

A Rapid Appraisal Language Survey of Ngwo

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Abstract

This report describes a preliminary sociolinguistic survey (“rapid appraisal”) conducted December 14–17, 1998 in the Northwest Province of Cameroon. The research concerns the group of speech varieties which the *Atlas Linguistique du Cameroun (ALCAM)* classifies as the language “Ngwó” [861]. This survey was conducted as part of an overall goal of assessing the need for literacy and literature development in national languages throughout Cameroon.

1. Introduction

This report describes a preliminary sociolinguistic survey (“rapid appraisal”) conducted December 14–17, 1998 in the Njikwa Sub-division of the Momo Division of the Northwest Province of speech varieties which the *Atlas Linguistique du Cameroun (ALCAM)* classifies as the language “Ngwó” [861]. This survey was conducted as part of an overall goal of assessing the need for literacy and literature development in national languages throughout Cameroon.

The research team was composed of: Dr. Domche-Teko Engelbert of the University of Yaounde I, Joseph Mbongue of the Cameroon Association for Bible Translation and Literacy (CABTAL), and Edward and Elizabeth Brye of the Société Internationale de Linguistique (SIL). Interns Jason and Kari Diller of SIL accompanied the team to observe the research process.

We gratefully acknowledge the assistance and welcome that we received from regional and local government, church, and traditional leaders, without whose cooperation this mission would not have been possible.

1.1 Names

The people of Ngwo village say their people are called *Widikum* and their language is called *Ngwo*. Although inhabitants of various other villages say that they also belong to the *Widikum* ethnic group, the other villagers call themselves and their languages by a variety of other names, as summarised in table 1. We have not included the village of Bako in this table. We explain the reason for this in section 2.2.

Table 1: Names used by the various Widikum groups surveyed to identify themselves and their language

Village	Name of people	Name of Language
Ngwo	Widikum	Ngwo
Ikweri	Ikwiti	Egami-Ikwiti
Ekwebo	Ekwebo	Igama (or Muaghama)-Ekwebo
Banya	Banyé	Banyé
Konda	Konda/Ikonda (plural)	Konda Tigako (dialect name)
Bakwa	Sasokubi	Odzokubi
Basa	Mishulengu	Odzamagu

To avoid confusion, we will use village names throughout this report to refer to the speech varieties studied as well as the populations who speak them.

1.2 Location and Population

The Ngwo language is spoken in the Njikwa Sub-division of the Momo Division of the Northwest Province of the Republic of Cameroon. Table 2 lists the villages where *ALCAM* says the Ngwo language is spoken along with each village's self-reported population, the 1987 Census figures, and an estimated 1999 census figure.¹ Under the "self-reported population" column, we include two figures. The first is the current reported village population; then in parenthesis is the number of speakers of their language variety whom they say now live outside the village.

Table 2: Population figures (self-reported, 1987 census, and 1999 estimated)

Village	Self-reported Population	1987 Census	Estimated 1999 Census
Ngwo	7,000 (+4,000)	4,790	6,750
Njikwa Town*	--	932	1,313
Ikweri	6,500 (+3,500)	584	823
Ekwebo	226 (+130)	99	140
Banya	200 (+500)	562	792
Konda	7,500 (+2-3,000)	1,600	2,255
Bakwa	1,000 (+2,000)	278	392
Basa	1,000 (+2,000)	536	755
Bako	--	599	844
Amasi**	780 (+860)	305	430
Ayi	500 (+750)	327	461
TOTAL	24,706 (+16,740)	10,612	14,955

* Njikwa Town, located very close to Ngwo village, is the subdivisional headquarters and has a mixed ethnic population.

** A rapid appraisal study of Manta [ALCAM 804] conducted by Hamm and Assako A Tiati in July 1999 revealed that the language variety spoken in the villages of Amasi and Ayi, until now classified under Manta, are probably dialects of Ngwo. Therefore, we include their population figures here.

If we compare the self-reported and 1999 estimated population columns, we are struck by a significant discrepancy between the two. The figures for Ngwo are fairly close. However, for Banya, the self-reported figure is quite a bit lower than either the 1987 census figure or the 1999 estimate, and in all other cases where we have a self-reported population, this number is significantly higher than even the estimated census figure. We are unsure how to account for this discrepancy. Unfortunately, we didn't have the census figures when we did the survey and so we did not ask for an explanation for the differences. It appears that, for whatever reason, either the 1987 census was inaccurate or the people have inaccurately estimated their own numbers. It is *possible*, but *unlikely*, that this area experienced phenomenal growth exceeding the national average.

Whether acquired or inherent, there is some intercomprehension between the speech varieties of all these villages. Access to Njikwa and Ngwo is limited to two

¹ According to the 1987 Census Publication (Demo 87:5), between 1976–1987 Cameroon experienced a 2.9 percent annual growth. Assuming that the same 2.9 percent rate of growth has continued over the past twelve years and applies equally in the Njikwa Sub-division, we can estimate the 1999 population based on the 1987 figure.

rocky roads coming from Bamenda by way of Mbengwi. A 4-wheel drive vehicle is needed. Some of the villages surveyed are accessible with a 4-wheel drive, while others can be reached only by footpath.

1.3 History of the Widikum People

Speakers of Ngwo and the related speech varieties surveyed almost all trace their origins to the Widikum ethnic group of Balibu, towards Mamfe. They moved to their present locations more than 100 years ago. Those interviewed in Ngwo village pointed out that speakers of Ngishe (or “Diche”) [ALCAM 862], Menka [865], and Atong [805] are also of Widikum origin. The group which we interviewed from Ikweri also included Meta’ [864], Ngie [863], Manta (or “Banta”) [804], and Caka [893] among those whom they described as having Widikum origin.

1.4 Linguistic Classification

The *Atlas Linguistique du Cameroun (ALCAM)* lists one language, Ngwó, under the code [861] and gives the following linguistic classification: Niger-Kordofan, Niger-Congo, Benoue-Congo, Bantoide, Bantou, Grassfield, Momo. The following are listed as dialects: Konda, Basa (Bassa), Ikweri (=Ekperi), Banya, Bako, and Okorobi (Dieu and Renaud 1983:352).

The *Ethnologue* (Grimes 1996:211) also lists one language, called NGWO (NGWAW) with the following linguistic classification: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Bantoid, Southern, Wide Grassfields, Narrow Grassfields, Momo. The *Ethnologue* states that there are 31,000 speakers “together with Ngishe” and that the language includes the following dialects: NGWO (NGUNI, NGWAW, MIGUHNI, NGUNU), KONDA, BASA (BASSA), IKWERI (EKPERI), BANYA, BAKO, OKOROB, ZANG.

1.5 Previous Research

In November 1989, another team conducted a linguistic and sociolinguistic survey in the Momo Division and collected preliminary data for Meta’ [ALCAM 864], Moghamo [866], Ngie [863], Ngishe [Oshie, 862], and Ngwó [861]. A *WORDSURV* analysis done at that time yielded the following approximation at shared cognate percentages for Ngwo with the other languages:

Table 3: Apparent cognate percentages between Ngwo and surrounding related languages.

	Meta’	Moghamo	Ngie	Ngishe
Ngwo	63	63	62	62

Recorded text testing of Meta’ speakers’ comprehension of the Ngwo language showed there to be 0 percent intelligibility (see Chesley and Starr 1990).

The conclusion of the 1990 report concerning Ngwo was: “The Ngwo are definitely separated from all the other speech forms studied by the lack of comprehension and isolation expressed through their own responses, and the other groups’ responses, to the questions in the questionnaire” (Chesley and Starr 1990:11). The researchers recommended a further survey administering the Recorded Text Test (RTT) among Ngie, Ngishe, and Ngwo, and possibly between one of these languages

and Menka, Atong, Busam, and Ambele. Given the lack of information available to us which would be needed in deciding where and how to administer an RTT among the Ngwo, our team decided that a rapid appraisal study was first needed.

1.6 Purpose of the Survey

The specific purposes of this survey were:

1. To make a preliminary assessment of the intercomprehension and attitudes between the speech forms currently classified under “Ngwó” [861] in *ALCAM* and under “Ngwo” in *Ethnologue*.
2. To assess the vitality of these speech forms by looking at use of other languages, interest in language development, and other sociolinguistic factors.

