickle (v).*  
**ɲgòyù** *Pl: màɲgòyù. n ?/6. lower grinding stone.*  
**ɲgòlìngòlì** *Pl: ɲgòlìngòlì. n. voice box, larynx, Adam's apple.*  
**ɲómbà** *v. jump (v).*  
**ɲgòɲgòlè** *n 9. pity (n).*

**ngòngólé wá mùrù** *Pl: òngólé*  
**òrò.** *n ?* poor man.  
**̀sá** *Pl: m̀sá.* *n 3/4.* string, thread  
 (beads) (v).  
**̀sá** *Pl: m̀sá.* *n 3/4.* necklace.  
**̀sámbá** *Pl: m̀sámbá.* *n.* penis.  
**̀sàzà** *Pl: m̀sàzà ?* *n 3/4.* (facial)  
 incision(s), tattoo(s).  
**̀sè** *Pl: m̀sè.* *n 3/4.* courtyard.  
**̀sè** *Pl: m̀sè.* *n 3/4.* outside.  
**̀síná** *Pl: m̀síná.* *n 3/4.* colour.  
**̀sínámù** *Pl: m̀sínámù.* *n 3/4.*  
 ghost (visible apparition).  
**̀sìzá** *Pl: m̀sìzá.* *n 3.* ankle.  
**̀sìzá** *Pl: m̀sìzá.* *n 3/4.* tendon.  
**̀sìzá** *Pl: m̀sìzá.* *n 3/4.* vein.  
**̀sǒ** *Pl: m̀sǒ.* *n 3/4.* intestinal worm.  
**̀sòmbó** *Pl: m̀sòmbó.* *n 3/4.* driven  
 away.  
**̀sòmbó** *Pl: m̀sòmbó.* *n 3/4.* hunting  
 (n).  
**̀sònè** *Pl: m̀sònè.* *n 3/4.* muscle.  
**̀sònè wá pémbé** *Pl: m̀sònè mí*  
**pémbé.** *n 3/4.* crust (n).  
**̀sósó** *Pl: m̀sósó.* *n 3/4.* (be) dry.  
**̀sózó** *Pl: m̀sózó.* *n 3/4.* (be) smoked.  
**̀sózó wá òzà** *Pl: m̀sózó mí*  
**òzà.** *n 3/4.* bone marrow.  
**̀sù** *Pl: m̀sù.* *n 3/4.* poison (n).  
**̀súyú** *Pl: m̀súyú.* *n 3/4.* soup,  
 broth.  
**̀sùmbélé òbó** *Pl: m̀sùmbélé*  
**mímó.** *n 3.* forearm.  
**̀tánáné** *Pl: m̀tánáné.* *n 3/4.* white  
 man.

**̀tèyá** (be) used up.  
**̀tǒ** *Pl: m̀tǒ.* *n 3/4.* cane, walking  
 stick.  
**̀tólé** *Pl: m̀tólé.* *n 3.* (be) old (not  
 young).  
**̀tólé** *Pl: m̀tólé.* *n 3/4.* old person.  
**̀tólé** *Pl: m̀tólé.* *n 3/4.* elder.  
**̀tólé** *Pl: m̀tólé.* *n 3/4.* (be) old (not  
 new).  
**̀tólé wá mùrù** *Pl: m̀tólé mí* **̀rù.**  
*n 3/4.* senile person.  
**̀tombá** *Pl: ̀tombá.* *n 1/2.* firstborn.  
**̀tówó** six (6).  
**̀tsǎ òyò** *n 3.* spy (n).  
**̀túmà** *Pl: m̀túmà.* *n 3/4.* knife.  
**̀tumbí** *Pl: m̀tumbí.* *n 3/4.* pestle,  
 pounding stick.  
**̀lì nzolé** (be) naked.  
**̀lù** *Pl: m̀lù.* *n.* body.  
**̀mbà b́bàlà** *v.* stink, smell (bad).  
**̀wàbà** squat.  
**̀wémá** *n 1.* (be) dead.  
**̀zá** who?  
**̀zà ?** *n ?* music.  
**̀zà màkilá** bleed.  
**̀zà nà** *v.* bring.  
**̀zàmbè ?** *n 1.* God (supreme being).  
**̀zèlá** *Pl: m̀zèlá.* *n ?/6.* path, road.  
**̀zèlì** *Pl: m̀zèlì.* *n 9.* beard.  
**̀zì nzálé ?** *Pl: ̀zì nzálé ?* *n 7/8.*  
 bladder.  
**̀zǒ** *Pl: m̀zǒ.* *n 7/8.* bile, gall.  
**̀zòlè ?** *Pl: m̀zòlè ?* *n 3/4.* (be)  
 empty.

## P

**pâ** *v.* order (someone to do  
 something).  
**pâ** *Pl: ̀pâ.* *n 7/8.* command (n).  
**páyà** *v.* transplant.  
**páyàlà** *v.* explain.  
**páyàlà** between.  
**páyò** *n.* paddle (n).  
**p`ánà** *Pl: s`á.* *v.* pluck (chicken).  
**pánzì** *n.* plate.  
**pàrà** *v.* pick, pluck (fruit).  
**pázà** *v.* choose (tr), pick (tr).  
**péà** *v.* (be) drunk.  
**pèbàlà** *v.* blink.  
**pébé** *Pl: m̀pébé.* *n 5/6.* scar.

**péé** *Pl: m̀péé.* *n 5/6.* ulcer (leg).  
**péé** *Pl: m̀péé.* *n.* wound, sore.  
**pèyò** *Pl: m̀pèyò.* *n.* knowledge.  
**pèyù** *Pl: m̀pèyù.* *n.* wisdom.  
**pémbé** *Pl: ̀pémbé.* *n 7/8.* bread.  
**pémbé já ndáβù** *n 7.* paint (n).  
**pémbé já òlò** *n 7.* lime, whitewash.  
**pèndàβà** *v.* plait (v), braid (hair).  
**p`ép`é** *adv.* really, truly.  
**pìyà** *v.* ask, request.  
**pìyà** *Pl: m̀pìyà.* *n 5/6.* request (n).  
**pímáá** *Pl: ̀pímáá.* *n 7/8.* wall.  
**pímù** *n 9.* strength.  
**píó** (be) scarce.

**pize** backward (direction).  
**pízè** *Pl: màpízè. n 7/6.* behind.  
**pízè jà ñkǒ** *n 5.* heel.  
**pízè nà ñpómbó** *n.* calf of leg.  
**pòbéle** *v.* hum (v).  
**pòyéle** *Pl: ñipòyéle. n 7/8.* hat.  
**póní** *Pl: màpóní. n ?/6.* truth.  
**pónzì** *v.* punish.  
**pónzì** *Pl: ñipónzì. n 7/8.* penalty, punishment.  
**pózi** *Pl: ñipózi. n 7/8.* bottle.  
**pùmà** *v.* (be) white.

**pùmà** *v.* (be) light (colour).  
**pùmbàlà** *v.* harvest (v).  
**pùmbàlà** *v.* harvest (maize) (v).  
**pùmbàlà** *v.* harvest, dig up (yams).  
**pùmú** *adv.* inside.  
**púndà** *v.* fear (v).  
**púndà** *v.* respect (v).  
**púndà** *n 7.* awe, reverence (for God).  
**púndèzè** *v.* frighten.  
**púndizì** *v.* threaten.  
**pùrà** *Pl: ñipùrà. n 7/8.* rag.

## r

**rìβùá** nine (9). *Pl: lìβùá.*

## s

**sâ** *v.* act, do.  
**sâ** *Pl: ñisâ. n 7/8.* belongings.  
**sâ** (be) weak. *Pl: ñisâ.*  
**sâ** *adv.* only.  
**sâ** *v.* vomit (v).  
**sâ** *Pl: ñàsâ. n 1/2.* master.  
**sâ jô jê** everything.  
**sâ màsóná** *v.* contradict.  
**sâ ñkpálé** *v.* pretend (behave in an unorderly manner ).  
**sâ séséyù** *v.* hiccough (n).  
**sâ wà ñiná** *Pl: ñàsâ bá ñìñiná. n 7.* thumb.  
**sâ wà ñiná wà ñkǒ** *Pl: ñàsâ bá ñìñiná bá màkǒ. n 1/2.* toe.  
**sâ wǎ wà ndembó** *Pl: ñàsâ ñǎ ñà ndembó. n 1/2.* father's brother (uncle).  
**sàβà** *v.* play (child) (intr).  
**sáyàβà** *v.* choke.  
**sàyùsàyù** *Pl: ñàsàyùsàyù. n 1/2.* comb (n).  
**sàlà** *v.* cut open (papaya).  
**sálâ** *v.* abstain.  
**sálé** *Pl: ñisálé. n 7/8.* work (n).  
**sánè** *v.* swear.  
**sàsà** *v.* mix (v).  
**sàzà** *Pl: ñàsàzà. n 1/2.* robe (man's gown).  
**sàzà** *Pl: ñàsàzà. n 1/2.* cloth worn by a woman.

