



A sociolinguistic survey of the Ede language communities of Benin and Togo Volume 7 Northern Nago language area

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OF
BENIN AND TOGO

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Abstract

The Northern Nago¹ language of northwestern Benin and northeastern Togo is part of the larger Ede language continuum. The Ede languages are spoken in the southern part of West Africa stretching from western Nigeria across Benin to the eastern part of central Togo. Among the Ede varieties, two have thus far undergone language development on a larger scale: Yoruba both in Nigeria and Benin, and Ife in Togo. A survey of the Northern Nago communities was conducted to assess whether and to what extent existing literature and literacy efforts in Yoruba and Ife could extend to the Northern Nago communities and to determine the nature and extent of SIL's possible involvement among these communities.

Through the administration of community and individual interviews, as well as the elicitation of word and phrase lists, the survey researchers collected data concerning: tested and reported levels of dialect intercomprehension; language vitality; language attitudes toward both written and oral forms of Nago, Yoruba and Ife; reported proficiency and attitudes regarding French; and literacy levels.

Overall, the results show high levels of comprehension of Yoruba and Ife. There are no indications of language shift, and attitudes toward Nago development appear to be positive. Language attitudes toward Yoruba and Ife also seem to be positive although literacy is apparently more highly valued in Yoruba than in Ife.

1. Introduction

This paper reports on a sociolinguistic survey conducted among the Northern Nago speech communities of northwestern Benin (Atakora province) and northeastern Togo (Centre region). The Northern Nago speech variety belongs to the Ede language continuum (Defoid language group) which are spoken in the southeastern part of West Africa, in southwestern Nigeria, central Benin, and in the eastern part of central Togo.

Among the Ede varieties, two have thus far undergone language development on a larger scale: Yoruba both in Nigeria and Benin, and Ife in Togo. To assess whether and to what extent existing literature and literacy efforts in Yoruba and Ife could extend to the remaining Ede communities, or whether additional language-based development programs in some of the remaining communities would be beneficial and to determine the nature and extent of SIL's

¹ In general, all language names are spelled using the English alphabet. For a complete listing of alternative spellings see Volume 1, Appendix B.

possible involvement among these communities, a sociolinguistic study of the Ede communities of Benin and Togo was launched in the early 1990s.

The sociolinguistics survey reported here is part of this larger study and was carried out in three stages between March 1992 and May 1997 by various researchers of CENALA (Centre National de Linguistique Appliquée) and the Togo-Benin branch of SIL International.

In the following sections, background information on the Nago area will be presented (Section 2), followed by a presentation of the research questions (Section 3), and a description of the applied methodology (Section 4). In Section 5, the results from the survey will be discussed, followed, in Section 6, by a set of conclusions. The report closes with a set of appendices and a list of references.²

2. Background information

This section presents the language situation, population, history of migration, non-formal education efforts and religious situation of the Northern Nago communities. Some of the data presented here were gathered during interviews with various community leaders.³

2.1 Language situation

This section discusses the taxonomic classification of the Northern Nago language, its relationship to other varieties and the area in which it is spoken.

2.1.1 Taxonomy and naming

According to the language map of Benin by CENALA (1990) and the corresponding map in the *Ethnologue* (Grimes 1996:166), there are three major Nago-speaking areas in Benin: one in the Ouémé province in southeastern Benin and two in the Atakora province of northwestern Benin. The name “Nago” denotes the Ede speech varieties in each of these areas.

No such information is available regarding the Nago language area in Togo. The *Ethnologue* (Grimes 1996:420) does not mention the language as such but lists Kambolé (Centre region of Togo) instead. Both Nago and Kambolé are classified by the *Ethnologue* (pp. 168, 420) as Edekiri languages.

This agrees with the classification of Nago as given by Capo (1989:280–281) who does not list Kambolé:⁴

Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, (New) Benue-Congo, Defoid, Yoruboid,
Edekiri:

– Ede, Southwest Ede, Nago

² The authors wish to express their gratitude to D. H. Hatfield and B. J. Henson of SIL Togo-Benin for the editing of this report.

³ More general background information on the Ede language continuum and its communities can be found in Volume 1, Section 1.

⁴ Capo's (1989) classification is based on Akinkugbe's (1978) and Williamson's (1989) work.

Alternative names and spellings are:

Nago: Nagó (Capo 1989:280)
Ede-Nago (CENALA 1990)
Nagots, Nagot, Ede Nago (Grimes 1996:168)

Kambolé: Southwest Ede (Grimes 1996:420)

No dialects of Nago are listed either by Capo (1989) or in the *Ethnologue* (Grimes 1996).

As previously mentioned, the name “Nago,” as employed by Capo (1989) and the *Ethnologue* (Grimes 1996), denotes the Ede speech varieties of three disjointed areas of Benin.

The two distinct varieties of the Atakora province in northwestern Benin are spoken by a set of communities located in and around Manigri⁵ and a second set of communities located further north around Alédjo-Koura.

The communities around Manigri (sous-préfecture of Bassila), together with those around Kambolé, are the focus of the current study. Neither community appears to have a felt need for a common language name even though all informants agreed that both speech forms are the same language. The people in and around Manigri refer to their speech form as “Manigri,” “Nago” or “Ana,” whereas the communities in and around Kambolé would refer to their variety as “Kambolé” or “Ana.” However, even though “Ana” was mentioned by both speech communities, and “Nago” is given by both Capo (1989) and the *Ethnologue* (Grimes 1996), neither term, as will be discussed in ‘*Language name*’ (Section 5.1.1.1), appears to be suited as a cover term as both are found to be highly ambiguous. Thus, Capo (1997, personal communication) suggests the term “Northern Nago” or “Nago (Northern)” which allows these communities to be distinguished from those of southeastern Benin. However, the language name in this report will not include, for the most part, the specification “northern,” except in order to distinguish this speech variety from that of the Ouémé province.

The communities around Alédjo-Koura are included by Capo (1989:280) in his listing of Nago. However, during interviews with local community leaders and individuals, the local name for this speech variety was found to be “Kura”⁶ even though “Nago” and “Ede” (“Ide”) appear to be used as well. In addition, lexical differences with regard to Northern Nago, variations in reported and estimated intercomprehension, and the assertion of the local population of Manigri and Kambolé that both speech varieties are different, indicate that the Northern Nago communities and the communities around Alédjo-Koura are better viewed as two distinct speech communities than as one larger community.⁷ Thus, the communities around Alédjo-Koura are dealt with in a separate report with “Kura” being the designation for these speech communities (see Volume 6).

⁵ All town names, as regards Benin, are spelled according to *Benin – Carte générale* (Institut Géographique Nationale 1992) or the 1992 Benin Census Data (Ministère du Plan 1993, 1994). For Togo, all town names are spelled according to *Togo – Carte générale* (Institut Géographique Nationale 1991).

⁶ According to the interviewed elders of Alédjo-Koura, the name “Kura” is a Malenke word meaning “stranger,” applied to the incoming Yoruba speakers by the resident population, their language Malenke having since disappeared from the region.

⁷ See ‘Existent language situation’ (Section 5.1.1) and ‘Lexical similarity’ (Section 5.1.2) for details.

The Nago communities of southeastern Benin were investigated during a separate survey (see Volume 8) with “Southern Nago” or “Nago (Southern)” being employed to distinguish them from the northern varieties of the Atakora province.

2.1.2 Geographical location and neighboring languages

The Northern Nago communities are located in the Atakora province of Benin, and in the Centre region of Togo (Grimes 1996).

According to Capo (1989:286), standard Yoruba is a lingua franca for the whole Ede continuum, there being scarcely any community that is not exposed to standard Yoruba, “even without mutual intelligibility.” In the case of multilingual villages, no specific inquiries as to the kind of multilingualism were made, so that the situation in reportedly multilingual villages could range all the way from use of several languages in different domains by the same people to monolingual subpopulations.

2.1.2.1 Benin

The current survey confirmed the claims of the *Atlas Sociolinguistique du Bénin*⁸ (CNL du Bénin 1983:59) that Northern Nago is spoken in the midwest of Benin in the rural communities of Manigri in the sous-préfecture of Bassila. In addition to this, according to the community elders of Manigri, another pocket of Nago speakers can be found in Ouari-Marou in the Borgou province (sous-préfecture of Tchaourou, rural community of Bétérou).

