MINISTRY OF SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL RESEARCH

A Rapid Appraisal Survey of Malimba ALCAM [610] (Sanaga-Maritime Division, Littoral Province)

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I. Introduction

This survey was carried out on November 21, 2000 by a joint team of researchers from SIL (Charlene Ayotte, Michael Ayotte and Melinda Lamberty) and the University of Yaounde I (Dr. Zachée Dénis Bitjaa Kody and Beatrice Mvogo). The team conducted Rapid Appraisal (RA) group interviews in two locations and collected two wordlists. We are grateful to the local authorities and citizens for the authorization and assistance that made this research possible.

1.1 Previous Publications

In 1968 Gabriel Lobe published a book written in the Malimba (Mulimba) language (see References section for details). Clédor Nseme (1979) carried out a lexicostatistic study of several languages of the Littoral Province, including Malimba.

1.2 Terminology and Classification

The Ethnologue (B. Grimes, 2000:43) lists Malimba as a language:

MALIMBA (MULIMBA, MUDIMA, LIMBA, LEMBA) [MZD]

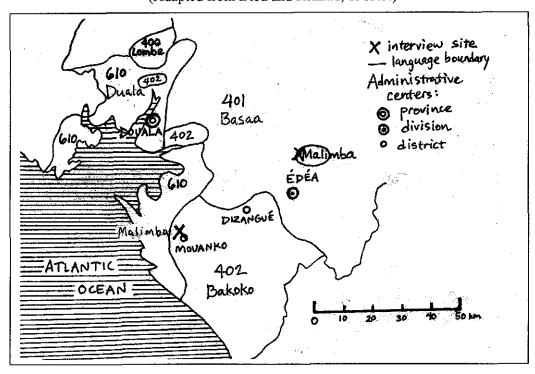
4,500 (1982 SIL). Small pocket north of Edea, and around the mouth of the Sanaga River, Sanaga-Maritime Division, Littoral Province. Linguistic affiliation: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Bantoid, Southern, Narrow Bantu, Northwest, A, Duala (A20). May be intelligible with Duala. Investigation needed: intelligibility, bilingual proficiency in Duala.

The Atlas Linguistique du Cameroun (ALCAM) indicates that Malimba is a dialect of the Duala language, which has the code number [610] (Dieu and Renaud, 1983:59). Mudimba is an alternative name. The other dialects of Duala are: Duala (Dwala or Douala), Oli (Ewodi, Koli or Wouri), Pongo, Muungo and Bodiman (Nke).

1.3 Population and Location

There are six Malimba villages situated in two areas of the Sanaga-Maritime Division of the Littoral Province. The first area is just north of Edea (Malimba and Malimba Farm). The other area is west of Mouanko (Maljedu, Malmbenge, Bongo and Mulongo) in Mouanko Subdivision. These coastal villages are accessible only by motorized dugout canoe.

Figure 1: Location of Malimba (Adapted from Dieu and Renaud, 1983:5.)



Malimba Farm interviewees said that they have lost nearly half of their village populace to the big cities. Only 300 people remain in the village, while 250 have moved to Douala and other cities. Populations of the Mouanko area villages are likewise small: Maljedu (250), Malmbenge (280), Bongo (150) and Mulongo (350). If we arbitrarily assume a population of 200 for the other Malimba village north of Edea, the grand total for all villages would be around 1,530. The number of Malimba speakers living outside of the area is unknown.

Table 1: Malimba Population Estimates

	1987 Census*	2001 Projection** (2.9% annual	Self-Reported Populaion
Village:		growth estimate)	•
Malimba I	633	940	300
Malimba II	493	740	200?
Maljedu			250
Malmbenge			280
Bongo	74	110	150
Moulongo	292	440	350
TOTAL:	1,492	2,230	>1,530
			(at least another
			250 live in urban
			areas)

^{*}See Demo, 1987.

^{**}This is based on the Census bureau's calculation that there was 2.9% annual increase in population from the 1976 census to 1987 census. This figure assumes the same increase per year over 14 years to 2001. There is no way of knowing if there has been significant immigration or emigration of the speech communities since 1987. Also, these figures do not include populations speaking the language outside of the village (in cities).

