FRENCH LEXICAL INFLUENCE IN BAMANA[1]

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Abstract: Bamana (also known as Bamanankan or Bambara) is a Mandé language of the Niger-Congo family whose long history of contact with French has led to substantial borrowing and codeswitching. Croft's evolutionary model, Thomason & Kaufman's borrowing scale, and the Swadesh 200-word list provide valuable theoretical devices which inform the present investigation into the borrowing and codeswitching attested in Bamana. Data is drawn from Bamana grammars, linguistic studies of Mali, Wikipedia entries in the Bamana language, and an online Bamana dictionary published by SIL. This study shows that although some Bamana words now have French variants, French vocabulary is limited to non-core lexical items that are outside the realm of traditional Bamana life. The key to this maintenance of Bamana core lexical items involves such diverse factors as low levels of widespread bilingualism in French, a strong cultural identity associated with the Bamana language, and Bamana's semi-prestige status as a lingua franca spoken in much of West Africa.

1. Introduction

Bamana, a Mandé language of the Niger-Congo family in West Africa, has a long history of contact with French, which has led to substantial borrowing and codeswitching, particularly among educated speakers. Although French is not the only language of contact – Bamana exists in a complex polyglossic situation, with French, Arabic and a dozen or so national languages all playing a role – the present study focuses on contact between Bamana and French, and in particular addresses the level of borrowing of French loanwords into Bamana. The first hypothesis of this study is that French borrowing by Bamana is lexical, with very little structural borrowing exhibited. The second hypothesis is that borrowed lexical items primarily describe the new realities of Western life and culture, and do not replace words for Bamana culture and tradition.

Croft's (2000, 2003) evolutionary model, Thomason & Kaufman's (1988) borrowing scale, and the Swadesh 200-word list provide valuable theoretical devices which inform the present investigation into the historical, socio-cultural, educational and typological complexities of the borrowing and codeswitching attested in Bamana. Data is drawn from Bamana grammars, linguistic studies of Mali, Wikipedia entries in the Bamana language, an online Bamana dictionary published by SIL, and discussions with native Bamana speakers who are bilingual in French. The resulting analysis shows that although some Bamana words now have French variants in dialects with high levels of codeswitching and bilingualism, French vocabulary is limited to non-core lexical items that are outside the realm of traditional Bamana life. Additionally, although codeswitching is widely accepted and frequently employed, it remains unconventionalized.

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An examination of the borrowing situation between Bamana and French is important in broadening current understanding of both language contact and language change. Despite a lengthy period of contact and significant pressure from French as the prestige language, Bamana core vocabulary has resisted replacement. The key to this maintenance of the core language involves such diverse factors as low levels of widespread bilingualism in French, a strong cultural identity associated with the Bamana language, and Bamana's semi-prestige status as a lingua franca spoken in much of West Africa. Understanding the roles that these various factors play in the contact between Bamana and French increases our understanding of the social factors which motivate – or deter – contact-induced language change, particularly in post-colonial societies.

2. History

Bamana (also known as Bambara or Bamanankan) is a Mandé language spoken in Mali and in many of the surrounding countries of West Africa. There are many different dialects of Bamana and its native speakers number about 2,800,000; another seven million speakers throughout West Africa use Bamana as a lingua franca. In Mali, 80% of the population speaks the language natively or as a lingua franca (Gordon 2005a). Yet even with so many speakers, Bamana is significantly influenced by French, the prestige language in Mali. As will be discussed below, West Africa's history of colonization by France (and other European nations) has had a profound effect on the current linguistic situation of the countries of this region.

2.1 Colonialism

In characterizing the current linguistic situation, it is necessary to begin with an understanding of various non-linguistic factors, such the colonial background out of which the current society has arisen. Although European trading with West Africa began as early as the 15th century AD, it was not until the end of the 19th century that treaties were signed with many African nations giving France control of vast expanses of West African territory (Wooten 2008). French control remained in place until the second half of the 20th century; Mali gained its independence in 1960, during the same time period as many of the other countries of West Africa. Today, Mali is one of the strongest democracies in Africa (Central Intelligence Agency 2008). Yet despite this political independence, the prolonged period of contact with France has brought about lasting changes, and French influence is still prevalent in radio, television, government, education, and Western cultural aspects of West African society.

2.2 Education

The first schools were established in Mali in 1898 (Traore 1978), and as in many of its neighboring countries, French remains the official language of government and education in Mali, while Bamana and many other African languages are widely spoken in other areas of life. It is important to note that the Bamana language rests upon a largely oral tradition, and has historically been quite open to borrowing from the languages with which it is in contact. Adding to the complexity of the situation is the issue of literacy, which in Mali hovers at just

under 50%, underscoring the importance of the oral tradition and leading to considerable variation in the form of French loan words which are adopted into the Bamana dialects (Central Intelligence Agency 2008). Since most education is conducted in French, literacy can also be viewed as an indicator of bilingualism, which has increased over the past thirty years, from about 15% in 1978 (Traore 1978).

3. Polyglossia

As previously mentioned, Bamana exists in a situation of complex polyglossia, with French, Arabic and a dozen or so national languages all playing a role (Traore 1978). French occupies the first tier as the historical prestige language of colonization, and as the language of access to the world beyond West Africa. Bamana occupies the second tier as a less prestigious, indigenous code; however, it also serves as a lingua franca between the diverse African languages spoken throughout the region and it therefore carries a sort of secondary prestige, especially in Mali. The fifty other languages spoken in Mali, of which a dozen-plus are considered national languages, occupy the third tier in this system (Gordon 2005a). The widespread usage of written Arabic in the religious sphere presents an added complexity; while it is certainly a prestige language of international influence, it is rarely learned or employed in spoken form in the region except in religious contexts, making its status within this polyglossic situation difficult to positively identify.

No previous research was found which focused on the polyglossic situation described above; however Traore (1978) has published a sociolinguistic study of the diglossia existing between French and Bamana. The diglossic nature of the language situation is clearly indicated by informants' responses to the linguistic questionnaire that Traore distributed: a summary of the results are presented in Table 1 below.