Manigri is located approximately 7 km southeast of Bassila off Route Nationale Inter-Etats (RNIE) 3. According to the elders of Kambolé and Manigri, rural communities of Manigri belonging to the Nago language area are: Igbéré, Kikélé, Kpakpaliki, Manigri and Moglogui (all east of Bassila); Doguè and Igbomakoro (both northeast of Bassila); Essikpa and Odola (southeast of Bassila); and Assom (south of Bassila along RNIE 3). For Igbéré and Manigri these reports were confirmed by observation. A mix of Northern Nago and Logba was reported for Aoro and Prékété (both south of Bassila along RNIE 3).

The Nago people around Manigri have as their neighbors Anii to the north and northwest, and Ife to the west. The southern border is formed by the Ica area, while to the southeast and east the Maxi and Cabe areas are found, respectively.

2.1.2.2 Togo

In Togo, Nago communities are found in and around the town of Kambolé, located approximately 44 km southeast of Tchamba, some 7 km west of RNIE 3, in Togo’s Centre Region. According to the community elders of Kambolé, exclusively Nago⁹ is spoken in Kambolé itself, Goubi (southwest of Kambolé along Route Nationale (RN) 12) and Karaboulou

⁸ The *Atlas Sociolinguistique* (CNL du Bénin 1983) refers to Aoro as Aworo, to Boutou as Butu, to Djougou as Zugu, to Igbomakoro as Igbomakro, to Kaouté as Kawute, to Kpaou as Kpowu, to Pélébina as Kperebina and to Yarakéou as Yarakewu.

⁹ The elders referred to their language as “Kambolé.”

(south of Kambolé); the use of Northern Nago in Kambolé and Goubi was subsequently confirmed by observation. The main language of Bagou was reported to be Bago, with some Nago. For Djamé, the languages Nago, Bago and Tem¹⁰ were mentioned.

The people of Kambolé have as their neighbors to the north and west the Anii and Akaselem communities, respectively. The southern border is formed by the Ife language area, while the Nago communities of Manigri are located to the east.

2.2 Population size

The number of (northern and southern) Nago speakers in Benin is listed by the *Ethnologue* (Grimes 1996:168) as 175,000 (an estimate based on Vanderaa 1991:7).¹¹

More recent population data were elicited during the 1992 Benin Census, which gives population totals both by ethnic group¹² as well as by political community. Figures in the census list the total (northern and southern) Nago population as 348,563 (168,955 males, 179,608 females) (Ministère du Plan 1994a:47).

However, it is noted that both the *Ethnologue* (Grimes 1996) and the 1992 Benin Census Data refer to the combined Nago communities of the Atakora and the Ouémé province. Therefore, the number of Northern Nago speakers, i.e. those of the Atakora province, is lower, and possibly considerably so.

A different, potentially more accurate estimate can be obtained by combining the information from the 1992 Benin Census (Ministère du Plan 1994b:5,6) and that of the *Atlas Sociolinguistique du Bénin* (CNL du Bénin 1983:59). In Table 1, the communities in the Atakora province where Nago is spoken, as indicated by the elders of nearby villages or the *Atlas Sociolinguistique*, are listed with population figures from the census added. The resulting total of 14,063 includes speakers of other languages from villages where Nago is not the only language, but not the Southern Nago speakers in the Ouémé province. However, it does not include speakers in villages that were not mentioned by any informants, or that could not be traced in the Census reports. (For further details, refer to Appendix A for a map of the surveyed area.)

¹⁰ The local name for Tem is “Kotokoli.”

¹¹ Vanderaa notes that all population figures for ethnic groups in his report are for 1990, applying appropriate growth rates to older figures for ethnic groups (1991:vi Notes).

¹² It is noted here, that during the census, individuals were asked to which ethnic group they belong and not which language they speak as their first language. Thus, interviewees identified with their father’s ethnic group, even though they might not speak his language nor live in the language area.

Table 1: Population figures for the Northern Nago communities

Population	14,063
Sous-préfecture of Bassila:	
Urban communities of Bassila:	
Aoro-Logba ^a	645
Aoro-Nagot ^a	1,035
Assom	---
Doguè	1,017
Igbomakoro	1,701
Essikpa	---
Kikélé	851
Kpakpaliki	---
Manigri-Ikani	2,175
Manigri-Oké	5,312
Prékété ^a	---
Wanou	440
Borgou province: Ouari-Marob ^b	887

a. (Reportedly) linguistically mixed population.

b. Sous-préfecture of Tchaourou, rural community of Bétérou.

Regarding the Nago population of Togo, the *Ethnologue* (Grimes 1996) lists the number of Kambolé speakers as 20,000 (citing Summer Institute of Linguistics 1991). No regional break-up of this figure is given by Vanderaa (1991) or in other sources referenced.

The figures in Table 1, together with the *Ethnologue* Kambolé population number, lead to a total rounded population figure of 40,000 for the Northern Nago communities of Benin and Togo.¹³

2.3 History of migration

The various communities researched all claim to have originated in Ile-Ife in Nigeria (Oyo State).

In regard to Kambolé, Karan (1984:18) states that, according to some Kambolé-speakers, the group migrated from the Ile-Ife area in Nigeria to Koumassi and later to Atakpamé. From there they continued to Anaga, finally to settle in Kambolé. In Kambolé they were already installed before the first Europeans came to that area. The first Europeans arrived during the rule of their second chief.

¹³ Assuming 1,000 inhabitants for villages without population figures, allowing for some population growth and rounding to the nearest 10,000, which seems reasonable given the origin of the figures.

2.4 Non-formal education

The following information was obtained through interviews with the literacy coordinator in Bassila, J. I. Gomon, and two literacy workers in Manigri. According to these informants, regional literacy efforts, organized by the sous-préfecture, exist for Yoruba but not for Nago.

In 1978, the Yoruba literacy program¹⁴ was started in the Bassila sous-préfecture. By May 1997, 327 people (150 men and 177 women) had taken part in the literacy classes, spread over 14 villages. In 1996, 75% of the students passed the final exams. For 1997/1998, three literacy classes were organized, one in Manigri-Ikani, one in Manigri-Oké and one in the Kura area, in Partago near Alédjo-Koura, with the total number of students consisting of 47 men and 43 women. The literacy classes are held during dry season, i.e. January through March. The language of instruction is Nago, but writing is done with the use of the Yoruba alphabet.

Since 1995, there have also been post-literacy classes, so-called “Centres de lecture.” In 1996/1997, two classes were organized, one in Manigri-Oké and one in Manigri-Ikani, meeting once a month with enrollment totaling six men and 30 women. As materials for these classes, the literacy workers have written or translated some texts of general interest, such as the “Guide de l’administration” (Ali 1996). Essentially the Yoruba orthography is used, with some Nago adaptations.

Church representatives from Kambolé and Manigri reported that no literacy programs of any kind had been started in their churches (see ‘Language choice in the religious context,’ Section 5.2.4). La Voie du Christ church in Kambolé had, however, produced a vernacular alphabet and some songs in the local speech variety.

2.5 Religious situation

Interviews with community elders and church representatives (see ‘Language choice in the religious context,’ Section 5.2.4), and the religious make-up of the population samples (‘*Indirect factors*,’ Section 4.2.2.3), confirm Vanderaa’s claim (1991:7) that the Nago population¹⁵ is made up of Christians and Muslims.

Interviewed church representatives claimed that in Kambolé, the majority of the population is Christian, and in Manigri, Muslim. Community leaders gave the following lists when asked about churches in their community:

Benin:	Igbéré:	Methodist, Roman Catholic
	Manigri:	Methodist, Roman Catholic
Togo:	Goubi:	Assemblies of God, Jean Baptiste, Roman Catholic
	Kambolé:	Assemblies of God, Evangelical, Jean Baptiste, La Voie du Christ, La Vie Profonde, Roman Catholic

¹⁴ The issue of Yoruba versus Nago literacy is obscured by the fact that Gomon, an L1 Anii speaker, did not recognise the difference between the two. Regarding the two literacy workers, both Nago speakers, they tended to refer to “Yoruba” and “Nago” interchangeably. Accordingly, activities presented as Yoruba literacy here may in fact be Nago literacy and vice versa.

¹⁵ Vanderaa (1991) refers to both the Northern and the Southern Nago communities.

3. Research questions

The purpose of this survey was twofold: (1) to assess whether and to what extent existing literature and literacy efforts in Yoruba and Ife could extend to the Northern Nago communities, or whether an additional language-based development program in Northern Nago would be beneficial, and (2) to gather data that would help determine the nature and extent of SIL's possible involvement among these communities.

