

BORROWINGS INTO KISI AS EVIDENCE OF MANDE EXPANSIONISM AND INFLUENCE

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Strong claims have been made as to the influence of Mande languages on the languages of the Atlantic Group. This paper analyzes Mande borrowings in one Atlantic language in order to understand the nature of that influence. The Atlantic language of focus is Kisi, a member of the Southern Branch, spoken primarily in Guinea. The Kisi people have separated from their closest relatives on the Atlantic Coast in historic times, probably due to the second Mande expansionist wave of the sixteenth century at the collapse of the Mali Empire. Today the Kisi are completely surrounded and interpenetrated by speakers of Mande languages. The Mande influence has been great and extends to such areas as personal and place names, politeness terms, cultural items, terms for political organization, foods, animals, and even body parts. This paper assesses the nature of Mande influence based on the semantic fields in which borrowings appear and on the known historical facts in order to better understand both the languages and the history of their speakers.

Il existe des déclarations vigoureuses que les langues mandés ont eu beaucoup d'influence sur les langues atlantiques. Cet article fait une analyse des emprunts mandé dans une seule langue atlantique afin de comprendre l'essence de cette influence. Le kissiei est la langue en question; il appartient au sous-groupe «Southern Branch» et on le parle en Guinée essentiellement. Les Kissi se sont séparés de leurs parents les plus proches (linguistiquement) qui se trouvent à la côte atlantique actuellement, probablement à cause de la deuxième vague d'expansionnisme mandé à la chute de l'Empire Mali. De nos jours on trouve les Kissi enkystés et traversés complètement par les locuteurs des langues mandés. L'influence mandé sur le kissiei se manifeste partout dans le lexique: les noms personnels, les lieux, les formes de politesse, etc. Nous évaluons ici l'influence mandé par moyen des champs sémantiques dans lesquels on trouve les emprunts vis-à-vis des données historiques, afin de mieux comprendre les langues et l'histoire de leurs locuteurs.

0. INTRODUCTION

Throughout West Africa and indeed throughout much of a broad belt spanning Africa's middle once called the "Fragmentation Belt" (Dalby 1977), knowledge of language contact patterns has been crucial in understanding the sources of a language's grammar and its genetic affiliation (Heine 1976). Conclusions have been tentative, however, since areal phenomena in Africa are not well documented (see Heine 1991, Heine 1997). Often a genetically unexpected language feature will be claimed to have its origin in a neighboring and (genetically) unrelated language, but rarely are such claims advanced with much linguistic evidence, especially from the lexicon. This paper assesses language contact as measured by lexical borrowing.¹

The historical facts are known if sketchy. The linguistic facts are less well known. Childs 1995b discusses the importance of language contact for the Atlantic Group in understanding the distribution of tone and accent; Childs 1997 details the social circumstances in which the necessary contact for influence was possible. This

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paper represents a continuation of this work by looking at the extent to which lexical borrowing can further illuminate the contact picture and bolster the claims in those two papers.

Heine 1991 briefly surveys the African contact situation, showing how the distribution of languages reveals past patterns of interaction. For example, the isolated click languages, Sandawe and Hadza of north central Tanzania and Kuliak of northeastern Uganda, are probably the remnants of earlier, more widely spread hunter-gatherer societies, the rest having disappeared in the Bantu expansion. An equally well known use of borrowings to understand the African past is the evidence used in the discussion of the spread of Bantu, showing that Bantu speakers came *after* those speaking Central Sudanic languages. Ehret 1976 "suggests that the names applied to cattle and sheep by many modern Bantu speakers were probably derived from non-Bantu languages known collectively as Central Sudanic" (Phillipson 1977:66). The interpretation is that animal-raising was culturally transmitted from the Sudanic-speaking peoples to Bantu speakers as the latter took over the former's traditional areas. Another familiar example is the introduction of Khoisan clicks into Southern Bantu, likely through the gender-coded practice of *hlonipha* (Herbert 1990). This new series considerably expanded the inventories of Nguni languages such as Zulu and Xhosa. That only these Bantu languages have clicks suggests an innovation or relatively recent period of contact, a suggestion supported by other evidence.

Undoubtedly borrowing correlates directly with the extent of bilingualism and the closeness of the contact between the languages. Moreover, borrowings may reflect the importance of particular semantic fields at different periods, as well as power asymmetries (McMahon 1994). "Basic vocabulary", however, tends to resist change and replacement. Another generalization is that borrowings typically move from the more to the less prestigious language, being concentrated in semantic fields where the more prestigious speakers have greater influence (Koefoed and Tarenskeen 1996:119). The two most important categories of borrowing, need and prestige (Hock 1986:411), are imprecise, however, and need some grounding in an actual contact situation to be understood, as will be done here. In evaluating an Atlantic lexicon, the following questions will be answered:

- How much was borrowed?
- What kind of words were borrowed?
- Do the borrowings belong to coherent semantic fields?
- What is the social valuation of these borrowings? Do the borrowings cluster in the more prestigious domains of life?

The overall purpose of this paper, then, is to present the linguistic evidence that has been lacking in previous claims for pervasive Mande linguistic influence on Atlantic, to determine what lexical evidence there is for extensive (and asymmetrical) contact between the speakers of Mande languages and the speakers of the Atlantic language Kisi. "Mande" here will be used to denote the Mande languages included in the study, primarily those surrounding the Kisi area. Childs 1997 claims that the retention of tone in Atlantic is due precisely to social factors, namely, the overpowering political and social importance of the speakers of Mande languages vis-à-vis their Atlantic-speaking counterparts. These social factors will also be seen as important in determining borrowing patterns. After providing some historical background to the

interaction between Atlantic and Mande speakers, I present the current sociolinguistic situation obtaining between the two groups. The lexicons of Kisi and neighboring Mande languages are then compared and the significance of the findings discussed.

1. SOCIOHISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO THE MANDE AND ATLANTIC PEOPLES

1.1 LANGUAGE CLASSIFICATION

Kisi is one of the southernmost and most isolated members of the Atlantic Group, an early branch off the Niger-Congo family stock; Mande is perhaps a simultaneous branching, as in Table 1.

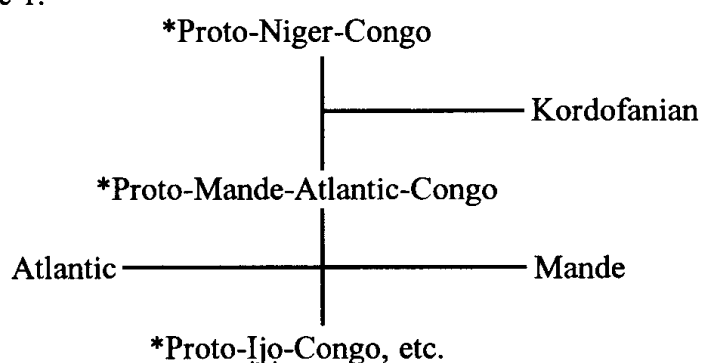


Table 1. Niger-Congo (Williamson and Blench 2000)

There are roughly 30 languages in the Mande group (25–35 in Kastenholz 1991/92). The most important languages here are Mende and Maninka, the former belonging to the South-West branch of West Mande, the latter belonging to the Central branch, forming part of the closely related group known as “Manding”. Socio-historically, speakers of the Manding varieties see themselves as linked to the Mali Empire of the 13th–15th centuries (Brooks 1993:98). From a linguistic perspective, Manding is genetically a “small sub-branch within the Western group...a linguistic continuum with the linguistic distance between its extreme representatives slightly surpassing the limit of mutual intelligibility” (Vydrine 1999:7).

Kastenholz notes the general importance of language contact to the group as a whole. For example, some explosives (vs. implosives) in the language are not native but come from neighboring non-Mande languages. He further states that there is likely more contact on the Western Mande side (our area of concern) than on the Eastern, characterized by striking lexical innovation (Kastenholz 1991/92:134–141).

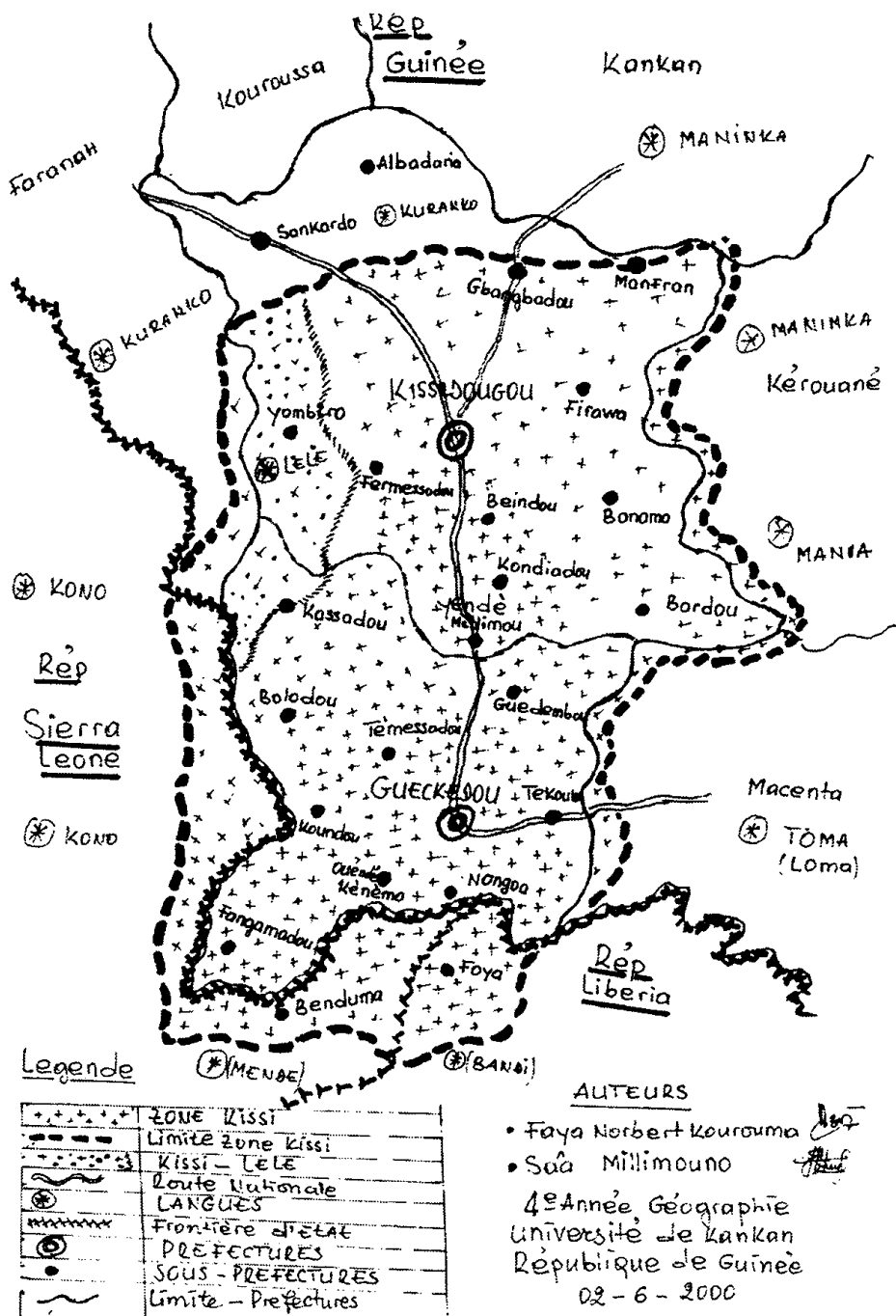
Languages belonging to Atlantic also show the effects of language contact, but the patterns are not well known nor do the languages form a cohesive group: “The two features that make Atlantic a meaningful entity are typology and geographical distribution” (Wilson 1989:81).² Atlantic contains some fifty languages with less of the homogeneity found in Mande. Within several subgroups of Atlantic, e.g., Baga, Cangin, there are more credible shared lexicons (above 30%), but for the group as a whole the percentage of shared basic lexicon is below 10% (Wilson 1989). Kisi, the language of

²The same claim has been made for Mande by, e.g., Köhler (Kastenholz 1998 p.c.), although the cognate percentages within Mande are somewhat higher (Kastenholz 1991/92).

focus here, is one of the Bullom languages within the Southern Branch. All other Bullom languages are spoken on the coasts of Sierra Leone and Guinea, far away from the forest and savannah remoteness of Kisi. It is this isolation and the accompanying interaction with speakers of Mande languages that have stimulated this study.

1.2 CURRENT GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION

The Atlantic languages extend in a broad arc along the Atlantic coast. With the exception of Wolof, Fulfulde, Temne, and perhaps a few others, the languages are not widely spoken, several being on the verge of death (Childs, to appear), and several having disappeared in historical times (Ferry 1972).



Map 1. Kisi surrounded by Mande

The Kisi-speaking area is surrounded completely by speakers of Mande languages, several of which belong to the Manding cluster (see Map 1). On the north there is Kuranko, a language closely related to Manding (Kastenholz 1988). Maninka is part of the Manding core and gradually gives way on the eastern side of the Kisi area to Looma, a South-West Mande language. To the south, moving clockwise, are two other South-West languages, Bandi and the closely related Mende (83% lexical similarity with the closest Mende dialects (Grimes 1996)). The next language is Kono, a language branching off just above the Manding cluster with Vai, and finally there is Lele, a branch off the Manding cluster with Kuranko and Mogofin (Vydrine 1999). Lele was first seen as an island within the traditional Kisi area (Tressan 1953) confirmed by my own fieldwork of 1984–85. Now, however, it should more accurately be located on the northwest periphery. As to its genetic identity, Lele is a Manding variety close to both Kuranko and Maninka, albeit with a great number of Kisi words.³

In sum, languages from two sub-branches of Mande have completely encircled the Kisi; the surrounding languages come from the Central / South-West branch, four from the Manding branch of Central West Mande (Kuranko, Lele, Maninka, and Kono), and three from the South-West (Loma, Bandi, and Mende). Maninka and its parent group Manding represent the first branch and are the focus of the analysis, but I also consider data from Mende, taken to be representative of the South-West branch of West Mande.