1.4 Religion

At Malimba Farm, north of Edea, there is only one Christian congregation, the Eglise Evangélique du Cameroun (EEC). The religious situation in Mouanko Subdivision is different, however. Interviewees from the four villages of Maljedu, Malmbenge, Bongo, and Mulongo said that the majority of the Malimba people there are Christians. They belong to three denominations: EEC, Catholic, and Assemblée Chrétienne. African traditional religion and Jehovah's Witnesses also have some followers.

1.5 History

According to oral tradition, the Malimba people are descended from a common ancestor named Mbedi, who came from Congo. The Mbedi people gave rise to the Duala, Wouri, Pongo, Batanga, Loungasse/Loungai (who speak Basaa), and Dibongo (who speak Bakoko). Some of the grandparents of the Malimba fathers are believed to have migrated from Mouanko to north of Edea.

II. Purpose and Approach

2.1 Purpose of the Survey

We undertook this survey with several questions in mind:

- What is the current status of language vitality for Malimba?
- How much do Malimba people use Duala, and do they understand it easily?
- Could Malimba people use the Duala Bible?

Thus, the goal was to get an initial impression of the sociolinguistic situation in the areas of dialectology, multilingualism, language vitality and language attitudes using the Rapid Appraisal method and wordlist elicitation.

2.2 Methodology

2.2.1 Rapid Appraisal Interviews

The "Rapid Appraisal" (RA) method utilises group and individual interview questionnaires (see Bergman 1991 and Stalder 1996). (The group questionnaire form is in Appendix 1 of this report. We did not use the individual questionnaires for this survey because no school officials or religious leaders were available on the day of the survey.) This method provides a general idea of the linguistic situation of the speech varieties being studied. Informant responses reveal the patterns of contact with other language groups and degree of multilingualism.

An understanding of a language's vitality and viability is valuable for determining the potential success of a development program. Translated Scriptures and other books in the mother tongue would be unnecessary if sociolinguistic factors indicate that the language is falling into disuse. The RA method produces an assessment of attitudes held by the community toward the possibility and value of a language development project.

2.2.2 Wordlist Comparison

Wordlist comparison is helpful for determining how greatly the dialects differ from one another. For this survey, Dr. Bitjaa Kody directed the collection of a 120-item wordlist from residents of Malimba Farm and Mouanko Subdivision. Using the inspection method to compare the lists, we arrived at a percentage of apparent cognicity by first examining each pair of lexical items and counting the two words as simply being apparent cognates or not cognates, then dividing the total number of apparent cognates by the number of lexical items.

2.3 How the Data Was Gathered

For this survey, we conducted one RA group interview north of Edea at Malimba Farm, and we held a second interview at the market in Mouanko with representatives of four Malimba villages from Mouanko Subdivision (Maljedu, Malmbenge, Bongo and Mulongo). The groups were made up of community leaders who have been residents in the community for most of their lives, including the chief of Malimba Farm, the senior chief, and the chief of Maljedu.

III. RESULTS

3.1 Dialect Situation

In 1979, Clédor Nseme carried out a lexicostatistic study of several languages of the Littoral Province. He found the following percentages of apparent cognates between Malimba and neighboring speech varieties: 86.5% with Duala, 73% with Bodiman, 73% with Ewodi, 82.5% with Pongo, 36.5% with both Abo and Bakoko (1979:12). Nseme's percentages show that Malimba is obviously related to Duala, Bodiman, Ewodi and Pongo. Our own comparison of Duala with two varieties of Malimba follows in the next section.

3.1.1 Wordlist Comparison

We collected a wordlist at Malimba Farm, where it was very difficult to assure the accuracy of the information elicited. Three of the respondents left partway through the session, and the remaining Malimba speaker provided us with various forms of the verbs, rather than the infinitive form. So for some words on the list, what appears as a dialectal difference between Malimba Farm and the villages of Mouanko Subdivision may in fact be attributed to having an inconsistent form of the verb. Therefore, the figure of 63% similarity that we found between Duala and the Malimba Farm wordlist is not accurate and should not be considered with any seriousness; the actual number is probably much higher than 63%. Our Mouanko wordlist is more reliable.

Table 2: Apparent Cognates (%)

Duala		
	Malimba	
63	(Malimba Farm)	
•		Malimba
71	94	(Mouanko
	•	Subdivision)

An initial glance at the wordlists gives the impression that Malimba as spoken at Malimba Farm and Mouanko is definitely one language, with lexical similarity 94%. This agrees with mother-tongue speaker opinion.

