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“Mandinka Loanwords in Vélingara Fulakunda Variety: A Study of Some Morpho-phonological Features”

Vieux Demba Cissoko

Abstract

This paper examines how Mandinka has influenced Fulakunda as spoken in the Fuladu, a region in the southern part of Senegal. Being a multilingual area with Pulaar as the lingua franca, the region of Kolda has a symbolic representation of language contact and the changes it can trigger. This multilingual and multicultural environment has led to some linguistic interactions. For the best approach of the work, the items are classified according to the changes they are subjected to.

The analysis revealed that some loan words have remained unchanged, but others are phonologically and morphologically readapted to different degrees into the linguistic system of Fulakunda. To put it differently, phonological changes imply the substitution of non-Fulakunda phonemes and readaptation to fulakunda syllable structure. As for morphological changes, on the other hand, imply the suffixation of noun class suffixes. The reasons underlying the choice these changes include, among others, others the historical background of the two ethnic groups which have been in contact for several years.

Key words: Loan words, lingua franca, language contact, multilingualism, linguistic interactions, morphological changes, phonological changes, suffixation

Introduction

Language has been an object of fascination and a subject of serious inquiry for over 2,000 years (Crystal 1997: 65). Since the term “loanword” is the prevailing lexical item of this paper; therefore, a short definition of it would be of utmost importance. As exemplified by Campbell a loanword is an item, which has been borrowed from another language, a word, which originally was not part of the lexis of the recipient language but was taken from some other language and became part of the borrowing language’s vocabulary (Evrpidou 2001: 2). In this work, we aim at showing how two languages of different social background in contact can influence each other.

Often defined with regard to the functions it fulfils within the community, one common approach to the importance of language has been to view it as a means of communication because whenever two people meet, they resort to language to know and understand each other. Situated on the West African coast, Senegal is limited in the North by the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, in the South by the Republic of Guinea and Guinea Bissau.

Thus, the Senegalese linguistic situation is made possible thanks to the coexistence of several languages among which, in the first and second group only eleven (11) have benefited from the status of national languages. The population is roughly 15,000,000. Besides, French (the official language), the most prominent languages (which correspond to major ethnic groups) in the country are: Wolof, Pulaar, Mandinka, Balanta-Ganja, Mandjak, Hassaniya Arabic, Noon, Jola-Fogny, Serer, Soninke, and Mankagne. The government recognises these languages as the eleven (11) national languages of the country, Wolof being the first and most widely spoken lingua franca. Although these eleven languages are recognised by the government as national languages, there are many more minority ethnic groups and languages across the nation, especially in the former region of Casamance which corresponds to the present regions of Ziguinchor and Kolda located in the South (between the Gambia and the Guinea Bissau). In addition to these eleven languages (first and second group), we have a third group of fourteen (14) languages which are being revised for adoption as national languages too. Those languages are mainly: Baïnunk, Bajaranke, Ndut, Jalonke, Bedik, Koñagi, Bassari, Lehar, Palor, Bayot, Papel, N'asonke, Jaxanke and Ramme.

The main objective of the paper is to disclose the overwhelming number of items of Mandinka origin that can be found in Vélingara Fulakunda variety. Therefore, we first care to see whether the pronunciation has remained the same during the transition. Then, we also try to see if the meaning is still the same as in the source language and we thrive to spot those that have not changed at all. That is why we first deal with the historical background which constitutes a mere reconstruction of events for a better understanding of the history of the two communities (Mandinka/Fulakunda).

The second point of the paper which deals with the review of the related literature provides a detailed review of the available literature on the interaction between Mandinka and Fulakunda in order to enable readers to have a brief survey of the work. The last point which represents the body of the work covers various sections of the types of adaptations words are subjected to.

I. Historical background

Mandinka and Fulakunda have a longstanding historical background. To understand the nature of their relationships, it is, then, useful to sketch a brief historical study. The contact between Mandinka and Fulakunda has benefited from a few descriptions due to the lack of literature on the subject. But thanks to various books, documents and articles available and dealing with the question authors have managed to gather sufficient evidence to sustain their conclusions.

Thierno Diallo (1981:190), conducts a brief description of the historical contact between Gaabu and Fuuta-Jalon during a conference:

Par nomadisme où dans le Gaabu par petits groupes ou par transhumance, ils s'infiltrèrent plus ou moins importants, mais assez fréquemment pour constituer de véritables villages campements ou « Fulakunda » en langue mande, souvent près des villages sédentaires, avec l'autorisation de ces derniers. C'est dire donc les Gaabuans ou Gaabunké connaissent parfaitement les Fulbés avec lesquels ils cohabitaient tant bien que mal.

In addition to the review of the literature, masters of tongues have played very important roles in the understanding of the history of languages in contact in Africa, chiefly that of Gaabu which constituted the homeland of Mandinka. The overall part of those sources, yet, indicates that one has to trace it back to the Ghanaian Empire, which used to be the cradle of the West African greatest market. About the oral traditions, De Brouijn, Mirjam and Han van Dijk (1997: 23) note that:

Les traditions orales sont le deuxième élément auquel nous voudrions donner une place centrale. Aussi bien dans le monde peul qu'en milieu mandingue, les traditions orales jouent un rôle de véhicule des

perceptions des Mandingues et des Peuls et ont une fonction dans l'articulation des ethnicités. Elles y ajoutent encore une dimension et les images qu'elles utilisent pour caractériser et désigner « les autres » contiennent des messages pour le présent. Elles représentent souvent des considérations dérivées de l'actualité des rapports inter-ethniques. Les récits sur le passé peuvent être une manière de renforcer certains éléments des idéologies et des idées ainsi que les images sûres « les autres » parmi d'autres groupes ethniques. Ce sont des récits tout aussi bien sur le passé que sur le présent. Comme Vansina (1985 : 94) l'a remarqué, tous les messages historiques sont des faits sociaux, et l'objectif principal des traditions orales est de souligner les consciences collectives. Elles relient le sous-groupe à la vision du monde de toute la communauté (ethnique).

From the historical contact of Mandinka and Fulakunda, we turn to the linguistic contact, which also plays an important role. Mandinka overwhelmingly influences the Fulakunda dialect at the linguistic and cultural levels. This influence is visible in their daily conversations. To revert to the historical contact which in turn triggers linguistic influence, we recall De Brouijn, Mirjam and Han van Dijk 's (*Ibid.*) contribution. They put the following :

La cohabitation Peuls/Mandingues date de très longtemps. Djibril Tamsir Niane (1975 : 47) rapporte un dicton mandingue qui dit : « Là où un Mandingue s'installe le matin, il est rejoint le soir par un Peul ». Ce dicton en dit long sur l'ancienneté des rapports qui unissent, entre eux, Peuls et Mandingues. Qu'ils soient arrivés avec leurs suzerains ou après ces derniers, les Peuls du Fuladu ont été dominés par ces derniers. Cette domination a duré et a influencé sur leurs coutumes et même sur leur langue. Ce fait est attesté par l'existence d'un nombre impressionnant de termes mandingues passés dans la langue peule. Ceci nous conduit à dire qu'il ya eu non seulement un « métissage culturel » mais aussi des « pratiques traditionnelles », qui ont permis d'amener les relations à des rapports d'entraide et même parfois à des relations de cousinage. Elles conduisent généralement, à des plaisanteries réciproques facilitant davantage les échanges entre les deux groupes ethniques.

The Mandinka items integrated in Fulakunda find their origin and importance in the relations that have linked the two groups. Those links are above all discernable at the commercial, religious, economic and political

level. The contact between Mandinka and Fulakunda is difficult to establish, due to the lack of precise literature on the subject.

One of the prominent specialists of the history of Gaabu, Djibril Tamsir NIANE (1989 :10), in his *Histoire des Mandingues de l'ouest*; argues that “the Mandinka armies arrived around 1240 in Gaabu. That date marks the inception of the Malian period with the migration of Tiramaghan. Thus, the Mandinka people known as the “diulas” (the traders) were the first to settle”.

The long contact between Mandinka and Fulakunda has led to a variety of Pulaar; “Fulakunda”. (Strongly influenced by Mandinka) used in the capital city of the present Fuladu and its neighbourhood. Moreover, according to Niane the Mandinka and Fula would have arrived at the same time or successively, the mandinka being before head.