2. Methodology

2.1 Rapid Appraisal

In this survey we employed the approach referred to as “rapid appraisal” (see Bergman 1991 and Stalder 1996). We conducted group and individual interviews using questionnaires and collected a list of 126 words from each village surveyed, using the *ALCAM* wordlist (see appendix for samples of the questionnaire and the wordlist).

A rapid appraisal survey seeks information in the following three domains.

2.1.1 Dialect situation

What are the dialects of the languages being studied and what are the speakers’ perceptions of the degree of intercomprehension between groups? Speech varieties might be dialects of the same language if:

- a. the speakers perceive them as such and/or
- b. the speakers indicate that children as young as 5–6 understand other varieties.

If not, the varieties might be separate languages for which comprehension is more or less easily acquired due to linguistic similarity and/or the degree of contact between speakers and the other varieties.

Finally, a wordlist comparison using lexicostatistics also helps predict the degree of intercomprehension based on lexical similarity.

2.1.2 Multilingualism

What is the approximate level of comprehension and oral competence in the vehicular language or languages, as well as in languages geographically or linguistically close?

2.1.3 Vitality and viability of the language

What would be the potential success of a project to develop the local language? This may be revealed by the speakers’ own indications of the languages they use in each of the domains of their daily lives. For example, a key indicator of the vitality of a specific mother tongue is whether or not it is actively used in the home (between

parents and children, as well as between siblings) and in the village (in conversations between speakers of the mother tongue, as well as during traditional meetings). It is also very important to obtain an idea of the attitudes that members of the community hold toward the idea of developing the mother tongue.

2.2 The “Ngwo” Survey

In the survey among the Ngwo and related peoples, we conducted group interviews and collected wordlists in Ngwo and Njikwa of speakers from the villages of Ngwo, Banya, Basa, Konda, Bakwa, Ikweri, and Ekwebo. (Note: We were informed that no village or dialect called “Okorobi” exists but that the village of Bakwa is located where *ALCAM* places Okorobi.) Ideally, each group interview should include about ten to fifteen speakers, including both men and women of varying ages and should be conducted *in* the village being surveyed. This was the situation for the interview in Ngwo village of speakers from the Ngwo variety. However, since access to most of the other villages would be difficult and time consuming, our team opted to interview speakers from the villages of Konda, Ikweri, Ekwebo, Basa, Banya, and Bakwa who had trekked into Ngwo and Njikwa for market days. A drawback to this approach was that only between one to four speakers from each location (one male speaker each from Ikweri and Banya, at least four speakers including one female from Konda, and at least two male speakers of all the other varieties) were available for the group interviews. Another drawback was that because it was a busy day for these people and they did not want to spend a lot of time with us, they asked that we interview and take wordlists from representatives of two or three speech varieties at the same time. This situation may have influenced their responses. We interviewed the speakers from Konda, Ikweri, and Ekwebo together and the representatives of Basa and Bakwa together. Unfortunately, we were unable to find any Bako speakers to interview, and since Bako is several hours’ trek from the end of the motorable route, we opted to save gathering information directly from this group for a future survey.

As part of our research into language use and local interest in language development, we also individually interviewed headmasters from the Government Secondary School and the Catholic Primary School in Njikwa and the Government Primary School in Ngwo, as well as church leaders of various churches in Njikwa and Ngwo.

At the suggestion of the group we interviewed in Ngwo village, our team made a brief visit, by way of a very difficult, rocky road, to a village in the Atong [*ALCAM* 805] language area approximately 11 kilometres from Ngwo. The Ngwo speakers felt that the language variety spoken there, which they referred to as “Menka,” was similar to theirs. We were unable to collect any reliable data. However, a team of SIL, CABTAL, and University of Yaounde I researchers conducted a study of Manta [*ALCAM* 804] in June of 1999 (see Hamm and Assako A Tiati, July 1999). This second team collected wordlists for Atong, as well as for Wando (Menka) [*ALCAM* 865] and Amasi, a village located just inside the border of the language area *ALCAM* classifies as Manta and where people claim to be of Widikum origin. Because of their relatively high degree of lexical similarity with the speech varieties we surveyed, we will include these three lists in our lexicostatistical analysis.

3. Research Results

In this section, we summarise the results of the survey in terms of the three domains listed above: Dialect situation (3.1), Multilingualism (3.2), and Vitality and Viability (3.3).

3.1 Dialect Situation

3.1.1 Results of lexicostatistics

Our team collected an *ALCAM* list of 126 commonly used words for each of the seven locations studied. In order that responses could be verified on the spot, at least two representatives of each speech variety, with the exception of Ekwebo and Banya, were present. As explained in section 2.2, we elicited and recorded lists for Konda, Ikweri, and Ekwebo, as well as for Basa and Bakwa, simultaneously in joint sessions. With the help of Cameron Hamm of the SIL survey department, we submitted the wordlists, along with the three additional lists mentioned in the previous section, to a lexicostatistical comparison using the *WORDSURV* program (see Wimbish 1989). We grouped together words that were phonetically similar, enabling the program to produce the similarity percentage matrix shown in table 4. (Note: In our analysis, we decided to ignore items 9b “back of neck,” 13b “foot,” and 70b “hunger for meat” because it became evident that these speech varieties do not employ special terms for these concepts. Responses were literal descriptions linked to “neck,” “leg,” and “hunger,” respectively.) See appendix C for a copy of the *ALCAM* Word List.

Table 4: WORDSURV similarity percentages matrix

Ekwebo									
99	Ikweri								
92	91	Banya							
89	90	84	Konda						
86	85	84	79	Basa					
83	84	80	86	77	Ngwo				
80	79	76	75	87	72	Bakwa			
83	83	79	83	78	84	74	Amasi		
66	66	63	65	61	71	61	72	Wando	
69	69	64	69	66	76	65	75	87	Atong

The following matrix shows the amount of variance possible for each of the above percentages based on the “range of error” which must be allowed for. Thus, when the range of error is accounted for, the percentage of similarity between Banya and Ekwebo, for example, is actually somewhere between 87.1 percent ($92 - 4.9$) and 96.9 percent ($92 + 4.9$).

Table 5: Variance or “range of error” matrix

Ekwebo									
1.6	Ikweri								
4.9	5.1	Banya							
5.3	5.3	6.6	Konda						
6.1	6.3	6.6	7.3	Basa					
6.7	6.6	7.1	6.1	7.5	Ngwo				
7.2	7.3	7.6	7.6	6.0	8.0	Bakwa			
6.7	6.6	7.2	6.6	7.4	6.4	7.9	Amasi		
8.4	8.4	8.6	8.5	8.6	8.0	8.7	8.0	Wando	
8.3	8.3	8.6	8.3	8.5	7.6	8.5	7.7	6.0	Atong

When each variance figure from table 5 is added to the corresponding similarity percentage in table 4, the “upper confidence limit,” or highest possible similarity percentage, (see Bergman 1989:8.1.5) for each set of lists compared is obtained. Only two upper confidence limit percentages (Wando-Basa and Wando-Bakwa) fall below 70 percent, and, in fact, if Wando and Atong are ignored all of the upper confidence limit percentages are at least 80 percent. None of the varieties fall below 70 percent similarity with Ngwo proper. According to Bergman (1989:8.1.6), if the percentage of lexical similarity at the upper confidence limit is below 70 percent, separate language programs are needed, but if it is 70 percent or higher, further data is needed. This implies both intelligibility testing and sociolinguistic data.

3.1.2 Incorporating sociolinguistic data

Sociolinguistic factors such as language attitudes, perceived comprehension, prestige, and even population size and location can be quite predictive of the potential success or failure of a language project involving multiple speech varieties (see Sadembouo 1989 and Brye 1992). The following chart summarises some of the sociolinguistic data that we collected from the group interviews, along with the highest lexical similarity percentages.