**sê** polish.  
**séyù** *Pl: ñiséyù. n 7/8.* liver.  
**sèlì** *Pl: ñisèlì. n 7/8.* basket.  
**sémè** *v.* honour (v).  
**sémè** *v.* congratulate.  
**sémúú** *Pl: ñisémúú. n 7/8.* praise (n).  
**sènzè** *Pl: ñisènzè. n 7/8.* soul, spirit (of living person).  
**sèzè** *v.* slice.  
**sèzìlì** *v.* avoid.  
**sí** *Pl: màsí. n 5/6.* floor.  
**sí** under, below.  
**sí** *Pl: màsí. n 7/6.* elephantiasis.  
**sí ñě ñwě màd'á** *n 5.* fertile soil.  
**sìβàlà** *v.* take out (from container).  
**sìyìzì** *v.* strain (food) (v).  
**sìlà ndáβù** *v.* plaster (v).  
**sìlì** *v.* know (something or someone).  
**sìlì** *v.* to acquaint with somebody.  
**símàzà** *v.* hesitate.  
**sízà** *v.* startle, surprise.  
**só** *Pl: ñàsó. v.* fiancé (betrothed boyfriend).  
**só** *Pl: ñàsó. n 1/2.* fiancée (betrothed girlfriend).  
**só** *Pl: ñàsó. n 1/2.* friend.  
**sǒ** *Pl: ñàsǒ. n 1/2.* saw (n).  
**sòβà** *v.* pour.  
**sòβà** *v.* spill (liquid)(tr).  
**sòdzê** *Pl: ñàsòdzê. n 1/2.* soldier.  
**sòyà tsírú kóró** *v.* skin (animal) (v).

**sóyù** forward (direction).  
**sóyù** *Pl: màsóyù. n 7/6.* in front of, before.  
**sómèlè** *v.* greet (v.).  
**sómèlè** *v.* thank.  
**sómòni** *v.* accuse.  
**sóni** *Pl: màsóni. n 9/6.* shame (n).  
**sòri** *Pl: bàsòri. n 1/2.* trousers.

**sòyà** *v.* bathe, wash oneself.  
**sòzà** *v.* (be) happy, (be) joyful.  
**sòzà** *v.* rejoice.  
**sùàlà** *v.* argue.  
**sùàlà** *n.* argument.  
**sùβisi** *v.* unload.  
**súyà** *v.* hoe (v).

## t

**tà** *Pl: bàtà. n 1/2.* father.  
**tâ** *Pl: ßitâ. n 7/8.* granary.  
**t'âlà** *v.* unwrap.  
**t'âlà** *v.* untie.  
**t'âlà** *v.* loosen.  
**tàmtâm** *n.* harp.  
**tàràbà** *v.* (be) sick, (be) ill.  
**tàràbà ngòndè** *v.* menstrual period.  
**téβè** *v.* rise up (intr).  
**téβè** *v.* stand.  
**tèèlè** *v.* abandon.  
**tèyè** *v.* (be) tired.  
**tèyè** *v.* (be) inexpensive.  
**tèyè** *v.* (be) soft.  
**tèyè** *v.* soften.  
**téyèlè** *v.* annoy, disturb.  
**tèyimā** *adj.* (be) loose, slack.  
**tèndàlà** *v.* (be) torn.  
**téngé** *Pl: ßiténgé. n 7/8.* small(est) drum.  
**tíβà** trample.  
**tíβà** *v.* pound.  
**tíβàlà** *v.* fight.  
**tìli** *v.* wrap up.

**tìli** *v.* fasten, bind (load).  
**tìli** *v.* tie (knot).  
**tìli** *v.* tether (sheep, goats) (v).  
**tǒ** *Pl: ßitǒ. n 7/8.* axe.  
**tò mùrù** nobody.  
**tò sâ** nothing.  
**tóyò** *Pl: màtóyò. n ?/6.* spoon (traditional).  
**tòyò** *v.* boil (water), bubble up.  
**tójini** thousand (1000).  
**tólà** *v.* move away, migrate.  
**tòndò** *n ?* nail (n).  
**tjàmàlà** *v.* spit.  
**tjémèlè** *v.* sneeze (v).  
**tjéndàlà** *v.* barter, exchange (of goods) (v).  
**tsilézì** *n ?* thread (n).  
**tsindàlà** *v.* wipe off (excreta).  
**tsírú** *Pl: bàtsírú. n 1/2.* meat.  
**tjòyè** *v.* believe.  
**túβà lìlò** *v.* pierce (ears).  
**tùlà** *v.* wash (clothes, utensils).  
**túmbàbà** *v.* bend down, stoop.

## w

**wà** *v.* die.  
**wà já ñtùma** *n ?* sword.  
**(wà) pízè** (be) last.  
**(wà) sóyù** (be) first.  
**wáró** *Pl: màwáró. n 5/6.* hunting net.  
**wáró** *Pl: màwáró. n 5/6.* fishing net.  
**wàzà** wave (hand as a greeting) (v).  
**wè** you (masc., sing.).  
**wóβò** *v.* crawl.  
**wóyù** *Pl: ßiwóyù. n 7/8.* broom.  
**wómbèlè** *v.* sweep.  
**wómbìli** *v.* weed (v).

**wúbà** *v.* embrace, hug (v).  
**wúlè màtè** *v.* bless, praise (someone).  
**wúlí** *v.* winnow, throw in air (grain) (v).  
**wúli** *v.* subtract, take away.  
**wúli** *v.* decrease (intr).  
**wúli màtè** *v.* to bless.  
**wúli ndélé** *v.* undress.  
**wúmbì** *v.* want, desire (v).  
**wúmbì** *v.* need (v).  
**wúndì** *Pl: bàwúndì. n 1/2.* window.

Total number of entries: 994

## A - a

- abandon *v.* tɛ̀ɛ̀lè.  
abdomen (external) *n.* m̀.  
able (to) (be) *v.* βè nà pímù.  
above — lóβà.  
abscess *n.* ɖ̀ɔ̀lɔ̀.  
abstain *v.* sálá.  
abundant (be) — βũβũ.  
accept *v.* mɛ̀yɛ̀lè.  
accompany *v.* líyìlì.  
account (report) (n) *v.* βòmà p̄.  
accuse *v.* sóm̀nì.  
act *v.* sá.  
Adam's apple *n.* ηg̀òlínɡ̀òlì.  
add *v.* k̀l̀à.  
admire *v.* déyè.  
admit (to a wrong) *v.* mɛ̀yɛ̀lè.  
adult *n.* já mùr̀.  
advise *v.* βé màlɛ̀βá.  
agree *v.* jóyàlà.  
agreement *n.* màjójyàlà.  
alcohol (general) *n.* βìdũwò.  
alive (be) *n.* ηβézála.  
all — j̀j̀ɛ̀.  
alone (be) — méré.  
amulet *n.* ηg̀à.
- ancestor *n.* mbámbú.  
and *conj.* nà.  
angry (be) *v.* jóyà libúyú.  
ankle *n.* ηsízà.  
announce *v.* βààlè.  
announcement *n.* mbăàle.  
annoy *v.* téyèlè.  
answer *v.* nìyìzì.  
anus *n.* dízì lí βéná.  
appease *v.* βà.  
apply (ointment) *v.* jóyàβà.  
argue *v.* sùàlà.  
argument *n.* sùàlà.  
arm *n.* ηβ̄.  
armpit *n.* jámbá.  
army *n.* lóná já p̀nì.  
arrange *v.* kózá.  
arrow *n.* lík̄.  
article of clothing *n.* ndélé.  
ask *v.* p̀yà.  
assemble *v.* kózá.  
avoid *v.* s̀z̀l̀l̀.  
awake, alert (be) *v.* díà mízò.  
awe *n.* p̀ndà.  
axe *n.* t̄.