Being the most multilingual, the southern region is a linguistically complex area in the country. It hosts various ethnic groups from the neighbouring countries: The Gambia, Guinea Conakry and Guinea Bissau. The Joola, Mankagne, Manjack, Balanta, Portuguese Creole, Mandinka, and Fulakunda or Fulfulde (the southern variety of Pulaar strongly influenced by Mandinka) primarily populates it. (Ngom 2004:104). This shows that languages which are in contact will forcibly influence one another. Those influences will in turn trigger changes in the orthography of the latter. That is why Evripidou (2001) states that ‘languages are constantly undergoing changes. Every language is the product of change and continues to change as long as it is spoken. Most individual changes are subtle and minor enough, and their diffusion through the speech community gradual, thus they might escape our attention as they occur. Over a span of centuries, however, their communicative effect is readily apparent’ (1).

II. Review of the related literature

The interaction between Mandinka and Fulakunda has benefited from a very limited number of studies until now. Most of the existing ones are devoted to genetic classification. Nevertheless, a number of research papers

have dealt with the history of Gabou, the homeland of the Mandinka people in various ways.

Among the researchers who have worked on the history of Gabou; one can cite Djibril Tamsir Niane (1989), Christian Roche (1985), François George Barbier (1994), De Brouijn, Mirjam and Han van Dijk (1997), Mamadou Ndiaye (1987), Mamadou Mané (1993), Martine Dreyfus and Caroline Juillard (2004). They all contributed from very different ways to disclosing some aspects of the people and their history. Nevertheless, of all these studies, those of Mamadou Ndiaye and De Brouijn, Mirjam and Han van Dijk are that provide the most exhaustive description of the interaction between Mandinka and Fulakunda.

Niane (1989: 112), offers a general account of the history of the West Africa Mandinka and Fulakunda speakers. In his work entitled *Histoire des Mandingues de l'ouest*, he first develops the history of the kingdom of Gaabu, which constituted the homeland of the Mandinka culture. He also raises the issue of the anteriority of Mandinka over Fulakunda in the region, which he settles as follow:

Les rapports du Fouta et du Gabou constituent un sujet d'études. D'abord la présence des peules au Gabou. IL est hautement probable que ces nomades soient arrivés en même temps que Tiramaghan ou peu après ; les peuls s'établissent toujours à côté des paysans.

Thus, this statement holds something relevant to our purpose in the sense that it helps us question on the position of arrival of the two groups, in that historical city of Gabou. Niane (1993: 85), still recalls in the same work the expansion of the Mandinka. He considers it to have happened in four steps. As for the first step, he puts that:

La première expansion mandingue se situe entre les IX^e et XI^e siècles, phase essentiellement soninké, elle correspond à la période d'apogée de l'Empire du Ghana, c'est le temps des Kaya Maghan princes fastueux riches en or et dont la capitale Koumbi a fait l'objet des brillantes descriptions des voyageurs et géographes arabes.

This quotation describes the first expansion of the mandinka people, which Niane says to correspond to the Ghana empire apogee. In the same vein, he carries on with the second step of the mandinka expansion that is

essentially Malinké and marked by the Soundjata epic in the XII^e century. He affirms that :

Phase essentiellement Malinké, elle est marquée par l'épopée de Soundjata au XII^e siècle. Nous saisissons mieux le développement guerrier de cette phase avec la célèbre expédition de Tiramaghan qui aboutit vers 1240 à l'installation des malinké [des malinkés] au Djolof et surtout en Gambie et en Casamance. Nous sommes ici aux origines du royaume du Gabou. (Ibid.p.85)

The recalling of the second phase of the mandinka expansion marked by the Soundjata epic constitutes a vehicular message in the mandinka culture. Therefore, it brings us to the third expansion, which Niane (1989:87) finds to be cultural and commercial, situated between the XVI^e and XIX^e century i.e. the

Éssentiellement culturelle et commerciale, cette phase se situe entre les XVI^e et XIX^e siècles donc après l'éclatement de l'empire ; elle se signale par l'action des commerçants malinké ou dioula qui créèrent des centres commerciaux principalement dans le sud ou worodougou pays de cola. Cette expansion, lente, toute pacifique aboutit à l'installation des malinkés dans les régions productives de cola comme La Sierra Léone, le Libéria et la Cote d'Ivoire. Les malinké [Les malinkés] et autres mandingues seront connus ici sous l'appellation de Dioula.

From this third expansion, which is essentially cultural and commercial situated between the XVI and XIX centuries precisely after the breakup he moves to the fourth and last one where he puts the following:

Vers la fin du XIX^e siècle s'amorçait un mouvement d'expansion incarné par l'Almamy Samory, mais comme on sait ce dernier sera stoppé par les Français qui firent main basse sur l'empire mandingue. Cependant, une fois la paix rétablie après les conquêtes coloniales, on assistera, à une nouvelle phase d'expansion mandingue. C'est la phase que nous vivons et sur laquelle nous insistons particulièrement. (Ibid.p.87)

According to Niane (1989: 12), this last expansion which began in the late XIX^e century incarnated by the Almamy Samory who was blocked by the French. Though the overwhelming part of the work in his *Histoire des Mandingues de l'ouest* is devoted to the Mandinka settlement in the Gabou,

Niane also underlines the conflict that opposed Gabou and the Fouta. About that battle, he asserts :

Ainsi, la lutte entre le Gabou et le Fouta, en dépit de la forte coloration religieuse que lui donnèrent les historiens du Fouta, fut essentiellement une lutte politique pour l'hégémonie dans la sous-région. L'affrontement final sous les murs de Kansala assiégé par l'almamy Oumar en 1867 fut fatal au Gabou.

As for Roche (1985:134), in a relatively parsimonious way describes the origins of the "Fula" and the "Malinké" in his work *Histoire de la Casamance, Conquête et Résistance : 1850-1920. Paris: Karthala*. He also lays emphasis on the conflict that opposed Alpha Molo Baldé, a Fula leader and Fodé Kaba Dumbuya, a Mandinka leader. As an evidence he asserts that :

La victoire de Fodé Kaba acquit à la famille Dumbuya une grande renommée dans toute la région. Le jeune chef fier et sûr de sa puissance proposa à son père de faire la guerre au roi du Uli. Il n'avait pas oublié sa captivité et se sentait assez fort pour exercer sa vengeance avec l'aide des Gaabunké des clans Sané et Mané.

This passage is an illustration of the inception of the conflict between Fulakunda and Mandinka in the Gabou kingdom. This battle that opposed Mandinka and Fulakunda was the period of riposte by the Fulakunda who were the vassals of the Mandinka people.

Barbier-Wessier, on the other hand provides a general account of the history of Gabou, by stressing out its decline on the occasion of the Kansala battle. He asserts that "*le royaume décline au xx siècle avec l'expansionnisme politico-religieux des Peuls¹ venus du Fouta-Djallon*. (1994 :87). " [*The kingdom declines in the 20th century with the religious-political expansionism of the Peuls from Fouta-Djallon*].

A similar work, although more detailed, is produced by De Brouijn, Mirjam and Han Van Dijk (1997:152) entitled *Peuls et Mandingues: dialectique des constructions identitaires*; in which they point out the different fields of interaction between Fulakunda and Mandinka. In the same

¹ The terminal "Peuls" refers to the community of Pulaar speakers whereas "Pulaar" refers to the language of the latter.

vein, they try to show that there are many Mandinka linguistic items in the Fulakunda casual conversation. They put that :

La culture peule, dans plusieurs de ses manifestations symboliques, imaginaires et même religieuses montre, par bien des traits, qu'elle a été fortement influencée par celle des Mandingues. Cet espace (celui qui abrita le royaume gaabunke et qui abritera le royaume du Fuladu) enserré entre plusieurs États et parcouru par plusieurs populations fut un foyer d'intenses échanges et de brassages inter-ethniques. Ceci permet la diffusion d'éléments culturels qui assurent une cohésion sociale entre les deux groupes ethniques.