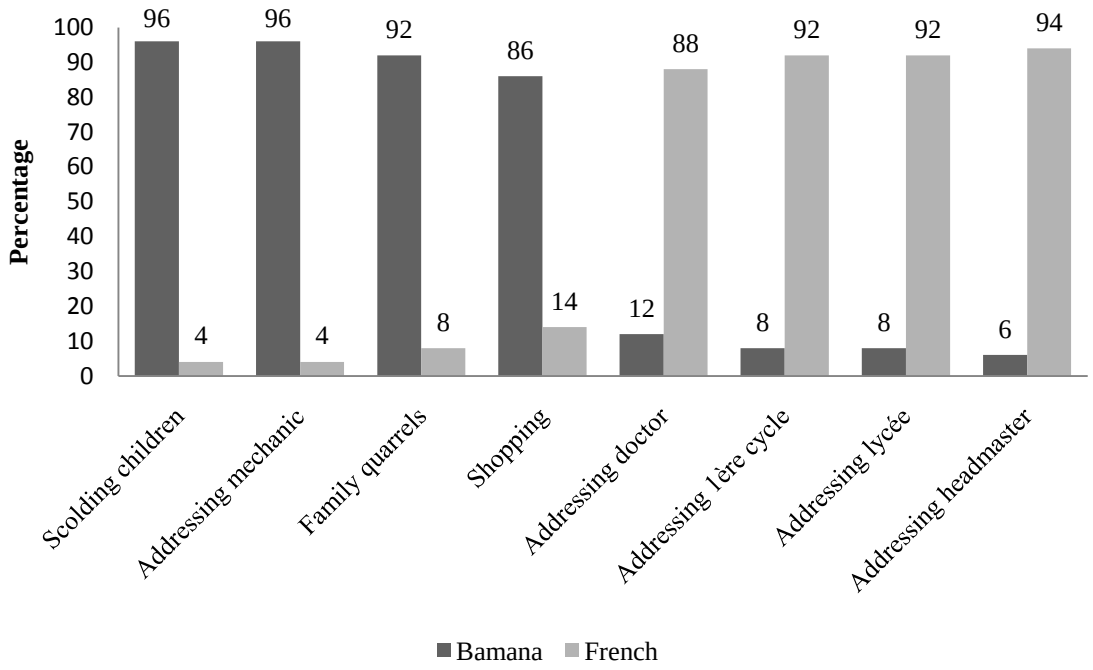

Table 1: French-Bamana Diglossia: Language used by situation type

This study was conducted in Bamako, the capital city of Mali, which has the highest rates of French-Bamana bilingualism in Mali. Since the questionnaire is in French, the informants are all assumed to be educated (bilingual) speakers who are self-reporting their tendencies. The results of this study show a clear diglossic division: in formal situations relating to education, such as speaking with a *lycée* (high school) teacher or a *1ère cycle* (elementary school) teacher, or when addressing a doctor, the respondents choose French, but in casual situations involving family or daily life, they use Bamana.

4. The Bamana Continuum

Bamana is widely spoken throughout Mali and the surrounding West African countries, resulting in a continuum of dialects and varieties. Ethnologue reports that eight dialects of Bamana – Standard Bambara (Bamana), Somono, Segou, San, Beledugu, Ganadugu, Wasulu and Sikasso – are spoken in Mali, in addition to many local dialects (Gordon 2005a). The scholarly literature on Bamana often refers to Dioula (or Jula) as a closely related language spoken to the south in Côte d'Ivoire and Burkina Faso, which is mutually intelligible with the Bamana spoken in Bamako and to the north. Native speakers, however, identify both Jula and Maninka as dialects of Bamana, and not as separate languages (A. Yaro, personal communication, March 5, 2009). Within Mali itself, there are differences in the Bamana spoken in different cities; some of these differences arise from issues of literacy and education while others stem from different levels of borrowing and incorporation of French (and other languages) into the daily vernacular of speakers. One native Bamana speaker who was raised in Bamako reports that when she visits relatives in Segou, they have some difficulty understanding her because she uses so many French loanwords in her speech. This informant feels that speakers in Segou speak 'pure Bamana,' as opposed to those in Bamako who mix heavily with French (H. Fainke, personal communication, February 22, 2009). An additional feature adding to the variation between Bamana dialects is its widespread usage as a lingua franca. Table 2 contains information on the three informants who contributed to the present study is given below; although they speak different dialects of Bamana and come from different countries, they consider themselves speakers of the same language.

	Speaker 1	**Speaker 2**	**Speaker 3**
Dialect	Dioula	Bamana	Bamana
City	Ouagadougou	Bamako	Bamako
Country	Burkina Faso	Mali	Mali
Education (bilingualism)	Educated (bilingual)	Educated (bilingual)	Educated (bilingual)
Society	Bamana	Bamana	Bamana
Speech Community	Bilingual, Ouagadougou	Bilingual, Bamako	Bilingual, Bamako

Table 2: Demographic information for Bamana informants

What is certain from the above discussion is that no one monolithic variety of Bamana is spoken uniformly by all speakers. Since the language has been transmitted orally for most of its history and literacy in Bamana still remains low, a high level of variation from region to region and between different social groups and speech communities is to be expected.

5. Defining the Speech Community

Defining the speech community for the present analysis proved challenging. Different dialects of Bamana are spoken in different geographical regions, and speakers also have varying levels of exposure to and fluency in French within the same geographical region or city. The present analysis defines speech communities in terms of Croft's (2000, 2003) evolutionary model, which takes a different approach than that embraced by many sociolinguists. In Croft's view, a SPEECH COMMUNITY is 'a grouping of individuals by their participation in a social domain', which can be defined as shared expertise through which the members of the community establish common ground (Croft 2000). This common ground can be established either on a perceptual basis, through experience shared directly between the members, or it can be established on a discourse basis, through conversation. As a corollary, Croft views a SOCIETY as a group that is 'relatively communicatively isolated from neighboring societies, and typically is defined in terms of geographic region and (where relevant) ethnicity or nationality. With respect to other community types, such as age, gender and occupation, a society is heterogeneous' (Croft 2000). The major consequence resulting from this view is that all individuals belong to multiple speech communities (based on their participation in different social domains) and all individuals are therefore multilingual in the sense of having access to and utilizing different codes in the different speech communities to which they belong.

Applying Croft's speech community model to Bamana provides an insightful heuristic for making sense of the complexity of the situation in West Africa. In Croft's terms, speakers of all Bamana dialects form a society; they are communicatively connected to each other and communicatively isolated from other groups. Since Bamana is used throughout Mali and in other parts of West Africa as a lingua franca, this societal definition includes peoples of different ethnicities and nationalities – all Bamana speakers in West Africa form a society based upon communicative intercourse. One indicator of this status as a single society is the previously discussed fact that speakers of Jula and Bamana (and a few of the other related 'languages') consider themselves to be speakers of different dialects of the same language – they perceive a cohesive unity between their languages and peoples. An even stronger indicator is that almost all Bamana and Jula speakers are Muslim and they communicate, intermarry and trade with each other. These factors point to an analysis of these geographically widespread speakers as members of a single society.

In terms of speech community, however, the speakers who are all gathered into one society belong to many different speech communities. Speakers of Jula arguably form a separate speech community based upon their communal lexicon, which is slightly different from the lexicons of other Bamana dialects (Croft sees communal lexicons as 'one of the most obvious ways to differentiate community codes,' and therefore speech communities) (Croft 2000:170). In the same way, bilingual French/Bamana speakers in Bamako form a speech community based on their shared expertise as bilingual speakers. The members of this community, however, are in constant communicative contact with members of other speech

communities who are not bilingual because all of the speakers belong to the same society based upon communicative intercourse through Bamana.

In Croft's view, it is this contact between members of different speech communities that enables the introduction of new LINGUEMES (or features – these are lexical items or linguistic structures) into a speech community; Croft defines this process under the term INNOVATION. Once a variant has entered the lingueme pool (or feature pool) of a speech community, the community may select it for PROPAGATION, resulting in an evolution in the code of that community. It is important to note that in this model, 'selection can be described only in terms of favoring or disfavoring gene frequencies [variant frequencies] in populations' (Croft 2000). The definitive selection or rejection of a variant is influenced by frequency and also by prestige factors, but is ultimately up to the speakers. This is the process which is occurring in some Bamana speech communities; bilingual French/Bamana speakers introduce French lexical items (primarily nouns) into monolingual speech communities with which they are in contact, and these variants are then borrowed (propagated), phonologically incorporated to a greater or lesser degree, and become part of the communal lexicon of members of monolingual (in the narrow sense of the term) Bamana speech communities.