I now turn to the historical events that led to this geographical configuration and to the present-day social asymmetries.

1.3 THE MANDE EXPANSION

The area under consideration has a history of population movements, unrest, and even warfare into the present, all with linguistic consequences: multilingualism, language growth or expansion, language creation, language shift, and language death.

In previous centuries the region extending from the Upper Guinean coastal forest into the savannas of its hinterland was often at war, during which assorted polities competed for control of trade, territory, and people. These polities frequently grouped people of different linguistic origin, and although one language dominated some, others are known to have been multilingual communities which developed creoles of their own (Seymour 1860). Polities became related in rapidly shifting alliances, giving rise to a pattern of loosely constituted confederacies (cf. D'Azevedo 1962, Murphy and Bledsoe 1987). (Fairhead and Leach 1996:92.)

One of the most important groups in this dynamic was that comprising people speaking Mande languages, especially those forming part of the ancient empire of Mali, the Manding. There were basically two phases to what has been called the

³They are not Kono as claimed in Wald 1994 but rather close to a core Manding variety. Guinea missionaries who speak both Kisi and Maninka state unequivocally that the language is a Maninka dialect (D. & P. Harvey 1990 p.c.). Germaine claims that the Lele represent a Kuranko invader assimilating to the Kisi (Germaine 1984:45), a claim supported by Vydrine (Kastenholz 1998 p.c.). Kuranko is a Manding language sharing 80–90% lexical similarity with the core Manding group; Kono is part of "Greater Mandekan" sharing 70% lexical similarity (Bimson 1978:50)—thus, the question may be moot.

Mande expansion, the first taking place peacefully and gradually,⁴ the second being rather more warlike and concentrated (Brooks 1993).⁵ In the first phase, Mande penetration of western Africa was characterized by a long period of peaceful trade and settlement beginning in the early centuries of the Common Era. It was a gradual but steady influx of smiths and traders, the former of whom obtained power through their control of the secret societies,⁶ the latter due to their control of commerce and external contacts.

The second phase of the Mande expansion was an “era of conquest and state building by Mandekan [Manding]⁷ warriors that began during the [fifteenth century] ... The second featured the Mandekan (horse) warriors, who achieved their control in western Africa strictly through physical force and collaboration with the Mande traders and smiths already in place. The second change brought far-reaching changes to western African peoples” (Brooks 1993:59). The conquest and subsequent social stratification had linguistic implications. “With few exceptions the warriors spoke Mandekan languages that subsequently diffused among the conquered groups” (Brooks 1993:97; cf. Murdock 1959:267ff).

Although in most cases the Mande smiths and traders assimilated during the first phase, there was always some sense in which they remained apart, the smiths in particular through their role as leaders in what Brooks 1993 calls “power associations” (a.k.a. “secret” or “initiation societies”, “bush school”), which were trans-tribal and exercised some control over their members (see Herbert 1993). That the smiths were not fully assimilated can be seen in the new alliances they formed with the invading Manding warriors in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Despite being well established within the host cultures, they allied themselves not with the people among whom they had settled, but rather with the invaders.

Barbara Frank fleshes out the picture, documenting the central importance of the smiths:

... Mande smiths may have accompanied, or even preceded, traders and clerics into the forest regions as entrepreneurs developing new markets for their products and in search of fresh supplies of timber for charcoal (Brooks 1986). The smiths might have been well received by some local farmers in need of tools for agricultural production, and they would have been especially important as a source of weapons for the military designs of Mande [Manding] warrior groups. In addition to their expertise in iron-working, the smiths would have been able to offer their spiritual resources and knowledge of the occult. (Frank 1995:142.)

Although the outsiders felt themselves to be different and somewhat apart from their hosts, traditional West African hospitality to outsiders or “strangers” (Jones 1983) insured their welcome. This welcome, coupled with their usefulness to those

⁴ These settlers have been called “Peripheral Mande” (Murdock 1959).

⁵ See McCall 1971 and other publications by the same author for details of earlier movements.

⁶ Herbert 1993 discusses the role of iron-working and hence the smith throughout Africa.

⁷ The term “Mandekan” is one used by Americans to refer to what is here called “Manding” (see Kastenholz 1991/92 and especially Vydrine 1999 for discussion of the nomenclature).

already in power, insured their integration and access to resources within the community.

The second important fact is that the smiths, leatherworkers, and traders had enough influence over their hosts to transmit and even impose aspects of their social system. Not only did the Atlantic peoples adopt the basically tripartite hierarchical social organization of the Mande speakers in many cases, but they also switched from a matrilineal organization to a patrilineal one.⁸ The Mande newcomers invariably formed part of the nobility or ruling elite. Clearly there was a power disparity between those speaking Mande languages and those speaking Atlantic languages, despite reports of assimilation. Furthermore, controlling socialization through the power societies must have insured their superior position.

And wherever Mande smiths and traders settled, ... they introduced their social and cultural practices. Smiths founded branches of Komo, Simo, and affiliated power associations to ensure the socialization of youths, encourage and enforce appropriate behavior ... , expedite commerce, and otherwise advance their people's interests among these host societies. (Brooks 1993:60.)⁹

I now turn to the second and more cataclysmic incursion, that of the Manding warriors. The nature of the engagement between the second-phase invaders and the Atlantic peoples is described below.

Circumstances changed with the conquests by the horse warriors for they imposed Mandekan languages in conquered areas. People constrained to adopt Mandekan languages included individuals of every status among conquered societies ruled by the Mali Empire (thirteenth-fifteenth centuries) and its satellite states, particularly the captives taken in warfare or purchased by Mandekan speakers. Captives were strongly motivated to learn their owners' languages as a crucial step in adapting to new social circumstances and changing their own status from non-persons to individuals attached to kin groups and protectors (Brooks 1993:98).

During the latter part of the c.1100-c.1500 dry period, Mandekan-speaking horse warriors conquered vast territories in the savanna and savanna-woodland zones of western Africa. They followed trade routes pioneered by Mande traders and smiths and seized the trading and artisanal centers, where they lived among the Atlantic- and Gur- speaking landlords. Many

⁸ "Descent, inheritance, and succession follow the male line exclusively, with only the Sherbro [of the Atlantic Group] revealing their ancient linguistic and cultural connection with the Senegambian peoples to the north by their retention...of the matrilineal rule" (Murdock 1959:263). Matrilinealism also survives amongst the Bijago. A hint of matrilinealism can be seen in the fact that 'grandfather' is the marked term in the following Kisi paradigm, a 'father grand-elder': *fɛ̀nà-màmà* (see *màmá* 'grandmother'). Interestingly, Mande may have once also been matrilineal (Kastenholz 1998, p.c.; Vydrine 2000, p.c.).

⁹ It could be questioned that the smiths did much introducing of socio-cultural practices since they are typically at the low end of the Mande society; smiths, however, do not occupy a uniformly low position across Mande, even within their own caste, as was pointed out to me by Valentin Vydrine. But smiths are special, at least among the Kisi. Their role in secret societies among the Kisi is important, and smiths have their own special dancing troop (*sààtónóó*) when they die, not the sort of honor given to someone of low social status.

members of conquered societies were sold into trans-Saharan slavery via Mande trade networks, and others were held as domestic slaves (Brooks 1993:106).

Considerable differences exist in interpretations of the “Mane” invasions, a subset of the Mandekan/Manding invasions. Rodney believes the changes were cataclysmic, e.g., Rodney 1970, while Hair opts for more continuity (Hair 1967, Hair 1975). Whichever the case, the end result was the same. Rodney gives, if not the most accurate, at least the most dramatic account, which epitomizes the nature of the contact between the warriors and Atlantic speakers. One can hardly imagine a more asymmetrical relationship than the army, unless it be slavery, the only alternative to enlistment.

Whatever the origin of the various strands of the invasion, the importance of the overlying Mande influence must be recognized. All new soldiers who were enlisted were not only trained in the uses of Mane arms but were also inculcated with a new sense of loyalty. The recruits were chosen as young men, who, after training and indoctrination, were puffed up with pride at being among the Mane ranks. The arms and clothing were clearly Mande, and the language, too, showed pronounced Mande characteristics (Rodney 1967:235; Rodney 1970:56).

Other historians admit to such practices as initiation rites preceding enlistment and even outright slavery. One story is that Bullom, Sherbro and other Atlantic speakers conquered en route, after being forced to consume human flesh, were either incorporated into Mani-Sumba groups or were sold to European and Cape Verdean slavers (Brooks 1993:288). Fage confirms the likelihood of the latter scenario “... all the peoples conquered by the Mane invaders of Liberia and Sierra Leone became potentially their slaves” (Fage 1980:306).

In a general statement of what happened along the Atlantic coast, Klein writes,

The Atlantic slave trade thus contributed to a complex process of political transformation. Along the Atlantic coast, foreign traders found their most effective partners either in pre-existing states or in groups that moved down to the coast to take advantage of trade opportunities. ...On the upper Guinea coast, invaders like the Mane and, later, the Fulbe of the Futa Jallon also provided slaves. In the interior, there were two processes, both of which involved the imposition of new kinds of states by invaders. First, as medieval empires like Songhay, Mali, and Jolof declined, they were replaced by smaller, warlike states, often based on a relationship between a group of armed [Manding] invaders and indigenous agriculturalists. Second, a series of trading states appeared—Kong, Bobo, Buna, Wa, Gonja—each based on a coalition between warrior and merchant, which were successful in imposing themselves on local agriculturalists whose language and culture were different from theirs. ...In the nineteenth century these merchant-warrior formations expanded and new states, usually Fulbe or Mandinka intruders, often preyed on decentralized societies (Klein 1998:39).

Thus we see the relevance of slavery to the perpetuation and indeed strengthening of the asymmetrical relationship between Kisi farmer and Manding warrior occurring throughout West Africa.

The relevance of such interaction to issues in language contact cannot be overstated. There is no doubt that the invaders, relatively limited in numbers, had to enlist the support of the conquered and no doubt that they did so by brute force. The army is a context in which a new language and customs are rapidly acquired. The veracity of such arrangements is corroborated in accounts based on many personal interviews in the Gallinas area, near the border between Sierra Leone and Liberia (Jones 1983:76).

There is some (historical) linguistic evidence for the presence of Manding speakers in these conquering groups. These are the facts that made Hair repudiate his earlier claim (Hair 1967) that there were no Manding involved in the Mande invasions. In an unpublished source which also contained many Temne terms, he writes, "I came upon six terms in Alvares [the unpublished source] for war-medicines which appear to be genuinely Manding (and not even Vai) ... I now accept that there were Manding-speakers present" (Hair 1975:77).

It is likely the current (socio-)linguistic situation represents a diminution or attenuation of Manding influence. "The wide distribution of Manding toponyms (such as settlement names ending in **-dugu** [or its shortened form **-du**] meaning 'town, country') the extensive use of Manding personal names among non-Manding peoples (e.g., *Kamara*, *Koroma*, and *Sise*), and the widespread presence of Manding loan words in other West African languages was greater in the past than it is today" (Dalby 1971:2).

Furthermore, "Mande cultural imperialism continues to the present" (Brooks 1993:114), an assessment with which I would agree based on my own fieldwork. In and around the Foya area of Liberia in the periods 1970–72 and 1984–85, speakers of Mande languages occupied positions of wealth and prominence far beyond the proportion determined by their numbers. In 1999–2000 Guinea, despite the efforts of Sekou Touré, the same disparities held in Kankan, but there expressed in a more general *Malinké-Forestière* opposition. In the Samou region of southwestern Guinea, the Soussou peacefully dominated the Mmani area with the end result of language death; the techniques of their Malinké cousins, however, were considerably more warlike in the past (Diallo 1974).

In (1) I summarize the evidence adduced thus far for Mande superiority up through the present, which, as we have noted, is manifested in their skill at imposing their social structures on their hosts and in their military might. As seen above, there is an equal abundance of evidence for Atlantic inferiority. It is this disparity that has led to a situation ripe for one language to influence another in predictable ways.

(1) Summary of evidence for Mande superiority (Childs 1997)

Prestige and wealth of early traders.

Knowledge of utensil- and weapon-making; smiths believed to possess magical powers.

Founding of power associations: Komo, Simo, Poro, and Sande/Bunde (Brooks 1993:73).

Manding warriors: horses, weapons, success; enlisted conquered as soldiers or slaves.

Reluctance of Mande speakers to assimilate fully (especially if converted to Islam).

Mande speakers a part of town rather than country.

(2) The effects of Mande contact and superiority (Childs 1997)

Cultural effects: Hierarchical social structure with themselves at the top, installing and ruling power associations, various cultural artifacts; switch from matrilineal to patrilineal societies

Micro-linguistic effects: Specialized vocabulary in such areas as war-medicine, political divisions and positions, power societies [to be examined below]

Macro-linguistic effects: bilingualism, language maintenance with interference (retention of tone in Southern Atlantic) and language shift

I turn now to a consideration of the particular effects on the Kisi and their language.

