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Language use in the Epena district of northern Congo

William L. Gardner

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LANGUAGE USE IN
THE EPENA DISTRICT
OF NORTHERN CONGO

by

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Bachelor of Science, 1974

University of California, Davis

A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty

of the

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in partial fulfillment of the requirements

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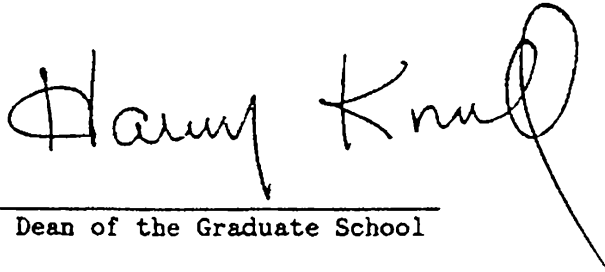
This Thesis submitted by William L. Gardner in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts from the University of North Dakota has been read by the Faculty Advisory Committee under whom the work has been done, and is hereby approved.

John C. Crawford, Chairperson

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This Thesis meets the standards for appearance and conforms to the style and format requirements of the Graduate School of the University of North Dakota, and is hereby approved.



Harry Knud

Dean of the Graduate School

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Title: Language Use in the Epena District of Northern Congo

Department: Linguistics

Degree: Master of Arts

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ABSTRACT

This thesis, based on two language surveys conducted in 1988 and 1989, addresses the question "What language do you speak?" for the people of the district of Epena in the Likouala Region of the People's Republic of the Congo. The goals of the study were to: 1) inventory all the languages and dialects spoken in the district; 2) clarify their relationships with each other and neighboring languages; 3) measure the degree of intelligibility between speakers of different language varieties, specifically among the Bomitaba people; 4) investigate in what situations the people use which languages; and 5) provide bases for making a recommendation concerning the need and desirability for a vernacular literacy project in one or more of the languages of the district, and propose where to locate such a project, if needed.

Three research tools were used: 1) word lists collected and analyzed to determine the apparent cognate percentages between language varieties, 2) short stories recorded in four varieties of Bomitaba and tested for comprehension in seven Bomitaba villages, and 3) sociolinguistic questionnaires completed by individuals in each village and by village officials.

The results of the word list analysis indicate that there are five village languages spoken in the district: Bomitaba, Babole, Bambenga, Bongili, and Yaswa. The first two are much larger, each having three or four distinct dialects. The scores from the recorded tests show that there is a high degree of intelligibility among the Bomitaba of both the

Northern and Central dialects, with the former being generally understood a little better.

The questionnaires indicate that the Bomitaba use almost exclusively their own language in their daily lives in the home and the village. The official language, French, is mostly used in school and in contacts with some government officials. Lingala, the national (trade) language for northern Congo, is spoken by the Bomitaba more than French in their contacts with non-Bomitaba. However, it is still not used very often by most Bomitaba.

It was concluded that a single vernacular literacy project for the Bomitaba, in the Northern (Matoko) dialect, or alternatively the Central (Epena) dialect, would be useful and desirable.

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

"What language do you speak?" In multilingual Africa, this question may receive, or at least deserve, a lengthy response. There are typically at least three levels of language use: 1) the official language of the country (e.g., French, English), 2) the regional or trade language (e.g., Lingala, Swahili), and 3) the "mother tongue," or vernacular language. In addition, people often know the language of their neighbors and/or relatives from another area.

Each of these languages has domains for its use, so the answer to "What language do you speak?" may depend on the *who* to whom one is speaking, as well as the when, the where, and the why.

The district of Epena is located in the Likouala Region, in the northwest of the People's Republic of the Congo (formerly French Moyen-Congo), hereafter referred to as Congo (see Appendix G for maps of Congo, the Likouala, and Epena). The country straddles the Equator, to the north and west of Zaire (formerly Belgian Congo). Congo has a population of 1.9 million inhabitants (1984), half of whom live in one of the major cities of Brazzaville (the capital), Pointe-Noire (the sea port), and Loubomo. The number of ethnic groups and languages is difficult to determine exactly, but there are four major groups (Kongo, Teke, Mbosi, and Sangha), and about 57 distinct languages (Grimes 1988). The official language of the Congo is French.

The vast majority of the population is based in the south (Brazzaville and west), where the national (and trade) language is Munukutuba (a variety of Kikongo). Lingala, on the other hand, is the national language for both northern Congo and the northwest of Zaire, including its capital, Kinshasa.

The far north of the country, especially the Likouala, is rather isolated. The regional center, Impfondo, is accessible from the rest of Congo by boat or plane. Epena, however, until just recently could be reached only by canoe via a narrow canal, or on foot. Since 1988, a new road connects Epena with Impfondo, passing through Matoko, Kanio, Ibaki, Botala, Bossimba, and Boleke (see Figure 4 in Appendix G). This road is already bringing changes to the people of this formerly isolated district.

The inhabitants of the Epena district, totaling 12,526 (1984), are collectively called the Bomitaba, but actually include several distinct ethnic groups. They live in over forty villages, mostly located along the Likouala-aux-Herbes River and its tributaries. To the south of Epena are fourteen villages of the Babole people. There the landscape is mostly marshy plain. In the north of the district, which is mostly marshy forest, the majority of the people are considered truly Bomitaba, comprising several distinct but related groups. There also exists a significant population of Pygmies (or *Bambenga*), as well as pockets of other ethnic groups.

This thesis is concerned with the languages in the Epena district and their use. More specifically, it seeks to answer the following questions: 1) what languages and dialects are spoken in the district?, 2) how are they related to one another and neighboring languages?,

3) how much do the people understand each other's varieties?, and 4) in what situations do they use which languages?

In addition to describing this linguistic and sociolinguistic information, this thesis has a practical goal: to supply bases for a recommendation concerning the need for a vernacular literacy project in one or more of the languages of the district, and if needed, to propose in which places to locate such a project.

To answer these questions, two language surveys were conducted in the Epena district between October 1988 and August 1989. The first one, directed by Myles Leitch, in which I also participated, concerned the southern part of the district, more specifically the Babole villages. That survey has been written up in "Langue et Dialecte au Sud du District d'Epena" (Leitch 1989). A second survey, which took place during July and August 1989, concentrated on the Bomitaba villages in the north, but also looked at other languages, including those of the Pygmies.

This thesis is based primarily on the preparatory research for and results of the second survey, but includes a summary of the first (Babole) survey, in order to give an overall picture of the language situation throughout the district.

The chapters that follow include a review of relevant literature, the methodology used for this study, the results, discussion and conclusion, and summary. The appendices include an itinerary of the second survey, word lists from the villages and neighboring languages, stories used to measure intercomprehension between varieties, sociolinguistic questionnaires, population figures for the villages of

the district, and maps of Africa, Congo, the Likouala region, and the Epena district.

It is hoped that this thesis will prove useful to the people of the Epena district, the Congolese government, linguists and others who are interested in Congolese languages in particular and language survey in general.

CHAPTER II
LITERATURE REVIEW

Since this study is essentially a survey of the languages spoken in the Epena district and their use, the relevant literature falls naturally into two major areas: first, works dealing specifically with the languages themselves, and second, studies and reports that are concerned with surveying both linguistic and sociolinguistic factors.

Languages of the Epena District

Not much has been written specifically about Bomitaba and the Epena languages. However, Malcom Guthrie's monumental works, *The Classification of the Bantu Languages* (1948), *The Bantu Languages of Western Equatorial Africa* (1953), and *Comparative Bantu* (1967-1970, 4 volumes), provide the starting point for any study of Bantu languages in central Africa. Nevertheless, since the Epena languages have never been studied in depth, little information is provided in these works that proves particularly useful for the purposes of this study, besides the genetic-geographical classification of Bomitaba as C14 in Bantu group C10, along with Bongili and Ingundi, neighboring languages in northeastern Congo. Lingala, under its vernacular form Mangala, is listed along with Bobangi in the related group C30, which is concentrated in northeastern Zaire.

Ethnologue (Grimes 1988) lists Bomitaba as Mbomotaba (Bamitaba), with the classification: Niger-Kordofanian, Niger-Congo, Benue-Congo,

Bantoid, Bantu, Northwest, C, Ngundi, related to Bongili. John Bendor-Samuel's *The Niger-Congo Languages* (1988), cites recent reclassification of the Bantu languages as a whole under Niger-Congo, Benue-Congo, Bantoid, S. Bantoid. In contrast, Yaswa, a small non-Bantu language spoken in the northwest of the Epena district related to the languages of Central African Republic, is classified under Niger-Congo, Adamawa-Ubangi, Ubangi, Gbaya.

"Les Langues du Congo-Brazzaville: Inventaire et classification" (1971) by André Jacquot, is a succinct summary of Congolese languages, based on Guthrie's works and subsequent research conducted between 1956 and 1965. A comment from Jacquot's introduction demonstrates the paucity of knowledge concerning the languages of the Epena district (translated from French): "These studies covered the whole of the country with the exception of the northeast (Likouala)" (Jacquot 1971:350), for which he depended on information from a Catholic priest and a previous work on Ubangi languages. In addition, nothing about Pygmy languages was included.

Atlas Linguistique du Congo: Inventaire préliminaire (CELCO 1987) is a more recent summary of research conducted up until 1983. For the languages in the well-studied Kikongo and Teke groups, it contains much information. In August 1980 a study was conducted in the Likouala, but (translated from French):

[they] were not able to provide the hoped-for results, because of the lack of a vehicle for the study. The researchers had to content themselves with gleaning information from the regional center [Impfondo]. This did not allow a detailed study to be done. Therefore, it is necessary to return to the field for a better study (CELCO 1987:65-66).

Although lists of 149 words for Bomitaba and Babole were elicited

in Impfondo, a description of the present state of research for the Bomitaba language is stated as follows (translated from French):

Bomitaba: Bantu language, classified as C14, also called Mbomotaba. We can say very little regarding intercomprehension with other languages classified in the same group and represented in Congo (Ingundi C11, Bokiba (Bongili) C15). Geographical location: the administrative region of the Likouala, along the Likouala-aux-Herbes River (district of Epena) (CELCO 1987:27).

One recent study is *Eléments de Description du Leke: Langue Bantoue de Zone C* (1987) by Bettie Vanhoudt, a doctoral thesis on the phonology and grammar of Leke, the variety of Bomitaba spoken in and around Mokengui to the north of Epena. It is based on the idiolect of a Bomitaba man who was studying in Belgium.

Up until 1987, then, relatively little had been written about the languages of Epena, except for Vanhoudt's description of Leke, and no linguistic research had ever been conducted on the field in the Epena district. As was noted in the introduction, the road connecting Epena with Impfondo was completed in 1988, opening the door for field research to be conducted. "Langue et Dialecte au Sud du District d'Epena" (1989) by Myles Leitch is the result of the first such study, and will be referred to often in this thesis.

Linguistic and Sociolinguistic Survey

In the second area of language surveys, several sources have proven very helpful. *Dialect Intelligibility Testing* (1974) by Eugene Casad grew out of the experiences of linguists with the Summer Institute of Linguistics (S.I.L.) seeking to accurately measure and describe the dialect and language situation in Mexico. Gary Simons summarizes the work as: "a thorough manual on how to conduct a survey and how to interpret the results. In addition he gives historical and

critical reviews of the method and discusses alternative techniques. His book is an invaluable source on the topic of dialect intelligibility testing." (Simons 1983:15)

Casad describes the methodology that he and others designed to "measure intelligibility among dialects or languages in an area" and to answer the question: "Which dialects (or speech forms) are likely to be acceptable to speakers of other dialects?" (Casad 1974:1,72) This present study is indebted to Casad and the method he describes.

Language Variation and Survey Techniques (Loving and Simons 1977) comes from a workshop held in Papua New Guinea. It provides much practical help in many areas, including survey planning, lexicostatistics, intelligibility testing, and writing up surveys.

Gary Simons' *Language Variation and Limits to Communication* (1983), based on his doctoral thesis, investigates how the variation between language varieties affects people's ability to comprehend each other. He includes a thorough comparison and evaluation of different intelligibility testing methods, and suggests some possible modifications of the method described by Casad.

Simons argues that since intelligibility testing is being used to determine synchronic relationships between speech forms rather than historical or genetic relationships, it can be useful to include comprehension learned through contact along with "inherent" intelligibility, especially in the case of language chains, where people naturally have contact with language varieties that are related to but distinct from their own.

He also discusses algorithms for finding dialect groupings, and derives a linear model for predicting intelligibility between language

varieties based on their percentage of apparent cognates (see p. 14). For example, according to this model, for languages with less than 40% cognates, one would expect that people would have no understanding of each other's speech. Those that were 70% cognate would expect 50% comprehension, while 100% cognate would predict 100% understanding, since they would be the same variety.

This range from 70% to 100% shared vocabulary is of the greatest interest, in determining when language varieties are dialects of the same language, and when they are distinct languages.

The Survey Reference Manual: A Collection of Papers on the Assessment of Bible Translation Need (Bergmann n.d.) continues to investigate this topic, seeking to answer the question: "When do people need literature in their own language in order to adequately understand its content?" Several chapters are reproduced from the two preceding works, and others cover the topics of bilingual testing, language use and attitudes, and decision-making.

Finally, the collection of papers from the "International Language Assessment Conference," held by S.I.L. at Horsleys Green, England, in May 1989, reflects much recent thinking on the topics of decision-making, strategy, testing, bilingualism, standardization, and reporting.

Although both of these last two works are so recent that they were received too late (just before and after the survey was conducted) to be useful in the design and execution of the study, they have proved very helpful in the analysis, and will provide much aid in future surveys.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

How one studies a topic depends on what questions one would like to have answered. The methodology must take into account the hypotheses and goals of the study. In this case, the goals were, as stated in the introduction: 1) an inventory of the languages in the Epena district, 2) a description of their present (rather than purely genetic) relationships, both internally and externally, 3) a measurement of the level of intercomprehension between speakers of different varieties, specifically of Bomitaba, 4) a study of the use of and attitudes towards different languages and varieties, and 5) bases for making a decision regarding the desirability and proposed location for one or more vernacular literacy projects in the district.

Since the survey and report by Leitch have already clearly shown that Babole, spoken in the south of the Epena district, is not a dialect of Bomitaba but a distinct language (around 50% cognate), the hypotheses of this present study concerned primarily the north of the district. Based on what was already known about Bomitaba, the hypotheses were: 1) the several varieties of Bomitaba are dialects of one language, 2) there does exist the need for a vernacular literacy project in the north, and 3) the dialect spoken in Epena-Centre, the administrative center, will serve best for said project.

Authorization for this survey came from the Congolese Ministry of Scientific Research and the officials of the district of Epena.

Preparatory research was conducted in Brazzaville, the capital. The actual survey was conducted in three phases: Phase I, for two weeks in the regional center, Impfondo; Phase II, for two one-week trips in the Epena district; and Phase III, back in Impfondo for one week to finish up. To pursue the goals of the study, three primary tools were chosen: word lists, recorded stories, and sociolinguistic questionnaires.

Word Lists

First, to identify the language varieties and measure the linguistic relationships between them and neighboring languages, it was decided to gather a list of words from speakers of various villages. The specific list chosen (see Appendix C) was based on one widely used throughout central Africa, developed by CERDOTOLA (Centre régional de recherche et de documentation sur la tradition orale et pour le développement des langues africaines). The use of this list, which includes 149 words (most of which come from the 200 word Swadesh list), facilitates the comparison of word lists with ones previously gathered as well as with any that may be gathered in the future.

A few additions were made to the format of this 149 word list (which is in French): 1) an English gloss, 2) a translation of the French word into Lingala, the regional trade language, 3) seven extra words, and 4) an extra column.

The purpose of the English translation was to ensure the understanding by English speakers of the words in the list. The Lingala translation was added for two reasons: first, to be used to elicit the word when the person being interviewed did not understand the French word, and second, to be able to recognize possible borrowings from Lingala in order to ask: "Is that the word you use in

your village?" (all of the Bantu languages in northern Congo are also related to Lingala).

Most of the extra seven words (numbered from 150 to 156) were already included in the 149 word list as possible word pairs, e.g., #11 "arm" and "hand." Now one word from each pair is included at the end of the list, so that the first 149 words can still be compared with similar lists. And finally, the extra column was for a "second opinion" from another informant, to confirm the accuracy of the word list.

The original list of 149 words included both singular and plural for most of the nouns, in order to identify noun classes. In this study, singular and plural were both elicited so that future studies could use this information, but only the singular is included in the lists in Appendix C, except in the rare case where no singular exists (e.g., "blood"), where the plural is listed.

For the verbs, the third person singular simple past was elicited, because it is generally the simplest form in similar Bantu languages and usually easy to elicit, whereas the infinitive or imperative can sometimes be difficult.

During Phase I in Impfondo, word lists were gathered from people originating from throughout the district of Epena, from as many different villages as possible, especially the twenty largest ones. Generally the informants were adult men (usually over the age of 30) who had been born in the village and lived there at least 15-20 years, often much longer.

The words were first elicited in French, and Lingala was used only to make clarifications. Lists were compared from neighboring villages, and when a difference arose between lists, synonymity or the

possibility of misunderstanding was checked. Apparent synonyms were dealt with as follows: the first word given was recorded and kept, unless it became clear that it was not correct, e.g., it was actually a Lingala word not used in the *patois* (village language), or it had a different meaning (e.g., "heel" instead of "foot"). Occasionally, the person would insist that both words were used currently in his village, and in that case they were listed as actual synonyms.

This study was primarily preliminary research, intended to be extensive rather than intensive, i.e., to look at as many different language varieties in the Epena district as possible, rather than seeking to describe in detail the phonology of a single variety. Therefore, neither stress nor tone on the word lists was recorded. Although this saved time in elicitation, each word list still took 1½ to 2 hours per person. Not indicating stress and tone also facilitated data entry and analysis on the computer.

A more thorough phonological study, including tone and stress, should be conducted in the future, so as to enable phonostatistics to be calculated based on the sound correspondences between related speech forms, using John Wimbish's WORDSURV and Don Frantz' COMPASS programs (Wimbish 1989). These phonostatistics would provide a stronger basis for determining the relatedness of language varieties.

During Phase II, a word list was gathered from each village visited, usually confirming a list previously gathered in Impfondo. In the case of apparent synonyms, the same steps as indicated above were followed.

On returning to Impfondo for Phase III, some words for villages not visited were confirmed, and more word lists were gathered from

non-Bomitaba villages and some related languages outside the Epena district.

After the survey, all the data from the word lists were computerized and analyzed, first using Gary Simons's Word List Analysis program on a Sharp PC5000, and then John Wimbish's WORDSURV program on a Toshiba 1100 Plus. For each French gloss, words were grouped together into sets of apparent cognates, based on the "inspection method," since the focus was on present linguistic similarity rather than historical relationships.

Using the inspection method, words that are phonetically similar are considered to be apparent cognates (Bergmann 1989:3.2.14), even if they do not follow regular sound correspondence patterns between the language varieties. That is, a pair of words that look similar and would (likely) be recognized by speakers as the same word are counted as apparent cognates, even if one variety actually borrowed it from the other. This is in contrast to the more rigorous comparative method for determining true cognates, where only words that have the same origin, but have possibly been modified over time, are counted as cognates, even if they no longer look similar phonetically.

Recorded Stories

To measure the level of comprehension between the varieties of Bomitaba, recorded stories were used. This method is based on that described in Casad's *Dialect Intelligibility Testing*.

Although some early researchers proposed using intelligibility testing as a measure of linguistic genetic relatedness, this was widely discredited. Casad concludes that "intelligibility seems to be a more plausible indicator of dialect extendibility than linguistic similarity

simply because intelligibility is partly based on interdialectal learning." (Casad 1974:76)

The Bomitaba, through contact with neighboring villages along the river and now along the road, have had much interdialectal learning. Using recorded stories, therefore, to measure intelligibility, both "inherent" and "learned," is consistent with the goals of this study.

Based on preliminary word list comparisons and information gained from Bomitaba speakers in Impfondo, it was decided to test four varieties, from the villages of Epena-Centre, Matoko, Mokengui (Leke), and Toukoulaka (Kabounga). For each variety, a short story (3-5 minutes) was recorded on cassette tape from an adult male speaker who had been born and lived at least 20 years in the village. The Epena story was recorded in Epena-Centre (by Myles Leitch), while the other three were recorded in Impfondo. The content of each story was autobiographical to avoid stories that would be familiar to speakers of other varieties (see Appendix D).

After the story was recorded, it was played back and a French translation was made, approximately sentence by sentence. Key words were also transcribed to assist the testers in following the tape. Next, twelve content questions in French were constructed for each story, which were subsequently translated into Lingala by a fluent speaker. Twelve questions were used, so that if one or two of them proved unusable, there would still remain ten questions for use in the calculations.

During Phase II, at each village visited ten participants were asked to assist, five men and five women of varying ages, by listening to the four stories and answering the questions. In addition, these

same ten people were to answer the sociolinguistic questionnaire (see next section). The village chief or council was given a signup list (see Appendix E) with suggested ranges of ages and birth years, to help promote a balance between young and old, male and female.

To begin, some background information was gathered from each participant, and then he would listen first to the "hometown" test, i.e., the variety from his village or the nearest neighboring one. This was done for two reasons: first, to accustom each person to the process of listening and answering questions for the variety they were most familiar with already, and second, to determine whether or not a question was well-formed and useful, i.e., if someone on the "hometown" test missed a question, it might be a poor question.

Each story was played through just once. After every few sentences, the tape would be put on pause while a question was asked by the tester in French, or in Lingala if the participant did not understand French very well. The response was marked either correct or incorrect by the tester, and the tape would continue on until the next question. The two testers were Myles Leitch and Pierre Tamba, both linguists who spoke French and Lingala, and they each tested two stories.

After all four stories had been tested, the participant responded to the sociolinguistic questionnaire, with the help of an interpreter if the person did not understand French very well.

Sociolinguistic Questionnaires

Two different questionnaires were used (see Appendix E): the first to be answered by an official from each village, and the second by ten individuals from each village. These questionnaires were based

on those used in the Babole study, designed by Myles Leitch. The purposes of the "official" questionnaire were primarily to gather some background information and to gain rapport with the village leaders. It does not figure greatly in this study.

In contrast, the "individual" questionnaire served several important purposes: to estimate the level of bilingualism by self-evaluation, to identify the domains of use for and attitudes toward different languages, and to examine the level of literacy, again by self-evaluation.

Since this study was preliminary in scope and conducted over a large area, it was not practical to conduct SLOPE (Second Language Oral Proficiency Evaluation) testing, which was developed from the U.S. Foreign Service Institute scale. Instead, participants were asked to evaluate their ability to understand and speak four specific languages: 1) the *patois* of Epena (Bomitaba), 2) the *patois* of Dzeke (Babole), 3) the national (trade) language (Lingala), and 4) the official language (French).

Two additional questions concerned how they had learned Lingala and at what age. Then followed questions regarding their language use in: 1) their home, 2) their own village, 3) Epena (the district center), 4) Dzeke, 5) Impfondo (the regional center), and 6) the capital, Brazzaville.

Five questions examined their attitudes toward their *patois*, Lingala, and French. Finally they were asked about their ability to read in Lingala and French, and whether they would like to be able to read in their *patois* if it were possible.

To indicate their level of outside contact on a regular basis, the participants were also asked which other villages they had visited during the past year and where they had relatives. Finally, they were asked to estimate the similarity or difference between their *patois* and the varieties of other villages, based on a scale from one (exactly the same) to five (completely different).

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Data collection and story testing for the survey were generally successful. Word lists were gathered in Impfondo and Epena and many were confirmed during the two week-long survey trips in the Epena district. Originally it was hoped to visit the ten Bomitaba villages of Itanga, Epena-Centre, Ibolo, Matoko, Mokengui, Mboua, Bondeko, Botala, Liouesso, and Boleke, because they were representative of the different varieties of Bomitaba, and were also important crossroads or frontiers, such as the last village on the river.

However, due to an unseasonably low water level travel to Mboua was not possible, and Bondeko was reached only after a seven hour trip in a small motorized canoe. Because of time constraints, Ibolo was deleted from the itinerary. Instead, a short trip was added to get a word list from Bossela, which is located only 5 km from Botala, but has a *patois* closely related to that of Ibolo and Epena.

Although we had brought a small 7-hp motor along to be able to travel from Botala to Liouesso, there was no canoe available in Botala, and paddling there would not have been feasible (at least seven hours). However, its *patois* is very close to Botala's and there is much contact between them, since Botala is the crossroad for traveling to either Epena or Impfondo.

In spite of the fact that three of the proposed ten villages were not visited, word lists were elicited for each of them in Impfondo, and

the seven villages that were visited were still representative of all of the varieties of Bomitaba in the district of Epena.

Word Lists

During Phases I, II, and III, lists were collected for a total of thirty-three different language varieties. Sixteen of these were from Bomitaba villages in the Epena district. From the northwest to the south, each village has been assigned a letter from a to p. Eight Babole villages from the south of the district are represented by word lists gathered during the Babole survey by Myles Leitch, except for the Dzeke list, which I elicited myself in Impfondo. From north to south, they have the letters A to H.

Three other languages from the Epena district -- Bongili, Yaswa, and Bambenga -- are also included. Finally, lists for Lingala and five languages related to those of Epena were gathered. These non-Bomitaba, non-Babole languages are represented by the letters q to y. All of these lists are included in Appendix C, along with background information and estimation of the reliability of the data (Wimbish 1989) for each word list.

For purposes of analysis, of the 156 words that were elicited for each variety, eleven were eliminated for various reasons. Often, there was no equivalent for the French gloss, e.g., #144 *rond* (round) and #140 *pierre* (rock), or there were too many possible translations, e.g., #153 *rivière* (small river, in contrast to *fleuve*, which means large river). Other times there was duplication, e.g., #27 *homme* (man) and #29 *mari* (husband) are the same word in most of the languages of the region, including Lingala, so one of them was eliminated, in order not to be counted twice as apparent cognates.

Each of the "problem" words that is not figured in the calculations of lexicostatistics is marked by an asterisk (*) in Appendix C. Most of these problem words were recognizable before the survey began, but were kept because they were part of the CERDOTOLA 149-word list. In addition, many of the word lists were lacking some entries, especially the ones previously collected by Leitch, who used only the 149-word list. These are indicated in Appendix C by three hyphens (---), and are also not included in the calculations.

The tables in Appendix C display the results of lexicostatistics using the WORDSURV program for three sets of language varieties. For each set there is one chart showing the percentage of apparent cognates, based on the inspection method, between pairs of languages, and a second one showing the variances.

The first set includes only the sixteen Bomitaba villages for internal comparison, while the second comprises the eight Babole villages plus Lingala and a few other languages for the sake of comparison. The third set has the three other languages from the Epena district (Bongili, Bambenga, and Yaswa) and six related languages from outside the district (Lingala, Impfondo, Mondongo, Inyele, Lobala, and Babenzele), plus some representative Bomitaba villages for external comparison.

Although these results will be discussed more fully in the next chapter, some observations here seem appropriate. Swadesh proposed that 81% shared vocabulary was a threshold, below which two varieties would be considered as separate languages (Bergmann 1989:4.1.7). From these tables it seems evident that Bomitaba, Babole, Bongili, Bambenga, and

Lingala are distinct though related languages, and that Yaswa is not related to any of them (it is in fact an Ubangi language, non-Bantu).

Additionally, there appear to be several varieties of Bomitaba. Whether these are dialects or distinct languages will be discussed in the next chapter.

Recorded Stories

It was planned to test the stories from four Bomitaba villages with ten people from each of ten villages. From the seven villages visited, thirty-four men and twenty-six women participated by listening to the stories. A thirty-fifth man completed the individual questionnaire, but did not listen to the stories.

Appendix D contains the French translation of each story, along with its questions and answers, and charts with the scores. The first column lists the villages where the stories were tested, while the names of the source villages are listed across the top row. The raw scores for each individual for each story are included, as well as the average raw score, percentage, and standard deviation for each story by village, by sex, and by age.

In the case of the "hometown" tests, two villages scored 100% and the other two 98%. For Matoko, there was one person who missed one of the twelve questions and another who missed two, while for Epena there was just one person who missed two: all the others scored perfectly. Although the tests were originally designed with twelve questions for each story in case one or two of them proved to be poorly worded or otherwise unreliable, it was decided to include all of the questions in the calculations for two major reasons. First, the two participants from Matoko who missed questions in their hometown test were young (age

24) and very shy, while the one from Epena had lived away from the village for several years. Thus, none of the three was a fully mature speaker of his own *patois*.

Second, since the two respondents from Matoko missed different questions, for both Epena and Matoko there were two or three questions respectively that were each missed by a single person on the hometown test, while all the others answered them correctly. In any case, their "low" individual hometown scores were still 83% and 91%, and the overall hometown scores of 98% are very acceptable, so there does not seem to be enough compelling evidence to disallow those questions from the calculations.

A brief comment on the results is again appropriate. In general all of the villages scored very highly (92-100%) for the stories from Matoko, Mokengui, and Toukoulaka. For the Epena story, the average score in four villages was also very high (93-99%), but in the other three villages a little lower (86-89%). The latter are all physically more distant from Epena than the former.

Overall, women scored a little lower than men on the Epena story (89% vs. 95%), while the younger people (under 30) scored lower than those aged 30 to 49 and those who were 50 or more (88% vs. 94% and 95% respectively). All of those lower scores on the Epena story occurred in groups that would naturally have had less contact with Epena-Centre (distant villages, women, youth).

Village Information

The village questionnaire, to be answered by the chief or his representative in each of the seven villages visited, provided

background information, and along with other sources helped to clarify the relationships among the villages in the Epena district.

Appendix F includes the official census figures for the northern and southern parts of the Epena district for both 1984 and 1974. In general, the people in the north recognize ten groupings throughout the district, which correspond very closely with the language varieties.