6. Thomason & Kaufman's (1988) Borrowing Scale

Although Bamana is in a majority situation as the most widely spoken African language of Mali (Central Intelligence Agency 2008), French remains the 'prestige' language as defined in sociolinguistic terms, and a significant number of lexical items have been borrowed from it. Petrucci's (1999) exploration of Thomason & Kaufman's (1988) Borrowing Scale proves helpful in distinguishing borrowing from interference or shift. According to Petrucci's Criterion 2, 'If language A has incorporated non-native lexical items from language B, but no structural features from language B, then language A incorporated the items from language B by means of borrowing' (Petrucci 1999). This criterion accurately describes the situation between Bamana and French, leading to characterization of the situation as one of borrowing from French into Bamana. In most cases, borrowings from French are in fact cultural borrowings that came into use with the introduction of an object or concept not previously present in the native culture; this analysis will be addressed in detail, with examples, in the section discussing the online Bamana lexicon. As is to be expected, nouns are the most commonly borrowed word class, followed by verbs and adjectives. Many noun borrowings such as *liburu* 'book' and *awiyɔn* 'airplane' are present in monolingual varieties of Bamana, but the degree of borrowing – and of codeswitching – increases in the Bamana spoken by educated, bilingual speakers. The overall frequency of French loan words in Bamana can be viewed as a continuum, with bilingual speakers at one end, and monolingual (non French-speaking) Bamana speakers at the other.

Thomason & Kaufman discuss two factors in determining contact intensity: time and bilingualism. In the case of Bamana, there have been over a hundred years of contact, but bilingualism was very low for the majority of that time period, having only significantly increased within the past thirty years. The top-down nature of French influence – its employ in government, education and communication – should also be factored in to the analysis of contact intensity. The result of the long time period of contact but low levels of bilingualism is a Level 2 contact situation on Thomason & Kaufman's borrowing scale (Millar 2007). Non-core nouns are borrowed, and these loanwords often incorporate French phonemes, as in

the case of *livuru* 'book.' Some function words and conjunctions are attested, such as *parce que* 'because' and *mais* 'but' (Traore 1978). Structural borrowing includes the incorporation by some speakers of non-CV syllables in loan words, i.e. [tabl] *table* 'table' instead of [ta.ba.li] *tabali* 'table'. Since time of contact continues to increase, if bilingualism continues to increase as well, the prediction can be made that the situation will progress from Level 2 to Level 3 contact. This would be evidenced by the incorporation of some French pronouns, prepositions, low numerals, syllable final consonants, and the phonemicization of formerly allophonic variation (Clements 1996). Some of these features are already attested in the speech of bilinguals, but have not yet spread (propagated) to the monolingual Bamana community.

7. Typological considerations

A typological examination of both French and Bamana is necessary for a thorough linguistic analysis, especially since both borrowing and codeswitching are undoubtedly influenced and limited by the respective typologies of the two languages. French is a fusional (synthetic) language of the Indo-European language family which exhibits SVO structure, prepositions, noun-adjective order (with restricted adjective-noun combinations possible), number/gender agreement (although often unmarked in oral language), and verbal inflection. Example (1) gives the structure of a typical French sentence:

(1) Structure of French

Les livre-s jaune-s se trouv-ent sur la table
the-PL books-PL yellow-PL REFL find-3PL.PRES on the-FEM.SG table-FEM.SG
vert-e.
green-FEM.SG
'The yellow books are on the green table.'

Bamana, on the other hand, is an isolating (analytical) language of the Niger-Congo language family which exhibits SOV structure, postpositions, noun-adjective order, minimal number agreement, no gender, and minimal verbal 'inflection; (it uses a simple tense/aspect system) (Gordon 2005a). Example (2) shows the Bamana sentence equivalent to Example (1):

(2) Structure of Bamana

Gafe-w nɛrɛmuguman bɛ sigi tabali binkɛnɛman kan.
books-PL yellow PRES.AUX sit table green on
'The yellow books are on the green table.'

It should be mentioned here that Bamana is a tone language, usually characterized as having two tones, high and low. In the above example, the definite articles for both 'books' and 'table' are supplied tonally instead of lexically. However, tone will be discussed only incidentally in the current analysis since it does not appear to play a phonemic role in the borrowing of French loan words. Additionally, although the Bamana word *gafe* (book, booklet, magazine) is used in Example 2 to demonstrate Bamana typology, it is a synonym of the borrowed

French item *liburu* (from *livre*: book); at this point the two words appear to be in competition. According to one informant, *gafe* originally referred to writings in scroll form; although it is now used to refer to books, it appears to be losing ground to *liburu* in the usage of younger speakers (A. Yaro, personal communication, April 2009).

7.1 Phonology

A phonological summary of the phonemes of Bamana and French is presented in Tables 3 and 4 below (information is drawn from Bird, et al.1977 for Bamana).

	Bamana	French	Bamana Orthography	French Orthography
1.	[b]	[b]	**b**aba	**b**é**b**é
2.	[d]	[d]	**d**aba	ma**d**ame
3.	[ʤ]	----	**j**ele	-------
4.	[f]	[f]	**f**ali	**f**ille
5.	[g]	[g]	**g**alama	**g**arcon
6.	[h]	----	**h**akili	-------
7.	[k]	[k]	**k**alo	**c**olline
8.	[l]	[l]	bo**l**i	**l**ivre
9.	[m]	[m]	**m**alo	**m**onsieur
10.	[n]	[n]	**n**ɔ**n**ɔ	**n**atation
11.	[ɲ]	[ɲ]	**ɲ**ɔ	champa**gn**e
12.	[ŋ]	[ŋ]	**ŋ**ɔni	smoki**ng**
13.	[p]	[p]	**p**an	**p**lage
14.	[ɾ]	**	baa**r**a	-------
15.	----	[ʁ]**	-------	**r**ouge
16.	[s]	[s]	**s**ɛnɛ	mer**c**i
17.	[ʃ]	[ʃ]	**sh**ɛ	**ch**ien
18.	[t]	[t]	**t**ɔ	**t**able
19.	[ʧ]	----	**c**ɛ	-----
20.	----	[v]	-------	**v**oilà
21.	[w]	*	**w**ari	-------
22.	[j]	*	**y**an	-------
23.	[z]	[z]	**z**an	chai**s**e
24.	----	[ʒ]	-------	**j**eudi

Table 3: Consonant comparison

*These sounds are considered half-vowels in French phonology and are therefore listed with the vowels.
**Although standard French generally has a velar/uvular /ʁ/, West African French more often has a tap /ɾ/ very similar to that of Bamana, and so the apparent difference between the two languages on this point disappears.

In contrast to French's complex consonant clusters and permissible coda consonants, Bamana phonology imposes a rigid CV syllable structure, with coda consonants strictly prohibited (Maiga 2001). The consonants are fairly symmetrical except for the voiced versus voiceless fricative series.

The result of the contact between the two languages' consonant systems is that, in borrowing French words, Bamana appears to substitute native phonemes according to a fairly predictable pattern. When a word with the French phoneme /v/ is borrowed, the /v/ is generally replaced by a /w/ or a /b/, both of which are native to Bamana's consonant system. As a result, French *verre* 'glass' becomes *wɛɛrɛ* [wɛ:.ɾɛ], *veste* 'jacket' becomes wɛsiti [wɛ.si.ti], and *livre* 'book' becomes *liburu* [li.bu.ru]. When French /ʒ/ appears in a borrowed word, Bamana usually replaces it with /z/: *gendarme* 'police officer' becomes *zandarama* [zan.da.ra.ma] and *journal* 'newspaper' becomes *zurunali* [zu.ru.na.li]. Lastly, where French /ʁ/ appears word-initially, a /w/ is often substituted, as in the borrowed words *worobinɛ* (from French *robinet* 'tap'), and *worotilɛn* (from French *rôti* 'roast'). As demonstrated in the examples above, borrowed words containing prohibited consonant clusters undergo vowel epenthesis so that they conform to the CV syllable structure of Bamana phonology.