For the current study, the evaluation of a need for separate literature was to be based on criteria established by Marmor (1997). More specifically, the evaluation of literature development needs was to be based on the factors of dialect intercomprehension, language vitality, and language attitudes with emphasis given to the following topics:¹⁶

1. Dialect intercomprehension
 - What is the existing language situation regarding: language name, geographical boundaries of the Nago speech variety, existence of dialects of Northern Nago, degree of internal comprehension within the Northern Nago speech community?
 - What is the degree of intercomprehension between the Northern Nago and Kura communities?
 - What is the degree of lexical similarity between Northern Nago and both Yoruba and Ife?
 - What are the Yoruba and Ife comprehension levels throughout the Northern Nago communities?¹⁷
2. Language vitality
 - What are the language use patterns in various social domains, both public and private?
 - Is the pattern of language use stable, or is language shift occurring or impending?
3. Language attitudes
 - What are attitudes toward Northern Nago and its development, with special attention given to language development work already in progress?
 - What are attitudes toward the oral and written forms of both Yoruba and Ife?

¹⁶ Answers to these research questions, as far as they can be given, are presented in Section 5.

¹⁷ Marmor (1997:2f) presents the following guidelines by which to draw conclusions from comprehension testing results, along with the suggested type of SIL involvement in language development efforts (also see Volume 1, Section 3):

- a) High intercomprehension is defined by an overall test average of “over 90% by all segments of the population” (under 45 years of age). In this case, it is assumed that there is no need for separate literature.
- b) Mixed intercomprehension is defined by a situation in which “no segment of the population scores below 80%, but some segments score below 90%.” In this case the need for separate literature depends upon language attitudes and/or the possibility of a second dialect acquisition program.
- c) Low intercomprehension is defined as an “overall average below 70%.” In this case, there is a need for separate literature, or if attitudes permit, a strong second dialect acquisition program.

There were some additional questions, most of which are directly related to the priority and strategy criteria outlined above and which provide updated information for the area. These questions are:

- What is the size of the group?
- Which infrastructures already exist?
- What is the education situation and literacy rate in the area?
- What is the religious situation?

Although bilingualism was not of major concern for this survey, some data were collected in order to provide SIL Togo-Benin administration with relevant and updated information about the level of reported proficiency and attitudes regarding French.

4. Methodology

In the following sections various aspects of the applied methodology are discussed: techniques, implementation, analysis, and terminology and presentation.¹⁸

4.1 Techniques

Given the constraints imposed by time, costs and the local situation, the following approaches were chosen in order to arrive at answers to the research questions previously mentioned.

Information on the existent language situation and intercomprehension between the Nago and Kura communities would be gathered through:

- Direct questioning during community interviews;
- Interviewing a Beninese linguist, first language (L1) speaker of an Ede variety;¹⁹
- Lexical distance to be computed from a comparison of standardized wordlists.

In order to assess the potential understanding of materials written in standard Yoruba or Ife, several methods could each address different aspects of this question:

- Lexical distance as measured from standardized wordlists;
- Self-assessed active and passive proficiency, both direct and indirect (e.g. understanding of radio emissions in the other language) obtained through individual interviews (reported proficiency);
- Comprehension to be measured rather directly with the aid of taped narratives;
- Understanding of existing religious materials to be estimated by church representatives;
- Literacy to be assessed through interviews with literacy workers, individuals and church representatives as to possession and use of Yoruba Bible materials.

¹⁸ See Volume 1, Section 4 for a general description of the methodology as applied for the larger Ede language continuum survey.

¹⁹ The Ede variety in question is Ica which is spoken in the sous-préfecture of Bantè, Atakora province (see Volume 3).

Language vitality also has several aspects, requiring separate assessment:

- Domain restrictions to be deduced from answers to language choice questions addressed to individuals, village elders and church representatives;
- Intergenerational shift to be inquired into through individual questions on the language proficiency and language choice of children, and on the subjective valuation of Nago use by children.

Regarding language attitudes:

- Interviews with individuals, village elders and church representatives would explore attitudes toward literacy in Nago, Yoruba and Ife;
- Individuals were to be asked, after having heard a story in Yoruba on tape, whether they thought the language variety well-spoken.

Comprehension of and attitudes toward French would only summarily be looked into:

- Individuals would be asked about their own and their children's French abilities, and their attitudes toward oral proficiency.

Combining these approaches led to the following tests:

- Standardized word and phrase lists collected in Yoruba, Ife, and in two Northern Nago and Kura villages, respectively;²⁰
- Community questionnaires with questions looking into: existent language situation, intercomprehension, language choice, and attitudes toward literacy in Nago, Yoruba and Ife;
- Church questionnaires with questions examining: language use and comprehension in church; ownership, use and understanding of written religious materials in Yoruba; and attitudes toward Bible translation;
- Non-formal education questionnaires with questions investigating: the spread of literacy work in the region, both for pre-literate people and those literate in other languages, the languages taught and the languages used for instruction;
- Recorded Text Testing (RTT) assessing comprehension levels of both Yoruba and Ife:
 - Personal narratives both originally in Yoruba and Ife were recorded, as well as two Bible passages translated into Yoruba: Acts 10:1–23 from the revised 1987 New Testament translation (Bible Society of Nigeria 1987) and Luke 19:11–27 from the 1960 Bible translation (Bible Society of Nigeria 1960);
 - A questionnaire was administered alongside the test inquiring into the subjects' comprehension of the tested texts and their general comprehension of the tested variety, as well as the subjects' reading and writing abilities and attitudes toward literacy;
 - RTT practice test, the Home Town Test (HTT),²¹ recorded in Manigri based on the correct assumption that it would be usable in the whole region surveyed;

²⁰ No results from phrase list analysis are included in this report. A complete listing of elicited phrases is presented in Volume 1, Appendix O.

²¹ The Home Town Test is a narrative in the subjects' L1 used to expose them to the mechanics of the testing procedure. This is done so that errors resulting from a misunderstanding of the testing procedure can be eliminated.

- Individual Sociolinguistic Questionnaires (ISQ) with questions examining: language proficiency and language choices of subjects, their children and children in general; literacy; and attitudes towards use and development of Nago, Yoruba, Ife and French;
- Interview with a Beninese linguist, L1 speaker of an Ede variety, to investigate intercomprehension, based on taped samples from the Nago and Kura language areas.

4.2 Implementation

The survey was conducted in three stages:

1. In March 1992, M. A. Igué and K. D. Odoun of CENALA elicited word and phrase lists in Kambolé and Manigri. (Igué et al. 1993)
2. In December 1992, D. Fischer of SIL, accompanied by a Beninese research assistant, R. Aguidi,²² conducted preliminary interviews with chiefs and elders, and 12 ISQs were administered in Manigri.
3. In May 1997, E. I. K. Durieux-Boon, A. Kluge and J. H. Schmidt (all of SIL) conducted the third stage of the survey and visited the Manigri and Kambolé areas. This stage consisted of double checking wordlists in Kambolé and Manigri, administering RTTs and ISQs, as well as interviewing community and church representatives and literacy workers.

In the following sections, more specific information regarding the applied methodology for the third stage is given concerning survey locations, the description of the sample interviewed and procedures.

4.2.1 Survey locations

An attempt was made to choose a representative sample of the Nago communities. It was assumed that subjects from more accessible or larger villages/towns might have a higher proficiency in Yoruba due to more contact with L1 speakers of Yoruba. Therefore, both more accessible or larger villages, as well as more remote or smaller villages, were selected in order to compare the gathered data across locations. Thus, the survey focused on two larger communities, each with a smaller satellite settlement. The locations visited were:

- Kambolé: with the smaller neighboring village of Goubi (Togo)
- Manigri: with the smaller neighboring village of Igbéré (Benin)

Wordlists, community and church questionnaires were administered in the two larger communities. In addition, informal interviews were conducted with the literacy coordinator in Bassila and two literacy workers in Manigri.

ISQs and RTTs were administered in all of the communities visited. The HTT was taken in Manigri, on the tentative assumption that it would be usable in the whole region surveyed. This assumption proved to be correct.

²² Aguidi, an L1 Ica speaker (see Footnote 19), has a master's degree in linguistics from the Université Nationale du Bénin (Département d'Etudes Linguistiques et de Tradition Orale). During stage two of the current study, Aguidi was still a linguistics student at the Université Nationale du Bénin.

4.2.2 Subject selection

Community interviews were taken from the gathered village elders as a group, and consensus answers were recorded rather than individual responses, whereas for church interviews, which were also taken from gathered church representatives,²³ individual answers were recorded. The reason was that whereas community elders are representatives of the same group, the various church representatives represented different churches. ISQs and RTTs were administered individually, and individual answers were recorded.