## B - b

- baby *n.* mʷánà ηk̄á.  
baby sling *n.* kíli já sàzà.  
back *n.* ηk̄.  
backbone *n.* ηkàyìlì.  
backward (direction) — pize.  
bad (be) *v.* βí.  
bag *n.* kóm̄.  
bait *n.* ηlè.  
bake (in ashes) *v.* βũβà.  
balafon *n.* màndzá.  
bald (be) *v.* βè líjánè.  
bale out (canoe) *v.* k̀bala?  
barren woman *n.* ηk̀ndì.  
barter *v.* t̀f̀ndàlà.  
basket *n.* s̀l̀l̀.
- bastard *n.* mʷánà wà ndáβ̀ sí.  
bathe *v.* sòyà.  
bathing place *n.* líβóyò.  
(be) correct *v.* n̄̀ ηgàmà.  
bead *n.* mb̀ngá.  
beam *n.* lík̀nd̀.  
bear (child) *v.* βʷá.  
beard *n.* nzèlì.  
beautiful (be) — mbà.  
because *conj.* nà.  
bed *n.* n̄̀.  
bedroom *n.* kíli já ndáβ̀.  
benefit *v.* kòyà.  
before *n.* sóyù.  
beg (for money) *v.* j̀ỳỳl̀.



beggar *n.* mùrù wà mìnjómbá.  
 behind *n.* pízè.  
 belch *v.* ɓɛjà.  
 believe *v.* tʃòyè.  
 bell *n.* lìbèngé.  
 belongings *n.* sâ.  
 below — sí.  
 bend down *v.* túmbàbà.  
 beside — ɓɛɓèè.  
 besmear *v.* jóyàbà.  
 between — páyàlà.  
 bewitch *v.* lèmbà.  
 big(gest) drum *n.* ñbè.  
 bile *n.* nzǒ.  
 bind (load) *v.* tìlì.  
 birdlime (adhesive to catch birds) *n.* ñkàmè.  
 birth pains *n.* miní.  
 bite (v) *v.* lóɓà.  
 bitter (be) *v.* jòlè.  
 black (be) *v.* ɓíndà.  
 blacksmith *n.* mùrù wà kápéndà.  
 bladder *n.* nzì nzálé ?  
 bleed — nzà màkilá.  
 bless *v.* wúlè màtê.  
 blind *n.* ndimí.  
 blind person *n.* ndimí.  
 blink *v.* pèɓàlà.  
 blood *n.* likilá.  
 blow nose *v.* ɓémbè dʒólò.  
 blow (with mouth) *v.* ɓúùlì.  
 blue (be) — ɓíndà.  
 boast — ɓúyàlà ñpǎ.  
 boat) *v.* kùɓala?  
 body *n.* júlù.  
 boil (water) *v.* tòyò.  
 bone *n.* ɓèzà.  
 bone marrow *n.* ñsózó wá ɓìɓèzà.  
 born (be) *v.* ɓʷálì.

borrow *v.* kòlè.  
 bottle *n.* pózí.  
 boundary (of field) *n.* ñlèè.  
 bow (as in greeting) *v.* kòṅà.  
 bow (hunting) *n.* ñɓànzì.  
 bowl *n.* mʷánà pánzì.  
 box *n.* límbí.  
 boy *n.* mʷánà mùrù.  
 bracelet *n.* ñpírà.  
 brag — ɓúyàlà ñpǎ.  
 braid (hair) *v.* pèndàbà.  
 brain *n.* ɓòǒ.  
 brave (be) courageous, (be) *n.* mùrù wà ñlémà.  
 bread *n.* pémbé.  
 break wind *v.* jàyà ñsùlù.  
 breakfast *n.* ñià ñɓʷà wê.  
 breast *n.* lìbélè.  
 breastbone *n.* dédéyù.  
 breath *n.* mɓèɓù.  
 breathe *v.* ɓèɓè.  
 bring *v.* nzà nà.  
 bring up (a child) *v.* nâzì.  
 broom *n.* wóyù.  
 broth *n.* ñsúyù.  
 brother *n.* ndèmbó.  
 brother-in-law *n.* jálé.  
 brown (be) *v.* ɓèà.  
 bubble up *v.* tòyò.  
 bucket *n.* ñlòṅgá.  
 build *v.* lóṅà.  
 bundle (n) *n.* ñɓòmbò.  
 burden (n) *n.* mbàbà.  
 burn (n) *n.* lìjé.  
 bush dweller *n.* mùrù kiyá siyí.  
 butcher (n) *n.* mùrù wá ɓǎ ɓàtsírú.  
 buttock *n.* ɓéná.  
 buy *v.* jàyà.

## C - c

calabash *n.* lìbóyè.  
 calf of leg *n.* pízè nà ñpómbó.  
 call (someone) *v.* léɓà.  
 calm (oneself) *v.* ñià ɓsós.  
 camp *n.* ñbázà.  
 cane *n.* ñtǒ.  
 canoe *n.* ɓʷálè.  
 capsize *v.* kʷò.  
 captive *n.* ñkómá.  
 caress (v) *v.* jóyèlè.

carry away *v.* kè nà.  
 carry (child) on back *v.* ɓàɓì ñkò.  
 carry (in arms) *v.* ɓàɓì.  
 carry on head *v.* ɓàɓì (é) ñlò.  
 carve *v.* kʷàyà.  
 cast spell *v.* lèmbà.  
 castrated *n.* mʷáyà.  
 cattle pen *n.* ñkáyálá.  
 chair *n.* ñià.  
 charm *n.* ṅgà.

chase (v) v. léβèlè.  
 chat (v) v. láà.  
 cheek n. limá.  
 chest n. kúrùbù.  
 chew v. jálà.  
 chief n. kúmá.  
 child n. m<sup>w</sup>ánà.  
 chin n. ñkèyú.  
 chisel (n) n. ñjà.  
 choke v. sáyàbà.  
 choose (tr) v. pázà.  
 chop into pieces v. kíyà ñikílè.  
 city n. kísònè.  
 clan n. mìn<sup>w</sup>úmá.  
 clap (hands) v. ñòmà.  
 clean (be) — (βè) ñpfúβáni.  
 clear (land for planting) v. líà.  
 clitoris n. ndóó.  
 close v. ñíβà.  
 clot v. búyù.  
 cloth n. ndélé.  
 cloth worn by a woman n. sàzà.  
 clothes n. ndélé.  
 club n. hámbà.  
 coagulate v. búyù.  
 cold (objects) (be) v. βó.  
 collect (honey from hive) v. ñòyà.  
 colour n. ñsíná.  
 comb (n) n. sàyùsàyù.  
 command (n) n. pá.  
 complain v. ñàmàlà.  
 compound n. ndáβù.  
 compromise n. màjòyàlà.

congratulate v. sémè.  
 conquer v. bílà.  
 contradict v. sà màsóná.  
 cook (v) v. lámà.  
 cooking pot (earthenware) n. ñpàlí.  
 copulate v. já.  
 cough (v) v. kózòlò.  
 count (v) — lá.  
 country n. ñlàmbó.  
 courtyard n. ñsè.  
 cousin n. ndèmbó.  
 cover (v) v. ñizilì.  
 coward n. mùrù wà púndà.  
 crawl v. wóβò.  
 cross (river) v. ndà.  
 crossroads n. mànà.  
 crunch v. lóβà.  
 crust (n) n. ñsònè wá pémbé.  
 cry v. lèlà.  
 cry out v. ñámàlà.  
 cudgel n. hámbà.  
 cultivate v. ñè.  
 cup n. kóβì.  
 cure (v) v. múà mbà mbáá.  
 curious (be) n. ñfóβí.  
 curse (n) n. ñlòyùù.  
 curse (v) v. lòyò.  
 cut down (tree) v. k<sup>w</sup>èlè.  
 cut (hair) v. kíyà (mbùṅà já) ñlò.  
 cut open (papaya) v. sàlà.  
 cut (tr) v. kíyà.  
 cutlass n. ñk<sup>w</sup>álà.

