

SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY REPORT

FOR THE PWO PEOPLE

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0 Introduction and Goals of the Survey

John and Carol Berthelette, accompanied by Joser Sanou, carried out a basic survey among the Pwo people group of Burkina Faso in March 1993. Its goals were:

- ◆ to gather basic demographic facts about the Pwo people group;
- ◆ to see if there were further sociolinguistic developments since the last Branch survey, conducted in 1983.

1 General Information

1.1 Language Classification

Pwen ([p^wɛ]), often referred to by outsiders as Poughouli, is the name of the language spoken by the Pwo. It is a Gur language, most closely related to Sissala. (Solomiac and Groff listed a lexical similarity of 45% between Pwen and Sissala in their 1983 report (Solomiac and Groff 1983: 5)). The language's full classification, according to the Summer Institute of Linguistics *Ethnologue*, is: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, North, Gur, Central, Southern, Grusi, Western (Grimes 1992:173).

1.2 Language Location

Pwo villages are found in Ioba's Dano, Gueguere, and Oronkua departments; Tuy's Founzan and Koti departments; and in Bougouriba's department of Dolo. Their general area has a heavy Dagaara population. The greatest concentration of Pwen villages are found from 10 km to 50 km northwest of Diébougou, and from 25 km to 40 km northwest of Dano. Other villages are scattered throughout the Dagaara territory. We estimate that the total area of the Pwen concentration is 450 km². See the map in figure 1.2.1 for a visual representation.

The terrain of the general region is hilly and fairly well-forested, but seemingly very good agriculturally. They are located in an area which normally gets over 900 mm of rain annually.

Figure 1.2.1
Map of Pwen-speaking Area¹

Burkina Faso



1.3 Population

The Summer Institute of Linguistics' *Ethnologue* lists the Pwo population at 13,000; Roger Malo, a Pwo, estimates it at 11,000; and calculations from the 1985 Burkina census put the figure at 16,000. In short, with a group such as the Pwo, in which its villages are not homogenous but contain sectors of people from other ethnic groups, it is extremely difficult to pinpoint the population further.

¹Adapted from CNRST/INSS. 1988.

1.4 Accessibility and Transport

1.4.1 *Roads: Quality and Availability*

Access into the general Pwen language area is quite easy, as National Route 12, which runs from Pâ to Diébougou, cuts through the heart of their region. N12 is a gravel road which is graded twice a year.

Access to some villages not near the main route, such as Fing, is possible with four-wheel vehicle. However, most roads have points in which one must pay careful attention. In rainy season, some villages are cut off from four-wheel vehicle access (Gnimi would fall in this category).

1.4.2. *Public Transport Systems*

Bush taxis pass frequently through the general region, as Dano and Diébougou are fairly important towns. Buses also run through the region, going from Gaoua to Ouagadougou. I am not sure how many Pwo villages have bush taxis actually passing through them, however.

1.4.3 *Trails*

Trails run between most villages in the same area, allowing for two-wheel traffic.

1.5 The Religious Situation

1.5.1 *Spiritual Life*

Without a doubt, the traditional animist religion is the dominant religious force among the Pwo. The Pwo also have among them Muslims and a small percentage of Roman Catholics and Protestants.

As is true of the religious situation of most Burkinabè ethnic groups, it is very hard to determine what elements of the traditional religion continue when someone converts to either Islam or Christianity. Traditional religion plays a strong role in rural societies, even those which have formally converted to other religions.

1.5.2 *Present Christian Activity*

According to a Pwo pastor, Zingue André, there have been around 10 evangelistic campaigns conducted among the Pwo villages. The following villages are known to have Pwo Christians: Fafo, Koti, Phwa, Nahi, Zangboni, and Kayou.

1.5.3 Language Use Parameters Within Church Services

In the following village churches, the languages used during church services, besides the reading of the Bible passages in French, are:

Fafo: Pwen
 Koti: Pwen and Bwamu
 Phwa: Pwen and Bwamu
 Nahi: Pwen
 Zangboni: Pwen
 Kayao: Pwen

We do not know the language used for the Roman Catholic liturgy.

1.6 Schools/Education

1.6.1 Types, Sites, and Size

Several elementary schools have been constructed in the Pwo area, most dating to the 1980s. Table 1.6.1.1 provides a list of these primary schools.