The same thing has been mentioned by Mamadou Ndiaye; in his article "Les emprunts linguistiques: integration des mots Mandinka dans le Pulaar". In this work, he shows how the Mandinka language influences the Pulaar dialect known as Fulakunda. In so doing, he tries to recollect the historical background of these two speech communities (a group of people who share a set of norms and rules for the use of language) (qtd in Romaine 2000). Ndiaye puts it that :

Les Peuls de la Casamance peuplent les régions naturelles de l'ancien royaume manderj du Gaabu où ils cohabitent avec les Mandingues depuis au moins le XV^e siècle. (1987: 94-108)

As for Mamadou Mané, in his article entitled « Langues Nationales et Solidarité Nationale » he lays out the notion of tolerance between Senegalese national languages. The choice of the term "Sanawyaa" is relevant to this tolerance which is a means of strengthening the social links between speakers of different languages and different cultural background. In this view, Mamadou Mané Maneebaa (1993 : 119), puts :

Dans notre pays, il arrive qu'à un carrefour deux véhicules linguistiques se heurtent. Cet accident, loin de conduire les victimes à l'hôpital (kaleel), les amène plutôt à se régaler copieusement des maladresses qui ont causé la « rixe » : après avoir bien ri du choc pourtant désagréable tout au moins pour certaines oreilles, les occupants d'un cran et cherchent à retrouver leurs liens de cousinage ou "Sanawyaa "

This passage is an evidence of the harmony in which the people were living. Martine Dreyfus and Caroline Juillard (2004), in their work *Le*

Plurilinguisme au Sénégal: Langues et identités en devenir conduct a survey of the linguistic situation of Senegal with focus on two main cities of the country; Dakar (the capital city) and Ziguinchor the capital city of the southern part of Senegal. They start by presenting Dakar and Ziguinchor prior to dealing with the linguistic aspect that constitutes the main purpose of their book. As for the presentation of the two cities, they put it that:

Les villes de Dakar et de Ziguinchor sont toutes deux situées dans des zones de contacts économiques, politiques, culturels et linguistiques importants : la région du Cap-Vert et la région de la Casamance. Le Sénégal et la Gambie ont représenté des axes commerciaux importants où aboutissaient le commerce transsaharien et interafricain (chap. 1)

For Dreyfus and Juillard, the position of these capital cities is of paramount importance. Apart from the presentation of the linguistic situation of Senegal, they point out the presence of the Mandinka people in the country with emphasis on their kingdom (Gabou). They also reveal that Casamance constitutes the place where the majority of Mandinka live. Therefore, as mentioned by Dreyfus and Juillard (1997 :19) :

La région de la Casamance est, historiquement, davantage tournée vers les royaumes du sud et du sud-ouest (Gabou) ; elle est marquée par l'opposition entre des civilisations agraires, fondées sur la riziculture, organisées en petits royaumes ou communautés très attachées à leur indépendance (Bainouk- premiers occupants de la région- puis Diola, Mandjack, Mancagnes, Papel) et grands empires, sur ses frontières (occupation du territoire, à l'est, par les Mandingues, guerriers venus de l'empire du Mali au xv^e siècle) et qui fondèrent le royaume du Gabou.

In their different approaches, the authors dealt with the presentation of the relationship between Mandinka and the other languages of the region. Actually, very little is said about the general result of the interaction between Mandinka and Fulakunda now. Despite the striking semantic and phonological similarities of these two speech communities' daily discussions, they lack a deep analysis on this theme.

III.1. Data collection and presentation of the corpus

In this study section we are intended to explain how we did proceed to collect these data on which we based our analysis. We interviewed the resourceful people. we also took some items from a written article by Mamadou Ndiaye (1987: 94-107).

We conducted a sociolinguistic interview in Vélingara, my fieldwork, in January 2008, thanks to which we collected the data in two main districts of Vélingara namely “Samba quinze (15) ans” and “Sinthiang wambaa≡e” overwhelmingly dominated by Fulakunda speakers. Our informants in both districts were composed of fifty (50) old and young men and women. The interviews lasted for 10 to 12 minutes each. That is to say twenty-five (25) persons per district.

III.2.1. Charts of Mandinka and Pulaar consonants

Chart of Mandinka Consonants

Chart 1

place manner	Bilabial	Labio- dental	Alveolar- dental	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Plosives	p b		t d	c ɟ	k g		
Fricative		f	s				h
Nasal	m		n	ɲ	ŋ		
Lateral			l				
Roll			r				
Semi vowels				j	w		

Source : CISSE (2008-2009 : 26)

Chart of Pulaar Consonants

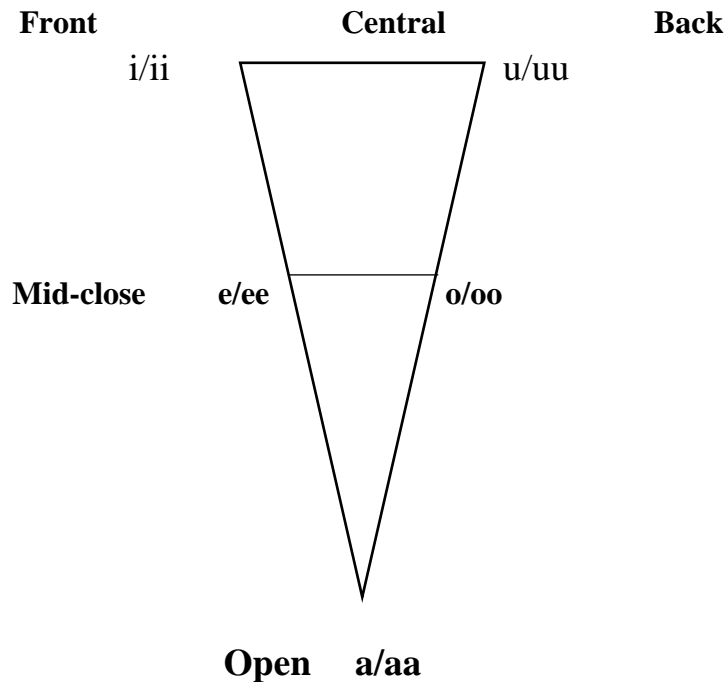
Chart 2

Place of articulation	Labial	Labiodental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Manner of articulation						
	voiceless vd	voiceless vd	voiceless vd	voiceless vd	voiceless vd	voiceless vd
Plosives	π β		τ δ	χ φ	κ γ	
Implosives	□		└	ψ		
Nasals	μ		v	ñ	N	
Pre-nasals	μ		vδ	vφ	vγ	
Fricatives	φ		σ			
Lateral			λ			
Vibrant			ρ			
Semi-Vowels	ω			ψ		

Source: KA (1988-1999: 15)

Chart of Pulaar vowels

Chart 3



Source KA (1998-1999: 2)

III.3.2. Presentation, analysis and interpretation of loanwords

In this subpart we try to identify, and, at the same time analyse the data we collected in two districts mainly dwelled in by the Fulakunda speakers. In this respect, there are phonological (i.e. changes related to pronunciation) changes during the transition from language A to language B. This list of words is made of verbs, nouns, phrases and adjectives.

III.3.3. Phonological changes

This section deals with phonological changes. As such it is necessary to mention what phonological changes mean. Broadly speaking, when talking

about phonological changes one refers to changes in pronunciation. The analysis of these items enabled us to spot the different adaptation processes these loanwords have undergone. The following examples are very relevant to the analysis. To respect the number of required words we were compelled to reduce the number of items to be analysed. That is the reason why we just selected some of them to illustrate our hypothesis.

(1)-**Basal** (n)/bασαλ/ meaning mat, from Mandinka **Basoo**>/bασο:/

The term has become in Fulakunda **Basal**. It has first undergone a vowel deletion with the Mandinka long /o:/. In addition to vowel deletion, we can notice an epenthesis with the insertion of the Fulakunda phoneme /α/ accompanied with a consonant addition accounting for the changing of the contour of the loan. /αλ/ in Fulakunda marks the **O** noun class degree. Hence; the change of the pronunciation from **Basoo** /bασο:/ > **Basal**/bασαλ/. That is to say during the transition the noun **Basoo** has undergone a length weakening with the shortening of the long sound /o:/ in the final position which has become αλ in Fulakunda still in final position. We also notice that in final position, the replacement of the sound /o:/ by the short sound /α/ is accompanied with a vowel opening (/o:>α/) plus the addition of the dark lateral consonant /λ/ (velarized) which does not occur in final position in Mandinka. This is due to the fact that the long sound /o:/ does not occur in Fulakunda words final position. /o:/>/o/ vowel shortening. /o/>/α/+/λ/ vowel insertion + consonant addition in final position of the word. /o:/ is a mid-back vowel; the lips are rounded during its production. /α/ is an open central vowel and unrounded. /λ/ is a voiceless alveolar lateral consonant found in final position of some Fulakunda words.