1.4 HISTORY OF THE KISI PEOPLE

Oral history maintains that the original Kisi and Gola came from the Fouta Djallon in Guinea (Schaeffner 1951; cf. Kup 1961:130). Mande-speaking peoples had spread westward from the area of present-day Mali, forcing the Gola and Kisi towards the coast and eventually into the uninhabited rain forest, much in the same way as the Kru were forced into southern Ivory Coast by the Mande peoples (Person 1966).

The situation which seems to emerge from this material is one of a large number of indigenous forest tribes which have been pushed into close proximity along the coastal forests by the westward movement of larger tribes—mainly Mande-speaking—from the interior savannah (D'Azevedo 1959:50).

This scenario is also found in the brief history presented by Delafosse 1924, recapitulated in Germaine 1984. The time period of these movements is from the 1300s to the 1700s, with the Kisi and the Gola probably reaching present-day Liberia at the beginning of the nineteenth century (Liebenow 1987:31–32).

Recent movements are more certain. The Kisi were once physically closer to speakers of the closely related Bulom languages of the coast, Sherbro, Mmani, and Krim. Other Atlantic languages geographically close to Kisi (Gola and Temne) do not show nearly as many lexical correspondences with Kisi as do these coastal languages. The linguistic facts, then, support the proposed movement from the coast to the interior for the Kisi, independent from the Gola and Temne. This movement likely took place in the fifteenth century (Fyfe 1972, Person 1961), just before the Mane invasions.

... the Kissi, who had left the upper Niger together with the other West Atlantic ("Mel") language groups before 1600, at first only passed through the territory to establish themselves in the western part of Sierra Leone from where they may have migrated to the east about 1700, settling down at their present place in the south of the Makona River. (Schulze 1973: 47.)

The crossing of the Makona River (the border between Guinea and Liberia) took place around 1850 (Massing 1982:9, fn.1).

Two colorful but apocryphal accounts for the origin of the Kisi name come from the Mande version of local history. The accounts are given here not because of their accuracy but rather because they reveal how the invaders perceived the locals.

1. Among the Malinké it is believed that the family of Dakaran Touman when fleeing the invading Soussou in 1228 came to the Kisi area and rejoiced, "**Nbara kisi**" ('I am saved'), with the name being given to the natives.
2. When warring with the Mende, the Bandi, and the Loma, the Kisi were down to just their bare hands and teeth. Their leaders entreated, "**la loo nda; la kisikisi nda**" ('Beat them and bite them into small pieces'). This is why the Kisi have filed teeth (Keita 1979).

The stories reveal social inequity and prejudice. The first suggests that the Kisi derive their own name from a Maninka word, the second that it comes from their savagery.

It is notable that Kisi names for their neighbors are nowhere near so colorful or derogatory. The relationships the Kisi have with their neighbors is quite varied: bitter towards the Bandi, distrusting of the Mende, and affectionate towards the Looma and Kpelle, who were likely not part of the Manding invasion. The Kisi fought with the Bandi over land as recently as the 1930s. The Looma have had no such quarrel, and with the Kisi, believe that the Looma sprang from a union of Kumba (a Kisi woman) and a Looma man [?]; the Kisi for ever after call the Looma "nephew" and the Looma call the Kisi "uncle". This suggests that the Kisi were the original settlers and in fact welcomed the Looma (Leopold 1991; and cf. comments on the Peripheral Mande in footnote 4).

What life was like in a Kisi village can be inferred from a relatively recent ethnography (Paulme 1954). Although there were important contacts with the outside world, the separate Kisi hamlets had little interaction with each other; life was simple and isolated. Kisi society was highly fragmented, and people felt it was dangerous to go away from one's own area. A typical village usually consisted of 50–100 people distributed among several lineages, the most important being the village founder's. The collective memory rarely went back more than four generations, people usually placing the founding ancestor just before the incursions of Samory (at the end of the nineteenth century).

The Kisi area was largely undisturbed until 1940. A road was built through the Guinea area, beginning in 1930, which opened it up but penetration was slow. By the end of the 1940s, however, many Kisi men emigrated to colonial areas in search of money for dowry, taxes, etc. Most became victims of touts who offered jobs on plantations, and some were conscripted into the army. According to Paulme, most Kisi ached to return to their villages and eventually did, resuming their traditional life. At the time of her investigation (1940s–50s), the Kisi conserved and revered the culture of their fathers, which can be seen in the patent lack of success of French Catholic and two American Protestant missions. The main force of change in their lives at this time was the French authorities imposing their will (Paulme 1954:74–79).

The common historical pattern that is found in many villages is the telltale village co-founding. This shows, on the one hand, the welcome that West Africans accord to

outsiders but also the immediate elevation of the Manding interloper to the status of town founder, for these co-founders were indeed speakers of Mande languages.

While previous inhabitants and 'latecomers' who were deemed politically insignificant might simply be incorporated into the firstcomer's group, those with sufficient followers and political significance might retain or establish their own descent group identity and be able to establish rights to part of the territory. In many Kisi village histories, especially, this is represented in terms of 'co-foundation' by two allied descent groups and their followers; often an incoming successful Mande [Manding] warrior group, and another (which by implication was there already). (Fairhead and Leach 1996:106.).

It is surprising that the "royal" Keita family, often the co-founder in such situations, seems not to be a highly favored branch of the Keita family, perhaps because of its purported origin in the "older brother" (Jansen 1996; see Bühnen 1996). Nonetheless, the Keitas played a prominent role among the Kisi.

1.5 THE CURRENT STATUS OF MANDE AND ATLANTIC

The issue may not be so simple today as previously, i.e., Mande vs. Atlantic. Prestige and status may now have devolved more into a question of widely-spoken vs. less widely-spoken. Nonetheless, speakers of Mande languages, especially those languages belonging to the Manding cluster, have more prestige than speakers of languages belonging to the Atlantic group, particularly those less widely spoken Atlantic languages. Even linguists have succumbed to the notion of Manding superiority, as evidence by a comment on the "MANDING" grouping, rather grandiosely labeled "the most extensive and historically significant ethno-linguistic grouping in Sub-Saharan Africa" (Dalby 1971:3). It is certainly true on a local basis among the Kisi.

I now turn to some of the linguistic consequences of this extensive and asymmetrical contact between speakers of Mande and Atlantic languages, some strong claims as to language shift, the linguistic and cultural importance of the Mane invasions.

On linguistic grounds, Northcote Thomas linked the Mende with the Gbande [Bandi] and the Toma [Looma]; he suggested that "in the Mende we have the portion of the Manes who drove out the aborigines or completely dominated them; in the Loko, a tribe originally of the aboriginal stock but brought so completely under the influence of the Manes as to adopt their language instead of their own; and that the Temnes are also aborigines who were forced to take alien chiefs, but maintained in large measure their own culture, and in places won back from the invaders a portion of the territory the latter had subjugated. (Thomas 1919–1920, as in Rodney 1967:230.)

... the Lokos display marked Temne characteristics in their speech, setting it apart from 'pure' Mende ... the more likely explanation is that the Mendes represent the Mane fusion with the Bulloms and Kisis, while the Lokos

represent the same Mane elements fused with Temne. (Rodney 1970:59–60.)¹⁰

Unfortunately there has been little linguistic documentation of these somewhat extravagant claims.

In terms of Thomason and Kaufman 1988, the scenarios above would involve both language shift and language maintenance. The former of course has the eventual effect of language death rather than any immediate effects on an Atlantic language. It may, however, have an effect on the language being shifted to. Bird 1970 claims that this is the reason for the homogeneity of the Manding languages, namely, that, they have undergone simplification in the mouths of second language speakers. With regard to the cases of language maintenance, there is borrowing and a high degree of bilingualism. It is undoubtedly the latter which has played a crucial role in influencing Atlantic languages, particularly borrowings into Kisi.

2. EVALUATING THE KISI LEXICON

On the basis of these historical facts, it was suspected that it would be possible to identify two layers of borrowing, as one can do for Latin borrowings into English. In Kisi the first layer would be the product of the first wave of expansion, the second from the later, more warlike period. In this imagined dual-stage scenario of borrowing, the first, for example, would involve the borrowing of smithing and commercial terms, the second would, for example, feature weapons and words of governance. At this point such an analysis can be done only *post hoc*, knowing the sorts of words that would be borrowed at which stage, in other words, only by using semantic criteria based on one's knowledge of historical events. Unfortunately, there are no linguistic cues, e.g., historical sound changes, to serve as guides for differentiating the layers.

As it turns out, there may be other layers, or, perhaps it is better to say, different areas of borrowing, none of which can be precisely dated, although some can be dated more surely than others, e.g., borrowings from the religious sphere with regard to Islam, since the dates of the spread of Islam are fairly well documented. It is also possible to differentiate super-/substratal borrowings from adstratal ones, using the somewhat amorphous concept of prestige.

I now turn to the fieldwork context. Kisi speakers unhesitatingly identified *recent* borrowings whether from English, French, or indigenous languages, but were less sure of others. In the course of compiling a Kisi dictionary in Liberia near the borders with Sierra Leone and Guinea, I was often told by more than one informant that a word was not in fact a true Kisi word but was borrowed from Bandi, Mende, or "Mandingo", the generic name for any Manding variety. Kisi speakers, then, seemed well aware of borrowings, a situation I found not to hold true among the Mmani some years later, whose language had already become moribund.

Earlier borrowings were actively sought in semantic areas on the basis of the suggestions found in texts on historical linguistics (see §0, the Introduction). For example, the semantic fields in which English borrowings from Latin are concentrated

¹⁰ Dwyer 1972 makes a different but related (and provocative) claim, namely, that Mende represents a pidginized form of Manding because its speakers originally came from different Atlantic backgrounds.

are ones which are known to have been influenced by Roman civilization, e.g., the Church, book-learning, horticulture, and working in stone (Bynon 1977:217). In (3), I give rough characterizations of the semantic fields in which borrowings might be expected to aggregate. Religion was not included because the Kisi have historically resisted conversion to Islam, preferring their traditional beliefs and/or Christianity.

(3) Semantic fields expected to be rich in Mande borrowings

Smithing of any sort, but especially the smithing of iron.

And thus weapon-making and weapons.

Power/initiation societies, the Poro (men's) and Sande (women's).

Titles and institutions, political organization.

It turned out that many borrowings could be found in these areas, but they were found in a number of others as well.

2.1 THE DATA

Both the Mande and the Atlantic languages split from the Niger-Congo stock fairly early on (Williamson 1989), as shown in Table 2.¹¹ The date of separation for Atlantic is generally believed to have been later but may have been simultaneous. It is thus unlikely that any two languages chosen from the separate groups would share many cognates.

The Kisi studied most intensively is "Southern Kisi", the northern variety being more influenced by Mande languages, as shown in Table 2. Others have reported comprehension problems between the two dialects (Bukowski and Johnson 1973), but I found few in my own research. Nonetheless, there are striking differences, in the lexicon, the morphosyntax, and the phonology. For example, SK¹² has phonologized a morphological rule and has fewer noun classes. It has also neutralized a phonemic contrast still extant in NK (see Childs 1995a).

Table 2. Northern vs. Southern Kisi

	<i>N. Kisi</i>	<i>S. Kisi</i>	
'letter'	sébò	yàúwó	Maninka sébè 'paper; write' (Vydrine 1999)
'calabash'	kálà	tàlàá	Kuranko kàlà and Maninka kàlama , both for 'dipper' (Kastenholz 1998 p.c.)

On the Mande side, the scope of the comparison was narrowed to Mende and Maninka, but I also availed myself whenever possible of the Manding reconstructions in Vydrine 1999. Maninka, as indicated above, belongs to Manding, a cluster of nearly mutually intelligible varieties, and so I have occasionally made reference to other languages in Manding. I was also fortunate to have made available to me a Maninka data base (Kastenholz 1998a), and a second electronic file with lexical data from Vai: "Klingenheben's unpublished data from the 1930s and 1950s" (Kastenholz 1998b).

¹¹ The date of the separation of Mande has been put at 2,000 BCE on the basis of Bimson 1978, a study using glottochronology (Dwyer 1989:50; cf. Kastenholz 1991/92), a date which would be expected to be roughly equivalent to Atlantic's separation.

¹² For the meaning of abbreviations, see the list on page 109.

For the South-West Mande language Mende I used Innes 1969. Mende is on the southwestern border of the Kisi area, on the other side from the Manding languages, most of which are on the north. It is not part of the Manding cluster, but nonetheless represents a language whose speakers have also been in intimate contact with the Kisi for some time. It was to a Mende source that Liberian subjects most often attributed borrowings.

2.2 CRITERIA FOR CONSIDERATION

The criteria are standard ones, namely, a clear sound-meaning correspondence without the possibility of being cognates. Especially clear examples were those loan-words that had semantic (but not formal) equivalences in Kisi; in other words, there were two words for the same item, one Kisi, the other Mende or Maninka. In many cases borrowed words even preserved their tone patterns, an important piece of evidence in support of the claims advanced in Childs 1995b, that Mande languages encouraged the retention of tone in Atlantic.

In most cases words were documented as appearing in both Kisi and a Mande language, but in a few cases I include words that multiple native speakers felt were borrowed, despite their lack of attestation in the Mande sources consulted. Virtually all of the words that Kisi speakers said were borrowings turned out to be borrowings, but not all of the borrowings one could identify as being borrowings were identified as such by Kisi speakers; it is these fully nativized items that were likely the product of early contact.

I assumed a one-way directionality to borrowing: from Mande into Kisi, which turned out to be a useful heuristic but may not be empirically justified in all cases (see Section 0). The historically documented asymmetrical power relationship and cultural facts, however, recommend such an approach.