## D - d

dance (n) n. ñijémbì.  
 dance (v) v. jémbà.  
 danger n. ñéβálà.  
 dark (colour) (be) n. ñindú.  
 daughter n. m<sup>w</sup>ánà m<sup>w</sup>álé kòlà.  
 daughter-in-law n. ññómbì.  
 dead (be) n. ñwémā.  
 deaf (mute) person n. ñóé.  
 death n. ñisòjè.  
 debt n. mbòlà.  
 deceive v. jòrì.  
 decide (judgement) — kíyà ñlá.  
 decrease (intr) v. wúlì.  
 defeat v. bílà.  
 defecate v. ñàyà.  
 defend v. kàmbà.

demon n. ñkúyù.  
 deny v. lónà.  
 descendant n. ñóyòlò.  
 desire (v) v. wúmbì.  
 despise v. ñ<sup>w</sup>àzà.  
 diarrhea n. ñkúmbòlò.  
 die v. wà.  
 difficult (be) v. ñèlà.  
 dig v. límbà.  
 dig up (yams) v. pùmbàlà.  
 dirty (be) — (βè) mìn<sup>w</sup>bíruú.  
 discourse n. ñlá.  
 disdain v. ñ<sup>w</sup>àzà.  
 disease n. ñ<sup>w</sup>à.  
 distress n. ndùyú.  
 disturb v. téyèlè.

divine v. **ḡílà líkǔ**.  
 diviner n. **mùrù wà ḡgámǒ**.  
 do v. **sá**.  
 domesticate v. **jènàḡà**.  
 dominate v. **kàrà**.  
 door n. **ḡḡḡ**.  
 doorway n. **líḡúǒ**.  
 doorway cover n. **ḡḡḡ**.  
 down — **lísiláwá lí ḡkòlé**.  
 draw (picture) v. **ḡḡyùù**.

draw water v. **ḡàlé**.  
 dream (n) n. **ndémé**.  
 dress (v) v. **ḡóḡò ndélé**.  
 drink v. **ḡà**.  
 driven away n. **ḡsòmbó**.  
 drunk (be) v. **ḡéà**.  
 dry (be) n. **ḡsósó**.  
 dwarf n. **kíli já mùrù**.  
 dwell v. **ḡià**.

## E - e

ear n. **líḡ**.  
 earring n. **mbòḡgá**.  
 earwax n. **kó (líḡ)**.  
 east — **ḡlò wá ḡóḡà**.  
 eat v. **ḡà**.  
 eight (8) — **lòmbi**.  
 eighteen (18) — **líwómò nà lòmbi**.  
 eighty (80) — **màwómò lòmbi**.  
 elbow n. **líḡḡ lí ḡḡḡ**.  
 elder n. **ḡtòlé**.  
 elephantiasis n. **sí**.  
 eleven (11) — **líwómò nà ḡúrū**.  
 eloquent (be) n. **mùrù à ḡólá líkéli**.  
 embrace v. **wúḡà**.  
 empty (be) n. **nzòlé ?**  
 encampment n. **ḡḡázà**.  
 encounter v. **làràlà**.  
 enough — **ḡúḡū**.

equal (be) — **jèmbá**.  
 escape v. **límbà**.  
 etc.) v. **ḡé**.  
 ethnic area n. **ḡlàmbó**.  
 evade v. **ḡé**.  
 evening meal n. **líḡà lí kòyó wé**.  
 everybody — **ḡòḡò ḡḡḡ**.  
 everything — **sá jḡ jḡ**.  
 everywhere — **-é (wò wé)?**  
 evil spirit n. **ḡkúyù**.  
 exchange (of goods) (v) v. **ḡjéndàlà**.  
 excrement n. **líḡi**.  
 expensive (be) v. **ḡèlà**.  
 explain v. **ḡáyàlà**.  
 eye n. **ḡízò**.  
 eyebrow n. **ḡḡéyá**.  
 eyelash n. **ḡḡèli**.  
 eyelid n. **ḡḡéyá**.

## F - f

face n. **m'òzò**.  
 faeces n. **líḡi**.  
 fail v. **k<sup>w</sup>à**.  
 faint v. **k<sup>w</sup>ò**.  
 fair, just (be) n. **kònzà wà mùrù**.  
 family n. **ndáḡù ḡà ḡòḡò**.  
 fan (n) n. **líká**.  
 far — **(nǎ) já**.  
 farm (v) v. **ḡè**.  
 farmer n. **mùrù wá jázá**.  
 fart v. **ḡàyà ḡsùlù**.  
 fasten v. **tíli**.  
 fat n. **màḡḡ**.  
 father n. **tà**.  
 father-in-law n. **ḡkí**.

father's brother (uncle) n. **sá wǎ wà ndèmbó**.  
 father's sister (aunt) n. **nè**.  
 fear (v) v. **ḡúndà**.  
 feast n. **líkíndá**.  
 feed (animals) v. **ḡélezè**.  
 feel (active) — **ḡíyàlà**.  
 feel (passive) — **jóyà màtùli**.  
 fellow-wife n. **mbámǒlé**.  
 fence in (v) v. **ḡiḡili (ḡkáyálá)**.  
 fence (n) n. **ḡkáyálá**.  
 ferment (alcohol) (v) — **ḡnà**.  
 fertile soil n. **sí ḡḡ ḡ<sup>w</sup>é màḡà**.  
 fetch (firewood) v. **jézè (ḡéá)**.  
 fetish n. **ḡḡà**.  
 fetish priest n. **mùrù wà ḡḡḡà**.

fetish (spirit) *n.* ñpèà.  
 fetus *n.* m<sup>w</sup>ánà à mǝ pùmú.  
 fever (not malaria) *n.* liβéβù.  
 few (things) — m<sup>w</sup>ánà (sâ).  
 fiancé (betrothed boyfriend) *v.* só.  
 fiancée (betrothed girlfriend) *n.* só.  
 field *n.* ηgè.  
 fierce (be) *v.* díγ<sup>w</sup>à.  
 fifteen (15) — liwómò nà βítàni.  
 fifty (50) — màwómò mátàni.  
 fight *v.* tíβàlà.  
 fill *v.* lóndìsi.  
 finger *n.* βíná.  
 fingernail *n.* ñâ.  
 first (be) — (wà) sóyù.  
 firstborn *n.* ñtòmbâ.  
 fish dam *n.* m<sup>w</sup>éyé.  
 fish trap *n.* lilámbí.  
 fish (v) *v.* kè ñjǝβu?  
 fisherman *n.* ñjǝβù.  
 fishhook *n.* lijè lí ñjǝβu.  
 fishing line *n.* ñk<sup>w</sup>ázá.  
 fishing net *n.* wáró.  
 fist *n.* kúzà.

five hundred (500) — βíβójà  
 βítàni.  
 five (5) — βítàni.  
 flee *v.* limbà.  
 floor *n.* sí.  
 flour *n.* m<sup>j</sup>ámbó.  
 follow *v.* léβèlè.  
 food *n.* màd<sup>f</sup>à.  
 foot *n.* ñkǝ.  
 footprint (human) *n.* mbòγó.  
 forbid *v.* kàmbà.  
 forearm *n.* ñsùmbélé ñβó.  
 forehead *n.* m<sup>j</sup>òzò.  
 forget — βòzà.  
 fork (in path) *n.* likórí.  
 fortune-teller *n.* mùrù wà ηgámbí.  
 forty (40) — màwómò mánâ.  
 forward (direction) — sóyù.  
 four (4) — βínâ.  
 fourteen (14) — liwómò nà βínâ.  
 friend *n.* só.  
 frighten *v.* púndèzè.  
 frontier (of ethnic area) *n.* ñlèè.  
 fry *v.* jâlè.  
 full (be) *v.* lóndímâ.

## G - g

gall *n.* nzǝ.  
 game *n.* màsàβù.  
 garbage dump *n.* likùndù.  
 generous (be) *n.* mùrù wà ηgàβù.  
 get *v.* nǝ.  
 get well — múà mbâ mbáá.  
 ghost (visible apparition) *n.*  
 ñsíñsímù.  
 giant *n.* mùrù jà ñté.  
 gift *n.* dási.  
 girl *n.* m<sup>w</sup>ánà m<sup>w</sup>álé kòlà.  
 give *v.* βè.  
 give back *v.* nìyìzì.  
 give birth *v.* β<sup>w</sup>â.  
 give pain *v.* ñànà.  
 glory *n.* àwá.  
 gnaw *v.* kèrìlì.  
 go on a trip (v) *v.* kè kèndù.  
 goats (v) *v.* tílì.  
 god (lesser) *n.* ñpèà.