Table 1.6.1.1
Primary Schools in the Pwo Area (1992–1993)

Province	Department	Village	Open- ing Date	Number of Classes	Number of Students	Girls	Boys
Bougouriba	Dano	Yabogane	1987	3	148	19	129
Bougouriba	Dolo	Ouon	1983	3	119	17	102
Bougouriba	Founzan	Bonzan Bwaaba	1991	2	101	36	65
Bougouriba	Founzan	Fing	1962	3	110	28	82
Bougouriba	Founzan	Yerfing	1989	2	99	18	81
Bougouriba	Koti	Indini	1984	3	112	29	83
Bougouriba	Koti	Koti	1979	5	245	27	218
Bougouriba	Koti	Poa	1991	2	113	30	83

Nevertheless, according to UNICEF statistics, the province of Bougouriba has a rather low scolarity rate. (At the time of this writing, the only statistics available are prior to the establishment of the new provincial boundaries. The province of Ioba was once part of Bougouriba). The scolarity rate for the province is 32.7%. However, only 22.3% of the girls attend school, while 42.2% of the males are able to (MEBAM 1996).²

The figures in table 1.6.1.1 show that, especially in the villages, a large number of children, but only a very slight minority of girls, are able to attend elementary school.

²The scolarity rates in Burkina Faso range between 11% for the province of Gnagna and 80% for the province of Kadiogo.

Regarding postprimary schools, the closest facilities are in Dano, between 30 and 50 km from the various Pwo villages (see table 1.6.1.2). Competition, distance, and a lack of money make attending postprimary school an unattainable dream for most Pwo children.

Table 1.6.1.2
Middle and High Schools in the Pwo Region

Village	Closest Middle Schools	Closest High Schools
Bonzan	Dano	Dano
Fing	Dano	Dano, Diébougou
Gnimi	Dano	Dano

Outside of the normal primary school system, the government has developed the Centre de Formation de Jeunes Agriculteurs (CFJA). This program includes a three-year curriculum geared to reach those who cannot go to elementary school, and has two centers in the Pwo area (table 1.6.1.3). The language taught during the first two years of the curriculum is Dagaara. Figures for Pwo attendance are not available.

Table 1.6.1.3
CFJA schools in the Pwo region

Village	Province	Number of Participants
Koti	Bougouriba	36
Bouni	Bougouriba	11

1.6.2 Attitude Toward the Vernacular

As is the case elsewhere in Burkina, schoolmasters in the public school system do not use the vernacular in their classes; French is the language of instruction.

1.7 Facilities and Economics

1.7.1 Supply Needs

As is the case for most of the people groups of Burkina Faso, the Pwo are subsistence farmers. In order to buy other goods, most of the Pwo have access to Dano and Founzan, although it is often not easy. Even the villagers of Gnimi, the closest Pwo village to Dano, have a 25 km journey, a trip which women make more than men. Outside of Dano and Founzan, the major markets are at Koti and Nahi. To be sure, one hears much Jula, Mooré, Dagaara, and Bwamu in the market.

1.7.2 Medical Needs

The three closest places to buy medications are at Koti, Dano, and Founzan. A small clinic probably exists in both Founzan and Koti; for urgent medical attention one must go to Dano.

1.7.3 Commercial Ventures

Aside from women selling small items or produce in the markets, the Pwo are not involved in commerce. Neither is there in the general area any large-scale manufacturing.

1.7.4 Government Facilities in the Area

The Pwo must travel outside of their territory to carry out most of their dealings with the government. The closest police barracks are found in Dano, and the prefectures, as noted previously, are Dano, Dolo, Founzan, Gueguere, Koti, and Oronkua, most of which lie in the Dagaara area. With government officials, one speaks mainly French and Jula.

1.8 Traditional Culture

The Pwo definitely have a very positive attitude toward their own culture. They note important differences between their culture and that of the Dagaara. They assert that they have maintained their own culture, in spite of the heavy Dagaara influence. In fact, they claim that some Dagaara adopt Pwo customs.

Another indication of group solidity is the continual practice of Pwo to attend rites for dead ancestors in far-off Pwo villages. Those from Gnimi, in the southeast corner of the region, claim that they travel to villages some 20 km away and that other Pwo make the same trip to Gnimi.

The Pwo are widely noted for their traditional dance.

1.9 Linguistic Work in the Language Area

The Pwo themselves took the initiative to develop a primer in Pwen. With the help of a retired government literacy official, they developed a phonological analysis, on which they based their primer. A team from the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Kevin and Anita Warfel, have recently begun the work of language analysis among the Pwo.

2 Methodology

2.1 Sampling

The survey team wanted to recheck the word lists taken 12 years ago, and also to add a location to the area covered in the survey. Thus, we chose three sites: Bonzan Poughouli in the north, Gnimi in the southeast, and Fing in the central-west.