The Bamana vowel system is highly symmetrical, being composed of the vowels i, e, ɛ, a, ɔ, o and u; all 7 vowels can also be nasal or long, leading to 21 vowel phonemes (Bird et al. 1977). Important to note is that spelling conventions in the Latin-based script require nasal vowels to be written in the form 'VN,' which should be understood to represent the presence of a nasal vowel, and not of a vowel and a prohibited (nasal) coda consonant. Additionally, long vowels are written by reduplication of the vowel in question; the Bamana word *baara* contains a long [a] followed by an unmarked [a]. The standard French vowel system is characterized as employing 15 vowels (11 oral and 4 nasal) and 3 semi-vowels (Valdman 1975:44-71).

The vowel systems for both languages are laid out in the table below:

	Bamana	French	Bamana Orthography	French Orthography
1.	[a]	[a]	f**a**	p**a**tte
2.	[ã]	---	f**an**	-----
3.	[a:]	---	f**aa**	-----
4.	---	[ɑ]	-----	p**a**te
5.	---	[ɑ̃]	-----	comm**en**t
6.	[e]	[e]	d**e**	**é**t**é**
7.	[ẽ]	---	d**en**	-----
8.	[e:]	---	f**ee**re	-----
9.	[ɛ]	[ɛ]	f**ɛ**	tr**è**s
10.	[ɛ̃]	[ɛ̃]	f**ɛn**	v**in**
11.	[ɛ:]	---	f**ɛɛ**nɛ	-----
12.	[i]	[i]	b**i**	m**i**di
13.	[ĩ]	---	b**in**	-----
14.	[i:]	---	m**ii**ri	-----
15.	[o]	[o]	k**o**	styl**o**
16.	[õ]	---	d**on**	-----
17.	[o:]	---	f**oo**ri	-----
18.	[ɔ]	[ɔ]	k**ɔ**	p**o**rte
19.	[ɔ̃]	[ɔ̃]	d**ɔn**	b**on**
20.	[ɔ:]	---	t**ɔɔ**rɔ	-----
21.	[u]	[u]	d**u**g**u**	d**ou**ze
22.	[ũ]	---	d**un**	-----
23.	[u:]	---	d**uu**ru	-----
24.	---	[ø]	-----	d**eu**x
25.	---	[œ]	-----	h**eu**re
26.	---	[œ̃]	-----	l**un**di
27.	---	[y]	-----	s**u**r
28.	---	[j]	-----	sole**il**
29.	---	[w]	-----	**ou**i
30.	---	[ɥ]	-----	h**ui**t

Table 4: Vowel comparison

The present analysis has found very little influence from French on the Bamana vowel system. Loan words typically use the 7-vowel Bamana system to approximate as closely as possible the original French vowel of the word being borrowed. Of note is the fact that some borrowed French words receive long vowels (such as *wɛɛrɛ* from French *verre* 'glass'). Since native speakers of Bamana are sensitive to vowel length, this may indicate that the first vowel in French *verre* is indeed longer than the /ɛ/ in various other French words, but since length is not contrastive in French, a native French speaker would likely be unaware of this vowel length difference. A study on the assignment of vowel length to French loanwords in Bamana would be an interesting area of inquiry for future research.

7.2 Syntax

At this point, there is very little evidence of syntactic influence from French into Bamana. In the speech of monolinguals, examples of phrases exhibiting French syntax are limited to a class of expressions such as *parce que, il faut que,* and *jusqu'au* where the expression can be considered as 'frozen' and is borrowed as a unit and inserted whole into a Bamana sentence (Maiga 2001). These expressions are easily borrowed because of their frequency of usage in French and because their syntactic similarities to equivalent Bamana expressions lead to cognitive connections and enable the French expression to be neatly substituted for the Bamana one without modifying the rest of the Bamana sentence. That these expressions appear in the speech of monolingual Bamana speakers serves to underscore the analysis of this contact situation as one of slight structural borrowing (Level 2) on Thomason & Kaufman's borrowing scale. Also relating to syntax, a few phonetic borrowings are attested, such as *n saman fu* (from French *Je m'en fous!* 'I don't give a damn!'), which appears to be a phonetic approximation of the French expression: *saman* represents *je m'en, fous* becomes *fu,* and the Bamana first person singular pronoun *n* is added, resulting in duplication of the equivalent pronoun already present in the French expression (*je*). Borrowings such as the above example illustrate the extent to which French is present in Bamana society, but linguistically, since they are borrowed as complete phrases with no bilingualism required, they do not enter into any syntactic restructuring or result in syntactic influence from French on Bamana (A. Yaro, personal communication, March 5, 2009).

A final aspect of borrowing from French, attested in many other borrowing languages, concerns the fusion of the French definite article *le/la/l'* with the word being borrowed. In Bamana, we see this in the nouns *lɛkoli* (from *l'école* 'the school'), *lɛrɛ* (from *l'heure* 'the hour, the time'), and *lotɛli* (from *l'hôtel* 'the hotel') where the French definite article is reanalyzed as the initial consonant of the noun; perhaps Bamana's preference for CV structures plays a role here. In contrast to French, the Bamana definite article is communicated not lexically but tonally. However, the tonal definite article may eventually be lost, as the demonstrative article *nin* seems to be developing increasing usage in fulfilling the definiteness function. Interestingly, when *nin* is used as a definite article, it is postpositional to the noun, adding to the improbability that monolingual Bamana speakers would analyze the French preposed definite article as such and reinforcing the tendency toward fusion of the article and noun in the borrowed form.

7.3 Morphology

Bamana has a productive system of derivational morphology, and French loan words are easily incorporated into this system. A very common aspect of Bamana's derivational morphology is word compounding; the combination of the noun *cɛncɛn* 'sand' with the noun *kungo* 'countryside, brush' yields the compound noun *cɛncɛnkungo* 'desert.' Suffixation and – to a lesser extent, prefixation – are also widely employed and offer the Bamana speaker considerable flexibility of expression. For example, the noun *kun* 'head' can be combined with the suffix *–ntan* '-less, without' to create the adjective *kunntan*, 'mindless, stupid.' This word can be further suffixed with the addition of *–ya* (which characterizes a process or state of being) to create the noun *kunntanya*, 'stupidity.' Compounding and suffixation can be used jointly to form complex compounds such as *misigɛnna* 'cattle herdsman' which is composed of the noun *misi* 'cow,' the verb *(ka) gɛn* 'to chase' and the agentive suffix *–la* (which undergoes nasal assimilation to become *–na*). This word formation process is very productive in Bamana (Bird et al. 1977).

French loan words are easily incorporated into this derivational morphology system (Maiga 2001). For example, the French *rôti* 'roast' has been borrowed into Bamana as *woroti* which is then combined with *–len*, the suffix marking the past participle, to create the adjective *worotilen* 'roast-PP' as in *sɛ worotilen* 'roast chicken.' In like manner, French *cinema* 'movie' is borrowed as *siniman* which then is joined with Bamana *so* 'house' to form the compound noun *sinimaso* 'movie theater'. These examples of French loan word integration into Bamana morphology are all listed in the Bamana online dictionary, which serves to underscore the influence of French on the everyday language of Bamana speakers (SIL International 2007).