3.1.1 Range of Error

The accuracy of lexicostatistic percentages is affected by a variety of factors, such as: 1) how well the items on a particular wordlist represent a cross-section of the basic vocabulary, 2) differing word choice (synonyms) between individual speakers of the language, 3) variation in the way different linguists compare the same set of data, and 4) basic errors in phonetic transcription, comparing, counting and calculating. Gary Simons (1989) outlines a method for determining the statistical range

of error for lexical similarity which we will apply to these data. He explains the implications of range of error as follows:

Since a lexicostatistic percentage is at best the estimate of a range, the question of significant difference becomes important. The fact that two cognate percentages are different numbers does not necessarily mean that they represent different degrees of relationship. Because each cognate percentage indicates a range rather than a specific value, the ranges of two different cognate percentages may overlap. If the amount of overlap is great enough, we cannot say with confidence that the two different percentages represent different degrees of relationship. (1989:3.3.1)

Using Simons' tables of significance (1989:3.3.19-32) at a confidence level of .05 (for an "Average survey situation but difficulties encountered in bilingual elicitation"), we can establish a range of error for each figure from Table 2 above. A confidence level of .05 means that there is a five percent chance that the actual figure falls outside of the given range of error; thus there is a 95 percent chance that the actual figure lies within the range.

Table 3: Apparent Cognate Percentages with Range of Error

Duala		
52-74	Malimba	
(63 ± 11)	(Malimba Farm)	
· ·		Malimba
61-81	90-98	(Mouanko
(71 ± 10)	(94 ± 4)	Subdivision)

This percentage of similarity between Malimba and Duala (61-81%) falls within the range where dialect intelligibility testing (Recorded Text Testing) is recommended in order to clarify the linguistic relationship between speech forms; in fact, B. Grimes says that some investigators recommend RTT testing for groups sharing greater than 60% apparent cognates (1989:4.1.9). However, sociolinguistic indications (results of Rapid Appraisal interviews) sometimes reveal that such testing is unnecessary.

3.2 Intercomprehension and Multilingualism

Malimba people say they can speak Duala. They report using the Duala language to communicate with the Wouri, Pongo, and Loungasse/Loungai (who have adopted the Basaa language). Interviewees of Mouanko Subdivision say that their six-year-old children easily understand Duala. This intercomprehension may be mutual; Malimba Farm interviewees said that Duala people can understand Malimba. The Pongo dialect of Duala is further away geographically, but Malimba speakers say they do understand it. Reportedly, the Wouri people (also a dialect of Duala) comprehend Malimba if it is spoken slowly.

As for other languages, Malimba interviewees report some degree of intercomprehension with Batanga, which they call "Old Malimba." Most people at Malimba Farm say they have learned to understand Bakoko, as have many Malimba people in Mouanko Subdivision. (Apparently some Bakoko people also speak Malimba.) French use is widespread, especially at Malimba Farm. Interviewees in this community claimed that many parents are teaching French to their children as a first language. In this village we observed French being spoken all around us. The only reported use for Pidgin English is buying and selling at the weekly market.

Table 4: Language Choice in Multilingual Situations

"Which language(s) do you speak with speakers		
of"	We speak:	They speak:
Duala	Malimba & Duala	Duala
Wouri (dial. of Duala)	Duala & French	Duala & French
Pongo (dial. of Duala)	Duala	Duala
Batanga	French	French
Bakoko	Malimba & Bakoko	Malimba & Bakoko
Loungaas/Loungai	Duala	Duala
Basaa	French	French

3.3 Language Vitality and Viability

3,3.1 Malimba Farm

At Malimba Farm, adults say their mother tongue is a vital part of daily life. Those present at the interview stated that they speak Malimba in their homes, with their friends, and in the fields. In the local Eglise Evangelique, Malimba is the language of choice for announcements and prayers. When the person preaching is a Malimba man, he preaches in Malimba. This congregation has a choir that sings Malimba songs. Bible studies and church meetings are sometimes held in the Malimba language. (Other church functions, such as Bible reading, singing and preaching, are conducted in Duala or French with no interpretation because they say that everyone understands these languages.)