No effort was undertaken to obtain random samples for the RTTs and ISQs, but stratification with respect to location, gender and age was a major aim. Secondly, inclusion of subjects of various education levels, religions and occupations was endeavored by asking the village elders to try to provide candidates with different backgrounds in these respects. As a result, sample proportions by location, gender, age, education level, religion and occupation do not necessarily correspond to like ratios of the populations sampled.

The remainder of this section provides more detailed information as to the make-up of the survey samples.

4.2.2.1 Geographical distribution, gender and age

Sample stratification was planned to provide six individuals for each of the eight subsamples defined by:

- Test type (RTT or ISQ);
- Gender;
- Age (younger – between 15–25 years of age; older – between 30–45 years of age).

Likewise, there would be six individuals for each of the subsamples defined by:

- Test type (RTT or ISQ);
- Test location (four as listed in ‘Survey locations,’ Section 4.2.1).

In Manigri, samples are larger as the result of the extra inclusion of:

- One Ife RTT from a subject who had lived in Nigeria for 18 years;
- ISQs that had been administered in 1992 during the second stage of the survey. While the information obtained in 1992 seemed to still be valid, not all questions asked during stage three were included in the questionnaire used then, so that for a few questions information from these subjects could not be included.

The resulting sample distribution figures are given in Table 2. In all, 62 subjects from four villages were interviewed, of which 25 took an RTT and 37 an ISQ.

²³ The churches were:

- Kambolé: La Voie du Christ; Roman Catholic
- Manigri: Methodist Church; Roman Catholic

Table 2: Sample size by locations, test types, genders and ages

	Kambolé	Goubi	Manigri	Igbéré	TOTAL
RTT					
MY	2	1	2	1	6
MO	1	2	2	2	7
FY	1	2	1	2	6
FO	2	1	2	1	6
ALL	6	6	7	6	25
ISQ					
MY	1	2	4	2	9
MO	2	2	5	1	10
FY	2	1	5	1	9
FO	1	2	4	2	9
ALL	6	7	18	6	37
RTT & ISQ					
MY	3	3	6	3	15
MO	3	4	7	3	17
FY	3	3	6	3	15
FO	3	3	6	3	15
ALL	12	13	25	12	62

[M = male, F = female, Y = younger (15-25 years of age), O = older (30-45 years of age)]

As especially women tended to not know their ages, it is important to note that inclusion in an age category was done on the basis of reported data, which the researchers checked to the best of their abilities. In incidental cases, people may have been wrongly included in or excluded from a given age stratum.

4.2.2.2 Language contact factors

It is likely that travel through or residence in Yoruba- or Ife-speaking areas may influence the level of proficiency in these languages. Thus, subjects were asked about their travel and residence patterns, partly to acquire insight into the extent of such travel and residence, but mainly to screen out subjects with extensive exposure to either language.

Overall, there appears to be little contact with Yoruba or Ife speakers through travel.²⁴ Only 4/50 subjects²⁵ (8%) reported travel to Yoruba-speaking areas. Given the small number of RTT subjects who reported ever traveling to Yoruba-speaking areas (2/25), Yoruba RTT results are not compared across travel patterns. Regarding travel to Ife-speaking areas, 6/50 subjects (12%)

²⁴ In 1992, no questions regarding travel patterns were asked.

²⁵ Among these subjects was an older man from Manigri who had lived in Nigeria for 18 years and was excluded from Yoruba RTT testing (information following).

reported such travel, all of them older (one ISQ and five RTT subjects). There is no significant difference within this group between men (4/26 – 15%) and women (2/24 – 8%).

Regarding residence, the RTT subject criteria excluded possible subjects who had lived for longer than one year in a Yoruba (e.g. Nigeria or Porto-Novo) or Ife (e.g. Atakpamé) language area. The sole exception, an older man from Manigri who had lived in Nigeria for 18 years, was only tested on the Ife text. Apart from him and one older woman from Kambolé, who had lived in Nigeria for one year, nobody had resided in Yoruba- or Ife-speaking areas at all. Therefore, RTT results will not be analyzed across residence patterns.

The subject criteria for the ISQs taken in 1997 contained the same restrictions, and consequently none of the subjects (0/25) reported residence for longer than one year in a Yoruba-speaking area. However, 3/25 subjects (12%), all of them older, reported temporary residence of one year. None of the ISQ subjects had lived in the Ife language area. For the 12 ISQs which were taken in Manigri in 1992, however, no such restrictions were applied, so that the results of these might be taken as a rough indication of residence patterns. These patterns do not necessarily extend to the whole Nago region though. Of these 12 ISQ subjects, 75% (9/12) reported temporary residence (at least one year) in a Yoruba language area,²⁶ whereas no subjects had lived in an Ife-speaking area.

4.2.2.3 *Indirect factors*

Other factors that can have a considerable influence on sociolinguistic behavior are education level, occupation and religion. Since these factors may have a correlation with linguistic ability or attitudes, whether through differences in exposure or correlation with natural aptitudes, they were investigated as well.

Regarding education levels, two-thirds of the subjects (33/50 – 66%) reported some level of education with no significant differences²⁷ across genders or ages.²⁸

The majority of the subjects reported traditional occupations. Of the men, 22/32 were farmers (69%), while 3/32 were carpenters or mechanics (9%). Among the women, 19/30 were home-makers (63%) and 3/30 market sellers (10%). These traditional occupations, together with “no job” (one subject), cover 77% (48/62) of the subjects.

As to religion, about half of the subjects were Muslim (32/62 – 51%) and the other half were Christian (30/62 – 49%; of the Christians, Roman Catholic: 22/30 – 73%, Methodist: 7/30 – 23%, La Voie Internationale: 1/30 – 3%), with the extremes in Igbéré (Christian: 11/12 – 91%) and Manigri (Christian: 6/25 – 24%).

The factors of education and religion are included in the analysis of the gathered data.

²⁶ Evenly dividing up as 5/6 men and 4/6 women, or 5/6 younger and 4/6 older subjects. The area referenced includes Porto-Novo as well as the Yoruba-speaking region of Nigeria.

²⁷ According to Durieux's (1997, personal communication) and South's (1997, personal communication) calculations; see Footnote 29.

²⁸ Education across genders and ages:

- men versus women: 19/26 – 73% vs 14/24 – 58%
- young versus old: 16/23 – 70% vs 17/27 – 63%

4.2.3 Procedures

For all interviews, whenever necessary, responses were translated into French by one of the assisting interpreters. Two interpreters were involved in translating and were, in principle, selected by recommendations from local people.

Table 3: Interview interpreters

Interpreters	# RTT Subjects	# ISQ Subjects
A	17	4
B	8	17
Other ^a	0	16

a. These are the interpreter or interpreters for the 12 ISQs administered in Manigri in 1992, and for four ISQs (two from Kambolé and two from Manigri) administered in 1997 with the help of interpreters selected on the spot.

No interpreter training was given for community, church or individual interview translation. However, both interpreters were involved in the preparation for the RTT testing, including the production and pre-testing of the HTT and in the insertion of Nago questions into the Yoruba and Ife stories, and, therefore, acquired some understanding of the nature of RTT testing.

With regard to the administration of individual questionnaires, it should be noted that some of the questions were omitted if during the course of the interview they were deemed not applicable to a particular subject. This will account for some of the results being based on numbers less than the total number of subjects.

Before the commencement of the third stage of the survey, the survey team visited the sous-préfet, as well as the traditional chiefs in the area. The purpose of these visits was to inform them of the work before entering the language area.

4.3 Analysis

All data from the RTTs and ISQs were analyzed without any efforts to compensate for the lack of randomness in the samples.

Statistical significance of differences between RTT scores for different subsamples was consistently established through the Mann-Whitney U test as described by Bergman (1990:14f), and threshold levels of 95% and 98% were applied.²⁹ As measure for the average, the arithmetic mean was used.

²⁹ It is noted that the tables with critical U-values as provided by Bergman (1990:16f) are limited to subgroups of 20 subjects. Durieux (1997, personal communication) of SIL Africa Area, and South (1997, personal communication), a statistician and member of Wycliffe-Associates UK, extended these tables for larger subgroups, based on their own calculations. Durieux (1998) incorporated these tables into "Survey Statistics," a small spreadsheet application intended for the statistical analysis of survey data, including the Mann-Whitney U test.

For ordinal questions,³⁰ mode and median were used as measures for the average, and, in addition, the results were combined so that “la plupart” and “le tout” became “adequate” comprehension and the remaining ones “inadequate.”