Examples:

Mandinka: a) Basoo le?

Fulakunda: b) Honto Basal ngal woni?

English: c) Where is the mat?

(10)-**Kaleera** (n)/καλε:ρα/ (“a pot for cooking rice”), has the same meaning as in Mandinka. During the transition the term underwent a phonological change. Thus, **Kaleeroo**/καλε:ρο:/> **Kaleera**/καλε:ρα/. Despite the existence of long /o:/ and short /o/ in Fulakunda the word

underwent a re-adaptation process to fit the Vélingara Fulakunda linguistic stock. However, we can notice that with words that refer to inanimate objects when the final sound is /o:/ in Mandinka it becomes in Fulakunda a short /α/ though the same vowel exists in the latter's system.

To put it differently; the term has undergone a vowel shortening in the final position. This is due to the fact that the long sound /o:/ does not occur in final position in Fulakunda. Therefore, to fit its (the Fulakunda) linguistic repertoire the long vowel has to be shortened and replaced by the short/α/. One can also notice that during the adaptation process in the Fulakunda linguistic system the shortening and replacement of the Mandinka long /o:/ is accompanied with a vowel opening with its substitution (/o:>α/) by the Fulakunda phoneme/α/. /o:/>/o/ vowel shortening, /o:/>/α/ substitution of the shortened vowel + a vowel opening, /o:/ is a mid-back vowel; the lips are rounded during its production. /α/ is an open central vowel and unrounded.

Mandinka: a) *Al Kaleeroo joosi a ye seniyaa*

Fulakunda: b) *Law□ee Kaleera oNhaa laa□a*

English: c) *Wash the cooking pot neatly*

(26)-TeN-tulu (n)/τεNτυλυ/ palm oil, from Mandinka.

This word has undergone a vowel shortening with the vocalic restriction of the long vowel /o:/ replaced by the short vowel /u/ at the final stage of the word. The vowel /o:/ has become in Fulakunda/u/; hence a length weakening (/o:>υ/) accompanied with a vowel closing. In Mandinka the stress is put on the last syllable /loo/ but in the recipient language one can see that the stress has become weak because the sound /o:/ does not occur in Fulakunda words final position. Therefore, the vowel has been shortened, and, then substituted by /υ/ in the final position. /o:/>/o/ vowel shortening, /o:/>/υ/ vowel substitution + vowel closing, /o:/ is a mid-back vowel; the lips are rounded during its production. /u/ is a close back vowel; the lips are rounded in its production

Examples :

Mandinka : a) *ÑiN musoo la TeN-tuloo maN diyaa*

Fulakunda: b) *TeN-tulu o□oo debbo welaani*

English: c) *This woman's palm-oil is not tasty*

The phonological changes are manifested through a deal number of adaptations. Their phonological integration is related to the Pulaar syllabification norms which are known to be **CV** or **CVC**. However, despite the existence of the same phonemes in the two varieties, changes had to take place to better fit the system of the recipient language. In fact, the phonological changes have been made with various readaptation processes; vowel shortening, vowel deletion, vowel epenthesis, consonant epenthesis, metathesis, vowel copying, truncation (syllable deletion), vowel substitution, nasal unpacking. The analysis has allowed us to know that twenty-eight (28) that is 47.45% (cf. chart of words with phonological changes) of them are readapted according to the Fulakunda syllabification system (**CV** or **CVC** types). Their phonemes are relevant and respect the constraints positions be it initial, medial or final.

After having analysed the different items that have undergone phonological changes, we will be then, interested in calculating their percentages of changes. In so doing, we are going to adopt a method of calculation that will help to have the percentage of terms which have undergone phonological changes. Twenty-eight (28) items phonologically affected items out of the fifty-nine (59) affected ones (morpho-phonological) as we will see in the following section.

X → 28 represents the number of words which have undergone phonological changes

Y → 59 represents the total number of words which have undergone changes

$$\frac{100 \times X}{Y} = \%$$

$$\frac{100 \times 28}{59} = 47.45\%$$

Chart of words which have undergone phonological changes

Chart 1

	Number	Percentage
Words that have Undergone phonological changes	28	47.45%
total number of both phonological and morphological changes	59	100%

The analysis of the items which have undergone phonological changes allows us to move to the ones which have undergone morphological changes constituting the second section of the data analysis.

III.3.4. Morphological changes

In this present section of the analysis, we cared to show the hybrid Mandinka terms in the Fulakunda linguistic repertoire. We thrive to show that morphological changes are characterised by a well-known phenomenon of the Fulakunda noun system through the alternation of the final letter of the radical of the noun. Thus, let us consider the following alternations as instances of morphological changes.

(8)-Kaccu-gol (n) /κατ□υ-γολ/ from Mandinka>**Kaccaa** meaning chat, conversation. The term has undergone a vowel shortening with the substitution of the long /α:/ by the short vowel/u/. This vowel shortening is also accompanied with a vowel closing (/α:>υ/). Apart from the vowel shortening and the vowel closing; we also have a lexicalization. This lexicalization is made possible after having shortened the last Mandinka vowel of the loan (**Kaccaa**) plus the addition of the morphemic suffix /-gol/

which is a Fulakunda determiner. It is to be observed that in addition to the aforementioned changes the term has also undergone an incorporation of a velar stop consonant /ɣ/ which occurs in medial position. Next to the velar stop insertion, we also have an addition of the dark lateral consonant /ɺ/ which occurs in final position contrary to Mandinka.

/ɑ:/>/ɑ/ vowel shortening, /ɑ:/>/ʊ+/-ɣoɺ/ vowel substitution + a morpheme insertion. /ɑ:/ is an open central vowel and unrounded. /u/ is a close back vowel; the lips are rounded in its production. /ɣ/ is a velar stop, it occurs only in word initial and medial position. /o/ is a mid-back vowel, the lips are rounded in its production. /l/ is a voiceless alveolar lateral consonant found in final position of some Fulakunda words.

Examples :

Mandinka : a) *Al la Kaccaa labanta ñadiNle*

Fulakunda: b) *Hon no sakitiri □on e Kaccu-gol mon gol*

English: c) How did you end your discussion?

(15)-**Silafanda-oN** (n)/σιλαφανδα-oN/ from

Mandinka>**Silafandoo** meaning the traveller's or visitor's gift; the term has undergone a morpho-phonological change. We have a vowel shortening /o:/>/o/ accompanied with a vowel substitution /o:/>/ɑ/. It is also important to recall that we have a morpheme suffixation with the addition of the Fulakunda morpheme /-oN/ to fit the system. This vowel shortening is followed by a vowel opening due to the substitution of the shortened vowel by the Fulakunda short one /a/ (/o:>ɑ/). In addition to the vowel shortening and opening we can also note a morphemic suffixation -oN which is a Fulakunda determiner. By the same token, it is worth mentioning that the term has undergone a metaphesis (a reversal of structure); i.e. the **No** in Mandinka has been turned into -oN to fit the Fulakunda linguistic repertoire. /o:/>/o/ vowel shortening, /o:/>/ɑ/ vowel opening, /ɑ:/>/o+/-N/ vowel substitution accompanied with a suffixation, /o:/ is a mid-back vowel; the lips are rounded during its production. /a/ is an open central vowel and unrounded. /o/ is a mid-back vowel, the lips are rounded in its production. /N/ is a velar nasal it occurs in initial, medial and final position.

