

Tivoid Survey

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CONTENTS

Abstract

1 Background

- 1.1 Classification
- 1.2 Purposes
- 1.3 Selection of Sites
- 1.4 Description of the Area
- 1.5 Team and Timing

2 Procedures

- 2.1 Wordlists
- 2.2 Recorded Text Testing (RTT)
- 2.3 Sociolinguistic Questionnaires
- 2.4 Bilingual Questionnaires
- 2.5 Group Interviews

3 Ipulo-Eman-Caka

- 3.1 Lexicostatistics
- 3.2 Ipulo and Eman
- 3.3 Caka and Eman

4 Icheve

- 4.1 Linguistic Results and Analysis
- 4.2 Sociolinguistic and Multilingual Profile
- 4.3 Conclusions and Decisions

5 Proposed Changes to *Ethnologue* and *ALCAM*

Appendix 1: Tivoid Languages and Their Neighbors in Cameroon [*ALCAM* p. 369]

Appendix 2: Group Interview Form

Appendix 3: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire

Appendix 4:

1. (Omitted)
2. Multilingualism
3. Development of the language

Appendix 5: Bilingual Proficiency Questionnaire

References

Abstract

This 1990 survey investigates two Tiv-related languages: Assumbo and Mesaka. The purpose is to recommend which varieties should be standardized, based on both linguistic data (shared lexical percentages and inherent intelligibility) and sociolinguistic data (language use and attitudes). In particular, since the Assumbo dialect, Ipulo, as spoken in the village of Tinta is planned for development, there was need to discover the extent to which a written form of this dialect could be used. We investigated the use of Pidgin in key domains to determine community use and proficiency. [*This report has not been peer reviewed.*]

1 Background

1.1 Classification

The Tiv-related languages under study in this survey are identified by the *Ethnologue* as Assumbo (Asumbo, Badzumbo) and Mesaka (Messaga, Iyon, Banagere). Both are classified as Bantoid, Non-Bantu, and Tiv-Bantu languages (following the classification of Williamson 1971) and are related to each other. Dialects listed for Assumbo are: Avande (Evand, Balegete), Asumbo (probably referring to Ipulo), and Amanavil.¹ Dialects listed for Mesaka are: Iceve (Bacheve, Oliti), Iyive (Yiive), Ugare (Messaga), Batomo (Babasi), and Caka (Assaka). The number of Assumbo speakers is listed as 21,000 in Cameroon and 5,000 in Nigeria, while the number of Mesaka speakers given is 14,000 in Cameroon and 5,000 in Nigeria.

The *Atlas Linguistique du Cameroun* (ALCAM) gives the following breakdown: (891) Ugare, (892) Batomo, (893) Caka, (894) Iyive, (895) Iceve, (896) Evand (Avande), (897) Ipulo (Asumbo), and (898) Eman (Amanavil). These languages are categorized as Bantoid, Bantou, and Tivoid languages, along with Tiv (802), Esimbi (803), Manta (804), and Ihatum (Osatu) (899).²

In summary, table 1 shows the classifications as described in the *Ethnologue* with the *ALCAM* numbers.³ Those languages starred are those under study in this report. Map 3 gives an overview of geographic placement of the languages within Cameroon, most of which are in the Akwaya Subdivision, Manyu Division of the Southwest Province, while map 1 shows an enlarged picture of the immediate area.

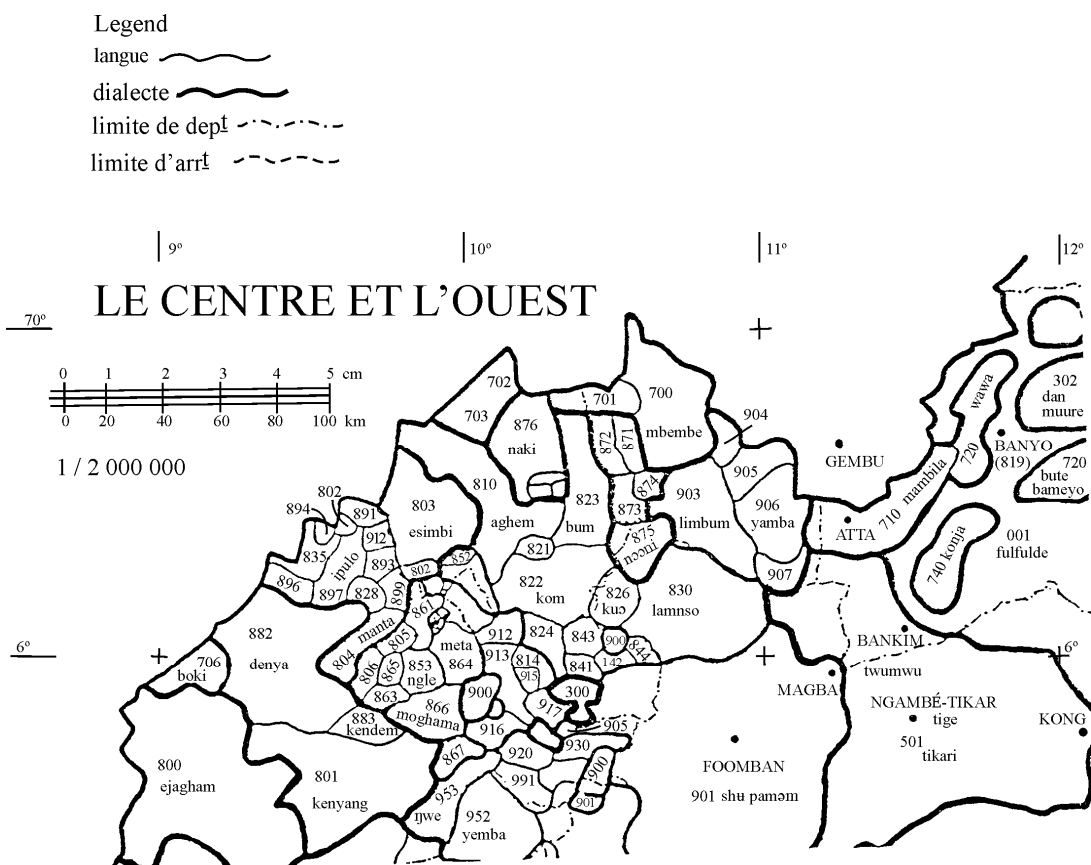
¹ The Nigerian *Ethnologue* entry cites Amanavil as a dialect of Mesaka, not Assumbo.

² The *Ethnologue* does not list Ihatum, but does list both Esimbi and Manta as non Tiv-Bantu languages. It shows Tiv-related languages found exclusively in Nigeria.

³ Other classifications of the Tiv-related languages include: (a) Bantoid, Bantoid I, and Tivoid (Greenberg 1974); (b) Bantoid, Bin, Ungwa, and Tiv (Bennett and Sterk 1977); (c) Bantoid, Bantu, Narrow Bantu, non-East, and Tivoid (Bastin, Coupeze, and de Halleux 1983); and (d) Bantoid, Southern (Wide Bantu), Tivoid (Watters and Leroy 1989).

Table 1. Mesaka and Assumbo Speech Forms

	(891) Ugare (Messaga)
	(892) Batomo (Babasi)
Mesaka	(893) Caka (Assaka) *
	(894) Iyive (Yiive)
	Iceve (Bacheve, Oliti) *
	Avande (Evand)
Assumbo	(897) Ipulo *
	Amanavil (Eman) *

Map 1. Tiv-related Speech Forms and Their Neighbors
in Cameroon (ALCAM, 381)

1.2 Purposes

Ray Yoder of RBMU Int'l (Regions Beyond Missionary Union), seconded to the Cameroon Baptist Convention (CBC), is learning and studying Ipulo, as spoken in the village of Tinta. Due to his request, SIL was invited to conduct a survey to determine the degree of intelligibility between the various Ipulo villages and determine the extent to which a written form of Tinta-based Ipulo could be used.

Because of the possibility of the future development of Icheve by RBMU linguists seconded to CBC and the proximity of Icheve with Ipulo, Icheve was also included in the survey.

The process of determining the number of, and which speech form(s) is best to standardize involves not only linguistic data (shared lexical percentages and inherent intelligibility between speech forms), but also sociolinguistic data. The latter includes how people use and view the speech forms (language use and attitudes). In areas of multilingualism, such information gives insight into the viability of the speech forms and the domains in which each are used when language contact occurs.

Furthermore, the survey was intended to determine the degree to which people in the region use Pidgin English as a means of wider communication in order to determine whether Pidgin should be promoted as the language of written communication. It is recognized that a common language, such as Pidgin, can unify people bridging across distinct national language barriers. Therefore, we felt that this should be included in the overall study of language use of the area.

We anticipate that the linguistic data presented will help clarify the classification of languages as presented in the *ALCAM* and in the *Ethnologue*.

1.3 Selection of Sites

If the shared vocabulary between two communities is greater than 70 percent, then further analysis is needed to test the intelligibility that exists between those speech forms. Therefore, based on lexicostatistics, we selected the Ipulo villages of Tinta and Olulu for further testing. We included Otongo in this survey based on the widespread local impression that the language variety spoken there differed slightly from the Tinta form, where Yoder is learning Ipulo.⁴

Previous lexical studies could not determine whether Amanavil would have higher intelligibility with Ipulo or Caka. Therefore, we included two Caka villages (Assaka and Batanga) which were related to each other at a cognate percent of over 70 percent in the survey. Furthermore, we chose Amayo as the site for additional testing, based on the local opinion that its speech form was close to Amanavil.

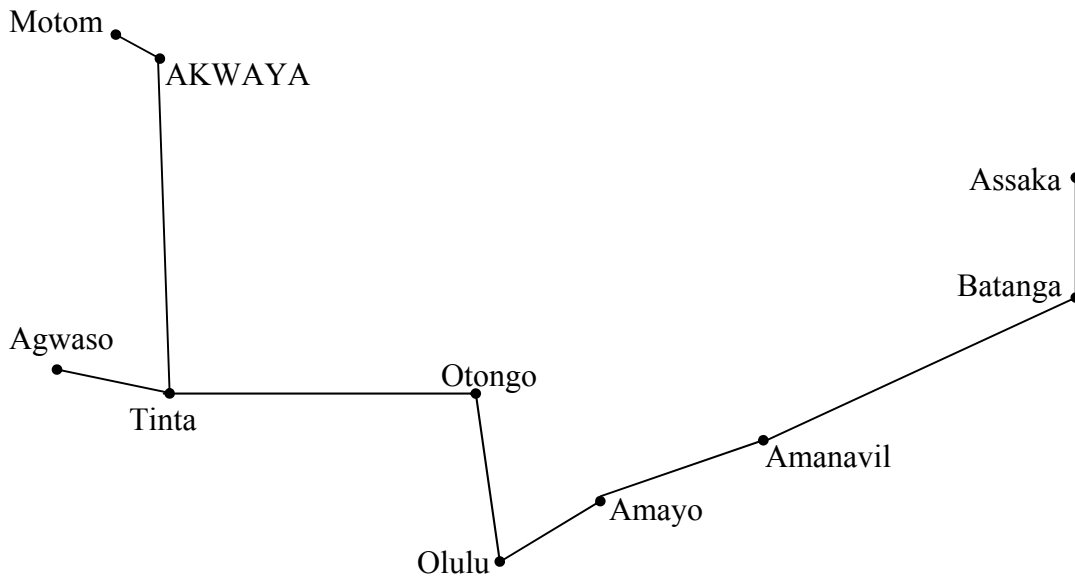
⁴ Wordlists from Amayo and Otongo were collected and analyzed after we returned to Yaounde, and thus, did not directly influence the decisions concerning these two speech forms. Complete lexicostatistic results are discussed in sections 3.1 and 4.1.