2.2 Lexicostatistic Survey

To determine the degree of lexicostatistic similarity, we based our study on the 200+ element word list elicited in 1982. In our visit to each village, we checked any discrepancies with data from contiguous dialects in order to avoid mistaken data and therefore achieve purer results. (See the full word list in section 4 in the appendix.)

2.3 Questionnaires

We questioned two to four men from each village concerning both general demographic and general sociolinguistic matters. The subject matter covered by the questionnaires ranged from the ethnic composition and facilities in the area to perceived dialect differences, bilingualism, and language use. The men were chosen by the village's government representative, and sometimes the representative himself was included. Due to the surveyors' not knowing the trade language and a desire to better monitor the questioning process, the questionnaires were carried out in French. We also interviewed available school teachers and religious leaders using prepared questionnaires. Results of the sociolinguistic questionnaires form the basis of much of our discussion on dialect attitudes and multilingualism (section 4).

2.4 Bilingualism Testing In Jula³

The Sentence Repetition Test (SRT) for the Jula language was developed by following the procedures of Radloff (1991). An SRT is comprised of 15 sentences, arranged in increasing order of difficulty. For each sentence answered correctly, 3 points are earned, with 45 being a maximum score. For each mistake, a point is subtracted from 3. The SRT used to assess proficiency in Jula was calibrated to a Reported Proficiency Evaluation test (RPE).⁴ The sample used to calibrate the SRT with the RPE consisted of 83 people who were both native and second language Jula speakers. They were volunteers found in the city of Ouagadougou.

The regression equation for predicting RPE means from SRT means was:

$$\text{RPE} = 1.94 + 0.0665 \text{ SRT}$$

This calibration allows for a prediction of RPE levels based on the SRT scores, according to the following table:

³Editor's note: R. Berger and S. Showalter have contributed significantly to this section.

⁴For a full description of the development of the Jula SRT, see Berthelette et al.(1995).

Table 2.4.1
Predicted RPE level from SRT score.

SRT score range	RPE level equivalent
0–8	2
9–15	2+
16–23	3
24–30	3+
31–38	4
39–45	4+

A further comparison was done between the SRT scores and an oral proficiency exam using SIL's Second Language Oral Proficiency Evaluation (SLOPE) (SIL 1987). A subset of 25 of the most proficient speakers of the original sample was evaluated with this oral interview technique. It was found in this study that those scoring at or above 25 on the SRT could be reliably classed in SLOPE level 4; those scoring below 25 were below SLOPE level 4. This particular level represents the ability to "use the language fluently and accurately on all levels normally pertinent to needs" (SIL 1987:34). The discrepancy between RPE and SLOPE evaluations in relation to SRT scores, along with broader issues concerning the interpretation of the SRT, are discussed at length in Hatfield, ms.

In addition to the calibration effort, the completed SRT was given to a sample of reported native speakers of Jula in two villages of southwest Burkina, Péni and Sindou, to provide a means of comparison between L1 and L2 speakers of Jula in Burkina. The collective mean SRT score from samples in both villages was 30.5, lower than expected but still corresponding to a high level of Jula competence. This gives us a baseline of comparison between native and non-native speakers of Jula, and allows us to say that scores of 30 and above indicate a competence level similar to that of native speakers, as measured by this test. A full report on the development of the Jula SRT in Burkina Faso can be found in Berthelette et al. 1995.

Pwen speakers were given the SRT to estimate their proficiency in Jula. The testers, Ouattara Assounan and Coulibaly Soungalo, were instructed to visit a wide area in the village in order to make the sampling as representative as possible, using quotas based on sex and age.

To understand the interacting influences of sex, age, and geographical location of villages on Jula proficiency, a factorial analysis of variance (ANOVA) statistical design was used on the SRT scores. This design was based on SRT data collected from both females and males whose ages were from 12 and up, and who lived in 10 villages. The specific factors examined were age with three levels: 12–25, 26–45, and 46+ years; villages with 10 levels; and sex with two levels. Interacting effects among these factors were examined. The specific ANOVA selected for the analysis was the General Linear Model (GLM) because the requirement of a balanced design was not a precondition for its use. A balanced ANOVA design requires equal numbers of subjects at all factor

levels. Another unique feature of the GLM is that it considers the correlation coefficients among age, sex, and villages. These relationships were examined by regression analysis which involves correlational analyses. The GLM makes adjustments in the factor level means and standard deviations which are predicted from the correlated data.