The fourteen villages south of Itanga are the homeland of the Babole (also called *Ngele*, which means "downriver"). In 1984, these villages had a total population of 4062. They are a distinct ethnic group and have their own language. Figure 3 in Appendix G shows the area of their villages.

The next largest non-Bomitaba group is the Pygmies (or *Bambenga*), who generally live in separate villages on the outskirts of a Bantu village. Their six villages -- Molembe (outside of Mbanza), Mobangui, Mossombo (near Minganga), Mbili, Zelo, and Yecola -- are all located in the far north and northwest of the district.

Three villages also located in the far northwest make up the last non-Bomitaba group. They are actually a mixture of two groups, the Bongili (Bantu) and Yaswa (Ubangi), who speak unrelated languages, but live side by side and now intermarry. Minganga, Mokendze, and (Faire) Attention have a total population of 261.

Among the Bomitaba, there are seven recognized groupings. Figure 4 in Appendix G shows the location of most of their villages. Starting from the northwest, the Kabounga villages of Toukoulaka, Bene, Mokienze, and Mboua have 561 inhabitants. They and their *patois* are closely related to the Midzuvu in the far north, whose villages -- Mbanza 1, Mbeti, and Bondeko -- total 389 people.

Just to the south are the Leke, located in Mokengui, Mabongo-Nkoto, Makengo, and Bokatola. They reportedly came from an ancient village Ntanga, south of Itanga, close to the Babole area, around the beginning of this century, but appear to have quickly modified their *patois* to become more like that of their present neighbors.

The Bambomba reside in Epena-Centre, Iyaou, Koundoumou, Ibolo, and Bossela, while the Bantamboka live in Liouesso, Bosseka, Bogandzi, Ibanga, Botala, and Ibaki. Two other villages, Matoko and Kanio, group with the Bantamboka linguistically, but consider themselves Bambomba, whose center, Epena, is located only 6 km from Matoko. The Bantamboka group, including Matoko and Kanio, total 1657 inhabitants, while the Epena group has 2653, but the latter figure is inflated by the many non-Bomitaba who live in the district center.

The last two groups are transitional between Bomitaba and non-Bomitaba villages. Itanga, with 254 people, located between Epena-Centre and Dzeke, has much contact with both the north and the south. There is some evidence that their *patois* used to be closer to ancient Babole, but is now slowly becoming more like that of the Bambomba (Myles Leitch, personal communication). The residents consider themselves Bomitaba, but are proud of their unique *patois*.

Finally, the villages of Bossimba, Boleke, and Mbimbo, totaling 162 people, are located in the far east of the district. Although everyone considers them Bomitaba, residents of other villages described them as "Bomitaba who speak like the Bonzo." Since their numbers are small and declining (the only group to be declining in population between 1974 and 1984), the people often intermarry with someone from

Botala, Bossela, or Impfondo. One of their elders said that he feared for the future of his *patois*, because the young people were not speaking like their parents.

Individual Questionnaires

A total of thirty-five men and twenty-six women from seven villages responded to the individual questionnaire. They represented a good balance between youth under age thirty (19), adults between thirty and fifty (20), and elderly over fifty (22). Appendix E includes a translation of the questionnaire along with the results for each question. Occasionally someone would give more than one answer to a question. In that case their first answer is recorded and used in the calculation of percentages, while their additional answers are noted in square brackets ([]). The following is a summary of the results for each question.

Regarding the Epena dialect (question #1), 90% said they understood it well or perfectly and 10% said they understood it only a little, while only 18% said they spoke the Epena dialect well or perfectly and 82% said they did not speak it at all or very little. However, these scores include the nine respondents from Epena itself. When their scores are removed, the results become 88% understood it well or perfectly, 12% understood it only a little, while only 4% said they spoke it well or perfectly and 96% not at all or very little.

For the Dzeke language, Babole (#2), 30% answered they understood it well or perfectly and 70% answered a little or not at all. However, without the Itanga scores (Itanga is near Dzeke), the percentage who understood Babole would be much lower. Not surprisingly, only 9% said

they spoke Babole well or perfectly, while 91% said only a little or not at all.

For Lingala (#3), 96% responded they understood it well or perfectly and only 4% said just a little, while 92% felt they spoke Lingala well or perfectly and 8% said just a little.

Just over half (53%) said they understood French (#4) well or perfectly and 47% said just a little or not at all, while only 39% said they spoke French well or perfectly and 61% said little or not all. Those who claimed to speak and understand French perfectly were all thirty-six or under (except for one man who had lived in France), while all but one of those who answered not at all were forty or more.

For all four of these languages, it must be recognized that self-evaluation may not reflect accurately what in-depth bilingual testing such as SLOPE would find, but it does give an indication of their relative self-perceived abilities in these languages. These results will be discussed more in the next chapter, but note here that for each language, the people's ability to speak was generally judged to be lower than their ability to understand, which is again not surprising.

As to when and how they learned Lingala (#5 and #6), 78% said they were age twelve or younger when they started learning it, while only 22% were thirteen or over, and 71% said that friends, visitors, and traveling provided them more chances to learn Lingala, while 29% answered school, parents, working or living away.

In the home (#7), people used almost exclusively their *patois* (97-100%), while one person used Lingala and another one Babole. In the village (#8), the *patois* was again used almost exclusively (95-97%),

except in two domains: 1) village or party meetings, where Lingala, the national language, was preferred (69%), especially when non-villagers were present, and 2) church, where all but one person said they used Lingala, since the Bible and other religious literature is available in Lingala (or French), but not in the *patois*.

Epena (#9) is the district center and thus a "mixed" village, with many non-Bomitaba living there, especially merchants and government and military officials. Thus 80% said they would speak Lingala with the district chief, who was Babole, 90% would use Lingala in the market, and 89% to chat with a soldier. In contrast, 80% said they would use Bomitaba with a friend from Epena, 82% with a relative, and 52% to greet someone on the street, especially a Bomitaba.

In Dzeke (#10), the first major Babole village to the south of Epena and Itanga, all the people from Itanga, as well as some of those from Epena, preferred to use their own *patois*. The rest of the respondents chose Lingala in every case.

In the regional center, Impfondo (#11), a town of many different ethnic groups, Lingala was again the preferred language: 90% said they would use it with a policeman, 100% to shop at the market, 95% to greet people, and 89% to buy something from a member of the Bonzo ethnic group, who live in and around Impfondo and speak a language related to Bomitaba, "Impfondo," which is included in the word lists.

For the latter two situations (greeting people, buying from a Bonzo), six people from Boleke said they would speak either their own *patois* or else Bonzo/Impfondo, which is natural, since their *patois* is transitional between Bomitaba and Bonzo.

Another interesting result is that a significant percentage, 23% (mostly young people), said they would use French with regional officials, while 75% preferred Lingala. This represents the first domain studied where French was preferred by a significant minority.

In Brazzaville (#12), the capital of Congo, Lingala was again preferred in all instances (84-100%), except for talking with relatives, where the *patois* was chosen by 95%. In contrast, French was preferred by 16% when speaking with a policeman, while 13% more said they would use French along with Lingala.

Language attitudes were queried by the next five questions. When asked which language was the most important for them to speak well (#13), two-thirds (66%) said their *patois*, one-fourth (25%) Lingala, and one-tenth (10%) French. They overwhelmingly chose French (85%) as the most difficult language (#14), followed by Babole (10%) and Lingala (5%). The easiest language (#15) was unanimously the *patois* of the village, except for one young man in Boleke who spoke Lingala in the home, because his parents belonged to different ethnic groups (Bomitaba and Bonzo).

When asked if they would like their grandchildren to learn to speak Bomitaba (#16), 90% replied yes, and 10% no, preferring French or Lingala. Many wanted their children to speak all three languages well. 80% expected the *patois* to still be the village language in fifty years (#17), while 10% felt it would be French and 7% said Lingala.

Regarding literacy, most people could not read in either Lingala or French. The 37% who said they read in Lingala (#18), largely older adults, said they mostly read the Bible and other religious books,

while a few said letters. The 48% who read in French (#19), mostly young adults, read a much greater variety of literature.

Finally, when asked if they would like to be able to read someday in their own *patois* (#20), 92% answered affirmatively. In addition, everyone from Itanga and Boleke, who speak language varieties that are transitional with neighboring languages, indicated they would prefer reading in Bomitaba to the language of their neighbors, because they considered themselves Bomitaba.

CHAPTER V
DISCUSSION

Much data has been presented in chapter IV and in the appendices: how are these results to be interpreted? The goals of this study as stated in the introduction will guide the following discussion.

What languages are spoken in the Epena district? And how are they related to each other and neighboring languages?

In chapter IV the lexicostatistics charts found at the end of Appendix C were introduced, and Bomitaba, Babole, Bongili, Lingala, Bambenga, and Yaswa were stated to be clearly distinct languages. It was also noted that there existed several varieties of Bomitaba.

On Table 2 in Appendix C (Babole villages), a line has been drawn to separate the Babole *patois* (lettered A to H) from the other language varieties. To the right of this line, all of the percentages of apparent cognates between pairs of *patois* are very high, generally 87% or higher, except for Mounda, which was 82-87% cognate with the others. In addition, the percentages between adjacent villages were all 91% or more.

In "Langue et Dialecte au Sud du District d'Epena" (Leitch 1989), the author uses cognate percentages, sound correspondences, and native speaker evaluations to distinguish three Babole dialects: 1) Northern, including Dzeke and Mounda; 2) Central, with Edzama, Kinami, and Botongo; and 3) Southern, with Mossengue, Bouanila, and Ebambe.

Intelligibility testing using recorded stories showed a very high level of comprehension between Babole villages, even for those separated by almost 300 kilometers on the river. Along with the high cognate percentages, this indicated that there was a single Babole language.

In contrast, the apparent cognate percentages of the languages to the left of the dividing line with the Babole villages are very low, mostly in the 40-50% range, indicating that Babole, though related, is distinct from Bambenga, Lingala, Bongili, and Bomitaba (Matoko, Epena, and Itanga). The only values that are significantly higher than 50% are those for Itanga (59-69%), which is located on the border between the Bomitaba and the Babole.

Table 3 displays to the right of the line the non-Bomitaba and non-Babole languages (lettered q to y) that were included in the study. Three of them, Bongili, Bambenga, and Yaswa, are spoken in the far northwest of the Epena district; the remaining ones are related Bantu languages from other districts of the Likouala.

Most of the apparent cognate percentages are not high enough to indicate that any pair of language varieties might belong to the same language, except for possibly Bongili, Mondongo, and Inyele (80-84% among themselves). These three are all in Bantu group C10, along with Bomitaba, but further study would be necessary to determine if they represent a single language, or two or three related languages.

Babenzele and Bambenga appear to be closely related (71% apparent cognate), which would be natural, since they are languages spoken by Pygmies in adjacent districts (Dongou and Epena). Babenzele is also 60% apparent cognate with Mondongo, which is also spoken in and around Dongou.

Yaswa had very low scores with all the other languages (6-11%), since it is non-Bantu. It is listed under the Gbaya group (CELCO 1987), related to the Ubangi languages of the Central African Republic.

Lingala, Lobala, and Impfondo were all in the 57-67% range with each other and the other non-Bomitaba non-Babole languages, indicating that they are related but distinct.

Turning finally to Table 1 of the sixteen Bomitaba villages that were surveyed for word lists, there initially appear to be six groupings. The *patois* of the first five villages -- Toukoulaka, Mbanza, Bene, Bondeko, and Mboua (a-e) -- are very similar, all in the 93-99% range. These villages are also related ethnically, collectively known as the Kabounga and Midzuvu, as was noted in chapter IV.

Matoko, Kanio, Liouesso, and Botala (g-j) form another group of very similar *patois*, with apparent cognate percentages ranging from 94 to 100%. They also comprise an ethnic sub-group, the Bantamboka.

Mokengui (f), homeland of the Leke people, is on the river between the first two groups, and provides a bridge between them, both geographically and linguistically. In fact, the percentages of apparent cognates among all of the first ten villages listed (a-j) are from 88-100%, which is amazing, since they cover a distance of almost 250 kilometers, from Liouesso to Mbanza via Matoko and Mokengui.

In contrast, each of the four Bambomba villages, Epena, Bossela, Koundoumou, and Ibolo (l-o), which are all within 6 kilometers of a Bantamboka village, have a *patois* that is clearly distinct from that of their close neighbors (79-85% with Matoko and Botala), while among themselves they are 93-100% apparent cognate.

Itanga (p), on the Bomitaba and Babole border, scores lower with all the other villages (64-76%). It is most similar to the Bambomba (73-76%), who are also close geographically. Another variant, Boleke (k), on the frontier between Bomitaba and Impfondo, has scores from 79-85% with the other Bomitaba villages, except for Itanga. Boleke's *patois* is most closely related to those of its neighbor Botala and the district center Epena (85%).

So, there are four distinct varieties of Bomitaba spoken in the Epena district: 1) the *patois* of the Bantamboka, Leke, and Kabounga-Midzuvu, which could be labeled "Northern," 2) the *patois* of the Bambomba in or near Epena-Centre, called "Central," 3) the village language of Boleke, or "Eastern," and 4) Itanga's *patois*, labeled "Southern."

Other village languages spoken in the district are: Babole, Bambenga, Bongili, and Yaswa. Lingala and French, the national and official languages, are also used, although they are not the *patois* of any village in the district.

How much do they understand one another's varieties?

This question specifically addresses the Bomitaba. The results of the individual survey in Appendix E indicate that a large majority (90%) felt they could understand the Epena *patois*, and this was generally confirmed by the scores on the recorded stories in Table 4 at the end of Appendix D. For the four stories, from Epena, Matoko, Mokengui, and Toukoulaka, the scores for each person tested in each village are listed, as well as the average scores by village, by age, and by sex.

The average village scores for the Epena story ranged from 86-99%, with the three villages closer to Epena scoring a little higher (93-95%) than the three villages farther away (83-88%), but this is to be expected due to more contact with closer neighbors. Men scored a little higher than women did (95% vs. 89%): this could be due to men traveling to Epena more than women do, or it could be due to the smaller sample size of women tested. Divided into three age groups, the younger people (under 30) had scores a little lower (88%) than those from 30 to 49 years old (94%) and those 50 or older (95%). Again, this could be due to those 30 and older having traveled more, but the sample size of young people (18) is also a little small.

All the villages had average scores from 92-100% for the other three stories, indicating that there is a high level of understanding for the Northern variety throughout the district. There were slightly lower scores among women and youth, but less marked than for the Epena story.

So the Bomitaba understand the two larger varieties of their language very well, although Northern, spoken in more villages by more people, appears to be a little better understood overall than the Central dialect of Epena.

In contrast, 83% (excluding the respondents from Itanga) said that they could not understand the language of Dzeke (Babole). Although the Itanga people understood Babole, they all answered that they would prefer reading in Bomitaba to Babole. This along with the low cognate percentage of Bomitaba with Babole (around 50%) indicates that the use of Babole for a vernacular literacy project would not be effective in the north.

In what situations do they use which languages?

The results from the sociolinguistic questionnaires in Appendix E and chapter IV indicate that the village *patois* is the only language used in most situations in the family and village. Lingala is used in some village political meetings when outsiders are present, and also in church. In Epena it is used somewhat more by the Bomitaba, since there are more outsiders including government officials, even more so in Impfondo, the regional center. The Bomitaba who go to Brazzaville, the capital, find themselves using Lingala most of the time, except when speaking to Bomitaba family members and friends.

In the village French is reserved for school. It is spoken more in Epena and Impfondo, especially with government officials and policemen. It does not appear to be used much in church. Both French and Lingala hold much prestige as the official and national languages, but as one village official said, "They are not our language."

Is there a need for a vernacular literacy project in the district?

Regarding Bomitaba, this question will be discussed in the next chapter. This study has not really addressed the issues involved in making such a decision for the other languages of the district, since the focus was on the largest language, Bomitaba. Leitch's study has shown that the speakers of the next largest language, Babole (around 5000), are also a homogeneous speech community, even further away from the administrative centers of Epena and Impfondo. It seems likely that they would benefit greatly from a literacy project in their language.

For the other languages -- Bambenga, Bongili, and Yaswa -- the answer is less clear. In the Epena district, they are very small

groups, especially Bongili and Yaswa (261 speakers total), rather isolated in the far northwest. The feasibility of an on-going literacy project in their languages is unlikely, much less the prospect of government approval. As all of their villages are located near Bomitaba villages, and many of them speak Bomitaba and/or Lingala, it would be hoped that a vernacular literacy in one or both of these latter two languages would prove useful to the smaller ones as well.

Regarding Lingala, Congo's Department of Adult Education is planning to develop materials and program for teaching reading in Lingala, based on those already being developed for the other national language, Munukutuba, in conjunction with the Summer Institute of Linguistics. An active Lingala literacy program would be very useful for all of the language groups of the Likouala region, including the Bomitaba.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

How many languages are there?

From the previous chapter, the seven languages spoken in the Epena district (this excludes the six neighboring languages) are:

1) French, the official language, Indo-European, whose use is primarily restricted to school and some governmental functions;

2) Lingala, the national/trade language, Bantu group C30, used for church and government, and between speakers of different languages (e.g., Bomitaba and Babole);

3) Babole, the *patois* of the fourteen villages south of Itanga, a Bantu language yet unclassified with three closely related dialects (Leitch 1989), about 50% cognate with Bomitaba;

4) Bambenga, the *patois* of the Pygmy villages in the far north and west of the district, apparently of non-Bantu origin, but with many borrowings from Lingala and other Bantu languages, related to Babenzele spoken by the Pygmies of the Dongou district (71% apparent cognates);

5) Yaswa, a non-Bantu language (Ubangi), unrelated to any other language in the district, spoken in only two villages in the far northwest, and in a region stretching northeast from there toward Central African Republic;

6) Bongili, a Bantu language (C15), also spoken in the far northwest of the Epena district, and southwest from there toward Picounda, appears to be closely related to both Mondongo and Inyele

(80-84% apparent cognates) of the Dongou district of the Likouala. They may in fact constitute a single language. In any case, they are all roughly two-thirds cognate with Bomitaba;

7) Bomitaba, the focus of this study, spoken as the *patois* of 27 villages in the north of the district, Bantu classification C14, about 60% cognate with Lingala.

How many Bomitaba dialects or languages are there?

Based on lexicostatistics and speaker evaluations, four major groupings are apparent:

1) Northern, spoken in the nineteen villages from Toukoulaka and Mbanza in the northwest down through Mokengui to Matoko and then east to Botala and north to Liouesso. Within this large group there can be identified three sub-groups:

a) Kabounga-Midzuvu (Toukoulaka, Bene, Mboua, Bondeko, and Mbanza): the percentage of apparent cognates among the *patois* of these villages is very high (93-99%);

b) Mantamboka (Matoko, Kanio, Botala, and Liouesso): very similar, with 95-100% cognate among them;

c) Leke (Mokengui): distinct ethnically, but providing a linguistic bridge between the other two sub-groups;

2) Central, or Bambomba, spoken in five villages from Iyaou to Bossela, includes two very closely related sub-groups:

a) Epena-Iyaou: Epena, the administrative district center, has the most prestigious *patois*;

b) Ibolo-Koundoumou-Bossela (93-100% cognate): the first two are practically twin villages, while the third has close family ties with

Ibolo. Their *patois* is a little more divergent from the Northern dialect, both lexically and phonologically, than that of Epena;

3) Eastern (Bossimba, Boleke, and Mbimbo): located on the frontier between Bomitaba and the Bonzo of Impfondo, this variety is in the process of disappearing, as the population has fallen 31% from 1974 to 1984, and their *patois* appears to be accommodating to the form of Botala, which is the zone center;

4) Southern, spoken only in the village of Itanga. Though this *patois* is a transition from Babole to Bambomba (Epena), it includes many words that are unique: apparently some are of taboo origin, while others represent old words that have been preserved only in Itanga. Unlike the Eastern group (Boleke), Itanga's population is growing, and the village is maintaining its distinctive *patois*, although there appears to be a slow accommodation towards Epena.

These four groupings of Bomitaba, do they represent four dialects of a single language, or two or more languages? At this point several factors should be taken into consideration. First, they are very closely related linguistically. Except for Itanga, the percentages of apparent cognates among the Bomitaba *patois* are generally well above the 81% threshold proposed by Swadesh, whereas with neighboring related languages they are generally 70% or less.

Second, except at the frontiers (some of the people from Bondeko and Boleke had some difficulty with the Epena story), they understand each other when speaking their respective *patois*. Third, despite distinguishing seven ethnic groupings among themselves, they all consider each other Bomitaba.

Fourth, while there remain some distinctions among their *patois*, it appears that a "leveling off" is taking place that is likely to continue with increased contact between villages since the completion of the new road. This observation is based on informal comments from Bomitaba. In fact, an official in Boleke specifically mentioned that he feared the disappearance of his village's distinctive *patois*.

After considering all of these factors, it is concluded that there exists a single language, Bomitaba, with two major dialects -- Northern (Matoko) and Central (Epena) -- and two smaller dialects -- Eastern (Boleke), which appears to be slowly disappearing, and Southern (Itanga), which is rather divergent linguistically. These four dialect groups are shown in Figure 4 of Appendix G. Figure 3 shows Itanga as an isolate between the Bomitaba and Babole, reflecting its transitional nature between the two languages.

Should there be a Bomitaba literacy project?

Like the majority of Congolese (and most Africans), the Bomitaba live in a multilingual society. Three languages are generally used in their lives, for different domains and with varying proficiencies.

The *patois*, the village language, is definitely the most important for their daily living. For the vast majority of the people, especially the women, children and elderly, it is essentially their only language. Because the Bomitaba have remained isolated in the Epena district, their contact with non-Bomitaba has been limited primarily to teachers, government officials, and a few merchants. In addition, they have experienced much less rural exodus than most of Congo. Their villages are growing in size and most of their young people are remaining in the village or returning home after a period of study or work. They are

proud to be Bomitaba, and desire to maintain their distinctive customs and their language.

Lingala, as the national language, also has an important role: communication with non-Bomitaba, most notably with government officials and merchants, and with priests and pastors. Although the majority of the women and young people can speak Lingala, it is primarily the adult men who use it, since they generally have more outside contact through trading, meeting officials, etc.

The Bomitaba are proud that they can speak Lingala, which they call "our national language." However, they consider their own language, Bomitaba, to be more important in their daily lives.

French seems to have a very restricted, though expanding, role in their lives. Since it is primarily learned in school, children, elderly, and most women do not speak it at all. Although a few of the older men speak French quite well, the majority speak very little, and virtually all can speak Lingala better than they can French.

Among the younger men, the opposite is often true. As the official language, French has a certain prestige, and young Bomitaba men (and some women) will often use it among themselves instead of their own *patois*. Those who have continued on in school, especially through *lycée* (high school), have a high level of French, generally much better than their Lingala. Most young women do not attain as high a level of French, because fewer of them continue on in school after *collège* (junior high).

According to the individual questionnaire, the level of adult literacy in either Lingala or French was very low. Less than half could read at all, and only 11% said they read well in Lingala (mostly

church-goers), while 28% (mostly young people) could read well in French.

While this level may be expected to increase in the coming years, at least for French, as the percentage of adults who have attended school increases, it is still rather low. Learning to read in a foreign language, like French, and remaining literate after leaving school can be very difficult for those who do not have continuing regular contact with the French language.

Lingala, being a Bantu language related to Bomitaba, is easier to learn to read, but as of yet very little literature in Lingala is available in Congo. In addition, there is presently no continuing Lingala literacy instruction, although the Department of Adult Education is developing such a program, and in the past some churches taught reading in Lingala.

Lingala, like French, still has the handicap of not being the mother tongue of the people. To become fluent readers, Bomitaba children would need to be taught for several years to speak, read, and write Lingala. And although adult Bomitaba in this study evaluated themselves fluent in Lingala (a result which further testing might challenge), they would still find Lingala more difficult to read and write than Bomitaba, because they use the national language much less often and in fewer settings than their own *patois*.

While it is widely accepted that literacy is very important for the development of a nation, learning to read in a European language or even a national language (if it is not also the mother tongue) can be very difficult, especially in a village setting where only the mother tongue is generally heard outside of school.

Learning to read in the vernacular language is a possible alternative. It would not be a language foreign to their ears: they learn to speak it in the village and use it everyday. The Bomitaba are enthusiastic to read in their own language (92% answered affirmatively in the individual questionnaire). Concentrated in a single district, they would be a large enough group (almost 7000 people) to sustain an on-going vernacular literacy project. They would seem to be good candidates for such a project.

However, several obstacles present themselves. There is not yet anything written in Bomitaba, not even an alphabet, nor has its grammar and sound system been sufficiently studied to allow its development as a written language. Such a study is in progress in the south of the Epena district for Babole, but another team would need to live in the north to study and describe Bomitaba in-depth, and help to develop an alphabet, written literature, and a continuing literacy effort.

Which dialect should be used for such a project?

One of the hypotheses of this study was that the variety of Bomitaba spoken in Epena-Centre would serve well for all Bomitaba speakers, since the district center is also the largest village and an important crossroad, especially with the new road. This hypothesis was tested both by the questionnaires and by the recorded stories.

From the questionnaires, it is apparent that most people feel they can understand the Epena dialect well. However, those who are not from the Epena area itself reported that they spoke the Epena dialect only a little or not at all. In addition, the majority in Bondeko, who were farther away from Epena, said they understood it only a little.

The scores from the recorded stories tests confirm these self-evaluations about the Epena dialect. Most people in all the villages understood the Epena story well. However, the villages farther away from Epena -- Boleke, Mokengui, and Bondoko -- experienced greater difficulty (86-89%), especially among women and young people, who have naturally had less contact with Epena.

Epena enjoys high prestige as the district center, and is easily accessible by road from Impfondo. Thus, Epena could serve as the base for a literacy project in Bomitaba. However, since many Bomitaba speakers have some difficulty understanding and speaking the Epena dialect, is there another variety that would be better overall?

Because they are both linguistically divergent and thus marginally included in the Bomitaba language, neither of the smaller dialects -- Eastern (Boleke) and Southern (Itanga) -- is likely to serve as a standard variety for Bomitaba. However, the ability of their speakers to understand the dialect which is eventually chosen should be considered.

The Northern dialect remains to be considered. It was not included in the self-evaluation section of the questionnaire. However, in the recorded stories tests, all seven villages had high scores (92-100%) for all three of the stories from the Northern dialect (Matoko, Mokengui, and Toukoulaka). This indicates that overall the Northern dialect is well understood, a little better than the Epena dialect is, and could serve well as the standard for a Bomitaba project. But which of the three sub-groups would be best?

Mokengui is the second largest village in the district, but it is

located up-river, not on the road. Toukoulaka, in the far northwest, is even more isolated, especially during dry season.

In contrast, Matoko, the third largest Bomitaba village, represents the largest sub-group of the Northern dialect, and is centrally located along both the river and the road. Besides being the natural crossroad between the Bomitaba villages of the northwest and the northeast, Epena, Koundoumou, and Ibolo are all located within 6 km of Matoko, while Bossela, Bossimba, and Boleke are all within 6 km of Botala, which is in the same sub-group of Matoko.

Because of such close proximity, the people of the Central and Eastern dialects have much contact with Matoko and Botala, especially now with the new road, and seem to understand very well the Northern dialect. Even Itanga, although understanding Epena-Centre better, could read the Northern dialect.

Matoko remains very much a Bomitaba village, while Epena, as the district center, has more and more non-Bomitaba residents. Thus Lingala and French are used more in Epena than in Matoko. For a research team that wanted to study and learn Bomitaba, Matoko would provide a more homogeneous linguistic environment, while not sacrificing access to both Epena and Impfondo by road. Already the village officials in Matoko have expressed their eagerness for a team to come live among them to study and learn their language.

Botala, belonging to the Matoko sub-group, is the sixth largest Bomitaba village and also a crossroad along the river and the road, adjacent to villages of the Eastern and Central dialects. It could also serve as a base for a project. However, it has less prestige than either Epena or Matoko, so would likely be a third choice.

The Bomitaba, therefore, should have a vernacular literacy project in their own language, that could also serve as a bridge for learning to read and write in Lingala, the national language. The largest of the four dialects, Northern, the *patois* of Matoko in particular, would serve best as the standard. However, the *patois* of Epena-Centre of the Central dialect could also be chosen.

For such a project to succeed, there will need to be a linguistic research team resident in the north of the Epena district to study, learn, and describe the Bomitaba language, and to assist in its development as a written language. There will also need to be much cooperation between government officials, schools, churches, and other community organizations, in order to promote the written use of Bomitaba.

SUMMARY

This study began by asking the question, "What language do you speak?" In the Epena district of northern Congo, there are several levels of answers to this question.

Every person has his "mother tongue," usually the first language learned in the village, the *patois*. The various *patois* group together with those that are similar enough so that people from different villages can still understand each other. *Patois* that are very similar belong to a single dialect, while dialects group into languages.

In the district of Epena, there are five identifiable village languages. Fourteen villages in the south speak Babole, a Bantu language. The far northwest of the district has three distinct and unrelated languages: Bambenga, a Pygmy language; Yaswa, an Ubangi (non-Bantu) language; and Bongili, a Bantu language closely related to Bomitaba and Lingala.

The fifth, and by far the largest, village language in the Epena district is Bomitaba, a Bantu language (C14), related to neighboring languages Bongili (C15), Inyele (C11), Mondongo, and Impfondo (Bonzo). The Bomitaba language includes four distinct dialects: Northern (Matoko), Central (Epena), Eastern (Boleke), and Southern (Itanga). Northern and Central Bomitaba are much larger and have a high degree of intercomprehension, while Eastern and Southern are very small and also linguistically divergent.

In this study, word lists, recorded stories, and sociolinguistic questionnaires were used to identify the languages and dialects listed above, to measure the level of intercomprehension between language varieties, and to gain a better understanding of language use and language attitudes.

It was found that, while most Bomitaba also speak Lingala, and many use French, for the majority of the population, only the *patois* serves for daily communication. It has also been noted that the level of literacy among the Bomitaba is rather low in both Lingala and French.