8. Extent of Borrowing (Swadesh 200-word List)

The Swadesh 100 and 200-word lists (named for Morris Swadesh, who developed them) are set lists of core vocabulary words shared by most human languages, and contain concepts and objects often learned in childhood (I, you, big, animal, child, etc.). As a theoretical device, these lists provide a quantitative manner of measuring how much the core vocabulary of a language has been affected by contact. Core vocabulary tends to be most resistant to replacement and change; high levels of replacement indicate profound influence by a contact language, while little or no replacement indicates more limited influence. An analysis of the Swadesh 200-word list confirms that at this point in time Bamana core vocabulary is not being replaced by French loan words. Although both borrowing and codeswitching are extremely common and well-accepted, Bamana still maintains the core of its native vocabulary and the syntactic structures characteristic of an isolating SOV language. In general, French loan words describe objects and ideas that are not native to Bamana culture, and this fact is underlined in the Swadesh word list analysis. Only three concepts or objects on the list were found to have French lexical items, and these are the nouns 'snow' and 'ice,' and the verb 'freeze.' This semantic gap in Bamana vocabulary is quite easily explained when we look at the West African setting of the Bamana language; there is never snow in Mali, no ice is naturally produced (through storms or weather patterns) and therefore there is no naturally occurring action of freezing either. The results of the Swadesh 200-word list analysis support the

previously discussed conclusion that French-Bamana contact is currently at Level 2 on Thomason & Kaufman's Borrowing Scale.

9. The Online Bamana-French Lexicon (SIL)

An analysis of the online Bamana lexicon produced by SIL confirms the hypothesis that French loanwords do indeed describe aspects of Western life that are not native to Bamana culture. Of the approximately 3400 words listed in the online Bamana lexicon, 225 are indicated to be of French origin (SIL International 2007) (see Appendix A). It must also be noted that bilingual speakers employ many loanwords not listed in the dictionary in various degrees of integration in their everyday speech. The fact that these 225 words are listed in the Bamana dictionary attests to their relatively high frequency and conventionalization in the society as a whole. The 225 French-origin loan words belong to the following categories as indicated in Table 5 below:

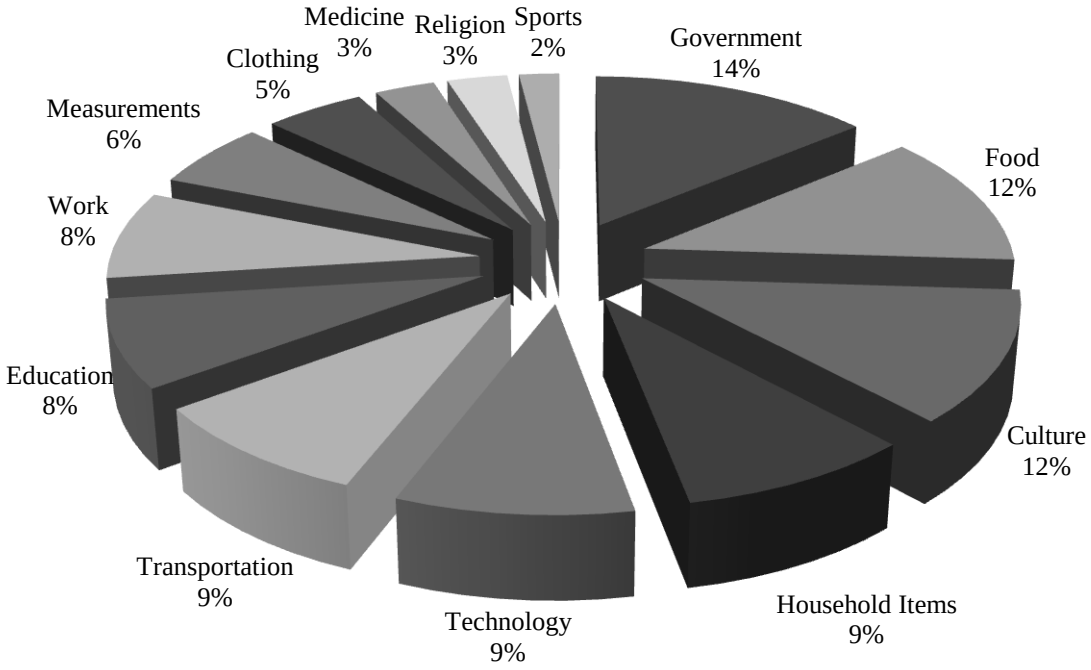

Table 5: Categories of French loanwords in Bamana online lexicon

These categories break down into percentages as shown in Table 6, with examples of each category are provided.

14% Government	*darapo* (*drapeau*) 'flag'	*mɛrɛ* (*maire*) 'mayor'
12% Food	*karɔti* (*carotte*) 'carrot'	*sokola* (*chocolat*) 'chocolate'
12% Culture	*pisini* (*piscine*) 'pool'	*lotɛli* (*l'hôtel*) 'hotel'
9% Household items	*finɛtiri* (*fenêtre*) 'window'	*sɛsi* (*chaise*) 'chair'
9% Technology	*ɔrdinatɛri* (*ordinateur*) 'computer'	*pili* (*pile*) 'battery'
9% Transportation	*mobilɛti* (*mobylette*) 'moped'	*takisi* (*taxi*) 'taxi'
8% Education	*isamɛn* (*examen*) 'exam'	*lakɔli* (*l'école*) 'school'
8% Work	*siman* (*ciment*) 'cement'	*mulu* (*moule*) 'mold'
6% Measurements	*mɛtɛrɛ* (*mètre*) 'meter'	*lɛrɛ* (*l'heure*) 'hour'
5% Clothing	*semisi* (*chemise*) 'shirt'	*sentiri* (*ceinture*) 'belt'
3% Medicine	*niwakini* (*nivaquine*) 'nivaquine'	*opere* (*opérer*) 'to operate on'
3% Religion	*egilisi* (*église*) 'church'	*Nowɛli* (*Noël*) 'Christmas'
2% Sports	*bi* (*but*) 'goal' (soccer)	*basikɛti* (*basket*) 'basketball'

Table 6: Percentages by category with examples

Each of these lexical items describes a concept or an object that is not native to Bamana traditional culture. For example, traditional Bamana homes are circular mud structures with thatch roofs; although the homes have a door, the Western-style window, especially one with a glass pane, is foreign to the native culture, and therefore the French word for window has been borrowed. Similarly, the Bamana concept of time relates closely to seasons and subjective periods of time, rarely to fixed points; it is more fluid than the Western conception, and therefore the French word for 'hour' has been borrowed to use when speaking of a specific point in time or in referencing the Western 24-hour clock. Though French loanwords like the ones above make up only 6.6% of the online lexicon, these borrowings are an important subcategory of the Bamana lexicon, for they describe everyday aspects of Bamana life that have resulted from contact with the French language and French culture.