In the first column we list the speech variety and population of speakers (including both their self-reported population and the estimated figure for 1999 based on the last census). In the second column, we present the two to four closest varieties lexically. In the third column, we list the speech varieties that the people perceive as most like their own. If the people said that the variety is exactly like their own, we list it as a “1.” If they said that there are slight differences in accent or vocabulary, we list it as “2.” We include in parentheses the age at which the people feel a child is able to comprehend the second variety, as this gives an idea of whether comprehension is inherent or acquired. According to Grimes (1987:40) quoting G. Kelley, children in a bilingual situation at the age of 6 are not likely to be fluent in two languages. Therefore, if children at the age of 5–6 understand a language variety when they hear it, this is probably an indication of inherent rather than acquired intelligibility, meaning that the two varieties could clearly be called dialects of the same language. Correspondingly, if it is not until children are older that they begin to comprehend the other variety, it is an indication that comprehension is learned with contact. In the fourth column we list the groups with whom these people speak their mother tongue. With the varieties which are not listed (except possibly for Ekwebo, which we did not always ask about since everyone said it was just like Ikweri), they use Pidgin to

communicate. Finally, in the last column we list the peoples' two language development choices after their own. All groups chose their own speech variety to be developed first with the exception of Ekwebo who chose Ikweri as their first choice.

Table 6: Summary of some of the sociolinguistic data with lexical similarity

Speech Variety:	Lexical Similarity Percentages	People's Perceived Comprehension	Communicate Using the MT	People's Language Development Choice
Ikweri (pop. 6,500 or 823)	1. Ekwebo (99) 2. Banya (91) 3. Konda (90) 4. Basa (85)	2. Ekwebo (age 5–6) Banya (age 5–6) Basa (age 5–6)	Ekwebo, Basa, Banya (Depends on degree of contact in other cases)	1. Konda 2. Ngwo
Ekwebo (pop. 226 or 140)	1. Ikweri (99) 2. Banya (92) 3. Konda (89) 4. Basa (86)	1. Ikweri (age 5–6) 2. Konda (age 11) Basa (age 11)	Ikweri, Konda, Basa	1. Ikweri 2. Banya
Banya (pop. 200 or 792)	1. Ikweri/Ekw (92) 2. Konda (84) 3. Basa (84)	1. Ikweri (age 5–6) 2. Konda (age 5–6) Bako (age 5–6)	Ikweri, Konda, Bako	1. Ikweri
Konda (pop. 7,500 or 2,255)	1. Ikweri/Ekw (90) 2. Ngwo (86) 3. Banya (84) 4. Amasi (83)	1. Amasi (age 5–6)* 2. All others (age 15–20)	All, depending on contact	1. Ikweri 2. Ngwo
Basa (pop. 1,000 or 755)	1. Bakwa (87) 2. Ikweri/Ekw(86) 3. Banya (84)	2. Bakwa (age 5–6) Ikweri/Ekwebo (age 5–6) Banya (age 5–6)	Ikweri, Banya, Ekwebo	1. Ekwebo 2. Banya
Bakwa (pop. 1,000 or 392)	1. Basa(87) 2. Ikweri/Ekwebo (80)	2. Basa (age 5–6)	Basa	1. Basa 2. Ekwebo
Ngwo (pop. 7,000 or 6,750)	1. Konda (86) 2. Ikweri/Ekw(84) 3. Amasi (84)	2. Konda (age 18) Ikweri (age 18) Basa (age 18)	Konda, Basa, Ikweri	1. Konda 2. Ikweri

* When asked in which village(s) the people speak exactly like they do, the Konda people listed Amasi. We did not directly ask whether children as young as 5–6 from these two villages could understand each other, but their assertion that they speak exactly alike implies this. When asked in which villages the people speak with slight differences in accent or vocabulary, they listed all the other villages and said that comprehension with speakers from these villages begins between the ages of 15–20.

The situation is clearly complex and suggests the need for a follow-up study. However, we can make a few observations and suggest a tentative grouping of the speech varieties studied.

For the most part, the language varieties people chose as ones they would like to see developed after their own (column 5) correspond with those which they understand best and are closest to in lexical similarity. An exception is the case of Ikweri that chose the two other varieties with the bigger self-reported populations rather than the varieties spoken by the reportedly smaller groups with which they seem to be mutually intelligible. All three bigger (based on self-reporting) groups, in fact, chose each other as development choices, and this despite the fact that other reported factors would indicate that comprehension is acquired with contact rather than strictly inherent. It is interesting to note too that the relatively small (again based on self-reporting) groups of Basa and Bakwa named Ekwebo rather than Ikweri as

language development choices. Perhaps this indicates their desire not to be absorbed by a larger group.

Based on all of the above information, we suggest tentatively grouping the speech varieties into three groups. Whether these should be considered as separate languages or dialects of one language will need to be decided based on further study. The data at this point seems to indicate that comprehension between the groups is acquired rather than inherent, but the rate of acquired comprehension may be high, possibly indicating the presence of what Brown (1998:17) calls *bidialectalism* or *multidialectalism*. Attitudes among the various groups towards each another tend to be positive.

Table 7: Tentative language/dialect groupings

<u>Group 1</u>	<u>Group 2</u>	<u>Group 3</u>
Ikweri (pop. 6,500 or 823)	Konda (pop. 7,500 or 2,255)	Ngwo (pop. 7,000)
Ekwebo (pop. 226 or 140)	Amasi? (pop. 780 or 430)	
Banya (pop. 200 or 792)	Ayi? (pop. 500 or 461)	
Basa (pop. 1,000 or 755)		
Bakwa (pop. 1,000 or 392)		
Bako? (pop. 844)		

We have put question marks next to Bako, Amasi, and Ayi since we did not interview these groups directly. Our decision to place them in these groups, therefore, is based on what others reported and not on their own perceptions or reported opinions.

If a joint language development program including all these speech varieties were to be promoted, several factors would point to the Ngwo variety as being the best choice for a reference dialect. These include:

- the fact that this variety is spoken principally in Ngwo village, which is essentially a quarter of Njikwa, the administrative center of the subdivision,
- that Ngwo is the only village with direct access to a main road,
- that it has the largest population (based on the census),
- and that it is the only variety with a history of language development efforts (see 3.3.2.3).

3.2 Multilingualism

In this section, we will examine the degree of reported comprehension that speakers of Ngwo and the other speech varieties in Njikwa Subdivision have of the other languages with which they have contact.

3.2.1 Bordering languages

In all the group interviews, we asked the question: Which language do you use when speaking with speakers of Meta', Mundum, Ngie, Ngishe, Manta, Ihatum, Batomo, Menka, Atong, Caka, and Beba? (Note: these are the languages bordering the group of varieties that *ALCAM* lists as "Ngwó.") In each case, the response was the same. Pidgin English, the language of wider communication, is always used with these groups, even the ones which some interviewees say share the same origins with Ngwo. This strongly indicates that there is little or no intercomprehension, either inherent or acquired, between Ngwo and these languages.

3.2.2 Vehicular and official languages

Nothing indicates a widespread fluency in English or French, nor is there any indication that this will change soon. Even though English is the language of instruction in the schools and all villages report a 100 percent attendance rate in the primary schools, only about half of those who complete primary school go on to secondary school, and even fewer attend university. The level of competence in English will probably remain limited unless secondary school attendance increases.

Pidgin English is widely used, but for no village except Bakwa did those interviewed say that their youth were using it or any other language more than they were using the mother tongue. The people of Bakwa indicated that their youth tend to use Pidgin more than they use their mother tongue, something they see as good, but they also indicated that they believe their children will continue to speak Bakwa even when they are old. The level of competence in Pidgin would be hard to measure in practice, since it is not a standardised language.

3.3 Vitality and Viability

Following is a summary of how those interviewed report their language use in different domains of life (3.3.1) and of their expressed attitudes toward their language and its potential for development (3.3.2).

3.3.1 Language use

3.3.1.1 At home and in other everyday domains

Almost all those interviewed reported exclusive use of the mother tongue (MT) in the home, with friends of the same age, and in the fields. In Banya, Pidgin is also used in the home.