4.4 Terminology and presentation

Terminology:

- The “vernacular” of a person or group refers to the speech variety of the home village of the person or group.
- A “social group” is a subsample defined by gender and age, i.e. younger men, older men, younger women or older women.
- “Adequate proficiency” denotes proficiency that was self-assessed as “la plupart” or “le tout.”
- The term “significance” refers to statistical rather than substantive significance.
- Whenever a difference is described as “significant” without qualification, >98% statistical significance is meant. A difference described as “not significant” refers to <95% statistical significance. “Marginally significant” refers to a statistical significance between 95% and 98%.
- Whenever the words “average” or “mean” are used without qualification, the arithmetic mean is meant.

Table presentations:

- A table of raw RTT results can be found in Appendix D.
- Totals over strata in tables are sample totals, not population totals.
- Marginal significance is indicated in tables as 95%< – <98%.

5. Results

In the following sections the results from community and individual interviews will be presented according to the following topics: dialect intercomprehension, language vitality, language attitudes, bilingualism and attitudes regarding French, and literacy.

5.1 Dialect intercomprehension

With regard to dialect intercomprehension, three factors were examined: (1) the existent language situation, (2) the degree of lexical similarity between Nago and both Yoruba and Ife as well as Kura, and (3) the level of comprehension of both Yoruba and Ife throughout the Nago communities.

³⁰ All ordinal questions were related to the level of speaking or understanding of a language or text and used a scale of five, with descriptions “le tout,” “la plupart,” “un peu,” “très peu,” “rien” (all, most, a little, very little, nothing).

5.1.1 Existent language situation

The existent language situation was investigated through reported data regarding language name, the Nago dialect situation and intercomprehension between Nago and Kura.

5.1.1.1 Language name

During the course of the survey it proved difficult to establish a common language name for the Ede varieties spoken in and around Kambolé and Manigri with neither community apparently having a felt need for a common language name even though all informants agreed that both speech forms are the same language.³¹ Community elders in the area of Manigri would sometimes refer to their speech form as “Manigri” or “Nago” or “Ana,” whereas the communities in and around Kambolé would refer to their variety as “Kambolé” or “Ana.”³²

Regarding “Ana,” interviewed community elders could not give precise information as to where the name originally came from.³³ The elders agreed that the name is very old and goes far back into their history when the ancestors of various Ede groups migrating from the Ile-Ife area in Nigeria (Oyo State) westward into today’s Benin and Togo had a common language called “Ana.” Over time these groups developed distinct ethnic identities and speech forms, e.g. Ica, Idaca, and Ife. The Ana people though kept their original identity and speech form which is, reportedly, still rather close to today’s Yoruba of Nigeria even though geographically their area is closer to the Ife area. This linguistic closeness was confirmed by B. Orou Gobe, one of the interpreters employed during the course of the survey. In 1980, he traveled to the village of Egba (Egbado), outside of Abeokuta (north of Lagos) in Nigeria (Ogun State), where Egba³⁴ is spoken. Orou Gobe reported that the Egba language is the same language as spoken in Manigri and Kambolé.

While linking the name “Ana” to their own speech communities, the people of Kambolé and Manigri also use it as a cover term for neighboring Ede groups such as the Ica and the Ife. Along the same lines, Capo (1989:277) mentions that Ana is used as a general cover term for varieties of the Defoid group in Benin and Togo. However, Capo (p. 279) also lists Ana as a distinct Ede variety spoken in the rural districts of Bantè and Savalou in the Zou province in Benin and around Atakpamé in Togo, giving “Ife” as an alternative name for “Ana.”

Besides acting as a cover term for several Ede groups or as an alternative name for Benin’s and Togo’s Ife communities, Ana is, according to the *Ethnologue* (Grimes 1996:420), also used as the Togolese government’s name for the Ife people. Boëthius (1993, personal communication), former member of the SIL Ife team, confirms this statement by reporting that educated Ife refer to themselves in French as “Ana.” In addition, Klaver (1996, personal communication), member

³¹ A certain amount of language pride seems to exist though, as is evident from discussions between the Manigri interpreter, who accompanied the researchers during the Kura survey (Volume 6), and the Kura people about language loss, especially in the Kura area, and the importance to “restore” the original language, which he seemed to think was close to modern standard Yoruba.

³² During the Anii-Akpe survey (Tompkins 1997), community elders identified the speech form spoken in Kambolé, Manigri, Aworo and Biguina as “Ana.”

³³ Etymologically, “Ana” derives, according to interviewed elders, from “ɔna,” a common greeting among the people of Manigri and Kambolé.

³⁴ The *Ethnologue* (Grimes 1996:369) lists Egba as a dialect of Yoruba (an Edekiri language), whereas Capo (1989:281) classifies it as: Edekiri – Ede – Northwest Ede – Egba.

of the SIL Ife team, and Boëthius state that a separate language “Ana” exists which is, according to wordlist analysis, a Gur language and, thus, unrelated to the Yoruboid dialect cluster.

Concerning “Nago,” the situation is also rather ambiguous. The surveyed communities would sometimes employ this name in order to refer to themselves while at the same time using it as a cover term for neighboring Ede groups such as the Ica and the Ife. Along the same lines, Capo (1989:277) states that Nago does not refer to a distinct community, while in the same article (p. 280), he lists Nago, including the Kura speech communities, as a distinct linguistic community among all the other Ede varieties.³⁵

In summarizing, both “Ana” and “Nago” are found to be highly ambiguous, and even though “Ana” and “Nago” were mentioned as language names, neither term appears to be suited as a common language name for the Ede varieties spoken in and around Kambolé and Manigri.³⁶

Capo (1997, personal communication) suggested the term “Northern Nago” or “Nago (Northern)” which allows these communities to be distinguished from the Nago communities of southeastern Benin. (Also see Volume 8.)

5.1.1.2 *Dialect situation*

Neither Capo (1989) nor the *Ethnologue* (Grimes 1996:168) list any dialects of Nago. (See also ‘Taxonomy and naming,’ Section 2.1.1.) This information was confirmed by interviewed community elders. They stated that although slight pronunciation variations between the speech varieties of the various Nago villages exist, there is complete mutual understanding, and the varieties are definitely considered the same language. Thus, the HTT recorded in Manigri was successfully used as a practice test in the whole area.

5.1.1.3 *Intercomprehension*

In this section, intercomprehension between Nago and Kura will be examined. (Also see Volume 6.)

Nago community elders from Kambolé and Manigri insisted that Nago and Kura are different on the basis of vocabulary items, reporting that Kura uses Tem words. Elders in Manigri added that Kura is not well understood by the Nago people, all social groups included, whereas the elders in Kambolé claimed that they understand Kura very well. When asked more specifically, they thought that only older adults would understand Kura well.

Aguidi (1997, personal communication) agreed that there are differences between Nago and Kura. After listening to samples on tape (Nago HTT from Manigri; Kura wordlist tape from Partago) he was immediately able to correctly determine the varieties. According to him, there are three types of differences:

³⁵ In his listing of Nago, Capo (1989:280) refers to both the northern and the southern Nago communities of the Atakora and the Ouémé province, respectively.

³⁶ More details are given in Appendix B in ‘Language name’.

- The Kura variety has assimilated quite a number of loan words from neighboring languages.
- A few affixes are different, although this should not impede mutual understanding.
- There are some minor differences in pronunciation, just allowing one to tell the varieties apart.

Aguidi surmised that Nago would be better understood in the Kura region than vice versa, due to the loan words in the latter variety. This was confirmed by the fact that, on the one hand, apart from one or two more technical words,³⁷ the HTT recorded in Manigri was well understood in the Kura region, while the Manigri interpreter, who accompanied the researchers during the Kura survey, reported incidental problems in understanding the Kura people, and, as mentioned, the Manigri elders stated that Kura is at times hard for them to understand. (Also see Volume 6.)

5.1.2 Lexical similarity

Northern Nago wordlists were elicited in Manigri and in Kambolé and compared to a Yoruba wordlist elicited in Porto-Novu, an Ife wordlist from Tchetti, and Kura wordlists elicited in Awotébi and Partago (Volume 6). In addition, Southern Nago wordlists from Kétou and Pobè (Volume 8) are added to the lexical similarity matrixes given that both Capo (1989:280) and the *Ethnologue* (Grimes 1996:168) include the Southern Nago communities in their listing of Nago. The lists were analyzed according to prescribed methodology³⁸ in order to determine the degree of lexical similarity between these varieties.

Table 4 shows the percent and variance³⁹ matrixes. The percent matrix reports the number of pairs of lexically similar items as a percentage of the basic vocabulary, while the variance matrix shows the range of error for each count (Wimbish 1989:59; JAARS 1994).⁴⁰

³⁷ The words for sand and rubber were different in the two varieties.

³⁸ See Volume 1, Section 4.1.3 for details on the procedures.