10. Bamana Wikipedia

The online Bamana Wikipedia provides another useful insight into the extent of French influence on the Bamana language. This open-source wiki provides information about Malian history, government, education and health, with links to various other pages about specific cities, historical events, etc., all in the Bamana language. A qualitative review of this resource provides additional support for the borrowing level previously discussed. The page for the country of Mali, one of the more fully-developed pages, contains information on Mali's geography, history, cities, economic situation and exports, religions, politics, and eth-

nic/language groups, as well as photos, maps and graphs, all in Bamana (Wikipedia - Mali). The only non-Bamana words on this page are French borrowings which describe realities of life that are non-native to the region of Mali or to the historical Bamana way of life. Specific French borrowings can be divided into the following categories (spelling/accent use is maintained exactly as it appears on the web page):

Measurements:	*avril* (April) and *septembre* (September) – the traditional Bamana way of keeping time runs according to seasons, not months; *kilɛmêtrɛ* (kilometer); *millions* (millions); *tonne* (ton).
Government/finance:	country names; *gɛnɛralɛ* (General, used as a title); *mandat* (mandate/term of office); *décentralisation* (decentralization); *commune* (town or village); *gouvernement* (government); *americain* (American); *colonisation* (colonization); *region* (region); *banque* (bank); *remarques* (comments).
Work:	*exportɛ* (export); *coton* (cotton), gomme arabique (a stabilizer and emulsifying ingredient used in foods, often untranslated in English); *uranium* (uranium).
Religion:	*chretien* (Christian), *Noël* (Christmas).

Since this page and those associated with it are specifically Bamana language pages, it can be assumed that a goal of the contributors is to write their entries entirely or mostly in Bamana, and to self-censor usage of French loanwords that might otherwise be part of their spoken communication. Yet even with this heightened meta-linguistic awareness, the Bamana Wikipedia exhibits a certain amount of French borrowing in describing Western realities and concepts.

11. Distinguishing Borrowing from Codeswitching

Since Bamana speakers frequently employ both codeswitching and lexical borrowing (often within the same sentence or even phrase), it becomes necessary to clearly define these two distinct phenomena. In the current analysis, borrowing is used to refer to the phonological integration of a French lexical item into a phrase that is primarily Bamana in both syntactic structure and phonology. The following examples illustrate borrowing from French into Bamana, with loan words in bold:

(3) French lexical items borrowed into Bamana

a. *N ka* ***tɛlɛfɔn*** *tɛ* ***marshe***.
Me-POSS telephone NEG.AUX work
'My phone doesn't work/doesn't have service.'

b. *An bɛ taala* ***buwati*** *la.*
We PRES.AUX go-PRES.PART club POSTPOS
'We're going to the club.'

In contrast, codeswitching as analyzed here involves a switch from the syntax and phonology of one language to the syntax and phonology of the other, as illustrated below (Traore 1978):

(4) Codeswitching between Bamana and French

***Bon ça va**, sini, m' ba fo a yɛrɛ ye, **parce que** n'ka kan ka*
Good ok tomorrow I PRES.AUX-him tell him REFL POSTPOS because I OBLIGATN
*ta fo **Opération puits** la.*
go until Operation Puits POSTPOS
'All right. Tomorrow I'll tell him because I must go to Operation-Puits now.'

In example (4) the items in bold are analyzed as codeswitching for three reasons: the orthography indicates that the French pronunciation is maintained, the term 'Opération Puits' displays French syntax (in Bamana syntax it would be 'PuitsOpération' as a compound word) and the speaker is known to be bilingual.

Although phonological integration is the main criteria used in this analysis to distinguish borrowing from codeswitching, the line between the two is often blurred. As with many aspects of French/Bamana influence and interactions, the space between borrowing and codeswitching can be viewed as a continuum, with various levels of partial phonological integration bridging the gap between the two categories. Bilingual speakers exhibit these varying degrees of phonological integration, as, for instance, in example (3) above. The borrowed verb *marshe* (*marcher* 'to work/walk') is not fully assimilated to Bamana phonology, since there is an /r/ in coda position of the first syllable, which is strictly prohibited by Bamana's CV structure. Bilingual speakers often retain French phonemes: the French word for book, *livre*, is a good example of the various levels of phonological integration possible. This word shows four different levels along a continuum from least to most integrated:

livre unassimilated codeswitch
livru partially assimilated, but retains prohibited consonant cluster /vr/
livuru more fully assimilated, but still retains French phoneme /v/
liburu fully assimilated loan word conforming to Bamana phonology

This continuum of integration means that drawing a line between borrowing and codeswitching based solely on linguistic criteria is very difficult, and sociolinguistic factors become important in determining how to evaluate each utterance. Additionally, bilingual speakers indicate that their choice of lexical item and level of integration is most influenced by their interlocutors' level of French proficiency and by the social context of the communication (A. Diakité, personal communication, February 25, 2009), underscoring the role of sociolinguistic factors in both borrowing and codeswitching.

12. Codeswitching

A sociolinguistic study published by Traore (1978) indicates that 'switching from French to L1 and vice versa is a common feature of the speech of educated Malians' (Traore 1978: 20). And as noted in other studies, speakers can be unconscious of their own codeswitching: one informant in Traore's study asserted that he never codeswitched, and only admitted to it upon

hearing his own voice recorded with cases of switching. Of all the informants interviewed, 50% self-reported to switch 'sometimes' and 48% indicated that they switch 'often' (ibid). Out of twelve conversations recorded and analyzed, covering many different social situations with interlocutors of different socio-economic and educational backgrounds, ninety five portions were spoken in French and fifty nine in Bamana (ibid). In another sample of ten conversations, 332 meaningful units were counted, with 61.44% in French (ibid). This study serves to establish that codeswitching was employed quite frequently by educated Malians (in Bamako, specifically) as of 1978, and more recent interviews with bilingual speakers indicate that this trend has not in the least abated (H. Fainke and A. Diakité, personal communication, February 2009). If anything, as education has continued to grow and expand its reach, more speakers are exposed to French than before, and the number of speakers able to employ codeswitching has likely expanded as well.

Traore's study is also illuminating as to the complex social situation existing between French and Bamana. Speakers were asked to respond to different aspects of the relationship between French and Bamana usage, with the following results. On a scale of 1 to 7, with 1 indicating complete opposition to and 7 indicating complete agreement with the statement presented, the average score for the fifty speakers interviewed was a 6.12 (strong agreement) in response to the statement 'French is a foreign language that cannot render all the Malian realities' (Traore 1978). These speakers also agreed strongly with the statements that 'artistic creation is easier in the mother tongue than in a foreign language,' and that 'children would learn faster and succeed better at school if they were taught in their mother tongue.' However, less than half of the same informants indicated that they would replace French by Bamana in schools, demonstrating the complexity of sociolinguistic situation (ibid). These responses highlight an important detail in the maintenance of Bamana: French is not seen as being capable of truly describing Malian life. The strong tie between the Bamana language and the cultural identity of the Malian people is arguably one of the factors contributing to the maintenance of the core vocabulary in the face of strong influence by the prestige language.

13. Conclusion and Areas for Further Research

The present analysis concludes that French variants are entering the Bamana vocabulary (the lingueme pool *per* Croft) through the speech of bilingual speakers (innovation) and are being propagated throughout Bamana society; as the innovative vocabulary is limited to non-core lexical items, some conjunctions, and non-native phonemes in borrowed words, this has been analysed as Level 2 borrowing on Thomason & Kaufman's (1988) Borrowing Scale. Although codeswitching is also frequently employed among bilingual speakers, it is not conventionalized and at this point serves mainly to introduce new linguemes into the feature pool of monolingual speakers. Both of the hypotheses are confirmed: French influence in Bamana is primarily lexical, with very little structural influence being evidenced, and French loanwords describe aspects of life associated with French or Western ideas and culture.