After lexicostatistics showed Icheve includes the Oliti and Bacheve speech forms, we selected the villages of Motomo for Oliti and Agwaso for Bacheve as the sites for further survey. We chose those sites based on ease of access and the hope that the people of the villages had limited contact with people of other speech form.

1.4 Description of the Area

The survey took place in the Akwaya subdivision, Manyu Division, of the Southwest Province. The area is extremely mountainous, with only footpaths connecting the villages. The trek to Bamenda is a three-day journey from this area. Travel between villages is further restricted during rainy season, when rivers become hazardous to cross because of the lack of bridges. The following map shows the location of the nine survey sites in relationship to Akwaya, the administrative seat.⁵

Map 2. Akwaya and the Nine Survey Sites



Of all the villages listed, only three do not represent the name of the speech form as referred to in the rest of the report. They are as follows: Motom, which is Oliti-speaking, Agwaso, which is Bacheve-speaking, and Tinta, which represents one of the dialects of Ipulo, as do Otongo and Olulu. Akwaya is in the same valley as Tinta. Akwaya is not only the governmental seat, but also offers people health services, churches, schools, and a weekly market.⁶

Of the survey sites, only Tinta, Olulu, and Assaka have primary schools. The schools in Assaka and Olulu teach the first six years; Tinta's schools teach the first three years. Tinta also has a church and a recently opened medical clinic operated by CBC missionaries. Olulu, Amayo, and Motom also have small churches mainly serving the people of the immediate area.

⁵ For a detailed map of the region, refer to the map NB-32-XVI, published by Centre Geographique National (B.P. 157, Yaounde).

⁶ The largest and most frequented market in the area is in Amana, located in Nigeria, which most people of the area reach by trekking through Akwaya.

The communities of the region are divided into quarters: Otongo, Olulu, and Amayo have two quarters, and the others have more than two quarters. Except for Motom, these quarters are often separated from one another by several hours of trekking through the mountains and by fording rushing rivers. In the case of Amanavil, this is significant because we tested and collected data only in the quarter closest to Amayo, as well as Olulu; there is also a quarter nearer to Assaka and another close to Batanga. In questioning the local people, we found that the villagers have more frequent contact with one another than with people of another village, so we considered that the samples were adequately representative of their speech forms.

1.5 Team and Timing

The six-week survey took place from June 13 to July 23, 1990. The survey team consisted of SIL members Alan Starr, who coordinated it, and Clark Regnier. The first half was assisted by RBMU (CBC) personnel Ray Yoder, who also gathered all the wordlists, and Ward Crocker.

2 Procedures

2.1 Wordlists

We elicited wordlists of 120 items for each survey site, then analyzed them synchronically. Afterwards, we used a WordSurv program to tabulate the results. This allowed a tentative grouping of the sites of speech forms with lexical similarity of over 70 percent: (a) Oliti-Bacheve, (b) Tinta-Otongo-Olulu-Amayo-Amanavil, and (c) Assaka-Batanga-Amanavil-Amayo.

2.2 Recorded Text Testing (RTT)

At each site we recorded two stories—one about one minute in length and the other about two and a half minutes. They were autobiographical incidents of the storyteller, not folklore tales. The shorter story had five questions about the story's content interspersed throughout it, while the longer story had ten such questions. At each site, ten children (ages 12–17) listened to the stories in their language, as well as the long stories in the languages to be tested in that village. For the latter, we translated the questions into the testee's language, assuring their comprehension.

The children's answers to the questions show their level of comprehension for the story. Collectively, the average number of correct responses at a site for a particular speech form and the standard deviation of these scores give the degree of intelligibility existing between the speech forms. RTT only effectively measures inherent intelligibility, that is, the intelligibility that exists between the speech forms due to linguistic similarity, not due to the subjects' exposure to other speech forms, which would be acquired intelligibility. One reason children are tested is because they have less contact with other speech forms, and thus, we have a better chance to measure inherent intelligibility.

Before the actual testing process begins, the child listens to an introduction tape, which gives brief directions on how to take the test, and then gives the short story in the child's speech form. This allows the child to become acquainted with the testing procedures.

Then the first long story he hears is the one in his speech form. If the child cannot answer at least eight questions correctly from the story told in his mother tongue, we conclude that the subject has difficulty taking tests. (This is the limit of acceptance. Normally, we expect perfect scores or maybe only one missed.) In this case, the child does not listen to any subsequent stories; otherwise, he listens to the rest of the long stories from the grouping.

If the subject cannot answer a question, then the question can be repeated, as well as the corresponding segment of the text. For each answer a score is given—zero if wrong, 1 if correct, and ½ for partially correct.

2.3 Sociolinguistic Questionnaires

We questioned twenty individuals about their language use and their opinions about language development. Of these twenty individuals, ten were 15–30 years old and the other ten were 45 years or older. This permitted us to have two distinct age categories, so we could determine if age were a factor on the respondents' answers. Additionally, in each age category, five males and five females were questioned, so that we could ascertain if a person's sex conditioned a response.

We asked the respondent's mother tongue, because of our desire to interview twenty people whose mother tongue was a given speech form, not people who happened to currently live in a given community. We also inquired about the mother tongue of the respondent's mother, father, and spouse(s), because usually these were variables which determine a person's speech and multilingualism.

In regard to the development of the language, we had five questions. We asked if the people would like to see the speech forms of the area used in schools and whether they themselves would be willing to read and write them. To help determine which speech form would be best to develop, we asked them to rank their preferences as to which speech form they would most like to read and write. Finally, we asked their opinion as to where their speech form was "best" spoken and whether the young people were in the habit of abandoning it to speak another language (i.e., Pidgin).

The complete sociolinguistic questionnaire is found in appendix 3.

2.4 Bilingual Questionnaires

The same individuals who answered the sociolinguistic questionnaires also answered the bilingual questionnaires. The questions for evaluating Pidgin bilingualism were a series of yes/no questions that have been graded into six levels of difficulty and which corresponded to the FSI (Foreign Service Institute) levels of second-language proficiency. If the individual answered "yes" to all questions of a particular level, then the questions for the next level were asked. The questionnaire is found in appendix 4.

2.5 Group Interviews

In each survey site, we gathered as many people as possible into a location to discuss their language, with usually 15–30 people attending. A cross-section of the people were on hand to ensure the answers were not just the opinions of a few who happened to be more educated or were better traveled. Questions essentially were about what speech

forms they considered to be similar to their own and how well they understood them. We also asked their opinion of which speech form would be best to standardize, if all the closely related speech forms were to be served by one written form. As much as possible, we sought group consensus on the answers; then different sectors (such as older women) were singled out to check if they agreed. At the end of the meeting, we requested one person to briefly tell the history of the people (see appendix 2).

3 Ipulo-Eman-Caka

3.1 Lexicostatistics

The percentage of shared cognates between the speech forms is charted below and then summarized, showing three groups and the percentages between the groups. The three groups are: Ipulo (Tinta, Olulu, and Otongo), Eman (Amayo and Amanavil), and Caka (Assaka and Batanga).

Table 2. Percentage of Shared Cognates

Tinta						
95	Olulu					
91	92	Otongo				
50	51	51	Amayo			
49	50	50	78	Amanavil		
44	44	45	68	69	Batanga	
42	42	43	63	65	81	Assaka

Table 3. Groupings by Lexical Relations

	IPULO		43		CAKA
Tinta	95	Olulu			Batanga
	91		91		81
		Otongo			Assaka
			50		66
				EMAN	
				Amayo	
				78	
				Amanavil	

The variances for the given percentages are between 2 and 8 percent.⁷ Using the variance, there is a range where the true percentage is most likely located. The following chart gives these ranges:

Table 4. Percentage of shared Cognates with Range of Error

Tinta							
93–97	Olulu						
88–94	89–95	Otongo					
42–58	43–59	44–58	Amayo				
41–57	42–58	42–58	73–83	Amanavil			
36–52	36–52	37–53	63–73	63–75	Batanga		
34–50	34–50	35–51	58–68	59–71	76–86	Assaka	

Normally, the intelligibility between the speech forms of the Eman and the Ipulo groups would not need to be further explored due to the low shared-word percentages (<70%). However, there is also a low shared percentage between the Eman and Caka groups (66%). It was therefore decided to investigate the intelligibility between Ipulo and Eman. This was also supported as procedure because of how the people consider the situation and the sociolinguistic factors, which we later show as a grouping of the two dialect clusters. The question of whether Ipulo-written materials, which Yoder plans to develop, could be used in the communities of Amayo and Amanavil might also be answered by this strategy. (Even without further testing, it was acknowledged that if the Amayo and Amanavil could benefit from an Ipulo-written form, then someone would need to provide bridging materials to facilitate the transition.)

This section is now subdivided into two parts: Ipulo and Caka. The Eman group is discussed in relationship to both parts.

3.2 Ipulo and Eman

Modified test procedures

First, in the village of Otongo, we had to include adults in the selection of individuals to take the recorded text test, instead of just children, because the child population was small. Even so, we found only eight mother-tongue speakers of Otongo to be tested, including four over twenty years old.

In Tinta, we tested subjects on all five speech forms, because it is this language that Yoder is in the process of learning and it will be used as the Ipulo standard; additionally, it seems to be the dominant dialect in terms of prestige and demographics.

There were twenty subjects in Tinta, divided into two groups. We tested the first group on Tinta, Otongo, Amayo, and Amanavil speech forms; we tested the second group on Tinta, Olulu, Amayo, and Amanavil speech forms. Those in the first group heard the first minute of the Amayo text without any questions, and then heard it a second time with

⁷ The variance for each percentage is given in table 22. Actually, the term variance is not the statistical value known as variance, but the range of error, which is the standard deviation multiplied by a z value for the confidence level.

questions interspersed throughout. The second group heard the Amanavil text in the same manner. This is a variation of a Simons' experiment studying the effect of assimilation over time (Simons 1989).

Results and analysis of RTT

Results. Tables 5 and 6 give the means and standard deviations for the RTT results. The Amayo and Amanavil results are given for the group that heard those texts in the normal manner. The test sites are listed vertically, and the texts are listed horizontally. For example, the subjects in the test site of Tinta had a mean comprehension of 60 percent on the Amayo text.

Table 5. Mean Percentage of Test Results

		Comprehension of:				
		Tinta	Otongo	Olulu	Amayo	Amanavil
Comp. by:	Tinta	94	86	100	60	24
	Otongo	90	92	99	--	---
	Olulu	99	98	100	--	---
	Amayo	95	--	---	94	91
	Amanavil	88	--	---	94	100

Table 6. Standard Deviation of Results

		Comprehension of:				
		Tinta	Otongo	Olulu	Amayo	Amanavil
Comp. by:	Tinta	7	11	0	22	23
	Otongo	14	10	4	--	--
	Olulu	3	4	2	--	--
	Amayo	8	--	--	5	11
	Amanavil	13	--	--	7	0

There were three questions on the texts that need special attention. Question 5 on the Amanavil text called for an answer that was a Pidgin loanword; this question was modified after being used in Tinta, but before being used in Amayo and Amanavil. This question was the only one that more than seven of the twenty Tinta subjects were able to answer correctly. It was modified before using it in the Amayo and Amanavil test sites. Question 9 on the Otongo text was missed by three subjects from Otongo, indicating that it could be a bad question. In Tinta, four individuals missed that question fully, and another partially. Question 4 on the Amayo text was missed by four subjects from Amayo, probably indicating it was a bad question. In Tinta, six subjects missed that question fully. These last two questions did not seem to affect subjects from other areas as much. The means and standard deviations after all three of these questions were discarded are shown in tables 23 and 24.