However, when one considers the children of Malimba Farm, their language use patterns reveal that language shift may be underway. The adults we interviewed said that many children there do not understand the Malimba language. Instead, interviewees said that children comprehend French by the age of two or three because parents who have attended school are speaking French to them. Most Malimba men marry outsiders and are therefore obliged to speak French in the home. (Bakoko wives are the only outsiders reported to learn the Malimba language.) All of the children at Malimba Farm attend primary school, taught in French. Teachers in the primary school there do not provide explanations in Malimba; interviewees said that even the parents do not use Malimba for explaining things to children. Schoolchildren reportedly use French, not Malimba, to communicate with each other during recreation. We heard French spoken everywhere when walking through this community. It seems that French is becoming the preferred language of Malimba youth at Malimba Farm.

Malimba Farm appears to be suffering some attrition; compared with the 300 Malimba people who currently live in the village, another 250 former inhabitants are said to have relocated to various cities. Young people who have completed their secondary education sometimes return to the village if they are unable to find jobs elsewhere, but interviewees said that there are fewer and fewer who return to the village. The chief of Malimba Farm does not live in the village himself; he lives in Edea.

3.3.2 Mouanko Subdivision

Language vitality appears to be much higher in Mouanko Subdivision (the villages of Maljedu, Malmbenge, Bongo and Mulongo). Only about one-third of the individuals present for the interview indicated that they speak French on a daily basis. Respondants indicated that they speak Malimba in their homes, with their friends, in their fields, while fishing, and at the big market (in Mouanko). Malimba does have an established role in religious events, which is a point in favor of language vitality. Two out of three denominations reportedly give their announcements in Malimba, pray in Malimba, and use Malimba for sermons at least part of the time.

On the other hand, Duala and French are commonly spoken for most parts of church services, usually without interpretation. This may be due to the large number of non-Malimba people who have moved into Mouanko Subdivision. (Outsiders, attracted by fishing, come from Basaa, Bamileke, Nigeria, Ghana, and even Chad). None of the churches interprets Scripture readings into the mother tongue, and interviewees said that Malimba-speaking churchgoers have not yet expressed any interest in Bible translation. The Assemblée Chrétienne includes the Basaa language (for Bible readings and sermons). Bakoko is sometimes used for praying (Catholic Church) and preaching (Assemblée Chrétienne). More detail on language use in churches is seen in the following table. The Malimba language is used for prayers, sermons, and announcements.

Table 5: Reported Church Language Use in Mouanko Subdivision

Church:	EEC	Catholic	Assemblée Chrétienne
Bible readings	DF	D F	DFB
Songs	D	various	F
Sermons	$D \rightarrow F$	DFM	F→M B Bk
Announcements	M D	M	F
Prayers	DFM	M D Bk	F
Bible studies	D	unknown	unknown
Meetings	D M	unknown	unknown

(B)=Basaa (Bk)=Bakoko (D)=Duala (F)=French (M)=Malimba
$$(\rightarrow)$$
="...is interpreted into..."

As for the viability of Malimba in Mouanko Subdivision, it seems that children are continuing to learn Malimba as their first language. Interviewees reported that the young people in their villages speak Malimba more often than French. When primary-age schoolchildren fail to understand something stated in French, Malimba teachers in Mouanko Subdivision do use Malimba to explain.

In summary, Malimba language vitality appears to be strong in Mouanko Subdivision. French is not overtaking the use of the mother tongue, as it is in the Malimba Farm community. Malimba people commonly speak or understand Duala, but much of this is due to the similarity between it and Malimba. We did not observe anything that would indicate language/dialect shift from Malimba to Duala.

3.4 Language Attitudes and Development

3.4.1 Attitudes toward the Mother Tongue

In all villages, Malimba speakers say that they are proud of their language. Interviewees said they believe that young Malimba people who remain in the village will continue speaking Malimba throughout their lives. Everyone agreed that the purest form of Malimba is spoken in the villages of Mouanko Subdivision, even though there are a significant number of Basaa and Bakoko people in or around these communities.

3.4.2 Attitudes toward Other Languages

Malimba people also have positive attitudes toward French and Duala. These Languages of Wider Communication (LWCs) open doors of commerce and education for the Malimba people. Although certain Malimba individuals have acquired the ability to comprehend and/or speak the neighboring languages of Bakoko, Basaa and Batanga, they expressed an unwillingness to learn to read or write any of these languages, saying that just being able to speak them is sufficient.