³⁹ The title “variance matrix” is in common usage, even though it lists estimated ranges of error rather than variances for each of the values in the percent matrix.

⁴⁰ For this computation, morphemes that are apparently affixed to the form used in another variety are ignored if they occur always in the same position. Including all morphemes in the analysis results in an overall lower degree of lexical similarity, as shown in Table 8 (Appendix C) in ‘Lexical Similarity between Ede varieties.’ (See Volume 1, Appendix K for further details regarding the criteria applied for similarity groupings, Appendix L for a complete listing of elicited data sorted by gloss, and Appendix M for computed percent and variance matrixes for lexical similarity for all elicited Ede wordlists.)

Table 4: Lexical similarity between Ede varieties

Percent matrix					Variance matrix				
Yoruba (Porto-Novu)					Yoruba (Porto-Novu)				
73 Ife (Tchetti)					5.7 Ife (Tchetti)				
71	78	N. Nago (Kambolé)			6.4	5.8	N. Nago (Kambolé)		
69	69	90 N. Nago (Manigri)			6.5	6.5	4.6 N. Nago (Manigri)		
62	65	70	68	Kura (Awotébi)	6.3	6.2	6.5	6.6	Kura (Awotébi)
65	65	66	64	93 Kura (Partago)	6.1	6.2	6.7	6.8	3.3 Kura (Partago)
87	70	68	69	60 61 S. Nago (Kétou)	4.7	6.5	7.2	7.1	6.9 6.9 S. Nago (Kétou)
82	71	65	66	60 59 87 S. Nago (Pobè)	5.4	6.4	7.3	7.3	6.9 6.9 5.2 S. Nago (Pobè)

The results of the wordlist analysis show that the degree of lexical similarity between Kambolé-Nago and Manigri-Nago is rather high with 94.6% at the upper confidence limit⁴¹ of the calculations.

Between Nago and both Yoruba and Ife the degree of lexical similarity is >75% at the upper confidence limit, whereas it is lower with <75% between Nago and Kura, except for Kambolé-Awotébi with 76.5%. Between Northern and Southern Nago, the degree of lexical similarity lays somewhat in between with percentages of 72-76% at the upper confidence limit.

Interpretation of these results follows the guidelines given in “Language Assessment Criteria” (International Language Assessment Conference 1990:2):⁴²

[When the wordlist analysis results] indicate a lexical similarity between two speech forms of less than about 70% (at the upper confidence limit of the calculation), this generally indicates that these are different languages. ... If the similarity is more than 70%, dialect intelligibility testing is needed to determine how well people can understand the other speech form.

According to these guidelines, the results of the wordlist analysis do not appear to indicate, from a linguistic point of view, that Kambolé and Manigri are different languages. Likewise, the results do not indicate that Northern Nago is a different language from either Yoruba or Ife. Therefore, as pointed out above, comprehension testing was needed in order to determine how well the Northern Nago people are able to understand Yoruba and Ife.

As far as Northern Nago and Kura are concerned, the results are somewhat ambiguous and do not clearly indicate whether or not both varieties are indeed the same language. However, given the main focus of the current study (i.e. to determine whether the Nago people can adequately understand materials written in standard Yoruba and Ife), dialect intelligibility testing to determine how well the Nago and Kura people can understand each other was not deemed necessary. Instead, the investigation of reported intercomprehension between both varieties was deemed sufficient, indicating that the speech communities in question regard themselves as distinct. (Also see ‘*Intercomprehension*,’ Section 5.1.1.3.)

⁴¹ Upper confidence limit = percentage + range of error (variance).

⁴² These criteria were “approved for general use as administrative guidelines by the Area Directors and Vice Presidents” of SIL based on a statement adopted by participants of the International Language Assessment Conference in Horsleys Green, England in 1989 (International Language Assessment Conference 1990:1).

Likewise, wordlist results are somewhat ambiguous regarding the degree of lexical similarity between Northern and Southern Nago and, again, do not clearly indicate whether or not both varieties are indeed the same language. Since that question also falls outside the focus of the current study, no further investigation was pursued as to whether Northern and Southern Nago are distinct languages or not.

5.1.3 Tested comprehension

Comprehension of Yoruba and Ife was tested with RTT-testing, the most direct tool used during this survey to measure comprehension. To ascertain the level of understanding, not only of spoken standard Yoruba and Ife, but also of different registers of Yoruba as used in two Bible translations, two measures of assessment were used: subjects were tested by RTT and afterwards asked directly about their comprehension.

The following sections refer to the comprehension results as well as to the answers to the accompanying questionnaire regarding the subject's own assessment of comprehension and the subject's expectation of understanding for the various social groups within the village. The following results show the percentages of correct responses to the comprehension questions inserted in the recorded texts.⁴³ The overall number of RTT subjects is 25 for the Yoruba and the Ife texts and 24 for the Bible passages from Acts 10 and Luke 19.

5.1.3.1 Yoruba narrative

The mean test score for the narrative is 99%, indicating high levels of comprehension. The standard deviation of 4.48 is low, indicating that there is little variation of comprehension levels across subjects: only 2/25 subjects, a younger and an older male, did not score 100% but 91% and 79% respectively.

There is no significant difference across locations, genders, ages, education or religions. Thus, no conclusion as to the presence of external factors can be drawn, such as about inherent versus acquired intelligibility.

Following the RTT, subjects were asked to identify the origin of the narrator of the story. Most subjects (20/24 – 83%) correctly identified the narrator as a Yoruba speaker with four of these subjects mentioning Nigeria and two subjects giving Porto-Novo while the remaining 14 subjects did not mention a specific locations. The remaining 4/24 subjects could not identify the narrator's origin. When asked whether the narrator spoke Yoruba well, all but one subject (23/24 – 96%) answered affirmatively.

Subjects were also asked whether they understood “le tout” (all), “la plupart” (most), “un peu” (a little), “très peu” (very little), or “rien” (nothing) of the narrative. Mode and median are “la plupart.” The value of this result is limited though, as no positive correlation between score and self-assessment is found.

⁴³ Full scores are given in Appendix D in ‘RTT results: Raw scores’.

The question whether the various social groups in the village would understand the story elicited a consistent response, for each social group 24/25 anticipating understanding, and the remaining subject expecting partial comprehension.

5.1.3.2 Yoruba New Testament: 1987 translation

Table 5: RTT scores for Yoruba – Acts 10:1–23

Town	n	%corr	Range	STD	Sign.
Goubi	6	99	95- 100	2.04	
Igbéré	6	100	100	0.00	
Kambolé	6	100	100	0.00	
Manigri	6	94	85- 100	5.85	
TOTAL	24	98	85- 100	3.81	<95%

SoGrp	n	%corr	Range	STD
MY	5	100	100	0.00
MO	7	99	95- 100	1.89
FY	6	99	95- 100	2.04
FO	6	95	85- 100	6.32
TOTAL	24	98	85- 100	3.81

[SoGrp = social group; n = number of subjects; %corr = % of correct answers; STD = Standard Deviation weighted in percentage to the n-1]

The passage chosen from the 1987 Yoruba New Testament is Acts 10:1–23. The mean score of 98% is high, indicating high levels of comprehension with 19/24 subjects (79%) scoring 100% and only 1/24 subjects scoring <90%. The low standard deviation of 3.81 indicates that comprehension levels across subjects do not vary extensively: the range is 85–100%.

The data indicate no significant correlation between RTT scores and locations, genders, ages, education or religions.⁴⁴

When explicitly asked whether they understood “le tout” (all), “la plupart” (most), “un peu” (a little), “très peu” (very little), or “rien” (nothing) of the text, mode and median are again “la plupart.” In particular, 83% of the subjects (19/23) estimated their understanding as adequate. Overall, self-assessed and measured understanding of the text correlate positively.

⁴⁴ Average scores across genders, ages, education and religions are as follows:

– men versus women:	100% vs 97%,	STD:	1.44 vs 4.98,	Sign.: <95%;
– young versus old:	100% vs 97%,	STD:	1.51 vs 4.84,	Sign.: <95%;
– educated versus uneducated subjects:	98% vs 98%,	STD:	4.46 vs 1.77,	Sign.: <95%;
– Christians versus Muslims:	98% vs 99%,	STD:	3.04 vs 4.98,	Sign.: <95%.