A first fact to emerge from a search on borrowings in Kisi was the importance of colonial languages, which attests to speakers' willingness to borrow. Some history can be discerned from borrowings from colonial languages, even if these have been attenuated through pidgin and creole forms. The relevant colonial languages are English and French, especially as reflected in the two extended English pidgins presently used by Kisi speakers (Krio and Liberian English ("LE")) as well as in a Guinea Pidgin French (Childs 2002), but there are Portuguese relics as well, e.g., **bèèndíéiyó** 'flag' from Port. *bandeira*. Most if not all of the French borrowings are found in the Kisi spoken in Guinea and follow the predicted pattern of being from prestige parts of the lexicon, e.g., **météléiyó** 'teacher' from *maître* 'teacher'. The greatest number of non-Mande borrowings came from English, often via LE, **dùlòṅndó** / **dùlómndó** '(oil) drum' from English *drum*; **cùkòó** 'poke, chuck' from LE *juke* (see the discussion of 'shark' in the Appendix).

Borrowings from European languages denote almost exclusively European objects, institutions, and practices not found in traditional Kisi culture; in most cases they represent an addition or refinement to the culture, but are rarely so deeply embedded as the Mande borrowings. I now turn to the more sociolinguistically revelatory and more numerous borrowings from Mande languages.

3. RESULTS

The nature of the words borrowed from Mande into Kisi shows the quality of the contact and confirms what little we know of the history of the area; and perhaps says something about how relations have changed since the Manding horse warriors. In this section I delineate the semantic fields into which borrowings fall and give examples from each group. Section 4 discusses the significance of these patterns.

(4) Some general findings

Quantitative: Over 200 Mande borrowings in a Kisi lexicon of 5,800 words (3.5%), excluding proper names (people and towns)

Syntactic: Most borrowings are nominals but also some verbs and bound morphemes

Semantic: Some 'basic vocabulary', most borrowings in the areas of politeness formulae, family relations, political organization, commerce and trade, and religion

The cultural effects of Mande domination are widespread. The overriding generalization to characterize the pattern of borrowings is that the contact with speakers of Mande languages accompanied some complexification of life—Kisi society became much less "local" as roles and interactions increased. Kisi people were exposed to life beyond the confines of the village or hamlet.

Table 3. Semantic fields of borrowings into Kisi¹³

Politeness expressions (n = 9)	Smithing, metal objects (7)
Family relations, titles (11)	Toys and games (4)
Political terms (14)	Musical instruments (4)
Legal terminology (8)	Initiation societies, cultural events (9)
Commerce and finance, numbers (16)	Physical states, body parts, health (14)
"Abstractions" (12)	Islamic religious words (7)
Foods and plants (20)	Discourse words (7)
Animals (18)	Ideophones and the like (14)
Implements, places of daily use (24)	Miscellaneous (12)
Clothing, hairstyles (6)	

I have treated two grammatical / functional categories as separate fields, namely, discourse-oriented items and ideophones, simply because they do not have the same grammar and semantics as the other borrowings.

3.1 BORROWINGS BY SEMANTIC FIELD

This section presents the borrowings organized as to semantic field. I give the items from each field and provide a few words of explanation. I turn first to politeness expressions. The Malinké and their closest linguistic relatives are today well known for their extensive greetings by both the Kisi and the expatriate community. This stereotype likely arises from some very basic cultural differences. Partially reflected in

¹³ Names are considered a separate category.

the borrowing of many politeness formulas, the differences can be observed in other interactional behaviors.

Kisi socio-political organization, on the other hand, is traditionally at the level of the hamlet (Nelson 1975) and is relatively flat, where such elaborate formulae are not needed. Malinké social organization is more centralized and hierarchical, the sort of social organization that requires elaboration. There is no (etymologically) Kisi word for either 'thank you' or 'excuse me'. In both cases not one but two words have been borrowed from Mande, at least one from each gloss coming indirectly from Arabic, as shown in (5).¹⁴

(5) Expressions of politeness or greetings

báléká	thank you	máánùú	sorry, expression of sympathy
hàkátó	excuse me	mbàà	response to a salutation
kàfèiyó	excuse (oneself)	níkèè	morning greeting
kànikòkùéiyó	congratulations	yándíí	please
kèndè-	good, fine, well, healthy		

In addition to the forms listed in (5), one occasionally heard the response "**naam**" 'yes (to a summons)', a borrowing from Arabic (also found in Swahili), widely used in Maninka and even in Kisi. For a non-Islamic culture, Kisi has surprisingly many words originally from Arabic (see Baldi 1999).

Related to these politeness expressions are address terms and names for relations, used prolifically in everyday interaction. That there are many borrowed kin terms is significant. It shows the augmentation of the family vocabulary by a whole new set of terms to accommodate the newcomers, the Mande strangers. Before their arrival, the Kisi had a full set of kin terms as shown by the many doublets, but the newcomers needed their own terms. They retained their titles in their new "families", and eventually the terms became part of the Kisi language. Perhaps the new members were addressed by their Mande titles just to show that they were different, certainly to show respect. Whatever the cause, family relations have often been considered "basic vocabulary" but hardly seem to qualify as the unchanging core of Kisi. That so many terms were borrowed underscores the effect of the Mande expansion on the Kisi culture, but what's really remarkable is that nearly all are used for addressing superiors, the forms denote someone older (and more powerful) than ego, a fact of some importance in a gerontocracy. The exceptions are the words for 'lover', 'namesake' and 'child born right after twins'.

(6) Family relations

bìmbàá	grandparent	màamá	grandmother, old woman, respectful form of address
fā	elder brother or sister, term of address	ndé	Mom, Mother, term of address, used with any older or superior female friend, young woman
képà	uncle, mothers brother	ndíámśó	namesake
kèké	father, paternal uncle, Dad, address form for a male superior	ngśó	older sibling
kpéhèndòś	child born right after twins	ténà	aunt on mothers side

¹⁴ The tables in the text give only partial information as to each word; full details are in the Appendix.

A related area is terms from political organization and social control, including words for time units, since there, too, one finds new titles and hints at a changing, if not a new, social order. A closer look reveals that many of them hint at a hierarchical order, e.g., words pertaining to the chief and his possessions, and the duties of the subjects, 'tax', 'labor', and a word for what's done to subjects who don't perform their duties, 'the stocks' (see also the legal terms in (8)). In (7) five of twelve refer to the organization of time, perhaps an outgrowth of Islam and regular prayer, but certainly useful for the organization of labor.

(7) Terms of political organization, social control, time units

bándiíyó	border, frontier	màsàá	chief
bìláfóósiò	midday recess, noon	pààwàá	payment, fee, tax
fìtílió	dusk, early evening, dark	pàtió	clan
hókííyó	week	pún	early (in the morning)
kátáá	chief's enclosure or compound	sáá	the month around October
kpíóó	fetters	wáli-	work, paid labor
lúndó	compound, center of town	tùmáá	time
mànjàá	rice swamp, particularly one belonging to the chief		

It is likely that the introduction of the terms in (6) and (7) accompanied the imposition of the social and cultural practices of the Mande newcomers. Although the practices may have originally been designed mainly for Mande citizens, their integration into Kisi shows that they were likely used to control and socialize Kisi youth as well. The same generalization can be made about the terms dealing with the secret societies (see (19) below). The adoption of these terms showed that the institutions they represented became part of Kisi culture.

(8) Legal terminology

kítíó	judgement, decision, sentence	tònjáá	truth, generosity, favor, kindness
sàwàá	law	tóó	news, fame, popularity, reputation
séiyó	witness, one who testifies	tóóyán	blame, fault, responsibility
sèndiò	shave; take an oath		
sèwàá	swear; write		
tànáá	law, taboo		

Another area of borrowing is commerce and trade. The Manding and the Malinké in particular (Vydrine 1999) have been known as traders from the very earliest times (see §1.3). Words for numbers and money also fall into this category.

(9) Terms from commerce and finance, numbers

bánásiíyó	interest, profit	sámàá	credit or charge, esp. for meat
bòndóó	expenses, cost, payment, support	siámbugiíyó	standard unit of measure
dòndàá	borrow loan, credit (LE)	sóngóó	substitute, replacement
kánííí	money	tàànió	stand bond or bail
kémè	one hundred	tòndóó	gain, profit, benefit
kpòòwán	salt (traditional kind)	wàá	thousand

It is perhaps in the somewhat amorphous realm designated 'abstractions' below in (10) that one finds a surprising number of borrowings. Note that most are used to characterize human behavior, interactions, and attitudes rather than physical states.

(10) Abstractions

bàlìó	discussion, conversation	kpààyàá	strength, power
dánggáá	rudeness, disrespect	kpùndóó	accident, trouble, misfortune
dìàmbòó	lecture, talk to, chat	lààlāgndó	believe or trust, be sure of
hákìó	pardon, forgiveness, sin	sábòó	reason, cause, meaning
kónáá	message, news, explanation	sìèlèíyó	laziness, lassitude
kólóó	way of behaving, attitude, style	yògàá	pride, acting proud or boastful

The examples below, mostly new foods and plants, suggest adstratal or need borrowing.

(11) Foods and plants

básíó	a species of tree, camwood	mààlón	rice (uncooked), generic
bèènéí	sesame or benni seed	mànàwéíyó	variety of banana
cègímèíyó	a species of banana	mònníyó	rice powder or flour
fùgndé	cotton, cotton or cloth	múúyòg	rice flour
kàág	tree for blue dye, indigo	mbòòyáá	oil residue
kèwèkèwèí	a tall species of palm	nónúéíyág	cows milk
kíígbògíyó	tomato	péndékón	species of rice
kú-	yam	sàfùéíyó	sponge plant
kpàndiwéègndén	sweet potato	sàtòó	a species of plant
kpòòwág	salt (traditional kind)	yàmbéí	tuber (generic); cassava

The next category is 'animals', not all of which the Kisi would have been unfamiliar with; for example, there are other words in the language for both 'squirrel' and 'catfish'.

(12) Animals

bóngèíyó	a species of small fish	sàá	sheep
cénéwéíyó	lightning bug	sálló	a species of fish, shark?
cìíyó/hííyó	buffalo, bush cow	ságndó	a small antelope; "rabbit"
kàmàá	elephant	sùífáá	a weasel-like rodent
kèègndó	ground squirrel	sòfélóó	donkey, horse
kògndó	catfish	sòó	horse
lìó	(honey) bee	súlúkóó	hyena
liág	honey	wòlòó	bush chicken
màlòó	hippopotamus	yàlàá	lion
nòmíó	camel		

The next category contains everyday objects for which there likely seems to be no need, i.e., there would have already been a word in the language for, e.g., 'bag' or 'hamper' (Kisi has nine other words for 'basket'). Kisi has also borrowed two words for 'garden' while already having three words for 'garden' of its own.

(13) Implements, objects, or places of daily use

bèlòó	bag	lànùyó	road
càngàbìnèiyó	cooking spoon	lónjó	small pot
cónguèiyó, kónuèiyó	bucket	màásàlèiyó	large storage bag
fáció	bucket	málàá	fish bait
kàlàmaá	small calabash	mbòmàá	hammock
kàmbèiyó	a large basket, hamper	nákóó	garden
kànggàá	raffia mat	sámbeiyó	a large rattan basket
kíkílló	traditional round house	sànìó	bottle
kóbèiyó	top for a kettle, pan, etc.	sièndilén	needle
kólíiyó	scissors	tákáláá	matches
kólóṅndó	well	téébílélén	umbrella
kpélóó	garden	yàlàá	fishing net

Except for the word for 'shoe' and perhaps 'pocket' in (14), none of the borrowings in the next category arise from need. The words for women's clothes may, however, show the rise of fashion consciousness as the Kisi became aware of new styles.

(14) Clothing, hairstyles

cámbugèiyó	long dress	kpàkímèiyó	type of women's shawl
dòmàá	shirt, gown, robe	sókúméiyó	hairstyle for women
kòdòwèiyó	shoe	yífòó	pocket

The next category is one where loanwords were expected. Even if smithing had already become a part of Kisi culture, as it seems it was (every language has an indigenous word for 'smithing' (Tamari 1995:68)), the first Mande settlers were smiths (being less sedentary, the traders were not so intimately involved in the community).

(15) Smithing and implements produced by smiths, weapons

bánéí	small cutlass	kpàtòó	whip, cane
dóṅndé	fish hook	kpàtùéyè	whip cutlass
fàṅndó	whip cutlass; saber the father carries in circumcision rites	nñiyó	heddles (wires in a loom)
		sákùèí	sword, dagger
kèbínòó	metal worker	sànièí sàniòṅ	gold
		yèkpándió	gun, ceremonial cannon

Note that there are four different words for 'knife' or 'cutlass' in (15), all borrowed, two from Mende and two from Manding, despite the fact that Kisi has numerous words for these items, as shown in (16).

(16) Kisi words for 'knife' and 'cutlass'

lééṅndó	knife, cutlass	fùkpàá	cutlass
mùéí	knife (generic)	lééṅndó	cutlass (generic)
kòndòó	knife, large	kòṅḃfàmèiyó	large cutlass
lùéí	knife, sharp	sèyó	bent cutlass
		dàngièí	Western-made cutlass

What these doublets show (see the discussion of the examples in (5) and Table 5) is the importance of borrowings for new functions, in this case likely for ritual purposes. Note how two of the new words, **fàṅndó** and **kpàtòó**, in addition to their denotative meaning, fill a ceremonial role in the initiation societies. The gun is also used ceremonially.