3.4.3 Standardization Efforts

When asked which language(s) they would like to learn to read and write, interviewees in both locations immediately said French, but some individuals at Mouanko preferred English over French. The second choice for Malimba Farm residents was Duala, with Malimba listed third. Mouanko respondants reversed the order of these two, prefering to read Malimba before Duala. The senior chief, however, said a Malimba language committee would not be useful to them because there is insufficient interest in participating. The village chief of Malimba Farm stated that teaching Malimba literacy would not benefit the community because the people are not interested.

People in both locations claimed that, because they have learned to read and write Duala, they can easily write their own language by just making a few modifications to the writing system. Several interviewees of Mouanko Subdivision stated, "Once you can read and write Duala, you can read and write Malimba"; these individuals claim to have mastered this skill of their own volition. Furthermore, Duala literacy is widespread. One third of those present for the interview at Malimba Farm, and nearly everyone at the Mouanko interview, asserted that they can already read and write Duala.

Malimba Farm residents are aware of Gabriel Lobe's book (1968) written in Malimba, but they say their youth have no interest in it. They also mentioned the existence of a collection of folktales, a history of a conflict with the Germans, and an anthropological study.

IV. Summary and Conclusions

The Malimba people of the Sanaga-Maritime Division of the Littoral Province have an approximate population of fewer than 2,000 people and live in two main locations: 1) north of Edea, and 2) in Mouanko Subdivision, along the Atlantic coast. The *ALCAM* (Dieu and Renaud, 1983) identifies it as a dialect of the Duala language, but the Ethnologue (Grimes, 2000) classifies Malimba as a separate language. Our own wordlist comparison lends mild support to the argument of grouping them together, and sociolinguistic factors add further confirmation.

The Malimba language remains generally vital and viable, although there are strong indications of language shift occurring in the area north of Edea. According to the people we interviewed, the vast majority of Malimba people can speak either French or Duala or both. Malimba adults in the interview group north of Edea told us that many of their children are learning French as their mother tongue. However, these same interviewees reported that Malimba still enjoys frequent use in the home, between friends, in the fields, and also in some religious domains. In summary, the apparent disparity in degrees of language vitality can be explained by differences between the two locations, and also by generational differences within the Malimba Farm community.

The indications of this Rapid Appraisal survey are that the Malimba people do not have need of language development or Bible translation because the Duala standard is probably meeting their literary needs. In Mouanko Subdivision interviewees told us that everyone, including six-year-old children, speaks in Duala. This indicates either that Malimba and Duala might not be distinct languages, or that there is heavy Duala bilingualism. Interviewees reported that Malimba churches are successfully using Duala written materials, such as the Bible, without interpreting it into Malimba. If the Malimba people were to express an interest in language development, we would first recommend a Recorded Text Testing (RTT) survey in order to confirm the degree of Duala comprehension throughout these Malimba communities.

V. Recommendations

- Change Bible Translation Need status to "Unlikely Need" based on high self-reported comprehension of Duala ("Everyone here speaks Duala," and "Yes, our children understand Duala by the time they are six years old."), a perceived lack of interest in developing Malimba, and the reportedly common practice of using Duala as a written standard.
- Possible Duala RTT: if the Malimba people express an interest in language development, we would first recommend a Recorded Text Testing (RTT) survey in order to confirm the degree of Duala comprehension throughout these Malimba communities.
- Alternatively, one could evaluate the appropriateness of using Duala as the written standard for Malimba people by testing Duala literacy materials among them or by attempting to extend a Duala literacy campaign to the Malimba area.

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Appendix 1: Group RA Questionnaire