Looking forward and utilizing Thomason & Kaufman's model, a logical prediction can be made for this contact situation. As previously discussed, the T&K model relies on time and bilingualism as the two factors of contact intensity; since there is already a relatively long period of contact between French and Bamana (which increases with every year that French remains the official language of countries like Mali), if bilingualism also continues to increase, as it has over the past thirty years, the situation can be expected to develop from

Level 2 into Level 3 contact, in which one would find a slightly greater degree of structural borrowing. In the case of Bamana and French, this progression to Level 3 borrowing would be evidenced by the borrowing of some French pronouns and low numerals, the incorporation of prepositions into Bamana's postpositional system, and the incorporation of syllable-final consonants in loan words (in the speech of monolinguals…this already occurs for some speakers) (ibid).

The present analysis has raised several questions which are beyond the scope of this study, but which could provide interesting topics for future research. A detailed analysis of the effect of Bamana's phonemic vowel length on borrowings from French would provide insight into the nature of Bamana phonology (and perhaps that of French as well.) Recordings of speakers of different varieties of Bamana, or of speakers from the same city but who possess different levels of bilingualism, would enable a more comprehensive analysis of the nature of the speech communities and of the overall level of French influence on the society. From a sociolinguistic perspective, re-administering Traore's (1978) sociolinguistic survey in Bamako where it was originally carried out would provide the data necessary for a true diachronic analysis of the diglossic situation, the extent of codeswitching present, and the development of speaker attitudes towards Bamana and French. An analysis applying the Thomason & Kaufman scale to everyday language, drawn from Bamana newspapers, radio, and conversations between bilinguals, would provide current data on the borrowing level in different sociolinguistic settings, and would expand the present analysis beyond written sources. Most relevant to the current study, however, would be a frequency analysis of the 225 loanwords attested in the online dictionary. This type of analysis would provide a better understanding of the nature of loanword propagation in Bamana, and would prove insightful as to the areas of life in which these borrowings are most likely to occur. Little to no research has been done on any of the above topics, and all have the potential to contribute both to the understanding of contact between French and Bamana, and to the field of contact linguistics as a whole.

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Appendix A: the Online Bamana Lexicon

	Bamana	French	English	Part of Speech	Category
1	foron	fourreau	sheath, scabbard	noun	Clothing
2	kasiki	casque	helmet	noun	Clothing
3	masiki	masque	mask	noun	Clothing
4	mayo	maillot	football shirt	noun	Clothing
5	mɔnturu	montre	watch	noun	Clothing
6	pantalɔn	pantalon	trousers	noun	Clothing
7	pase	repasser	to iron	verb	Clothing
8	saki	sac	bag	noun	Clothing
9	semisi	chemise	shirt	noun	Clothing
10	sentiri	ceinture	belt	noun	Clothing
11	susɛti	chaussette	sock	noun	Clothing
12	wɛsiti	veste	jacket	noun	Clothing
13	anwulopu	enveloppe	envelope	noun	Culture
14	bandi	bandit	bandit	noun	Culture
15	butigi	boutique	small shop, boutique	noun	Culture
16	emerode	émeraude	emerald	noun	Culture
17	fɛti	fête	party	noun	Culture
18	fɔrɔlen	fort	strong	adj.	Culture
19	galasi	glace	ice	noun	Culture
20	gitari	guitare	guitar	noun	Culture
21	kare	carré, rue	street, block	noun	Culture
22	kasɛti	cassette	cassette	noun	Culture
23	kɛrɛmu	crème	cream (for skin)	noun	Culture
24	komi	comme	since, because	conj.	Culture
25	kɔnze	congé	vacation, holiday	noun	Culture
26	kuwafe (m.)	se faire coiffer	to get hair done	verb	Culture
27	loteri	loterie	lottery	noun	Culture
28	lotɛli	hôtel	hotel	noun	Culture
29	nɛzi	neige	snow	noun	Culture
30	pake	paquet	packet	noun	Culture
31	palɛ	palais	palace	noun	Culture
32	pilaki	plaque, panneau	signboard	noun	Culture
33	pisini	piscine	pool	noun	Culture
34	sɛrɛkili	cercle	circle	noun	Culture
35	siniman	cinéma	movies, film	noun	Culture

36	tiyatiri	théatre	play, theater	noun	Culture
37	dɛsɛn	dessin	drawing	noun	Culture
38	banki	banque	bank	noun	Culture
39	sɛki	chèque	check	noun	Culture
40	dipilomu	diplôme	diploma	noun	Education
41	isamɛn	examen	exam	noun	Education
42	kaye	cahier	exercise book	noun	Education
43	kilasi	classe	class	noun	Education
44	kiriyɔn	crayon	pencil	noun	Education
45	lakɛrɛ	craie	chalk	noun	Education
46	lakɔli	école	school	noun	Education
47	lankiri	encre	ink	noun	Education
48	lɛkoli	école	school	noun	Education
49	lɛtɛrɛ	lettre	letter	noun	Education
50	liburu	livre	book	noun	Education
51	lise	lycée	lycée	noun	Education
52	lisi	liste	list	noun	Education
53	papiye	papier	paper	noun	Education
54	porogaramu	programme	program	noun	Education
55	tabulo	tableau	black/whiteboard	noun	Education
56	wɛrɛsɛ	verset	verse	noun	Education
57	bisiki	biscuit	biscuit/cookie	noun	Food
58	biyɛri	bière	beer	noun	Food
59	bɔnbɔn	bonbon	candy	noun	Food
60	buwasɔn	boisson	drink	noun	Food
61	diwɛn	vin	wine	noun	Food
62	farini	beignet (de 'farine')	doughnut	noun	Food
63	foromazi	fromage	cheese	noun	Food
64	gato	gâteau	cake	noun	Food
65	karɔti	carotte	carrot	noun	Food
66	kɔmitɛrɛ	pomme de terre	potato	noun	Food
67	kɔnkɔn	concombre	cucumber	noun	Food
68	layi	ail	garlic	noun	Food
69	mayɔnezi	mayonnaise	mayonnaise	noun	Food
70	obɛrizini	aubergine	eggplant	noun	Food
71	patiseri	pâtisserie	cake shop	noun	Food
72	pɔmu	pomme	apple	noun	Food

73	pɔnpɔrɔn	poivron	pepper	noun	Food
74	rezɛn	raisin	grape	noun	Food
75	salati	salade	lettuce	noun	Food
76	serisi	cerise	cherry	noun	Food
77	sokola	chocolat	chocolate	noun	Food
78	su	chou	cabbage	noun	Food
79	tamati	tomate	tomato	noun	Food
80	winɛgiri	vinaigre	vinagar	noun	Food
81	worotilen	rôti	toast	adj.	Food
82	yawuru	yaourt	yogurt	noun	Food
83	arɔndisiman	arrondissement	administrative district	noun	Government
84	awoka	avocat	attorney	noun	Government
85	biro	bureau	office	noun	Government
86	darapo	drapeau	flag	noun	Government
87	demokarasi	démocratie	democracy	noun	Government
88	depite	député	member of parliament	noun	Government
89	disitiriki	district	district	noun	Government
90	gofɛrɛnaman	gouvernement	government	noun	Government
91	kanpaŋi	campagne	campaign	noun	Government
92	kapitalisi	capitaliste	capitalist	noun	Government
93	kapitalisimu	capitalisme	capitalism	noun	Government
94	komini	commune	district	noun	Government
95	komite	comité	committee	noun	Government
96	kɔnferansi	conférence	conference	noun	Government
97	kɔnferansiden	délégué	delegate	noun	Government
98	kɔnseye	conseiller	councillor	noun	Government
99	mɛrɛ	maire	mayor	noun	Government
100	mɛri	mairie	town hall	noun	Government
101	pariti politiki	parti politique	political party	noun	Government
102	pasipɔri	passeport	passport	noun	Government
103	peresidan	président	president	noun	Government
104	polisi	policier	police officer	noun	Government
105	politiki	politique	politics	noun	Government
106	poroze	projet	project	noun	Government
107	pɔsiti	la poste	poste office	noun	Government
108	sɔrɔdasi	soldat	soldier	noun	Government
109	terorisi	terroriste	terrorist	noun	Government
110	tɛnburu	timbre	stamp	noun	Government