5.1.3.3 Yoruba Bible: 1960 translation

Table 6: RTT scores for Yoruba – Luke 19:11–17

Town	n	%corr	Range	STD
Goubi	6	95	82- 100	7.61
Igbéré	6	99	95- 100	1.86
Kambolé	6	81	27- 100	27.03
Manigri	6	84	36- 100	24.35
TOTAL	24	90	27- 100	19.00

SoGrp	n	%corr	Range	STD
MY	5	83	27- 100	31.23
MO	7	90	36- 100	23.72
FY	6	93	82- 100	8.98
FO	6	93	82- 100	6.89
TOTAL	24	90	27- 100	19.00

The passage chosen from the 1960 Yoruba Bible is Luke 19:11–17. The mean score of 90% is still high, indicating high levels of comprehension also for this text. Roughly three-quarters of the subjects (19/24 – 79%) scored $\geq 90\%$, while only 5/24 subjects (21%) scored $< 90\%$.

However, at the same time the standard deviation of 19.00 is high indicating that comprehension levels across subjects vary extensively: the range is 27 – 100%. This high standard deviation may indicate the effects of acquired comprehension, so that inherent intelligibility can be assumed to be even lower.

The data indicate no significant correlation between RTT scores and genders, ages, education or religions. Regarding locations, subjects from Igbéré scored marginally significantly higher than subjects from Kambolé, whereas there is no significant correlation between RTT scores and the remaining locations.⁴⁵

When asked whether they understood “le tout” (all), “la plupart” (most), “un peu” (a little), “très peu” (very little), or “rien” (nothing) of the text, mode and median are again “la plupart.” In particular, 79% (19/24) of the subjects estimated their understanding as adequate. Again, self-assessed and measured understanding of the text correlate positively.

⁴⁵ Average scores across locations, genders, ages, education and religions are as follows:

– Igbéré versus Kambolé:	99% vs 81%,	STD: 1.86 vs 27.03,	Sign.: 95%< –
– men versus women:	87% vs 93%,	STD: 25.96 vs 7.63,	Sign.: <95%;
– young versus old:	88% vs 91%,	STD: 21.45 vs 17.45,	Sign.: <95%;
– educated versus uneducated subjects:	86% vs 97%,	STD: 22.85 vs 6.01,	Sign.: <95%;
– Christians versus Muslims:	91% vs 88%,	STD: 15.87 vs 25.22,	Sign.: <95%.

5.1.3.4 Ife narrative

Table 7: RTT scores for Ife narrative

Town	n	%corr	Range	STD	Sign.
Goubi	6	99	92- 100	3.40	
Igbéré	6	96	83- 100	6.97	
Kambolé	6	92	99- 100	3.40	
Manigri	7	87	63- 100	16.03	
TOTAL	25	95	63- 100	10.24	<95%

SoGrp	n	%corr	Range	STD
MY	5	100	100	0.00
MO	8	93	63- 100	13.72
FY	6	96	92- 100	4.56
FO	6	91	67- 100	9.64
TOTAL	25	95	63- 100	10.24

The mean test score for the narrative is 95% indicating high levels of comprehension with only 4/25 subjects (16%), all of them older, scoring <90%. The standard deviation of 10.24 is moderate indicating some degree of variation of comprehension levels across subjects: the range is 63–100%.

There is no significant correlation between RTT scores and locations, genders, ages, travel patterns,⁴⁶ education or religions.⁴⁷

The moderate standard deviation may indicate that acquired intelligibility played a minor role among the tested subjects. Interestingly, standard deviations increase markedly with age,⁴⁸ something which would seem to indicate a learning (or maturing) effect. The fact that the region touches an Ife-speaking region supports this hypothesis. Further support comes from the fact that to the question regarding the origin of the narrator of the story, 72% (18/25) gave a correct identification which may again be the result of frequent contact with the Ife. Only 20% (5/25) did not know the origin of the narrator.

After the test, subjects were also asked whether they understood “le tout” (all), “la plupart” (most), “un peu” (a little), “très peu” (very little), or “rien” (nothing) of the text. Mode and median are “la plupart.” In particular, 76% (19/25) of the subjects estimated their understanding

⁴⁶ The five travelers did achieve perfect RTT scores though.

⁴⁷ Average scores across genders, ages, education and religions are as follows:

– men versus women:	96% vs 93%,	STD: 11.02 vs 9.64,	Sign.: <95%;
– young versus old:	98% vs 92%,	STD: 3.89 vs 12.96,	Sign.: <95%;
– Ife travel versus no travel:	100% vs 93%,	STD: 0.00 vs 11.10,	Sign.: <95%;
– educated versus uneducated subjects:	95% vs 95%,	STD: 12.05 vs 6.51,	Sign.: <95%;
– Christians versus Muslims:	92% vs 99%,	STD: 12.06 vs 2.78,	Sign.: <95%.

⁴⁸ Standard Deviation for younger versus older subjects: 3.89 vs 12.96 (see Footnote 47).

as adequate, indicating a clear positive correlation between self-assessed and measured understanding of the text.

The question whether the various social groups in the village by gender and age would understand the story elicited a consistent response.⁴⁹ For each social group 17 to 19 out of 25 subjects (68% to 76%) anticipated understanding, while one to three out of 25 subjects (4% to 12%) expected non-comprehension. The remainder expected partial comprehension or expressed uncertainty.

5.1.4 Reported proficiency

Both ISQ and RTT subjects were asked proficiency questions regarding Yoruba and Ife, and in this section, sample populations include both, unless otherwise indicated.

Interpretation of reported proficiency figures requires some care, as the variable measured is a mix of not only dialect intercomprehension and acquired intelligibility, but also of language attitudes and notions about what in effect constitutes the language under consideration. This may explain why there is at times a considerable difference between answers obtained from ISQ subjects (who were asked proficiency questions out of context, and so were left to their own ideas about what constituted Yoruba or Ife), and RTT subjects, who were asked about their proficiency right after having been tested for comprehension on a narrative in the language variety in question. Another reason may be the less stringent selection criteria applied for ISQ subjects in 1992, where people with long time residence in Yoruba- or Ife-speaking areas were not excluded.⁵⁰

5.1.4.1 Yoruba

For passive proficiency, the questions covered direct understanding, as well as comprehension of Yoruba radio programming. External input came from church representatives who commented on their congregations' understanding of Yoruba in church. Regarding subjects' abilities to speak Yoruba, the only input was direct questioning.

1. Passive proficiency

Subjects were questioned about their understanding in general, and afterwards about their complete understanding, of Yoruba. Most subjects (53/61 – 87%) reported the ability to understand Yoruba and more than half (32/56 – 57%) claimed total comprehension. There are no significant differences across locations, social groups, education, religions or test types.⁵¹ Across countries, a marginally significantly⁵² higher percentage of subjects from Benin versus Togo claimed total comprehension, whereas there is no significant difference regarding general comprehension. Regarding residence patterns, a significantly higher percentage⁵² of subjects

⁴⁹ I.e. there are no significant differences between answers given for the various social groups.

⁵⁰ Detailed results as regards reported proficiency are given in Appendix E in 'Reported data'.

⁵¹ Test types: RTT versus ISQ.

⁵² According to Durieux's (1997, personal communication) calculations; see Footnote 29.

with temporary residence⁵³ in a Yoruba-speaking area versus subjects without such residence reported complete comprehension, whereas there is no such difference regarding general comprehension.

Most people interviewed (31/37 – 84%) indicated listening to Yoruba radio emissions, 68% of them (21/31) claiming total comprehension. Those who listen do so on average every other day.

When asked about the age at which children are able to understand Yoruba, 3/23 subjects (13%) indicated that this would never happen while 2/23 subjects (9%) could not give any precise age. For the remaining subjects (18/23 – 78%), the answers centered around 10 years of age.

In regard to comprehension of Yoruba in the church context, the representatives of the four interviewed churches (see ‘Language choice in the religious context,’ Section 5.2.4) stated that not everybody of their congregations understands Yoruba when used in the church. Children, older people and those who do not travel especially have difficulties in understanding Yoruba. This is true in particular for Bible readings in Yoruba from the 1960 translation. After inspection of a sample text, there was a unanimous expectation that the 1987 Yoruba New Testament translation would be easier to understand, the Kambolé churches giving as the reason that the language register used is closer to Nago.

2. Active proficiency

When asked about their Yoruba speaking abilities, 41% of the subjects (25/61) reported general proficiency, while only 31% (17/54) claimed complete active command with no significant difference across locations, social groups or education being found.

Regarding residence patterns, a significantly higher percentage⁵⁴ of subjects with temporary residence in a Yoruba-speaking area versus subjects without such residence reported general proficiency and complete active command of Yoruba. This situation is to be expected given the exposure to Yoruba for those subjects who had resided in a Yoruba-speaking area. Across countries, a significantly higher percentage of subjects from Benin versus Togo claimed general and complete proficiency. Across religions, a marginally significantly higher percentage of Muslims versus Christians reported complete active command, while there is no such difference for general speaking ability. Finally, a marginally significantly higher percentage of ISQ subjects versus RTT subjects reported complete proficiency. A possible explanation is that to the ISQ subjects it was not clear that standard Yoruba was meant, rather than, say, any Yoruboid variety.