Interviewers:			Date	»:		_
Notes prises par:			Heu	re:		-
Autres chercheurs présents	s:					<u> </u>
Nombre de personnes prés Village (note on map): Population donnée:	sentes:	H:	F:			
Village (note on map):		Arrond	issement:			
Population donnée:	intérieu	re:	exté	rieure:		
DIALECTOLOGIE						
- Nom du peuple :						
- Nom du parler :						
- Quelles sont les origines	du peuple?					
- Quels villages parlent vo	tre patois (langue)?				
- Nommer les villages où l	les habitants parle	nt	(Montrez une	carte de la 1	égion.)	
exactement dans la mêm	ne		.			
façon que vous.						
avec quelques différence	es					
d'accent ou de lexique.						
différemment et la						
compréhension est diffic	ile					
différemment et la com-						
préhension est impossibl	le.					
Homogénéité de la comm - Y a-t-il des villages qui s au marché ou participer au	sont coupés des a	utres, pendant la			u'on ne pe	ut pas y alle
INTERCOMPREHENSI						
- Quels villages autour de			1.2			
village 1		2	3		4	
langue						
village 5		6	7		8	
langue						
- Quand vous rencontrez q	weloun oui parle	X				
Langue/Variante de par	<u> </u>	Ils	Lentement/	On	Un	Même
Façon de parler du villa	I	parlent	Normalement	compren	Peuple	origines?
X	, p	P	1	d à l'âge	?	
1.				de 6 ans?		
			1 n	O/N	 	
		· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	1 n	O/N	†	
			1 n	O/N	 	<u> </u>
	- 	- 	l n	O/N	 	
		 	1 n	O/N	 	

le moins?

1 n 1 n O/N

O/N O/N

⁻ Laquelle de ces langues comprenez-vous le mieux ou le plus facilement ?

VITALITE ET VIABILITE

Migration et intermariage

- Les gens d'ici se marient avec qui ? (l'intermariage entre qui ?)
 - quels groupes sont favorisés
 - réstrictions?

Jeunes

- -Les enfants vont-ils à l'école primaire? tous / la plupart / quelques uns / très peu -Il y a combien d'école primaire ici?
- -Les enfants vont-ils à l'école secondaire? tous / la plupart / quelques uns / très peu -Il y a combien d'école secondaire ici? Elles sont où?
- Y a-t-il des enfants qui viennent de l'extérieur pour fréquenter l'école ici ? Est-ce qu'ils sont nombreux?
- Les jeunes qui ont terminé leurs études, préferent-ils rester en ville ou rentrer au village? Pourquoi?

Présence au niveau local de notables âgés de 35 à 50 ans (Watters)

- Où habitent la plupart des notables du village? Dans la communauté / Ailleur

- Quel âge ont-ils approximativement?

Age du membre le plus jeun :

Le plus agé:

- Y aura-t-il des gens pour prendre la relève des notables dans 50 ans?

- Y a-t-il des étrangers qui viennent s'installer ici ? Oui/Non Sont-ils nombreux? Oui/Non
- D'ou viennent-ils?
- Pourquoi?
- S'ils restent dans votre village, quelle langue parlent-ils avec vous?

Utilisation des langues

Au village, quelles langues utilise-t-on le plus souvent:

Domestique	LM	Français	
Au foyer			
Entre amis (même âge)			
Au champ			
Au marché local			
Au grand marché			
Au centre de santé/clinique/dispensaire	1		

École	LM	Français	
Pendant la récréation			
Les élèves en classe			
Pour instruction			
Pour explication			

Publique	LM	Français	
Les Annonces			
Les réunions locales (avec le chef)			
Les réunions régionales (des chefs)			
cérémonies religieuses traditionelles			

- Quelles autres réligions existent dans ce village?					
- Lequel d'entre ces groupes rélig	vieuv est le plus nomb	areuv?			
- Lequel & chile ces groupes leng	sieux est le plus home	TOUX.			
- Quelle langue est utilisée pour.	••				
Noms d'Églises					
Lecture biblique					
Chants				+	
Prédication					
Annonces				1	
Prières					
Etudes bibliques					
Réunions					
LM=langue maternelle, F= franç	çais, A=anglais				
Les indications de "language shif - Pensez-vous que les jeunes d'ic	i parlent une autre lan jours ici au village? (I hommes adultes / les angent la LM avec le bonne ou mauvaise cl is à la maison, est-ce o ujourd'hui continuere de leur langue matern	femmes adultes français ? Oui/Non hose? - po que les parents sont o ont à parler la LM qu elle? Oui/Non	ourquoi? contents ? <u>[Oui/Non]</u> and ils seront vieux ? <u>[O</u>	₹ N Bible ou	
 Sont-ils utilisés actuellement ? [Existe-t-il un comité de langue, S'il y avait un tel programme da Accepteriez-vous travailler en c 	d'alphabetisation, ou ans ce village, accepte	eriez-vous de particip	per? Oui/Non		
Attitude positive à l'égard du chu - Y a-t-il un comité de développe					

- Combien de personnes dans la communauté pratiquent les religions traditionelles?