Complete test results with the scores, ages, and educational levels of each subject is given in tables 25–29. Tables 30–34 give the number of times a particular question was missed by the subjects of a test site for each text. Table 35 shows the 95 percent confidence interval for the means.

Table 7 compares the results from the experiment having one group hear a text normally with the questions interspersed from the beginning, and another with a one-minute introduction before the text is started again, with the questions interspersed. The figures are given for both groups, as well as the composite statistics for all subjects (note: it might not be statistically “wise” to use a composite average, since two different things were measured). The Ipulo subjects in Tinta heard such tests on the Amayo and Amanavil texts. Only nine individuals heard the Amanavil text in the normal manner.

Table 7. Experiment Comparisons of Means and Standard Deviations

	Mean	Standard Deviation
Amayo (normal)	60	22
with intro	70	17
Composite	65	20
Amanavil (normal)	24	23
with intro	28	28
Composite	25	25

The effect of the older subjects on the test results in Otongo is shown in table 8. The standard deviation for the Ipulo (which is spoken in Tinta) test on the old subjects is skewed heavily, due to the fact one subject had a low score (6) and the other three had perfect scores. Other than this, the comparison between old and young subjects was very similar, but a Mann-Whitney test would need be performed to conclude this.

Table 8. Comparisons of Means and Standard Deviations for Old and Young Subjects in Otongo

	Mean		Standard Deviation	
	Old	Young	Old	Young
Tinta	90	90	20	8
Otongo	95	90	10	12
Olulu	98	100	5	0

Analysis of RTT. An examination of the intelligibility between any two speech forms in the Ipulo group shows the mean is above the 85 percent threshold. The lowest value is 86 percent for the Tinta subjects’ comprehension of Otongo, but this might be a reflection, in part, to the fact that the Otongo text was more difficult, as evidenced by the Otongo subjects’ comprehension of that text as being 92 percent. The only standard deviation in the 12–15 percent interval indicating probable bilingual overlay was the Otongo’s comprehension of Tinta. Again, this was skewed somewhat because one subject scored substantially different than the rest. Thus the means, standard deviations, and these other attenuating factors support the conclusion that the speech forms in the Ipulo group are dialects of one another with high intelligibility between them.

The text results measuring intelligibility between the Eman speech forms show means in the 90 percent range, with standard deviations below the 12–15 percent interval.

Therefore, we conclude that Amayo and Amanavil are not distinct languages from one another.

The relationship between the Eman and Ipulo groups is more complex than within either group. The subjects of the Eman speech forms had high comprehension of the Tinta speech form of the Ipulo group (95 percent and 88 percent), but the reverse was not true (60 percent and 24 percent); even if the Tinta subjects heard the Eman texts with the one-minute introduction before being questioned, the means are low (70 percent and 28 percent). From these low averages, we concluded that Ipulo and Eman are distinct languages, and comprehension by the Eman speakers of Ipulo is due to acquired intelligibility. The standard deviations for the Eman subjects' comprehension of Tinta confirms this conclusion. Therefore, based on linguistic data, these are separated; in order to bring any other judgment to it, sociolinguistic information must be considered.

In the case of Amanavil, the standard deviation (13 percent) suggests that some of the Amanavil subjects had acquired comprehension of Ipulo. In the Amayo case, the standard deviation was lower (8 percent), so we concluded that acquired comprehension of Ipulo was generalized throughout the sample. Geographic proximity supports the notion that a higher percentage of Amayo subjects probably had contact with the Ipulo group than did the Amanavil subjects; this higher percentage would allow for more uniform scores, and thus a lower standard deviation.

The reason for the high comprehension for the Eman people of the Tinta speech form is most likely due to the fact that Tinta is the dominant speech form and the Eman speech forms are subordinate. This prestige factor has caused Eman people to acquire the Tinta speech form, but not the reverse. Related dialects can have at most a 25 to 30 percent difference in comprehension scores; a higher difference means the speech forms are distinct language, as in this case (SIL 1989). Most likely, the main reasons for the high comprehension of the Eman people are sociolinguistic.

The comprehension scores between the Tinta and Eman forms is also imbalanced because Amayo and Amanavil are a two-day trek from Tinta, while Olulu (which is very similar to the Tinta speech form) is only a couple hours away by foot from Amayo. Therefore, it is most likely that the Eman people have more contact with a Tinta-related speech form than the Tinta people have with an Eman speech form.

Analysis of Experiment. The experiment was to see if the Tinta subjects, who had the one-minute introduction of an Eman speech form, would score higher than those who did not have such an introduction to that speech form. Our theory is that the subjects' ears will be "tuned in" to the systematic changes between the particular speech form and their own. Also, hearing the story first provides for a framework, or context, to initially aid in the understanding of what the text is about. The reason for testing the effect of assimilation over time is that if individuals can easily acquire the comprehension in the matter of a very brief time span, then the two speech forms are not so different that separate literature would need be developed.

The results showed that the comprehension was 10 percent (an average of one more question correct out of ten) greater for those subjects who heard the Amayo text with the introduction than for those who did not. However, there was no difference between those who heard the Amanavil text with the introduction and those who did not. The difference between these two cases is that one mean went from 60 percent to 70 percent, and the other stayed in the low 20 percent range. Apparently, comprehension of a speech form can be increased if there is some degree of inherent intelligibility between the two forms. However, if the degree of inherent intelligibility between speech forms is extremely small, then a subject's comprehension will not show any increase if there is just a little extra exposure. For example, it would not be surprising to see a Frenchman's comprehension of an Italian text increase if he first heard a one-minute introduction, but the comprehension would remain essentially the same if the text were Japanese or Russian.

Sociolinguistic and Bilingual Profile

One generalization can be made about language use for the Ipulo and Eman people. The domains of Ipulo for the people of Olulu and Otongo and the domains of Eman for the people of Amayo and Amanavil are with family (spouse and children), friends of the same speech form, and in the fields; Pidgin is used at the markets, at the subdivisational office, and with friends of another speech form.

In the following sections, multilingualism and attitudes on standardization and development are discussed for four survey sites: Otongo, Olulu, Amanavil, and Amayo. Sociolinguistic and bilingual questionnaires were not used on the Tinta population, since Tinta is in the process of being developed.

It must be noted that the people of Otongo and Olulu considered the Tinta speech form to be the same as their own, so they did not report it as another language they spoke or understood. Additionally, the people of Amayo and Amanavil did not refer to a Tinta, Olulu, or Otongo speech form, but referred to them collectively as Ipulo.

Each section has a chart summarizing the speech forms that the various age-sex classes reported as speaking and/or understanding without speaking. These classes are: Old Male (OM), Old Female (OF), Young Male (YM), and Young Female (YF), where young is the 15–30 age category and old is the 45 years and older category. The people's evaluation as to their ability of comprehending and/or speaking is reported as either being well (+) or just a bit (-), and if there is no indication, or a blank, it equals zero. Also reported are the number who had any amount of formal education, the number who had lived outside the area, and the number who reported as being monolingual speakers. Lastly, the self-evaluation scores of the Pidgin ability are charted.

- Ipulo speakers in Otongo

Multilingualism. The following table summarizes the speech forms the Otongo people report as speaking and understanding:

Table 9. Multilingualism of OTONGO Mother-tongue Speakers

	OM	OF	YM	YF
Total	5	4	4	5
Schooling Outside	2		4	0
	3	1	3	2
Monolingual	1	4	1	0
Spk. & Comp. Assaka Only Comp. Assaka	++		-	
Only Comp. Batanga	+			
Spk. & Comp. Aman. Only Comp. Aman.	+ ---		++ -	+++
Spk. & Comp. Amayo Only Comp. Amayo	++ +-		++ +	+++ +
Spk. & Comp. Pidgin FSI Scores Only Comp. Pidgin	+++ - 5 4+4+0+0	0000 -	+++ 5 4+2+ 0	++++ - 4+4+3+1+0+
Other	-		--	

It should be noted the young men were very difficult to locate, and others in the village commented that they are often away.

A total of thirteen people spoke and/or understood Amanavil, and twelve reported they were able to do so in Amayo to some degree; of these, two had mothers who were from Amayo and one from Amanavil. While the total for Pidgin was thirteen, all but one of these claim speaking ability. However, the sample's scores revealed that no age-sex class had universally high proficiency. On the contrary, each age-sex class contained people with both high and low proficiency, except in the old woman class, where they totally lacked Pidgin ability.

Only three of the seven who spoke Amayo and/or Amanavil were asked which speech form(s) they use when among the Amayo and Amanavil peoples. However, all three said they used Amayo when among the people of Amayo, and Amanavil when among the people of Amanavil. An additional two also reported using these speech forms when in their presence, but did not earlier indicate ability in speaking these speech forms when asked to list the speech forms they spoke.

Attitudes on Standardization and Development. All asserted they speak to people from Tinta in Ipulo in their normal manner. Additionally, fifteen cited Tinta as where Ipulo is “best” spoken; while three reported Otongo and three Manko (a few reported two villages as the “best”).

In regard to the development of the speech forms, the vast majority were receptive to Ipulo or Pidgin being used in the local primary school. Thirteen of sixteen people chose Ipulo over Pidgin as the speech form in which they would most like to be literate.

In the group interview, there was group consensus that the people of Tinta and other Ipulo villages all speak the same with no differences. Additionally, they asserted they speak the same language as the people of Amayo and Amanavil, but said the people of those communities change their language a great deal, as compared to the Olulu people, who only slightly alter it.

- Ipulo speakers in Olulu

Multilingualism. The following table summarizes the speech forms the Olulu people report as speaking and understanding. The Pidgin self-evaluation questionnaires were only partially administered.

Table 10. Multilingualism of OLULU
Mother-tongue Speakers

	OM	OF	YM	YF
Total	5	3	5	6
Outside School	3	1	5	4
Monolingual	0	1	0	0
Spk. & Comp. Assaka Only	--	+	--	-
Spk. & Comp. Aman. Only	+++ +-	++ +	+++ --	+ +++ -
Spk. & Comp. Amayo Only	+++ +-	+ +-	+++ --	+ +++ -
Spk. & Comp. Pidgin Only	++-- 5 1+ 1	++	+++++ 5+5+5+4+2+	+++++ - 5 2+2+
Other	+-	-	+	

Only one young female did not report being able to speak and/or comprehend both Eman speech forms. There were also more people in Olulu who reported understanding Assaka than was the case in Otongo. The Olulu's ability in these other speech forms can be attributed probably, in part, to closer proximity and the existence of the school in Olulu, which is a reason why some children who speak these speech forms live in Olulu for a period of time. Some ability in Pidgin was expressed by nearly everyone, but probably only the young male class has high proficiency by most of its members.

The speech form for communication among the Eman people was split—seven reported speaking Ipulo and seven reported speaking Eman (that is, seven reported speaking Amanavil to Amanavil people, and seven reported speaking Amayo to Amayo speakers), with another two reported as using Pidgin. However, except for the two who said they spoke Pidgin to the Eman speakers, the rest indicated that the Eman speakers responded to them in their Eman speech form. Of those polled, two had Eman wives and two had Eman mothers (note: it seemed to be the trend of the area that the women moved to the husband's village).