Differences between factor level means which occurred by chance 5% or less were considered statistically significant. In probability terms, if mean differences in SRT scores occurred by chance five times or less out of 100 times between levels of a factor they would be considered statistically significant. In that case, the factor level with the largest mean would be considered more bilingual than the other level. If statistical significance was found among three or more levels, the Tukey test was used to determine which means were significantly different from each other.

In general, language groups having the SRT means below 16 (level 3 on RPE scale) were prioritized for minority language development while language groups with significantly higher SRT means had a lower priority. Of course, attitudinal factors were also considered when priorities were determined (Bergman 1990:9.5.2).⁵

3 Comprehension and Lexicostatistical Data (between villages)

3.1 Percentage of Apparent Cognates

Our data shows an 81% percentage of apparent cognates between the villages of Gnimi, in the southwestern Pwen area, and Bonzan Poughouli in the north-central. These figures are neither overly high nor overly low when comparing them with results from other language surveys.

3.2 Perceived Dialect Differences

The Pwo from the different regions do not identify great differences in dialect. They claim to understand each other very well, albeit the cognate percentage count noted above.

3.3 Areas for Further Study

At this point, conducting Recorded Text Tests to determine the level of comprehension does not seem necessary. A language team assigned, however, should keep in mind to check the information this survey obtained, namely that there is no problem in comprehension.

⁵In 1989, the Summer Institute of Linguistics' Area Directors and Vice Presidents established the language assessment criteria for the organization. This work is a set of standards for such domains as dialect intelligibility, bilingual ability, etc., developed in an attempt to guide decision-making as to the need for language development in specific situations.

4 Multilingual Issues

4.1 Language Use Description

4.1.1 *Children's Language Use*

The language in the home and in normal village life is Pwen. As the children interact, it appears that some Dagaara children learn Pwen and vice versa. It is important to note that the languages most often spoken on the playground are Bwamu and Dagaara.

4.1.2 *Adult's Language Use*

The adults use Pwen with other Pwo. In the northern region of the territory, Julia is the language used at the market and with many neighbors. The northern Pwo assert; however, that some neighbors learn Pwen. In the southeastern village of Gnimi, however, it is Dagaara which is the trade language, the language used at the market and with most neighbors. If the Pwo were to cite a region as one where Pwen is giving way to other languages, it is the area just north of Diébougou.

Travel to the Côte d'Ivoire to earn extra money is somewhat frequent. Increased competence in Julia is generally a natural by-product of this moneymaking venture.

4.2 Results of Bilingual Testing in Julia

As an introductory note, the villages that were tested were chosen according to their supposed amount of interethnic contact. Bonzan is located on a major road; it is quite likely that residents experience much contact with those of other ethnic groups. One presumes, then, that their ability in Julia is therefore greater. Fing was chosen because it was on a road of lesser importance, and therefore would have less inter-ethnic contact.

The tests were carried out by Assounan Ouattara and Soungalo Coulibaly in April 1995. While the choice of candidates generally involved quota sampling (as opposed to strict random sampling), the testers were instructed to test over as wide an area of the village as possible.

Table 4.2.1 shows the results of these tests.

Table 4.2.1
Means and Standard Deviations of SRT Scores
for the Pwo People Group According to Villages, Age, and Sex

Factor	Level	Mean	Standard Deviation	Number of Test takers	P
Village	Bonzan	21.19	1.25	38	ns
	Fin	19.09	1.28	38	
Sex	Female	18.82	1.29	35	ns
	Male	21.46	1.24	41	
Age	12–25	19.89	1.22	32	ns
	26–45	20.39	1.30	28	
Village x Sex	Bon x F	18.95	1.85	16	ns
	Bon x M	23.43	1.67	22	
	Fin x F	18.68	1.78	19	
	Fin x M	19.50	1.84	19	
Village x Age	Bon x 12–25	20.24	1.67	17	ns
	Bon x 26–45	22.14	1.85	14	
	Fin x 12–25	19.54	1.78	15	
	Bon x 26–45	18.64	1.83	14	
Sex x Age	F x 12–25	16.88	1.72	16	ns
	F x 26–45	20.76	1.91	13	
	M x 12–25	22.90	1.73	16	
	M x 26–45	20.02	1.78	15	

In looking at the data, all of the averages are above the minimum threshold of 16, the lowest figure corresponding with Level 3 of the RPE scale. Therefore, one would say that most of the population is competent enough in Jula to be able to use written materials in the trade language. Note, however, that there are no sectors of the population with significantly higher results. This indicates that there are no subgroups on the forefront of Jula competence. These data do not suggest increasing competence over time leading to language shift, but rather a stable bilingualism based on current practical need.