Therefore, it is recommended that a vernacular literacy project be developed in the district of Epena for the Bomitaba people in their own language. Such a project could be very beneficial for the development of the district and aid in its integration into national life, providing a bridge for reading in Lingala and French, the national and official languages. It would also help to preserve and give value to the Bomitaba culture and language.

Furthermore, it is suggested that the Northern dialect, represented by the *patois* of Matoko, be used as a standard, since speakers of the other dialects understand the Northern dialect very well due to its linguistic and geographical proximity.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A
SURVEY ITINERARY

Saturday July 15, 1989: Received research permit for the survey from the Ministry of Scientific Research in Brazzaville.

Sunday July 16: Bill flew from Brazzaville to Impfondo (600 km), one hour by jet.

Monday July 17 - Sunday July 30: Bill based in Impfondo, collecting word lists the first week, recording stories the second week, making preparations for the two survey trips.

Wednesday July 26: drove to Epena (88 km) with Myles to meet with district officials there and get a word list (Bill) and story (Myles). Also met the chief in Matoko and notified the chiefs in Boleke and Botala that we would be returning in two weeks.

Friday July 28: Bill's family and the Congolese student, Pierre, arrive in Impfondo from Brazzaville.

Monday July 31: Bill, Myles, and Pierre drove to Epena to begin the first survey trip. We tested eight people in Epena: Myles did the stories from Epena and Matoko, Pierre did Mokengui and Toukoulaka, and Bill asked the twenty questions. Then we went to Matoko where Bill confirmed the word list while Myles and Pierre met with the village officials. We were going to test in Matoko the next morning, but there was a funeral planned, so we decided to leave for Mokengui early in the morning.

Tuesday August 1: Took just over three hours by motorized canoe (80 km) to reach Mokengui. We met with the chief to explain our mission. In the afternoon, we did the stories and questionnaires as at Epena, but played the Mokengui tape as the hometown test. We rented a smaller boat to be able to go to Bondeko, because the water was unseasonably low.

Wednesday August 2: Took seven hours in the smaller canoe to travel to Bondeko (85 km), the end of the Likouala-aux-Herbes. Met with the chief and settled in for the night.

Thursday August 3: In the morning Bill got the word list and Myles the village questionnaire. In the afternoon we tested, using Toukoulaka as the hometown test.

Friday August 4: Back to Mokengui, took only five hours, because we were going downstream and the waters had already risen noticeably. Bill confirmed the word list, Myles the village questionnaire, and we tested three more women.

Saturday August 5: Back to Matoko in the big boat, just under three hours. There was another funeral, so we left the boat there and drove back to Impfondo (82 km).

Sunday August 6 - Monday August 7: Rested in Impfondo.

Tuesday August 8: Drove back to Matoko, tested the stories, then took the canoe to Epena (30 min.) and on to Itanga (one hour). Bill confirmed the word list and Myles got the village questionnaire.

Wednesday August 9: Tested the stories with Epena as the hometown. Then took the boat back to Epena, where we left the big engine, gas reservoirs, etc. Drove to Botala (24 km), met the chief, and settled in.

Thursday August 10: Tested the stories with Matoko as the hometown.

Then Bill confirmed the word list. In the afternoon, Myles and Bill rode in a small pirogue to Bossela to get a word list (Bill), because it was only 5 km away and belonged to the Epena dialect. No chance to test stories, since the boat was too tippy to take tape recorders, and there wasn't much time anyway. Returned to Botala in the dark.

Friday August 11: Drove to Boleke (7 km) to test, but everybody had gone out to their fields, so we made plans to return the next day, and continued on to Impfondo.

Saturday August 12: Back to Boleke (57 km) to test stories. Our families were with us, so we didn't have enough time to get a word list before returning to Impfondo.

Sunday August 13: Bill's family flew back to Brazzaville, and Myles drove Pierre to Dongou to conduct his research on Mondongo.

Monday August 14: Myles and Bill drove back to Boleke to get the word list (Bill) and village questionnaire (Myles), then on to Epena (31 km) to pick up our motor, etc., and say good-bye to the officials.

Tuesday August 15 - Thursday August 17: Bill worked on confirming more word lists and getting new ones, also some statistics.

Friday August 18: Bill flew back to Brazzaville. End of mission.

APPENDIX B
KEY TO SYMBOLS

The following special symbols are used in the word lists in Appendix C. They are generally consistent with those of the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), except that, as is common in Africa, /y/ replaces /j/.

- y : voiced alveopalatal glide
- Cʸ : palatalized consonant
- ʃ : voiceless alveopalatal grooved fricative
- ʒ : voiced alveopalatal grooved fricative
- ɲ : voiced alveopalatal nasal
- ŋ : voiced velar nasal
- ɱ : voiced labiodental nasal
- β : voiced bilabial fricative
- ϕ : voiceless bilabial fricative
- e : voiced unrounded mid open front vowel
- ɔ : voiced rounded mid open back vowel
- ˊ : high tone
- ˋ : low tone
- ˜ : nasalization

APPENDIX C

WORD LISTS

Word List in French, Lingala, and English

Liste de mots pour enquêtes lexicales

(La liste reproduit celle du document P/Y-2 de mai 1978, conçu dans le cadre de CE.R.DO.TO.LA/CERELTRA pour l'établissement de l'Atlas Linguistique d'Afrique Centrale. Sources: Liste SWADESH (200 mots) et questionnaire ALCAM.)

Enquête effectuée à:

Date:

Enquêteur:

Parler (locuteurs natifs) :

(nom administratif):

Groupe linguistique: Informateur-

Nom:

Prénom:

Age:

Sexe:

Lieu de naissance:

District:

Région:

Lieu de résidence:

District:

Région:

Niveau scolaire: primaire (CP/CE/CM), secondaire, supérieur

Langues parlées:

Lang. du père:

Ethnie:

Lang. de la mère:

Ethnie:

Word List in French, English, and Lingala

Français/Anglais		Lingala	1	2
1. bouche	fsg	monɔko	:	:
mouth	pl	minɔko	:	:
2. oeil	msg	líso	:	:
eye	pl	míso	:	:
3. tête	fsg	motú	:	:
head	pl	mitú	:	:
4. poil	msg	suki ya	:	:
body hair	pl	nzóto	:	:
5. dent	fsg	líno	:	:
tooth	pl	míno	:	:
6. langue	fsg	lolému	:	:
tongue	pl	malému	:	:
7. nez	msg	nzólo	:	:
nose	pl	banzólo	:	:
8. oreille	fsg	litoi	:	:
ear	pl	matoi	:	:
9. cou	msg	nkingó	:	:
neck	pl	bankingó	:	:
10. sein	msg	libéle	:	:
breast	pl	mabéle	:	:
11. bras	msg	lobóko	:	:
arm	pl	mabóko	:	:
12. griffe	fsg	linzaka	:	:
ongle	pl	manzaka	:	:

Français/Anglais		Lingala	1	2
13. jambe	fsg	lokolo	:	:
leg	pl	makolo	:	:
14. fesse	fsg	lisóko	:	:
buttocks	pl	masóko	:	:
15. ventre	msg	libumu	:	:
abdomen	pl	mabumu	:	:
16. nombril	msg	motolú	:	:
navel	pl	mitolú	:	:
17. intestin	msg	mosopó	:	:
intestines	pl	misopó	:	:
18. sang	msg		:	:
blood	pl	makilá	:	:
19. urine	fsg		:	:
urine	pl	masuba	:	:
20. os	msg	mokua	:	:
bone	pl	mikua	:	:
21. peau	fsg	lopóso	:	:
skin	pl	mpóso	:	:
22. aile	fsg	lipapú	:	:
wing	pl	mapapú	:	:
23. plume	fsg	lonsálá	:	:
feather	pl	nsálá	:	:
24. corne	fsg	liséké	:	:
horn	pl	maséké	:	:
25. queue	fsg	mokilá	:	:
tail	pl	mikilá	:	:

Français/Anglais		Lingala	1	2
26. homme	msg	moto	:	:
human	pl	bato	:	:
27. homme	msg	mobáli	:	:
man	pl	mibáli	:	:
28. femme	fsg	mwási	:	:
woman	pl	bási	:	:
29. mari	msg	mobáli	:	:
husband	pl	mibáli	:	:
30. enfant	msg	mwána	:	:
child	pl	bána	:	:
31. nom	msg	nkómbó	:	:
name	pl	bankómbó	:	:
32. ciel	msg	likoló	:	:
sky	pl		:	:
33. nuit	fsg	butú	:	:
night	pl	babutú	:	:
34. lune	fsg	sánzá	:	:
moon	pl	basánzá	:	:
35. soleil	msg	mói	:	:
sun	pl		:	:
36. vent	msg	mopepe	:	:
wind	pl	mipepe	:	:
37. nuage	msg	lipáta	:	:
cloud	pl	mapáta	:	:
38. rosée	fsg		:	:
dew	pl	namio	:	:

Français/Anglais		Lingala	1	2
39. pluie	fsg	mbúla	:	:
rain	pl	bambúla	:	:
40. terre	fsg		:	:
ground	pl	mabelé	:	:
41. sable	msg	zelo	:	:
sand	pl		:	:
42. chemin	msg	nzelá	:	:
path	pl	banzelá	:	:
43. eau	fsg	mái	:	:
water	pl		:	:
44. fleuve	msg	ebale	:	:
large river	pl	bibale	:	:
45. maison	fsg	ndáko	:	:
house	pl	bandáko	:	:
46. feu	msg	móto	:	:
fire	pl	bamóto	:	:
47. bois à brûler		kóni	:	:
firewood	mpl	bakóni	:	:
48. fumée	fsg	mólinga	:	:
smoke	pl	mílinga	:	:
49. cendre	fsg	mputulú	:	:
ash	pl	ya móto	:	:
50. couteau	msg	mbelí	:	:
knife	pl	bambelí	:	:
51. corde	fsg	singa	:	:
rope	pl	basinga	:	:

Français/Anglais		Lingala	1	2
52. lance	fsg	likongó	!	!
spear	pl	makongó	!	!
53. guerre	fsg	etumba	!	!
war	pl	bitumba	!	!
54. animal	msg	nyama	!	!
animal	pl	banyama	!	!
55. chien	msg	mbwá	!	!
dog	pl	bambwá	!	!
56. éléphant	msg	nzoku	!	!
elephant	pl	banzoku	!	!
57. chèvre	fsg	taba	!	!
goat	pl	bataba	!	!
58. oiseau	msg	ndeke	!	!
bird	pl	bandeke	!	!
59. tortue	fsg	kobá	!	!
tortoise	pl	bakobá	!	!
60. serpent	msg	nyóka	!	!
snake	pl	banyóka	!	!
61. poisson	msg	mbísi	!	!
fish	pl	bambísi	!	!
62. pou	msg	sili	!	!
head lice	pl	basili	!	!
63. oeuf	msg	likei	!	!
egg	pl	makei	!	!
64. arbre	msg	nzeté	!	!
tree	pl	banzeté	!	!

Français/Anglais		Lingala	1	2
65. écorce	fsg	póso	!	!
bark	pl	ya nzete	!	!
66. feuille	fsg	lokásá	!	!
leaf	pl	makásá	!	!
67. racine	fsg	mokángá	!	!
tree root	pl	mikángá	!	!
68. sel	msg	mongwa	!	!
salt	pl	mingwa	!	!
69. graisse	fsg		!	!
fat	pl	mafúta	!	!
70. faim	fsg	nzala	!	!
hunger	pl		!	!
71. fer	msg	ebendé	!	!
iron	pl	bibendé	!	!
72. un	one	mókó	!	!
73. deux	two	míbalé	!	!
74. trois	three	mísáto	!	!
75. quatre	four	mínei	!	!
76. cinq	five	mítáno	!	!
77. six	six	motóbá	!	!
78. sept	seven	nsambo	!	!
79. huit	eight	mwambi	!	!
80. neuf	nine	libwá	!	!
81. dix	ten	zómí	!	!
82. venir	come	-yà	!	!
83. envoyer	send	-tínda	!	!

Français/Anglais		Lingala	1	2
84. marcher	walk	-támbola	:	:
85. tomber	fall	-kwéya	:	:
86. partir	leave	-kende	:	:
87. voler	fly	-pumbwa	:	:
88. verser	pour	-sopa	:	:
89. frapper	hit	-beta	:	:
90. mordre	bite	-swá	:	:
91. laver	wash	-súkola	:	:
92. fendre	split(wood)	-pasola	:	:
93. donner	give	-pesa	:	:
94. voler	steal	-yiba	:	:
95. presser	squeeze	-fínyá	:	:
96. cultiver	grow	-lóna	:	:
97. enterrer	bury	-kunda	:	:
98. brûler(trans)	burn	-etumba	:	:
99. manger	eat	-líá	:	:
100. boire	drink	-mela	:	:
101. vomir	vomit	-sanza	:	:
102. sucer	suck	-nunga	:	:
103. cracher	spit	-bwáka sói	:	:
104. souffler	blow	-wúlela	:	:
105. enfler	swell	-vimba	:	:
106. engendrer	give birth	-bóta	:	:
107. mourir	die	-kúfa	:	:
108. tuer	kill	-boma	:	:
109. pousser	push	-púsa	:	:

Français/Anglais		Lingala	1	2
110.	tirer pull	-bénda	:	:
111.	chanter sing	-yémba	:	:
112.	jouer play	-sakana	:	:
113.	craindre fear	-bánga	:	:
114.	vouloir want	-linga	:	:
115.	dire say	-loba	:	:
116.	voir see	-móna	:	:
117.	montrer show	-lakisa	:	:
118.	entendre hear	-yóka	:	:
119.	savoir know	-yéba	:	:
120.	compter count	-tánga	:	:
121.	s'asseoir sit down	-fánda	:	:
122.	beaucoup many	ebelé	:	:
123.	blanc white	mpembe	:	:
124.	bon good	malámu	:	:
125.	chaud hot	ya molungé	:	:
126.	coeur msg	motéma	:	:
	heart pl	mitéma	:	:
127.	se coucher lie down	-lála	:	:
128.	se lever stand up	-télema	:	:
129.	étoile fsg	mweti	:	:
	star pl	myeti	:	:
130.	foie msg	libale	:	:
	liver pl	mabale	:	:
131.	froid cold	mpío	:	:

Français/Anglais		Lingala	1	2
132. genou	msg	libó1óngó		
knee	pl	mabó1óngó		
133. grand	large	monene		
134. long	long/tall	molai		
135. montagne	fsg	ngómbá		
mountain	pl	bangómbá		
136. nager	swim	-beta mái		
137. noir	black	-moyindo		
138. nouveau	new	ya sika		
139. petit	small	moke		
140. pierre	fsg	libángá		
rock	pl	mabángá		
141. plein	full	etondi		
142. qui?	who	náni		
143. quoi?	what	níni		
144. rond	round	libúngutulú		
145. rouge	red	motaní		
146. sec	dry	eyomi		
se sécher	dry	-yoma		
147. semence	fsg	mombuma		
seed	pl	mbuma		
148. sommeil	msg	mpongí		
149. tous	all	nyonso		
150. pourquoi?	why	mpo na níni		
151. main	fsg	likáká		
hand	pl	makáká		

Français/Anglais		Lingala	1	2
152. pied	msg	litambe	!	!
foot	pl	matambe	!	!
153. rivière	fsg	mosoló	!	!
river	pl	misoló	!	!
154. viande	fsg	mosuni	!	!
meat	pl	misuni	!	!
155. chant	msg	loyémbo	!	!
song	pl	nzémbo	!	!
156. dormir	sleep	-lála mpongí	!	!

Gathered Word Lists

Word List Reliability Codes (Wimbish 1989:31)

- A Data are the result of many years of field work in the language.
- B Data are the result of a short, intensive period of field work in the language.
- C Average survey situation with good bilingual informants and satisfactory opportunity to double check.
- D Average survey situation, but difficulties in bilingual elicitation and not satisfactorily double checked.
- E Below average survey situation, for instance, with monolingual elicitation.

Background Information

Bomitaba:

- a Toukoulaka Reliability: C
- Place: Impfondo Date: 18/7/89 Linguist: W. Gardner
- Language: Kabounga (Bomitaba) Informant: Bosibe Maurice Age: 46
- Birthplace: Toukoulaka, district of Epena Education: Primaire (CP)
- b Bene Reliability: C
- Place: Impfondo Date: 18/7/89 Linguist: W. Gardner
- Language: Kabounga (Bomitaba) Informant: Mabola Homer Age: 45
- Birthplace: Bene, district of Epena Education: Primaire (CM)
- c Mboua Reliability: D
- Place: Impfondo Date: 28/9/88 Linguist: M. Leitch
- Language: Bomitaba Informant: Ndzomo Denis Age: 32
- Birthplace: Mboua, district of Epena Education: Primaire (CE)

d Mbanza Reliability: C
 Place: Impfondo Date: 19/7/89 Linguist: W. Gardner
 Language: Kabounga (Bomitaba) Informant: Bongilili Apolinaire Age: 52
 Birthplace: Mbanza, district of Epena Education: Primaire (CP)

e Bondeko Reliability: C
 Place: Bondeko Date: 3/8/89 Linguist: W. Gardner
 Language: Midzubu (Bomitaba) Informant: Bonywake Paul Age: 50
 Birthplace: Bondeko, district of Epena Education: --

f Mokengui Reliability: B
 Place: Impfondo Date: 2/7/89 Linguist: W. Gardner
 Language: Leke (Bomitaba) Informant: Bobotenzey Jean-Bruno Age: 41
 Birthplace: Mokengui, district of Epena Education: Primaire (CM)
 Confirmed: Mokengui Date: 4/8/89 Linguist: W. Gardner
 Informant: Bongwambe Mathias Age: 67 Birthplace: Mokengui

g Matoko Reliability: B
 Place: Impfondo Date: 25/7/89 Linguist: W. Gardner
 Language: Bomitaba Informant: Mowawa Eugène Age: 57
 Birthplace: Matoko Education: Primaire (CP), Bible school
 Confirmed: Matoko Date: 31/7/89 Linguist: W. Gardner
 Informant: Mamengue Victor Age: 41
 Birthplace: Matoko, district of Epena Education: Primaire (CP)

h Kanio Reliability: C
 Place: Impfondo Date: 20/7/89 Linguist: W. Gardner
 Language: Bomitaba Informant: Bassenzato Gatien Age: 29
 Birthplace: Impfondo (parents from Kanio) Education: Lycée (terminale)

i Liouesso Reliability: C
 Place: Impfondo Date: 24/7/89 Linguist: W. Gardner
 Language: Bantamboka (Bomitaba) Informant: Lenguétou Hyacinthe Age: 28
 Birthplace: Liouesso (20 years), Epena district Education: Secondaire

j Botala Reliability: B
 Place: Impfondo Date: 22/7/89 Linguist: W. Gardner
 Language: Bomitaba Informant: Bondaba Abraham Age: 33
 Birthplace: Botala, district of Epena Education: Secondaire
 Confirmed: Botala Date: 10/8/89 Linguist: W. Gardner
 Informant: Mizeka Francis Age: 70 Birthplace: Botala

k Boleke Reliability: C
 Place: Boleke Date: 13/8/89 Linguist: W. Gardner
 Language: Boleke (Bomitaba) Informant: Molala Philippe Age: 67
 Birthplace: Boleke, district of Epena Education: --

l Epena Reliability: B
 Place: Epena Date: 26/7/89 Linguist: W. Gardner
 Language: Bomitaba Informant: Etengu Bernard Age: 38
 Birthplace: Epena (Momengele), Epena district Education: Primaire (CM)
 Confirmed: Impfondo, informally

m Bossela Reliability: D
 Place: Bossela Date: 19/8/89 Linguist: W. Gardner
 Language: Bomitaba Informant: Bodila Nestor Age: 40
 Birthplace: Bossela, district of Epena Education: Primaire (CE)

n Koundoumou Reliability: C
 Place: Impfondo Date: 22/7/89 Linguist: W. Gardner
 Language: Bambomba (Bomitaba) Informant: Elanda Theogène Age: 46
 Birthplace: Koundoumou, district of Epena Education: Primaire (CP)
 Previous: Impfondo Date: 1/8/80 Linguist: Nzete Paul
 Informant: Mabela Christophe Age: 29
 Birthplace: Brazzaville Education: Primaire (CM)

o Ibolo Reliability: C
 Place: Impfondo Date: 20/7/89 Linguist: W. Gardner
 Language: Bambomba (Bomitaba) Informant: Nkeke Robert Age: 32
 Birthplace: Ibolo (20 years), Epena district Education: Lycée

p Itanga Reliability: B
 Place: Impfondo Date: 24/7/89 Linguist: W. Gardner
 Language: Itanga (Bomitaba) Informant: Bossokany Albert Age: 45
 Birthplace: Itanga, district of Epena Education: Secondaire
 Confirmed: Itanga Date: 9/8/89 Linguist: W. Gardner
 Informant: Mbei Mdembosse Age: 42
 Birthplace: Itanga, district of Epena Education: Primaire (CM)

Babole:

A Mounda	Reliability: D	
Place: Mounda	Date: 11/88	Linguist: M. Leitch
Language: Babole	Informant: ---	Age: 32
Birthplace: Mounda, district of Epena		Education: Primaire (CM)
B Dzeke	Reliability: B	Place: Dzeke
Date: 11/88	Linguist: M. Leitch	Language: Babole
Updated: Impfondo	Date: 24/7/89	Linguist: W. Gardner
Informant: Koumou Maurice		Age: 43
Birthplace: Dzeke (20 years)		Education: Primaire (CM)
C Edzama	Reliability: C	Place: Edzama
Date: 11/88	Linguist: M. Leitch	Language: Babole
D Kinami	Reliability: C	Place: Kinami
Date: 11/88	Linguist: M. Leitch	Language: Babole
E Botongo	Reliability: C	Place: Botongo
Date: 11/88	Linguist: M. Leitch	Language: Babole
F Mossengue	Reliability: C	Place: Mossengue
Date: 11/88	Linguist: M. Leitch	Language: Babole
G Bouanila	Reliability: C	Place: Bouanila
Date: 11/88	Linguist: M. Leitch	Language: Babole
H Ebambe	Reliability: C	Place: Ebambe
Date: 11/88	Linguist: M. Leitch	Language: Babole

Other languages:

q Impfondo Reliability: C
 Place: Impfondo Date: 18/8/88 Linguist: M. Leitch
 Language: Bonzo (Impfondo-Bantu) Informant: Imbondo Bosco Age: 21
 Birthplace: Impfondo Education: Secondaire
 Previous: Brazzaville Date: 19/11/84 Linguist: D. Morgan
 Informant: Célestin Age: 25 Birthplace: Impfondo Education: Lycée

r Lingala Reliability: A
 Place: Brazzaville Date: 6/89 Linguist: W. Gardner
 Language: Lingala (Bantu C30) Informant: Dictionary, various
 Confirmed: Impfondo Date: 17/8/89 Linguist: W. Gardner
 Informant: Biembedi Célestin Age: 30
 Birthplace: Mougouma-Bailly Education: Lycée (Terminale)
 Previous: Brazzaville Linguist: O.-B. Kristensen
 Informant: Dictionary, various

s Bongili Reliability: C
 Place: Impfondo Date: 27/7/89 Linguist: W. Gardner
 Language: Bongili (Bantu C10) Informant: Nzaemona Samuel Age: 23
 Birthplace: Minganga, district of Epena Education: Lycée (Terminale)

t Mondongo Reliability: D
 Place: Impfondo Date: 8/8/88 Linguist: M. Leitch
 Language: Mondongo (Bantu C10?) Informant: Tatoko Célestin Age: 30
 Birthplace: Busi-Busi, district of Dongou
 Place: Impfondo Date: 1/9/88 Linguist: M. Leitch
 Informant: Dominique Age: 50 Birthplace: Ndiube, district of Dongou

- u Inyele Reliability: D
 Place: Impfondo Date: 17/8/89 Linguist: W. Gardner
 Language: Inyele (Bantu C10) Informant: Badimela Jacques Age: 55
 Birthplace: Nimputu, district of Dongou Education: --
- v Lobala Reliability: A
 Place: Imese, NW Zaire Date: 8/89 Linguist: D. Morgan
 Language: Lobala (Bantu C10) Informant: D. Morgan, SIL linguist,
 based on several years of living in Imese and studying Lobala.
- w Bambenga Reliability: D
 Place: Impfondo Date: 17/8/89 Linguist: W. Gardner
 Language: Bambenga (Pygmy) Informant: Bekinda Mathias Age: 38
 Birthplace: Minganga (Mossombo) Education: --
 Informant: Tokidza Franois Age: 25
 Birthplace: Bene (Mobangui) Education: Primaire (CP)
- x Babenzele Reliability: D
 Place: Impfondo Date: 27/8/88 Linguist: M. Leitch
 Language: Babenzele (Pygmy) Informant: Nganga Gilbert Age: 23
 Birthplace: Manfuate, district of Dongou Education: --
- y Yaswa Reliability: D
 Place: Impfondo Date: 19/7/89 Linguist: W. Gardner
 Language: Yaswa (Ubangi) Informant: Nbgali Gaston Age: 42
 Birthplace: Minganga, district of Epena Education: Primaire (CM)

a Toukoulaka

1 muna
 2 dzisu
 3 motu
 4 mokung^{ye}
 5 zino
 6 bolemu
 7 zolo
 8 itwei
 9 ŋkingo
 10 ibele
 11 eboko
 12 azi
 13 ekolo
 14 bokoto
 15 ivumu/moi
 16 intozi
 17 mokunzu
 18 malongo
 19 masambi
 20 mokua
 21 ekoto
 22 ifafu
 23 isala
 24 iseke
 25 mosingo
 26 moto
 27 lole
 28 mwazi
 29 same as #27
 30 mwana
 31 ŋkombo
 32 boteki
 33 mokolo
 34 yezi
 35 moi
 36 mopepe
 37 *bomvutu
 38 mvekolo
 39 ikolo
 40 nse
 41 eseng^{ye}
 42 nzela
 43 mai
 44 ebale
 45 ndako
 46 moya
 47 bokweyi
 48 zumbele
 49 nsuwele
 50 mambo
 51 mosimbi
 52 ikongo

b Bene

1 muna
 2 zisu
 3 motu
 4 ŋkung^{ye}
 5 zino
 6 bolemu
 7 zolo
 8 itwei
 9 ŋkingo
 10 ibele
 11 eboko
 12 yazi
 13 ekolo
 14 bokoto
 15 moi
 16 intozi
 17 monkuzu
 18 malongo
 19 masambi
 20 mokua
 21 ekoto
 22 ifafu
 23 isala
 24 iseke
 25 mosingo
 26 moto
 27 lole
 28 mwazi
 29 same as #27
 30 mwana
 31 ŋkombo
 32 boteki
 33 mokolo
 34 yezi
 35 moi
 36 mompepe
 37 *bomvutu
 38 mvekolo
 39 ikolo
 40 nse
 41 esenge
 42 nzela
 43 mai
 44 ebale
 45 ndako
 46 moya
 47 bokoni
 48 zumbele
 49 nsuwele
 50 mambo
 51 mosimbi
 52 ikongo

c Mboua

1 muna
 2 dzisu
 3 motu
 4 ŋkund^{ye}
 5 dzino
 6 bolemu
 7 dzolo
 8 itoi
 9 ŋkingo
 10 ibele
 11 ---
 12 yadzi
 13 ekolo
 14 bokoto
 15 moi
 16 motozi
 17 mokuzu
 18 malongo
 19 masambi
 20 mokua
 21 ekoto
 22 ifafu
 23 isala
 24 ---
 25 ---
 26 moto
 27 lole
 28 madzi
 29 same as #27
 30 mana
 31 ---
 32 ---
 33 mokolo
 34 yedzi
 35 moi
 36 mopepe
 37 *bomvutu
 38 mvekolo
 39 ikolo
 40 nse
 41 dzelo
 42 ndzela
 43 mai
 44 ---
 45 ndako
 46 moia
 47 bokoi
 48 dzumbele
 49 nsuwele
 50 mambo
 51 mosimbi
 52 ikongo

a Toukoulaka

53 bita
 54 nama
 55 mva
 56 nzoku
 57 ntaba
 58 pozi
 59 nzia
 60 moseme
 61 nsuwe
 62 momvua
 63 ik'ei
 64 molange
 65 ekoto
 66 zango
 67 mozia
 68 mongwa
 69 mazi
 70 lembe
 71 boziwo
 72 mo
 73 mibe
 74 misato
 75 minei
 76 mitano
 77 motoba
 78 nsambo
 79 mwambi
 80 ivuwa
 81 zomi
 82 ayezi
 83 asindi
 84 atanvuzi
 85 akiti
 86 ak'eyi
 87 awumvei
 88 asowi
 89 awandi
 90 atwei
 91 asosi
 92 abozi
 93 afei
 94 ayibi
 95 *apamozi
 96 *asomi
 97 akundi
 98 atumbi
 99 azezi
 100 anwei
 101 alowi
 102 anwangi
 103 atezi
 104 awulezi

b Bene

53 bita
 54 nama
 55 mva
 56 nzoku
 57 ---
 58 pozi
 59 nzia
 60 moseme
 61 unswe
 62 momvua
 63 ikei
 64 molange
 65 ekoto
 66 zango
 67 mozia
 68 mongwa
 69 madzi
 70 lembe
 71 ibende
 72 mo
 73 mibe
 74 misato
 75 minei
 76 itano
 77 motoba
 78 nsambo
 79 mwambi
 80 ivuwa
 81 zomi
 82 ayezi
 83 asindi
 84 atanvuzi
 85 akiti
 86 akeyi
 87 awumvei
 88 asowi
 89 awandi
 90 atwei
 91 asosi
 92 abozi
 93 afei
 94 ayibi
 95 *abanzi
 96 *asomi
 97 akundi
 98 atumbi
 99 azezi
 100 anwei
 101 alowi
 102 anwenwi
 103 atezi
 104 ---

c Mboua

53 bita
 54 nama
 55 mva
 56 ndzoku
 57 ntaba
 58 nodzi
 59 ndziya
 60 moseme
 61 nswe
 62 mvua
 63 ikei
 64 moland'ye
 65 ekoto
 66 dzango
 67 mosisa
 68 mongwa
 69 madzi
 70 lembe
 71 ibende
 72 mo
 73 mibe
 74 misato
 75 minei
 76 itano
 77 motoba
 78 nsambo
 79 mwambi
 80 ivwa
 81 dzomi
 82 ayedzi
 83 asindi
 84 atanvodzi
 85 akiti
 86 ak'ei
 87 aumvei
 88 asowei
 89 awandi
 90 atuwei
 91 asosi
 92 akoti
 93 afei
 94 ayibi
 95 ---
 96 *awandzi
 97 akundzi
 98 atumbi
 99 adzezi
 100 anwei
 101 alowi
 102 ---
 103 atwedzi
 104 awuledzi

a Toukoulaka

105 awulozi
 106 aboti
 107 awei
 108 abomi
 109 angumi
 110 *angozei/aluti
 111 asempi
 112 asani
 113 atizi
 114 azingi
 115 awoyi
 116 ayeni
 117 alaki
 118 awoki
 119 ayebi
 120 atangi
 121 azazi
 122 *nabiki
 123 fembe
 124 bonamu
 125 eyuku
 126 mondondo
 127 alami
 128 atemi
 129 motei
 130 ibale
 131 mfio
 132 ibongo
 133 monene
 134 mosanda
 135 bokoz
 136 alekvezi
 137 boyindo
 138 epakune
 139 nki
 140 *ibanga
 141 etondi
 142 nza
 143 nde
 144 *ekvengetele
 145 *mongola/ntane
 146 ekasi/ewomi
 147 momvuma
 148 bilo
 149 bakime
 150 *munande
 151 zapa
 152 itambe
 153 *moloji
 154 mosupi
 155 mole
 156 *atongi

b Bene

105 awulweyi
 106 aboti
 107 awei
 108 abomi
 109 angumi
 110 *aluti
 111 asempi
 112 asani
 113 atizi
 114 adzingi
 115 awoyi
 116 ayeni
 117 alaki
 118 awoki
 119 ayebi
 120 atangi
 121 azazi
 122 *ebele
 123 pembe
 124 bonamu
 125 eyuku
 126 mondondo
 127 anami
 128 atemi
 129 moteyi
 130 ibale
 131 mfio
 132 ibongo
 133 monene
 134 mosanda
 135 bokodzi
 136 alekezi
 137 boyindo
 138 pakune
 139 nki
 140 *ikutubela
 141 etondi
 142 nza
 143 nde
 144 ---
 145 *ntane
 146 akasi/ewomi
 147 mboto
 148 bilo
 149 bakime
 150 *minande
 151 zapa
 152 itambe
 153 *moloji
 154 mosupi
 155 mole
 156 *atongi

c Mboua

105 ---
 106 ---
 107 awei
 108 abomi
 109 asindzi
 110 *abendi
 111 asempi
 112 ---
 113 atidzi
 114 adzingi
 115 awoi
 116 ayeni
 117 ayangi
 118 awoki
 119 ayebi
 120 atangi
 121 adzadzi
 122 *ebele
 123 pembe
 124 ---
 125 ---
 126 moi
 127 alami
 128 alangwei
 129 motei
 130 mabale
 131 mfio
 132 ibongo
 133 nene
 134 nsanda
 135 bokodzi
 136 ---
 137 yalolo
 138 ---
 139 nki
 140 *ibanga
 141 atondzei
 142 nza
 143 nde
 144 ---
 145 ---
 146 yowoma
 147 ---
 148 ---
 149 ---
 150 ---
 151 ikaso
 152 itambe
 153 ---
 154 ---
 155 ---
 156 ---