Examples:

Mandinka: a) *Ali n na Silafandoo dinna*

Fulakunda: b) *Okee kam Silafanda am oN*

English: c) *Give me my traveller's gift*

(17)-**Toolee-jo (adj)**/τo:λe:□o/ a stupid person, from Mandinka (**Toolee**). The term has undergone a morphological change with the addition of the morphemic suffix /-□o/; which is a determiner. We can also see that the word has not only undergone but a modification of its segmental structure; which turns into an adjustment of the tonal contour of the lexical item itself. This modification of the tonal contour of the term is accompanied with a palatal plosive consonant insertion followed by a vowel closing (/e:>o+-□o/). We also have a vowel copying /o/ of the first syllable of the word. /ε:/>+□o/ suffixation of the morpheme /-□o/. /e:/ is a mid-front vowel, which is unrounded. /□/ is a palatal pre-nasal consonant. /o/ is a mid-back vowel, the lips are rounded in its production.

Examples:

Mandinka: a) *Keemoo mu Toolee le ti*

Fulakunda: b) *Keemoo ko Toolee-jo*

English: c) *Keemoo is a stupid person*

(19)-**FaN-loN-balyaa-gal (n)** /φαN-λoN-βαλιφα:/ someone without any basic education; from Mandinka (**FaN-loN-balyaa**). The term has undergone a phonological change with the addition of the morphemic suffix /-gal/ which is a Fulakunda determiner. Furthermore, we can remark that it has undergone an epenthesis with the insertion of the velar plosive consonant /γ/ followed by the open central vowel /a/, also accompanied with the dark lateral consonant /l/. /α:/>+γαλ/ morpheme addition. /a : / is an open central vowel and unrounded. /γ/ is a velar stop, it occurs only in word initial and medial position. /a/ is an open central vowel and unrounded. /l/ is a voiceless alveolar lateral consonant found in final position of some Fulakunda words.

Examples:

Mandinka: a) *FaN-loN-balyaa maNbetiyaa*

Fulakunda: b) *FaN-loN-balyaa-gal mo□aani*

English: c) *Missing a basic education is not good*

(21)-**DuntuN-oN** (n) /δυντυN-oN/ a coq, from Mandinka (**DuntuNo**).

The term has undergone a vowel deletion with the dropping of the Mandinka specifier –o which occurs in final position of some terms. This item has also undergone a morphemic suffixation accompanied with a consonant and vowel metaphesis of the final letter of the Mandinka radical **DuntuN** plus its specifier -o. This metaphesis has turned the Mandinka **No** into **oN**. The latter is due to the fact that the morpheme **No** doesn't occur in Fulakunda words final position.

/o/>/-2/ vowel deletion, /N/>/o/+/N/ vowel + consonant insertion, /-No/>/-oN/ metaphesis with the reversal of the Mandinka morpheme, /o/ is a mid-back vowel; the lips are rounded in its production. /N/ is an alveolar nasal; it occurs in initial, medial and final position.

Examples :

Mandinka : a) *Jumaa le ta mu ñiNDuntuNoo ti?*

Fulakunda : b) *Hombo jeyii DuntuN-oN?*

English: c) *Whose coq is this?*

After a thorough analysis, there are several notes of morphological changes that can be made about Mandinka Loanwords in Vélingara Fulakunda Variety. The most striking morphological adaptation processes are compound blend forms though some of them are preceded by vowel deletion, vowel substitution, vowel epenthesis and consonant epenthesis and suffixations. However, the analysis has allowed us to see that thirty-one (31) items have undergone morphological changes as they appear on the original list.

To grasp the percentage of words which have undergone morphological changes it is compulsory to adopt a mode of calculation. In so doing, we adopted the rule of three calculation to have the percentage of changes and absence of changes. Although it is not necessary, we just made up our mind to precise it to the readers. X represents the number of words which have undergone morphological changes; Y represents the total number of both phonological and morphological changes.

X → 31
Y → 59

$$\frac{X \times 100}{Y} = \% \qquad \frac{31 \times 100}{59} = 52.54\%$$

Chart 2

Chart of words which have undergone morphological changes

	Number	Percentage
Words that have Undergone morphological changes	31	52.54%
total number of both phonological and morphological changes	59	100%

Thus, the following chart represents the percentage of words that have undergone morphological changes with the same mode of calculation.

Mode of calculation

$$\frac{X \times 100}{Y} = 39.33\%$$

$$\frac{Y \times 100}{Y} = 100\%$$

X represents the total number of words which have changed

Y represents the total number of loans

X → 59 x%
Y → 150 y%

III.3.2 Absence of changes

The list of the following items below illustrates the cases of unaffected loans of Mandinka items now incorporated in the Fulakunda lexical stock. After an analysis, we realise that ninety-one (91) of them out of the 150 items collected have not changed. The following examples of words sentences are illustrations of the absence of changes:

2. BuN-baa (n) /βυN-βα:/

Mandinka: a) *Kewolu maN ñanna I laa la **BuN-baa** to*

Fulakunda: b) *Wor□e □εNfotaani waalaade ka **BuN-baa***

English: c) *Men should not lie in the room booked for women only (**BuN-baa**)*

3. FulaN (n) /φυλαN/

Mandinka : a) *Abdu mu n **FulaN**ma le ti*

Fulakunda: b) *Abdu ko **FulaN**am*

English: c) *Abdu is from the same generation as me (in this case)*

5. KaNkuraN (n) /καNκυραN/

Mandinka: a) *Alikaloo ko **kaNkuraN**te bola bii*

Fulakunda: b) *Alikaloo oNwiyo **kaNkuraN**yalta taa hannde*

English: c) *The Alikaloo says that there won't be any **kaNkuraN** out*

6. JambadoN (n) /□αμβαδοN/

Mandinka : a) *N na taa ta **jambadoN**du la*

Fulakunda: b) *Neene yahi ka **jambadoN***

English: c) *Mum has gone to the traditional dance (**jambadoN**)*

7. FaN-kanta (n) /φαN-καντα/

Mandinka: a) *M beN**FaN-kanta** la keme nanoo la*

Fulakunda: b) *Mi wa□aye **FaN-kanta** teeme□e naye*

English: c) *I am to keep two thousand as a relief (**FaN-kanta**)*

After analysing the loans with absence of changes; we realise that ninety-one (91) of them have not undergone any change. This conclusion permits us to verify that there are always exceptions to the rules. Therefore, the analysis of these 91 items has confirmed the view according to which all borrowed items are not forcibly subjected to changes as can be remarked in the chart below.

Mode of calculation

$$\frac{X \times 100}{Y} = 60.66\%$$

$$\frac{Y \times 100}{Y} = 100\%$$

X represents the number of words which have not changed

Y represents the total number of loans

$$\begin{array}{l} X \longrightarrow 91 \quad x\% \\ Y \longrightarrow 150 \quad y\% \end{array}$$

$$\frac{91 \times 100}{150} = 60.66\%$$

Chart of words with Absence of changes

Chart 3

	Number	Percentage
Words that have not undergone any changes	91	60.66%
The total number of loans	150	100%

The table reveals that 60.66% of the loans have not changed at all. In other words, ninety-one (91) of them have remained unchanged as they are in the source language. The fact that these words have not changed has certainly plausible reasons. The terms have not changed in the recipient language because they have emotional meanings.

Chart 4

Chart of the total number of words which have undergone changes

	Number	Percentage
Words that have undergone changes	59	39.33%
The total number of loans	150	100%

The chart of the affected loanwords reveals that 39.33% of them have undergone phonological changes. That is to say fifty-nine (59) of the loans underwent changes. This situation may be related to the fact they are some mandinka phonemes which do not exist in fulakunda.

This list comprises 150 loans from Mandinka. After the analysis, it is important to raise some characteristics for a number of loanwords that are affiliated with four particular Fulakunda suffixes: **-gol**, **-o**, **-gal**, **al** and **-oN**.

The **/-gol/** ending has created a lexical item which is thought to be inanimate neutral noun. A case in point is the word “**Kaccu-gol**” which is the only one we have found in our data.

The Mandinka phonemes are sometimes shortened before being subjected to any changes. The data generated 150 loans with instances found in a clause boundary involving various types of morphemic suffixes, namely nouns, verbs and adjectives.