4.3 Language Attitudes

4.3.1 *As Reported*

The attitudes of the Pwo toward their language are extremely strong, taking into account both key community and Christian leaders. Pwo leaders will develop a primer and start literacy as soon as they get the necessary money, with or without the help of qualified linguists. Pwo pastors have asked SIL to undertake a language development project.

5 Recommendations

5.1 Relative to Translation/Literacy Project Potential

I recommend that a literacy and translation project be started among the Pwo. Furthermore, I believe that it should be given high priority, due to high interest. The present interest could mean greater community participation in language development.

5.2 Allocation Site

The team should allocate in the northwest region, in the area most homogenously Pwo.

Appendix

1 Materials Published on the Language

Dabire Brigitte has plans to write a thesis through the University of Ouagadougou on the phonology of the Pwen language.

Pere, Madeleine. Organisation de la société Pwo. Notes et Documents Voltaïques. 14, 1.

A history of the Pwo people is to be published in the near future, according to Roger Malo.

2 Contacts for Further Information

Jonas Malo, Directeur de la Service Domaine, in Diébougou (tel. 86 00 58)

Roger Malo (through Orstom, Ouagadougou)

So Jean Paul Malo

Dr. Ulrich Kleinewillinghofer, Afrikan Sprachen, J. W. G.-Universität, 6000 Frankfurt/Main, Senckenberganlage, Allemagne

3 Population Data

Table 3.1
Villages Recognized as Pwen

Province	Department	Village	Other Ethnic Groups in the Village	Estimated Percentage of Pwo	Total Pwo
Bougouriba	Bondigui	Bonfesso	Dyan	40%	130
Bougouriba	Bondigui	Intiédougou			221
Bougouriba	Bondigui	Nabale			86
Bougouriba	Bondigui	Nabiere			109
Bougouriba	Bondigui	Nahirindon			262
Bougouriba	Bondigui	Obro	Dyan	50%	182
Bougouriba	Bondigui	Wonan	Dyan	40%	398
Bougouriba	Bondigui	Zanawa Pougouli			461
Bougouriba	Diébougou	Diébougou	Dagaari/Dagaari Jula/Dyan	5%	338
Bougouriba	Diébougou	Naborgane	Dagaari/Peul	30%	128
Bougouriba	Dolo	Soussobro	Dyan	40%	84
Ioba	Dano	Fitengue	Dagaara/Mossi	33%	100
Ioba	Dano	Gnimi			836
Ioba	Dano	Yabogane	Dagaari	40%	519
Ioba	Guéguéré	Bouni			1036
Ioba	Guéguéré	Tankiédougou			1084
Tuy	Founzan	Banere			278
Tuy	Founzan	Batiene	Dagaari	60%	349
Tuy	Founzan	Fing			762
Tuy	Founzan	Nahi			946
Tuy	Founzan	Sambio			851
Tuy	Founzan	Yerfing			582
Tuy	Koti	Bonzan Poughouli			1162
Tuy	Koti	Djindjerma			1188
Tuy	Koti	Fafo	Bwaaba	40%	795
Tuy	Koti	Gbatere	Dagaari	50%	521
Tuy	Koti	Indini	Dagaara/Bwaaba	33%	467
Tuy	Koti	Koti	Bwaaba	33%	1243
Tuy	Koti	Poa	Bwaaba	50%	370
Tuy	Koti	Zangboni	Dagaara/Mossi	33%	100
				Total	15,588