Attitudes on Standardization and Development. In regard to questions on development, there was wide-spread consensus. When the people were asked “Where is your language spoken the best?,” the answers tallied as follows: Ntamale 1, Olulu 2, Manko 3, and Tinta 13. Additionally, fifteen of eighteen said Ipulo was their first choice for the speech form they preferred to be able to read and write.

Although both the people of Tinta and Olulu refer to the speech form of Olulu as “Ihekwo.” the people insist that there are no differences between the two speech forms. Only when pressed, do they admit that there are small differences, but the exact nature of these differences was argued in the group interview. However, it was easily agreed upon that all can easily understand speakers from Tinta. There was also consensus among the women that they can understand and speak Amayo well, but can only understand Amanavil well. The youth also agreed that they had difficulty in understanding well both the Amayo and Amanavil speech forms.

- Eman speakers in Amanavil

The people of Amanavil refer to their speech form as “Elaka.” It is interesting to note that there is a Tiv-related language in Nigeria called “Emane” near Amana, where many Ipulo people go to the market. One can only speculate with present data, if Emene near Amana is closely related to the Eman in Amanavil.

Multilingualism. The following table summarizes the speech forms the Amanavil people report as speaking and comprehending.

Table 11. Multilingualism of AMANAVIL
Mother-Tongue Speakers

	OM	OF	YM	YF
Total	5	6	5	6
Schooling Outside	2 4	0 2	4 4	1 2
Monolingual	0	0	0	0
Speak Assaka Comp. Assaka	- - +	++ +	++++ +	- + + + + +
Speak Bat. Comp. Bat.	- + +	++ - +	++++ +	- - + + +
Speak Amayo Comp. Amayo	+ + + -	+ + + +	+ + + + +	+ + + + +
Speak Tinta Comp. Tinta	- + + + +	+ + + - +	- + + + +	+ + + + +
Speak Osatu Comp. Osatu	+ -	++ +	- +	+ --
Speak Pidgin Scores	-- -- + 0 2+ 2+2+4+	00000+1+	- - + + + 2+ 2+ 3+ 3+ 4+	- - + + 0+ 1+ 1+ 2+ 3 3
Other	+			

Almost all of the Amanavil people report speaking ability in the Amayo and Ipulo speech forms, and almost all of the people of the young category also report speaking ability in the Caka speech forms. The reported Pidgin ability and the self-evaluation scores show that there is low Pidgin ability as a whole among the population, with no group possessing a high degree of proficiency.

When the people of Amanavil converse with people of a different speech form, half of them report they use the speech form of that people and the other half report using Amanavil. On the other hand, only one Amanavil person reports that the people of other speech forms with whom they are conversing use the Amanavil speech form in the conversation, indicating possibly that Amanavil is not widely known by other speech communities.

Attitudes on Standardization and Development. Amanavil was clearly the most popular choice for use in the schools and the number-one choice for the speech form the

respondents most wanted to read and write (sixteen out of twenty chose Amanavil as their first choice). Five people chose Ipulo and five others chose Amayo as their second choice, but two people also chose Ipulo as their first choice. Only the Caka speech forms were cited by more than 20 percent of those sampled as speech forms they did not want to see used in the schools and did not want to learn to read and write.

In spite of these results, in the group interview, the consensus of the people regarding options of Amanavil, Amayo, and Ipulo, was that Ipulo would be the best standard for a written form that would serve both the people of the Ipulo and Eman speech forms. Additionally, when they were informed that the Tinta variety of Ipulo was in the process of being learned by a linguist for this purpose, they expressed support and were in favor of it being used to unite the people under one written form. The group consensus was that the speech forms of Ipulo and Amayo were closer to Amanavil than those of Assaka and Batanga. This opinion was expressed after they said they understood those speech forms more. No doubt this is due, in part, to greater exposure, because they also reported in the group interview that they traveled to the market with the Ipulo people and not the Caka people (though they marry from both groups). Finally, their origins story points to a unity with the Ipulo people, not the Caka people, or even the Amayo people.

- Eman speakers in Amayo

Multilingualism. The following table summarizes the speech forms the Amayo people report as speaking and comprehending. The bilingual pidgin scores were not fully gathered, but the indication was they would be low, especially considering the young men's scores, which are usually the highest.

Table 12. Multilingualism of the AMAYO
Mother-Tongue Speakers

	OM	OF	YM	YF
Total	4	6	3	5
Outside School	3 2	0 2	2 3	2 0
Monolingual	0	0	0	0
Spk. & Comp. Assaka Only Comp. Assaka	-		--	
Spk. & Comp. Batanga Only Comp. Batanga	+ -	+	-	
Spk. & Comp. Amanavil Only Comp. Amanavil	- + + +	---+ +	+ + +	+ +
Spk. & Comp. Ipulo Only Comp. Ipulo	+ + + +	- + + + +	+ + -	+ + +
Spk. & Comp. Osatu Only Comp. Osatu	- -	+	+	-
Spk. & Comp. Pidgin FSI Pidgin Scores Only Comp. Pidgin	- - + + 1+2+4 4+	+ 2+	- + + 2+	- - 1+ 2+
Other			- - -	

From comparing this chart with the Amanavil multilingualism chart, it is clear the Eman people have a high rate of knowing the other speech form within the Eman group, as well as knowing Ipulo. Additionally, the Amanavil people also have a high reported rate of ability in the Caka speech forms and Osatu. Amanavil's geographic placement apparently has caused its people to acquire this multilingualism to a higher degree than Amayo.

The multilingualism in Ipulo and the Caka speech forms is independent of the sex or age categories, unlike the reported Pidgin ability, which is small in the old woman class in both Amayo and Amanavil, and small in the young woman class, as well, in Amayo.

Out of fourteen people surveyed, nine reported using Ipulo rather than Amayo when in the presence of an Ipulo speaker, and two additionally reported using either Ipulo or Amayo. Clearly, more Amayo speakers know Ipulo, than Ipulo speakers know Amayo.

Attitudes on Standardization and Development. As the case in Amanavil, the opinions asserted on language development were mostly in favor of using the local speech forms in school and in reading and writing. The Caka speech forms were rejected by most people. Not unexpectedly, the people of Amayo chose their speech form most frequently as the number one choice for the speech form in which they would want to be literate (ten out of sixteen). Ipulo was the only other speech form with more than one person giving it as a first choice—with four people citing it.

However, as in the Amanavil case, the consensus at the group interview was that Ipulo would be the best speech form for a standard that would serve all the related speech forms. Although their origin story was little known by the people, one man related that they were once one with the Tinta people. This closeness to the Ipulo speech forms is still sociolinguistically stronger than to the Caka speech forms.

Conclusions and Decisions

Linguistic evidence supports that the Olulu, Otongo, and Tinta speech forms are variants within the Ipulo language. Amayo and Amanavil, while probably historically originated from Ipulo, now are distinct from Ipulo and are considered to be variants of the Eman language.

In Ipulo test sited, Pidgin ability is very widespread, except in the case of the older women category. Though widespread, the Pidgin proficiency level is not exceedingly high. However, Pidgin use has reduced the number of other languages the Ipulo people know (speak or understand), but these Ipulo test sites also have quite a bit of Eman ability, if counting both those who speak and those who just understand it. However, this ability is very probably much more reduced in Tinta, since the exposure is reduced. However, this does show Ipulo people do have frequent contact with Eman people. This supports the Eman subjects' high scores on the comprehension of Ipulo and their reported ability of Ipulo to be the result of acquired intelligibility, more than inherent intelligibility.

Although the intelligibility of Ipulo by the Eman people is largely acquired, the Eman people do report speaking and/or understanding Ipulo speech forms more than the Caka speech forms, which seem lexically closer to Eman. This cannot be explained by intermarriage because, of the Eman surveyed, two had Ipulo mothers and one had a Batanga mother. Apparently, the Amayo and Amanavil people have more contact with the Ipulo than with the Caka, possibly due to trading or schooling. The group interview only substantiated this closer affinity to Ipulo when the people asserted they identify with the Ipulo people and understand Ipulo better than Caka.

Although Pidgin ability is widespread, Ipulo is clearly the first choice of the vast majority of Ipulo people for the speech form they most would like to read and write, and the Eman people agreed it would be the best speech form to use as a standard to serve both Ipulo and Eman. Additionally, since many school-age children still do not attend school or only do so for a few years, it is most likely that Ipulo would be the speech form that would be easier to learn to read and write than would be Pidgin. Furthermore, in the Eman sites, Ipulo was reported as being known to a higher degree than even Pidgin. Therefore, we

recommend literacy in Ipulo materials, aided by bridging materials for the Eman people. To further clarify that Ipulo could be used in literacy among the Eman communities, we also further recommend that testing be done for comprehension of the Eman people on nonnarrative Ipulo texts by those doing literacy in that region. It must be remembered that the Eman's lexical similarity with Ipulo was less than 70 percent, but acquisition of Ipulo is widespread and at a high degree of proficiency (at least in topics of everyday or shared experiences; whether a larger percentage would be able to grasp difficult teachings [such as from the Bible] of another culture in Eman more than Ipulo cannot be asserted).

3.3 Caka and Eman

Modified Test Procedures

Procedures were previously discussed. In RTT, the modifications were in addition to the standard procedure and only performed after the subject answered the question. The results did not affect the scoring, because not all subjects took part in these procedures. They are cited here only for future consideration in deciding a subject's comprehension.

In the Amanavil text, there is the string of words, "We ate all the hearts of those animals." The question "What did they eat together?" follows. To check the given response (i.e., intestines, liver, heart), the subject was asked to point to the area of the organ on his body. Often the verbal response differed from the nonverbal.

Another modification we made occurred after the subject answered or tried to answer a question, but could not. At that point, we asked him to tell what he had heard to determine if the answer would be included, which it was sometimes. Additionally, it was noted if a subject could not answer a question initially, but would later include the answer in another response. For one example, the Amanavil text includes the string of words, "He met a sorcerer." The question that follows is, "Whom did he meet?," which was not answered by many outside of Amanavil. However, in the next answer, they would say, "He gave the sorcerer the 100 (CFA)." These considerations might help discern poorly worded questions or semantic skewing.

In the testing, the Assaka and Batanga youth heard texts from the Assaka, Batanga, Amayo, and Amanavil speech forms. The Amayo and Amanavil youth heard those, in addition to the text in the Tinta speech form.⁸

Results and Analysis of RTT

Results. There were two questions on the texts that need special attention. Question 5 on the Amanavil text called for an answer that was a Pidgin loanword; this question was modified after being used in its original form in Assaka. Therefore, Batanga, Amanavil, and Amayo had the modified question. Question 4 on the Amayo text was missed by four subjects from Amayo, probably indicating it was a bad question. Tables 23 and 24 give the means and standard deviations of the results were these questions discarded from the analysis.

⁸ The results on the tests in the Tinta speech forms have already been presented.

Tables 13 and 14 give the means and standard deviations for the test results. The test sites are listed vertically and the texts are listed horizontally. For example, the subjects in the test site of Batanga had a mean comprehension of 80 percent on the Amanavil text.

Complete test results with the scores, ages, and educational level of each subject of Assaka and Batanga are given in tables 36 and 37 (results for Amayo and Amanavil are recorded in tables 28 and 29). Tables 38 and 39 give the number of times a particular question was missed by the subjects of Assaka and Batanga for each text (results for Amayo and Amanavil are recorded in tables 33 and 34). Table 40 shows the 95 percent confidence interval for the means.