It is curious that **kèbínòó** was felt to be the "original" word by speakers and **sùmnòó** to be borrowed. Both of them feature the **-nòó** agentive suffix (itself a borrowing), but only the first word has an identifiable cognate. It seems likely, then, that the cognate form in Mande has not yet been found, for there is a much more Kisi-sounding term, **ngèmuéiyó** 'blacksmith' (possibly a compound of ? + **mùéí** 'knife'), that speakers also know and would be a much better candidate for an "original word". Nonetheless, the semantic proliferation here is striking and probably has the same explanation as the 'knife-cutlass' words. Perhaps there is a clue in that the borrowed smith term without a cognate is formally close to **súmúnòó** 'a student involved in initiation society, someone partially initiated'. Thus, the proliferation would be due to expanded functionality, namely, the **sùmnòó** 'blacksmith' playing a role in the initiation society, as the Mande blacksmith had done historically.

As one final comment on the smithing words, it is curious that there is no specific indigenous word for 'bellows', except for the one metaphorically extended from 'cheek', and even more curious that no Mande word has arrived to fulfill that need. The word for 'cheek', **kùúwó**, changes its noun class to become **kùúlénj/kùúlánj** 'bellows (sg/pl)'.

The next three sets—toys, musical instruments, and cultural or religious events—all represent the cultural expansion and elaboration that emerges from contact situations.

(17) Toys and games

mómbílló	car, toy trucks	sîyé	(spinning) top; gambling game
nèisóó	bicycle	wèyó	seeds used in warri game

(18) Musical instruments

búlóó	horn, harmonica	kpúéí	shells used on rattles
dùndòó	big round drum, base drum	támàá	small drum

(19) Power societies, religion, cultural events¹⁵

dújéí	feast, party, wake	ngáfákètùiyó	bush devil women are not allowed to see
hécénè	heaven		
kpòníéí	necklace worn by women in bush school	jínàá	spirit, (spirits of) the ancestors
làndàá	a (dancing) devil	tààmàsüiyó	sign, mark
láníbòkùèiyó	tall (dancing) devil that uses stilts	tàámèndóó	head devil

While it is not surprising that the Kisi borrowed names for sicknesses, cures, etc., it is not usual for body parts to be borrowed, except in adstratal situations. The data in (20) contain the borrowed words 'throat', 'fist', 'back', 'hip', and 'stomach'.

(20) Physical states, body parts and health

mèsèlàá	be reduced or small, thin or emaciated	bòmbòósòó	smallpox
bóbólénj	being dumb (and deaf)	bòtáá	fist
bóbólénj	throat	dándàá	treatment (medical)
		kólónj-	sizeable (sore)

¹⁵ The term 'devil' used in the glosses here is the Liberian English and Krio term, probably provided by Christian missionaries, for an important personage in the power society, typically associated with a (danced) mask.

kòó	back (body part)	móléí	name, medicine man,
kòósínáá	venereal disease		Moslem
làsìmùèíyó	Muslim-made medicine	pùlèí	stomach, intestine, guts
lòṅùèí	hip	sènèí-	clean, fresh
mèsèlàá	reduced, thin, emaciated		

In the word for 'washing ritual' (note 'clean' in (20)), we have what might be a preliminary stage to a word entering the language from another. Words, especially those designating unfamiliar religious rites, are used first in a highly specialized meaning, but gradually expand their meaning to become more generic, because of their association with the prestigious outsider, eventually supplanting the original word. Note also the two words for 'God'.

(21) Religious words from Arabic / Islam

hálà	God	mèléká	God
bèlèí	Moslem writing board	mísílíó	mosque
kàlàṁóó	a teacher of Islam	sèlló	purification ritual
màndénóó	sorcerer, lit. Mande person		

It is significant that conjunctions and other discourse items are borrowed. In addition to the terms actually used in dictionaries and shown below, there are likely others that do not show up in such data (see Huttar 1993). Such borrowing, however, is not uncommon in asymmetrical power relationships. In the early 1970s a small Kisi boy was called "Bikor" since he often used the Liberian English cognate form **bikó** ('because') as a clausal connective, despite speaking only Kisi (see Myers-Scotton 1992).

(22) Discourse terms, adverbs, interjections, etc.

bàà	or, whether, if	kàní	because (of), since
béé	even, indeed, just, also, now	ké	but
bòò	expression of disapproval	lè	still, again, any more
háli	only, even		

Earlier comparative work on the closely related Nguni languages of Bantu suggests that ideophones are rarely shared across dialect boundaries (Lanham 1960:176), and ideophones are notoriously difficult to document historically (Huttar 1986). More recent work has looked at the importance of ideophones in contact situations, claiming that only when speakers have a local (non-European) orientation will ideophones appear in the relevant (extended) pidgin (Childs 1994; see Bartens 2000). While not extensive, the number of borrowings is significant.

(23) Ideophones and ideophone-like words

dón	quietly, gently, softly	kpín	tightly, hard
fû	(noisily) defecating	nóólì-nóólì	dirty
fúú	pointlessly, uselessly	pólón	far, high up
káámá-	amazing	pún	early (in morning)
kínéí	exactly, just	tàkítákìó	wobbly
kpâ	hold tight	tée	on and on
kpâṅkpâṅndó	dust	yéné-yéné	delicately balanced

The last set contains a miscellaneous set of words, including a bound morpheme, some verbs and adjectives.

(24) Miscellaneous

bàná(-bàná)	large, important	níngínángàá	rainbow
bàsòó	sweep, clear	-nòó	person, human being
bèndàá	be pleasing	pùùlù-	foreign, Western
fisàá	be better or equal	sòsòhàá	stuff, pack tightly
fólóndó	first	wèlòó	call (for), page
lòó	remain	yìyàá	lodge

3.2 SUMMARY

The semantically uneven distribution of borrowings indeed reflects social asymmetries, much as would be expected. Borrowings are generally from the more prestigious part of the lexicon, involving activities associated with power and access to resources.

From a syntactic standpoint the borrowing patterns are also instructive. It is significant that it is not only nouns borrowed, as is typically the case, but also a number of ideophones and a fair number of discourse elements, as well as a few verbs, adjectives, and even the bound morpheme **-nòó** 'person'. The first is indicative of an intimate relationship, having suggestions of a shared identity. The others suggest prolonged and intimate contact and bilingualism, much as do the words that could be considered "adstratal" in their source.

Although the interpretation is not so straightforward, proper names provide further insight into the relationship between the Kisi and their neighbors.

3.3 NAMES

The largest town in the traditional Kisi area is *Kissidougou*—'Kisi' plus the Mande suffix [**dugu**]. Large towns are, of course, non-existent in the traditional Kisi area, and the prevalence of *dougou* (or *-dou*, the reduced form) suffixed to town names attests to the Mande dominance in town life (Guinea: *Guéckédou*, *Maadou*, *Tembassadou*; Liberia: *Sodu*, *Sadu*; Sierra Leone: *Yaadu*, *Siàndàdú*).

There is no exact isomorphism between town name and its inhabitants, as has already been seen for "Kissidougou". Typically the town's name comes from its founder, a Kisi who had changed his name to acquire the status of a Malinké heritage. In one instance, Kisi speakers simply took over the Malinké name **Kuruma** and named their town *Kouroumandou* in the founder's honor (Paulme 1954:88ff).

Some might argue that place names follow the pattern of American Indian borrowings into English but in fact what this shows is how important the Mande peoples were in "civilizing" or "citifying" the Kisi. They transformed the hamlet-oriented Atlantic speakers into political groups of larger size and with more centralized authority (much the way later colonists and Americo-Liberians did with their systems of chiefdoms, etc. in Liberia (see Liebenow 1987)).

Many Kisi leaders have Mande names. For example, an important family in the largest Kisi city in Liberia is named *Kamara*. The name is clearly not (southern) Kisi for the southern dialect has no phonemic **r**. The name is reputedly the name of the earliest Mande clan in the Western Sudan (McCulloch 1964:56, as in Rodney 1967:226; cf. Person 1961). Another common name is *Keita*, as mentioned above. In

the north the Malinké have somehow convinced the Kisi that they need to adopt a Malinké name along with their Kisi name, by which they then designate themselves. Paule attributes this to a Kisi need for protection, a sense of inferiority and some snobbism. These Kisi-Maninka associations have led to the following correspondences (Paulme 1954:88, footnote 1).¹⁶

Table 4. Correspondences between Kisi and Malinké clan names

<i>Kisi (singular / plural)</i>	<i>Malinké [Maninka]</i>
Leno / Lea	Keita, or Mansaré
Kunduno, Kumano / Kundua	Kourouma
Millimuno / Milimua	Oularé
Toluno / Toluna, Tolla	Touré
Windino / Windia	Yora
Wamuno / Wamua	Traoré
Ifono / Ifua	Mara
Yombuno / Yombo	Mara
Bongono / Bongoa	Sicé

The significance of these facts is clear: having a Maninka name is more prestigious than not. These particular facts of naming, while not so revelatory as the more deeply integrated borrowings, nonetheless, support the general claims being made about pervasive Mande influence.

4. DISCUSSION

The general points have been made that borrowing is not random but can be located in several distinct categories, most of which reflect the greater social organization and complexity of the Mande as opposed to the Kisi culture, as well as the greater prestige of the Mande. Although some of the more recent borrowings are adstratal in nature, most of them are just the sorts of borrowings that occur when the power relationship is an asymmetrical one. This section further articulates these generalizations.

Often an indigenous term exists besides the borrowed one, much like the situation with such pairs as English *sheep* (the barnyard animal) and *mutton* ('the meat from the sheep'—what gets put on the table, from French *mouton*). What such pairs show is that the words were *not* borrowed for "need"—there was no lexical gap that needed to be filled. They show rather that the borrowing performs a *social* function.

In some of these cases, e.g., the words for 'thank you' and 'excuse me' (see (5)), at least one of the words from each pair comes from Arabic. Thus, we may have evidence for two distinct periods of borrowing, one before Islam and one after, the Mande speakers passing along politeness terms throughout the contact period. This hypothesis, of course, is based on the not unwarranted assumption that Arabic occupied a prestigious

¹⁶ Paulme gives a specific, somewhat humorous, example of the Kisi *Lea* who dominate the canton of Yalamba in Guinea. The Lea relate themselves to an ancestor who came from Konian in the east. The absence of a known ancestor does not prevent them from calling the powerful *Keita* of Farmaya "cousins", despite the fact that they are separated by several cantons and the Keita are Manding, come from the north, and have been situated there since the end of the 18th century. The sole connecting factor is the fact represented in Table , that the two names are taken as synonyms, allowing the same individual to respond to either name. People will enthusiastically greet each other as brothers or father/sons, depending on their relative ages, oblivious to the transparency of the fiction (Paulme 1954:88–89).

status vis-à-vis the Mande languages and would supply politeness terms to supplant the indigenous ones.

I provide some pairs in Table 5; for each gloss given in the first column, Kisi has, in addition to the forms displayed here, at least one native word, sometimes more: three for 'garden', nine for 'basket', etc. There are also cases, as with 'garden', as mentioned above, where *two* words have been borrowed from Mande. The result is that Kisi has doublets (see (13)), synonyms, one of which is borrowed, likely in the *sheep-mutton* pattern of English. In this situation, the latter, borrowed word has more prestige, being the word associated with the dining table rather than the barnyard.

Table 5. Kisi borrowings from Mande that have Kisi counterparts

	<i>Kisi</i>	<i>Mande</i>	
garden	kpélóó	kpélè	vegetable garden (Mende)
	nákóó	nákó	garden (Maninka)
basket	sámbéíyó	sámbá	broad, open basket (Mende)
large, important	bàná(-bàná)	bàaná	prosperous and generous man (Manding)
umbrella	téébílélénj	téblá	umbrella (Maninka)
rainbow	nínjínángàá	jínkinanka	rainbow (Maninka)
cowry shell	kùèí	kpúéí	cowry shell (Mende)

This proliferation is surprising, particularly in that Kisi has productive, language-internal processes for augmenting the lexicon. Particularly common is the use of the formative **jè-** the stem of 'thing', with a verb as the second element. Table 6 gives first the borrowed term and then the rough Kisi equivalents using this compounding process. It is further important that the borrowed terms in the first column have at least one more borrowed equivalent, thus hardly any need-based motivation.

Table 6. Synonymous Kisi borrowings and compounds

káníéí money	jè-tśó	something valuable, lit. thing-renowned?
	jèm-kíónj	inheritance, lit. thing-given?
jìnàá genie, devil	jè-bèndòó	devil, mask, lit. big thing
	jè-kèméí	devil, mask, masked dancer, shaman, lit. thing-hundred?
	jèè-wénáñndó	supernatural being, spirit, devil, lit. thing-hidden
fáció bucket	jèè-piàndùéí	bucket, tool, implement, lit. bought thing
fàñndó sword	jèè-còùwé	weapon, lit. war thing

One frustrating aspect to the investigation was the absence of a full set of data with which to fully evaluate the various hypotheses. There were methodological worries as well. In some cases, there is uncertainty as to the directionality and origin of a word as well as to determining the time of a word's incorporation into Kisi. Nonetheless, in Table 7 I propose several distinct stages in the borrowing process, to each of which specific semantic fields can be assigned.