4 A Word List of Pwen Dialects

<i>No.</i>	<i>French</i>	<i>Bonzan</i>	<i>Gnimi</i>
001	personne	[ɲìbínù]	[jibinu]
002	nom	[je]	[jî]
003	homme	[bálò]	[bálò]
004	mari	[bálò]	[bálò]
005	épouse	[hálò]	[hálò]
006	père	[nɛ]	[ne]
007	mère	[naʔ]	[ana]
008	femme	[hálò]	[hálò]
009	garçon	[bálo]	[bisèbílíò]
010	filles	[hajk ¹ oʔ]	[hájcò]
011	grande soeur	[hikúʒiæn]	[hikúòdizwĩà]
012	grand frère	[hubalodizian]	[húóðizwĩà]
013	petite soeur	[hikúdímbíò]	[hikúòtĩmbìò]
014	petit frère	[hùdímbíò]	[húótĩmbìò]
015	chef	[tʰótʰɛ]	[tʰótʰɛ]
016	ancien	[níbíbinó]	[nibibino]
017	guérisseur	[tíóʔ]	[tʰɛʔó]
018	forgeron	[lùríóʔ]	[lùríóʔ]
019	balafoniste	[rien]	[rien]
020	village	[tʰoʔ]	[tʰó]
021	case	[danɛ]	[mb ^w e]
022	mur	[dázíæ]	[dázíɛ]
023	porte	[bõñānwā]	[bõñāwā]
024	grenier	[víòʔ]	[b'ò]
025	toit	[dabaro]	[dábārò]
026	pagne	[gara]	[gara]
027	boubou	[gasio, gāgbèlá]	[gàsíò]
028	sandales	[lálɛʔ]	[lálɛ]
029	bague	[nèfílíɛʔ]	[nèfílɛ]
030	collier	[lólímó]	[limo]
031	fusil	[bòdāɲɛʔ]	[búɲdāɲɛ]
032	flèche	[hémèʔ]	[hémè]
033	arc	[tómàʔ]	[tómà]
034	corde	[nwɛ́nɛʔ]	[nwǽnɛ]
035	tisserand	[gàsó]	[gās ^w á]
036	calebasse	[fòláʔ]	[fòlá]
037	panier	[lúgò]	[lúwō]
038	graisse	[nómáʔ]	[noma]
039	lait	[nàʔílímà]	[nàʔéləmà]
040	sel	[jàrɛ]	[jare]
041	bâton	[dāmpóléʔ]	[dāmpólɛ]

No.	French	Bonzan	Gnimi
042	daba	[pógó]	[pógó]
043	hache	[s ^j o, gbəgbə]	[s ^j õʔ]
044	champs	[kómé]	[kómè]
045	riz	[m ^w ẽʔ]	[m ^w æ]
046	gros mil	[góŋǎʔ]	[gǎŋǎʔ]
047	petit mil	[gògòrí]	[gūgūrí]
048	gombo	[nwǎnǎʔ]	[nwánǎʔ]
049	arachide	[súgò]	[súgò]
050	sésame	[rien, rien]	[rien, rien]
051	maïs	[kántàŋà]	[kátáŋà]
052	arbre	[t ^l o]	[t ^l o]
053	forêt	[t ^w íǎ]	[kámó]
054	bois	[dá:ré]	[dà:ré]
055	herbe	[hwĩǎʔ]	[hũjǎ]
056	karité	[sómǎʔ]	[sómǎ]
057	fleur	[tìpórǎʔ]	[p ^h órǎ]
058	fruit	[nónóʔ]	[nónǎ]
059	feuille	[pámpò]	[p ^h ǎpórǎ]
060	branche	[cínǎnǎŋé]	[nǎnǎré]
061	écorce	[gbúǎʔ]	[buo]
062	racine	[hùlùgǎʔ]	[hūlūyǎ]
063	animal	[pórómǎʔ]	[p ^h urumǎ]
064	chien	[vaʔ, nǎʔ]	[va, nǎ]
065	cheval	[zǎʔ]	[zǎ]
066	mouton	[péríǎʔ, búnǎʔ]	[péríǎ, búnǎ]
067	hyène	[ǎgbùlǎʔ]	[bólǎ]
068	porc	[t ^w íǎʔ]	[cjo]
069	oiseau	[zúgò]	[zugu]
070	poule	[sumieʔ]	[zím ^j è]
071	araignée	[kórniǎʔ]	[ǎkǎŋǎ]
072	termite	[fũǎʔ]	[b ^l u]
073	fourmi	[mímíǎʔ]	[mím ^j ǎ]
074	sauterelle	[hebieʔ]	[héb ^j è]
075	singe	[ǎómǎʔ]	[omo]
076	lion	[gbéníʔ]	[gbénǎ]
077	éléphant	[t ^w oʔ]	[t ^w o]
078	serpent	[domǎʔ]	[dumǎ]
079	poisson	[nigoʔ]	[ǎnǎgǎ]
080	aile	[kǎŋkǎǎʔ]	[kǎkǎrǎ]
081	corne	[nǎraʔ]	[nǎra]
082	oeuf	[halǎʔ]	[halǎʔ]