God (supreme being) *n.* nzàmbè ?  
 good (be) — mbâ.  
 gossip (n) *n.* ñfǝβí.  
 granary *n.* tâ.  
 grandchild *n.* ndà.  
 grandparent *n.* mbámbù.  
 green (be) *n.* lika?  
 greet (v.) *v.* sómèlè.  
 grind *v.* kòγò.  
 grinding stone *n.* kílè.  
 groan (with pain) *v.* βímàlà.  
 grow up *v.* nâ.  
 grumble *v.* ñàmàlà.  
 grunt (from effort) *v.* βímàlà.  
 guest *n.* ñjê.  
 guide (v) *v.* léyèlè;  
*v.* líyìlì.  
 guilty (be) *v.* k<sup>w</sup>à lìlàβà.  
 gun *n.* ñèmbé.

## H - h

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haggle *v.* ʒsì.  
 hair (of body) *n.* mbùṅà.  
 hair (of head) *n.* mbùṅà.  
 half — *kílì*.  
 hammer *n.* há mà.  
 hand *n.* ṁbô.  
 handle *n.* ṅkélá.  
 hard (be) *v.* dèlà.  
 harden *v.* dèlà.  
 hardship *n.* ndùyú.  
 harp *n.* tàmtám.  
 harvest *v.* ɓòyà;  
     *v.* pùmbàlà.  
 harvest (maize) (v) *v.* pùmbàlà.  
 harvest (v) *v.* pùmbàlà.  
 hat *n.* pòyélè.  
 hate (v) *v.* ɓíndà.  
 have *v.* ɓ<sup>w</sup>è.  
 have sexual intercourse *v.* já.  
 he (human) — *ɲè*.  
 head *n.* ṅlô.  
 head of arrow *n.* k'è.  
 headache *v.* ṅlo u ɓole.  
 headman *n.* kúmá.  
 headpad *n.* d'ambà.  
 heal (tr) *v.* múà mbá mbáá.  
 heap (n) *n.* likùmá.  
 heap up *v.* kózà.  
 hear *v.* jóyèlè.  
 heart *n.* ṅlémò.  
 heel *n.* pízè jà ṅkô.  
 help *v.* kòlè.  
 herd *v.* kè líyìlì.  
 herd (cattle) *n.* dzà.

here — (é) ɓà.  
 hernia (umbilical) *n.* liɓ<sup>w</sup>à.  
 hesitate *v.* sí màzà.  
 hiccough (n) *v.* sá séséyù.  
 hip *n.* liwèlì.  
 hire (v) *v.* n' sálé.  
 hoe (n) *n.* ɓà yò.  
 hoe (v) *v.* súyà.  
 hollow out (log) *v.* lí mà.  
 honest (be) — *kònzà wà mùrù*.  
 honour (v) *v.* sémè.  
 hope (v) *v.* n' pélé.  
 host *n.* ṅj'è wà mùrù.  
 hot (objects) (be) *v.* jóṅà.  
 hot (of person) (be) *v.* jóyà jòzì.  
 house *n.* ndáβù.  
 how? *adv.* ná.  
 how many (people)? *adv.* -níé  
     (ɓanié)?  
 hug (v) *v.* wúfà.  
 hum (v) *v.* pòβélè.  
 human being *n.* mùrù.  
 hump (of hunchback) *n.* lindú rúú.  
 hunchback *n.* mùrù à ɓ<sup>w</sup>èré likú lì.  
 hundred (100) *n.* ɓójà.  
 hungry, hunger (v) (be) *v.* ɓè nzà.  
 hunter *n.* mùrù wà jàṅgó.  
 hunting (n) *n.* ṅsòmbó.  
 hunting net *n.* wáró.  
 hurt *v.* ɲà nà.  
 hurt oneself *v.* k<sup>w</sup>èlì.  
 husband *n.* ṅlómè.  
 husk (corn) (v) *v.* móyòlò.  
 hut *n.* ndáβù.

## I - i

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I — *mè*.  
 if *conj.* kâ.  
 ill (be) sick, (be) *v.* tàràbà.  
 illegitimate child *n.* m<sup>w</sup>ánà wà  
     ndáβù sí.  
 illness *n.* ɓ<sup>w</sup>á.  
 imitate *v.* ɓèyàlà.  
 implore *v.* jèyèlè.  
 important (be) — *mbá*.  
 impotent (be) *n.* ṁɓimbà.

in front of *n.* sóyù.  
 incision(s), tattoo(s) (facial) *n.*  
     ṅsàzà.  
 increase (intr) *v.* kòlà.  
 indicate *v.* lèβèlè ɓiná.  
 inexpensive (be) *v.* tàyè.  
 inhabit *v.* d'ia.  
 inherit *v.* líyàlà.  
 inheritance *n.* ɓóyòl.  
 in-law *n.* ṅkí.

inside *adv.* pùmú.  
insult (n) *n.* màlòj.  
insult (v) *v.* lóà.  
intelligent (be) — ñjéyá.  
intercede *v.* ßà.

intersection *n.* mànà.  
intestinal worm *n.* ñsó.  
intestines *n.* ñjá.  
invite *v.* léßà.  
itch (the itch) *n.* mìnàyàlà.

## J - j

jaw *n.* m̀bálá.  
jealous (be) *n.* mùrù wà nzíí.  
journey *n.* kèndù.

joyful (be) happy, (be) *v.* sòzà.  
judge (v) *v.* d'òzì.  
jump (v) *v.* jóm̀bà.

## K - k

kick *v.* ßílà.  
kidney *n.* m̀píyù.  
kill *v.* jólà.  
kill (animal for butchering) *v.* kíyà  
kí.  
kind (be) *n.* kònzà mùrù.  
kiss (v) — ßénà ßijém̀ò.  
kitchen *n.* kísínì.  
knead *v.* kìmà.

knee *n.* lìb́s̄.  
kneel *v.* lúm̀à màb́s̄s̄.  
knife *n.* ñtúm̀à.  
knot *n.* lìtìj́á.  
know (something or someone) *v.*  
s̀lì.  
knowledge *n.* pèỳò.  
knuckle *n.* lìm̀d̀ng̀s̄l̄.

## L - l

labour (n) *n.* m̀nìí.  
ladder *n.* ßàkàtè.  
ladle *n.* ñk̄́ wá tóỳò.  
lamp *n.* lìlám̀b̀.  
lance (spear) (n) *n.* ñgám̀bá wà  
m̀pèyá.  
language *n.* lìlàßà.  
larynx *n.* ñg̀lìng̀lì.  
last (be) — (wà) pízè.  
latrine *n.* dúyú.  
laugh *v.* j̀.  
law *n.* mbéndá.  
lazy (be) *n.* mùrù wà litèyè.  
lead *v.* líyìlì.  
lean against (intr) *v.* jéyèßè.  
learn *v.* jéyàlà.  
left (direction) — m̀b̄́ wá ßálé kòlà.  
leftovers *n.* màd̀à mà líyìlím̀.  
leg *n.* m̀póm̀b̀.  
lend *v.* k̀lè.  
leprosy *n.* l̀.  
lick *v.* léßè.

lie down — j̀.  
lie (n) (falsehood) *n.* d'ó.  
life *n.* kíyù.  
light (colour) (be) *v.* pùm̀à.  
lime *n.* pémbé já ñsòlo.  
limp *v.* ßùzà.  
lip *n.* ßíßà (já m̀ẁànà).  
listen *v.* j́yèlè.  
liver *n.* séyù.  
load *n.* mbàßà.  
load (v) *v.* ßàßìsì.  
log *n.* ñd̀lè.  
loincloth *n.* kílì já s̀rì.  
look after *v.* ßàyèlè.  
look at *v.* d̄́lè.  
loose, slack (be) *adj.* tèyím̀.  
loosen *v.* t'̀l̀.  
lost (be) *v.* j̄́.  
love (v) *v.* k̀ẁalè.  
lower grinding stone *n.* ñg̀ỳ.  
lung *n.* lìb́óßà.  
lying down (be) *v.* ßóỳò.