- Quelles sont leurs activités principales à l'heure actuelle ?

ATTITUDES LINGUISTIQUES

- Quelqu'un qui veux apprendre votre langue, dans quel village/quartier habiterait-il pour avoir le respect de tout le monde ?
- Où parle-t-on le mieux votre langue ?
- Quel dialecte de votre langue (après le votre) choisiriez-vous d'écrire et de lire ?

- Quelles langues aimeriez-vous apprendre à lire/écrire ?

Langues (en ordre de choix)	Pourquoi ?
1 ^{ère}	
2 ^{ème}	
3 ^{ème}	
4 ^{ème}	

- Est-ce suffisant de parler certaines langues, et ne pas les écrire et lire ? Si oui, lesquelles, et pourquoi ?
- Qu'est-ce que vous investiriez dans un projet de devéloppement de langue ? ...un seau de légumes? ...un panier de fruits? ...un sac de maïs? ...de l'argent? ...de votre temps ? par mois? Par année ?
- Que pensez-vous que les autres désireront investir dans un tel projet ?

Appendix 2: Malimba Wordlists

Malimba Farm	Mouanko Subdivision
mùdùmbù	mùdùmbù
díhó / míhó	đihò / mihò
mùlópò	mùlópò / mǐ-
лò	дò
dihùŋgà / mà-	dìhùŋgà / ma-
èyémè / bèyémè	èyémè / bìyémè
mùpémbà	mùpémbà / mǐ-
ìtój / màtôj	ìtôj / màtôj
kòtĭ	kòtĭ
mbúhá -mùlópò -kòti	dʒšlò / mšlò
mùŋgòŋgòj	mùŋgòŋgòj / mi-
dibé / màbé	ďiβέ / màβέ
dʒăɗê / măɗê	dʒǎde / mǎde
nándè	náándê
pándè	páándê
	dʒòòdò / mààdò
	ìtàngá / mà-
ĭlálàkà / mà-	ĭlálàkà / mà-
ndzèndzè	ndzèndzè / mà-
mùtódù	mùtódi / mì-
6èbùŋgá	6èbùŋgà
màià	màjàà
	mínèdì
	èèhè / 6-
	jòo`6ò / bjò6ò
	dipùpùlàn / mà-
dìkùβà / mà-	dikù6à / mà-
tángà	tốốngò
	mùùndò / mìindò
	mòtàbènàmà
	mùmíjò / bèmíjò
	múútò / bíítò
múmíjò / bémíjò	mùmáō
múnà / 6ánà	múnâ / bánaî
dínà / mínà	dínâ / mínâ
	ŋwin
	bùlù / mjùlù
mốódì	móódi / mjódi
vé3	wêj
	mùpùpè / mǐ-
	diindi / màindì
ngòdíbà	ŋgɔdí6à
mbúwá	mbúwà
wáhè	wáhè
mùkò	mùkò
ndzèjà / ma-	ndʒèjà / ma-
màďi6á	màdíbà
tòŋgò	mòópì / mjópì
6òlóŋgi / mì-	bòlóŋgǐ / mǐ-
	bòlóŋgĭ / mì- éjà
	mùdùmbù dihá / míhó mùlópò jhò dihùngà / mà- èyémè / bèyémè mùpémbà itój / màtôj kòti mbúhá -mùlópò -kòti mùngòngòj dibé / màbé dyǎde / màde jiálè / màde jiálàkà / mà- ndyèndyà mùtódù bèbùngá mùtódù bèbùngá mipèdyì èvèhé / 6- èjôbò / 5- dipùpùlàn / mà- dikùbà / mà- tóngò mùtó / bátò múmijò / bémijò múnd / bítò múnjò / bémijò múnd / bítò múnd / mínà nmílò nmílò ngòdibà mbúwá wáhè mukò ndyèjà / ma- màdibá

Malimba Farm Wordlist Informants: Male, age 46

Female, age 82

Researcher: Dr. Bitjaa Kody Date: November 21, 2000 Location: Malimba Farm

Mouanko Subdivision Wordlist

Informants: Male, age 29

(resident of Mulongo)