No.	French	Bonzan	Gnimi
083	queue	[màndĩíʔ]	[mádʰè]
084	viande	[nàmóróʔ]	[námòrò]
085	sang	[kʲemaʔ]	[cema]
086	os	[nwĩẽʔ]	[hwæ]
087	corps	[tɔnɔʔ]	[túdàṅà]
088	peau	[taneʔ]	[tónó]
089	tête	[nũõʔ]	[núò]
090	visage	[jìməbábání]	[émábàbànè]
091	cheveux	[jórèʔ]	[jórè]
092	poils	[põnãʔ]	[póná]
093	nez	[mɛɛʔ]	[mírè]
094	oreille	[dílɛʔ]	[dílà]
095	oeil	[ʔírĩɛʔ]	[írĩɛ]
096	bouche	[nwãʔ]	[nwa]
097	dent	[jílɛʔ]	[jila]
098	langue	[hìlímóʔ]	[hjílímò]
099	bras	[vamoʔ]	[nɛ]
100	jambe	[hwíðʔ]	[nánɛ]
101	doigt	[nînĩɛʔ]	[níɲũ]
102	cou	[ba]	[ba]
103	poitrine	[dunɪʔ]	[dúnè]
104	coeur	[banɛʔ]	[bánèʔ]
105	ventre	[loroʔ]	[loro]
106	bon	[sòmòréʔ]	[àsòmárà]
107	mauvais	[bísò]	[abisò]
108	dos	[tʰɛ]	[dábè]
109	âme	[dòmáʔ]	[doma]
110	vie	[hwɛɛma]	[dúníɛʔ]
111	dieu	[wiʔ]	[we]
112	ciel	[wídʷà]	[we]
113	soleil	[wirɛʔ]	[wórè]
114	lune	[pʰénãʔ]	[pena]
115	étoile	[wìliɛʔ]	[wílíɛ]
116	matin	[kʰákʰárà]	[kʰákàrà]
117	jour	[wãʔ]	[wã]
118	nuit	[wémaʔ]	[wémà]
119	mois	[pʰénáʔ]	[pena]
120	année	[bìnáʔ]	[bénà]
121	vent	[píòʔ]	[pʰo]
122	feu	[nɪɲɛ]	[níɲè]
123	fumée	[ɲɔɛʔ]	[ɲó:rè]

<i>No.</i>	<i>French</i>	<i>Bonzan</i>	<i>Gnimi</i>
124	eau	[ɲè máʔ]	[ɲémà]
125	pluie	[à téoʔ]	[átèd]
126	terre	[hé rɛ]	[hɛ rɛ]
127	nuage	[dò pì ló]	[dopilo]
128	rocher	[nā wá]	[nà wà b ^w í è]
129	sable	[hà ŋ ^w óʔ]	[hæ n wō]
130	poussière	[kò kù lóʔ]	[kú kù lò]
131	chemin	[gmaŋ gma]	[gmæ mā]
132	fer	[hɔ]	[hé d]
133	blanc	[dì pólómóʔ]	[dip ^h oroma]
134	noir	[dì bínòʔ]	[dí bínò]
135	chaud	[nō mōʔ]	[nù máʔ]
136	froid	[fɛ lɔ rɛ]	[wà : rò]
137	sec	[hwioʔ]	[hu jɔʔ]
138	fort	[faŋ a]	[faŋ a]
139	faible	[bi wono]	[bi wono]
140	grand	[dí gbà nò]	[jì bíg bā n è]
141	petit	[dì mbioʔ]	[dí mbì d]
142	long	[dí gbà nò]	[dí gbā n è]
143	court	[dì ʔulioʔ]	[dí bú lè d]
144	vérité	[mì gbiri]	[mimbi]
145	mensonge	[so : roʔ]	[suru]
146	vendre	[ò ʔjiriʔ]	[ā mī ʔi é]
147	dormir	[o bilure]	[dómò bì]
148	large	[gɛ lɛ]	[pē : rɛ]
149	mince	[ginini]	[gīg ī n ā]
150	lourd	[jur iʔ]	[jure]
151	léger	[de lɛ]	[dé lè à]
152	loin	[dó dód]	[dā dā]
153	près	[tó : né]	[tó : n è]
154	aigu	[de o rɛ]	[hó : r è]
155	sale	[gbē n ó]	[gbá ɲ è]
156	pourri	[sò rò r é]	[sora]
157	droit	[tɪ rɪ rɪ]	[t ^h erere]
158	courbé	[tì l iʔ]	[kú : r é]
159	vieux	[báz wæ]	[baz wā]
160	jeune	[bis è ʔ bò l éʔ]	[bis è hām ^l ē]
161	manger	[ò diriʔ]	[ò d ^l è]
162	boire	[ò ɲ jorɛʔ]	[ò ɲ ò]
163	voir	[ò n wē : r ēʔ]	[ó kèn lè r è]
164	regarder	[ó kél jē r ē]	[ó kèn lè r è]