3.3.1.2 At the markets and dispensary

Speakers from Ngwo, Basa and Ekwebo report using the MT exclusively at local markets, and those from Ikweri, Bakwa and Konda say they use the MT along with Pidgin. The Banya person interviewed said that in his village people use only Pidgin at the local market. At the larger market, Basa and Ngwo speakers reported using their MT with Pidgin. Interviewees from all the other villages said they use only Pidgin. All villages said they use only Pidgin at the dispensary, as well, probably because those working at the dispensary do not speak the local language.

3.3.1.3 In school

In the schools, English is the language of instruction, but the interviewees reported that in most of the villages children speak the MT among themselves at recess, sometimes along with Pidgin. In Bakwa and in Njikwa, the children tend to use Pidgin.

3.3.1.4 In church

Church denominations in the villages surveyed include the Roman Catholic Church, Presbyterian Church of Cameroon, Full Gospel Church, Apostolic Church, and the Baptist Church. In some of these, particularly the Presbyterian churches, the MT is used for prayer, some songs, and an interpretation of the sermon. Most, however, use Pidgin or Grammar English (i.e., standard English) exclusively.

3.3.2 Attitudes

3.3.2.1 Attitudes toward the mother tongue

All of the groups we interviewed expressed a positive attitude toward their MT and a desire to learn to read and write in it.

3.3.2.2 Continued existence of the mother tongue

When asked if they thought people would continue to speak the MT by the time their small children get married and when these same children are old, the response from all those interviewed was an enthusiastic “yes!” However, a man from the village of Basa said that parents there are “making an effort” to see that their children continue to use the MT, which may be an indication that they feel their MT is threatened. Interviewees from Ikweri and Konda also indicated that their youth are mixing the MT with Pidgin or English, but all those from the other locations did not see this as occurring.

At this point, it does not appear that the populations are shifting significantly towards the use of English in place of the MT. In every location except Banya parents report that they are happy to hear their children using English. However, despite the fact that 100 percent of children in all the villages attend primary school, where English is the language of instruction, in most locations only about 50 percent of the children go on to secondary school. The exceptions are in the village of Konda where those interviewed felt that about 75 percent continue on to secondary school and in Banya where more than half do so.

Nowhere, except in Bakwa, is it felt that the youth are using another language more than the MT. Those interviewed from Bakwa indicated that their youth are using Pidgin more than the MT. They feel this is good since it allows them to speak to more people when they are out of their own village.

3.3.2.3 Standardisation efforts

A calendar with the days of the week and the national anthem are written in Ngwo. None of the other varieties have anything written. There is no literacy program for any of the varieties, including Ngwo, but the Ngwo Cultural and Development Association has identified the need to start one. All those interviewed indicated they would be willing to participate in a MT literacy program. Most said that if books or materials were produced in another dialect, they would allow their children to learn to read in it, depending on the dialect. Those from Bakwa said they would not accept materials written in Ngwo, and the man interviewed from Basa said he would be unwilling to have his children become literate in any dialect but Basa.

3.3.2.4 Migration and intermarriage

Many young people stay in the village after leaving school. Those who leave the village tend to be the few who complete secondary school and who have the means to attend university.

Most of those interviewed said there are few or no restrictions regarding intermarriage. Some mentioned, however, that they do not intermarry with the herdsman migrating down from the north.

Basa and Bakwa report that no foreigners live among them, but in all the other locations there are some. In Ngwo they number as much as 25 percent of the

population, but those interviewed felt that eventually these immigrants, who come from other areas of Cameroon and from Nigeria to trade and farm, learn Ngwo. Thus, their presence poses no threat to the MT. In Ikweri and Konda, immigrants also tend to eventually learn the MT.

3.3.3 Development potential: Watters' socioeconomic factors

John Watters (1989) identifies the following as important:

1. Homogeneity of the linguistic community (social cohesion).
2. Openness of the community to change and to better living conditions.
3. Presence at the local level of a middle-aged leadership.

In this section we will consider what the responses of the various groups interviewed indicate with regard to these factors outlined by Watters.

3.3.3.1 Homogeneity of the linguistic community (social cohesion)

Watters (1989:6.7.3) states, "the more homogenous a given community is the more chance there is for success in motivating broad based participation in the development of the language and in a mass literacy program in that community." Watters adds that various dimensions, and not any one dimension alone, must be considered in determining the homogeneity of a community.

Linguistic: As we have seen, the speech varieties covered in this survey share a relatively high degree of lexical similarity, high enough to suggest the possibility of a shared language development program. Self-reported comprehension and language use patterns among the various communities, however, suggest that intercomprehension is not always inherent. The fact that many groups report using Pidgin to communicate with speakers of other varieties is evidence of this. A further indication is found in several assertions, especially by Konda and Ngwo speakers, that children do not understand other varieties until they begin to approach adulthood. Between all the varieties that we propose for Group 1 there appears to be inherent intelligibility in at least one direction, if not in both. And between the three proposed groups there is apparently a significant amount of acquired comprehension.

Geographic: Each of the villages is isolated from some or all of the others for at least part of the year. As mentioned previously in this report, the research team had to conduct most of the interviews in the village of Njikwa because of difficult access to the villages. It is obvious, however, that at least some of the people of each of these villages are in regular contact with the others. The Njikwa and Ngwo markets are two avenues for such contact.

Religious: With the exception of Bakwa, all villages claim that the majority of their inhabitants adhere to Christianity. Those interviewed from Bakwa said that less than half the population there is Christian. The Konda speakers said that 75 percent of the population is Christian and the other 25 percent are animist. Ngwo, Banya and Ekwebo have Muslim foreigners living among them.

Cultural: The villages share a similar heritage in that they all come from the Widikum ethnic group. As reported in section 3.3.2.4, immigrants from other ethnic groups tend to integrate into the local communities rather than posing a threat to cultural cohesiveness.

Economic: Most inhabitants of each of the villages are subsistence farmers who gather weekly to buy and sell goods at the Njikwa and Ngwo markets.

Political: Administratively, all these villages are in the Njikwa Sub-division of the Northwest Province of Cameroon, and their local political structures are similar.

To summarize, although the villages of the Njikwa Sub-division are somewhat isolated from one another geographically and, in some cases, linguistically, many other linguistic and social factors draw them together.

3.3.3.2 *Openness of the community to change and to better living conditions*

All of the communities we interviewed have a positive attitude towards change and bettering their living conditions. They all report that when their inhabitants are seriously ill they go to the dispensary, although some also visit traditional doctors. All the communities also report that they have a development committee involved in activities ranging from road and bridge construction and maintenance to building classrooms and community halls and giving agricultural help. Finally, the fact that 100 percent of the children attend primary school and that parents are happy to know that their children are learning English speaks positively about the desire of these communities to better their conditions.

3.3.3.3 *Presence at the local level of a middle-aged leadership*

In our interviews we asked three questions concerning local leadership:

1. Where do most of the leaders of the village live?
2. Approximately how old are they?
3. When these leaders are gone, will there be others to take their place?

Nearly all answered that most of their leaders live in or near the village. The Fon of Ngwo, however, has a house in Bamenda in addition to his palace in the village, and he stays mainly in Bamenda. The leaders range in age from 25 to 60, with all the villages having some leaders present who are around 40 years old. All those interviewed said they believe that when these present leaders are gone there will be others to take their place.

In conclusion, the community currently classified as “Ngwó” in *ALCAM* and “Ngwo” in the *Ethnologue* fits the description of what Watters calls a “changing community,” because it is basically homogenous, open to change, and has a middle-aged leadership still present. Watters (1989:6.7.9) asserts that a positive presence of these factors points toward a “greater...possibility for a widespread community participation in the development and implementation of a mass language program and for the longterm use of the language in written form.”

4. Past, Current, or Planned Language Development Activities

As we explained in section 3.3.2.3, Ngwo is the only one of the groups interviewed which has anything written in the MT. These materials include a calendar, the national anthem, and some unprinted songs. None of the groups has a literacy program for the MT, but all agree they would be willing to participate in one. The Ngwo Cultural and Development Association has agreed that a literacy program in Ngwo should be introduced.