<u>d</u> Mbanza	<u>e</u> Bondeko	<u>f</u> Mokengui
1 muna	1 muna	1 muna
2 ziso	2 dziso	2 diso
3 motu	3 motu	3 motu
4 mokung ^{ye}	4 monkung ^{ye}	4 mokung ^{ye}
5 zino	5 dzino	5 dino
6 bolemu	6 bolemu	6 bolemu
7 zolo	7 dzolo	7 zolo
8 itoi	8 itwei	8 itwei
9 nkingo	9 nkingo	9 nkingo
10 ibele	10 ibele	10 ibele
11 eboko	11 eboko	11 eboko
12 yazi	12 yadzi	12 aati
13 ekolo	13 ekolo	13 ekolo
14 bokoto	14 bokwoto	14 bokoto
15 ivumu/moi	15 ivumu	15 ibumu
16 itodzi	16 intodzi	16 montodi
17 mokunzu	17 mukunzu	17 monzela
18 malongo	18 malongo	18 malongo
19 masambi	19 masambi	19 masambi
20 mokua	20 mokua	20 mokua
21 ekoto	21 ekoto	21 ekoto
22 ifafu	22 ifwafu	22 ifafu
23 isala	23 isala	23 isala
24 isek ^{ye}	24 isek ^{ye}	24 isek ^{ye}
25 mosingo	25 mosingo	25 monsingo
26 moto	26 moto	26 moto
27 lole	27 lole	27 lole
28 mwazi	28 mwadzi	28 mwadi
29 same as #27	29 same as #27	29 same as #27
30 mwana	30 mwana	30 mwana
31 nkombo	31 nkombo	31 nkombo
32 boteki	32 bote	32 bote
33 mokolo	33 mokolo	33 mokolo
34 yezi	34 yedzi	34 cedi
35 moi	35 moi	35 moi
36 mopepe	36 mompepe	36 mopepe/efefeke
37 ---	37 ---	37 ---
38 mvekolo	38 mvyekolo	38 evokolo
39 ikolo	39 ikolo	39 ikolo/mbula
40 nse	40 nse	40 nse
41 zelo	41 edzelo	41 eseng ^{ye}
42 nzela	42 ndzela	42 nzela
43 mai	43 mai	43 mai
44 ebale	44 ebale	44 ebale
45 ndako	45 ndako	45 ndako
46 moya	46 moya	46 moya
47 bokweyi/bokoni	47 bokoni	47 bokoni
48 zumbele	48 dzumbele	48 zumbele
49 nsuwele	49 nsuwele	49 momfiti
50 mambo	50 mambo	50 mambo
51 mosimbi	51 mosimbi	51 mosimbi
52 ikongo	52 ikongo	52 ikongo

d Mbanza

53 bita
 54 nama
 55 mva
 56 nzoku
 57 ntaba
 58 pozi
 59 nzia
 60 moseme
 61 nswe
 62 momvua
 63 ik^yei
 64 molang^ye
 65 ekoto
 66 zango
 67 mozia/mokanga
 68 mongwa
 69 mazi
 70 lembe
 71 ibende
 72 mo
 73 mibe
 74 misato
 75 minei
 76 mitano
 77 motoba
 78 nsambo
 79 mwambi
 80 ivuwa
 81 zomi
 82 ayezi
 83 asindi
 84 atombuzi
 85 ak^yiti
 86 ak^yeyi
 87 awumvei
 88 asowi
 89 awandi
 90 atwei
 91 asosi
 92 abozi
 93 afei
 94 ayibi
 95 *afinei
 96 *abizi
 97 akundi
 98 atumbi
 99 adzei
 100 apwei
 101 alowi
 102 anwangi
 103 atwezi
 104 ---

e Bondeko

53 bita
 54 nama
 55 mwva
 56 ndzoku
 57 ntaba/mbodzi
 58 podzi
 59 ndzia
 60 moseme
 61 nswe
 62 momvua
 63 ik^yei
 64 molang^ye
 65 ikoko
 66 dzango
 67 modzia/mokanga
 68 mongwa
 69 madzi
 70 lembe
 71 bodzio/ebende
 72 mo
 73 mibe
 74 misato
 75 minei
 76 mitano
 77 montoba
 78 nsambo
 79 mwambi
 80 ivuwa
 81 dzomi
 82 ayedzi
 83 asindi
 84 atamvudzi
 85 akiti
 86 ak^yeyi
 87 awumvei
 88 asomi
 89 awandi
 90 atwei
 91 asosi
 92 abodzi
 93 afei
 94 ayibi
 95 *ayamodzi
 96 *awotiwanga
 97 akundi
 98 alodzei
 99 adzei
 100 apwei
 101 alowi
 102 anwangi
 103 atwedzi
 104 awuledzi

f Mokengui

53 bita
 54 nama
 55 mva
 56 mbongo
 57 ntaba
 58 podi
 59 ndia
 60 namanse
 61 nswe
 62 mombua
 63 ik^yei
 64 molang^ye
 65 ikoko
 66 esanga
 67 modia/mosisa
 68 mongwa
 69 maadi
 70 lembe
 71 bodiwo
 72 mo
 73 mibe
 74 misato
 75 inei
 76 itano
 77 montoba
 78 nsambo
 79 mwambi
 80 ibuwa
 81 zomi
 82 ayedi
 83 asindi
 84 atambudi
 85 ak^yiti
 86 ak^yei
 87 awumvei
 88 asowi
 89 abedi
 90 atwei
 91 asosi
 92 abodi/aati
 93 afei
 94 ayibi
 95 *amodi
 96 *awangyi
 97 akundi
 98 atumbi
 99 adzei
 100 apwei
 101 alowi
 102 anwangi
 103 atwedi
 104 awuledi

<u>d Mbanza</u>	<u>e Bondeko</u>	<u>f Mokengui</u>
105 awulozi/awulweyi	105 awulodzi	105 awulodi
106 aboti	106 aboti	106 aboti
107 aweyi	107 awei	107 aweyi
108 abomi	108 abomi	108 abomi
109 angumi/asinzi	109 asindzi	109 asinzi
110 *angozei/aluti	110 *angozei	110 *aneni
111 asempi	111 asempi	111 asempi
112 asani	112 asani	112 asani
113 atizi	113 atidzi	113 atidi
114 azingi	114 adzingi	114 adingi
115 awoyi	115 awoyi	115 awoyi
116 ayeni	116 ayeni	116 aeni
117 alakʸi	117 alakʸi	117 alaki
118 awokʸi	118 awokʸi	118 aokʸi
119 ayebi	119 ayebi	119 aebe
120 atangʸi	120 atangʸi	120 atangʸi
121 azazi	121 adzadzi	121 azadi
122 *bayikʸi	122 *bayikʸi	122 *baikʸe
123 mpembe	123 mpembe/ntane	123 mpembe/ntane
124 bonamu	124 namu	124 namu
125 eyuku/mbambiza	125 eyuku	125 eyuku/ulela
126 mondondo	126 moi	126 moi
127 alami	127 alami	127 alami
128 atemi	128 atemi	128 atemi
129 motei	129 motei	129 motei
130 ibale	130 ibale	130 ibale
131 mfio	131 mfio	131 mfio
132 ibongɔ	132 ibongɔ	132 ibongɔ
133 monene	133 monene	133 monene
134 mosanda	134 mosanda	134 mosanda
135 bokozi	135 bokodzi	135 bokodi
136 alekezi	136 alekedzi	136 alekʸedi
137 moyindo	137 boyindo	137 nzindo/ndoloko
138 mopakane	138 pakune	138 nakupe
139 moki	139 monki	139 nke
140 *ibanga	140 *ibanga	140 *ikutubola
141 etondi	141 etondi	141 etondi
142 nza	142 ndza	142 nza
143 nde	143 nde	143 nde
144 *ekongotolo	144 *ekongotolo	144 *ekʸengetele
145 *mongola	145 *botola	145 *mongola/botola
146 ewomi	146 yakasi/ewomi	146 ekasi
147 mombuma	147 mombuma	147 mombuma
148 bilo	148 ilo	148 ilo
149 bakʸime	149 bakʸime	149 bakime
150 *munande	150 *newelande	150 *newelande
151 zapa	151 zapa	151 zapa
152 itambe	152 itambe	152 itambe
153 *molozi	153 *molodzi	153 *molongu
154 mosuni	154 mosoni	154 mosoni
155 mole	155 mole	155 molo
156 *atongi	156 *atongi	156 *atongi

<u>g Matoko</u>	<u>h Kanio</u>	<u>i Liouesso</u>
1 muna	1 muna	1 muna
2 ziso	2 dziso	2 dʸiso
3 motu	3 motu	3 motu
4 mokungʸe	4 mokungʸe	4 monkungʸe
5 zino	5 dzino	5 dʸino
6 bolemu	6 bolemu	6 bolemu
7 zolo	7 dzolo	7 dzolo
8 itoi	8 itoi	8 itoi
9 ŋkingo	9 ŋkingo	9 ŋkingo
10 ibele	10 ibele	10 ibele
11 eboko	11 eboko	11 eboko
12 azi	12 adzi	12 yadzi
13 ekolo	13 ekolo	13 ekolo
14 bokoto	14 bokoto	14 bokoto
15 ivumu	15 ivumu	15 ivumu/ŋkundzu
16 montози	16 motodzi	16 montodzi
17 mukunzu	17 mukundzu	17 mukundzu
18 malongo	18 malongo	18 malongo
19 masambi	19 masambi	19 masambi
20 mokua	20 mokua	20 mokua
21 ekoto	21 ekoto	21 ekoto
22 ifafu	22 ifafu	22 ipapu
23 isala	23 isala	23 isala
24 iseke	24 isekʸe	24 isekʸe
25 mosingo	25 mosingo	25 mosingo
26 moto	26 moto	26 moto
27 lole	27 lole	27 lole
28 mwazi	28 madzi	28 madzi
29 same as #27	29 same as #27	29 same as #27
30 mwana	30 mana	30 mana
31 ŋkombo	31 ŋkombo	31 ŋkombo
32 boteke	32 boteke	32 bote
33 mokolo	33 mokolo	33 mokolo
34 sanza	34 sanza	34 iyeezi
35 moi	35 moi	35 moi
36 mompepe	36 mompepe	36 mompepe
37 ---	37 ---	37 ---
38 mvyekolo	38 momvekolo	38 mvyekolo
39 ikolo	39 ikolo	39 ikolo/iloka
40 nse	40 nse	40 nse
41 nzelo	41 dzelo	41 dzelo
42 nzela	42 ndzela	42 nzela
43 mai	43 mai	43 mai
44 ebale	44 ebale	44 nteba
45 ndako	45 ndako	45 ndako
46 moya	46 moya	46 moya
47 bokoni	47 bokoni	47 bokoni
48 zimbele	48 dzumbele	48 dzumbele
49 mfiti	49 mofitsi	49 mosulele/mfuti
50 mambo	50 mambo	50 mambo
51 mosimbi	51 mosimbi	51 mosimbi
52 ikongo	52 ikongo	52 ikongo

g Matoko

53 bita
 54 nama
 55 mva
 56 mbongo
 57 ntaba
 58 pozi
 59 nzia/ndendeki
 60 namanse
 61 nswe
 62 momvua
 63 ikei
 64 molange
 65 ikoko
 66 zango
 67 mokanga
 68 mongwa
 69 mazi
 70 lembe
 71 motako
 72 yo
 73 ibe
 74 isato
 75 inei
 76 itano
 77 montoba
 78 nsambo
 79 mwambi
 80 ivuwa
 81 zomi
 82 ayezi
 83 asindi
 84 atamvuzi
 85 akiti
 86 akei
 87 awumvei
 88 asowi
 89 awandi
 90 atwei
 91 asosi
 92 abozi
 93 afei
 94 ayibi
 95 *amodzi/aboloti
 96 *awang'i
 97 akundi
 98 atumbi
 99 azei
 100 anwei
 101 alowi
 102 anwang'i
 103 atweizi
 104 awulezi

h Kanio

53 bita
 54 nama
 55 mva
 56 mbongo
 57 ntaba
 58 podzi
 59 ndendeki
 60 namanse
 61 nsuwe
 62 momvua
 63 ik^yei
 64 molang^ye
 65 ikoko
 66 nzango
 67 modzia/mokanga
 68 mongwa
 69 madzi
 70 lembe
 71 ibende/motako
 72 yo
 73 ibe
 74 isato
 75 inei
 76 itano
 77 motoba
 78 sambo
 79 mwambi
 80 ivuwa
 81 dzomi
 82 ayedzi
 83 asindi
 84 atamvuzi
 85 ak^yiti
 86 ak^yeyi
 87 awumvei
 88 asowi
 89 awandi
 90 atwei
 91 asosi
 92 abodzi
 93 afei
 94 ayibi
 95 *aboloti
 96 *asadzi
 97 akundi
 98 atumbi
 99 adzei
 100 anwei
 101 alowi
 102 anwang'i
 103 atweidzi
 104 ---

i Liouesso

53 bita
 54 nama
 55 mva
 56 mbongo
 57 ntaba
 58 podzi
 59 nzia/ndendeki
 60 noka
 61 nswe
 62 momvua
 63 ik^yei
 64 molang^ye
 65 ekoto
 66 dzango
 67 monkanga
 68 mongwa
 69 madzi
 70 lembe
 71 bodziwo
 72 iyo
 73 abe
 74 isato
 75 inei
 76 itano
 77 montoba
 78 nsambo
 79 mwambi
 80 libua
 81 dzomi
 82 ayedzi
 83 asindi
 84 atamvudzi
 85 ak^yit^yi
 86 ak^yei
 87 awumvei
 88 asowi
 89 awandi
 90 atwei
 91 asukodzi
 92 abodzi
 93 afei
 94 ayibi
 95 *ayami
 96 *asadzi
 97 akundi
 98 atumbi
 99 adzei
 100 anwei
 101 alowi
 102 anwang'i
 103 atweidzi
 104 awuledzi

<u>g Matoko</u>	<u>h Kanio</u>	<u>i Liouesso</u>
105 awulodzi	105 awuludzi	105 awulweyi
106 aboti	106 aboti	106 aboti
107 awayi	107 awayi	107 awayi
108 abomi	108 abomi	108 abomi
109 asinzi	109 angumi/asindzi	109 asindzi
110 *akoki	110 *abendi	110 *abendi
111 asempi	111 asempi	111 asempi
112 asani	112 asani	112 asani
113 atizi	113 ---	113 atidzi
114 azingi/ayingi	114 adzingi	114 adzingyi
115 awoyi	115 awoyi	115 awoyi
116 ayeni	116 ayeni	116 ayeni
117 alaki	117 alakyi	117 alakyi
118 awoki	118 awokyi	118 awokyi
119 ayebi	119 ayebi	119 ayebi
120 atangi	120 atangyi	120 atangyi
121 azazi	121 adzadzi	121 adzadzi
122 *mayike	122 *ndzikye	122 *ndzikye
123 mpembe	123 mpembe	123 mpembe
124 minamu	124 namu	124 namu
125 ulela	125 ulela	125 bulela
126 moi	126 moi	126 moi
127 alami	127 alami	127 alami
128 atemi	128 atemi	128 atemi
129 moteyi	129 moteyi	129 ntei
130 ibale	130 ibale	130 ibale
131 mfio	131 mfio	131 mfio
132 ibongo	132 ibongo	132 ibongo
133 monene	133 monene	133 monene
134 mosanda	134 mosanda	134 mosanda
135 bokozi	135 bokodzi	135 bokodzi
136 alekezi	136 alekyedzi	136 apengedzi
137 boyindo/mololoko	137 ndoloko	137 nzindo
138 nakune	138 nakune	138 nakune
139 nki	139 nki	139 nki
140 *itale	140 *itale	140 *itale
141 etondi	141 etondi	141 etondi
142 nza	142 nza	142 ndza
143 nde	143 nde	143 nde
144 *ekengebela	144 ---	144 *kyengyebeni
145 *ntane	145 *ntelakye	145 *ntane
146 ekasi/eyomi	146 awomidzi	146 nakasei/yawoma
147 mombuma	147 ---	147 mbuma
148 ilo	148 ilo	148 ilo
149 bakime	149 bakime	149 bakyme
150 *newalande	150 *ewulande	150 *newalande
151 zapa	151 zapa	151 dzapa
152 itambe	152 itambe	152 itambe
153 *moloji	153 *molodzi	153 *nteba
154 monsoni	154 mosuni	154 mosoni
155 mole	155 mole	155 mole
156 *atongi	156 *atongi	156 *atongi

<u>j</u> Botala	<u>k</u> Boleke	<u>l</u> Epena
1 muna	1 muna	1 muna
2 dziso	2 diso	2 diso
3 motu	3 motu	3 motu
4 mokungye	4 nsuwe	4 mokungya
5 dzino	5 dino	5 dino
6 bolemu	6 bolemu	6 bolemu
7 dzolo	7 dzolo	7 dzolo
8 itoi	8 itwei	8 itwei
9 nkingo	9 nkingo	9 bontodi
10 ibele	10 ibele	10 libele
11 eboko	11 eboko	11 eboko
12 yadzi	12 yengu	12 yati
13 ekolo	13 ekolo	13 ekolo
14 bokoto	14 modindi	14 modindi/ipoko
15 ivumu	15 ibumu	15 libumu
16 intodzi	16 motodu	16 muntozu
17 mukundzu	17 mokundu	17 munzela
18 malongo	18 malongo	18 malongo
19 masambi	19 mipa	19 mipa
20 mokua	20 mokua	20 mokua
21 ekoto	21 ekoto	21 ekoto
22 ifafu	22 ifafu	22 ipapu
23 isala	23 isala	23 isala
24 isekye	24 isekye	24 lisekye
25 mosingo	25 mola	25 mosingo
26 moto	26 moto	26 moto
27 lole	27 lole	27 lwele
28 madzi	28 mwadi	28 nwadi
29 same as #27	29 same as #27	29 same as #27
30 mwana	30 mwana	30 mwana
31 nkombo	31 nkombo	31 nkombo
32 bote	32 ikolo	32 botekye
33 mokolo	33 mokolo	33 mokolo
34 yedzi	34 yedi	34 sanza
35 moi	35 moi	35 nwei
36 mompepe	36 mompepe	36 mompepe
37 *eyindu	37 *bombumbu	37 *likayi
38 mvyokolo	38 bivyekolo	38 mvyokolo/bimeu
39 ikolo	39 ikolo	39 likolo
40 nse	40 nse	40 nse
41 monzelo	41 zelo	41 dzelo
42 nzela	42 nzela	42 nzela
43 mai	43 mai	43 mai
44 nteba	44 ebale	44 ebale
45 ndako	45 ndako	45 ndako
46 moya	46 moya	46 nweya
47 bokoni	47 bokoni	47 bokoni
48 dzumbele	48 batulela	48 dzumbele
49 insulele/mfiti	49 ---	49 mfuti
50 mambo	50 nsendo	50 mbao
51 mosimbi	51 mosimbi	51 mosimbi
52 ikongo	52 ikongo	52 ikongo

<u>i Botala</u>	<u>k Boleke</u>	<u>l Epena</u>
53 bita	53 bita	53 bita
54 nama	54 nama	54 nama
55 mva	55 mboko	55 mva
56 mbongo	56 mbongo	56 ngamba
57 mbodzi	57 mbodi	57 ntaba
58 nodzi	58 nodi	58 podi
59 ndendeke	59 ndendeke	59 ndendeki
60 noka/nzo	60 nzo	60 nzo
61 nswe	61 nswe	61 nswe
62 momvua	62 mombua	62 mombua
63 ik ^y ei	63 ik ^y ei	63 mok ^y ei
64 molang ^y e	64 molange	64 molang ^y e
65 ikoko	65 ewoso	65 efoso
66 dzango	66 isake	66 dzango
67 modzia/mokanga	67 mondia	67 modia/mosisa
68 mongwa	68 mongwa	68 mungwa
69 madzi	69 madi	69 madi
70 lembe	70 nzala	70 nkutu
71 ibende	71 ebende	71 ebende
72 iyo	72 mo	72 mo
73 ibe	73 mibaye	73 mibe
74 isato	74 misato	74 misato
75 inei	75 minei	75 minei
76 itano	76 mitano	76 mitano
77 montoba	77 motoba	77 motoba
78 nsambo	78 nsambo	78 nsambo
79 mwambi	79 mwambi	79 nwambi
80 libwa	80 mobua	80 ibuwa
81 dzomi	81 zomi	81 dzomi
82 ayedzi	82 ayedi	82 ayedi
83 asindi	83 asindi	83 atindi
84 atamvudzi	84 akenamakolo	84 atambudi
85 ak ^y iti	85 akutwei	85 akutwei
86 ak ^y ei	86 akeyi	86 ak ^y ei
87 awumvei	87 awumvei	87 awumvei
88 asowi	88 asowi	88 asoyi
89 awandi	89 awandi	89 awandi
90 atwei	90 atwei	90 atwei
91 alovei	91 alovei	91 asosodi
92 abodzi/ayatsi	92 ayati	92 abodi
93 afei	93 afei	93 afei
94 ayibi	94 ayibi	94 ayibi
95 *ayami	95 *ayami	95 *aboloti
96 *awang ^y i	96 *asadi	96 *awang ^y i
97 akundi	97 akundi	97 akundi
98 atumbi	98 atumbi	98 atumbi
99 adzei	99 adzei	99 adzei
100 apwei	100 anwei	100 apwei
101 alowi	101 alowi	101 aloyi
102 apwangi	102 apwangi	102 apwangi
103 atwedzi	103 atuwedi	103 atoyi
104 awuledzi	104 awuledi	104 awuledi

j Botala

105 awuludzi
 106 aboti
 107 awei
 108 abomi
 109 asindzi
 110 *anani
 111 asempi
 112 asani
 113 atidzi
 114 adzing^yi/ayingⁱ
 115 awoyi
 116 ayeni
 117 alak^yi
 118 awok^yi
 119 ayebi
 120 atang^yi
 121 adzadzi
 122 *nzik^ye
 123 mpembe/ntane
 124 namu
 125 bulela
 126 moi
 127 alami
 128 atemi
 129 motei
 130 ibale
 131 mfio
 132 ibongo
 133 monene
 134 mosanda
 135 bokodzi
 136 apengedzi
 137 nzindo
 138 pakupe
 139 nki
 140 *ibanga
 141 etondi
 142 nza
 143 nde
 144 *tolongani
 145 *ntane
 146 ekasi/ewomi
 147 mombuma
 148 ilo
 149 bak^yime
 150 *newelande
 151 dzapa
 152 itambe
 153 *nteba
 154 mosoni
 155 mole
 156 *atongi

k Boleke

105 ewulei
 106 aboti
 107 awei
 108 abomi
 109 asindzei
 110 *akoki
 111 asempi
 112 asani
 113 atidi
 114 adingi
 115 awoyi
 116 ayeni
 117 alak^yi/ayenizi
 118 awoki
 119 ayebi
 120 atangi
 121 azadi
 122 *mayik^ye
 123 mpembe
 124 namu
 125 welela
 126 moi
 127 anakami
 128 atemi
 129 mwadiwasanza
 130 ibale
 131 mfio
 132 ibongo
 133 monene
 134 mosanda
 135 bokodi
 136 apengezi
 137 nzindo
 138 pakupe
 139 nki
 140 *ibongoto
 141 etondi
 142 nza
 143 nde
 144 *ekongotolo
 145 *ntane
 146 akasi/awoma
 147 mombuma
 148 ilo
 149 bak^yime
 150 *mfowande
 151 zapaka
 152 isindi
 153 *monsome
 154 mosoni
 155 ikano
 156 *atongi

l Epena

105 awulweyi
 106 aboti
 107 awei
 108 abomi
 109 atindzei
 110 *abendi
 111 asempi
 112 asani
 113 atidi
 114 adingⁱ/ayeng^yi
 115 awoyi
 116 aeni
 117 alak^yi
 118 aoki
 119 aebe
 120 atang^yi
 121 adzadi
 122 *be
 123 mpembe
 124 minamu
 125 iyoyo
 126 moloko
 127 anakami
 128 atemi
 129 mwadiwasanza
 130 libale
 131 mfio
 132 ibongo
 133 monene
 134 mosanda
 135 bokodi
 136 alek^yedi
 137 miloko
 138 mipakapel
 139 mike
 140 *itale
 141 etondi
 142 nza
 143 nde
 144 *ek^yeng^yebele
 145 *mitelak^ye
 146 akasi
 147 mombuma
 148 ilo
 149 bak^yime
 150 *ewelande
 151 zapa
 152 litindi
 153 *ebale
 154 mosoni
 155 likanu
 156 *atoti