<i>No.</i>	<i>French</i>	<i>Bonzan</i>	<i>Gnimi</i>
165	compter	[áŋg ^w ēmā]	[ōròògālā]
166	donner	[ōhiriʔ]	[ókènhè:rè]
167	finir	[ôtenórèʔ]	[ókètènè]
168	monter	[ʔóžèréʔ]	[ʔóžèrè]
169	aller	[ʔōlagerèʔ]	[ʔōlagirè]
170	partir	[ʔōmoreʔ]	[ʔōlagirè]
171	venir	[ʔōkoneʔ]	[ʔōk ^h ònè]
172	courir	[ʔót ^w ārè]	[ʔócàrè]
173	voler	[ʔōwereʔ]	[ʔwērè]
174	frapper	[ʔōm ^w aríʔ]	[ʔokēmārè]
175	casser	[ʔōlélimìrì]	[ʔócémìrì]
176	couper	[c ^w ēpīrīrī]	[ʔòcéb ^w irirè]
177	tuer	[ʔōʔgboreʔ]	[ʔòbòrà]
178	mourir	[ōsiʔore]	[ʔósérè]
179	parler	[ʔók ^h ēmìrèʔ]	[ʔócémèrè]
180	pleurer	[ʔōnwāneʔ]	[ʔówánirè]
181	recevoir	[ʔōm ^h arèʔ]	[ōcálórè]
182	acheter	[ʔōʔjirèʔ]	[ókáʔjārè]
183	mordre	[ʔōdomore]	[ʔòdòmèrè]
184	savoir	[ōʔihā]	[ʔihā]
185	tirer	[ʔōlém:pàmìrè]	[ʔòlémpàmìrè]
186	se baigner	[ʔōʔwarèʔ]	[nīwáró]
187	laver	[osore]	[sōjimarèʔ]
188	s’asseoir	[ʔōkerè]	[ʔōkerè]
189	pousser	[ʔōtigirè]	[ʔótìrè]
190	jeter	[ʔōf ^w ientarè]	[ʔòf ^w é:tàrè]
191	accrocher	[ʔōʔk ^w iríʔ]	[ʔúk ^w èrè]
192	lever	[ʔōworirèʔ]	[ʔuri]
193	construire	[rien]	[rien]
194	creuser	[óhūrūrè]	[huri]
195	tisser	[ʔōsoreʔ]	[ʔósòrè]
196	attacher	[ʔōwogirèʔ]	[ʔóbògèrè]
197	tomber	[ʔōlòrè]	[ʔólàrè]
198	chanter	[ʔōboiirè]	[ʔòburirè]
199	sentir	[ʔōnisamareʔ]	[ʔónásòmà]
200	penser	[ʔōgorirèʔ]	[ʔōgúrìrè]
201	attraper	[ʔōlalarèʔ]	[ʔólàlārè]
202	vomir	[ʔōtòrèʔ]	[ʔòt ^h arè]
203	être debout	[ʔōʔururíʔ]	[ʔòʔuríʔawèd ^w à]
204	tenir	[ot ^h ore]	[ʔot ^h ame]
205	danser	[ʔōsarèʔ]	[ʔósàrè]

<i>No.</i>	<i>French</i>	<i>Bonzan</i>	<i>Gnimi</i>
206	beaucoup	[ʔbilorɛ]	[dɪʔgbiliɛ]
207	peu	[pîɛnɪ]	[pɛ:ɲo]
208	un	[dégò]	[dʰo]
209	deux	[ɛ̃]	[æ̃]
210	trois	[aro]	[aro]
211	quatre	[à:né]	[àné]
212	cinq	[à:nó]	[ànó]
213	six	[ànódíò]	[ànódéò]
214	sept	[ànóʔɛ̃]	[ànóʔæ̃]
215	huit	[ànóʔárò]	[ànóʔárò]
216	neuf	[ànógàné]	[fɪdùdùnítù]
217	dix	[fi]	[fi]
218	chat		
219	âne		
220	chercher		
221	trouver		
222	demandeur		
223	répondre		
224	sauce		
225	lièvre		
226	grand Dieu		
227	sauter		

The data from Gnimi originally from Solomiac and Groff 1983 was verified by Carol Berthelette March 1993. The data from Bonzan was gathered during this survey by John and Carol Berthelette March 1993.

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