Neither SIL nor CABTAL has ever worked in Ngwo or the other speech varieties covered in this survey. The National Association for Cameroonian Language

Committees (NACALCO) has no record of ever having had contact with a language committee from Ngwo.

5. Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1 Brief Summary

The speech varieties currently classified as “Ngwó” in *ALCAM* and “Ngwo” in *Ethnologue* fall into three groups based to some extent on lexical similarity but particularly on reported comprehension. Attitudes between all the groups tend to be positive.

The MT holds a place of primary importance in the lives of these peoples and nothing indicates that this will change anytime soon. In all locations attitudes toward the MT and the desire to see it written are positive. Although the villages tend to be isolated from one another geographically, and thus also linguistically to varying degrees, there appears to be good potential for cooperation in a language development program.

5.2 What Next?

We recommend that a language development project based out of Ngwo be started, but prior to or during the initial stages of the project the following additional research should be carried out:

1. Testing of intercomprehension between Ngwo, Ikweri, and Konda.
2. A more careful study, possibly including comprehension testing, to determine how Banya, Basa, Bakwa, Bako, Amasi, and Ayi would best be served by a language development program.
3. Exploration of the potential for cooperation in a joint language program including all the varieties studied in this report, even if further research reveals that comprehension between some groups tends to be acquired rather than inherent. Included in this should be the identification of a name (Widikum?) for the language to be developed which will unite the communities expected to use the same standard.

Appendix B: Questionnaires

GROUP QUESTIONNAIRE (December 1998)

Notes taken by: _____ Date: _____
 Interviewer: _____ Time: _____
 Researchers present: _____
 Information:
 Village (note on the map): _____
 Division: _____
 Sub-division: _____
 Population:
 internal: _____
 external: _____
 Type: (traditional chiefs) _____
 Origins of the Ngwó people? _____

2) DIALECTOLOGY:

- name of the people: _____ - name of the language: _____
- villages (on the map)
- villages where more than one language is spoken:
- grouping of villages according to dialect:

Exactly the same	Differences in accent or vocabulary	Difficult	Hinders comprehension

3) Linguistically related speech varieties: inter-comprehension ORDER OF COMPREHENSION

Language Variety	You Speak	They speak	Slowly normally	Comprehension		one people ?	attitude towards standardization
				Age			
Ngwo			s n				
Konda			s n				
Basa			s n				
Ikweri			s n				
Banya			s n				
Bako			s n				
Orokobi			s n				

LINGUISTIC ATTITUDES

	MT	Meta'	
Would you like your children to learn to read/write in...			
MT taught in the primary schools			
Would you like to learn to read/write in...			

Where is your language spoken the best?

If your language were to be developed, which dialects/varieties would you choose?

1 st	2 nd	3 rd
-----------------	-----------------	-----------------

4) Non-linguistically related speech varieties: MULTILINGUALISM

LANGUAGE	You Speak	they speak	slowly normally	Comprehension		One people ?	attitude towards standardization
				Age			
Meta'			s n				
Mundum			s n				
Ngie			s n				
Ngishe			s n				
Manta			s n				
Ihatum			s n				
Batomo			s n				
Menka			s n				
Atong			s n				
Caka			s n				
Beba			s n				

Which of these languages resembles yours?

Would you like to learn to read in this language? Why?

What ties link you to these languages?

Do you have the same origin?

Do you speak English everyday in this village?

Which of the following groups speaks it the best: the youth?
the adult men? the adult women?

VITALITY AND VIABILITY

6) Migration and intermarriage

-intermarriage? (between whom)

-restrictions?

YOUTH:

- do the majority attend school?

1)Primary: (%)

2)Secondary: (%)

- are there children who come from other locations to attend school here?

- what do the majority of young people do after finishing school?

FOREIGNERS :

- Are there foreigners coming to live here?
numerous?

Why?

Are they

- What language do you speak with them?

7) Language use

Which languages are used most often in the village?

	MT	Pidgin	English	Meta'	
DOMESTIC					
In the home					
With friends (same age)					
In the field					
At the local market					
At the big market					
At the dispensary					
SCHOOL					
During recess					
In class					
Instruction					
CHURCH					
Prayers					
Songs					
Sermon					

% CHRISTIANS

% MUSLIMS

% OTHERS

8) "Language Shift" : Indications

Do you think that the youth from here speak another language more than they speak Ngwó (MT)?

Which language(s)?

Is this a good thing or not?

Why?

Do you think the youth mix the mother tongue with Pidgin or English?

If yes, is this good or bad?

Are parents happy to hear their children using English?

If not, why not?

Do you think people will continue to speak Ngwó (MT):?

- when the children who are now small get married?

- when these same children are old?

9) Standardization efforts

Would you like to see your mother tongue written?

Has anything been written in your language? (For example, songs, prayers, portions of the Bible or other books?)

If books or materials were to be produced in another dialect, would you allow your children to learn to read and write in this dialect?

Is there a literacy program for your language (MT)?

If there were such a program, would you be willing to participate?

10) Watters' three sociolinguistic factors

a) Homogeneity of the linguistic community (social cohesion)

Are there certain villages which are cut off from the others during the rainy season, such that people cannot go to market or participate in celebrations?

b) Positive attitude towards change

Do many people go to the dispensary when they are seriously ill? If not, why not?

Is there a committee for development here? What are their current activities or projects?

c) Presence of leadership between 35 and 50 years old at the local level

- Where do most of the leaders of the village live?
- Approximately how old are they?
- When these leaders are gone, will there be others to take their place?
-

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR CHURCH LEADERS

Language use in the churches

Inform yourselves in advance about the denominations present in the area and the geographical location of the churches. Language use may vary according to whether a church is located in a rural or urban area.

What percentage of the population attends church regularly? (1/2, 2/3, etc.)

During church services in which language is the Bible read?

Do any people read their own Bible at home? In which language?

Which language(s) are used for:

- songs?
- Bible reading? Is it translated into Ngwó? Why?
- announcements? Are these translated into other languages? Why?
- the sermon? Is it translated into Ngwó? Prepared in advance? Phrase by phrase or in resumé form at the end? Why is it translated?

Does the presence of foreigners require you to use another language?

Are there people who don't understand the languages used in church?

Are there meetings for youth? Which language is used for these meetings?

Are there Bible studies? Which language is used?

What do you think about the use of a Language of Wider Communication in church?

What do you think about the (present and eventual) use of the mother tongue in church?

Is a translation of the Bible absolutely needed? Why?

What contribution could you make to this project?

Are there non-Christian religious groups in this village?

Are there other Christian denominations? If yes, which ones?

Would you be willing to work in close collaboration with the other Christian denominations?

When was this church established in this village?

How many members are in your church?

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR SCHOOL OFFICIALS

Up to which level are courses offered in this school?

How many students are in each class?

Primary School

Class 1:

Class 2:

Class 3:

Class 4:

Class 5:

Class 6:

Class 7:

Secondary School

Form 1:

Form 2:

Form 3:

Form 4:

Form 5:

Upper 6th:

Lower 6th:

College:

What percentage of the students belong to the Ngwó language group?

Do you have the impression that most of the Ngwó students come to school?

From how many kilometers away do the students come to school?

How many students continue their education after finishing school here? Where must they go to continue their education?

Which language do you use most often in class? Which language do the students use when they don't understand something? Do you sometimes use the Ngwó mother tongue?

Which language(s) do you use most often during recess to speak with the children?

Which language do the children use most often to speak with each other during recess?

Would you like to see the mother tongue introduced as a language of instruction in the school?

What role would you be able to play in the development of the Ngwó language?