Table 7. Layers of borrowing in Kisi

<i>Periods</i>	<i>Source</i>	<i>Semantic field</i>
Early, pacific (8th on)	General Mande	trade, smithing, secret societies
Military (15th–16th)	Manding	political and social organization
Islam, proselytizing	Manding	Religion
Modern, culture sharing	South-West Mande	clothing, foods

Another worry is how to identify words from the same genetic stock, i.e., cognate forms that can be reconstructed to Proto-Niger-Congo. The good news is that there are likely very few (see section 0) The word for ‘rice’ is one: **mààlónj** **mààlèí** ‘rice (un-cooked), generic’. In Kisi there are also stems of **màl-**, **màlù-**, and **màlì-**; the Manding reconstructed form is ***màlo**: and is found as **màlo** in Bambara Dyula and **maalo** in Maninka, etc. Is the word an ancient one that both Kisi and Manding inherited from some purported parent language? Valentin Vydrine writes in a personal communication, “... in Atlantic languages the stem **malo**, **maro**, etc., is also very well represented. So, it may be a very old borrowing from Proto-Mande into Proto-Atlantic (or vice-versa, who knows?). It would astonish me greatly if Kisi, ‘*les gens du riz*’ (Paulme 1954), would borrow this word rather recently”. No doubt it could not have been borrowed recently, but it may be one of the older borrowings.

5. CONCLUSION

In the end what is not so surprising as the domains of borrowing is rather the paucity of the borrowing, given the long period of interaction and known cases of assimilation. Although the quantitative results may be an product of the sample and the lack of documentation, by whatever count, there is not much borrowing.

An explanation for this paucity might be the small numbers of non-Kisi speakers involved; even with their elevated status, there might not have been much exposure to Mande. The local isolation of Kisi hamlets may also have contributed. Moreover, in the earlier phase of the Mande expansion, the settlers may have completely assimilated to their hosts, including learning the language. In the later phase clearly there were not have been enough Mande speakers to make a difference, as evidenced by their recruiting strategies, but forcible conversion took place extensively—the end result may have been the same for both periods. Furthermore, once the fighting was over, the warriors may have also assimilated, in a pattern comparable to the way in which the Norman conquerors disappeared into the indigenous cultures of Britain.

The question remains, Do these findings support the historical picture we have of Mande-Atlantic interaction? The short answer is, yes, but the pattern is now changing from the predicted asymmetrical one to a pattern of borrowing that could be characterized as adstratal, the relationship has become one more of equals than that between ruler and ruled. It is surprising how many Mande terms for articles of daily use and interaction form part of the Kisi lexicon. Because these words are more recent borrowings (they are exactly like their Maninka, etc., counterparts, having undergone little nativization or phonetic change), they suggest that the power and prestige asymmetry may not be so pronounced as it was in the past.

It is also surprising that there are so many borrowed names for new products and animals, particularly that the Kisi had no word for such large (mostly savannah?) ani-

mals as 'sheep' (with their own word for 'goat'), 'elephant', '(pygmy) hippopotamus', 'camel', 'horse', 'donkey', and 'lion'. The lack of a word for '(pygmy) hippopotamus' suggests that the Kisi are new to the rainforest as well, or that they merely substituted the name of the riverine hippo for its smaller rainforest counterpart. This evidence in general, then, suggests that the Kisi are relative newcomers to the area in which they are currently found, straddling the intersection of forest and savannah (see Fairhead and Leach 1996).¹⁷

The display in (25) lays out an evaluation of the borrowings as to prestige. The prediction is that only those semantic fields which follow the asymmetrical prestige relationship will show instances of borrowing. In general, the predictions hold—prestige borrowing is the pattern. It is further likely the borrowings that do not follow the pattern may be understood by reference to a historical, layered approach (Huttar 1994), as suggested above in Table 7, particularly in light of the great differences in the nature of Kisi-Mande relations.

(25) A scorecard for Mande borrowings into Kisi

<i>Confirmation:</i>	Initiation (power) society lexicon
	Smithing, weapons, implements
	Terms associated with religion and healing
	Political terms, time units
	Commercial terms, numbers
	Legal terminology
	Abstractions
	Elaboration of social interaction, expressions of politeness or greetings
	Games (because associated with men gambling?)
	Musical instruments (<i>griot</i> caste/tradition?)
	Little basic vocabulary (negative evidence)
	Discourse words
	Family relations (see discussion)
	Town and personal names (see discussion)
<i>Refutation:</i>	Articles of daily use and dress
	Some basic vocabulary: body parts, items and places of daily use
	Ideophones
<i>Neutral:</i>	New foods, plants, and animals
(Need-based)	Cooking utensils

Elsewhere I have advanced the hypothesis that southern Atlantic preserved tone due to socio-historical factors. Put simply, tone remained where domination by the Manding invaders was strongest. Confirmation for this hypothesis was sought in the lexicon; if there were massive borrowing in the south or other evidence for language shift, the case would be strengthened. Quantitatively this may not be the case (see Thomason and Kaufman 1988:20–21), but qualitatively the evidence is compelling.

¹⁷ The Kisi have many words for different species of 'fish' and also one for 'shark' *sâl-ló*, which may be an earlier coastal borrowing from English *shark* (see Appendix).

Intriguing suggestions have been made as to the possibility of a diglossic situation among the Mande-dominated peoples, much as may have been the case in the early stages of the Norman Conquest. Kastenholz notes that Temne has little structural or lexical influence from Mande despite the overwhelming influence in such areas as names, e.g., Touré, and in the power societies. This suggests to him that there might be some sort of a functionally separated or diglossic situation; speakers accepted borrowings in some areas but not others (Kastenholz 1998 p.c.). Voeltz has suggested a similar situation obtains along the Baga coast of Guinea, where older language forms are preserved in ritual matters dealing with the owners of the land (Voeltz 2001 p.c.). Support certainly comes from my own recent work (Childs To appear) on the moribund but closely related language, Mmani. On the island of Kabak off the southwestern coast of Guinea, an ethnically Mmani individual said that only the grandparents spoke Mmani, and they did so only when they were “talking to the devil” in a sacred forest behind the village. Otherwise they used the Mande language Soussou, the language to which all Mmani have shifted.

To confirm the asymmetry of the power relationship between the speakers of Mande languages and the speakers of Atlantic languages, one needs to determine the nature and the extent to which Mande has borrowed from Atlantic. One would seek evidence of *substratal* borrowings and/or a relative absence of Atlantic words in Mande. If the words borrowed into Mande from Atlantic show the same patterns found, say, in Native American words borrowed into English, there would be confirmation of the asymmetry.

Another place where research may prove productive is among the Lele, an ethnic group that is sometimes located within traditional Kisi borders and at others on the border. Nearly all of those familiar with the group state unequivocally that it is a hybrid, at least ethnically, if not linguistically, as mentioned in §1.4, a dual identity that the Lele exploit: “When speakers of Lele are poor, they claim to be ethnically Kisi, but when they are rich they say they are Malinké” (Saa Robert Millimouno 2000 p.c.). Thus, the Lele have something of a dual identity and may represent a true case of language mixture, as has been widely claimed, but never actually documented, for other languages of the area, e.g., Hair 1967.

A final follow-up area of investigation would be elsewhere in West Africa where the Mande expansion affected already established groups, namely, the Kru and Gur peoples. Areal word-order patterns (Gensler 1997) suggest that Mande influence has been extensive, e.g., Supyire (Carlson 1994) and Kru (Marchese 1986). Dombrowsky-Hahn 1999 presents widespread patterns of interactions between the Gur and Mande. There seems to be, then, no shortage of research topics, only a shortage of researchers.

ABBREVIATIONS

Eng	English
Fr	French
GK	Guinea Kisi
LE	Liberian English
Lit.	literally
NK	Northern Kisi (dialect)
p.c.	personal communication
SK	Southern Kisi (dialect)

APPENDIX: ALPHABETICAL LIST OF CITED LOAN WORDS

- bàà** 'or, whether, if'. Manding **báa** 'whether, or; either ... or' (Vydrine 1999).
- báléká** 'thank you, expression of gratitude, acknowledging a favor'. From Arabic **barka** 'benediction, blessing', via Manding **bárika** (Vydrine 1999). See **núwálí**.
- bàlió** 'discussion, conversation'. Manding **bàdó**; **bàró** 'talk, chat; conversation' (Vydrine 1999); Maninka **bàró**, **bàdo** 'conversation, chat' (Friedländer 1991 as in Kastenholz 1998a).
- bàna(-bàna)** 'large, big, important'. See **wàná-bánàá** 'important people'. Manding **bàaná** 'prosperous and generous man' (Vydrine 1999), Mende **bàngà** 'be very great, very big' (Innes 1969).
- bánásiyó** 'interest, profit'. Mende **bánási** 'profit' (Innes 1969). See **tònòó** 'profit'.
- bándiýó** 'boundary, border, frontier'. Manding **bánda** 'village limit' (Vydrine 1999).
- bánéí** 'small, western type of cutlass, light in weight'. Manding (some varieties) **bánja** 'saber' (Vydrine 1999).
- bàsòó** 'sweep, clear' (**bèsòó** 'broom'). Manding ***bèsé / bènsé** 'be or make neat'.
- básió** 'a species of tree, probably camwood, bark used for making a yellow dye; name for cloth made from the dye'. ***bási** 'shrub yielding a red-brown or yellow dye' (Vydrine 1999).
- bèlèí** 'Moslem writing board'. From Arabic via ?
- bée** 'even, indeed, just, also, now'. Manding **bée** 'whole, entire; all, every' (Vydrine 1999); Mende **bé** 'even, also, too' (Innes 1969).
- bèènèí** 'sesame seed (?), benni seed; a small, brown seed used for oil'. Maninka **bèné**, Mogofin **béne** (Vydrine 1999).
- bèndàá** 'be pleasing, agreeable, good or fitting; suit; resolve, settle'. Manding ***bën** 'meet, encounter; be equal or right, fit; unite, agree, go well' (Vydrine 1999).
- bilàfóósfò** 'midday recess, noon'. From Mende, according to informants, but not listed in Innes 1969.
- bìmbàá** 'grandparent (GK)'. Manding ***bénba / bénba** (Vydrine 1999), Kuranko **bimba** 'grandparent' (Thomas 1916). See **fìpàá-màmà** 'grandparent'.
- bóbólén** 'state of being dumb (and deaf)'. Manding **bóbo** (Vydrine 1999).
- bóbòlén** '1. throat, or even esophagus; neck; whole throat area; 2. greed'. Mende **(m)bóló** 'neck, windpipe, throat' (Innes 1969).
- bòmbòósòó** 'smallpox'. Mende **bòmbò** 'smallpox' (Innes 1969).
- bòlòó** 'bag'. Mende **bòlò** 'cap, bag' (Innes 1969).

- bònòó** 'expenses incurred, expenditures, cost, payment, support, e.g., for a child's schooling'. Manding **bònó** 'misfortune, (financial) loss' (Vydrine 1999), Mende **bònó** 'spend all one's money on something, squander one's money' (Innes 1969).
- bóngèíyó** 'a species of small fish, often sold dried and smoked, "bony" (LE)'. Manding **bòngé, bóngé, búngé** 'fish, bonga' (Vydrine 1999), Mende **bóngà** 'fish, bonga' (Innes 1969).
- bòò** 'an expression of disapproval or condemnation'. Mende **bòò** 'exclamation of disbelief and impatience' (Innes 1969).
- bòtáá** 'fist'. Mende **bòtánì bòtáìṅ** 'fist' (Innes 1969).
- búlóó** 'horn, harmonica, any wind instrument; bread (shaped similarly)'. Mende **búlú** 'trumpet, horn, gun barrel' (Innes 1969), Manding **búdu** 'horn', ***búutu** or ***búutuu**, e.g., Bandi **bulu**, (Vydrine 1999).
- cámbúéíyó** 'a long dress'. Mende **jámbó** 'a dress reaching to the ankles' (Innes 1969).
- càngàbìnèíyó** 'long handled cooking spoon'. Mende **jàngà** 'lanky, tall and thin' (Innes 1969).
- cénéwéíyó** 'lightning bug; cigarette lighter, electricity, bright light, Coleman lantern'. Mende **jénéwá** 'glow-worm' (Innes 1969).
- céjímèíyó** 'a species of banana'. From English *Jamaica* via Mende **jèmíngàì** 'a kind of banana' **njèmíngà** 'the *gros Michel* or *Jamaica* variety of banana' (Innes 1969)).
- cìíyó / hííyó** 'buffalo, bush cow'. Mandinka **sìgi** (Gamble 1987), Vai **sii** (Welmers 1976).
- cóngúéíyó** 'enamel buckets of the type used to hold water, latex buckets'. Mende **songoi?** See **kòhùèíyó** 'galvanized bucket'.
- dándàá** 'treatment (medical, traditional or otherwise)'. Manding **dánda** 'treat (medically)' (Vydrine 1999).
- dàngáá** 'rudeness, disrespect, loud and boisterous behavior, insulting someone, exalting oneself, pride; curse, malediction'. Mka **dan̄ka** 'curse' (Wilson 2001 pc).
- diàmbòó** 'lecture, talk to, chat'. Mka **diyaamu** 'converse' (Wilson 2001 pc).
- dòmàá** 'shirt, gown, robe'. Mende **ndómá** 'shirt' (Innes 1969).
- dóng** 'quietly, silently, gently, softly'. **dóngndóngdó** 'quiet'. Mende **ndóndó** 'quietness, silence' (Innes 1969).
- dóngndé** '(fishing) hook, fishing'. Vydrine 1999: Wolof **dóoloka (g-)** 'hook'; Jola-Fogny **róliṅ**; Proto-Manding (?) ***-dóolin** 'hook, fishing line'; see Mka **doliṅ-** 'fish hook' (Wilson 2001 pc).
- dòndàá** 'borrow loan, credit (LE)'. Mka **donto** 'lend/borrow on credit' (Wilson 2001 pc).
- dùndòó** 'a big round drum, base drum'. Maninka **dùndún** (Vydrine 2000 p.c.).
- dúpié** 'feast, party, celebration, occasion (LE), especially at the death of someone'. Mende **ndúpá / dúpá** 'first part of the funeral celebrations for a chief' (Innes 1969).
- fà** 'elder brother or sister, term of address (NK)'. Kuranko **fa** 'father, husband of the sister of one's mother', Maninka and Soussou **mfa**. See **fàl-** 'elder'.
- fáció** 'bucket, pail'. Mende **fáji** (Vydrine 2000 p.c.), Vai **fásí** 'kettle, copper or brass' (Klingenheben per Kastenholz 1998 p.c.).
- fàngndó** 'long cutlass with curved end used to cut down high grass, whip cutlass, sword; the name of the saber the father carries in circumcision rite (Schaeffner 1953).' Maninka **fǎ / fǎn** 'sword, saber'.