<u>m</u> Bossela	<u>n</u> Koundoumou	<u>o</u> Ibolo
1 muna	1 muna	1 muna
2 diso	2 dziso	2 diso
3 motu	3 motu	3 motu
4 monkung ^y a	4 mokung ^y a	4 mokung ^y a
5 dino	5 dzino	5 dino
6 bolemu	6 bolemu	6 bolemu
7 dzolo	7 dzolo	7 dzolo
8 itwei	8 itwei	8 itwei
9 bontodi	9 bontodzi	9 bontod ^y i
10 ibele	10 ibele	10 ibele
11 eboko	11 eboko	11 eboko
12 yati	12 yatsi	12 yati
13 ekolo	13 ekolo	13 ekolo
14 modindi	14 ipoko	14 ipoko
15 ibumu	15 ibumu	15 ibumu
16 motodi	16 motolu	16 motolu
17 mondzela	17 monzela	17 mondzela
18 malongo	18 malongo	18 malongo
19 mipa	19 mipa	19 mipa
20 mokua	20 mokua	20 mokua
21 ek ^y ete	21 ek ^y ete	21 ek ^y ete
22 ipapu	22 ipapu	22 ipapu
23 isala	23 isala	23 isala
24 isek ^y e	24 isek ^y e	24 isek ^y e
25 mosingo	25 mosingo	25 mosingo
26 moto	26 moto	26 moto
27 lwele	27 lwele	27 lwele
28 nwadi	28 nanwadzi	28 nwadi
29 same as #27	29 same as #27	29 same as #27
30 nwana	30 nwana	30 nwana
31 nkombo	31 nkombo	31 nkombo
32 botek ^y e	32 botek ^y e	32 botek ^y e
33 mokolo	33 mokolo	33 mokolo
34 sanza	34 sanza	34 sanza
35 nwei	35 nwei	35 nwei
36 buie	36 ---	36 mompepe/buyie
37 ---	37 *liboba	37 *iboba
38 bimeu	38 bimyeu	38 bimeu
39 ikolo	39 ikolo	39 ikolo
40 nse	40 nse	40 nse
41 ndzelo	41 nzelo	41 dzelo
42 nzela	42 nzela/nkombo	42 nza/kombo
43 mai	43 mai	43 mai
44 ebale	44 ebale	44 ebale
45 ndako	45 ndako	45 ndako
46 nwea	46 nwea	46 nwea
47 bokoni	47 bokoni	47 bokoni
48 bandumbele	48 bandumbele	48 bandumbele
49 moti	49 mfutsi	49 mfuti
50 mbao	50 mbao	50 mbao
51 mosimbi	51 modziki	51 modiki
52 ikongo	52 ikongo	52 ikongo

m Bossela

53 bita
 54 nama
 55 mboko
 56 ngamba
 57 ntaba
 58 monswedza
 59 ndendeki
 60 noka
 61 nswe
 62 nombua
 63 mokʸei
 64 molangʸe
 65 ewoso
 66 zango
 67 monkanga
 68 mongwa
 69 maadi
 70 lembe
 71 ebende
 72 mo
 73 mibale
 74 misato
 75 minei
 76 mitano
 77 montoba
 78 nsambo
 79 nwambi
 80 libua
 81 dzomi
 82 ayedi
 83 atindi
 84 atambodi
 85 akutwei
 86 akʸei
 87 awumwei
 88 asowi
 89 awandi
 90 atwei
 91 asosodi
 92 ayati
 93 afei
 94 ayibi
 95 *aboloti
 96 *awangʸi
 97 akundi
 98 atumbi
 99 adzei
 100 anwei
 101 alowi
 102 anwangi
 103 atowi
 104 awuledi

n Koundoumou

53 bita
 54 nama
 55 mboko
 56 ngamba
 57 ntaba
 58 monswedza
 59 ndendeki
 60 nzo
 61 nswe
 62 nombua
 63 mokʸei
 64 molangʸe
 65 ewoso
 66 dzango
 67 modzia/mokanga
 68 mongwa
 69 maadzi
 70 nkutu
 71 bodzio
 72 mo
 73 mimbale
 74 misato
 75 minei
 76 mitano
 77 montoba
 78 nsambo
 79 nwambi
 80 ibuwa
 81 dzomi
 82 ayedzi
 83 atsindzi
 84 atambodzi
 85 akutwei
 86 akʸei
 87 awumwei
 88 asowi
 89 awandzi
 90 atwei
 91 asosodzi
 92 ayatsi
 93 afei
 94 ayibi
 95 *aboloti
 96 *asadzi
 97 akundzi
 98 atumbi
 99 adzei
 100 anwei
 101 alowi
 102 anwangi
 103 atowi
 104 awuledzi

o Ibolo

53 bita
 54 nama
 55 mboko
 56 ngamba
 57 ntaba
 58 monswedza
 59 ndendeki
 60 nzo
 61 nswe
 62 nombua
 63 mokʸei
 64 molangʸe
 65 efoso
 66 dzango
 67 modzia
 68 mongwa
 69 maadi
 70 nkutu
 71 bodyo
 72 mo
 73 mimbale
 74 misato
 75 minei
 76 mitano
 77 montoba
 78 nsambo
 79 nwambi
 80 ibuwa
 81 dzomi
 82 ayedzi
 83 atindi
 84 atombodzi
 85 akutwei
 86 akʸei
 87 awumwei
 88 asowi
 89 awandi
 90 atwei
 91 asosodzi
 92 ayatʸi
 93 afei
 94 ayibi
 95 *aboloti
 96 *asadzi
 97 akundzi
 98 atumbi
 99 adzei
 100 anwei
 101 alowi
 102 anwangi
 103 atowi
 104 awuledzi

m Bossela

105 miulwei
 106 aboti
 107 awoyi
 108 abomi
 109 atindzei
 110 *anani
 111 asempi
 112 asani
 113 atidi
 114 adingi
 115 awoyi
 116 ayeni
 117 alakyi
 118 awokyi
 119 ayebi
 120 atangyi
 121 adzadi
 122 *bee
 123 mpembe
 124 minamu
 125 liyoyo
 126 moi
 127 anikami
 128 atemi
 129 nwadiwayedi
 130 ibale
 131 mfio
 132 libongo
 133 monene
 134 mosanda
 135 bula
 136 alekyedi
 137 ndoloko
 138 nakupe
 139 nke
 140 *ibongotoko
 141 itondi
 142 nza
 143 nde
 144 *tolongani
 145 *itelakye
 146 ikasi
 147 ---
 148 ilo
 149 bakyme
 150 *lewelande
 151 zapa
 152 itindi
 153 ---
 154 mosoni
 155 ikano
 156 *atoti

n Koundoumou

105 awuludzi
 106 abotsi
 107 awei
 108 abomi
 109 atsindzei
 110 *anani
 111 asempi
 112 asani
 113 atsidzi
 114 adzingyi
 115 awoyi
 116 ayeni
 117 alakyi
 118 awokyi
 119 ayebi
 120 atangi
 121 adzadzi
 122 *be
 123 mpembe
 124 minamu
 125 iyoyo
 126 moloko
 127 anikami
 128 anikweyi
 129 monteinti
 130 ibale
 131 mfio
 132 ibongo
 133 monene
 134 bosanda
 135 bula
 136 alekyedzi
 137 moloko
 138 nakupe
 139 ikye
 140 *itale
 141 etondzi
 142 nza
 143 nde
 144 *ekyengyetelo
 145 *mitelakye
 146 mikasi
 147 litoya
 148 ilo
 149 bakyme
 150 *ewulande
 151 dzapa
 152 itsindzi
 153 *mwete
 154 mosoni
 155 ikano
 156 *atotsi

o Ibolo

105 awuludzi
 106 aboti
 107 awei
 108 abomi
 109 atindzi
 110 *anani
 111 asempi
 112 asani
 113 atidyi
 114 adingyi
 115 awoyi
 116 ayeni
 117 alakyi
 118 awokyi
 119 ayebi
 120 atangyi
 121 adzadzi
 122 *ebele
 123 mpembe
 124 namu
 125 iyoyo
 126 moloko
 127 anikami
 128 atemi/anikweyi
 129 moteya
 130 ibale
 131 mfio
 132 ibongo
 133 nene
 134 nsanda
 135 bula
 136 alekyedzi
 137 ndoloko
 138 nakupe
 139 nke
 140 *itale
 141 itondi
 142 nza
 143 nde
 144 ---
 145 *ntane/mitelakye
 146 ikasi
 147 ---
 148 ilo
 149 bakyme
 150 *newelande
 151 dzapa
 152 itindi
 153 *mwete
 154 mosoni
 155 ikano
 156 *atoti

<u>p Itanga</u>	<u>A Mounda</u>	<u>B Dzeke</u>
1 muna	1 muna	1 muna
2 dziso	2 diso	2 d'iso
3 motu	3 diyolo	3 dimpoko
4 munsuwe	4 nkungi	4 mun'kungi
5 dzino	5 dino	5 d'ino
6 bolemu	6 lotoko	6 boletoko
7 dzolo	7 mpemba	7 mpemba
8 lipyaka	8 ditoi	8 ditoi
9 bontodzi	9 nkingo	9 nkingo
10 libele	10 diyele	10 diele
11 eboko	11 eoko	11 eoko
12 yatsi	12 ensuwe	12 ensuwe
13 ekolo	13 ekolo	13 ekolo
14 litao	14 ditao	14 ditaho
15 insa	15 dikundu	15 dikundu
16 ntongu	16 intongu	16 ntongu
17 moso	17 munsowu	17 mwela
18 masei	18 masei	18 masei
19 mina	19 indzine	19 ingine
20 eese	20 ehese	20 ehese
21 ek'ete	21 eket'e	21 ekete
22 lipapo	22 dipapo	22 dipapo
23 limpeto	23 bonsala	23 bonsala
24 liseke	24 dinseke/dinkoti	24 dinkoti
25 mosingo	25 dzonga	25 dzonga
26 moto	26 moto	26 moto
27 lwele	27 bohele	27 bohele
28 nwadzi	28 mwato	28 mwaato
29 same as #27	29 molomi	29 molomi
30 nwana	30 mwana	30 mwana
31 nkombo	31 dina	31 dina
32 bwendo	32 bwendo	32 bwendo
33 butu	33 butu	33 butu
34 sanza	34 sanza	34 sanza
35 nwei	35 moi	35 moi/dinkanga
36 mopepeleke	36 munga	36 mopepeleke
37 *etebe	37 *etee	37 *etee
38 maka	38 maka	38 maka
39 likolo	39 modzele	39 modzele
40 nse	40 inse	40 nse
41 dzelo	41 mun'kwewe	41 insenge
42 impei	42 impei	42 mpei
43 mai	43 mai	43 mai
44 ebale	44 ---	44 eale
45 mokote	45 mokote	45 mokote
46 nwea	46 mweya	46 mweya
47 bokoni	47 ekoni	47 etabi
48 dzue	48 dzue	48 dzuwe
49 mfutsi	49 bohutu	49 pembwele
50 mbao	50 ingwala	50 ngwala
51 munziki	51 mwimba	51 mundiki
52 likongo	52 dikongo	52 dikongo

p Itanga

53 bita
 54 nama
 55 nkotsi
 56 ngamba
 57 ntaba
 58 nwanwedza
 59 ndendeki
 60 nzo
 61 nswe
 62 mumbua
 63 mokyei
 64 munzete
 65 epoola
 66 dzangu
 67 munsisa
 68 mungwa
 69 madzi
 70 nzala
 71 ebende
 72 moo
 73 mimbale
 74 misato
 75 minei
 76 mitano
 77 motoba
 78 nsambo
 79 mwambi
 80 libua
 81 dzomu
 82 aedzi
 83 atsindzi
 84 akyei
 85 akwei
 86 akyei
 87 awumvei/apetemoi
 88 asowi
 89 awandzi
 90 atwei
 91 asosodzi
 92 aatsi
 93 afei
 94 aibi
 95 *abolotsi/awamutedzi
 96 *asadzi
 97 akundzi
 98 atumbi
 99 adzei
 100 apwei
 101 aloi
 102 anwangi
 103 same as #101
 104 apepi

A Mounda

53 bita
 54 nama
 55 inkoti
 56 ingamba
 57 inta
 58 ipodi
 59 indendeki
 60 indzo
 61 inswe
 62 mungila
 63 dikei
 64 mwete
 65 epola
 66 bwangu
 67 munsisa
 68 mungwa
 69 madi
 70 nzala
 71 ebende
 72 mchoko
 73 miyenge
 74 misato
 75 minei
 76 mitano
 77 motowa
 78 insambo
 79 mwambi
 80 dibwa
 81 dzomu
 82 pomba
 83 tinda
 84 kakeke
 85 kwa
 86 ke
 87 petemo
 88 tohea
 89 kuta
 90 towa
 91 sosa
 92 ata
 93 ambea
 94 asa
 95 ---
 96 *asomi
 97 kundu
 98 bumba
 99 dza
 100 nwa
 101 loa
 102 mpyolo
 103 same as #101
 104 pepa

B Dzeke

53 bita
 54 nama
 55 nkoti
 56 ngamba
 57 ntaa
 58 nodi
 59 ndendeki
 60 indzo
 61 nswe
 62 mungila
 63 dikei
 64 mwete
 65 ehoso
 66 bwangu
 67 munkanga
 68 mungwa
 69 madi
 70 nzala
 71 ebende
 72 mchoko
 73 miyenge
 74 misato
 75 minei
 76 mitano
 77 motoa
 78 nsambo
 79 mwambi
 80 dibua
 81 dzomu
 82 apodi
 83 atindi
 84 kakeikei/akeloke
 85 akwei
 86 akei
 87 apetemoi
 88 atohei
 89 akuti/abimbi
 90 atchi
 91 asosi
 92 aati
 93 ahambei
 94 aasi
 95 *ahipoti
 96 *atyimodi
 97 akundi
 98 abumbi
 99 adzei
 100 anwei
 101 alohi
 102 anwangi/mpyodi
 103 same as #101
 104 apepi

p Itanga

105 awulweyi
 106 abotsi
 107 awei
 108 abomi
 109 atsindza
 110 *aneni
 111 asempi
 112 asani
 113 atsidzi
 114 adzingi
 115 awoyi
 116 aeni
 117 alaki
 118 aoki
 119 aebe
 120 apodzi
 121 adzadzi
 122 *ebele
 123 huu
 124 bolamu
 125 liyoyo
 126 bosoba
 127 anikami
 128 atemi/anikweyi
 129 munteintei
 130 libale
 131 mfio
 132 libongo
 133 ngamboka/mungata
 134 mosanda
 135 bokobemela
 136 anani
 137 tuu
 138 wapwawa
 139 nsoni
 140 *dzengo
 141 etondzi
 142 nza
 143 nde
 144 ---
 145 *tsoo
 146 mikasa
 147 mumbuma
 148 ilo
 149 makime
 150 *newelande
 151 likasa
 152 itsindzi
 153 *ebale
 154 mosoni
 155 lilenga
 156 *aladzi

A Mounda

105 hulumowa
 106 ota
 107 wa
 108 oma
 109 tindesa
 110 *embedza
 111 emba
 112 sana
 113 omu
 114 dinga
 115 ho
 116 ene
 117 tumesa
 118 oka
 119 lemba
 120 tanga
 121 dzala
 122 *ebele
 123 huu
 124 bwenga
 125 dihyohyo
 126 bosoa
 127 lala
 128 teme
 129 muntente
 130 diyale
 131 mpio
 132 dingondzo
 133 mungata
 134 bosanda
 135 bokodi
 136 pana
 137 tuu
 138 nendeni
 139 disoni
 140 *ditale
 141 atonda
 142 indza
 143 inde
 144 ---
 145 *tsoo
 146 ngwengwe
 147 mumboto
 148 ---
 149 yesu
 150 *mbandonde
 151 ---
 152 ---
 153 *mowanda
 154 ---
 155 ---
 156 *lala

B Dzeke

105 ahulumoi
 106 aoti
 107 awei
 108 aomi
 109 atyindesa
 110 *aempi
 111 aempi
 112 asani
 113 aomoi
 114 adingyi
 115 ahoi
 116 aeni
 117 atumesa/atehedza
 118 aoki
 119 alempi
 120 tangi/apodi
 121 adzadi
 122 *ebele
 123 huu
 124 malamu
 125 dihyohyo
 126 bosoa
 127 ladi/aekake
 128 atemi
 129 muntenteni
 130 diale
 131 mpio
 132 dingonzo
 133 mungata
 134 molahe
 135 bokodi
 136 anani
 137 tuu
 138 nendeo
 139 disoni
 140 *ditale
 141 ditondi
 142 ndza
 143 nde
 144 ---
 145 *tsoo
 146 aomi
 147 mumbuma
 148 ehilo
 149 besu
 150 *bandonde
 151 dikasa
 152 ---
 153 *mohete
 154 monsuni
 155 bwembo
 156 *ladi

<u>C Edzana</u>	<u>D Kinami</u>	<u>E Botongo</u>
1 mupa	1 mupa	1 mupa
2 diso	2 diso	2 diso
3 dimpoko	3 dimpoko	3 dimpoko
4 mundzoka	4 mundzoka	4 munzoka
5 dino	5 dino	5 dino
6 boletemele	6 boletemee	6 boletemee
7 impemba	7 mpemba	7 mpemba
8 ditoi	8 ditoi	8 ditoi
9 inkingo	9 nkingo	9 nkingo
10 diyele	10 diyele	10 diyele
11 ehoko	11 ehoko	11 ehoko
12 ensuwe	12 ensuwe	12 ensuwe
13 eeko	13 eeko	13 eeko
14 ditaho	14 ditaho	14 ditaho
15 dikundu	15 dikundu	15 dibumu
16 intongu	16 intongu	16 muntongu
17 mwela	17 mwela	17 inzela
18 makila	18 makila	18 makila
19 nzipe	19 indzipe	19 ingipe
20 eheuse	20 ehese	20 ehese
21 ekenge	21 ekenge	21 ekenge
22 dipapo	22 diɸaɸo	22 diɸaɸo
23 bonsala	23 bonsaa	23 bonsaa
24 dinseya	24 dinɓkoti	24 dinɓkoti
25 dzyonga	25 dzonga	25 dzonga
26 moto	26 moto	26 moto
27 bohee	27 bohee	27 bohee
28 mwaato	28 mwaato	28 mwaato
29 same as #27	29 same as #27	29 moomi
30 mwana	30 mwana	30 mwana
31 dina	31 dina	31 dina
32 bwendo	32 bwendo	32 bwendo
33 butu	33 butu	33 butu
34 sanza	34 sanza	34 kakima
35 moi	35 moi	35 dinɓkanga
36 bohungi	36 bohungi	36 bohungi
37 *eketekete	37 *eketekete	37 *etee
38 maka	38 maka	38 mewu
39 modzee	39 modzee	39 modzee
40 inse	40 nse	40 inse
41 esenge	41 dzelo	41 insenge
42 impondi	42 impondi	42 impei
43 mai	43 mai	43 mai
44 ---	44 ---	44 ---
45 mokote	45 mokote	45 mokote
46 mwea	46 mweya	46 mweya
47 nkoni	47 ekoni	47 ekoni
48 dzuwe	48 dzue	48 dzuwe
49 mahutu	49 bohutu	49 mahutu
50 imbao	50 insengu	50 insengu
51 mundiki	51 mundiki	51 munkanza
52 dikongo	52 dikongo	52 dikongo

C Edzama

53 bita
 54 nama
 55 inkoti
 56 ngamba
 57 ntaa
 58 ipodi
 59 indendeki
 60 indzo
 61 iswe
 62 mungila
 63 dikei
 64 mwete
 65 ehoso
 66 bwangu
 67 mundzidza
 68 ---
 69 maadi
 70 nzaa
 71 ---
 72 motoo
 73 miyenge
 74 misato
 75 minei
 76 mitano
 77 motowa
 78 nsambo
 79 mwambe
 80 dibwa
 81 dzomu
 82 podi
 83 tindi
 84 loke
 85 kwei
 86 ---
 87 petemci
 88 tolei
 89 kuti
 90 tuwei
 91 sosi
 92 ---
 93 hambei
 94 asi
 95 ---
 96 *asomi
 97 kundi
 98 bumbi
 99 dzei
 100 nwei
 101 lohi
 102 mpyodi
 103 same as #101
 104 pepi

D Kinami

53 bita
 54 nama
 55 inkoti
 56 ndzoku
 57 nta
 58 ipodi
 59 ndendeki
 60 indzo
 61 insuwe
 62 mungila
 63 dikei
 64 mwete
 65 ehoso
 66 bwangu
 67 mundzidza
 68 ---
 69 madi
 70 ndzaa
 71 ---
 72 motoo
 73 miyenge
 74 misato
 75 minei
 76 mitano
 77 motoa
 78 insambo
 79 mwambi
 80 dibua
 81 dzomu
 82 ϕ odi
 83 tindi
 84 kakeke
 85 kwei
 86 ---
 87 petemci
 88 toyei
 89 kuti
 90 twei
 91 sosi
 92 ---
 93 hambei
 94 asi
 95 ---
 96 *asomi
 97 kundi
 98 bumbi
 99 ndzei
 100 nwei
 101 lohi
 102 pyodi
 103 same as #101
 104 $\phi e\phi i$

E Botongo

53 bita
 54 ipama
 55 inkoti
 56 nzoku
 57 intaa
 58 ipodi
 59 indendeki
 60 inzo
 61 insuwe
 62 mungila
 63 dikei
 64 mwete
 65 ehoso
 66 bwangu
 67 mundzidza
 68 ---
 69 maadi
 70 manzaa
 71 ---
 72 motoo
 73 miyenge
 74 misato
 75 minei
 76 mitano
 77 motowa
 78 insambo
 79 mwambi
 80 dibua
 81 dzomu
 82 podi
 83 tindi
 84 kakeke
 85 kwei
 86 ---
 87 petemci
 88 tolei
 89 kuti
 90 tuwei
 91 sosi
 92 ---
 93 hambei
 94 asi
 95 ---
 96 *asomi
 97 kundi
 98 bumbi
 99 dzei
 100 nwei
 101 lohi
 102 mpyodi
 103 same as #101
 104 $\phi e\phi i$

<u>C Edzama</u>	<u>D Kinami</u>	<u>E Botongo</u>
105 hulumɔi	105 hulumɔi	105 hulumɔi
106 oti	106 oti	106 oti
107 wei	107 wei	107 wei
108 omi	108 omi	108 omi
109 tindesa	109 tindesa	109 tindesa
110 *embi	110 *embi	110 *embi
111 eembi	111 embi	111 embi
112 saani	112 hindi	112 hindi
113 omoi	113 omɔi	113 omoi
114 dingi	114 ndingi	114 dingi
115 hoi	115 hoi	115 hoi
116 eni	116 eni	116 eni
117 tumesa	117 tumesa	117 tumesa
118 oki	118 oki	118 oki
119 lembi	119 lembi	119 lembi
120 tangi	120 tangi	120 tangi
121 dzaadi	121 ndzadi	121 dzadi
122 *mambei	122 *mambei	122 *dimbe
123 huu	123 huu	123 huu
124 molamu	124 molamu	124 molamu
125 dihyohyo	125 hyohyo	125 dihyohyo
126 bosoa	126 bosoa	126 bosoa
127 ladi	127 ladi	127 ladi
128 temi	128 temi	128 ---
129 ---	129 muntenteni	129 muntenteni
130 ---	130 ---	130 ---
131 mpio	131 mpio	131 mpio
132 dingonzo	132 dingonzo	132 dingondzo
133 mungata	133 mungata	133 mungata
134 molahe	134 molahe	134 molahe
135 bokodi	135 bokodi	135 bokodi
136 nani	136 nani	136 nani
137 tuu	137 tuu	137 tuu
138 neendeo	138 nendeo	138 neendeo
139 disoni	139 disoni	139 disoni
140 *dintuka	140 ---	140 ---
141 ---	141 ---	141 ---
142 ndza	142 indza	142 indza
143 inde	143 inde	143 nde
144 ---	144 ---	144 ---
145 *tsoo	145 *tsoo	145 *tsoo
146 ---	146 ---	146 ---
147 ---	147 ---	147 ---
148 ---	148 ---	148 ---
149 yesu	149 yesu	149 yesu
150 ---	150 ---	150 ---
151 ---	151 ---	151 ---
152 ---	152 ---	152 ---
153 ---	153 ---	153 ---
154 ---	154 ---	154 ---
155 ---	155 ---	155 ---
156 ---	156 ---	156 ---

F Mossengue

1 muna
 2 diso
 3 dyolo
 4 indzoko
 5 dino
 6 boletoko
 7 impemba
 8 ditoi
 9 inkingo
 10 diyele
 11 eoko
 12 insuwe
 13 ekolo
 14 ditaho
 15 dibumu
 16 muntongu
 17 munzela
 18 makila
 19 ingine
 20 ehese
 21 ekenge
 22 dipapo
 23 bonsala
 24 din Koti
 25 dzonga
 26 moto
 27 bohele
 28 mwaato
 29 same as #27
 30 mwana
 31 dina
 32 bwendo
 33 mokolo
 34 kakima
 35 moi
 36 bohungi
 37 *etee
 38 mewu
 39 modzele
 40 inse
 41 esenge
 42 impei
 43 mai
 44 ---
 45 mokote
 46 mweeya
 47 ekoni
 48 dzue
 49 bohutu
 50 ingwala
 51 mundiki
 52 dikongo

G Bouanila

1 muna
 2 dziso
 3 iyolo
 4 nzoka
 5 dzino
 6 oletwaka
 7 impemba
 8 itoi
 9 nkingo
 10 iyele
 11 eoko
 12 ensuwe
 13 ekolo
 14 itao
 15 ibumu
 16 muntongu
 17 mwela
 18 makila
 19 ingine
 20 ehese
 21 ekenge
 22 ipapo
 23 onsala
 24 inkotsi
 25 dzonga
 26 moto
 27 ohele
 28 mwaato
 29 molomi
 30 mwana
 31 dzina
 32 bwendo
 33 mokolo
 34 sanza
 35 inkanga
 36 ohungi
 37 *etee
 38 mewu
 39 modzele
 40 inse
 41 munsenge
 42 mpei/mpondzi
 43 mai
 44 ---
 45 mokote
 46 mwea
 47 ekoni
 48 dzue
 49 mahutu
 50 ngwala
 51 moosele
 52 ikongo

H Ebanbe

1 muna
 2 dzisu
 3 iyolo
 4 munzoka
 5 dzino
 6 oletwaka
 7 mpemba
 8 itoi
 9 nkingo
 10 iele
 11 eoko
 12 ensuwe
 13 ekolo
 14 itao
 15 ibumu
 16 muntongu
 17 mundzela
 18 makila
 19 ingine
 20 ehese
 21 ekenge
 22 ipepu
 23 munsala
 24 inkotsi
 25 dzonga
 26 moto
 27 ohele
 28 mwaato
 29 molomi
 30 mwana
 31 dzina
 32 bwendo
 33 mokolo
 34 sanza
 35 inkanga
 36 ohungi
 37 *etee
 38 mewu
 39 modzele
 40 inse
 41 ndzelo
 42 impondzi
 43 mai
 44 ---
 45 mokote
 46 mwea
 47 ekoni
 48 dzue
 49 mahutu
 50 ingwala
 51 mundziki
 52 ikongo

F Mossengue

53 bita
 54 nama
 55 inkoti
 56 ngamba
 57 intaa
 58 ipodzi
 59 indendeki
 60 indzo
 61 inswe
 62 mungila
 63 dzikei
 64 mwete
 65 ehoso
 66 bwangu
 67 munkanga
 68 ---
 69 maadzi
 70 mandzaala
 71 ---
 72 motolo
 73 miyenge
 74 misato
 75 minei
 76 mitano
 77 motoa
 78 intsambo
 79 mwambi
 80 dzibua
 81 dzomu
 82 podzi
 83 tsindzi
 84 kakeke
 85 kwei
 86 ---
 87 humboi
 88 tolei
 89 bimbi
 90 tuwei
 91 sosi
 92 ---
 93 hambei
 94 asi
 95 ---
 96 *asomi
 97 kundzi
 98 bumbi
 99 dzei
 100 nwei
 101 lowei
 102 anwangi/mpyodzi
 103 same as #101
 104 pepi

G Bouanila

53 bita
 54 ipama
 55 inkotsi
 56 ngamba
 57 ntaa
 58 ipodzi
 59 ndendeki
 60 indzo
 61 insuwe
 62 mungila
 63 ikei
 64 mwete
 65 ehoso
 66 lwangu
 67 munkanga
 68 ---
 69 madzi
 70 ndzala
 71 ---
 72 motolo
 73 miyenge
 74 misato
 75 minei
 76 mitano
 77 motowa
 78 ntsambo
 79 mwambi
 80 ibua
 81 dzomu
 82 pombi
 83 tsindzi
 84 kakekei
 85 kwei
 86 ---
 87 humboi
 88 tolei
 89 bimbi
 90 twei
 91 sosi
 92 ---
 93 hambei
 94 asi
 95 ---
 96 *asomi
 97 kundzi
 98 bumbi
 99 dzei
 100 nwei
 101 lowei
 102 anwangi
 103 same as #101
 104 pepi

H Ebambe

53 ikoku
 54 nama
 55 inkotsi
 56 ngamba
 57 ntaa
 58 podzi
 59 ndendeki
 60 ndzo
 61 insuwe
 62 mungila
 63 ikei
 64 mwete
 65 ehoso
 66 isaki
 67 munkanga
 68 ---
 69 madzi
 70 ndzala
 71 ---
 72 motolo
 73 miyenge
 74 misato
 75 minei
 76 mitano
 77 motowa
 78 ntsambo
 79 mwambi
 80 ibwa
 81 dzomu
 82 podzi
 83 tsindzi
 84 kakeikei
 85 kwei
 86 ---
 87 humboi
 88 tolei
 89 bimbi
 90 twei
 91 sosi
 92 ---
 93 hambei
 94 asi
 95 ---
 96 *asomi
 97 kundzi
 98 bumbi
 99 dzei
 100 nwei
 101 luei
 102 mpyodzi
 103 same as #101
 104 pupi

<u>F Mossengue</u>	<u>G Bouanila</u>	<u>H Ebambe</u>
105 hulumoi/landoi	105 landoi	105 landoi
106 oti	106 otsi	106 otsi
107 wei	107 wei	107 wei
108 omi	108 omi	108 omi
109 tsindesa	109 tsindedza	109 tsindedza
110 *embi	110 *nepi	110 *nepi
111 embi	111 embi	111 embi
112 hindi	112 hindzi	112 hindzi
113 omoi	113 omoi	113 omoi
114 dzingi	114 dzingi	114 dzingi
115 hoi	115 hoi	115 hoi
116 eni	116 eni	116 eni
117 tumesa	117 tumedza	117 tumedza
118 oki	118 oki	118 oki
119 lembi	119 lembi	119 lembi
120 tangi	120 tangi	120 tangi
121 dzadzi	121 dzadzi	121 dzadzi
122 *indzike	122 *ndzik ^{ye} /indundu	122 ndzike
123 huu	123 huu	123 huu
124 intsomi	124 ilomu	124 olamu
125 dzihyohyo	125 ihyohyo	125 ihyohyo
126 bosoa	126 indundu	126 bosoa
127 ladzi	127 ladzi	127 ladzi
128 temi	128 temi	128 temi
129 muntenteni	129 muntenteni	129 muntenteni
130 ---	130 ---	130 ---
131 mpio	131 mpio	131 mpio
132 dzingondzo	132 ngondzo	132 ingondzo
133 mungata	133 ingata	133 ongata
134 molahe	134 ilahe	134 olahe
135 bokodzi	135 okodzi	135 okodzi
136 nani	136 nani	136 nani
137 tuu	137 tuu	137 tuu
138 neendee	138 neendee	138 neendei
139 dzisoni	139 isoni	139 osoni
140 ---	140 ---	140 ---
141 ---	141 ---	141 ---
142 indza	142 ndza	142 indza
143 nde	143 nde	143 inde
144 ---	144 ---	144 ---
145 *tsoo	145 *tsoo	145 *tsoo
146 ---	146 ---	146 ---
147 ---	147 ---	147 ---
148 ---	148 ---	148 ---
149 yesu	149 yesu	149 yesu
150 ---	150 ---	150 ---
151 ---	151 ---	151 ---
152 ---	152 ---	152 ---
153 ---	153 ---	153 ---
154 ---	154 ---	154 ---
155 ---	155 ---	155 ---
156 ---	156 ---	156 ---