Appendix C: ALCAM Wordlist

Ekwebo		
1	mouth	ètʃù
2	eye	èjǎzí
3	head	àt ^h ú
4	hair	njǎ't ^h ú
5	tooth	èsóó
6	tongue	ènémé
7	nose	dʒǎvi
8	ear	àtwòṅgù
9	neck (front and back)	èmwê
10	back of neck	tʃimámwê
11	throat	giádóó
12	breast	ébéne
13	arm/hand	ábwê
14	claw	wufunjàmè
15	nail (of hand)	wúfúbwê
16	leg	àwú
17	foot	àwú
18	buttock	àbiantʃò
19	belly	ènjuá
20	navel	èt ^h óó
21	intestines/insides	sétwê
22	blood	ánémme
23	urine	éntsé'sǎ
24	bone	àyófǎ
25	skin	gwáhě
26	wing	èbápè
27	feather	èví
28	horn	èdóó
29	tail	éwhónǎ
30	human being	wùlù
31	man (male)	wànomó
32	woman	wa-ǎzè
33	husband	ènomó
34	child	wánē
35	name	éxhúmé
36	sky	èzúú
37	night	èzímê

38	moon	ètàā
39	sun	ètʃùzhù
40	wind	èfúfū
41	cloud	m̀pá'sé
42	dew	gèsí
43	rain	èmbóō
44	ground	tʃuê
45	sand	èwútù
46	path	gĩ
47	water	mwō
48	stream (river)	mwō
49	house	nó
50	fire	èwízí
51	firewood	éwéwizí
52	smoke	ènjíkē
53	ash	ábúrā
54	knife	ébi
55	rope	éníkē
56	spear	éyō
57	war (fight)	bírí
58	animal	njàmè
59	meat	èdùgù
60	dog	búakàhè
61	elephant	àṅkó
62	goat	èbhá
63	bird	fénenē
63	tortoise	ðɪʃæuəʒɪɪeð
65	snake	dʒwé
66	fish	èdukbā
67	(head) louse	ḡkùnú
68	egg	búmákwo'ō
69	tree	àzwíri
70	bark	gwôzwíri
71	root	èyá
72	leaf	fǎfá
73	salt	fǎngwáā
74	fat	tséfomó
75	hunger (general)	tsōō
76	hunger (for meat)	tsōdùgú
77	iron (the metal)	áténé
78	one	àmò'ó
79	two	èfí

80	three	ètrà
81	four	èhwà
82	five	ètánè
83	six	nomfú
84	seven	àbùhùbátrá
85	eight	ngíhwà
86	nine	tánehwà
87	ten	èyámó
88	come	zè'è
89	send (someone)	t ^h úmú
90	walk	gwê
91	fall	ègû
92	leave	njíní
93	fly	náyàrà
94	pour	gìé
95	strike	yúrò
96	bite	nómó
97	wash (transitive)	swùó
98	split (wood)	ǰándé
99	give	nà'á
100	steal	ǒzi
101	squeeze	Háme
102	cultivate	fèé
103	bury (transitive)	khírí
104	burn (transitive)	tòno
105	eat	né
106	drink	njó
107	vomit	t ^h usí
108	suck	sòsò
109	spit (saliva)	t ^h ǔ
110	blow (on)	fófo
111	swell	mùrú
112	give birth	bé
113	die	xhū
114	kill	ví
115	push	tínó
116	pull	ǰiné
117	sing	kónó
118	play (a game)	mweté
119	be afraid	áfànà
120	want	zámé
121	say	yámá

122	see	zéné
123	show	t ^h é'è
124	hear	zú
125	know	nè'ké
		nè'ké
126	count	tá

Ikweri		
1	mouth	ètǎ̀
2	eye	èjèzí
3	head	àt ^h ú
4	hair	ngó't ^h ú
5	tooth	èsǒ
6	tongue	ènémè
7	nose	dzúvi
8	ear	àtwóngó
9	neck (front and back)	èmiê
10	back of neck	θjímómie
11	throat	giáddǒ
12	breast	ébén
13	arm/hand	ábíê
14	claw	èwúfúnjamè
15	nail (of hand)	èwúfúbiê
16	leg	àwú
17	foot	àwú
18	buttock	àbiantǎ̀
19	belly	èḡwá
20	navel	èt ^h ó
21	intestines/insides	tsǎ̀twê
22	blood	ànémé
23	urine	éntsé'è
24	bone	àyǎ̀fǎ̀
25	skin	gwúawhuó
26	wing	èbápè
27	feather	éví
28	horn	ndó
29	tail	ékwónǎ
30	human being	wùlù
31	man (male)	wànomó
32	woman	waǎ̀í

33	husband	èném
34	child	wan
35	name	èxhámà
36	sky	ézu
37	night	èzimí
38	moon	ètà
39	sun	ètʃúzhū
40	wind	áfə
41	cloud	m̀pá'sé
42	dew	gèsí
43	rain	m̀bɔ
44	ground	tʃwé
45	sand	èwúdu
46	path	gĩ
47	water	m̀wɔ
48	stream (river)	m̀wɔ
49	house	né
50	fire	èwísí
51	firewood	èwéwísí
52	smoke	ènjikè
53	ash	ābúrú
54	knife	ébi
55	rope	éníkē
56	spear	èyɔ
57	war (fight)	bírí
58	animal	njámè
59	meat	èdúgú
60	dog	búɔkúkɔ
61	elephant	àŋkɔ
62	goat	èbhú
63	bird	fēnēn
63	tortoise	ðɪʃæuəʒɪɪəð
65	snake	dʒwé
66	fish	dukba
67	(head) louse	ŋkwânó
68	egg	ébúmákɔ'ɔ
69	tree	àzérɔ
70	bark	gwôzérɔ
71	root	éya
72	leaf	fəfá
73	salt	fəŋgwā
74	fat	tsəfómó

75	hunger (general)	ètsò
76	hunger (for meat)	tsòdùgù
77	iron (the metal)	àténé
78	one	àmò'ó
79	two	èfí
80	three	ètrà
81	four	èkwà
82	five	ètánè
83	six	nəmfú
84	seven	àbík-wà
85	eight	èfàá
86	nine	t ^h anék-wà
87	ten	èyóm
88	come	zè'è
89	send (someone)	t ^h umú
90	walk	gwê
91	fall	ègù
92	leave	njíní
93	fly	ŋáyānā
94	pour	gě
95	strike	yurə
96	bite	nóm
97	wash (transitive)	ʃíú
98	split (wood)	sandé
99	give	nà'á
100	steal	òzi
101	squeeze	kám
102	cultivate	náfi
103	bury (transitive)	khírí
104	burn (transitive)	tònó
105	eat	ní
106	drink	ŋó
107	vomit	t ^h usí
108	suck	sòsò
109	spit (saliva)	t ^h ǔ
110	blow (on)	fófú
111	swell	mùrú
112	give birth	nábí
113	die	xhǔ
114	kill	ví
115	push	tínó
116	pull	ʃíné

117	sing	kwánó
118	play (a game)	mièti
119	be afraid	fánè
120	want	àzámá
121	say	yámé
122	see	zéné
123	show	t ^h é'è
124	hear	zú
125	know	nè'ké
126	count	tá

Konda		
1	mouth	ètsò
2	eye	èyá
3	head	átó
4	hair	njótó
5	tooth	ísò
6	tongue	ènàmé
7	nose	èzú
8	ear	àkió
9	neck (front and back)	imê
10	back of neck	dzùmòmê
11	throat	ɲdzèndó
12	breast	èbàn
13	arm/hand	àbwó
14	claw	èwónjiá
15	nail (of hand)	èwóbwô
16	leg	àwū
17	foot	àwū
18	buttock	àbwónjĩ
19	belly	èbûn
20	navel	èt ^h ò
21	intestines/insides	tikwó
22	blood	áném
23	urine	θintsê
24	bone	kháyæ
25	skin	gwówhuó
26	wing	èbápè
27	feather	éwíli
28	horn	ndó

29	tail	íkwońə
30	human being	wulù
31	man (male)	wàńóm
32	woman	wàjĩ
33	husband	énóm
34	child	wán
35	name	èkum
36	sky	èzō
37	night	ŋkwô
38	moon	étā
39	sun	ètsuzū
40	wind	ifǎō
41	cloud	m̀pá'ā
42	dew	ègíê
43	rain	m̀bà
44	ground	ńjĩ
45	sand	ŋkəgwó
46	path	ndzĩ
47	water	égum
48	stream (river)	égum
49	house	ènu
50	fire	éwii
51	firewood	èwêwii
52	smoke	énik
53	ash	ábélé
54	knife	fǎbí
55	rope	énékà
56	spear	iyō
57	war (fight)	èblé
58	animal	ńjā
59	meat	ńjā
60	dog	èbhú
61	elephant	àńkó
62	goat	èbhū
63	bird	fəńān
63	tortoise	ðɪʃæuɑɪɪɛð
65	snake	èdzū
66	fish	èbū
67	(head) louse	ńĩkwān
68	egg	ébumágu
69	tree	ázəl
70	bark	ŋgwôzəl