Table 13. Mean Percentage of Test Results

		Comprehension of:			
		Amayo	Amanavil	Batanga	Assaka
Comp. by:	Amayo	95	91	72	70
	Amanavil	94	100	95	88
	Batanga	92	80	97	92
	Assaka	69	64	97	97

Table 14. Standard Deviation of Test Results

		Comprehension of:			
		Amayo	Amanavil	Batanga	Assaka
Comp. by:	Amayo	5	11	12	17
	Amanavil	7	0	5	16
	Batanga	10	16	4	12
	Assaka	12	15	5	7

Analysis. We have established that Amanavil and Amayo are dialects of one another and constitute a separate language from Ipulo. The previously mentioned tables make it clear that Assaka and Batanga are also dialects of one another—their mean comprehension of the other speech form is extremely high and the standard deviation is low. Again, the question is whether the Eman speech forms (Amayo and Amanavil) constitute a distinct language from the other speech forms, in this case Caka (Assaka and Batanga).

We have argued that sociolinguistic evidence points to the Eman speech forms being more closely related to Ipulo than Caka. The above numbers confirm that Eman is a distinct language from Caka. While Amanavil has a high mean comprehension score of Assaka (88 percent), the standard deviation is also larger than the 12–15 percent critical range, strongly indicating a bilingual overlay. Assaka does have a high mean score of Batanga (95 percent), with a low standard deviation (5 percent), but Amayo has low comprehension of Batanga (72 percent) and a standard deviation in the 12–15 percent range. The situation is such that Amanavil seems to be the most related to Amayo, and Batanga is most related to Assaka lexically and by intelligibility testing. However, linguistic data also seems to point to Batanga and Amanavil being closely related, without a close relationship between Amayo and Batanga or Amanavil and Assaka. This causes us to posit a chain.

If the people of Olulu were found to have uniformly high comprehension of Amayo (which is not difficult to surmise considering their close geographic proximity), then the following comprehension chain could be made:⁹

Ipulo-Olulu-Amayo-Amanavil-Batanga-Assaka.

The chain is such that each speech form has high comprehension of the adjacent speech form (or one step away) and lower comprehension for speech forms two steps away, with a higher standard deviation of the comprehension scores than the standard deviations at one step away.

On purely lexical and RTT results, the picture can be plotted as below, where speech forms with very high relatedness are enclosed in []'s, and those with less relatedness in ()'s.

[Ipulo-Olulu]-[Amayo-(Amanavil)]-[Batanga)-Assaka]

This would cause a linguist to posit the Eman speech forms more on the Caka side, but sociolinguistic evidence overrides this to produce:

[[Ipulo-Olulu]-Amayo-Amanavil]]-[Batanga-Assaka].

This sociolinguistic evidence again relates to the Eman's identifying with the Ipulo people both historically and presently, as evidenced in their lore, their attitudes, and their self-evaluation regarding their multilingualism.

Sociolinguistic and Bilingual Profile

The same generalization previously discussed can be made about language use for the Caka and Eman people as for the Ipulo people. The domains of Eman use for the people of Amanavil and Amayo are with family (spouse and children), friends of the same speech form, and in the fields; Pidgin is used in the markets, at the subdivisional office, and with friends of another speech form.

In the following sections, the multilingualism and attitudes on standardization and development are discussed for just the Caka survey sites: Assaka and Batanga; this material for the Eman speech forms was discussed earlier. This section is set up similarly to the Ipulo section on multilingualism; refer to the beginning of that section, if there are questions regarding the charts on multilingualism.

- Caka speakers in Assaka. The people of Assaka call their village Balaka and their speech form Adzu Balaka. The Batamo people call the language Busam, which is a

⁹ The term "comprehension chain" is used rather than "dialect chain" because there is no strong evidence that the Caka speech forms are historically related to the Ipulo ones, or that presently there are phonological or grammatical similarities; only their lexical similarity has been examined.

name for a Western Grassfields speech form spoken in Widikum (Momo Division, West Province), which the Assaka people give as their place of origin until World War I.¹⁰

Multilingualism. Only Batanga, Amanavil, Amayo, and Pidgin have been charted for ability in understanding without speaking ability.

Table 15. Multilingualism of ASSAKAK
Mother-Tongue Speakers

	OM	OF	YM	YF
Total	6	5	5	5
School	2	0	5	2
Outside	3	3	4	3
Spk. & Comp. Batanga	+ + + + + -	+ +	+ + + +	- -
Only Comp. Batanga	+ +	+ +	+	+
Spk. & Comp. Amanavil	+ + + - -		- - - -	
Only Comp. Amanavil	-		-	
Only Comp. Amayo	- - - -		+ - -	+
Ipulo			+ -	
Esimbi	+ + +	+ + -	+ - -	
Batomo	+ + + + -	+ + - - -	+ + + + -	+
Spk. & Comp. Pidgin	+ + + - -		+ + + + +	- -
FSI Scores	5 4+ 3+ 1 0+ 0+	000	5 4 4 4	3+310+0
Only Comp. Pidgin	-	+		+ + -
Other	+		+ -	

Interaction. The speech forms used in conversations between Assaka speakers and speakers of Amayo, Amanavil, or Batanga cannot be predicted. In the cases of Amayo and Amanavil, a large percentage of Amanavil speakers report using Pidgin. In the case of Batanga, a substantial percentage use Batanga. For complete results, refer to table 41.

¹⁰ “The British colonialists used the term ‘Widikum’ to refer to the forest people who migrated northwards from the Mamfe Division into the Bamenda area, in order to differentiate them between their neighbors, the Tikar, and the Bali-Chamba...From the linguistic aspect, we find that there are two distinct groups.” The first group consists of the people of Momo Division (Menemo, Moghamo, Ngie, Oshie, and Widikum) and the second group are scattered (Batamo, Denya, Mankon, Pinyin, etc.) [Neba: 1987:55]

The Assaka people apparently have little contact with Ipulo to the west; they relate more with the Esimbi (northeast) and Batomo (southeast).

Attitudes on Development and Standardization. The majority of the people only favor literacy in the Assaka speech form or Pidgin. When confronted with a choice, Assaka was picked over Pidgin at a 5-to-1 ratio. Only half the people favor literacy in the Batanga speech form, and over 75 percent reject Amanavil and Amayo for use in the primary schools and for themselves to learn. This attitude is confirmed by group consensus that only Batanga is a language that is similar to theirs. They indicated that nearly all understand Batanga very well, although they mentioned there are differences other than strictly phonemic ones (such as lexical ones in the plant and animal domains).

- Caka Speakers in Batanga. The Batanga people call their own speech form ‘Adzu Batanga’.

Multilingualism. Only Assaka, Amanavil, and Pidgin have been charted for ability in understanding without speaking; no one reported this trait for the Amayo speech form.

Table 16. Multilingualism of BATANGA
Mother-Tongue Speakers

	OM	OF	YM	YF
Total	5	5	5	5
School	1	0	4	0
Outside	3	0	4	3
Spk. & Comp. Assaka Only Comp. Assaka	+ + + + + +	+ + + +	+ + + + +	+ + + + -
Spk. & Comp. Amanavil Only Comp. Amanavil	+ + + + +	+ - + + -	+ + + + +	+ + + -
Spk. & Comp. Amayo	+		+	
Spk. & Comp. Ipulo	-		-	-
Spk. & Comp. Batomo	+	+ -	-	
Spk. & Comp. Bakwa	+ +	+ + +	+ + +	+ - - -
Spk. & Comp. Pidgin FSI Scores	+ + + + 4+4+4+3+	- 4+	+ + + + + 0+2+3+4+4+	+ + - - 00+1+1+2+
Only Comp. Pidgin	+			
Other	+ + +	+	+	

Interaction. Most of the Batanga people reported that they carry on conversations with the Amayo people totally in Pidgin, but with the Assaka and Amanavil people, both parties of the conversation use their own speech form. For a complete breakdown, see table 42. This confirms the data from the group interview that the Batanga people have frequent contact with the Assaka and Amanavil people, but virtually none with the Amayo people. Compared with the Assaka people, it is interesting to note that the Batanga have even less contact with the Amayo than they do.

The Batanga relate to the people to the southwest and east of their village (Batomo and Bakwa), rather than with the Ipulo. Few mention knowing Esimbi, which was mentioned by several in Assaka.

Attitudes on Development and Standardization. The Batanga highly favored (95 percent) use of Batanga or Pidgin in the schools and are eager to be literate in it. They rejected Amayo at an 80 percent rate as a speech form to be considered for use in their area, while 45 percent of the people rejected Amanavil, and 32 percent, Assaka. When asked to cite their first and second choices for the speech form they most wanted to be literate in, fourteen out of eighteen chose Batanga, with three choosing Pidgin as number one, and twelve out of fifteen chose Assaka as the second choice.

The group interview revealed their impression that Batanga was an intermediate form between Assaka and Amanavil, though they admitted this was not historical, because only they were the original inhabitants of the area.¹¹ At the present, they indicated the differences were in vowel quality and lexical naming, as did the Assaka people.

Conclusions and Decisions

The data gathered indicates that Assaka and Batanga are closely related speech forms of the Caka group. The term 'group' is used rather than language until further analysis of the speech forms is carried out. The origin stories given at both sites indicate the people were not in an alliance until the World War I era when the Assaka people migrated to the area. Their close relationship today could be due to linguistic convergence and their high comprehension simply due to frequent contact. The sites are separated by what can be considered a short distance with few mountains and rivers. Furthermore, there seemed to be a substantial number of people who married those from the other site.

The Eman speech forms straddle the Caka-Ipulo line, but sociolinguistic support pushes them over to the Ipulo side, although they still constitute a distinct group. The Batanga people reported that there was a similarity between the Amanavil speech form and their own and that they socialize with Amanavil people. However, the Amanavil people did not report any affinity to Batanga people and did report interaction with the Ipulo people.

This part of the survey was only designed to see if the Caka speech forms sided more with the Eman group. It was not intended to determine which Caka speech form would be best to develop. Further survey in other communities will need to be carried out to

¹¹ They did mention historically being united with the Otanga (not Otongo, which is an Ipulo speech form) people who speak a Tim-related speech form mainly near the Nigeria-Cameroon border in the Akwaya area (their cognate rate was calculated to be 31 percent).

discover the extent to which the Caka speech forms are understood and used by other communities. There is a more uniformly high comprehension of Batanga among the Amayo and Amanavil sites, at least in the quarters surveyed. Additionally, there was more negative reaction toward Assaka than Batanga for use in literacy. Although it has been recommended that literacy be carried out in Ipulo in the Eman group, the Eman group should still be at least a small factor in determining which Caka form to develop. This is because a Caka written language would benefit some, especially those who marry into the area, causing reduced Ipulo contact.

4 Icheve

4.1 Linguistic Results and Analysis

Lexicostatistics

Lexicostatistic analysis shows that Icheve, which includes both Oliti and Bacheve, is at most, 40 percent cognate with the Ipulo-Caka complex (Oliti and Assaka are 37 percent cognate with 9 percent variance), with similar figures for their relationship to Mesaka or Esimbi. Icheve is shown to be much more related to Evand, Yive, Tiv, and Otanga. The following table shows how these speech forms are lexically similar to Icheve. See table 43 for the variance figures.

Table 17. Percentage of shared Cognates

Otanga								
70	Yive							
73	77	Tiv						
57	49	49	Oliti					
54	48	46	84	Bacheve				
70	57	53	43	50	Evand			
41	45	41	40	38	43	Ipulo		
42	42	39	37	39	40	54	Assaka	
40	41	38	38	39	40	55	88	Batanga

Recorded Text Testing

RTT in Agwaso and Motom was performed as described in the procedure section with a slight modification—the Bacheve youth in Agwaso first heard the Oliti text rather than their own speech form (by accident, not design). The Bacheve youth had perfect comprehension of the Oliti and Bacheve texts they listened to, and the Oliti youth had near perfect comprehension, as shown in the next chart.