<u>q</u> Impfondo	<u>r</u> Lingala	<u>s</u> Bongili
1 muna	1 monoko	1 muna
2 dziyo	2 liso	2 diso
3 motu	3 motu	3 moto
4 nkunye	4 nkunza/monswei	4 mondzungi
5 zino	5 lino	5 dino
6 boleu	6 lolemu	6 bolemu
7 dzolo	7 nzolo	7 dzolo
8 ituyi	8 litoi	8 ditoi
9 nkingo	9 nkingo	9 kingo
10 ibele	10 libele	10 dibele
11 eboko	11 loboko	11 eboko
12 mundzazi	12 linzaka	12 mondzali
13 ekolo	13 lokolo	13 ekolo
14 ipoko	14 lipoko	14 bokoto
15 nkundu	15 libumu	15 dibumu
16 muntozi	16 motolu	16 ditolu
17 munsopo	17 mosopo	17 mosopo
18 malongo	18 makila	18 malongo
19 mipa	19 masuba	19 mindzo
20 mukua	20 mokua	20 mokua
21 endze/yio	21 loposo	21 ekoto
22 ipapu/mumbamba	22 lipapu	22 dipapo
23 zaala	23 lonsala	23 disala
24 dzeeke	24 liseke	24 manga
25 moyingu	25 mokila	25 dzela
26 moto	26 moto	26 moto
27 lole	27 mobali	27 bole
28 mwazi	28 mwasi	28 momoli
29 same as #27	29 same as #27	29 same as #27
30 mwana	30 mwana	30 mwana
31 nkombo	31 nkombo	31 kombo
32 bolobo	32 likolo	32 ikolo
33 vutu	33 butu	33 butu
34 sanza	34 sanza	34 weli
35 moi	35 moi	35 moi
36 mumpepe	36 mopepe	36 ewulele
37 *enzuku	37 *lipata	37 ---
38 mawuku	38 mamio	38 mamio
39 mbula	39 mbula	39 mbula
40 nsebe	40 mabele	40 sengye
41 nzelo	41 zelo	41 dzelo
42 nzela	42 nzela	42 ndza
43 mai	43 mai	43 mai
44 ebale	44 ebale	44 ebale
45 ndako	45 ndako	45 ndako
46 mweya	46 moto	46 miya
47 bokoi	47 koni	47 koni
48 nzumbele	48 molinga	48 ndzumbele
49 zutukulu	49 mputulu	49 misuwe
50 nsendo	50 mbeli	50 mbo
51 modziki	51 singa	51 mondiki
52 ikongo	52 likongo	52 dikongo

q Impfondo

53 bokulu
 54 nama
 55 mva
 56 mbongo
 57 mbozi
 58 pozi
 59 ndendeki/koba
 60 ndzo
 61 nswe
 62 monvuwa
 63 ik'ei
 64 mwete
 65 ebobolo
 66 dzangu
 67 mondziya
 68 mungwa
 69 madzi
 70 ndzala
 71 ebende
 72 yo
 73 biba
 74 biyato
 75 binei
 76 bitano
 77 motoba
 78 nsambo
 79 mwambi
 80 ivua
 81 dzomi
 82 yaka
 83 zinda
 84 waya
 85 kiti
 86 ak'ei
 87 umvei
 88 owi/bonga
 89 wanda
 90 oswei
 91 sukola
 92 ---
 93 mpenga
 94 liba
 95 *zele
 96 *aola
 97 kunda
 98 tumba/loza
 99 dza
 100 mwa
 101 loa
 102 lete
 103 suedzi
 104 uulola

r Lingala

53 etumba
 54 nama
 55 mbwa
 56 nzoku
 57 taba
 58 ndeke
 59 ndendeke/koba
 60 moseme/poka
 61 mbisi
 62 sili
 63 likei
 64 nzete
 65 eposoyanzete
 66 likasa
 67 mokanga
 68 mongwa
 69 mafuta
 70 nzala
 71 ebende
 72 moko
 73 mibale
 74 misato
 75 minei
 76 mitano
 77 motoba
 78 nsambo
 79 mwambi
 80 libwa
 81 zomi
 82 ayi
 83 atindi
 84 atamboli
 85 akweyi
 86 akei
 87 apumbwe
 88 asopi
 89 abeti
 90 aswi
 91 asosi/asokoli
 92 apasoli
 93 apesi
 94 ayibi
 95 *afini
 96 *aloni
 97 akundi
 98 atumbi
 99 ali
 100 ameli
 101 asanzi
 102 anungi
 103 abwaki
 104 awuleli

s Bongili

53 bita
 54 nama
 55 mbwa
 56 ndzoku
 57 mbodi
 58 poli
 59 ndia
 60 moseme
 61 moswe
 62 mombua
 63 dikei
 64 molange
 65 ebango
 66 dikasi
 67 modi
 68 mongwa
 69 meta
 70 ndzala
 71 bodio
 72 mo
 73 ibale
 74 isato
 75 inai
 76 itano
 77 motoba
 78 sambo
 79 mwambi
 80 libwa
 81 dzomu
 82 ayei
 83 atindi
 84 atamboli
 85 akwei
 86 akei
 87 apumbwei
 88 asowi
 89 abeti
 90 atoi
 91 asosi
 92 abati
 93 apei
 94 ayibi
 95 *aponi
 96 *asali
 97 akundi
 98 atumbi
 99 adzei
 100 anwei
 101 alowi
 102 anwangi
 103 awambiwatei
 104 apupi

q Impfondo

105 lendina
 106 bota
 107 ewei
 108 bomi
 109 pusa
 110 *benda
 111 emba
 112 bete
 113 ---
 114 ndzinge
 115 wo
 116 ayeni
 117 ankinnei
 118 aoki
 119 aneba
 120 tanga
 121 azazi
 122 *nzikye
 123 bompumpu
 124 iyo
 125 elodzi
 126 motema
 127 alangami
 128 atemi
 129 bazibasanza
 130 ibale
 131 mpio
 132 ibongo
 133 nene
 134 nsanda
 135 bokozi
 136 betemai
 137 buduu
 138 sika
 139 mozimi
 140 *ibeke
 141 etondi
 142 ndzai
 143 nde
 144 *molongo
 145 *bosoo
 146 yomi
 147 kunda
 148 evu
 149 bakime
 150 *nfoyande
 151 zapaka
 152 itambe
 153 *etongo
 154 munsoi
 155 dzembo
 156 *aemoi

r Lingala

105 avimbi
 106 aboti
 107 akufi
 108 abomi
 109 apusi
 110 *abendi
 111 ayembi
 112 asani/asakani
 113 abangi
 114 alingi
 115 alobi
 116 amoni
 117 alakisi
 118 ayoki
 119 ayebi
 120 atangi
 121 afandi
 122 *ebele/mingi
 123 mpembe
 124 malamu
 125 molunge
 126 motema
 127 alali
 128 ateleme
 129 mweti
 130 libale
 131 mpio
 132 libolongo
 133 monene
 134 molai
 135 ngomba
 136 anani/abetimai
 137 moyindo
 138 sika
 139 moke
 140 *libanga
 141 etondi
 142 nani
 143 nini
 144 ---
 145 *motani
 146 eyomi
 147 mombuma
 148 mpongi
 149 ponso
 150 *mponanini
 151 likaka
 152 litambe
 153 *mosolo
 154 mosuni
 155 loyembo
 156 *alalimpongi

s Bongili

105 ebimbi
 106 aboti
 107 awei
 108 abomi
 109 asuki
 110 *aloti
 111 ayembi
 112 asani
 113 atili
 114 ayengi
 115 adzoki
 116 ayeni
 117 adikidzi
 118 awoki
 119 ayebi
 120 atangi
 121 adzali
 122 *ikama
 123 epumbu
 124 epongo
 125 yuku
 126 ngbombo
 127 alangami
 128 atemi/alangwei
 129 moto
 130 dibale
 131 pio
 132 dibongo
 133 monene
 134 mosanda
 135 bokoli
 136 abetimai
 137 boyindo
 138 etemu
 139 eki
 140 *diboko
 141 etondi
 142 kani
 143 nde
 144 *milingimilingi
 145 *botelu
 146 ewomi
 147 ebuma
 148 bilo
 149 bakime
 150 *edwande
 151 ditando
 152 dikaso
 153 *mosobo
 154 mosoni
 155 eyembo
 156 *alangamibilo

<u>t Mondongo</u>	<u>u Invele</u>	<u>v Lobala</u>
1 muna	1 muna	1 munoko
2 diso	2 diso	2 ziyo
3 motu	3 moto	3 moto
4 nkuni	4 monkungi	4 munkuntse
5 dino	5 dino	5 zino
6 bolemu	6 elemu	6 lole
7 dzolo	7 dzolo	7 zolo
8 ditoi	8 ditoi	8 ito
9 nkinu	9 nkingo	9 ntšingo
10 dibeke	10 dibeke	10 ibeke
11 ---	11 eboko	11 eboko
12 mund'ali	12 monzali	12 enzasi
13 ekolo	13 ekolo	13 ekolo
14 bokoto	14 dingonzo	14 munyutu
15 dibumu	15 dibumu	15 ibu
16 ditolu	16 ditoli	16 muntolu
17 mokundu	17 mozofu	17 munkundu
18 malonu	18 malongo	18 malongo
19 mind'vo	19 minzo	19 minye
20 mokua	20 mokua	20 mumpu
21 ekoto	21 ekata/ewoso	21 lofo
22 dipapu	22 difafu	22 iɸaɸusa
23 disala	23 disala	23 iyala
24 diseke	24 diseke/mosasa	24 zeembe
25 d'ela	25 mola	25 nwela
26 ---	26 moto	26 moto
27 mumpu	27 mumpu	27 molo
28 munwale	28 momoli	28 nwanwasi
29 same as #27	29 same as #27	29 lele
30 mwana	30 mwana	30 nwana
31 nkombo	31 mboko	31 nkombo
32 busa	32 dzombe	32 ikolo
33 butu	33 dzombi	33 mokolo
34 nsonje	34 nsonje	34 bokombe
35 mui	35 moi	35 moo
36 mumpu	36 bodidi	36 eɸeɸetse
37 ---	37 *kutu	37 *eɸata
38 mamewu	38 mamino	38 maame
39 mbula	39 mbula	39 mbula
40 nsenje	40 nsenje	40 manyete
41 dzole	41 dzole	41 munsendze
42 ndzuya	42 nza	42 nzela
43 mai	43 mai	43 maa
44 ---	44 ebale	44 ebale
45 ndako	45 ndako/bozadi	45 ingambi
46 meya	46 miya	46 nwenya
47 nkoni	47 ekoni	47 nwenzu
48 ndzumbeleke/duwe	48 dzumbele	48 zungu
49 minsuwele	49 misuwe	49 mbutu
50 nsendo/mbaw	50 nsendo/mbaw	50 sendo
51 mondiki	51 mondiki	51 nwimbi
52 ---	52 dikongo	52 ikongo

t Mondongo

53 etumba
 54 nama
 55 mbwa
 56 ndzyoku
 57 mboli
 58 poli
 59 mboko
 60 moseme
 61 nsuwe
 62 mumbuwa
 63 dikei
 64 mundangi
 65 ewoso
 66 disaki/dikasi
 67 mondiya/mosisa
 68 mungwa
 69 mawuta/maita
 70 ndzyala
 71 dibende/ebunu
 72 mo
 73 iba
 74 isato
 75 inai
 76 itano
 77 isamano
 78 nsambo
 79 mwambe
 80 dibuwa
 81 diko
 82 ayei
 83 atindi
 84 atamboli
 85 akoyi
 86 akei
 87 aumboi
 88 asowi
 89 abeti
 90 atowei
 91 alekeli
 92 ---
 93 afei/apedi
 94 ayibi
 95 ---
 96 *atiya
 97 akundi
 98 alodzi
 99 adzei
 100 apoyi
 101 alowi
 102 apeli
 103 atowi
 104 afofi

u Invele

53 ekokele
 54 nama
 55 mbwa
 56 ndzoku
 57 mbodi
 58 poli
 59 nkulu
 60 moseme
 61 nswe
 62 mombvua
 63 dikei
 64 mondange
 65 ewoso
 66 disaki
 67 mokaŋa
 68 mongwa
 69 mauta
 70 nzala
 71 ebunu
 72 mo
 73 ibe
 74 isato
 75 inai
 76 itano
 77 isamano
 78 nsambo
 79 mwambe
 80 dibua
 81 diko
 82 ayeli
 83 atindi
 84 atambuli
 85 akuyi
 86 akei
 87 aumboi
 88 asoi
 89 abeti
 90 atoi
 91 alekedi
 92 atebi
 93 biza
 94 ayibi
 95 *apati
 96 *asali
 97 akundi
 98 atumbi
 99 adzei
 100 anoi
 101 aloi
 102 apwangi
 103 atufi
 104 akisi

v Lobala

53 ebasi
 54 nyama
 55 nva
 56 mbongo
 57 mbosi
 58 nyosi
 59 lende/koba
 60 nzo
 61 swe
 62 mva
 63 itse
 64 nwete
 65 lofolanwete
 66 iyatfi
 67 munƙanga
 68 mokpa
 69 mauta
 70 nzala
 71 ebende
 72 monomo
 73 babale
 74 baato
 75 bane
 76 batano
 77 motoba
 78 sambo
 79 nwambi
 80 ibua
 81 iko
 82 ya
 83 toma
 84 tambula
 85 ka
 86 tsende
 87 fumbwa
 88 sweya
 89 wanda
 90 twa
 91 ---
 92 bola
 93 fe
 94 iba
 95 *ola
 96 *fika
 97 kunda
 98 tumba
 99 za
 100 nywa
 101 lowa
 102 nywanga
 103 towa
 104 ---

t Mondongo

105 atutowi
 106 aboti
 107 awoyi
 108 abomi
 109 asuki
 110 *agboli
 111 ayembi
 112 asaani/abeti
 113 atili
 114 adingi/ayeni
 115 awoyi
 116 ayeni
 117 atei
 118 awoki
 119 ayebi
 120 atani
 121 adzjali
 122 *endzyike
 123 eɸumbu
 124 enongo
 125 ---
 126 mci
 127 alangami
 128 atemi
 129 moto
 130 dibale/diɸuɸa
 131 mpio
 132 dibongo
 133 dinene
 134 disanda
 135 bokoli
 136 asakeli
 137 moyindo
 138 etemu
 139 motʼi
 140 *dibanga
 141 etondi
 142 kani
 143 nde
 144 *bilini
 145 *etelu
 146 ---
 147 kunda
 148 dibamba
 149 banjimi
 150 ---
 151 ntanda
 152 ditambe
 153 *mokeli
 154 mosoni
 155 ---
 156 ---

u Invele

105 abimbela
 106 aboti
 107 awoyi/awoi
 108 abomi
 109 asuki
 110 *abendi
 111 ayembi
 112 asani
 113 abanani
 114 adini
 115 awoi
 116 ayeni
 117 ateyi
 118 awoki
 119 ayebi
 120 atani
 121 adzali
 122 *nzikʼe
 123 eɸumbu
 124 enongo
 125 ---
 126 monzanga
 127 alanami
 128 alangwui
 129 moto
 130 dibale
 131 mpio
 132 dibongo
 133 monene
 134 mosanda
 135 bokodi
 136 abeti
 137 eyindo
 138 etemu
 139 nki
 140 *dikenze
 141 etondi
 142 kani
 143 nde
 144 ---
 145 *etelu
 146 biwomi
 147 mombuma
 148 mbonge
 149 binjime
 150 *ekoenzane
 151 ntanda
 152 ditindi
 153 *mokedi
 154 mosoni
 155 eyembo
 156 *abambi

v Lobala

105 ulwa
 106 bota
 107 wa
 108 boma
 109 uka
 110 *benda
 111 tuba
 112 ana
 113 ila
 114 zinga
 115 wo
 116 wene
 117 teya
 118 oka
 119 eba
 120 tanga
 121 zala
 122 *itʼe
 123 tani
 124 la
 125 mowewe
 126 nte/motema
 127 landza
 128 teme
 129 nyaisisa
 130 ibale
 131 mpiyo
 132 ibongo
 133 nene
 134 anda
 135 ngomba
 136 nyundzela
 137 indo
 138 ---
 139 tʼitʼi
 140 *ibanga
 141 etondi
 142 nza
 143 iye
 144 ---
 145 *ngola
 146 oma
 147 mumbuma
 148 ebu
 149 so
 150 *ɸoyaye
 151 ---
 152 itambe
 153 *moluka
 154 munsoti
 155 zembo
 156 *lalaebu

<u>w</u> Bambenga	<u>x</u> Babenzele	<u>y</u> Yaswa
1 mupwa	1 muna/mupwa	1 nū
2 diso	2 disu	2 li
3 mosoko	3 mosoko	3 dyu
4 mokungya	4 kunga	4 bumo
5 dino	5 dinu	5 nini
6 elemi	6 elemi	6 dembe
7 mio	7 dzyolo	7 dzo
8 loi	8 ditoi	8 dzala
9 kingo	9 kingo	9 nge
10 bele	10 dibebe	10 bole
11 obo	11 eboko	11 kowa
12 ekutu	12 epangu	12 yele
13 oko	13 ekolo	13 nana
14 ngondo	14 dipoko	14 boledo
15 moi	15 moi	15 dya
16 tongu	16 ditongu	16 ko
17 mese	17 mese	17 wadza
18 mwanda	18 malongo	18 gia
19 bipe	19 bipe	19 gyini
20 eβese	20 epese	20 ba
21 ekoto	21 ekata	21 yo
22 bapa	22 ---	22 gbanoy
23 ---	23 disala	23 bumonoy
24 seba	24 diseke	24 dya
25 mbangu	25 mbangu	25 do
26 moto	26 moto	26 wi
27 motopai	27 motopai	27 wowi
28 mweto	28 ---	28 yoko
29 same as #27	29 same as #27	29 mite
30 mona	30 mona	30 bibomi
31 kombo	31 ŋkombo	31 limi
32 βadiko	32 dikolo	32 lisoi
33 epika	33 epika	33 zanze
34 wedi	34 wodi	34 dyei
35 dadi	35 ditadi	35 lisoyi
36 eβoβo	36 mopepe	36 fefu
37 *gondi	37 *didoi	37 *movutu
38 maka	38 maka	38 mbe
39 mbua	39 mbula	39 kolo
40 sopo	40 sopo	40 mbunu
41 genze	41 dzelo	41 dembe
42 nzya	42 ---	42 wala
43 mai	43 ---	43 lyi
44 ebai	44 ---	44 ebale
45 φuma	45 pφuma	45 twa
46 mupa	46 muya	46 wei
47 koni	47 ekoni	47 gwa
48 moi	48 kumbele	48 dyowi
49 mesupe	49 ---	49 bu
50 yobe	50 yobe	50 pou
51 mokodi	51 mokodi	51 pe
52 goŋgo	52 ingala	52 lu

w Bambenga

53 etumba
 54 nama
 55 mbwande
 56 nzoku
 57 mbodi
 58 nodi
 59 kudu
 60 moseme
 61 sui
 62 sidi
 63 gei
 64 mole
 65 ekoko
 66 dʎango
 67 mobungu
 68 mongwa
 69 maadi
 70 nzaa
 71 ebende
 72 moti
 73 biba
 74 bisato
 75 binai
 76 bitano
 77 motoba
 78 sambo
 79 mwambi
 80 dibua
 81 dzomi
 82 aβia
 83 antinda/andwa
 84 antambo
 85 aŋkwa
 86 aβangwa
 87 aβumbwa
 88 asoβa
 89 abimbwa
 90 aŋɣa
 91 asosa
 92 amabanza
 93 makaba
 94 amweiba
 95 *amoΦipe
 96 same as #97
 97 akunda
 98 amwimba
 99 adɣa
 100 aɲwa
 101 alowa
 102 aɲwanga
 103 asema
 104 aΦugɣe

x Babenzele

53 bimbwana
 54 nama
 55 mbwande
 56 ndʎoku
 57 mbodi
 58 nodi
 59 ndia
 60 moseme
 61 soi
 62 mbwa
 63 dikei
 64 molei
 65 ekokolo
 66 dʎango
 67 mobungu
 68 mungwa
 69 maadi
 70 ndʎala
 71 ebanɣa
 72 moti
 73 mibale
 74 bisato
 75 banai
 76 batano
 77 basamano
 78 sambo
 79 mwambe
 80 libwa
 81 diko
 82 ya
 83 dwa
 84 tambola
 85 kwa
 86 dwa
 87 ombwa
 88 ---
 89 bimbula
 90 dzia
 91 lekela
 92 ---
 93 kaba
 94 yiba
 95 ---
 96 *kunda
 97 dua
 98 yimba
 99 dzya
 100 ɲwa
 101 luwa
 102 pela
 103 sema
 104 kowa

y Yaswa

53 bilo
 54 na
 55 to
 56 Φolo
 57 mbodi
 58 noyi
 59 tana
 60 ngo
 61 koyo
 62 gbise
 63 mbumo
 64 te
 65 kɔkɔte
 66 mwa
 67 kute
 68 to
 69 nō
 70 wo
 71 ebende
 72 sikino
 73 weli
 74 taa
 75 naa
 76 moko
 77 mokɔnesikino
 78 mokɔneweli
 79 mokɔnetaa
 80 mokɔnenaa
 81 buko
 82 peneke
 83 enekitose
 84 nenano
 85 tee
 86 eneki
 87 bulo
 88 gwase
 89 lo
 90 ba
 91 dʎwali
 92 bade
 93 hami
 94 dʎu
 95 *obede
 96 *podemo
 97 gumo
 98 awey
 99 nōmo
 100 nō
 101 ɔle
 102 abole
 103 sowu
 104 peo

w Bambenga

105 ambimba
 106 abota
 107 amowa
 108 amola
 109 asindya
 110 *abenda
 111 aemba
 112 asana
 113 ambia
 114 andinga
 115 aβoβa
 116 anta
 117 andikidye
 118 amoka
 119 amweba
 120 antanga
 121 andya
 122 *bike
 123 bumbu
 124 epe
 125 yuku
 126 mwema
 127 andwapeme
 128 amodzama/amofwanga
 129 mweti
 130 bai
 131 pio
 132 bongo
 133 bole
 134 molai
 135 kenga
 136 asakela
 137 moβindo
 138 sika
 139 esoni
 140 *mweke
 141 eamonda
 142 bane
 143 boi
 144 ---
 145 *etele
 146 maoma
 147 ebuma
 148 dongi
 149 bese
 150 *mondoai
 151 dando
 152 dambi
 153 *mosobo
 154 moneke
 155 ---
 156 *amola

x Babenzele

105 ---
 106 botane
 107 wa
 108 wola
 109 suka
 110 *benda
 111 yemba
 112 sana
 113 tila
 114 dinga
 115 pφopa
 116 mota
 117 pφedye
 118 oka
 119 yeba
 120 tanga
 121 ---
 122 *mingi
 123 mpembe
 124 nabonongo
 125 ---
 126 mbombo
 127 ---
 128 ---
 129 wodi
 130 mapφupa
 131 kapio
 132 dibongo
 133 bole
 134 disanda
 135 kenga
 136 sakela
 137 epindo
 138 itemu
 139 esoni
 140 *ebuke
 141 ---
 142 bane
 143 bwe
 144 ---
 145 *etedu
 146 mbuba
 147 ---
 148 ---
 149 bekima
 150 ---
 151 ---
 152 ---
 153 *ndzya
 154 ---
 155 ---
 156 ---

y Yaswa

105 haa
 106 yokobea
 107 fee
 108 be
 109 idi
 110 *dade
 111 begema
 112 desa
 113 keyi
 114 migwame
 115 miwelamo
 116 dyo
 117 dyomoko
 118 dyemo
 119 miino
 120 tomo
 121 dunu
 122 *nedyo
 123 mōbubu
 124 dede
 125 bakakamo
 126 lisia
 127 nanu
 128 kungo
 129 kesa
 130 bungudu
 131 gamo
 132 dyigolo
 133 mbante
 134 bobo
 135 ngadi
 136 loli
 137 bonetuo
 138 mōmbemo
 139 tokodomo
 140 *ta
 141 donja
 142 oyo
 143 ge
 144 *bomili
 145 *bonefeya
 146 osa
 147 gumbisa
 148 lila
 149 onepele
 150 *yelemoge
 151 ko
 152 donaja
 153 *ngbali
 154 nō
 155 gema
 156 *mimwa

Table 1

Percentages of Apparent Cognates
(Bomitaba Villages)

	BOMITABA
a Toukoulaka	
99 d Mbanza	
98 99 b Bene	
97 98 94 e Bondeko	
93 95 93 94 c Mboua	
94 93 92 95 88 f Mokengui	
92 94 89 94 89 95 g Matoko	
91 93 91 94 89 94 100 h Kanio	
92 94 90 93 90 92 94 94 i Liouesso	
90 92 89 94 90 92 95 95 97 j Botala	
78 81 79 81 79 80 80 81 82 85 k Boleke	
83 85 82 84 80 85 85 86 83 83 85 l Epena	
78 81 79 81 77 81 83 82 80 80 82 93 m Bossela	
79 79 77 80 76 82 82 81 78 79 79 93 93 n Koundoumou	
80 80 78 81 76 83 83 82 79 80 80 94 93 100 o Ibolo	
64 67 65 66 65 66 66 67 65 66 70 75 73 75 76 p Itanga	

Variances

	BOMITABA
a Toukoulaka	
1.0 d Mbanza	
1.4 1.0 b Bene	
1.7 1.4 2.4 e Bondeko	
3.0 2.5 3.0 2.8 c Mboua	
2.1 2.3 2.5 1.9 3.5 f Mokengui	
2.5 2.1 2.9 2.1 3.4 1.7 g Matoko	
2.9 2.6 3.0 2.4 3.8 2.1 0.0 h Kanio	
2.7 2.4 3.1 2.6 3.6 2.5 2.1 2.4 i Liouesso	
2.7 2.5 2.9 2.1 3.2 2.2 1.7 2.0 1.5 j Botala	
4.6 4.3 4.5 4.2 5.2 3.9 3.9 4.3 4.1 3.4 k Boleke	
3.6 3.4 3.7 3.5 4.5 3.0 3.0 3.3 3.6 3.2 3.4 l Epena	
5.0 4.6 4.9 4.6 6.0 4.1 3.9 4.5 4.7 4.2 4.5 2.5 m Bossela	
4.5 4.5 4.7 4.4 5.6 3.7 3.7 4.3 4.6 4.0 4.5 2.3 2.8 n Koundoumou	
4.3 4.4 4.6 4.2 5.6 3.6 3.6 4.1 4.5 3.9 4.4 2.1 2.8 0.0 o Ibolo	
5.2 5.0 5.2 5.1 6.1 4.6 4.5 5.1 5.2 4.5 4.8 3.9 5.0 4.4 4.3 p Itanga	

Table 2

Percentages of Apparent Cognates
(Babole Villages)

w	Bambenga														
49	r	Lingala													
51	61	s	Bongili												
46	59	69	g	Matoko											
44	58	67	85	l	Epena										
45	52	58	66	75	p	Itanga									
44	46	50	52	55	69		B Dzeke				BABOLE				
42	41	48	50	53	67		91	A Mounda							
42	40	45	47	52	63		91	87	C Edzama						
41	40	46	47	50	62		90	86	96	D Kinami					
40	38	44	45	49	59		88	84	92	95	E Botongo				
41	40	45	49	52	60		89	84	89	89	91	F Mossengue			
41	40	43	50	53	59		88	83	87	87	89	95	G Bouanila		
41	41	44	49	52	59		88	82	88	90	89	95	95	H Ebambe	

Variances

w	Bambenga														
6.0	r	Lingala													
7.4	4.7	s	Bongili												
7.0	4.4	4.8	g	Matoko											
7.1	4.4	5.0	3.0	l	Epena										
7.1	4.7	5.6	4.5	3.9	p	Itanga									
7.2	5.0	6.2	5.4	5.3	4.4		B Dzeke				BABOLE				
9.1	6.5	7.8	6.9	6.7	5.6		2.9	A Mounda							
8.6	6.3	7.6	6.7	6.4	5.6		2.8	4.1	C Edzama						
8.7	6.2	7.5	6.7	6.5	5.7		2.9	4.2	2.1	D Kinami					
8.7	6.3	7.7	6.8	6.6	5.9		3.2	4.5	2.9	2.3	E Botongo				
8.6	6.3	7.6	6.6	6.4	5.8		3.1	4.5	3.4	3.4	3.1	F Mossengue			
8.6	6.2	7.7	6.5	6.3	5.9		3.2	4.6	3.7	3.7	3.4	2.3	G Bouanila		
8.7	6.2	7.7	6.6	6.4	5.9		3.2	4.7	3.6	3.3	3.4	2.3	2.3	H Ebambe	

Table 3
 Percentages of Apparent Cognates
 (Other Languages)

B Dzeke											
55	l	Epena									
52	85	g	Matoko								
54	85	80	k	Boleke							
51	70	70	70	:	q	Impfondo					OTHERS
50	67	69	69	:	65	s	Bongili				
47	67	65	68	:	67	81	t	Mondongo			
46	64	63	66	:	64	80	84	u	Inyele		
49	66	66	71	:	64	62	67	65	v	Lobala	
46	58	59	58	:	58	61	57	61	61	r	Lingala
38	50	51	50	:	50	56	60	56	48	43	x Babenzele
44	44	46	45	:	46	51	47	50	43	49	71 w Bambenga
9	8	8	10	:	11	8	9	8	10	6	9 8 y Yaswa

Variations

B Dzeke											
5.3	l	Epena									
5.4	3.0	g	Matoko								
6.0	3.4	3.9	k	Boleke							
6.2	4.8	4.8	5.4	:	q	Impfondo					OTHERS
6.2	5.0	4.8	5.4	:	5.8	s	Bongili				
7.2	5.6	5.8	6.2	:	6.3	4.7	t	Mondongo			
7.0	5.7	5.8	6.2	:	6.4	4.8	4.8	u	Inyele		
5.0	4.0	4.0	4.2	:	4.6	4.7	5.0	5.0	v	Lobala	
5.0	4.4	4.4	4.9	:	4.9	4.7	5.6	5.2	3.8	r	Lingala
8.1	7.2	7.2	8.1	:	8.1	7.5	8.0	8.3	6.5	6.8	x Babenzele
7.2	7.1	7.0	7.9	:	7.9	7.4	8.7	8.3	6.4	6.0	6.7 w Bambenga
9.0	8.9	9.3	10.2	:	10.3	9.9	11.4	10.9	8.0	7.9	12.0 10.9 y Yaswa

APPENDIX D
RECORDED STORIES

Epena: Recorded at: Epena-Centre Date: 26/7/89
Linguist: Myles Leitch
Informant: --- Age: ~45
Birthplace: Epena-Centre, district of Epena
Residence: Epena-Centre

Matoko: Recorded at: Impfondo Date: 25/7/89
Linguist: William Gardner
Informant: Eugène Mowawa Age: 57
Birthplace: Matoko, district of Epena
Residence: Impfondo

Mokengui: Recorded at: Impfondo Date: 25/7/89
Linguist: William Gardner
Informant: Jean-Bruno Bobotenzey Age: 41
Birthplace: Mokengui, district of Epena
Residence: Impfondo

Toukoulaka: Recorded at: Impfondo Date: 27/7/89
Linguist: William Gardner
Informant: Maurice Bosibe Age: 46
Birthplace: Toukoulaka, district of Epena
Residence: Impfondo

Epena

Un jour je me suis rendu en brousse avec mon oncle. (1) On a marché sur la plaine avant d'entrer dans une forêt. On a marché dans la forêt jusqu'à en sortir sur une autre plaine. On a traversé la plaine pour rentrer dans une autre forêt. (2) Arrivés à un certain endroit nous avons rencontré un boa qui avait attrapé une antilope. (3) L'oncle voulait tirer sur le boa; je lui ai dit de ne pas le tuer, pour nous permettre de voir comment le boa procède pour avaler une antilope. (4) Nous nous sommes arrêtés. Le boa a attrapé l'antilope, il l'a serrée fort. Il a pressé, pressé. Maintenant il a avalé l'antilope. (5) Après avoir assisté à cette scène, j'ai demandé à l'oncle qu'on le tue, et on l'a tué. Après l'avoir tué, l'oncle l'a coupé en petits morceaux. On a pris les deux gibiers dépecés et on les a déposés. (6)

On a continué à marcher dans la forêt. Nous avons suivi des chimpanzés qui jouaient. (7) Nous avons avancé à pas feutrés sur une bonne distance, jusqu'à ce que ... nous soyons arrivés. Nous avons trouvé les chimpanzés en train de récolter du miel. (8) Nous sommes arrêtés là et on a beaucoup ri à tout casser. (9) Chaque chimpanzé allait récolter le miel à tour de rôle. Chacun mettait sa main et prenait son gâteau. Lorsque les abeilles les agressaient ils descendaient pour rester au sol, après ils revenaient pour le miel. Chacun mettait la main dans le trou là. (10) Et ensuite, après avoir contemplé on a tiré et l'oncle a abattu un chimpanzé. Nous l'avons dépecé. Nous sommes allés prendre le boa et l'antilope. Nous les avons transportés et on est arrivé au village.