- fìsàá** 'be better or equal'. Manding **fìsá** 'be better, be preferable' (Vydrine 1999); **fisa** 'recover' in Jalonke (Lüpke 2000).
- fìtìlìó** 'dusk, early evening, dark' (GK). Maninka **fitilii**.
- fólóṅndó** 'first' (GK). See **féṅ** 'first'. Manding **fóló**, Kuranko **fóló** (Kastenholz 1988).
- fùṅndéṅ** 'cotton, cotton thread or cloth, *Gossypium gen.*'. Mende **fàndé** (Innes 1969). Bandi **fàndé**, Kpelle **fànté**, Mandinka **fànda** 'cotton thread in an amulet' (Vydrine 2000 p.c.).
- fù** 'of (noisily) defecating'. **fúfú** 'the sound of rushing air'. Mende **fù** 'of air escaping under pressure' (Innes 1969).
- fúú** 'pointlessly, uselessly, futilely, for no immediate purpose or gain, for nothing (LE), totally'. Mende **fú** 'for nothing, for no reason' (Innes 1969).
- hàkátó** 'excuse me.' From Arabic through Maninka **hàkito** 'beg pardon' (Friedländer 1991 in Kastenholz 1998a), Bambara **hàkétó** (Kastenholz 1998 p.c.), Bandi **hèkétó**.
- hàkìó** 'pardon, forgiveness, sin (GK)'. From Arabic through Maninka **hàki** 'injustice; sin; mistake' (Friedländer 1991 as in Kastenholz 1998a).
- hàlá** 'God (GK)'. From Arabic '*Allah*'. See **mèlèkà** 'God'.
- hècénè** 'heaven'. From Mende.
- hàlì** 'only, even, just; just because'. Manding **hàlì** 'even; so that even...' (Vydrine 1999); **hàlì** 'even though, even' (Friedländer 1991 as referenced in Kastenholz 1998a).
- hókìiyó** 'week'. Mende **hókì** from Eng *week*; Kpa-Mende form: **wókì** (Vydrine 2000 p.c.).
- káámá-** 'amazing, incredible, wonderful, miraculous'. **káámàá** 'miracle, riddle'. Mende **kâmâ** 'marvel, astonishment, wonder' (Innes 1969).
- kàáṅ** 'the tree and the dye its bark produces, a dark blue dye, indigo'. Manding **gàlá** (**kàrá**) 'indigo' (Vydrine 1999).
- kàfèiyó** 'excuse, ask for leave or permission, excuse oneself'. Mende **kàfáì** 'excuse, forgive' (Innes 1969). See **hàkátó**.
- kàlàràá** 'small calabash of a spoon shape (NK; SK **tàlàràá**)'. Maninka **kàlàràá** Kuranko **kàlàràá** and Maninka **kàlarama**, both for 'dipper' (Kastenholz 1998 p.c.).
- kàlàràóó** 'a teacher of Islam, a person who has been to Mecca, *el Haj*.' Maninka **kàràràóó** 'Islamic teacher' (Vydrine 2000 p.c.).
- kàmàá** 'elephant'. Manding ***sàamá** but Vai **kàmá** and **kàma** in Kuranko and Lele (Vydrine 2000 p.c.).
- kàmbéiyó** 'a large basket, hamper'. Mende **kàmbálé** 'open cane basket' (Innes 1969).
- kàní** 'because (of), since'. Manding **kòní** / **kàní** 'as for, in what concerns' (Vydrine 1999).
- kàníéí** 'money'. Mende **kàní** 'precious metal, money' (Innes 1969).
- kàníkòkùéiyó** 'congratulations'. Mende **kàníkòkó** 'a dance performed after post-mortem examination has established the deceased was not a witch' (Innes 1969).
- káṅgàá** 'mat made from bamboo or raffia, used for ceilings and drying produce'. Mende **káṅgá** 'bamboo bed' (Innes 1969).
- kátáá** 'chief's enclosure or inner compound'. Mende **kátá** 'compound' (Innes 1969).
- képà** 'uncle, mother's brother'. Mende **képà** 'mother's brother, maternal uncle' (Innes 1969). See **bòmndó** 'uncle'.

- kèwèkèwèí** 'a tall species of palm'. Mende **kèwè** 'elephant palm, *borassus* palm, black *rhun* palm, African fan palm' (Innes 1969).
- ké** 'but'. Mende **kéé** 'but' (Innes 1969).
- kèbínòó** 'a smith or metal worker, goldsmith'. Mende **kèbí** 'blacksmith' (Innes 1969), Proto-Mande ***gàbí** (Kastenholz 1998 p.c.).
- kèéṅndó** 'ground squirrel'. Manding **nkèlén**, **kèrén** (Vydrine 1999).
- kèké** 'father, one's paternal uncle, address term used for any male superior'. Mende **kèké** 'father, paternal uncle; respectful form of address' (Innes 1969). All South-West Mande, except Kpelle: **kèké** 'father/father's brother' (Vydrine 2000 p.c.).
- kémè** 'one hundred'. Manding **kémé**, **cémé** (Vydrine 1999), Maninka **kémè**.
- kèndè-** 'good, fine, well, healthy, appealing, beautiful'. See **kéndiá** 'good', **kéndèí** 'goodness'. Maninka **kéndè** 'good', **kéndèyá** 'health'; also Looma **kede-gi** < ***kedeg** and in many other Mande languages (Vydrine 2000 p.c.)
- kífbòṅíyó** 'tomato'. Bandi and Mende **kífbòṅí**.
- kíkílló** 'traditional round house (with a cone-shaped roof); cone (Ifono 1975)'. From Mende **kííkíí** 'a round house' (Innes 1969).
- kínéí** 'exactly, just, usually with reference to time'. Mende **kíníí** 'exactly, just enough'.
- kítíló** 'judgement, decision rendered, sentence' (GK). Mende **kítí** 'doubt, uncertainty'; **kítílee** 'judge, decide, give judgement' (Innes 1969).
- kólóṅ-** 'serious, chronic, a sizeable (sore)'. Mandinka **kóló** 'chronic' from Fr *chronique*.
- kónáá** 'message, news, report, explanation'. Mende **kóná** 'give one's news, relate one's experiences' (Innes 1969).
- kóbèíyó** 'cover for a kettle, pan, bottle, etc.'. Eng *cover* via Mende **kóbà** 'lid, cover'.
- kòlúyó** 'scissors'. Mende **kòlívò**.
- kólóṅndó** 'well'. Maninka **kòlòṅ** 'well'.
- kólóó** 'way of behaving, attitude, manner, style, meaning' (GK), e.g., Maninka and Kuranko **kóló** 'tame, educate', Mende and Loma **kóló** 'obedience'.
- kòṅndó** 'species of catfish'. Manding **kòṅkòṅ** 'catfish' (Vydrine 1999).
- kòó** 'back (body part); behind, outside'. Manding **kó** 'back; outside, behind' (Vydrine 1999).
- kòòwèíyó** 'shoe'. Mende **kòòwàà** 'shoe, footwear' (Innes 1969).
- kòòsínáá** 'a venereal disease, gonorrhea; schistosomiasis'. Mende **kòóó** 'sickness' (Innes 1969).
- kú-léṅ** 'yam'. Manding, e.g., Mau **kú** 'yam'.
- kpâ** 'describes something overdone, holding one another tightly, something going on for a period of time'. Mende **kpá** '(of tying) tightly, quickly, early' (Innes 1969).
- kpààyáá** 'strength, power'. Mende **kpàyá** 'strength, power, authority' (Innes 1969).
- kpàkímèíyó** 'a type of shawl worn by women'. Mende **kpàkí** 'shoulder' (Innes 1969).
- kpàndìṅòó** 'Bandi person'.
- kpàndìwèéṅndéṅ** 'sweet potato (lit. 'Bandi potato', so called because sweet potatoes were introduced by the Bandi)'.
- kpâṅkpâṅndó** 'dust'. Variant: **kpâṅkpâṅndó**. From Maninka **gbáṅgbáṅ**.
- kpàtòó** 'whip, thrashing cane; refers especially to the whip of the type used by a devil'. See **kpàtùéyé** 'long curved machete, whip cutlass'. Mende **kpàtó** 'machete, cutlass' (Innes 1969).
- kpéhèṅòó** 'child born right after twins'. Bandi: **kpehe** (Vydrine 2000 p.c.)
- kpélóó** Mende **kpèlè** 'vegetable garden' (Innes 1969). See **nákóó**.

- kpín** 'tightly, hard'. **kpílin** 'hard, violently, heavily'. Mende **kpín** '(of the sound of a heavy object falling) with a thud' (Innes 1969).
- kpíśś** 'fetters, stocks for the feet used to detain a prisoner, trail chain used in the old days for prisoners and slaves'. See **ndaámbeíyó** 'leg stocks'. Mende **kpéwó** 'log attached to the leg as punishment' (Innes 1969).
- kpòníéí** 'necklace worn by women in bush school'. e.g., Mende **kpóó** 'shell of tortoise, crab, etc.' used in bush school activities (Innes 1969).
- kpòdówán** 'salt (traditional kind)'. Mende **kpòló** 'salt, borax; a unit of value (= 20 Kisi pennies)' (Innes 1969). Bandi, Loma, Kpelle **kpolo**.
- kpúéí** 'shells used on rattles'. Mende **kpóó** 'shell of tortoise, crab, etc.' used in bush school activities (Innes 1969). See **kùéí** 'cowry shell'.
- kpùndśś** 'accident, trouble, mishap, misfortune; vine or leaves believed to ward off trouble'. Mende **kpùndê** 'sudden disaster, serious trouble' (Innes 1969).
- lààlāndó** 'believe (in), trust (in), be sure of'. Mka **laa** 'believe, trust' (Wilson 2001 pc).
- lāndāá** '(dancing) "devil", same as **gúṅāá**'. From Bandi, Mende **lāndà** (Innes 1969).
- lānibòkùèiyó** 'the tall (dancing) "devil" that uses stilts'. From Bandi.
- lānìyó** 'road'. Mende **lānì** 'highway' (Innes 1969).
- làsìmùèiyó** 'Muslim-made medicine'. Mende **làsìmòí** 'a small amulet made by Moslems' (Innes 1969).
- lè** 'still, again, any more'. Mende **lè** 'yet, still' (Innes 1969).
- lís** '(honey) bee'; **lián** 'honey'. Manding **lí** 'honey' (Vydrine 1999).
- lòó** '1. remain, be left, keep on, stay, continue (aspect marker); 2. become lost, disappear; 3. adopt, accept into the extended family'. Mende **ló** 'remain' (Innes 1969).
- lóngió, lóngímèiyó** 'small cooking pot with three legs'. Mende **lóngíméí** 'a small iron pot' (Innes 1969).
- lòṅùèí** 'hip'. Mende **lòṅgà** 'hip, hip joint' (Innes 1969).
- lūṅndó** 'compound, center of town'. From Maninka **lukono**.
- mààlón** 'rice (uncooked), generic'. Stem can be **mààl-**, **màl-**, **màlù-**, **màlì-**. Manding **màlo, mào** 'rice' in Bambara Dyula, **maalo** Maninka **maló** (Vydrine 1999).
- màànùú** 'expression of sorrow or sympathy, sorry'. Mende **mánú** 'forgive' (Innes 1969).
- màásàléiyó** 'large 200-lb storage bag'. Said to be borrowed from Mende.
- málāá** 'fish bait, esp. small worms'. Mende **máhá** 'bait' (Innes 1969).
- màlòó** 'hippopotamus'. Stem = **màlè**. Manding **màlí** (Vydrine 1999), Mende **màlé** 'pygmy hippopotamus' (Innes 1969).
- màmá** 'grandmother, old woman, respectful form of address'. Mende **màmá** 'middle-aged to old woman, grandmother, respectful form of address' (Innes 1969).
- mànàwéiyó** 'variety of banana'. Mende **mǎnà** 'plantain; cowpox; a banana-shaped earring' (Innes 1969).
- màndénòó** 'diviner, fortune teller, sorcerer, country doctor, medicine man; Moslem, member of the Mande language group'.
- mànjàá** **mànjàláj** N o/la. 'a swamp where rice is grown, particularly one belonging to the chief'. Mende **mànjà** 'a big farm made by a paramount chief' (Innes 1969).