Table 18. Mean Test Score Percentages

		Comprehension of	
		Bacheve	Oliti
By:	Bacheve	100%	100%
	Oliti	92%	94%

The standard deviation of the Oliti scores on the Oliti text was low (4.4 percent) (as it ought to be), and the standard deviation on the Bacheve text by the same subject was 10 percent, lower than the 12–15 percent value, indicating acquired intelligibility. Thus, we can be confident that the two speech forms are highly intelligible with each other, and unless there are compelling sociolinguistic reasons, the two oral forms can be standardized into one written language.

Tables 44 and 45 provide each score with the subject's age, educational level, and sex, and table 46 gives the number of errors on each question at the Oliti text site.

4.2 Sociolinguistic and Multilingual Profile

The similarity between the speech forms can also be noted by sociolinguistic findings. In every case, people from Agwaso and Motom reported that they talk to people of the other speech form in their own speech form. Additionally, all but three of the total reported that the people of the other speech form respond in the other speech form. Therefore, the speech forms are apparently so similar that there is no need for one to switch into using the other speech form when talking to a person of that language variety.

To best determine if one of the speech forms is better to develop, a sociolinguistic profile of the people is needed, as well as an evaluation of the bilingual picture.

The sociolinguistic questionnaires revealed which languages the people understood and spoke, which languages they used in what domain, and their views on the development of the language. In regard to the language choice, the main domain for Pidgin use was the subdivisional office and friends of another language, while the local vernacular was used with friends of the same speech form, family, and on the farm. The language choice for the markets was mixed. If the individual knew Pidgin, then he most likely would use Pidgin and/or his speech form. If the individual did not know Pidgin, then he only used the local speech form. There was more Pidgin usage at the large (Amana) market (a three hour hike from Akwaya into Nigeria), than in the local (Akwaya) market.

In the sections following, four categories of people are described, first in Bacheve and then in Oliti. These categories are old male (OM), old female (OF), young male (YM), and young female (YF), with old being defined as 45 years and older, and young being defined as being between 15 and 30 years. Before the Bacheve and Oliti sections begin, we have provided a summary chart giving the number of individuals per age-sex class who have attended school, who have lived only in the Oliti-Bacheve area, and who speak only their own speech form. The languages reported as being spoken are also given in this chart. For each language, the respondent indicated whether he spoke it well (+) or just a bit (-). Also, only for Pidgin, the chart records their self-evaluation scores and the number of individuals who reported comprehending, but not speaking the speech form. There were individuals who reported speaking Pidgin well, but had low scores; likewise, there were ones who reported speaking it just a bit, and had low scores.

Multilingualism

- Bacheve Speakers in Agwaso

Table 19. Multilingualism of BACHEVE
Mother-Tongue Speakers

	OM	OF	YM	YF
Total	5	5	5	6
Schooling only area	0 2	0 4	4 0	0 4
Only Bacheve	1	3	0	2
Obudu			-	
Tiv		-		
Otanga	+++			
Evand	++		+	
Ipulo	+-		-	
Basho/Denya	+	-		
Bayangi/Kenyang	-		-	
Speak Pidgin	- - - - +		- + + + +	- - - -
FSI Scores	0+ 0+ 0+ 2+ 2+	00000	2+ 2+ 2+ 2+ 3+	00 0+ 0+ 0+ 1+
Comp. Pidgin		- - -		--
Other	+ - -		-	

Basho and Evand also had a number of older men reporting being able to understand them, indicating frequency of contact with those languages. It is noteworthy that although the older men's Pidgin proficiency is less than their younger counterparts, more older men indicated knowing other speech forms.

Only one old woman who had not lived outside the area claimed being proficient in another speech form. Old women's low Pidgin speaking ability was further substantiated by their statements that they spoke Bacheve in the market or sent a child.

All five young men had lived outside the area for at least three years and most had lived in more than one town. This contributed to the result that they spoke more languages and their Pidgin-speaking ability was higher than their female counterparts, but still their level of Pidgin ability was low.

- Oliti Speakers in Motom

Table 20. Multilingualism of OLITI
Mother-Tongue Speakers

	OM	OF	YM	YF
Total	5	5	6	5
Only Motom	3	1	2	4
Only area School	3 0	4 0	3 5	5 2
Only Oliti	1	2	0	1
Tiv	+	+ +	- - -	+
Otanga		-	-	+
Yive		-	+	
Evand	+			
Basho	+ - -	-		
Speak Pidgin	- - + +	+ +	- - + + +	- - + +
FSI Scores	0 1+ 2+ 4+ 4+	000 2 2+	2+ 2+ 3+ 4+ 4+	0 1+ 2+ 2+ 4+
Comp. Pidgin	-			

Additional notes on multilingualism are: (a) a couple of each category reported understanding Ipulo, (b) only older men reported speaking Basho, and (c) the young females only reported speaking Oliti and Pidgin, except for the one individual who had a Tiv mother.

- Comparison Between Bacheve Speakers and Oliti Speakers

In the Oliti-Bacheve area, there proved to be no correlation between living outside the area and/or having attended school with reported Pidgin ability. The category ‘old women’ has the weakest Pidgin ability. The number who reported speaking Pidgin well was 50 percent in Motom compared to 40 percent in Agwaso, and the overall scores on the self-evaluation questionnaire were higher in Motom.¹² However, only the young male class in Motom had a majority who rated medium or high proficiency in Pidgin.

In regard to speaking other local languages, it is clear the people of Motom speak languages which are Nigerian orientated (Yive, Tiv, and Otanga) to a higher degree than the Agwaso people, who speak languages which are Cameroon orientated (Evand, Basho, Ipulo, Bayangi, and Ejagham).¹³

¹² The statistical significance of these facts was not computed, but our impression is that they would be marginally significant, at best.

¹³ Fulani, which was reported by several Bacheve (and recorded in the “other” line of table 19) is not classified as either a Cameroon- or Nigerian-orientated language.

Table 21. Comparison of Speech Forms Reported
Agwaso and Motom Subjects

	Nigerian	Cameroonian
Motom	12	4
Agwaso	5	13

Oliti women of Motom, most of whom had lived outside the area, are more multilingual than are the Bacheve ones, which could be due to marriage patterns or due to the fact of living in the Akwaya region, which is more of a “melting pot,” drawing people for the government, medical, educational, or market services.

Basho is only spoken by the older generation, indicating possibly past ties to that language group or the increased use of Pidgin, which seems to be a trend with at least the young men from Agwaso.

Attitudes on Development and Standardization

The questions relating to development and standardization of the languages asked the people if they would like to see certain speech forms in the local primary schools, and if they would like to read and write these speech forms. In Agwaso, the speech forms asked about were just Oliti and Bacheve, but in Motom, the attitudes toward Pidgin literacy were also probed.

- Bacheve Speakers in Agwaso

Of the twenty-one interviewed in Agwaso, all favored development of Icheve, thus reinforcing the other information collected, which shows it to be a unit. All desired Bacheve to be used as a language for the means of instruction in the local primary schools. Additionally, all indicated their willingness to learn and to write the Bacheve speech form. Only three individuals did not want Oliti used in the schools and would not want to be literate in this speech form. When asked their first preference, Bacheve was unanimously chosen over Oliti as the language variety they would most want to learn to read and write.

- Oliti Speakers in Motom

As in Agwaso, most people answered that they were willing for Oliti, Bacheve, or Pidgin to be used in the local school, and almost all expressed their desire to read and write in each of the speech forms. Pidgin, with three people not wanting to read and write it, was the speech form that received the most negative reaction, which is small, but is probably due to their favoritism toward “grammar,” or standard English, in this sphere. However, six of seventeen polled said their number one choice for learning to read and write was Pidgin, with the rest choosing Oliti. Those that chose Pidgin as their first choice cited the reason that they wanted to know it better or because it was a language of wider communication. On the other hand, those who chose their own speech form (whether it be Oliti in Motom, or Bacheve in Agwaso) replied that it was, in essence, “Because it’s my dialect.”

- Group Interviews

The group interview and numerous informant opinions reiterated that the two groups are considered to be one language. In fact, they were quite adamant that they spoke the same language. The history of the Icheve people was told in the Bacheve group interviewed and confirmed in the Oliti one—the two groups were historically united in the hills until one of the sons of Ocheve, the founding father of the group, left and settled in the Akwaya area.

The most common reported difference between the two speech forms was “they use more foreign words,” which was cited by people from both Oliti about the Bacheve and vice versa. The Oliti people gave examples of differences in the pronunciation of words, which were in vowel and tone quality. Also in the Oliti group interview, it was a consensus that the Bacheve speak faster, but when a Bacheve man was asked about this, he said that it was true for only one Bacheve community.

4.3 Conclusions and Decisions

Both linguistic and sociolinguistic evidence with historic lore point to the fact that Oliti and Bacheve are dialects of one another. Multilingualism, including Pidgin bilingualism, is not generalized throughout the area (especially among the women), or at a very high degree of proficiency, so therefore, the Icheve language should be standardized. The question of which form to use as the main standard in Icheve is difficult, because there is no compelling reason why one should be chosen over the other. Both groups insisted they have no difficulties in understanding people from the other group.

Oliti has the advantage that it is the speech form with the most people, and it seems to be the trend for the Bacheve to be moving toward the Oliti communities, rather than the reverse. Also, there were some difficulties in comprehending Bacheve by the Oliti (more than the RTT scores indicate, such as numerous repetition of questions that were necessary), while the Bacheve had no difficulty comprehending Oliti (this could be due to the fact that the Bacheve had to acquire their use of Oliti because they came into the Akwaya area). The educational level in Oliti is higher, and therefore, literacy might be easier to motivate in Motom than Agwaso, and it might be easier to find assistance in developing the program in Motom. However, there could be hindrances to receiving literacy in Icheve, as English is already used in this domain, and there is a significant percentage that choose Pidgin over Oliti as the speech form they desire most to be able to read and write.

On the other hand, Bacheve has the advantage that it is less affected by Pidgin and language contact, since it is more isolated in the hills. Additionally, the Bacheve community of Old Town Kajinga is considered the “birthplace” of the Icheve language. The Bacheve word forms could be proved to be more related to the “proto” form, which might simplify phonological analysis, and if the Oliti forms are concatenated, then possibly it might be better to use the fuller form.

There is little doubt that Oлити and Bacheve can be served by one written form. It would be best for the linguist who develops the language to form a language committee with participants from both speech forms and gather linguistic data from both speech communities.

5 Proposed Changes to *Ethnologue* and *ALCAM*

Based on lexicostatistic and RTT data, the following changes are proposed for the *Ethnologue*. First, concerning the Mesaka group, we propose that Icheve be considered as a separate language from the Mesaka complex of languages, and that two dialects be mentioned for the language: Bacheve and Oлити. We also propose that Caka be taken out of the Mesaka group and recognized as another language with probable translation need because of the low shared cognicity with the rest of the group. Pending further survey, Caka should include the dialects of Assaka and Batanga. Secondly, the following changes can be made in the Assumbo group. Ipulo should be considered an independent language which is under development and which is also separate from Evand (Avande) because of low shared cognicity (46 percent). Finally, a statement concerning Eman (Amanavil and Amayo) being linked to Ipulo should be made in both the *Ethnologue* and *ALCAM*, based on the sociolinguistic data which joins them, even though linguistic data separates them.