Moi, j'avais envie des intestins du chimpanzé. (11) Je les ai pris, je les ai lavés, je les ai préparés. Les intestins étaient cuits

et j'ai mangé. J'ai senti que les intestins étaient sucrés. J'ai pris, j'ai donné aux autres qui ont aussi essayé, ils ont constaté que les intestins étaient sucrés. (12)

Questions et Réponses pour l'histoire d'Epena

1. Qui est allé avec lui? Son oncle.
2. Où est-ce qu'ils sont allés? Dans une forêt/en brousse.
3. Qu'est-ce qu'ils ont rencontré? Un python/boa et une antilope.
4. Pourquoi est-ce qu'ils n'ont pas tué le boa tout de suite? Parce qu'ils voulaient voir ce que le boa ferait.
5. Qu'est-ce que le boa a fait? Il a avalé l'antilope.
6. Qu'est-ce qu'ils ont fait avec les animaux? Ils les ont coupés en petits morceaux et ont déposé les gibiers.
7. Maintenant qu'est-ce qu'ils ont suivi? Des chimpanzés qui jouaient.
8. Qu'est-ce que les chimpanzés faisaient? Ils récoltaient du miel.
9. Qu'est-ce que les hommes ont fait? Ils se sont arrêtés et ont beaucoup ri.
10. Comment est-ce que les chimpanzés récoltaient le miel? Ils mettaient les mains dans le trou, descendaient quand les abeilles les agressaient, et remontaient.
11. Qu'est-ce que l'homme voulait manger? Les intestins du chimpanzé.
12. Comment était le goût des intestins? Ils étaient sucrés.

Matoko

C'est une histoire qui est déjà passée il y a longtemps. Aujourd'hui je voudrais parler pour que vous compreniez ce qui s'est passé. Un jour je suis parti dans la forêt pour chercher des animaux. (1) Et puis avec le fusil je suis entré dans la forêt et j'ai vu des singes qui sautaient. (2) J'ai mis la cartouche dans le fusil et j'ai tiré. Le singe est tombé par terre. Quand il est tombé, j'ai ramassé un bout de bois, je l'ai tapé sur la tête, il est mort. (3) Quand il est mort, je l'ai pris, et je l'ai laissé quelque part. Quand je l'ai laissé, je suis allé chercher d'autres. (4) Quand je suis allé chercher, après je suis rentré pour le prendre. J'ai voulu déchirer la queue du singe pour faire passer la tête, pour pouvoir porter le singe en allant sur la grande route. (5) Quand j'ai ramassé la queue, il a relevé la tête, il n'est pas mort, il a attrapé mon pied. Et puis il m'a mordu au mollet. (6) J'ai pris mon bras, j'ai attrapé le cou du singe. Maintenant j'ai pris mon couteau et commencé à percer le singe au coeur. (7)

Quand j'ai poussé le couteau sur le coeur, il m'a laissé et il est parti pour rester debout là-bas. (8) J'ai pris le fusil, j'étais assis, j'ai tiré la cartouche. Quand j'ai tiré, il est tombé sur la terre. (9) J'ai cherché le moyen pour aller le prendre, le sang coulait sur mes pieds. Je me mets debout, je marche sur mes fesses pour aller chercher le singe. (10) J'ai attaché mon pied avec le tissu. (11) Quand j'ai attaché le pied, j'ai marché doucement sur la route. C'était bien que j'avais amené le vélo. Je suis monté à vélo pour aller jusqu'au village. Quand je suis arrivé au village, le sang coulait beaucoup. J'ai perdu connaissance. Et puis on m'a pris pour aller avec moi à

l'hôpital. (12) L'infirmier là s'appelait Kodia. Il m'a injecté, il m'a cousu, après c'était fini.

Questions et Réponses pour l'histoire de Matoko

1. Pourquoi est-il allé dans la forêt? Pour chercher des animaux.
2. Qu'est-ce qu'il a vu? Des singes qui sautaient.
3. Qu'est-ce qu'il a fait au singe? Il a tiré sur lui et il lui a tapé sur la tête avec un bout de bois.
4. Maintenant qu'est-ce qu'il a fait? Il a laissé le singe pour aller chercher d'autres animaux.
5. Qu'est-ce que l'homme a voulu faire? Déchirer la queue du singe pour faire passer la tête afin de pouvoir le porter.
6. Qu'est-ce que le singe a fait? Il l'a mordu au mollet (jambe).
7. Qu'est-ce qu'il a fait maintenant au singe? Il l'a percé au coeur avec son couteau.
8. Qu'est-ce que le singe a fait? Il l'a laissé, il est parti là-bas.
9. Enfin qu'est-ce qu'il a fait au singe? Il a tiré sur lui et l'a tué.
10. Comment allait l'homme après avoir été mordu par le singe?
Beaucoup de sang coulait de son corps / il est devenu faible.
11. Qu'est-ce qu'il a fait quand le sang coulait? Il a attaché son pied avec un tissu.
12. Au village qu'est-ce qui lui est arrivé? Il a perdu connaissance, et on l'a amené a l'hôpital.

Mokengui

Mon nom d'abord est Babote nze. Il y avait un jour la matinée je suis allé faire la chasse à Memeke. Quand je suis parti, je suis entré dans le canal. (1) J'ai pagaillé sur une longue distance, j'ai fait accoster la pirogue. Quand j'ai accosté, j'ai pris le fusil, la cartouchière, le couteau. (2) Après, je suis parti dans la forêt par la grande route. J'ai entendu des gorilles en train de crier et je me suis assuré que c'était bien des gorilles. (3) Il me faut suivre ces gorilles. Je suis parti et arrivé à quelque mètres d'eux, je les entendais en train de casser les arbres. (4) J'ai commencé à trembler. Je me suis préparé en mettant les cartouches dans le fusil. Les gorilles passaient, j'ai étudié leur position. (5) Il faut que je commence à tirer sur le mâle parce qu'il était trop méchant.

Quand je suis passé pour le voir, il était assis au pied de l'arbre. (6) Il me tournait le dos, j'ai dit, si je lui tire sur le dos il ne va pas mourir. (7) Il faut que je tourne un peu. Il a voulu lever son bras pour monter. Je lui ai tiré sous l'épaule (l'aisselle). (8) Il est tombé à terre en courant. Je l'ai suivi, il est allé monter sur un autre arbre. (9) J'ai encore tiré un autre coup. Il n'était pas encore mort, il est monté sur un autre arbre. Je me suis tourné, j'ai mis une balle de double zero. Il est venu me regarder dans les yeux. J'ai tiré sur ses yeux. (10) Il est tombé mort. J'ai dit merci Dieu: j'ai eu un animal à manger.

J'ai ramassé le gorille pour le dépecer. Le gorille avait tant de graisse qu'on ne pouvait le boire. J'ai fabriqué un panier. J'ai appelé l'enfant qui était avec moi. Nous avons fait des paniers, nous l'avons transporté jusqu'au village. (11) En tout cas j'étais très content

parce que j'avais tué un gorille. La chasse avait été très bonne pour moi. (12)

Questions et Réponses pour l'histoire de Mokengui

1. Où est-ce qu'il est entré? Dans le canal.
2. Qu'est-ce qu'il a pris? Le fusil, la cartouchière, le couteau.
3. Qu'est-ce qu'il a entendu? Des gorilles.
4. Qu'est-ce que les gorilles faisaient? Cassaient des arbres.
5. Comment s'est-il préparé? Il a mis des cartouches dans le fusil et a étudié la position des gorilles.
6. Où était le gorille? Assis au pied d'un arbre.
7. Pourquoi est-ce qu'il n'a pas tiré? Parce que s'il avait tiré sur le dos, il ne mourait pas.
8. Où est-ce qu'il l'a tiré? Sous l'épaule (l'aisselle).
9. Qu'est-ce que le gorille a fait? Il est monté sur un autre arbre.
10. Maintenant où est-ce qu'il a tiré? Sur les yeux du gorille.
11. Qu'est-ce qu'il a fabriqué? Un panier pour transporter le gorille.
12. Pourquoi était-il si content? Parce qu'il avait tué un gorille.

Toukoulaka

C'est moi Ngebo. Je parle à propos des travaux de ma maison. J'avais remarqué que la maison était gaspillée. (1) Maintenant que la maison est gaspillée, que dois-je faire? J'ai cherché une personne. Je lui ai demandé de m'accompagner sur la route d'Epena pour couper du bois de la maison. Oui, je peux aller couper du bois sur la route d'Epena. (2) Entendons-nous sur le prix pour 150 bois. Cette personne a accepté. Bon, nous sommes partis ensemble avec lui à pied jusqu'à l'arrivée. (3) Nous sommes entrés au lieu. Nous devons chercher du bois dur. (4) Le bois de ma maison ne doit pas être du bois fragile. Il faut couper du bois dur, pour que la maison dure longtemps. (5)

Tout en choisissant du bois dur, il a raté le bois, la hache est tombée sur son pied, et il s'est blessé. (6) Ah, au cours du travail-là il a eu un accident. Comment encore un accident? Qu'est-ce qu'on va faire? Je l'ai amené doucement. Nous sommes sortis sur la route. Nous attendons le camion de la RNTP qui était passé en direction d'Epena. A son retour je vais l'arrêter. (7) Jusque là le travail n'était pas fini. Le nombre de poteaux n'était pas atteint. Nous sommes restés là pendant longtemps, on a vu arriver le camion au retour du travail. (8) J'ai arrêté le camion. Je leur ai dit que la personne qui m'avait accompagné s'est blessé pendant le travail. (9) Vous devez l'amener. Ils m'ont compris et nous ont pris jusqu'au village.

Arrivés au village on nous a dit: Pourquoi est-ce que vous êtes revenus très tôt? (10) Nous sommes revenus parce que l'autre a eu un accident. Nous sommes descendus. Après je l'ai amené à l'hôpital. A l'hôpital il a reçu un pansement. (11) Je voulais repartir. Après l'hôpital nous sommes revenus à la maison. (12)

Questions et Réponses pour l'histoire de Toukoulaka

1. Comment était la maison? Elle était gaspillée.
2. Qui est-ce qu'il a cherché et pourquoi? Quelqu'un pour chercher du bois avec lui.
3. Comment sont-ils allés au lieu? A pied.
4. Il avait besoin de quelle qualité de bois? Du bois dur.
5. Pourquoi est-ce qu'il avait besoin du bois dur? Pour que sa maison dure longtemps.
6. Qu'est-ce qui s'est passé quand ils coupaient le bois? Un d'eux s'est blessé au pied avec la hache.
7. Qu'est-ce qu'ils ont décidé de faire? Ils vont attendre le camion de la RNTP à son retour d'Epena.
8. Pendant combien de temps est-ce qu'ils sont restés sur le chemin? Pendant longtemps.
9. Qu'est qu'il a demandé au chauffeur? De les amener au village.
10. Qu'est qu'on leur a demandé à leur arrivée au village? Pourquoi êtes-vous rentrés si tôt?
11. Qu'est-ce qu'on a fait au malade à l'hôpital? Il a reçu un pansement.
12. Où est-ce qu'ils sont allés après l'hôpital? A la maison.

Table 4.--Scores on Recorded Stories

Site	Sex	#	Age	Epena	Matoko	Mokengui	Toukoulaka	
Itanga	M	1	59	12	11	12	12	
	M	2	50	12	11	12	12	
	M	3	49	12	12	12	12	
	M	4	42	12	12	12	12	
	M	5	41	--	--	--	--	
	M	Average		12	100%	11.5 96%	12 100%	12 100%
		st. dev.		0	0%	.58 4.8%	0 0%	0 0%
	F	1	70+	12	12	12	12	
	F	2	70	12	12	11	12	
	F	3	50	11	12	11	12	
	F	4	46	12	12	12	12	
	F	5	41	12	12	12	12	
	F	Average		11.8 98%	12 100%	11.6 97%	12 100%	
		st. dev.		.45 3.7%	0 0%	.55 4.6%	0 0%	
	All Average		11.9 99%	11.8 98%	11.8 98%	12 100%		
	st. dev.		.33 2.8%	.44 3.7%	.44 3.7%	0 0%		
Epena	M	1	48	12	12	12	12	
	M	2	35	12	12	12	12	
	M	3	29	--	--	--	--	
	M	4	18	12	12	12	12	
	M	5	18	12	11	12	12	
	M	Average		12 100%	11.8 98%	12 100%	12 100%	
		st. dev.		0 0%	.50 4.2%	0 0%	0 0%	
	F	1	60+	12	10	12	12	
	F	2	51	12	12	10	12	
	F	3	36	10	12	12	12	
	F	4	22	12	12	11	12	
	F	5	17	12	12	12	12	
	F	Average		11.6 97%	11.6 97%	11.4 95%	12 100%	
		st. dev.		.89 7.5%	.89 7.5%	.89 7.5%	0 0%	
	All Average		11.8 98%	11.7 97%	11.7 97%	12 100%		
	st. dev.		.67 5.6%	.71 5.9%	.71 5.9%	0 0%		
Matoko	M	1	49	12	12	12	11	
	M	2	45	12	12	11	12	
	M	3	41	12	12	12	12	
	M	4	31	12	12	12	12	
	M	5	25	12	12	12	12	
	M	Average		12 100%	12 100%	11.8 98%	11.8 98%	
		st. dev.		0 0%	0 0%	.45 3.7%	.45 3.7%	
	F	1	17	12	12	11	12	
	F	2	15	8	12	7	12	
	F	Average		10.0 83%	12 100%	9.0 75%	12 100%	
		st. dev.		2.8 24%	0 0%	2.8 24%	0 0%	
		All Average		11.4 95%	12 100%	11.0 92%	11.9 99%	
		st. dev.		1.5 13%	0 0%	1.8 15%	.38 3.2%	

Table 4.--Scores on Recorded Stories (cont.)

Site	Sex	#	Age	Epena	Matoko	Mokengui	Toukoulaka				

Mokengui	M	1	51	12	12	12	12				
	M	2	50	12	12	12	12				
	M	3	32	11	12	12	12				
	M	4	30	11	12	12	12				
	M	5	24	9	12	10	12				
	M	Average		11.0	92%	12	100%	11.6	97%	12	100%
		st. dev.		1.2	10%	0	0%	.89	7.5%	0	0%
	F	1	35	12	12	12	12				
	F	2	27	12	12	12	12				
	F	3	24	8	12	11	12				
	F	4	20	11	12	12	12				
	F	5	19	8	11	12	12				
	F	Average		10.2	85%	11.8	98%	11.8	98%	12	100%
		st. dev.		2.0	17%	.45	3.7%	.45	3.7%	0	0%
	All	Average		10.6	88%	11.9	99%	11.7	98%	12	100%
	st. dev.		1.6	14%	.32	2.6%	.68	5.6%	0	0%	

Bondeko	M	1	71	11	12	12	12				
	M	2	55	12	12	12	12				
	M	3	50	12	12	10	12				
	M	4	25	12	12	12	12				
	M	5	15	7	12	11	12				
	M	Average		10.8	90%	12	100%	11.4	95%	12	100%
		st. dev.		2.2	18%	0	0%	.89	7.5%	0	0%
	F	1	77	12	12	12	12				
	F	2	59	11	12	12	12				
	F	3	55	10	11	12	12				
	F	4	49	9	10	--	12				
	F	5	20	10	11	12	12				
	F	Average		10.6	88%	11.2	93%	12	100%	12	100%
		st. dev.		1.1	9.5%	.84	7.0%	0	0%	0	0%
	All	Average		10.7	89%	11.6	97%	11.7	97%	12	100%
	st. dev.		1.6	14%	.70	5.8%	.71	5.9%	0	0%	

Botala	M	1	73	11	12	12	12				
	M	2	69	12	12	12	12				
	M	3	61	12	12	12	12				
	M	4	50	12	12	12	12				
	M	5	23	10	12	12	11				
	M	Average		11.4	95%	12	100%	12	100%	11.8	98%
		st. dev.		.89	7.5%	0	0%	0	0%	.45	3.7%
	F	1	49	12	12	12	12				
	F	2	44	10	12	11	12				
	F	3	40	10	12	12	12				
	F	Average		10.7	89%	12	100%	11.7	97%	12	100%
		st. dev.		1.2	9.6%	0	0%	.58	4.8%	0	0%
	All	Average		11.1	93%	12	100%	11.9	99%	11.9	99%
		st. dev.		.99	8.3%	0	0%	.35	3.0%	.45	3.0%

Table 4.--Scores on Recorded Stories (cont.)

Site	Sex #	Age	Epena	Matoko	Mokengui	Toukoulaka	
Boleke	M	1	60+	12	12	12	12
	M	2	60+	12	12	12	11
	M	3	48	12	12	10	12
	M	4	33	8	12	12	10
	M	5	27	12	12	12	11
	M	6	23	11	12	11	11
	M	Average		11.8 98%	12 100%	11.5 96%	11.2 93%
		st. dev.		1.6 13%	0 0%	.84 7.0%	.75 6.3%
	F	1	60+	5 42%	12 100%	11 92%	12 100%
		All Average		10.3 86%	12 100%	11.4 95%	11.3 94%
	st. dev.		2.8 23%	0 0%	.79 6.6%	.76 6.3%	
Overall	Males (34)		11.4 95%	11.9 99%	11.7 98%	11.8 98%	
	st. dev.		1.2 10%	.29 2.4%	.62 5.2%	.48 4.0%	
	Females (20)		10.7 89%	11.7 98%	11.4 95%	12 100%	
	st. dev.		1.8 15%	.60 5.0%	1.1 9%	0 0%	
	50-77 yrs (22)		11.4 95%	11.8 98%	11.7 97%	12 100%	
	st. dev.		1.5 13%	.53 4.4%	.65 5.4%	.21 1.8%	
	30-49 yrs (20)		11.3 94%	11.9 99%	11.8 98%	11.9 99%	
	st. dev.		1.2 10%	.45 3.7%	.54 4.5%	.49 4.1%	
	15-29 yrs (18)		10.6 88%	11.8 98%	11.3 94%	11.8 99%	
	st. dev.		1.8 15%	.38 3.2%	1.2 10%	.38 3.2%	
Everyone (60)		11.1 93%	11.8 98%	11.6 97%	11.9 99%		
st. dev.		1.5 13%	.46 3.8%	.85 7.1%	.37 3.1%		

Summary of Scores (%) by Location

Location	Epena (M/F)	Matoko (M/F)	Mokengui(M/F)	Toukoulaka(M/F)
Itanga	99 (100/98)	98 (96/100)	98 (100/97)	100 (100/100)
Epena	98 (100/97)	97 (98/97)	97 (100/95)	100 (100/100)
Matoko	95 (100/83)	100 (100/100)	92 (98/75)	99 (98/100)
Mokengui	88 (92/85)	99 (100/98)	98 (97/98)	100 (100/100)
Bondeko	89 (90/88)	97 (100/93)	97 (95/100)	100 (100/100)
Botala	93 (95/89)	100 (100/100)	99 (100/97)	99 (98/100)
Boleke	86 (98/42)	100 (100/100)	95 (96/92)	94 (93/100)

APPENDIX E
 SOCIOLINGUISTIC QUESTIONNAIRES

Included here are the village and individual questionnaires, in French, that were used in the survey, followed by an English translation of the individual questionnaire, along with a complete tally of the results. First, a copy is included of the signup list given to the chief or committee in each village, for five men and five women to participate by answering the individual questionnaire, listening to the recorded stories and answering the questions.

Signup List for Recorded Stories and Questionnaires

Nom du Village _____

Les personnes qui vont écouter les histoires et répondre aux questions:

Hommes	Né(e)	Agé(e)	Femmes
1. _____	avant 1945	45 ans ou plus	1. _____
2. _____	entre 1945 et 1954	de 35 à 44 ans	2. _____
3. _____	entre 1955 et 1959	de 30 à 34 ans	3. _____
4. _____	entre 1960 et 1969	de 20 à 29 ans	4. _____
5. _____	entre 1970 et 1974	de 15 à 19 ans	5. _____

Village Questionnaire

Enquête Dialectale du District d'Epena
Renseignements Généraux sur le Village

Nom du Village: _____

Nom de l'Informateur: _____

Rôle de l'Informateur: _____

Sexe: _____ Age: _____

Nom du Chercheur: _____

Date: _____

Général (de la Monographie)

Population:	Masculins	Feminins
-------------	-----------	----------

0-17

18-64

65+

Total	_____	_____
-------	-------	-------

de foyers _____

Campement de Pygmées? oui/non # _____

Ecole? oui/non Jusqu'à: _____

Dispensaire? oui/non

Eglise(s)? oui/non _____, _____, _____

Vous vous appelez comment ici (quelle ethnie)? _____

D'autres ethnies au village? _____

Votre nom pour la langue parlée au village: _____

L'exode Rurale

Est-ce que les jeunes quittent souvent le village? _____

Garçons seulement? _____ Des filles aussi? _____

Où est-ce qu'ils vont? _____

Est-ce qu'ils restent longtemps là-bas? _____

Est-ce qu'ils reviennent au village pour s'installer? _____

Combien de jeunes ont quitté le village pendant les douze derniers mois
(la dernière année)? _____

Education

d'enfants du village

Année	en primaire (où?)		au collège (où?)		au lycée (où?)	
	M	F	M	F	M	F

1988

1987

1986

1985

1984

1983

1982

1981

1980

Quelles sont les attitudes des vieux envers l'éducation?

Usage des Langues

Qui parle seulement le patois? _____

Qui sont les meilleurs locuteurs du patois? _____

Est-ce que les jeunes qui sont hors du village continuent à bien parler la langue de ce village? _____

Est-ce que les hommes adultes de ce village mélangent les langues?

mots français dans les discours bomitaba? _____

mots lingala dans les discours bomitaba? _____

mots français dans les discours lingala? _____

Les femmes? _____

Les jeunes? _____

Les enfants? _____

Est-ce que vous parlerez bomitaba ici dans 25 ans? _____

Dans 50 ans? _____

Est-ce que le lingala va remplacer le bomitaba comme langue de ce village? _____

Vous parlez quelle langue aux cas suivants?

Comité du Parti? _____

Au foyer? _____

Les hommes à la pêche? _____

Les jeunes entre eux? _____

Jeunes de 15 ans aux parents? _____

Parents aux jeunes de 15 ans? _____

Réunion des notables du village? _____

Mobilité / Echanges / Contacts / Economie

Contacts fréquents avec quels villages: _____

Raisons des contacts: _____

Est-ce que vous avez jumelage avec d'autres villages?

Le(s)quel(s)? _____

Echanges de produits avec quels villages: _____

Quels sont les produits du village que vous vendez à d'autres?

Vous les vendez où? _____

Quelle(s) langue(s) sont utilisée(s) avec les membres des autres
villages? _____

Les hommes travaillent-ils hors du village? _____

*Les ancêtres de ce village sont venus d'où? (Montrez sur la carte)

Individual Questionnaire

Enquête Dialectale du Bomitaba du Nord

Questionnaire Personnel

Age ____ Sexe ____ Village _____ Langue _____

Niveau Scolaire: Primaire (CP / CE / CM), Collège, Lycée, Supérieur

Résidence Actuelle _____ Village d'origine _____

Langue de la mère _____ Village de la mère _____

Langue du père _____ Village du père _____

Langue du conjoint(e) _____ Village du conjoint(e) _____

Occupation: _____

De longs séjours hors du village? (Epena? Impfondo? autre?) _____

Intelligibilité:

Pt de Réf _____	Pt de Réf _____	Pt de Réf _____
1.	1.	1.
2.	2.	2.
3.	3.	3.
4.	4.	4.
5.	5.	5.
6.	6.	6.
7.	7.	7.
8.	8.	8.
9.	9.	9.
10.	10.	10.
11.	11.	11.
12.	12.	12.

Des Villages du District d'Epena

Villages	Compréhension			Mobilité		Parentés	
	Sim	Int	Chang	Dest	Durée	Epoux	Autres
Minganga	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Toukoulaka	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Mboua	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Molembe	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Mbanza	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bondeko	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Mokengui	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bokatola	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Epena	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Itanga	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Mounda	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Dzeke	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ibolo	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bossela	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Matoko	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Kanio	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Botala	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Liouesso	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Boleke	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Multilinguisme

1a. Est-ce que vous comprenez le parler d'Epena?

- a) je ne comprends presque rien
- b) souvent des difficultés importantes
- c) très bien mais avec de petites difficultés
- d) parfaitement

1b. Est-ce que vous parlez le parler d'Epena?

- i) pas du tout
- ii) seulement des sujets élémentaires
- iii) couramment, mais avec de petites difficultés
- iv) sans aucune difficulté, comme ma langue maternelle

2a. Est-ce que vous comprenez le parler de Dzeke?

- a) b) c) d) (voir les valeurs ci-dessus)

2b. Est-ce que vous parlez le parler de Dzeke?

- i) ii) iii) iv) (voir les valeurs ci-dessus)

3a. Est-ce que vous comprenez le lingala?

- a) b) c) d) (voir les valeurs ci-dessus)

3b. Est-ce que vous parlez le lingala?

- i) ii) iii) iv) (voir les valeurs ci-dessus)

4a. Est-ce que vous comprenez le français?

- a) b) c) d) (voir les valeurs ci-dessus)

4b. Est-ce que vous parlez le français?