## M - m

machete	<i>n.</i> ñk <sup>w</sup> álá.	messenger	<i>n.</i> ñbǎlè.
mad person	<i>n.</i> ɓóyó já mùrù.	metal pot	<i>n.</i> ñlòngá.
make smooth	<i>v.</i> k <sup>w</sup> àya.	migrate	<i>v.</i> tólà.
malaria (fever)	<i>n.</i> liβéβù lí ɓ <sup>w</sup> á.	milk (n)	<i>n.</i> màpâ.
man (male)	<i>n.</i> mùrù.	mix (v)	<i>v.</i> sàsà.
many	— nǎ ɓù.	molar tooth	<i>n.</i> likèyù.
mark out	<i>v.</i> βèya.	mold (n)	<i>n.</i> mbù.
market (n)	<i>n.</i> ñgàrè.	money	<i>n.</i> mǎni.
mask (n)	<i>n.</i> lùmà.	mortar	<i>n.</i> ɓòya.
master	<i>n.</i> sâ.	mother	<i>n.</i> nè.
mat	<i>n.</i> kàlà.	mother-in-law	<i>n.</i> ñkǐ.
meaning (n)	<i>n.</i> lipáyé.	mother's relatives	<i>n.</i> kòyó.
meat	<i>n.</i> tsírú.	mother's sister (aunt)	<i>n.</i> nè.
mediate	<i>v.</i> βǎ.	mouth	<i>n.</i> m <sup>w</sup> àná.
medicine	<i>n.</i> ɓ <sup>w</sup> à.	move away	<i>v.</i> tólà.
medicine man	<i>n.</i> mùrù wà ɓìngǎ.	mumble	<i>v.</i> jíalà.
meet	<i>v.</i> làràlà.	murder	<i>v.</i> jólà.
meet together	<i>v.</i> kózà.	muscle	<i>n.</i> ñsònè.
mend	<i>v.</i> kòmbà.	mushy food	<i>n.</i> kùrùkùrù.
menstrual period	<i>v.</i> tàràbà ñgèndè.	music	<i>n.</i> nzà ?

## N - n

nail (n)	<i>n.</i> tòndò.	negotiate a price	<i>v.</i> jòsi.
naked (be)	— jùlì nzòlé.	neighbour	<i>n.</i> mùrù wà ná bàyá.
name	<i>n.</i> ɗínà.	new (be)	— k'á.
namesake	<i>n.</i> mbómbó.	nine (9)	— rìβùá.
nape of neck	<i>n.</i> likó lí kǐí.	nineteen (19)	— liwómò nà rìβùá.
nasal mucus	<i>n.</i> kèmbè.	ninety (90)	— màwómò rìβùá.
navel	<i>n.</i> litólì.	no	— 'n'ím.
near	<i>adv.</i> ɓèɓèè.	nobody	— tò mùrù.
neck	<i>n.</i> kǐ.	nose	<i>n.</i> ɗ'ólò.
necklace	<i>n.</i> ñsá.	nothing	— tò sâ.
need (v)	<i>v.</i> wúmbì.	nurse	<i>v.</i> jǎ.
needle	<i>n.</i> ndìndòyù.		

## O - o

obey	<i>v.</i> jóyà.	old person	<i>n.</i> ñtólé.
obstruct	<i>v.</i> ɗifà.	one (1)	— ɓúrá.
obtain	<i>v.</i> nǎ.	only	<i>adv.</i> sâ.
odour	<i>n.</i> màtùli.	open (be)	<i>n.</i> ñkúbálá.
offer (v)	<i>v.</i> ɓàyèlè.	open (tr)	<i>v.</i> kúbàlà.
oil	<i>n.</i> mǔ.	order (someone to do something)	<i>v.</i> pǎ.
old (not new) (be)	<i>n.</i> ñtólé.	orphan	<i>n.</i> m <sup>w</sup> àná jùlé.
old (not young) (be)	<i>n.</i> ñtólé.		

other (men) — ɓàpê.  
outside *n.* ñsê.

over — lóɓà.  
owner — méré.

## P - p

pacify *v.* ɓã.  
pack (v) *v.* káyà (dómbá).  
paddle (n) *n.* páyò.  
paddle (v) *v.* dúyà ɓʷálè.  
pail *n.* ñlòngá.  
pain (n) *n.* màpànà.  
paint (n) *n.* pémbé já ndáɓù.  
palm (of hand) *n.* likózi lí m̄b̄.  
palm wine *n.* màp̄d̄yù má màléndí.  
palpitate (of heart) *v.* kùrà.  
pant — ɓéɓè.  
pap *n.* kùrùkùrù.  
path *n.* nzèlá.  
patient (be) *n.* mùrù wà jízáɓà.  
pay (for goods) *v.* ɓé.  
peace *n.* mbâ.  
peel (v) *v.* ɓòndò.  
peg out (ground) *v.* ɓèyà.  
penalty *n.* pónòzi.  
penis *n.* ñsámá.  
perfect (be) — mbâ.  
perhaps *adv.* kâ.  
person *n.* mùrù.  
perspire *v.* ɓèráɓà.  
pestle *n.* ñtúmbí.  
pick *v.* párà.  
pick (tr) *v.* pázà.  
pierce (ears) *v.* túɓà lil̄.  
pimple *n.* ñk'á.  
pity (n) *n.* ñgòñgòlè.  
plait (v) *v.* pèndáɓà.  
plank (n) *n.* libámbo.  
plant *v.* ɓè.  
plaster (v) *v.* sílà ndáɓù.  
plate *n.* pánzi.  
play (child) (intr) *v.* sàɓà.  
plead *v.* jèyèlè.  
please *v.* jèè.  
pluck (chicken) *v.* pʷánà.  
pluck (fruit) *v.* párà.  
plug *n.* ndùyà.

plunder (a town) *v.* jíɓà.  
pocket *n.* kómó.  
point (as with the finger) *v.* lêɓèlè  
ɓíná.  
poison (a person) (v) *v.* délèsè ñsù.  
poison (n) *n.* ñsù.  
poison (on arrow) *n.* nèè.  
polish — sê.  
poor (be) *v.* ɓè ñgòñgólí.  
poor man *n.* ñgòñgólé wá mùrù.  
poorly *adv.* ɓíò.  
possess *v.* ɓʷè.  
pot (for water) *n.* ɓótòlè.  
potter *n.* kápèndà.  
pound *v.* tíɓà.  
pounding pot *n.* ɓòyà.  
pounding stick *n.* ñtúmbí.  
pour *v.* sòɓà.  
powerful (be) great, (be) *n.* ñpɓà.  
praise (n) *n.* sé múú.  
praise (someone) *v.* wúlè màtê.  
pray *v.* jèyèlè.  
pregnant (be) *v.* n̄ ñlibùmù.  
prepare (food to cook) *v.* lámà.  
pretend (behave in an unorderly  
manner) *v.* sâ ñkpálé.  
prevent *v.* díɓà.  
price *n.* libómò.  
pride *n.* màsòzì.  
prisoner *n.* ñkómá.  
problem *n.* màlàɓá.  
promise (n) *n.* likàyí.  
prophecy (v) *v.* ɓílà lik̄.  
prostitute *n.* mʷalé kòlà wà  
mimɓʷàmì.  
protect *v.* kàmà.  
protect by charm *v.* jèyà.  
proverb *n.* kàndá.  
punish *v.* pónòzi.  
punishment *n.* pónòzi.  
pus *n.* màɓíná.

## Q - q

quarrel *n.* m̄ñkàri.