CONCLUSION

The foregoing study has shown that Mandinka speakers and Fulakunda ones have been cohabitating positively. It has also shown linguistic tolerance, through the linguistic fellow-feeling of the two communities by the nature of social relationship among them. As a result,

the number of loan words considered in this study does not suffice to draw significant conclusions vis-à-vis that phenomenon (loan words) let alone establish wide-ranging rules related to all nature of loan words. However, this paper will allow observing the long-lasting cohabitation between Fulakunda and Mandinka influences over Fulakunda at the lexical, semantic and morphological levels, promoting thus, the particularity of that Pulaar. It has also allowed the enrichment of that dialect in the sense that there is no break in its natural evolution.

These loan words become accepted as an important part of the Fulakunda linguistic stock. To quote Trudgill (1992), 'loan words which are still in the process of being assimilated into another language may continue to be pronounced, as well as speakers are proficient, according to the rules of the original language' (9).

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These tables represent the list of loanwords

Table 1

Mandinka loans	Fulakunda equivalents
1-Basoo (n) /βασο:/ mat	Basal (n) /βασαλ/ mat
2-BuN-baa (n) /bυN-bα:/ a room booked for women only	BuN-baa (n) /bυN-bα: / a room booked for women only.
3-FulaN (n) /φυλαN/ People of the same age (same group)	FulaN (n) /φυλαN/ People of the same age (same group).

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4-Faroo (n) /φαρο:/ Paddy(field working)	Faro (n)/φαρο/ Paddy (field working).
5-KaNkuraN (n) /καNκυραN/ a masked person keeping things under control (in the Mandinka traditional society).	KaNkuraN (n) /καNκυραN/ a masked person keeping things under control (in the Mandinka traditional society).
6-JambadoN (n) /□αμβαδοN/a traditional dance held on the occasion of some ceremonies like circumcision in the Mandinka culture.	JambadoN (n) /□αμβαδοN/ a traditional dance held on the occasion of some ceremonies like circumcision in the Mandinka culture.
7-FaN-kanta (n) /φaN-καντα/ relief, protection	FaN-kanta (n) /φaN-καντα/ relief, protection.
8-Kaccaa (n) /κατ□α:/ chat, conversation.	Kaccu-gol (n) /κατ□υγολ/ chat, conversation.
9-JimbaN (n) /□ιμβaN/ a veranda (a traditional habitation) found in most of the Mandinka compounds.	JimbaN (n) /□ιμβaN/ a veranda (a traditional habitation) found in most of the Mandinka compounds.
10-Kaleeroo (n) /καλε:ρO:/ a pot for cooking rice.	Kaleera (n) /καλε:ρα/ a pot for cooking rice.
11-Kasi (n) /κασι/ something forbidden.	Kasi (n) /κασι/ something forbidden.
12-NansiN (n) /NανσιN/ a circumcised person.	NansiN (n) /NανσιN/a circumcised person.
13-PasiN (n) /πασιN/ conventional rules taught and sometimes used to test the circumcised people.	PasiN (n) /πασιN/ conventional rules taught and sometimes used to test the circumcised people.
14-Kotoo (n) /κοτο:/ elder, brother	Kotoo (n) /κοτο:/ elder, brother
15-Silafandoo (n) /σιλαφανδο:/ the traveller's or visitor's gift	Silafanda-oN (n) /σιλαφανδα-oN/ the traveller's or visitor's gift
16-SiiraNo (n) /σιραN-No:/ a chair, a bench.	SiiraN-oN (n) /σιραN-oN/ a chair, a bench.
17-Toolee (n) /το:λε:/ a stupid person.	Toolee-jo (n) /το:λε:□o / a stupid person.
18-Sutu (n) /συτυ / a dense forest.	Sutu (n) /συτυ / a dense forest.
19-FaN-IoN-balyaa (n) /φaN-IoNβαλιφα:/ Someone without any basic education.	FaN-IoN-balyaa-gal (n) /φaN-IoNβαλιφα:/ Someone without any basic education.

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20- Siinaa (n) /σι:να:/ meaning co-spouse.	Siinaa (n) /σι:να:/ meaning co-spouse.
21-DuntuNoo (n) /δυντυNo/ a coq	DuntuN-oN (n) /δυντυN-oN/ a coq,
22-DantaN (adj) / δανταN/ a few, some.	DantaN (adj) /δανταN/ a few, some.
23-TeleN (n) /τελεN/ a piece, a slice, a part of something.	TeleN (n) /τελεN/ a piece, a slice, a part of something.
24-TeeraNoo (n) /τε:ραNo:/ axe used to split wood.	TeeraN-oN (n) /τε:ραN-oN/ axe used to split wood.
25-Kundaa (n) /κυνδα:/ home, dwelling place.	Kundaa (n) /κυνδα:/ home, dwelling place.
26-TeN-tuloo (n) /τεN-τυλο:/ palm oil	TeN-tulu (n) /τεNτυ λυ/ palm oil.
27-Kaliaa (n) /καλια:/ earthworm.	Kaliaa (n) /καλια:/ earthworm.
28-Kaboo (n) /καβο:/ bottle.	Kaba (n) /καβα/ bottle.
29-Moonoo (n) /μο:βο:/ porridge.	Mooni (n) /μο:vi/ porridge.
30- SitikoN (n) /σιτικoN/ a mysterious talisman preventing someone to act naturally during football matches.	SitikoN (n) /σιτικoN/ a mysterious talisman preventing someone to act naturally during football matches.
31-Kaari (ex) /κα:ρι/ a euphemism used to calumniate someone.	Kaari (ex) /κα:ρι/ a euphemism used to calumniate someone.
32-Kemboo (n) /κεμβο:/ charcoal.	Kembu (n) /κεμβυ/ charcoal.
33-Kataatoo (n) /κατα:το:/someone who is problematic.	Kataatoo-jo (n) /κατα:το:□o/ someone who is problematic.
34-Karamoo (n) /καραμο/ a master.	Karamo-ko (n) /καραμο-κο/ a master.
35-Solimaa (n) /σολιμα:/ an uncircumcised person.	Solimaa-jo (n) /σολιμα:□o/ an uncircumcised person.
36-Haa (adv) /ηα:/ yes.	Haa (adv) /ηα:/ yes.
37-Tuma (adv) /τυμα/ when	Tuma (adv) /τυμα/ when.
38-MaaraN (n) /μαραN/small sticks used by circumcised children when singing their songs. They also serve as weapons for fighting against anyone who provokes them.	MaaraN (n) /μαραN /small sticks used by circumcised children when singing their songs. They also serve as weapons for fighting against anyone who provokes them.
39-KuyaN-mansa (n) /κυφαν-μανσα/ the care taker of the circumcised children.	KuyaN-mansa (n) /κυφαν-μανσα/ the care taker of the circumcised children.

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40-KintaN (n) /κινταN/ the one or those who follow the kaNkuraN	KintaN (n) /κινταN/ the one or those who follow the kaNkuraN
41-Saliboo (n) /σαλιβο:/ charity given to people (mostly children) on korité and tabaski days.	Saliboo (n) /σαλιβο:/ charity given to people (mostly children) on korité and tabaski days.
42-HajintaN-yaa (n) /ηα□ινταNφα:/ idleness, sticking to unimportant things.	HajintaN-yaa-gal (n) /ηα□ινταNφα:γαλ/ idleness, sticking to unimportant things.
43-SiN-mee (n) /σιN-με:/ tobacco.	SiN-me (n) /σιN-με/ tobacco.
44-Foloo (adj) /φολο:/ the first.	Foloo-oN (adj) /φολο:οN/ the first.
45-Fanikendoo (n) /φανικενδο:/ sleepless night held during circumcision ceremonies.	Fanikendoo (n) /φανικενδο:/ sleepless night held during circumcision ceremonies.
46-Haajoo (n) /ηα:□ο:/ business	Haaju (n) /ηα:□υ/ business.
47-FeN-keNoo (n) /φεN-κεNo:/ a kind of gourd made of clayed sand used by old people in Casamance to have bath.	FeN-keN-oN (n) /φεN-κεN-oN/ a kind of gourd made of clayed sand used by old people in Casamance to have bath.
48-Nafaa (n) /ναφα:/ something that serves well.	Nafa (n) /ναφα/ something that serves well.
49-Mbarum-mbaa (n) /μ□αρυμ-μ□α:/ aunt (one's uncle's wife).	Mbarum-mbaa (n) /μ□αρυμ-μ□α:/ aunt (one's uncle's wife).
50-Sanawyaa (n) /σαναωφα:/ Meaning establishment of cultural jokes and courtesy between ethnic groups based on shared historical and cultural experiences.	Sanakuyaa-gal (n) /σανακυφα:γαλ/ Meaning establishment of cultural jokes and courtesy between ethnic groups based on shared historical and cultural experiences.