71	root	éyá
72	leaf	éfwô
73	salt	fǎngwā
74	fat	tífom
75	hunger (general)	ètsó
76	hunger (for meat)	ètsónjà
77	iron (the metal)	àtónṅ
78	one	mó'
79	two	fí
80	three	ètálá
81	four	ìhwà
82	five	ètán
83	six	ndùfú
84	seven	sàmbálá
85	eight	ìfwǎ
86	nine	níkṵṵ
87	ten	wum
88	come	zì'í
89	send (someone)	t ^h úm
90	walk	yìnè
91	fall	ègù
92	leave	njanè
93	fly	zìá
94	pour	gǐe
95	strike	wurú
96	bite	nóm
97	wash (transitive)	sukṅ
98	split (wood)	sáné
99	give	nà'á
100	steal	dzi
101	squeeze	kám
102	cultivate	xhúli
103	bury (transitive)	khíṅ
104	burn (transitive)	tòno
105	eat	né
106	drink	njó
107	vomit	t ^h ú
108	suck	sṵṵ
109	spit (saliva)	kíu
110	blow (on)	fúu
111	swell	mwólù
112	give birth	bé

113	die	xhú
114	kill	ʒú
115	push	dé'ε
116	pull	gwǒ
117	sing	bànétsā
118	play (a game)	ʃínsān
119	be afraid	àfànà
120	want	èmè
121	say	gà
122	see	zú
123	show	thé
124	hear	zú
125	know	èkhí
126	count	tá

Ngwo		
1	mouth	ètʃlú
2	eye	èyó
3	head	àt ^h ú
4	hair	njórət ^h ú
5	tooth	èʃwāŋ
6	tongue	ènəmé
7	nose	èzú
8	ear	àt ^h imé
9	neck (front and back)	èŋwê
10	back of neck	èŋwê
11	throat	àdwuɔŋ
12	breast	ábán
13	arm/hand	àbwó
14	claw	éŋgli
15	nail (of hand)	éŋlíbwō
16	leg	álō
17	foot	álō
18	buttock	étʃirŋdʒí
19	belly	ébûm
20	navel	étwān
21	intestines/insides	étwé
22	blood	ànóm
23	urine	ěntsêŋ
24	bone	àwú

25	skin	gwúpkwǎ
26	wing	àblábà
27	feather	àwúrù
28	horn	èndwóŋ
29	tail	èkōt
30	human being	γô
31	man (male)	àānóm
32	woman	áāyé
33	husband	éēnóm
34	child	ŋwó
35	name	èkúmu
36	sky	èzóp
37	night	ēntʃli
38	moon	età
39	sun	étanōtʃwě
40	wind	èfóó
41	cloud	èmbè'
42	dew	ŋgèrè
43	rain	èmbō
44	ground	tʃwâ
45	sand	èntʃíré
46	path	áyè'
47	water	ènd ^h í
48	stream (river)	èdzíí
49	house	ndó
50	fire	èwū
51	firewood	èwá
52	smoke	èŋgí'
53	ash	àbúnə
54	knife	ébié
55	rope	èndū'
56	spear	ěŋwō
57	war (fight)	èbírí
58	animal	njêm
59	meat	njêm
60	dog	b ^h u
61	elephant	àŋkó
62	goat	bhú
63	bird	ènðnó
63	tortoise	ðɪʃæuəʒɪvɪəð
65	snake	dzúé
66	fish	ʃú

67	(head) louse	ènt ^h ín
68	egg	àk ^h òñ
69	tree	ǎzóró
70	bark	ngupèzèrò
71	root	ǎyá
72	leaf	èfú
73	salt	ěngwáá
74	fat	èmpfóm
75	hunger (general)	tʃúòŋ
76	hunger (for meat)	tʃúòŋjèm
77	iron (the metal)	àt ^h òńó
78	one	ŋwá'
79	two	ɾie
80	three	ètét
81	four	èkwè
82	five	étān
83	six	èmpfú
84	seven	èsambie
85	eight	èpfùǎn
86	nine	èkóó
87	ten	èwúm
88	come	zé'è
89	send (someone)	t ^h óm
90	walk	zìné
91	fall	t ^h ùrú
92	leave	njèné
93	fly	pfùné
94	pour	dóŋó
95	strike	guru
96	bite	nóm
97	wash (transitive)	sùu
98	split (wood)	sanó
99	give	ndè'è
100	steal	dzǐ
101	squeeze	k ^h ám
102	cultivate	kírí
103	bury (transitive)	pá
104	burn (transitive)	sò'ó
105	eat	ŋdé
106	drink	ŋwó
107	vomit	zě
108	suck	ʃwá

109	spit (saliva)	θ ^h úmén
110	blow (on)	fée
111	swell	è̀mòná
112	give birth	ě̀bē
113	die	ě̀kū
114	kill	zúđó
115	push	t ^h íná
116	pull	gòó
117	sing	kwóná
118	play (a game)	ǰínā̀tsáná
119	be afraid	ébūm
120	want	ékē
121	say	gā
122	see	zòŋ
123	show	t ^h ée
124	hear	zúrǎ
125	know	ně
126	count	tá

Basa		
1	mouth	ótǰū
2	eye	ésâ
3	head	átú
4	hair	nǰó'tū
5	tooth	esō
6	tongue	énémé
7	nose	zuzū
8	ear	átúŋgū
9	neck (front and back)	óm̄mwu
10	back of neck	ɾònkurémwí
11	throat	đáđóo
12	breast	ebéné
13	arm/hand	àbwê
14	claw	γubwê
15	nail (of hand)	èγubwē
16	leg	àyû
17	foot	ègábáwû
18	buttock	àbiétítǰâ
19	belly	óm̄ŋwâ
20	navel	ètóó

21	intestines/insides	otwê
22	blood	ŋkiēsé
23	urine	ŋdʒe'sê
24	bone	àγūfū
25	skin	ókubū
26	wing	óbábā
27	feather	évī
28	horn	ŋdó
29	tail	ōnhwónō
30	human being	wurù
31	man (male)	wànumú
32	woman	wàzê
33	husband	onumú
34	child	waná
35	name	óγāmū
36	sky	òzú
37	night	èzímí
38	moon	ótáa
39	sun	θʃwùtʃwê
40	wind	dáfū
41	cloud	mpá'sá
42	dew	ŋgèsé
43	rain	èb ^h û
44	ground	tʃwè
45	sand	ñtsú
46	path	gùkê
47	water	mwô
48	stream (river)	àtwê
49	house	nū
50	fire	òwúfí
51	firewood	àwê
52	smoke	ònjyū
53	ash	èntwésê
54	knife	òbñí
55	rope	èndànà
56	spear	èyô
57	war (fight)	blilí
58	animal	njàmà
59	meat	òdùgù
60	dog	βû
61	elephant	gènèmè
62	goat	βwútđi

63	bird	fònèmè
63	tortoise	ðɪʃæuɑɪɪɪɛð
65	snake	ðʒwê
66	fish	òdúgúbâ
67	(head) louse	àgɫígwá'á
68	egg	ènú
69	tree	àt ^h ū
70	bark	òkubàat ^h u
71	root	òyā
72	leaf	èfúfū
73	salt	òɲgiè
74	fat	àfómô
75	hunger (general)	tsò
76	hunger (for meat)	dándóò
77	iron (the metal)	àkwèyè
78	one	àmò'ó
79	two	òfi
80	three	òtɫlà
81	four	òhwà
82	five	ètánà
83	six	dòɲfú
84	seven	àbóbátfrā
85	eight	ɲgíhwà
86	nine	ètánèhwà
87	ten	èyūmū
88	come	jé'é
89	send (someone)	t ^h umú
90	walk	gwèé
91	fall	éguū
92	leave	táníní
93	fly	dáyàlá
94	pour	giè
95	strike	náná
96	bite	númú
97	wash (transitive)	jú
98	split (wood)	sáná
99	give	ɲà'á
100	steal	òdzí
101	squeeze	k ^h ámá
102	cultivate	témé
103	bury (transitive)	ni
104	burn (transitive)	jó