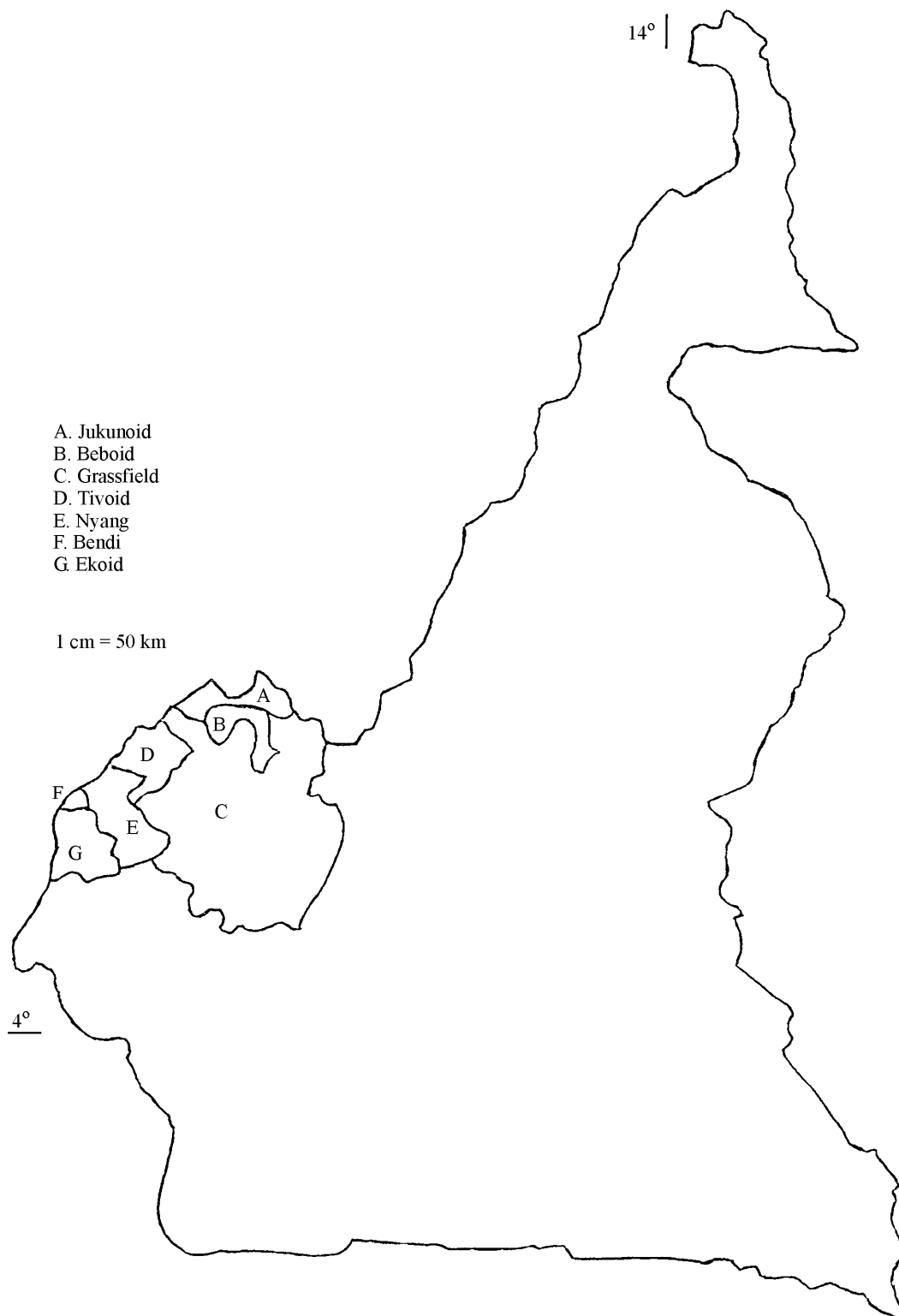
Appendix 1: Tivoid Languages and Their Neighbors in Cameroon [ALCAM p. 369]

Table 22. Variance

Tinta							
2.4	Olulu						
3.2	3.0	Otongo					
7.6	7.4	7.4	Amayo				
7.6	7.5	7.5	5.0	Amanavil			
8.0	7.9	7.9	6.0	5.9	Batanga		
8.2	8.1	8.1	6.4	6.3	4.6	Assaka	

Table 23. Mean Percentages of Test Results AFTER Discarding “Bad” Questions

	Otongo	Amayo			Amanavil		
		Normal	2x	Comp.	Normal	2x	Comp.
Tinta	90	61	71	67	20	21	21
Olulu	99						
Otongo	96						
Amayo		99					
Amanavil					99		

Table 24. Standard Deviations of Test Results AFTER Discarding “Bad” Questions

	Otongo	Amayo			Amanavil		
		Normal	2x	Comp.	Normal	2x	Comp.
Tinta	10	23	19	21	26	25	23
Olulu	4						
Otongo	6						
Amayo		4					
Amanavil					4		

NOTE: Those means and standard deviations not reported in the above tables were not affected by the “bad” questions.

Table 25. RTT Results of TINTA Subjects

Sex	Age	Education	Outside	Tinta	Otongo	Amayo w/intro	Amanavil
F	18	none	no	9	9	7	2
M	14	5	no	10	7	5.5	1
M	14	5	yes	10	8	9	7
M	13	4	yes	8	9	4.5	1
F	16	6	yes	10	7.5	9	2
F	15	8	yes	10	9.5	7	3
M	9	3	no	9	7	0	4.5
F	13	3	no	9	10	1	7
F	18	none	no	10	9	1	8
M	12	7	no	9.5	10	8.5	6
				Tinta	Olulu	Amayo	Amanavil w/intro
F	18	none	no	8.5	10	7	----
F	15	5	no	10	10	8	0
M	15	6	no	10	10	2	1
M	12	6	no	9.5	10	6.5	1
M	13	4	no	9.5	10	4	0
M	16	7	yes	10	10	9	4.5
F	17	7	yes	10	10	8	4
F	15	7	yes	10	10	5	6.5
M	10	3	no	9	10	4	1
F	9	2	no	10	10	7	7

Table 26. RTT Results of OTONGO Subjects

Sex	Age	Education	Outside	Tinta	Otongo	Olulu
M	11	4	yes	9	10	10
M	14	1	no	9	10	10
M	11	1	no	8	8	10
M	20	5	yes	10	10	10
M	41	none	yes	10	10	9
F	15	none	no	10	8	10
F	27	none	no	6	8	10
F	31	none	no	10	10	10

Table 27. RTT Results of OLULU Subjects

Sex	Age	Education	Outside	Tinta	Otongo	Olulu
M	15	7	yes	10	10	10
M	12	7	yes	10	10	10
M	15	9	yes	10	10	10
M	18	5	no	10	10	9.5
M	15	7	yes	10	9	10
F	14	6	no	10	10	10
F	12	6	no	10	10	10
F	15	none	no	9	9	10
F	18	3	no	10	10	10
F	12	none	no	10	10	10

Table 28. RTT Results of AMAYO Subjects

Sex	Age	Education	Outside	Tinta	Amayo	Amanavil	Batanga	Assaka
M	10	4	no	9	10	8	8	6
M	15	10	yes	10	9	7	5.5	5.5
M	14	5	yes	10	10	10	5.5	7
M	13	5	yes	10	10	9	7	8
M	12	4	no	10	9	10	7.5	7
F	17	none	no	10	10	10	9.5	8
F	16	none	no	10	9	10	6.5	9
F	16	none	yes	8	9	8	8	3.5
F	16	none	no	10	9.5	10	8	6.5
F	16	none	no	8	9	9	7	9

Table 29. RTT Results of AMANAVIL Subjects

Sex	Age	Education	Outside	Tinta	Amayo	Amanavil	Batanga	Assaka
M	15	none	yes	10	10	10	9.5	10
M	14	5	yes	8	9	10	9.5	9.5
M	15	4	yes	6	9	10	9	6
M	17	7	yes	10	8	10	10	9
M	13	4	yes	8	10	10	9	6
F	14	none	yes	10	9	10	9	8
F	15	1	yes	8	9	10	9	9
F	14	none	yes	10	10	10	10	10
F	16	none	yes	9	10	10	10	10
F	17	none	yes	9	10	10	10	10

Tables 30–34 are to be read that, for example, two Tinta subjects missed question 1 on the Olulu text and one subject received half credit (table 30).

Table 30. Number of Wrong Answers for Each Question at TINTA

Question	Tinta Otongo	Olulu	Amayo	Amanavil
1.	1	2 + 1 (.5)	1 + 4 (.5)	14 + 1 (.5)
2.	1	0	1	15
3.	1	0	17	19 + 1 (.5)
4.	.5	0	6	16
5.	0	2	9	7
6.	0	2	9	17
7.	0	1	6	13
8.	0	3	2	14
9.	2 + 1 (.5)	4 + 1 (.5)	4 + 2 (.5)	14
10.	1	1	9	16

Table 31. Number of Wrong Answers for Each Question at OTONGO

Question	Tinta	Otongo	Olulu
1.	0	0	1
2.	0	0	0
3.	0	0	0
4.	0	0	0
5.	0	1	0
6.	0	1	0
7.	4	0	0
8.	1	0	0
9.	2	3	0
10.	1	1	0

Table 32. Number of Wrong Answers for Each Question at OLULU

Question	Tinta	Otongo	Olulu
1.	0	0	0
2.	0	0	0
3.	0	0	0
4.	1	0	0
5.	0	0	0
6.	0	1	.5
7.	0	0	0
8.	0	0	0
9.	0	1	0
10.	0	0	0

Table 33. Number of Wrong Answers for Each Question at AMAYO

Question	Tinta	Amayo	Amanavil	Batanga	Assaka
1.	0	.5	3	2	2
2.	0	0	0	4	0
3.	0	0	0	0	7 + 2 (.5)
4.	0	4	4	1	.5
5.	1	0	0	3 (.5)	2
6.	1	0	1	1	2
7.	3	1	0	7 + 1 (.5)	7
8.	0	0	0	1	4
9.	0	0	0	5	5
10.	0	0	1	0	0

Table 34. Number of Wrong Answers for each Question at AMANAVIL

Question	Tinta	Amayo	Amanavil	Batanga	Assaka
1.	0	0	0	1	1
2.	1	1	0	0	0
3.	0	5	0	0	4 + 1 (.5)
4.	2	0	0	0	0
5.	1	0	0	0	1
6.	1	0	0	1	0
7.	1	0	0	2 + 2 (.5)	4
8.	0	0	0	0	1
9.	2	0	0	0	0
10.	3	0	0	0	1

Table 35. 95% Confidence Interval for Means

	Tinta	Otongo	Olulu	Amayo	Amanavil
Tinta	89–99	78–94	100	44–76	8–40
Otongo	80–100	85–99	99–100	-----	-----
Olulu	97–100	95–100	100	-----	-----
Amayo	89–100	-----	-----	90–98	83–99
Amanavil	79–97	-----	-----	89–99	100

Table 36. RTT Results of Assaka Subjects

Sex	Age	Education	Outside	Amayo	Amanavil	Batanga	Assaka
M	14	4	no	6	6	9	8
M	16	7	yes	5.5	7	9	9.5
M	15	8	yes	7	7	10	10
M	17	7	no	8	9	10	10
M	12	7	no	5	5	9	10
F	16	none	no	7	8	10	10
F	17	5	yes	7	4	10	9
F	17	none	no	9	6	10	10
F	13	6	no	6.5	7	10	10
F	15	6	yes	8	5	10	10