- i) ii) iii) iv) (voir les valeurs ci-dessus)

5. A quelle age est-ce que vous avez appris le lingala?

- a) en tant qu'enfant (en bas de 6 ans)
- b) à l'école (entre 6 et 12 ans) à la première
- c) en tant que jeune (entre 12 et 20 ans)
- d) en tant qu'adulte (après 20 ans)

6. Où est-ce que vous avez appris le lingala?

- a) à l'école
- b) au travail
- c) aux voyages
- d) lors d'un séjour ailleurs
- e) avec les parents à la maison
- f) avec les amis en jouant

7. Vous utilisez quelle langue dans la maison avec:

- la mère? _____
- le père? _____
- l'époux? _____
- les frères? _____
- les soeurs? _____
- les amis? _____

8. Vous utilisez quelle langue au village lors de:

- réunion du comité du parti? _____
- réglement d'un conflit entre villageois? _____
- salutation du chef du village? _____
- la chasse/la pêche? _____
- au travail? _____
- au culte? _____

9. Si vous voyagez à Epena, quelle langue utiliserez-vous pour:
- causer avec le chef du district? _____
 - acheter quelque chose au marché? _____
 - causer avec un militaire? _____
 - causer avec un ami d'Epena? _____
 - parler avec des parents du lieu? _____
 - saluer les gens dans la rue? _____
10. Si vous voyagiez à Dzeke, quelle langue utiliseriez-vous pour:
- régler un problème avec la police? _____
 - causer avec le chef du village? _____
 - acheter quelque chose au marché? _____
 - causer avec un ami de Dzeke? _____
 - saluer les gens dans la rue? _____
11. Si vous voyagez à Impfondo, quelle langue utiliserez-vous pour:
- régler un problème avec la police? _____
 - acheter au marché de Bakandi? _____
 - s'entretenir avec les autorités régionales? _____
 - acheter une parcelle à un Bonzo? _____
 - saluer les gens dans la rue? _____
12. A Brazzaville, vous parleriez en quelle langue avec:
- des parents? _____
 - des amis? _____
 - un policier? _____
 - un commerçant au marché? _____
 - les gens dans la rue? _____

Attitudes Envers les Langues

13. A votre avis, quelle langue est la plus importante à bien parler?
14. Quelle est la langue la plus difficile à bien parler?
15. Quelle est la langue la plus facile à bien parler?
16. Désirez-vous que vos petits-enfants apprennent le bomitaba?
17. Dans 50 ans, les gens de ce village vont parler quelle(s) langue(s)?

Alphabétisation

18. Lisez-vous en lingala?
 - 1) non, pas du tout
 - 2) oui, mais avec des difficultés
 - 3) oui, très bien

Qu'est-ce que vous lisez en lingala? _____
19. Lisez-vous en français? 1) 2) 3) (voir valeurs ci-dessus)

Qu'est-ce que vous lisez en français? _____
20. Est-ce que vous voudriez lire dans votre propre langue?

Code d'interprétation

Similarité	1=identique 2=à peu près identique 3=changements remarquables 4=différentes 5=pas de similarités
Intelligibilité	1=complète 2=la plupart 3=les points principaux 4=un peu 5=aucune
Changements	1=aucun mot change 2=quelques mots changent 3=beaucoup de mots changent 4=la plupart change 5=complètement changée
Destination	# de fois chaque destination a été visitée cette année
Durée	durée moyenne des séjours à chaque destination
Epoux	village d'origine de l'époux/épouse
Autres	village où on a des parents

Individual Questionnaire Results

Multilingualism

1a. Do you *understand* the Epena dialect?

- a) not at all 0 (0%)
- b) a little 6 (10%), including 4 from Bondeko.
- c) well 12 (20%)
- d) perfectly 43 (70%), including 9 from Epena itself.

1b. Do you *speak* the Epena dialect?

- i) not at all 33 (54%) ii) a little 17 (28%)
- iii) well 1 (2%), from Itanga.
- iv) perfectly 10 (16%), including 9 from Epena itself.

2a. Do you *understand* the language of Dzeke?

- a) not at all 36 (59%) b) a little 7 (11%)
- c) well 6 (10%)
- d) perfectly 12 (20%), 9 from Itanga, 3 from Epena.

2b. Do you *speak* the language of Dzeke?

- i) not at all 49 (80%) ii) a little 7 (11%)
- iii) well 3 (5%)
- iv) perfectly 2 (3%), from Epena.

3a. Do you *understand* Lingala?

- a) not at all 0 (0%) b) a little 3 (5%)
- c) well 18 (30%) d) perfectly 40 (66%)

3b. Do you *speak* Lingala?

- i) not at all 0 (0%) ii) a little 5 (8%)
- iii) well 22 (36%) iv) perfectly 34 (56%)

4a. Do you *understand* French?

- a) not at all 6 (10%), all 6 were 50 or more.
 b) a little 23 (38%) c) well 26 (43%)
 d) perfectly 6 (10%), 5 were 36 or under.

4b. Do you *speak* French?

- i) not at all 21 (34%), 20 were 40 or more.
 ii) a little 16 (26%) iii) well 17 (28%)
 iv) perfectly 7 (11%), 6 were 36 or under.

5. At what age did you learn Lingala?

- a) under 6 9 (16%) b) 6-12 38 (62%)
 c) 13-20 7 (11%) d) over 20 7 (11%)

6. Where did you learn Lingala?

- a) at school 10 (16%) b) at work 1 (2%)
 c) traveling 12 (20%) d) living away 1 (2%)
 e) w/ parents 6 (10%) f) w/ friends 17 (28%)

other: w/ visitors 14 (23%), e.g., priests, colonists

7. What language do you use at home with your:

- 1) mother? Patois 59 (97%), Lingala 1 (2%), Babole 1 (2%)
 2) father? Patois 60 (98%), Lingala 1 (2%)
 3) spouse? Patois 57 (93%), Lingala 1 (2%), none 3 (5%)
 4) brothers? Patois 59 (97%), Lingala 1 (2%), Babole 1 (2%)
 5) sisters? Patois 59 (97%), Lingala 1 (2%), Babole 1 (2%)
 6) friends? Patois 61 (100%), [in addition to Patois,

2 said Lingala, 1 said French, 1 said Bonzo].

8. What language do you use in the village:

- 1) for a village/party meeting? Lingala 42 (69%),
 Patois 13 (21%), French 2 (3%), no response 5 (8%)

8. (cont.) [18 said Patois and 4 said French in addition to Lingala].
- 2) to solve a problem with a villager? Patois 59 (97%),
Lingala 2 (3%) [1 said Lingala in addition to Patois].
 - 3) to greet the village chief?
Patois 58 (95%), French 2 (3%), Lingala 1 (2%).
 - 4) for hunting/fishing? Patois 58 (95%), no response 3 (5%).
 - 5) at work? Patois 58 (95%), Lingala 2 (3%), Patois 1 (2%)
[1 said Lingala and 1 said French in addition to Patois].
 - 6) at church? Lingala 55 (90%), Patois 1 (2%), none 5 (8%)
[1 said Patois and 1 said French in addition to Lingala].
9. In Epena, you would use which language to:
- 1) chat with the district chief? Lingala 49 (80%),
French 8 (14%), Bomitaba 2 (3%), Itanga 2 (3%)
[6 said French, 1 said Bomitaba in addition to Lingala].
 - 2) buy something in the market? Lingala 55 (90%),
Bomitaba 5 (8%), Itanga 1 (2%) [6 said Bomitaba,
2 said French, and 1 said Itanga in addition to Lingala].
 - 3) chat with a soldier? Lingala 54 (89%), French 6 (10%),
Bomitaba (w/interpreter) 1 (2%) [7 said French w/Lingala].
 - 4) chat with a friend from Epena?
Bomitaba 49 (80%), Itanga 10 (16%), Lingala 2 (3%).
[3 said Lingala and 3 said French in addition to Bomitaba].
 - 5) talk with relatives from Epena?
Bomitaba 50 (82%), Itanga 10 (16%), Lingala 1 (2%).
 - 6) greet people? Bomitaba 32 (52%), Itanga 8 (13%),
Lingala 20 (33%), French 1 (2%)
[11 said Lingala and 4 said French in addition to Patois].

10. What language would you use in Dzeke to:

- 1) solve a problem with the police? Lingala 57 (93%),
 French 3 (5%), Babole 1 (2%) [4 said French w/Lingala].
- 2) chat with the village chief? Lingala 45 (74%), Babole 2 (3%),
 French 1 (2%), Patois 13 (21%) (9 from Itanga, 4 Epena)
 [1 said French in addition to Lingala].
- 3) shop at the market? Lingala 45 (74%), Babole 3 (5%),
 French 1 (2%), Patois 12 (20%) (9 from Itanga, 3 Epena)
 [1 said French and 1 said Patois in addition to Lingala].
- 4) chat with a friend from Dzeke? Lingala 45 (74%),
 Babole 3 (5%), Patois 13 (21%) (9 from Itanga, 4 Epena)
 [5 said French in addition to Lingala].
- 5) greet people? Lingala 44 (72%), Babole 2 (3%),
 Patois 15 (25%) (10 from Itanga, 4 from Epena)
 [2 said French and 1 said Babole in addition to Lingala].

11. What language would you use in Impfondo to:

- 1) solve a problem with the police? Lingala 55 (90%),
 French 5 (8%), Bomitaba (w/interpreter) 1 (2%)
 [6 said French in addition to Lingala].
- 2) shop in the market? Lingala 61 (100%) [1 said also French].
- 3) talk with the regional officials? Lingala 46 (75%),
 French 14 (23%), Bomitaba (w/interpeter) 1 (2%)
 [5 said French in addition to Lingala].
- 4) buy a parcel from a Bonzo? Lingala 54 (89%), Boleke 5 (8%),
 Bomitaba 1 (2%), Bonzo 1 (2%) [1 said also Boleke].
- 5) greet people? Lingala 58 (95%), Boleke 2 (3%), Bonzo 2 (3%)
 [2 said Boleke and 2 said French in addition to Lingala].

12. What language would you use in Brazzaville with:

- 1) relatives? Patois 58 (95%), Lingala 3 (5%)
[1 said Lingala and 1 said French in addition to Patois].
- 2) friends? Lingala 56 (92%), French 3 (5%), Patois 2 (3%)
[8 said French in addition to Lingala].
- 3) the police? Lingala 51 (84%), French 10 (16%)
[8 said French in addition to Lingala].
- 4) a merchant? Lingala 61 (100%) [6 said also French].
- 5) people in the street? Lingala 59 (97%), French 2 (3%)
[5 said French in addition to Lingala].

Language Attitudes

13. Which language is the *most important* for you to speak well?

Patois 40 (66%), Lingala 15 (25%), French 6 (10%)

[2 said Lingala in addition to Patois].

14. Which language is the *hardest* for you to speak well?

French 52 (85%), Lingala 3 (5%), Babole 6 (10%) (6 from Boleke)

[2 said Lingala, 3 said Babole, 1 Bonzo in addition to French].

15. Which language is the *easiest* for you to speak well?

Patois 60 (98%), Lingala 1 (2%)

[13 said Lingala and 1 said Babole in addition to Patois].

16. Do you want your grandchildren to learn to speak Bomitaba?

Yes 55 (90%) [8 said French, 6 said Lingala in addition].

No 6 (10%) [5 favored French, 1 preferred Lingala].

17. What do you think will be the village language in 50 years?

Patois 49 (80%), French 6 (10%), Lingala 4 (7%), ?? 2 (3%)

[3 said French and 2 said Lingala in addition to Patois].

Literacy

18. Do you read in Lingala?

Not at all 38 (62%), some 16 (26%), well 7 (11%)

What do you read in Lingala?

Religious books 18, letters, alphabet.

19. Do you read in French?

Not at all 32 (52%), some 12 (20%), well 17 (28%)

What do you read in French?

Novels, newspapers, political, school, Bible, letters, alphabet.

20. Would you like to be able to read in your Patois?

Yes 56 (92%) No 5 (8%)

For Itanga only, would you prefer to read in Bomitaba or Babole?

Bomitaba 10 (100%), Babole 0 (0%)

For Boleke only, would you prefer to read in Bomitaba or Bonzo?

Bomitaba 5 (100%), Bonzo 0 (0%)

APPENDIX F
POPULATION FIGURES

Table 5
Population by Language Group
(Epena District)

Group	Number of Speakers	Dialect	Total
Toukoulaka	950		
Mokengui	1219	3826 North	
Matoko	1657		
Boleke		162 East	Bomitaba 6895
Epena	1988	2653 Central	
Ibolo	665		
Itanga		254 South	
Dzeke		1051 North	
Kinami		1611 Central	Babole 4062
Bouanila		1400 South	
Bambenga		1308	
(Minganga)	Bongili Yaswa	261	Other 1569

District
12526

Table 6

Population of Epena
(Northern Section: Bomitaba)

	Village	1984	1974	Group
1	w c r Epena-Centre	1910	1091	Epena
2	w c Mokengui	590	387	Mokengui
3	e Molembe(Mbanza 2)	546	252	Bambenga
4	w r Matoko	448	311	Matoko
5	Makengo	294	166	Mokengui
6	w Mobangui	293	205	Bambenga
7	w Ibolo	286	257	Epena
8	w c r Botala	273	199	Matoko
9	w e Itanga	254	204	Itanga
10	w r Kanio	217	127	Matoko
11	w Bossela	217	179	Epena
12	Mabongo-Nkoto	217	157	Mokengui
13	Ibanga	206	212	Matoko
14	w Toukoulaka(1&2)	189	195	Toukoulaka
15	w Mossombo(Ming 2)	189	251	Bambenga
16	w e Liouesso	183	156	Matoko
17	w e Mbanza 1	170	145	Toukoulaka
18	w e Mboua	167	145	Toukoulaka
19	Bongandzi	167	147	Matoko
20	w Koundoumou	162	163	Epena
21	w Bene	147	117	Toukoulaka
22	Mbili	144	--	Bambenga
23	w e Bondeko	129	109	Toukoulaka
24	Bokatola	118	123	Mokengui
25	w e r Boleke-Mbimbo	104	167	Boleke
26	Attention	104	55	Minganga
27	Zelo	104	--	Bambenga?
28	w Minganga 1	90	138	Minganga
29	Mbeti	90	58	Toukoulaka
30	Bosseka	89	98	Matoko
31	Iyaou	78	--	Epena
32	r Ibaki	74	92	Matoko
33	Mokendze	67	--	Minganga
34	r Bossimba	58	68	Boleke
35	Mokienze	58	--	Toukoulaka
36	Yecola	32	--	Bambenga?
Total		8464	5974	North
Mean		235	--	

w=word list
c=crossroad

e=edge
r=road

Table 7

Population of Epena
(Southern Section: Babole)

	Village	1984	1974	Group
w	Mounda	94	75	Dzeke
	Boha	168	118	Dzeke
	Impongui	116	119	Dzeke
w	Dzeke	673	582	Dzeke
	Sub-total	1051	894	Dzeke
w	Edzama	253	189	Kinami
w	Kinami	447	343	Kinami
	Moungouma-Bailly	503	336	Kinami
w	Botongo	255	160	Kinami
	Bondoki	153	85	Kinami
	Sub-total	1611	1113	Kinami
	Likondo	68	61	Bouanila
w	Mossengue	206	113	Bouanila
w	Bouanila-Centre	682	349	Bouanila
	Moungouma-Moke	166	138	Bouanila
w	Ebambe	278	246	Bouanila
	Sub-total	1400	907	Bouanila
	Total	4062	2914	South
	Mean	290	208	
	Epena	12526	8888	District
	Likouala	49505	30010	Region
	Congo	1909248	--	Country

APPENDIX G

MAPS

Figure 1

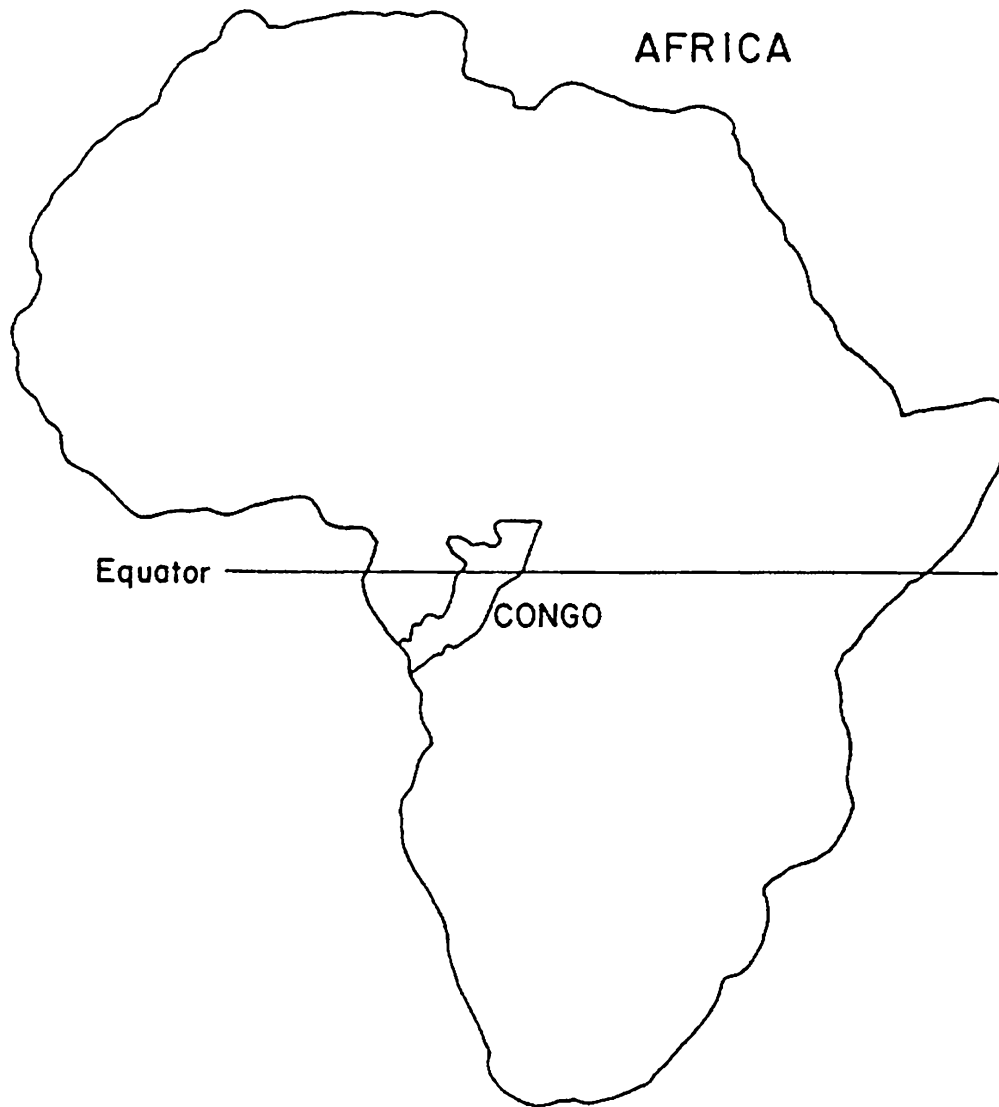


Figure 2

People's Republic of the Congo

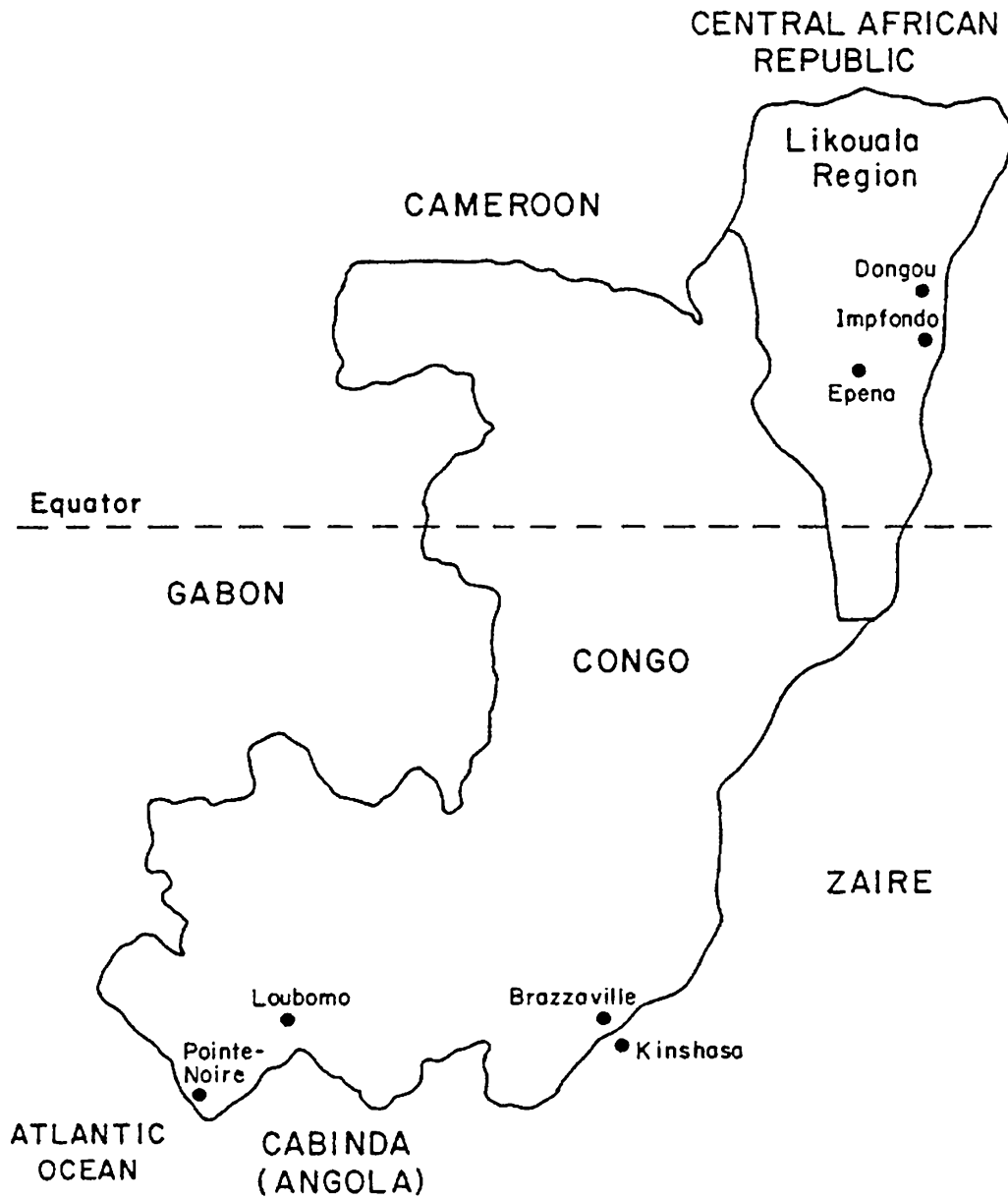


Figure 3

Likouala Region
(Central Section)

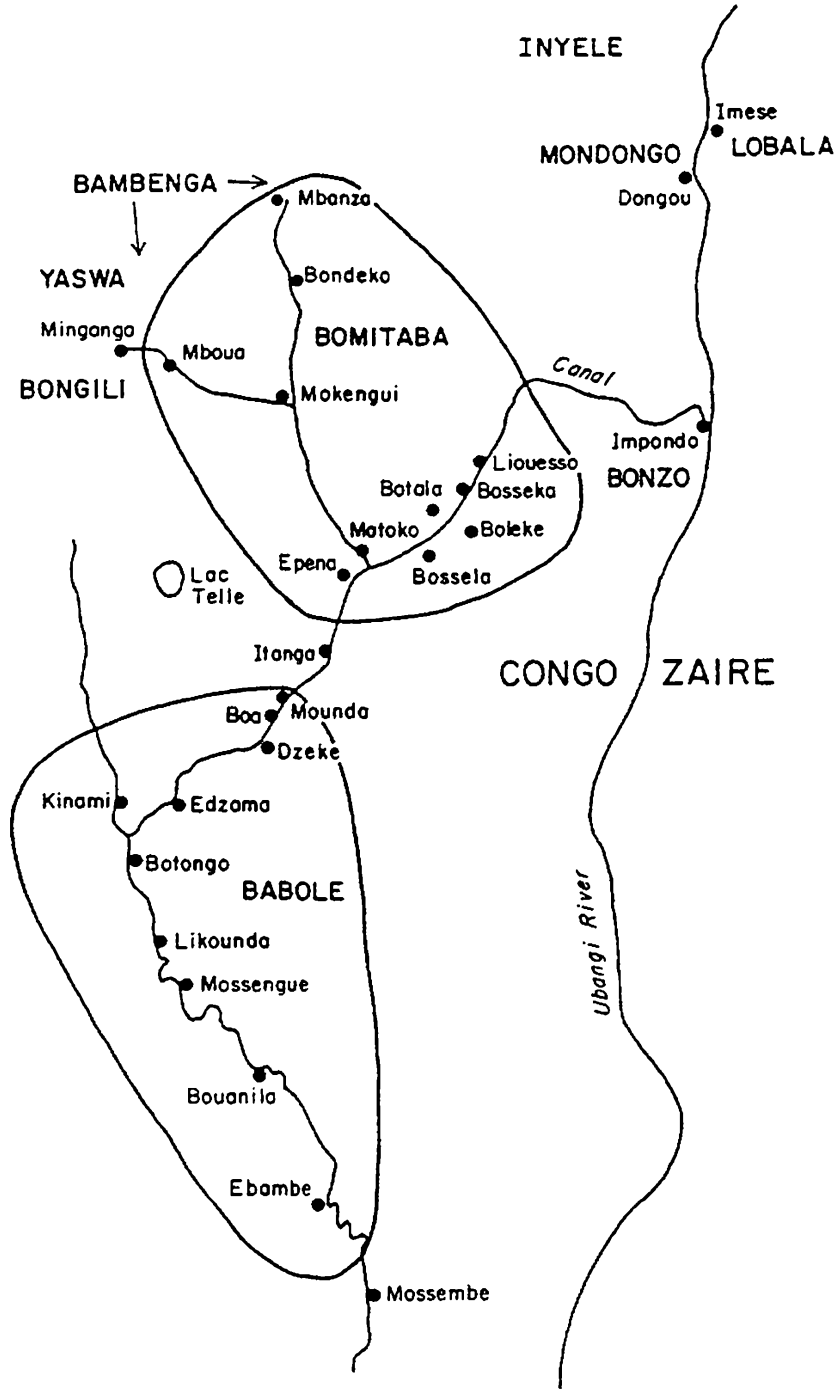
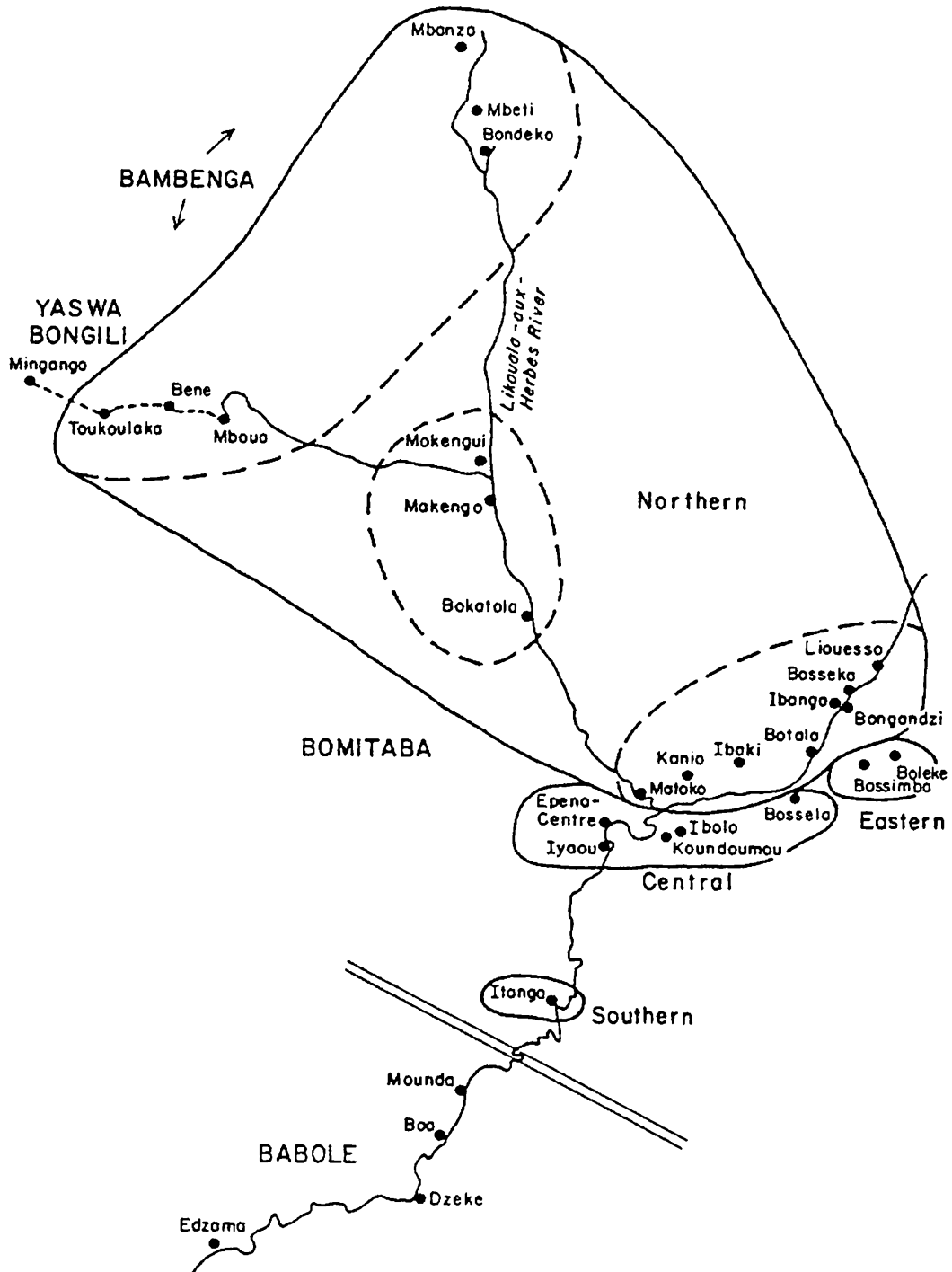


Figure 4

Epena District (Northern Section)



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