105	eat	dzó
106	drink	ɲjónɔ
107	vomit	θésé
108	suck	ɲjúnú
109	spit (saliva)	θ ^h ú
110	blow (on)	whùá
111	swell	dámpùkù
112	give birth	bē
113	die	èyū
114	kill	ví
115	push	βà'á
116	pull	ʃíní
117	sing	βðyɯ
118	play (a game)	ɲjèré
119	be afraid	plàá
120	want	zámá
121	say	ðzámá
122	see	zéné
123	show	ɲjèvé
124	hear	zú
125	know	èné'gé
126	count	tá

Bakwa		
1	mouth	óʃwi
2	eye	ésé
3	head	átʃú
4	hair	seigwátʃú
5	tooth	ésō
6	tongue	énē
7	nose	dzégwí
8	ear	át ^h úaaa
9	neck (front and back)	ōmmwí
10	back of neck	àtekmwí
11	throat	ntáyî
12	breast	ébé
13	arm/hand	àbó
14	claw	ègwúbáʃē
15	nail (of hand)	ègwùábó
16	leg	èsáwê

17	foot	ègábāwê
18	buttock	àbétʃwí
19	belly	ònwâ
20	navel	étô
21	intestines/insides	ótsô
22	blood	ónkí
23	urine	ndêzê
24	bone	ày'óbē
25	skin	njòghê
26	wing	òbóló
27	feather	òwí
28	horn	èní
29	tail	òkwâ
30	human being	òhwúòḡ
31	man (male)	gwànúḡ
32	woman	zwàhê
33	husband	zwànúḡ
34	child	wáa
35	name	òywê
36	sky	ézu
37	night	èzíkê
38	moon	òtâ
39	sun	tʃwétʃwê
40	wind	afùdù
41	cloud	èmpá'á
42	dew	àgàzê
43	rain	mbê
44	ground	ètsô
45	sand	sēʃi
46	path	jékê
47	water	mwâ
48	stream (river)	àtsô
49	house	né
50	fire	òwúʒê
51	firewood	èwúʒê
52	smoke	òdíkê
53	ash	èntsô
54	knife	òbrí
55	rope	ḡkâ
56	spear	èyô
57	war (fight)	èdzú
58	animal	njòḡ

59	meat	njón
60	dog	bwâhóhō
61	elephant	àfùŋwù
62	goat	bwí
63	bird	fónê
63	tortoise	ðɪʃæuaɪɪɪeð
65	snake	dʒō
66	fish	òdúgú
67	(head) louse	àtʃlàngwá
68	egg	ànwí
69	tree	àtsê
70	bark	njògeátse
71	root	òyá
72	leaf	èfō
73	salt	fòŋgwa
74	fat	àfō
75	hunger (general)	àtójafâ
76	hunger (for meat)	àndō
77	iron (the metal)	àt ^h ie
78	one	fòmó'o
79	two	ònfí
80	three	ònrâ
81	four	èhwà
82	five	ètâ
83	six	ròŋfú
84	seven	àbókwaàtrâ
85	eight	ŋgíhwâ
86	nine	ètíífhwâ
87	ten	èyabō
88	come	zè
89	send (someone)	tʃíi
90	walk	gíkí
91	fall	gùú
92	leave	wà'áfō
93	fly	yàlá
94	pour	gē
95	strike	zwe
96	bite	nómú
97	wash (transitive)	ʃòó
98	split (wood)	kà'á
99	give	nà'á
100	steal	òdzé

101	squeeze	k ^h ɔ́
102	cultivate	yéé
103	bury (transitive)	jhéí
104	burn (transitive)	twàká
105	eat	ðzē
106	drink	njɔ́
107	vomit	t ^h ʰzē
108	suck	njɔ́
109	spit (saliva)	θʃí
110	blow (on)	fðē
111	swell	àmpwé
112	give birth	βí
113	die	èye
114	kill	ɣwí
115	push	ŋgírí
116	pull	ʃí'í
117	sing	βàye
118	play (a game)	jwàrí
119	be afraid	phíá
120	want	màá
121	say	dzɔ́
122	see	ʃi
123	show	mbèvé
124	hear	ʒu
125	know	khé
126	count	tá

Banya		
1	mouth	ètsúrù
2	eye	èyēsì
3	head	átò
4	hair	ŋɔ́tò
5	tooth	ésóɔ
6	tongue	nèmè
7	nose	dzwíí
8	ear	átòŋnò
9	neck (front and back)	émuū
10	back of neck	θsiékròtò
11	throat	ŋkrātò
12	breast	ébēnē

13	arm/hand	ábwê
14	claw	éyufūjamē
15	nail (of hand)	éyufūwūrū
16	leg	áwūrū
17	foot	édúbrawúrú
18	buttock	dzúbū
19	belly	ébhû
20	navel	étô
21	intestines/insides	tsittwê
22	blood	ánémē
23	urine	ntsēē
24	bone	áyôfū
25	skin	gūrū
26	wing	àpápē
27	feather	ètóngû
28	horn	îdô
29	tail	ékwonô
30	human being	wūrū
31	man (male)	wūrènū
32	woman	wūròjê
33	husband	énúññ
34	child	wadê
35	name	éxhûú
36	sky	ézû
37	night	ézúmù
38	moon	étâ
39	sun	tjû
40	wind	áfôfô
41	cloud	m̀pa' si
42	dew	gēsē
43	rain	m̀b̀
44	ground	nsí
45	sand	éyútū
46	path	ndzìkè
47	water	ndúū
48	stream (river)	fìndrô
49	house	ènū
50	fire	éwísí
51	firewood	éwê
52	smoke	énúkū
53	ash	ébutū
54	knife	ébê

55	rope	éńkù
56	spear	éyó
57	war (fight)	bírí
58	animal	ńámē
59	meat	édúgū
60	dog	bwókúkwò
61	elephant	àńkò
62	goat	bhā
63	bird	fínnē
63	tortoise	ḍɪʃæuaɪɪeḍ
65	snake	dʒwē
66	fish	édugbrā
67	(head) louse	ńkúnū
68	egg	ébúmēngā
69	tree	ázòrē
70	bark	gwózàrē
71	root	éyā
72	leaf	éfǎ
73	salt	fǎngwā
74	fat	tsífómō
75	hunger (general)	tsò
76	hunger (for meat)	tsòdúgū
77	iron (the metal)	àkrótēnē
78	one	ámó'ò
79	two	éfè
80	three	étrāā
81	four	èxwè
82	five	ètānē
83	six	númū
84	seven	àbiétrā
85	eight	bèxhwǎxhwè
86	nine	ètānexwè
87	ten	èyámū
88	come	zìlē
89	send (someone)	túmú
90	walk	àxwè
91	fall	éguū
92	leave	ńānā
93	fly	áyàrà
94	pour	gìē
95	strike	wēmē
96	bite	númú

97	wash (transitive)	ʃwō
98	split (wood)	sándē
99	give	ŋā'ā
100	steal	édzǐ
101	squeeze	kámē
102	cultivate	áfíē
103	bury (transitive)	kírí
104	burn (transitive)	tónō
105	eat	ŋǐ
106	drink	ŋō
107	vomit	tēsí
108	suck	nórā
109	spit (saliva)	θwèzòrè
110	blow (on)	fǎfū
111	swell	mūrū
112	give birth	bǐ
113	die	xhū
114	kill	wǐ
115	push	ŋǐtē
116	pull	ʃinē
117	sing	kwónó
118	play (a game)	émwǎǐ
119	be afraid	éfánè
120	want	édúkū
121	say	gāmā
122	see	zēē
123	show	tǎfū
124	hear	zúū
125	know	tʃinē
126	count	tā

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