Table 37. RTT Results of BATANGA Subjects

Sex	Age	Education	Outside	Amayo	Amanavil	Batanga	Assaka
M	17	7	no	10	9	10	9.5
M	14	7	yes	10	8	10	10
M	13	7	yes	10	9	9.5	10
M	12	5	yes	9	7	10	10
M	12	6	no	7.5	5.5	10	10
F	15	5	no	8.5	6	9	6.5
F	14	6	no	7.5	8	9.5	8
F	15	3	no	9	7	9	8.5
F	14	8	yes	10	10	10	10
F	15	none	yes	10	10	10	10

Table 38. Number of Wrong Answers for Each Question at ASSAKA

Question	Amayo	Amanavil	Batanga	Assaka
1.	1 + 2 (.5)	5	0	0
2.	2	0	2	0
3.	10	2	0	0
4.	7	9	0	1 (.5)
5.	2	0	0	0
6.	2	7	1	1
7.	0	1	0	0
8.	0	4	0	0
9.	4	0	0	0
10.	1	7	0	1

Table 39. Number of Wrong Answers for Each Question at BATANGA

Question	Amayo	Amanavil	Batanga	Assaka
1.	.5	2	0	0
2.	1	1	0	0
3.	3	0	0	2
4.	3	6	0	3 (.5)
5.	0	1	0	0
6.	0	5	2	0
7.	0	0	2 (.5)	0
8.	0	1	0	1
9.	2 (.5)	0	0	2
10.	0	4	0	1

Table 40. 95% Confidence Interval for Means

	Amayo	Amanavil	Batanga	Assaka
Amayo	90–98	83–99	63–81	58–82
Amanavil	89–99	100	91–99	77–99
Batanga	85–99	69–91	94–100	83–100
Assaka	60–78	53–75	93–100	92–100

Table 41. Choice of Speech Form when Interacting with People of Another Mother Tongue, Reported by ASSAKA Subjects

AMONG:	USE:	Theirs	Mine	Pidgin	No Contact	
Amayo					3	
		5	2	11		Hear
Amanavil		7	0	11		Speak
		10	1	7	3	Hear
Batanga		1	11	7		Speak
		18	3	0	0	Hear
		13	8	0		Speak

Table 42. Choice of Speech Form when Interacting with People of Another Mother Tongue, Reported by BATANGA Subjects

AMONG:	USE:	Theirs	Mine	Pidgin	No Contact	
Amayo					4	
		4	0	12		Hear
		2	2	12		Speak
Amanavil					0	
		18	0	2		Hear
		5	13	2		Speak
Assaka					0	
		20	0	0		Hear
		5	15	0		Speak

For example, table 42 can be read that two Batanga report that when among the Amayo people, they speak the Amayo speech form, and four hear Amayo in response from the Amayo speaker.

Table 43. Variances of Shared Cognates

Otanga								
5.1	Yive							
5.5	5.1	Tiv						
7.0	7.6	7.6	Oliti					
7.2	7.6	7.6	4.2	Bacheve				
7.6	7.0	7.3	8.1	7.5	Evand			
8.6	8.4	8.6	8.8	8.8	8.3	Ipulo		
8.6	8.5	8.6	8.6	8.6	8.5	7.9	Assaka	
8.6	8.5	8.6	8.6	8.8	8.6	7.6	4.6	Batanga

Table 44. RTT Results of BACHEVE Subjects in Agwaso

Sex	Age	Education	Outside	Bacheve	Oliti
M	18	5	yes	10	10
M	18	5	yes	10	10
M	17	7	yes	10	10
M	13	5	yes	10	10
M	12	4	yes	10	10
F	12	6	yes	10	10
F	13	none	no	10	10
F	15	none	no	10	10
F	12	none	no	10	10
F	10	none	no	10	10

Table 45. RTT Results of OLITI Subjects in Motom

Sex	Age	Education	Outside	Bacheve	Oliti
M	13	5	no	9	9
F	12	5	no	7	9
M	14	5	no	9	10
F	18	11	no	10	9
M	14	9	no	9.5	9.5
M	15	9	no	10	9.5
F	17	none	no	9	9
F	10	3	no	8	10
F	15	9	no	10	9.5

Table 46. Number of Wrong Answers for Each Question for OLITI Subjects

Question	Oliti	Bacheve
1.	0	3
2.	0	0
3.	1	1
4.	0	1
5.	0	1 + 1 (.5)
6.	3	1
7.	3 (.5)	0
8.	0	1
9.	0	0
10.	0	0

Appendix 2: Group Interview Form

1. Glossonym (Name of speech form):

Other names: a. b.
 c. d.

Translate, "I speak (language X)":

2. Please name the other villages where people speak exactly like you do:

Please name the villages where people's speech is different from yours, but whom you understand nevertheless:

3. Assess your comprehension of these other people's speech by indicating whether you understand them VERY WELL, WELL, AVERAGE, JUST A BIT:

4. A language is made up of different ways of speaking (pronunciation, words), and these differences can be compared to colors that may be quite different or quite similar. Go back to the speech forms given in question 3 and group them together by comparing them to different colored leaves:

5. Now classify the speech forms you have grouped together in decreasing order of comprehension:

a. b. c.
 d. e. f.

6. Now, what happens when you meet speakers from these groups, or when you are among them and converse with them:

You speak to them in:

They speak to you in:

7. Would you like your language to be written down so that you could learn to read and write it?

8. In question 5, you grouped your own language together with the languages of certain other villages which you said you could understand without an interpreter. What would be the most satisfactory way of writing down all these different ways of speaking? In other words, of the 'dialects' listed in 5, which one should be used as a basis for an alphabet:

(First choice):

(Second choice):

(Reasons for your choice):

Number of participants in interview (specify how many old, young, men, women):

Brief history of the group:

Appendix 3: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire

Researcher: _____ Organization: _____

Date: _____ Location of Survey: _____

1. Personal Identification of Respondent

- Name: _____ Age: _____
- Occupation: _____ Sex: _____
- What is your highest level of schooling? _____
- What was the first language you spoke at home as a child? _____
- What other languages do you speak? Do you speak them well (+) or just a bit (-)? _____

- What other languages do you understand but do not speak? Do you understand them well or just a bit: _____
- Apart from your own village, where have you lived for at least one year of your life:

Place?	How long?	What language(s) are spoken there?	What language(s) did you speak there
- What is your father's mother tongue? _____
- What is your mother's mother tongue? _____
- What language(s) do/did your father and mother speak with each other?

- What is the mother tongue of your husband/wife(s)? _____

with friends the same age?
 (from your language) _____
 (from another language) _____
 at the local market? _____
 at the larger market? _____
 in the fields? _____
 at the subdivisional office? _____

2.6. What language(s) do your children speak in playing with other children?

2.7. When you are among:	What language do you speak? Your normal manner of speaking?	What do they respond in?
the: _____ ?	_____	_____
the: _____ ?	_____	_____
the: _____ ?	_____	_____
the: _____ ?	_____	_____
the: _____ ?	_____	_____
the: _____ ?	_____	_____

3. Development of the language

3.1 Would you like to see the following languages used as a means of instruction in the primary schools? (Include the respondents own speech form.)

_____ ?	Y	N	_____ ?	Y	N
_____ ?	Y	N	_____ ?	Y	N
_____ ?	Y	N	_____ ?	Y	N

3.2. Would you be willing to learn to read and write in the language of (name of village or speech form)? (Include the respondents own speech form.)

_____ ?	Y	N	_____ ?	Y	N
_____ ?	Y	N	_____ ?	Y	N
_____ ?	Y	N	_____ ?	Y	N

3.3. Which in (3.2) would be your first choice? Second? Third? Why?

1st _____

2nd _____

3rd _____

3.4. Where is your language spoken the best? _____

3.5. Do you believe that the young people in your village are in the habit of abandoning their own language (name of local language) to speak another one instead? Which one? Is this good or bad? Why?

Appendix 5: Bilingual Proficiency Questionnaire

Adapted from U.S. Foreign Service Institute Testing Kit. Based on adaptation by J. S. Quakenbush.

To be administered orally. Each question to be answered by *yes* or *no*. Some questions have been slightly modified from the original to fit the local situation. All answers must be *yes* to achieve at least the level of proficiency listed on the left, except for four items at the S-3 level.

S-0 +

- A. Can you speak a little of X?
(minimum of 30 words, not counting or days of week)

S-1

- A. Can you tell someone how to get from here to the nearest church, in X?
 B. Can you order a simple meal at a restaurant, in X?
 C. Can you bargain at the market, using only X?
 D. Can you arrange for transportation to Mbengwl, in X?
 E. Using only X, can you understand and respond correction to questions about where you are from, if you are married, your occupation, date and place of birth?
 F. Do you know how to greet someone in X?
 G. Can you introduce another person in X?
 H. Do you know how to take your leave in X?
 I. Can you use X well enough to assist someone who does not know X should these problems arise?

S-1+

(All S-1 requirements and at least three of S-2)

S-2

- A. Can you describe your present or most recent job or activity in detail in X?
 B. Using only X, can you describe your family, your house, and the weather today?
 C. Using only X, can you hire someone to work for you and arrange details such as salary, qualifications, hours, and specific duties?
 D. Can you give a brief story of your life and tell of immediate hopes and plans?
 E. Can you describe your home area, giving climate, terrain, types of plants and animals, crops, products made there, people and languages?
 F. Using only X, can you describe what type of leaders you have and what is the responsibility of each?
 G. Are you confident that you understand what native speakers want to tell you on topics like these?
 H. Do X-speakers understand you nearly all the time when you speak *their* language?
 I. Can you speak X well enough to help someone else who does not know the language should these problems arise?

S-2 +

(All S-2 requirements and at least three of S-3)

S-3

(Answers should be no)

- A. Do you sometimes find yourself not knowing how to say something in X?
- B. Are you sometimes unable to finish a sentence in X.
- C. Do you find it difficult to follow and contribute to a conversation among native speakers of X who try to include you in their talk?
- D. Are you afraid that you will misunderstand information given to you in X?

(Answers should be yes)

- E. Can you speak to a group of leaders about your work, using only X and be sure you are communicating what you want to without obviously amusing or irritating them by your use of their language?
- F. Can you listen to and then summarize accurately a talk or an informal discussion on something you are interested in, using only X?
- G. Can you argue well in X?
- H. Using only X, can you cope as far as language X is concerned, with difficult circumstances such as a needed house repair, a mistaken encounter with an official, a serious social mistake by a friend?
- I. Can you follow an argument on some social topic, in X?
- J. Can you serve as an informal interpreter on these topics, in X?
- K. Can you describe all aspects of your work, in X?

S-3 +

(All S-3 requirements and at least three of S-4)

S-4

- A. In discussions with X-speakers, can you always say exactly what you want to say, using *their* language only?
- B. Using only X, can you change the way you talk, depending upon whether you are talking to educated people, close friends, those who work for you?
- C. Can you serve as an informal interpreter for a leader of your community who may not be able to speak X very well?

S-4 +

In discussions on all subjects where X is the language being used, are your words always appropriate and exact enough to enable you to convey your exact meaning?

S-5

- A. Is it sometimes easier for you to think in X than in your own language?
- B. Can you use as many words in X as in your own language?
- C. Do you think you speak X as well as any X-speaker?

Answer should be negative to the following:

- D. Do people know you are not an X-speaker by the way you speak X?

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