111	wisa	visa	visa	noun	Government
112	zandarama	gendarme	policeman	noun	Government
113	zenerali	général	general	noun	Government
114	zurunali	journal	newspaper	noun	Government
115	asiyɛti	assiette	plate	noun	Household
116	ban	banc	bench	noun	Household
117	busi	bougie	candle	noun	Household
118	buteli	bouteille	bottle	noun	Household
119	buwati	boîte	box, tin, can, club	noun	Household
120	dara	drap	bedsheet	noun	Household
121	finɛtiri	fenêtre	window	noun	Household
122	furuno	fourneau	stove	noun	Household
123	garasi	garage	garage	noun	Household
124	karitɔn	carton	cardboard box	noun	Household
125	kɛsu	caisse	trunk	noun	Household
126	kile	clé	key	noun	Household
127	kuyɛri	cuillère	spoon	noun	Household
128	lamu	lame de rasoir	blade	noun	Household
129	li	lit	bed	noun	Household
130	pɔli	poêle	frying pan	noun	Household
131	sɛsi	chaise	chair	noun	Household
132	tabali	table	table	noun	Household
133	walisi	valise	suitcase	noun	Household
134	wɛɛrɛ	verre	glass	noun	Household
135	witiri	vitre	pane of glass	noun	Household
136	dimansi	dimanche	Sunday	noun	Measurements
137	kilo	kilo-gram/kilomètre	kilogram/kilometer	noun	Measurements
138	kilomɛtɛrɛ	kilomètre	kilometer	noun	Measurements
139	lɛrɛ	heure	hour	noun	Measurements
140	litiri	litre	liter	noun	Measurements
141	mɛtɛrɛ	mètre	meter	noun	Measurements
142	milimɛtɛrɛ	millimètre	millimeter	noun	Measurements
143	miliyɔn	million	million	noun	Measurements
144	miniti	minute	minute	noun	Measurements
145	nimɔrɔ	numéro	number	noun	Measurements
146	peze	peser	weigh	verb	Measurements
147	samɛdi	samedi	Saturday	noun	Measurements

148	santimɛtɛrɛ	centimètre	centimeter	noun	Measurements
149	dɔrɔgu	drogue	drug	noun	Medicine
150	jabɛti	diabète	diabetes	noun	Medicine
151	kinini	quinine	quinine	noun	Medicine
152	niwakini	nivaquine	nivaquine	noun	Medicine
153	opere	opérer	to operate on	verb	Medicine
154	pikiri	piqûre	injection	noun	Medicine
155	witamini	vitamine	vitamin	noun	Medicine
156	egilisi	église	church	noun	Religion
157	kerecɛn	chrétien	Christian	noun	Religion
158	misionɛri	missionnaire	missionary	noun	Religion
159	mɔnpɛrɛ	mon père	Catholic priest (my father)	noun	Religion
160	Nowɛli	Noël	Christmas	noun	Religion
161	Paki	Pâques	Easter	noun	Religion
162	pasitɛri	pasteur	pastor	noun	Religion
163	basikɛti	basket	basketball	noun	Sports
164	bi	but	goal	noun	Sports
165	goli	goal, football	goal	noun	Sports
166	zido	judo	judo	noun	Sports
167	alimɛti	allumette	match	noun	Technology
168	anpulu	ampoule	bulb	noun	Technology
169	batiri	batterie	battery	noun	Technology
170	birike	briquet	cigarette lighter	noun	Technology
171	esansi	essence	gas	noun	Technology
172	ɛnfɔrimatiki	informatique	IT	noun	Technology
173	filitere	filtre	filter	noun	Technology
174	foto	photo	photo	noun	Technology
175	gazɔli	gasoil	diesel	noun	Technology
176	kuran	courant (électricité)	electricity	noun	Technology
177	lanpan	lampe	lamp	noun	Technology
178	mɛrɛkiri	mercure	mercury	noun	Technology
179	nilɔn	nylon	nylon	noun	Technology
180	ɔrdinatɛri	ordinateur	computer	noun	Technology
181	peta	pétard	firecracker	noun	Technology
182	pili	pile	battery	noun	Technology
183	pɔnpe	pompe	pump	noun	Technology
184	sarabon	charbon	charcoal	noun	Technology

185	sede	CD	CD	noun	Technology
186	worobinɛ	robinet	tap	noun	Technology
187	pilasi	place	place (for a person)	noun	Transportation
188	pusupusunin	pousse-pousse	rickshaw	noun	Transportation
189	sofɛrɛ	chauffeur	driver	noun	Transportation
190	woyasi	voyage	journey	noun	Transportation
191	awiyɔn	avion	airplane	noun	Transportation
192	bato	bateau	boat	noun	Transportation
193	elikɔpitɛri	hélicoptère	helicopter	noun	Transportation
194	fɛrɛn	frein	brake (on a car)	noun	Transportation
195	gara	gare	bus/train station	noun	Transportation
196	gudɔrɔn	goudron	tarmac road	noun	Transportation
197	kamiyɔn	camion	truck, lorry	noun	Transportation
198	mobilɛti	mobylette	moped	noun	Transportation
199	motɛrɛ	moteur	motor, engine	noun	Transportation
200	moto	moto	motorbike	noun	Transportation
201	pasase	passager	passenger	noun	Transportation
202	pedali	pédale	pedal	noun	Transportation
203	pinɛ	pneu	tire	noun	Transportation
204	pɔri	port	port	noun	Transportation
205	takisi	taxi	taxi	noun	Transportation
206	tɛrɛn	train	train	noun	Transportation
207	burusi	brousse	bush, countryside	noun	Work
208	labure	labourer	to plough	verb	Work
209	angɛrɛ	engrais	fertilizer	noun	Work
210	cɛni	chaîne	chain	noun	Work
211	mulu	moule	mold	noun	Work
212	parantikɛ	apprenti	apprentice	noun	Work
213	patɔrɔn	patron	boss	noun	Work
214	pɛlu	pelle	shovel	noun	Work
215	sari	charrue	ox-plough	noun	Work
216	sifɔn	chiffon	cloth (for cleaning)	noun	Work
217	siman	ciment	cement	noun	Work
218	sizo	ciseaux	scissors	noun	Work
219	zu	joug	yoke	noun	Work
220	burɛti	brouette	wheelbarrow	noun	Work
221	izini	usine	factory	noun	Work
222	mansin	machine	machine	noun	Work

223	marito	marteau	hammer	noun	Work
224	masɔn	maçon	mason	noun	Work
225	sude	souder	weld, solder	verb	Work