- màsàá** 'chief'. Manding ***mansa**, **mànsá**, **màsá** 'king, ruler' (Vydrine 2000 p.c.), Bambara **màsá**, Vai **mànjá** 'chief' (Kastenholz 1998 p.c.), Mende **màhá** 'chief, leader' (Innes 1969).
- mèléká** 'God'. Manding; Maninka **mèleká**, **màlaká** 'angel' (from Arabic) (Vydrine 2000 p.c.).
- mèndènóó** 'Mende person'.
- mèsèlàá** 'be reduced or small, thin, or emaciated'. Mka **mesengo** 'very small, thin' (Wilson 2001 p.c.).
- mísílíó** 'mosque'. From Arabic via French via Maninka, Mende **mìsìí**.
- móléí** 'man's name, medicine man, Moslem'. Mende **mólì** 'Moslem' (Innes 1969).
- mómbilló** 'car, toy trucks of children' (GK). Tones vary. Maninka **mómbílí** from French *automobile*.
- mònñiyó** 'rice powder with lime juice, and sugar' Maninka **mònín**, **mòní**, attested in Bamana and other Manding languages (Vydrine 2000 p.c.).
- múúyòṅ** 'rice flour' in SLK (borrowed from Mende according to informants), known in Liberia as **kèṅèṁùkíóó**.
- mbàà** 'response to a salutation, used primarily in Guinea'. Maninka **mba** 'thank you, response to a salutation'.
- mbòmàá** 'hammock'. Mende **mbómá** 'hammock, net' (Innes 1969).
- mbòdyáá** 'weak watery liquid, what's left after the oil has been scraped off in making palm oil; a pallid sauce served over rice'. Mende **mbòyâ** 'soup' (Innes 1969).
- náám** 'yes, response to a call'. From Arabic, used widely among the Malinké and Soussou, as well as among the Mmani and occasionally by the Kisi.
- nákóó** 'garden (GK)'. From Maninka **nákó** 'garden'. See **kpélóó** 'garden'.
- nèìsóó** 'bicycle'. Mende **nèèsó** 'bicycle, lit. iron horse'.
- nñiyó** 'heddles (wires in a loom)'. Maninka **níri** Mende **nñì**. Vydrine 2000 p.c.).
- níkèṇè** 'morning greeting, used mostly by old people'. Mende **ni-kene** variant of a longer phrase meaning lit. '(you) with daylight or morning' (Creissels 1998 p.c.); **kéné** 'daybreak' in Maninka (VV 2000 p.c.).
- níngínànggáá** 'rainbow'. Maninka of Faranah **jìnkínanka** (Vydrine 1999), Mende **níngìnànggà** (Innes 1969). See Kisi **yálábóndáá**.
- nónúéíyáṅ** 'cow milk'. Mende **nónó** 'milk of goat or cow'.
- nóó** 'person, human being'. Mende **nú** / **núú** / **númú** 'person' (Innes 1969). See Kisi **wàná-**.
- nóólì-nóólì** 'dirty, filthy'. Mende **nólí** 'filthy' (Innes 1969).
- núwálí** 'thank you, typically for work'. See **báléká** 'thank you'; **wálí** 'work' e.g., Soussou; a common form of greeting among the Soussou and the Soussou-speaking Mmani of the Samou in southwest Guinea.
- ndé** 'Mom, Mother, term of address, can be used with any older female or superior'. Mende **njè** 'mother' (Innes 1969).
- ndíámóó** 'friend, young woman'. Mende **ndíámó** 'friend, lover mistress' (Innes 1969).
- ndòòmáá** 'namesake'. Mka **n toomaa** 'my namesake' (Wilson 2001 pc).
- ṅgàfákètùíyó** 'a mask or bush devil that women are not allowed to see'. Mende **ṅgàfágòtù** 'a devil of the *Gbonji* society' (Innes 1969).
- ṅgóó** 'older brother or sister'. Kuranko **nkoro** 'older sibling' (Thomas 1916).
- jínàá** 'spirit, esp. spirits of the land, (spirits of) the ancestors'. Maninka: **jína**, Mende **jínà** 'spirit, devil' (Innes 1969), originally from Arabic.

- ɲòmíó** 'camel'. Manding **ɲòmé** 'camel' (Vydrine 1999), Mende **ɲómá** 'camel, hump' (Innes 1969).
- pààwàá** 'payment, fee, tax'. Mende **pàwà** 'payment, pay' (Innes 1969).
- pàtió** 'clan'. Mende **pátí** 'section of a chiefdom' (via Eng.? French *partie*?).
- péndékóŋ** 'species of rice, brown outside, white inside'. Mende **péndé** 'a variety of small-grained rice' (Innes 1969).
- pólóŋ** 'far, high up, far away, distant, deep'. Mende **pólóŋ** 'far, far away, a long way' (Innes 1969).
- pùléí** '1. stomach, intestines, guts; 2. woman's labor stage; 3. a strip of cloth'. See **pùléŋ** 'navel'. Mende **pùlú** 'intestines, entrails, guts' (Innes 1969).
- púŋ** 'early (in the morning)'. Mende **pùnè** '(of the sky in the early morning) light' (Innes 1969).
- pùùlù-** 'foreign, Western, European, non-indigenous or non-traditional, governmental'. Mende **pùù** 'country inhabited by whites' (Innes 1969).
- sáá** 'the month around October'. Mende **sáà** 'September' (Innes 1969).
- sàá** 'sheep'. Maninka **saa**, Manding **sàgá** (Vydrine 2000 p.c.).
- sábòó** 'reason, cause, meaning; an act of kindness'. Mende **sábù** 'reason, good will, benevolence' (Innes 1969).
- sàfùéíyó** 'plant species which has sponge-like growths used for scrubbing'. Mende **sàfó** 'luffa, loofa' (Innes 1969).
- sákìèí** 'sword, dagger'. Mende **sàkì** 'dagger, double-edged knife' (Innes 1969).
- sàláá** 'sacrifice, blessing; charm' (NK: **sara** 'the talisman at a village entrance' Paulme 1954:16) via ? from Arabic *sala* 'festival'.
- sàlló** 'a species of fish, shark?'. From Eng *shark* via coastal Mande, e.g., Susu **seleki** 'shark'.
- sámàá** 'credit (LE) or charge, esp. for meat'. Mende **sámà** 'an arrangement whereby meat is divided among several people, each of whom agrees to pay within an agreed time' (Innes 1969).
- sámbéíyó** 'a large rattan basket which holds about half a bushel'. Mende **sámhá** 'broad, open basket' (Innes 1969).
- sánièí sáníóŋ** 'gold'. From Mande, see Mka **sani** (Wilson 2001 p.c.).
- sànió** 'bottle'. Mande, Mende **sàní** 'bottle, jar', Vai **sàní** 'bottle'; see Gola **é-sà-í**.
- sáŋndó** 'a small or pigmy antelope; "rabbit", often the hero of folk tales'. Mande **san** 'rabbit' (also the hero of folk tales (Wilson 2001 p.c.)).
- sàtòó** 'a species of very sour but edible plant used in cooking'. From **sàtò** 'sour-sour, a vegetable used in palaver sauce' (Innes 1969).
- sàwàá** 'law'. Mende **sàwà** 'law' (Innes 1969).
- séíyó** 'witness, one who testifies'. Mende **séli** 'witness, evidence'; **séli** / **séí** 'prayer, esp. Moslem prayer' (from Arabic) (Innes 1969).
- sèndió** 'shave or cut hair; take an oath'. Mende **sèndû** / **sòndû** 'take an oath'.
- sèlló** 'washing ritual performed by Moslems for purification'. Maninka, Bamana **séli**, **sáli** (Vydrine 2000 p.c.); Mende **séli** / **séí** 'prayer' (from Arabic) (Innes 1969).
- sènèí-** 'clean, fresh'. Mka **sene-yaa** 'be clean', **sene-maa** 'clean' (Wilson 2001 pc).
- sèwàá** 'utter incantations, swear; write' (GK). See **sèwèí** 'amulet'. Mende **séwéí** 'write' (Innes 1969); **sebe** 'write' in Jalonke Lüpke 2000.

- sèwèi** 'amulet worn to protect oneself from evil, cowry'. Mende **sébé**, **séwé** 'large paper amulet sewn into a leather sachet, worn on neck, made by Moslems' (Innes 1969).
- siámbugiyo** 'a standard unit of measure'. Mende **siámbugu** 'a pan used for measuring oil, rice, etc.' (Innes 1969).
- sièlèiyó** 'laziness, lassitude'. Manding **sàliya**, **sàlayá** (Vydrine 1999).
- sièndilén** 'needle'. Manding **sèyilan** 'needle' (Vydrine 1999).
- siifáá** 'a weasel-like rodent, mongoose, that eats chickens (*Cricetomys gambianus*). Mende **siifá** 'wild cat' (Innes 1969).
- siñyé** '(spinning) top; gambling game associated with the spinning of tops'. Manding **siñí** 'counter, playing piece in "warri" game' (Vydrine 1999), Mende **siñ** 'top made of ivory or bone, the game of tops' (Innes 1969), **sio** from **si** in Mano, Ge, and Gio.
- sòfélóó** 'donkey, horse'. Manding **sòfáli** 'lit. 'horse-donkey' (originally from French *cheval*?); **fali** 'donkey' in Jalonke Lüpke 2000.
- sòó** 'horse'. Manding **sò** (Vydrine 1999), Mende **sõ** (Innes 1969).
- sókumèiyó** 'a hair style for women'. See **sèkimeiyó** Mende **sókumá** 'friend, lover, mistress, hairstyle for women' (Innes 1969).
- sónggóó** 'substitute, replacement'. Manding **sònggó** (Vydrine 1999), Mende **sónggó** 'equivalent, price' (Innes 1969).
- sòsòngàá** 'load a gun, stuff, pack tightly, fill a bottle, crowd together, force an object into an area of little room'. Mende **sósó** 'press, ram down' (Innes 1969).
- súlúkóó** 'hyena'. From Mande, see Mka **suluu** 'hyena' (Wilson 2001 pc).
- sùmnòó** 'blacksmith; society student'. See the "original word" **kèbínòó** 'blacksmith', **ngèmuéiyó** 'blacksmith'.
- tàámèndóó** 'the most powerful and head devil among the Kisi and neighboring peoples, such as the Bandi' **taa-mende**-Suffix?).
- tàànió** 'stand bond or bail (for someone)'. Mende **táni** 'stand, go bail' (Innes 1969).
- tànaá** 'law, taboo'. Mka **tana** 'taboo, trouble, clan, totem' (Wilson 2001 p.c.).
- tàndáá** 'trouble, fighting'. Mka **tana** 'taboo, trouble, clan, totem' (Wilson 2001 p.c.).
- tákáláá** 'matches'. Manding **tákalagomi** 'lit. match-starch; lollipop' (Vydrine 1999:304).
- tákítákíó** 'walking in a wobbly manner, lurching back and forth, lurchingly, staggeringly' Mende **tákítákí** '(of walking) with a staggering motion' (Innes 1969).
- támbugáá** 'small hourglass-shaped drum held under arm or with a belt'. Maninka **támán** Bamana **ntámán** 'hourglass drum' (Vydrine 2000 p.c.).
- téébiléilén** 'umbrella'. Mende **téblá** 'umbrella' (Innes 1969). See Kisi **bàmbúiyó** 'umbrella' and **wùndúlén** 'umbrella, shade'.
- té-é-é** 'describing something which continues on for a considerable length of time or distance'. Used in both Soussou and Mmani.
- ténà** 'aunt, one's mother's brother's wife or sister, aunt on mother's side'. Maninka **téné** 'paternal aunt', Bandi (ni) **téná** '(my) aunt' (Vydrine 1994:90), Susu: **tenē** 'aunt', Vai: **ténà** 'maternal aunt', Bamana: **tene** 'paternal aunt' (Vydrine 2000 p.c.).
- tòpáá** 'truth, generosity, a favor, kindness, goodness'. Mende **tòpá** 'truth' (Innes 1969), Kuranko **tòpá**, Bambara **ṭpá**, etc. (Kastenholz 1998 p.c.).
- tònòó** 'gain, profit, benefit, good fortune, luck'. Mende **tònó** 'good luck' (Innes 1969).

- tóó** 'news, fame, popularity, reputation, report'. Manding **tóó** 'name; fame, repute, glory' (Vydrine 1999).
- tóóyán** 'blame, fault, responsibility'. Manding **tònéé** 'offend, attack; offense' (Vydrine 2000 p.c.).
- wàá** 'thousand'. Mande **wá** 'thousand'. Maninka: **wàá** 'thousand' (Vydrine 1999).
- wáíí-** 'work, paid labor'; **wáííwáííínòó** 'peasants, day laborers'. Manding **wáíe**, Kuranko **wáíi** (Vydrine 1999).
- wèèlòó** 'call (for), page, name'. Manding **wéele**, **wéle** 'call' (Vydrine 1999).
- wèèyó** 'seeds used in a game, warri game'. Manding **wàrí**, Maninka **walei** / **wàrí** (Vydrine 1999), Mende **wàlì** (Innes 1969).
- wòlòó** 'bush chicken'. Mka **wolo** (Wilson 2001 pc).
- yàlàá** 'lion'. Manding **yára** (Vydrine 1999), Mende **njàlà** / **jàlà** (Innes 1969).
- yàlàá** 'fishing net'. Mka **jala** (Wilson 2001 pc).
- yàmbéí** 'tuber (generic); cassava'. Mka **jambi** (Wilson 2001 pc).
- yándíí** 'please'. Used widely in both Maninka and Soussou.
- yèkpándìó** 'gun'. Mende **kpàndê** 'gun'.
- yéngé-yéngé** 'delicately balanced'. Mende **yéngélé** 'precariously balanced' (Innes 1969).
- yííóó** 'pocket'. Mka **jííá**, **-oo** (Wilson 2001 p.c.).
- yíyàá** 'lodge'. Mka **jiyaa** 'lodge' (Wilson 2001 p.c.).
- yòṇàá** 'pride, acting proud, boasting'. Mende **yòṇà** 'boasting, bragging' (Innes 1969).

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