Table 2

Mandinka loans	Fulakunda equivalents
51-FaN-faN (adv) /φaN-φaN / truly, indeed	FaN-faN (adv) /φaN-φaN / truly, indeed
52-Kuubeejaaroo (n) /κυ:βε:□α:ρο:/ a medicinal plant assumed to heal any kind of disease.	Kuubeejaara (n) /κυ:βε:□α:ρο:/ a medicinal plant assumed to heal any kind of disease.
53-Bulundaa (n) /βυλυνδα:/ assembly.	Bulundaa (n) /βυλυνδα:/ assembly.

54-Daalaa (n) /δα:λα:/ pants with pomp worn by the griots in the Mandinka traditional society	Daalaa (n) /δα:λα:/ pants with pomp worn by the wrestlers in the Fulakunda traditional
55-DiboNoo (n) /διβοNo:/ a hoe serving for digging up peanuts	DiboN-oN (n) /διβοN-oN/a hoe serving for digging up peanuts
56-Jafoo (n) /αφο:/ a bark of a tree used to make the dress of the kaNkuraN	Jafi (n) /αφι/ a bark of a tree used to make the dress of the kaNkuraN
57-Dimbaayaa (n) /διμβα:φα:/ a mother who breastfeeds	Dimbaayaa-gal (n) /διμβα:φα:-γαλ/ a mother who breastfeeds
58-BantaNoo (n) /βανταNo:/ a silk – cotton tree	BantaNii (n) / βανταNi:/ a silk – cotton tree
59-Fisaalii (v) /φισα:λο:/ to be easily frightened	Fisaali (v) /φισα:λι/ to be easily frightened
60-Fisiriwalleeyaa (n) /φισιριωαλ:ε:φα:/ the fact of abandoning s.o, betrayal, deserting	Fisiriwalleeyaa-gal/φισιριωαλ:ε:φα:-γαλ/ the fact of abandoning s.o, betrayal, deserting
61-Naariyaa (n) /να:ριφα:/ laziness	Naariyaa-gal (n) /να:ριφα:-γαλ/ laziness
62-Jamboo (n) /αμβο:/ leaves used in the Mandinka traditional culture to prepare compaques sauce	Jamboo (n) /αμβο:/ leaves used in the Mandinka traditional culture to prepare compaques sauce
63-BuntuNoo (n) /βυντυNo:/ a small loft	BuntuN-oN (n) /βυντυN-oN/ a small loft
64-KuNkoloo (n) /κυNκολο:/ skull, bigheaded	kuNkoloo (n) /κυNκολο:/ skull, bigheaded
65-KoboNoo (n) /κοβοNo:/ the low of the ground	KoboN-oN (n) /κοβοN-oN/ the low of the ground
66-LampaNoo (n) /λαμπαNo:/ a plaited bamboo sign	LampaN-oN (n) /λαμπαN-oN/ a plaited bamboo sign
67-KutindiNoo (n) /κυτινδιNo:/ it's a cutting tool used in Mandinka to trap animals like mice	KutindiN-oN (n) /κυτινδιN-oN/ it's a cutting tool used in Mandinka to trap animals like mice
68-Tonsoo (n) /τονσο:/ a bat	Tonsoo (n) /τονσο/ a bat
69-Kalamaa (n) /καλαμα:/ a calabash spoon, used in the Mandinka traditional society to eat porridge	Kalamaa (n) /καλαμα:/ a calabash spoon used in the Mandinka traditional society to eat porridge
70-Muume (n) /μυ:με:/ the whole part of something	Muume (n) /μυ:με:/ the whole part of something
71-Furijaayaa (n) /φυρα:φα:/ mourning	Furijaayaa-gal (n) /φυρα:φα:-γαλ/ mourning

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72-Kenoo (n) /κενο:/ a space, land, a field	Kene (n) /κενε/ a space, land, a field
73-Tikoo (n) /τικο:/ a headscarf	Tikka (n) /τικ:α/ a headscarf
74-Netoo (n) /νετο:/ a yellow powder from a tree that helps people get prepared against constipation	Nete (n) /νετε/ a yellow powder from a tree that helps people get prepared against constipation
75-Kartoo (n) /καρτο:/ a split wood in small pieces plaited to serving to fence in a house	Kartawal (n) /καρταωαλ/ a split wood in small pieces plaited to serving to fence in a house

Table 3

Mandinka loans	Fulakunda equivalents
76-Baraajoo (ex) /βαρα:□ο:/ an expression used to say to somebody may Allah bless you and exhaust your prayers.	Baraaji (ex) /βαρα:□ι/ an expression used to say to somebody may Allah bless you and exhaust your prayers.
77-Deemoo (n)/δε:μο:/ hunting	Deemu-gol (n)/δε:μου-γολ/ hunting
78-Kuutoo (n)/κυ:το:/ a varan	Kuutooru (n)/κυ:το:ρου/ a varan
79-Daranbee (n)/δαρανβε:/ a hoe serving to dig in order to make furrows with small drills in the fields	Daranbee-ong (n)/δαρανβε-οN/ a hoe serving to dig in order to make furrows with small drills in the fields
80-Julayaa (n)/□υλαφα:/ trade	Julayaa-gal (n)/□υλαφα:-γαλ/ trade
81-Tabuloo (n)/ταβυλο:/ a religious dram beaten on the occasion of feast like Tabaski, Korité or when a religious authority passes away in the rural areas	Tabalde (n)/ταβαλδε/ a religious dram beaten on the occasion of feast like Tabaski, Korité or when a religious authority passes away in the rural areas
82-Tubaaño (n)/τυβα:ño:/ maize	Tubaaño (n) /τυβα:ño/ maize
83-Soobeyaa (n)/σο:βεφα:/ seriousness, hard working	Soobeyaa (n)/σο:βεφα:/ seriousness, hard working
84-Wandiyaa (n)/ωανδιφα:/ expatriation	Wandiyaa (n)/ωανδιφα:/ expatriation
85-Siibondoo (n)/σι:βονδο:/ a fictive dream imposed on the initiated on the eve of their outing marking the end of the ritual.	Siibondoo (n) /σι:βονδο:/ a fictive dream imposed on the initiated on the eve of their outing marking the end of the ritual.
86-Marabaa (n)/μαραβα:/ dry roasted peanut some women put on their plates and sell	Marabaa (n)/μαραβα:/ dry roasted peanut some women put on their plates and sell
87-Bambaneyaa (n)/βαμβανεφα:/ baby-sitting	Bambaneyaa (n) /βαμβανεφα/ baby-sitting