## R - r

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rafter *n.* likùndù.  
 rag *n.* pùrá.  
 rape — ɓ<sup>w</sup>è nà pímù.  
 razor *n.* ñkélá wá lámè.  
 really *adv.* p<sup>w</sup>ép<sup>w</sup>ê.  
 receive *v.* mètèlè.  
 recount (story) *v.* lá.  
 recover — múà mbâ mbáá.  
 red (be) *v.* ɓèà.  
 refuse *v.* ɓènà.  
 rejoice *v.* sòzà.  
 relative (by blood) *n.* likàyá.  
 relative by marriage *n.* ñkí.  
 remember *v.* ɓ<sup>w</sup>àzà.  
 repair *v.* kòmbà.  
 reply (v) *v.* niyizi.  
 reputation *n.* díná.  
 request *v.* piyà.  
 request (n) *n.* piyà.  
 resemble *v.* jéyà.  
 resolve *v.* ɓà ñbíá.  
 respect (v) *v.* púndà.

rest *v.* ɓàrà.  
 return (tr) *v.* niyizi.  
 reverence (for God) *n.* púndà.  
 rib *n.* mbànzì.  
 rich (be) *v.* ɓè mùrù nènì.  
 rich man *n.* mùrù nènì.  
 right *v.* nò ñgàmà.  
 right (direction) — ñbô wá ɓùrú.  
 ring (bell) (v) *v.* kùrà (libèngé).  
 ring (finger) *n.* lóndá.  
 ringworm *n.* libòrù.  
 rise up (intr) *v.* tétè.  
 road *n.* nzèlá.  
 roast *v.* ɓùɓà.  
 robe (man's gown) *n.* sàzà.  
 roof *n.* ñdùlá.  
 room *n.* kílì já ndáɓù.  
 rope *n.* ñkòlé.  
 rubbish *n.* ñbúmbá.  
 rule over *v.* kàrà.  
 run *v.* kè mbílé.  
 run away from *v.* limbà.

## S - s

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saliva *n.* litê.  
 salt *n.* màkémbó.  
 same (be) *v.* ɓí sǎsǎâ.  
 sandal *n.* kòndá.  
 sated (be) *v.* jílà.  
 satisfy *v.* ɓèè.  
 saw (n) *n.* sǎ.  
 say *v.* lá.  
 say goodbye *v.* jáná nà.  
 scar *n.* péɓé.  
 scarce (be) — píó.  
 second (be) — ɓáɓā.  
 see *v.* ɓê.  
 self *n.* mùrù.  
 selfish (be) *n.* ñbèɓù.  
 sell *v.* jàysi.  
 semen *n.* màlómè.  
 send (someone to do something) *v.* lómà.  
 send (something to someone) *v.* lómà.  
 senile person *n.* ñtòlé wá mùrù.

servant (domestic) *n.* kúyù.  
 serve (to work) *v.* jánzà.  
 services *v.* ɓê.  
 set (trap) *v.* lámà.  
 settle (dispute) *v.* ɓà ñbíá.  
 seven (7) — èmb<sup>w</sup>êrí.  
 seventeen (17) — liwómò nà èmb<sup>w</sup>êrí.  
 seventy (70) — màwómò èmb<sup>w</sup>êrí.  
 sew *v.* lǎ.  
 shame (n) *n.* sòní.  
 shave (v) *n.* kè.  
 sheep) (n) *n.* dzǎ.  
 sheep) (v) *v.* kè líyìlì.  
 shell (groundnuts) (v) *v.* ɓólà wònè.  
 shelter (n) *n.* ñbázà.  
 shin *n.* ɓèzá já ñpómbó.  
 shirt *n.* ndélé já màɓô.  
 shiver *v.* káyà.  
 shoe *n.* kòndá.  
 shortsighted (be) myopic, (be) *v.* ɓè ndimá wá likená ?

shoulder *n.* βèyè.  
 shoulder blade *n.* βίβά.  
 shout (v) *v.* βάμàlà.  
 show *v.* léβèlè.  
 shut (tr) *v.* δίβà.  
 shy (be) *v.* jóyà sónì.  
 sickle *n.* ηγòβà.  
 side (of body) *n.* ηκάγά.  
 silent (be) *v.* διά βός.  
 sing.) — wè.  
 sing *v.* léyì jà.  
 sister *n.* kálé.  
 sister-in-law *n.* m<sup>w</sup>álé kòlà.  
 sit *v.* διά.  
 six (6) — ητόwó.  
 sixteen (16) — liwómò nà ητόwó.  
 sixty (60) — màwómò ητόwó.  
 skeleton *n.* βìβèzá nà βìβèzá.  
 skin (animal) (v) *v.* sóyà tsírú kóró.  
 skin (of man) *n.* kóró.  
 skull *n.* kóyó.  
 slander (v) *v.* jàmizì dínà.  
 slap (v) *v.* βίλά liβázì.  
 slaughter *v.* kíyà kí.  
 slave *n.* lòá.  
 sleep (v) *v.* ké jô.  
 slice *v.* sèzè.  
 slippery (be) *v.* jèndè.  
 sliver (n) — lìmbúli.  
 small(est) drum *n.* téngé.  
 smell (bad) *v.* nùmbà βέβálà.  
 smell (n) *n.* màtùli.  
 smell (v) *v.* jóyèlè.  
 smile *v.* mwèməlà.  
 smoked (be) *n.* ηsózô.  
 smooth (be) *v.* (i) jèndímā.  
 sneeze (v) *v.* tǰémèlè.  
 snore *v.* kòli.  
 snot *n.* kèmbè.  
 soft (be) *v.* tèyè.  
 soften *v.* tèyè.  
 soldier *n.* sòdzê.  
 sole *n.* liβò lí ηkô.  
 some (men) — liβímbó.  
 son *n.* m<sup>w</sup>ánà mùrú.  
 song *n.* jà.  
 son-in-law *n.* ηkí.  
 sorcerer (male) *n.* ηlèmbà.  
 sore *n.* pèé.  
 sorrow (n) *n.* ndùyù ?  
 soul *n.* sènzè.  
 soup *n.* ηsúyú.  
 sour (be) *v.* ηγβámàlà.

sow *v.* βè.  
 spank (child) *v.* βίλά.  
 speak *v.* làβà.  
 speech *n.* ηλά.  
 spill (liquid)(tr) *v.* sòβà.  
 spine *n.* ηkàyìli.  
 spirit (of dead person) (invisible) *n.* ηkúyù.  
 spirit (of living person) *n.* sènzè.  
 spit *v.* tǰàmàlà.  
 splendour *n.* àwá.  
 splinter — lìmbúli.  
 spoil (food) (intr) *v.* βò.  
 spoon (traditional) *n.* tóyò.  
 spy (n) *n.* ηts'á ηts'òyò.  
 squat — ηgwâbà.  
 stab — lúmà ηtúmà.  
 stalk (v) *v.* dǰìβìli.  
 stand *v.* téβè.  
 startle *v.* sízà.  
 steal *v.* jíβà.  
 sticky (be) *n.* likèngè.  
 stink *v.* nùmbà βέβálà.  
 stir *v.* βirilè.  
 stomach (internal) *n.* mò ηpùmú.  
 stomachache *v.* mɔ u loβala.  
 stoop *v.* túmbàbà.  
 stop up *v.* dǰìβà.  
 stopper *n.* ndùyà.  
 store (up) *v.* βàyèlè.  
 story (tale) *n.* ηλά.  
 strain (food) (v) *v.* sìyìzì.  
 stranger (unknown person) *n.* ηjê.  
 strap (n) *n.* ηkòlè.  
 strength *n.* pí mù.  
 string *n.* ηsá.  
 string (n) *n.* ηkòlè.  
 strong (physically) (be) *v.* βè nà pí mù.  
 stubborn (be) *n.* ndóyú.  
 stumble *v.* jèndè.  
 stupid *n.* likúrè lí mùrù.  
 stupid person *n.* likúrè.  
 stutter *v.* làβà nà likíkàmbò.  
 subtract *v.* wúli.  
 succeed (exam) *v.* ndà màkìyù.  
 suck *v.* βίβà.  
 suckle (baby) (tr) *v.* jà.  
 suffer *v.* jóyà ndùyú.  
 suit *v.* kòyà.  
 surprise *v.* sízà.  
 swallow *v.* mìnà.  
 swear *v.* sánè.

sweat v. **ḡeràḡà**.  
 sweep v. **wómbèlè**.  
 sweet (be) v. **ḡ<sup>w</sup>èrèḡè**.

swelling n. **ḡùmù**.  
 swim v. **jóyò**.  
 sword n. **wà já ḡtùma**.