Male, age 62

(resident of Malmbenge)

Researcher: Dr. Bitjaa Kody Date: November 21, 2000 Location: Epolo (Mouanko)

	Malimba Farm	Mouanko Subdivision
48. smoke	ítùtù	ítùtù
49. ash	dùbú	dùbù
50. knife	ĭlèndĭ / mà-	ĭlèndĩ / mà-
51. rope	mùhìŋgà / mì-	mùhìŋgà / mà-
52. spear	hòlò	dʒòŋgò / mòŋgò
53. war (fight)	6wèmbà	bĭlà
54a. animal	pàmà	pàmà
54b. meat	pàmà	pàmà
55. dog	ĭmbò / lòmbò	ĭmbò / lòmbò
56. elephant	nd35 ^w	nd3ò ^w
57. goat	mbódi	mbódi
58. bird	ìnòn / lònòn	ìnòn / lònònì
59. tortoise	kúdù	kùdù
60. snake	nàmà 6wà6à	pàmà бwàбà
61. fish	húwè	húwè
62. (head) louse	nĭiná	nĭìná
63. egg	mùtſèj / mǐtʃèj	mùtsêj / mitsêj
64. tree	6wèlè / mjèlè	6wèlè / mjèlè
65. bark	jòò6á 6wèlè	èjòbòábwèlè
66. leaf	èjádí / 6èjádí	èjádi / bèjádi
67. гооt	mwàngà / mjàngà	mwààŋgà / mjààŋgà
68. salt	áŋgà	àŋgà
69. fat	dòóŋgǐ / màóŋgǐ	dìóngì / mà-
70a. hunger	ndzaj	ndʒaj
(general)	33	
70b. hunger	èélé	èélé
(for meat)		
71. iron	èt∫ὲj	èt∫ὲj / 6èt∫ὲj
(the metal)		
72. one	<u>èwó</u>	èwò
73. two	беба	6é6à
74. three	6élááló	ßéláálò
75. four	6énèj	6énèj
76. five	<u> </u>	6étân
77. six	mùtó6à	mùtóbà
78. seven	sàámbà	sàámbà
79. eight	lòòmbì	làòmbi
80. nine	dibùwá	ďibùwà
81. ten	<u>d</u> 3ŏm	d3ôm
82. come	pò	ĭpò
83. send (someone)	lóméà	ĭlómâ
84. walk	dàngwà	idangwa
85. fall	kwédi	ĭkŝ
86. leave	lój	<u> </u>
87. fly	vévé	ĭwέwê
88. pour	hòŋgò	ĭkómâ / ìhòŋgò
89. strike	dúpà / kùmbà	ìkòmbà / ìdúpwâ
90. bite	kùkôj	ĭkùkwà
91.wash (transitive)	wùwój	ìjòwà
92. split (wood)	kándà	ìkáándâ
93. give	6òlà	ĭ6òlà
94. steal	jíbâ	ĭjí6â
95. squeeze	miti	imĭità
96. cultivate	sá	ĭsâ
97. bury (transitive)	pùùɗế	ìpùùdê
98. burn (transitive)	dífiè / bùmbi	ìdîhέ / ĭbùmbà
99. eat	dá	ĭdã
100. drink	лó	ìnó

	Malimba Farm	Mouanko Subdivision
101. vomit	hùj	ìhùwà
102. suck	nángí	ĭhóhâ
103. spit (saliva)	tú (túì / túà)	ìtúâ
104. blow (on)	úndzédi	ìhúndʒìjà
105. swell	lóndi	ĭtúlàmè
106. give birth	já	ĭjâ
107. die	wó	ìwô
108. kill	бwá	ĭ6 ^w â
109. push	sókwédè	ĭsókwèdê
110. pull	dùtà	ĭdùtà
111. sing	lángà	ìlóŋgò
112. play (a game)	òkà	ĭjòkà
113. be afraid	6wá 6óŋgò	ĭ6wá 6óŋgò
114. want	táŋgò	ìtóŋgò
115. say	tòpò	ĭláŋgwà
116. see	énè	ìénè
117. show	léjè	ĭléjé
118. hear	hèndzèlè	ìhènd3èlè
119. know	bí	ĭbijâ
120. count	sòŋgèlè	isdngèlè / ilángà