88-KilondiN (adj)/κιλονδιN/ an orphan	KilondiN (adj)/κιλονδιN/ an orphan
89-Fuladu (n)/φυλαδυ/ the land or home country of the Fula	Fuladu (n)/φυλαδυ/ the land or home country of the fula
90-Sabari (n)/σαβαρι/ forgiveness	Sabari (n)/σαβαρι/ forgiveness
91-Siisaaloo (n)/σι:σα:λο:/ is an equivalent of the kankuraN but more severe.	Siisaaloo (n)/σι:σα:λο:/ is an equivalent of the kankouraN but more severe
92-Somboo(n)/σομβο:/ an axe used to dig a hole	Sombe(n)/σομβε/ an axe used to dig a hole
93-Alikaali-kundaa (n)/αλικα:λι-κυνδα:/ at the chief of the village, at the mayor's.	Alikaali-kunda (n) /αλικα:λι-κυνδα:/ at the chief of the village, at the mayor's.
94-Awaa (n)/αωα:/ go on, ok.	Awaa (n)/αωα:/ go on, ok
95-Bidibidi (v)/βιδιβιδι/ to roll on the ground	Bidibidi (v)/βιδιβιδι/ to roll on the ground
96-Dankatoo (adj)/δανκατο:/ a cursed person	Dankatoo-jo (adj)/δανκατο:-□ο/ a cursed person
97-Abaraka (adj)/αβαρκα/ thank you	Abaraka (adj) /αβαρακα/ thank you
98-Badali (v)/βαδαλι/ revolt, change fidelity, turn to infidelity	Badali (v)/βαδαλι/ revolt, change fidelity, turn to infidelity
99-Buwaayaa (n)/βυωα:φα:/ witchcraft	Buwaayaa (n)/βυωα:φα:/ witchcraft
100-Wakiloo (n)/ωακιλο:/ making effort	Wakila-gol (n)/ωακιλα-γολ/ making effort
101-Furee (n)/φυρε:/ corpse, a dead person	Furee (n)/φυρε:/ corpse, a dead person
102-kacoo (n)/καχο:/ a weaver bird	Kacu (n)/καχυ/ a weaver bird
103-Janfaa (n)/□ανφα:/ betrayal, conspire	Janfaa (n)/□ανφα:/ betrayal, conspire
104-Jansa (v)/□ανσα/ to donate (a solidarity act done by Mandinka women on the occasion of some ceremonies)	Jansa (v)/□ανσα/ to donate (a solidarity act done by Mandinka women on the occasion of some ceremonies)
105-Keremuta (adj)/κερμουτα/ burnt	Kermi (adj)/κερμι/ burnt
106-Folofofoo (adv)/φολο:φολο:/ first, first of all, at first	Folofofoo (adv)/φολοφολο/ first, first of all, at first
107-Asobii (n) /ασοβι:/ uniformity, during occasions people make the same cloth into dresses and that is asobii.	Asobii (n) /ασοβι:/ uniformity, during occasions people make the same cloth into dresses and that is asobii.
108- Buuñaa (n)/βυ:ñα:/ honor, respect, invite, welcome	Buuñaa (n) /βυ:ñα:/ honor, respect, invite, welcome

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109-Dulaa (n) /δυλαα:/ place	Dulaa (n) /δυλαα:/ place
110-Caaloo (n) /χα:λο:/ bonga fish	Caaloo (n) /χα:λο:/ bonga fish
111-Dabari (v) /δαβαρι/ to witch, hex	Dabari (v) /δαβαρι/ to witch, hex
112-Daliiloo (n) /δαλι:λο:/ secret knowledge	Daliila (n) /δαλι:λα/ secret knowledge
113-Dii (ex) /δι:/ is it, truly, uttered when someone states something	Dii (ex) /δι:/ is it, truly, uttered when someone states something
114-Dukuduku (v) /δυκυδυκυ/ to murmur words	Dukuduku (v) /δυκυδυκυ/ to murmur words
115-Keremuta (adj) /κερεμυτα/ burnt	Keremi (adj) /κερεμι/ burnt
116-Duwaa (v) /δυωα:/ to bless, pray	Duwaa (v) /δυωα:/ to bless, pray
117-Feeree (n) /φε:ρε:/ skill, manner, method, technique	Feeree (n) /φε:ρε:/ skill, manner, method, technique
118-FereN (adv) /φερεN/ completely	FereN (adv) /φερεN/ completely
119-Daakaa (v) /δα:κα:/ to stay	Daakaa (v) /δα:κα:/ to stay
120-Dandalaa (v) /δανδαλα:/ to warn	Dandalaa (v) /δανδαλα:/ to warn
121-Hawuja (adj) /ηαωυ□α/ haste, hurry	Hawuji (adj) /ηαωυ□ι/ haste, hurry
122-Jiidi (v) /□ι:δι/ to reproduce, increase, develop, give birth, deliver	Jiidi (v) /□ι:δι/ to reproduce, increase, develop, give birth, deliver
123-Jonkoto (v) /□ονκοτο/ to squat	Jonkoto (v) /□ονκοτο/ to squat
124-Jujuwoo (n) /□υ:□υωο:/ circumcision camp, temporal shed	Juju-oN (n) /□υ:□υ-oN/ circumcision camp, temporal shed
125-Kaabiiloo (n) /κα:βι:λο:/ division in a village, can	Kaabiila (n) /κα:βι:λα/ division in a village, can
126-Kafuñoo (n) /καφυñο:/ associate, friend, companion	Kafuñoo (n) /καφυñο:/ associate, friend, companion
127-Kasabi (v) /κασαβι/ to count	Kasabi (v) /κασαβι/ to count
128-KeekanaNo (n) /κε:καναNo/ big boy, big man	KeekanaN-jo (n) /κε:καναN-□ο/ big boy, big man
129-Mutumutoo (n) /μυτυμυτο:/ sand fly	Mutumutu (n) /μυτυμυτυ/ sand fly
130- naanee(n) /να:νε:/ boundary, frontier, limit	naanee (n) /να:νε:/ boundary, frontier, limit
131-ÑimakiN (v) /ñιμακιN/ to bear	ÑimakiN (v) /ñιμακιN/ to bear
132-Nambara (v) /ναμβαρα/ to delay, waste (someone's) time, cause someone to have trouble	Nambara (v) /ναμβαρα/ to delay, waste (someone's) time, cause someone to have trouble

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133-Nimisa (v) /νιμισα/ to regret	Nimisa (v) /νιμισα/ to regret
134-Ñookuñooku (v) /ñο:κυñο:κυ/ to sick.	Ñookuñooku (v) /ñο:κυñο:κυ/ to sick
135-Norooti (v) /Νορο:τι/ to scratch	Norooti (v) /Νορο:τι/ to scratch
136-PancankalaN (v) /πανχανκαλαN/ to ga astray, to react angrily.	PancankalaN (v) /πανχανκαλαN/ to ga astray, to react angrily.
137-Puruca (v) /πυρυχα/ to show contempt, make sound with the lips to show contempt.	Puruca (v) /πυρυχα/ to show contempt, make sound with the lips to show contempt.
138-Potopoto (adj) /ποτοποτο/ clayish, muddy.	Potopoto (adj) /ποτοποτο/ clayish, muddy.
139-Ñorooti (v) /ñοπο:τι/ to pinch	Ñorooti (v) /ñοπο:τι/ to pinch
140-Sankee (n) /σανκε:/ mosquito net	Sankee (n) /σανκε:/ mosquito net
141-Sobindi (v) /σοβινδι/ to inform, cause to be suspicious	Sobindi (v) /σοβινδι/ to inform, cause to be suspicious
142-Tawuntee (n) /ταουατε:/ one who offends or acts deliberately	Tawuntee-jo (n) /ταουατε:-□ο/ one who offends or acts deliberately
143-Sukusuku (v) /συκυσυκυ/ to instigate	Sukusuku (v) /συκυσυκυ/ to instigate
144-Wacawaca (v) /ωαχαωαχα/ to (people) talk continuously, all speaking at the same time	Wacawaca (v) /ωαχαωαχα/ to (people) talk continuously, all speaking at the same time
145-Tilimbaliyaa (n) /τιλιμβαλιφα:/ crookedness, wickedness, dishonesty	Tilimbaliyaa-gal (n) /τιλιμβαλιφα:-γαλ/ crookedness, wickedness, dishonesty
146-Tafal tafal (n) /ταφαλ ταφαλ/ delay, waste time, hesitate	Tafal tafal (n) /ταφαλ ταφαλ/ delay, waste time, hesitate
147-Sukurukaloo (n) /συκυρυκαλο:/ sugar cane	Sukurukala (n) /συκυρυκαλα/ sugar cane
148-YeemaN (v) /φε:μαN/ to disappear	Yeemii (v) /φε:μι:/ to disappear
149-Yoolee (v) /φο:λε:/ to slyly get to away, sneak	Yoolee (v) /φο:λε:/ to slyly get to away, sneak
150-yoofiiroo (vn) /φο:φι:ρο:/ peeping; an expression used by the kaNkuraN guard helpers of circumcises to frighten very often women who peep through windows	yoofiiroo (vn) /φο:φι:ρο:/ peeping; an expression used by the kaNkuraN guard helpers of circumcises to frighten very often women who peep through windows