## T - t

taboo (be) — **kilà**.  
 take (away) v. **kè nà**.  
 take away v. **wùlì**.  
 take leave of v. **jánà nà**.  
 take out (from container) v. **sìḡàlà**.  
 take revenge v. **nìyìzì**.  
 talk v. **làḡà**.  
 tame v. **jènàḡà**.  
 taste v. **kèyèlè**.  
 teach v. **jéyèzè**.  
 tears (n) n. **linzólì**.  
 tell v. **là**.  
 ten (10) n. **liwómò**.  
 tend (cattle) v. **kè líyìlì**.  
 tendon n. **ḡsìzá**.  
 testicle n. **lìḡìndì**.  
 tether (sheep) v. **tìlì**.  
 thank v. **sómèlè**.  
 that (man) — **mùrù núú**.  
 there — **(é) pè**.  
 they (human) — **ḡò**.  
 thief n. **mùrù wà jíḡà**.  
 thigh n. **ḡò**.  
 thin (be) n. **ḡkází**.  
 think v. **ḡ<sup>w</sup>àzà**.  
 third (be) — **ḡálálè**.  
 thirsty, thirst (v) (be) v. **jóyà ḡézé**.  
 thirteen (13) — **liwómò nà ḡílálì**.  
 thirty (30) — **màwómò málálì**.  
 this (man) — **mùrù nú**.  
 thousand (1000) — **tójínì**.  
 thread (beads) (v) n. **ḡsá**.  
 thread (n) n. **tsilézi**.  
 threaten v. **púndizì**.  
 three (3) — **ḡílálì**.  
 throat n. **lìminúú**.  
 throb (with pain) v. **jóyà màḡàḡà**.  
 throw in air (grain) (v) v. **wùlì**.  
 thumb n. **sâ wà ḡiná**.  
 tickle (v) v. **ḡòyèlè**.  
 tie (knot) v. **tìlì**.  
 tight (be) — **ḡémálá**.  
 tighten (tr) v. **ḡémèlè**.  
 tired (be) v. **tèyè**.  
 to acquaint with somebody v. **sìlì**.  
 to bless v. **wùlì màtè**.

to hate v. **ḡíndà**.  
 to pay v. **ḡé**.  
 tobacco n. **ndàlòò**.  
 tobacco pipe n. **ḡùyù**.  
 toe n. **sâ wà ḡiná wà ḡkò**.  
 together (be) — **lòḡá**.  
 toilet n. **ḡúyú**.  
 tongue n. **jémò**.  
 tooth n. **lìjè**.  
 tooth stick n. **kpàkpà**.  
 toothbrush n. **kpàkpà**.  
 torch n. **lìlámḡò**.  
 torn (be) v. **tèndálá**.  
 touch — **ḡíyàlà**.  
 towards adv. **ḡèḡèè**.  
 town n. **kísòḡè**.  
 track (animal) (n) n. **jándá**.  
 trader n. **mùrù wà màkízì**.  
 traditional healer n. **mùrù wà ḡìḡḡà**.  
 traitor n. **ḡḡfóḡí**.  
 trample — **tíḡà**.  
 transplant v. **páyà**.  
 trap (n) n. **lìlámḡò**.  
 trapped (animal) v. **ḡ<sup>w</sup>èlémā**  
**lìlámḡò**.  
 travel v. **kè kèndù**.  
 traveler n. **mùrù wà kèndù**.  
 tremble v. **káyà**.  
 tribe n. **lìkàyá**.  
 trip (n) n. **kèndù**.  
 trouble n. **màlàḡà**.  
 trousers n. **sòrì**.  
 truly adv. **p<sup>w</sup>ép<sup>w</sup>è**.  
 truth n. **pónì**.  
 try v. **kèyèlè**.  
 tumour n. **ḡùmù**.  
 turn round (intr) v. **ḡìràḡà**.  
 twelve (12) — **liwómò nà ḡíḡā**.  
 twenty (20) — **màwómò máḡā**.  
 twenty-one (21) — **màwómò máḡā**  
**nà ḡúrū**.  
 twenty-two (22) — **màwómò máḡā**  
**nà ḡíḡā**.  
 twin n. **lìḡázà**.  
 two hundred (200) — **ḡìḡòjà ḡíḡā**.  
 two (2) — **ḡíḡā**.

## U - u

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<p>ugly (be) — ɓèβà.          ulcer (leg) <i>n.</i> péeé.          umbilical cord <i>n.</i> litólì lí m<sup>w</sup>á ñsàlí.          uncover <i>v.</i> βâlà.          under — sí.          undress <i>v.</i> wúli ndélé.          unload <i>v.</i> sùβìsì.          unsettled (be) restless, (be) —          mùrù wà màk<sup>w</sup>ází.</p>	<p>untie <i>v.</i> t'jàlà.          unwrap <i>v.</i> t'jàlà.          up — lóβà.          upper grinding stone <i>n.</i> likóyú.          upset stomach <i>v.</i> mɔ u loβala.          urinate <i>v.</i> nízálà.          urine <i>n.</i> línzálé.          used up (be) — ñtèyá.          utensils) <i>v.</i> tùlà.</p>
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## V - v

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<p>vagina <i>n.</i> mbèlí.          vein <i>n.</i> ñsìzá.          village <i>n.</i> mbóyà.          virgin <i>n.</i> mbà.</p>	<p>visitor <i>n.</i> ñjê.          voice <i>n.</i> likéli.          voice box <i>n.</i> ñgòlíngôli.          vomit (v) <i>v.</i> sá.</p>
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## W - w

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<p>waist <i>n.</i> mò sí.          wake up (intr) <i>v.</i> βòà.          walk <i>v.</i> ké ?          walking stick <i>n.</i> ñtǒ.          wall <i>n.</i> pìmáá.          wander <i>v.</i> ndê.          want <i>v.</i> wúmbì.          war <i>n.</i> jàni.          wash (clothes) <i>v.</i> tùlà.          wash oneself <i>v.</i> sòyà.          watch <i>v.</i> dǒǒle.          wave (hand as a greeting) (v) —          wàzà.          we (incl.) — ɓí.          weak (be) — sâ.          wear clothes <i>v.</i> ɓórò ndélé.          weave <i>v.</i> ló.          weaver <i>n.</i> kápéndà.          weed (v) <i>v.</i> wómbìli.          weep <i>v.</i> lèlà.          well (adv) <i>adv.</i> mbâ.          well (be) healthy, (be) — mbâ mbáá          jà mùrù.          well (n) <i>n.</i> mbéla.          west — ñlò wá dóβà ò kémā jâ.          wet (be) <i>v.</i> ɓò.          what? — ndé.</p>	<p>when? — dóβà línDé.          where? — βé.          which (one)? — -βé (waβe)?          whip (n) <i>n.</i> ñg<sup>w</sup>ází.          whisper (v) <i>v.</i> níàlà.          whistle (n) <i>n.</i> β'í.          white (be) <i>v.</i> pùmà.          white man <i>n.</i> ñtájáné.          whitewash <i>n.</i> pémbé já ñsòlo.          who? — nzá.          whole — jǒjê.          why? — lípóyò línDé.          wicked (be) <i>n.</i> ɓèβálà já mùrù?          widow <i>n.</i> ñkúzà.          widower <i>n.</i> ñkúzà wá mùrù.          wife <i>n.</i> m<sup>w</sup>álé kòlà (wa k'eyu)?          window <i>n.</i> wúndi.          winnow <i>v.</i> wúlí.          wipe off (excreta) <i>v.</i> tsindàlà.          wisdom <i>n.</i> pèyù.          wise (be) — mùrù wà pèyù.          witch (female) <i>n.</i> ñlèmbà.          witchcraft <i>n.</i> ñgéli.          with — (loŋa) na.          woman <i>n.</i> m<sup>w</sup>álé kòlà.          womb <i>n.</i> ɓ<sup>w</sup>áβ<sup>w</sup>álè.          wood <i>n.</i> lé.</p>
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word *n.* ɓǎ ?  
work (n) *n.* sálé.  
wound *n.* péé.  
wound (animal) *v.* kʷèlì.

wrap up *v.* tîlì.  
wrinkle (on skin) *n.* ñɓòrò.  
wrist *n.* lìmóŋgóló lí líkònzì.  
wrong (be) — kʷà lilàβà.

## Y - y

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yawn *v.* jázàlà.  
yellow (be) *v.* ɓèà.  
yes — ñm̄.  
you (masc. — wè.  
you (pl.) — ɓʷè.  
young *n.* mʷâ ñsàlí.  
young man *n.* lìwázè.