As only four subjects reported travel to a Yoruba-speaking area, no useful analysis is possible along those lines.

5.1.4.2 *Ife*

Only direct questioning was used to assess passive and active proficiency.

⁵³ Temporary residence refers to residence of at least one year.

⁵⁴ General proficiency: according to Durieux’s (1997, personal communication) calculations; complete active command: according to South’s (1997, personal communication) calculations; see Footnote 29.

1. Passive proficiency

Ife comprehension was reported by 45/62 subjects (73%)⁵⁵ with the percentage of subjects from Goubi being significantly higher than that of Manigri and marginally significantly higher than that of Igbéré. Otherwise, there is no significant difference across locations, social groups, travel, education, religions or test types.

In order to qualify these results, subjects were also asked how well they understand Ife, on a scale comprising “le tout” (all), “la plupart” (most), “un peu” (a little), “très peu” (very little), and “rien” (nothing). On this more discerning scale, roughly a quarter of the subjects (13/47 – 28%) estimated their understanding as adequate, whereas half of the subjects (23/47 – 49%) reported understanding a little. The remaining 11/47 subjects (23%) do not understand anything.

A significantly higher percentage of travelers versus non-travelers reported adequate comprehension,⁵⁶ whereas there is no significant difference across locations, social groups, education or religions.

In addition, a marginally significantly higher percentage of RTT subjects (11/25 – 40%) versus ISQ subjects (2/22 – 9%) reported adequate comprehension. It is likely that this difference is due to the fact that during an RTT, the question was asked directly after the subject had listened to the Ife story, and the language had been identified, whereas during an ISQ the question was posed without an experiential context. People tended to assess themselves significantly more unfavorably when asked out of context than when asked after the Ife text had been played to them.

Less than half of the ISQ subjects (10/24 – 42%) indicated listening to Ife radio emissions, although none of them (0/10) claimed total comprehension.

When ISQ subjects were asked about the age at which children are able to understand Ife, 6/27 subjects (22%, the mode) indicated that this would never happen, while 3/27 subjects (11%) could not give any precise age. For the remaining subjects (18/27 – 67%), the answers centered around 10 years of age.

2. Active proficiency

Ability to speak Ife was reported by only 4/62 subjects (6%), three of them RTT subjects. There is no significant difference across locations, social groups, travel patterns, education, religions or test types.

This low ability is corroborated by the fact that none of the subjects reported ever speaking Ife to Ife speakers. Also, none of the subjects mentioned Ife as the language local children would use when speaking with Ife children. Instead they would use Nago.

⁵⁵ The figures given here include two subjects who reported ability to understand “un peu” (a little).

⁵⁶ Mode and median are “le tout” for travelers, in contrast to “un peu” for non-travelers.

5.2 Language vitality

For this survey, the main indicator for language vitality is language choice. Not only the results for ISQ and RTT questions are reported here, but also the data provided by interviewed village elders and church representatives. All data in this section are reported.

5.2.1 Language choice in private and local domains

For in-village domains, essentially everybody uses Nago,

All subjects use Nago with their parents (57/57), children (27/27), friends and elders (37/37), and at the local market (33/33). Some additional use of French was reported for conversation with children (1/27 – 4%), friends (5/37 – 14%) and neighbors (1/37 – 3%). With their spouses, all but one of the married subjects (26/27 – 96%) speak the vernacular, the remaining subject speaking Cabe with her L1 Cabe husband.

At work or on the farm, all but one subject (35/36 – 97%) use Nago, while the remaining subject reported exclusive use of English and French on the farm. Use of Yoruba with Nago-speaking friends was reported by 5/24 RTT subjects (21%). Some additional use of French was reported by 1/36 subjects (3%).

When subjects were asked which language local children use when playing, all subjects (28/28) agreed that the children use Nago among each other. One subject (1/28 – 4%) mentioned additional use of French.

Regarding language use by the youth, interviewed subjects were asked how well, in their opinion, the youth speak Nago. All but one ISQ subject (24/25 – 96%)⁵⁷ thought that the young people speak Nago “comme il faut” (as they should). The remaining subject, an older female, judged the perceived differences in intonation as negative.

On the more formal level, according to village elders, Nago is also the language of choice for announcements, rites of passage, family and village judgments and councils of the elders.

5.2.2 Language choice in public domains

Outside their own village, most subjects continue using Nago, but other languages do have a noticeable foothold, appropriate to the various domains.

At the regional market, most subjects (29/35 – 83%) use the vernacular, in a few cases (3/35 – 9%) relating additional use of French. Of the remaining subjects, exclusive use of French and Yoruba was reported by two subjects (2/35 – 6%) each and the remaining subject (1/35 – 3%) claimed use of Dendi.

In the offices of the sous-préfecture, a large majority (18/29 – 62%) use Nago, with one subject reporting additional use of French, and one of Yoruba and French. About one-third (9/29 – 31%)

⁵⁷ ISQs administered in 1992 in Manigri did not contain this question.

reported exclusive use of French, and exclusive use of Yoruba and Anii was claimed by one subject (1/29 – 3%) each.

During meetings of the traditional council, according to village elders, Nago is also the language of choice, possibly with translations for speakers of other languages.

5.2.3 Language choice with speakers of other Ede varieties

Most people speak Nago to speakers of other Ede varieties.

To Yoruba speakers about half of the ISQ subjects (19/36 – 53%) continue speaking their vernacular whereas about one-third (13/36 – 36%) would switch to Yoruba. Two subjects (2/36 – 5%) use both Nago and Yoruba, and two others (2/36 – 5%) would need an interpreter to communicate.

Both ISQ and RTT subjects were asked about their language choice with Ife speakers. Most subjects (42/50 – 84%) speak Nago to them, while one subject (1/50 – 2%) claimed use of Yoruba. Among the remaining subjects, 4/50 (8%) never communicate with Ife speakers, and 3/50 (6%) would need an interpreter to communicate.

None of the RTT subjects (0/18) would ever use Yoruba with speakers of other Ede varieties than Yoruba; only one young woman from Kambolé (1/18 – 6%) uses a mix of Nago with Yoruba words. Likewise, 7/11 ISQ subjects (64%) interviewed in 1992 reported use of Nago with speakers of other Ede varieties. Among the remaining subjects, one subject would use Yoruba with Cabe and Idaca speakers,⁵⁸ one subject Cabe with Cabe and Idaca speakers, one subject Cabe with Cabe speakers while using Nago with Idaca speakers, and the remaining subject would use an L2 such as Gen or Tem with Idaca speakers.

When asked about language use by local children in play with Yoruba- or Ife-speaking children, most ISQ subjects did not answer, possibly because the situation does not occur in practice. Of those subjects who answered for the Yoruba situation, 6/7 subjects (86%) gave Nago and 1/7 (14%) responded, “Yoruba.” For the Ife situation only two subjects responded, both from the Ife-surrounded Kambolé area (Kambolé and Goubi), and both stating that Nago would be spoken.

5.2.4 Language choice in the religious context⁵⁹

Church elders reported the use of Nago in more informal contexts, whereas in more formal and ritual contexts both Yoruba and French claim an important place as well:

Bible readings are done in Yoruba and to a lesser degree in French in the Catholic churches, in French and to a lesser degree in Yoruba in La Voie du Christ, and exclusively in Yoruba in the Methodist church. The Yoruba Bible used is the 1960 translation. In the Catholic churches, preaching is in French with translation into Nago. In the Methodist church and La Voie du Christ the sermons are in Nago, La Voie du Christ translating into French afterwards. The

⁵⁸ This subject is the same subject reporting use of Yoruba with Ife speakers.

⁵⁹ The church data are from church interviews in the area. See ‘Subject selection’ (Section 4.2.2). For more church interview results, see also ‘Language attitudes in the church context’ (Section 5.3.3).

Eucharist/Communion is celebrated in the vernacular in the Catholic church of Kambolé and in the Methodist church. La Voie du Christ uses French, and the Catholic church of Manigri, Yoruba. Baptismal lessons are given in Nago, except in the Manigri Catholic Church, where they are given in Yoruba and translated into the vernacular afterwards.

For weddings and funerals, the Manigri Catholic Church uses French and Nago, whereas the other three churches use the vernacular, La Voie du Christ of Kambolé providing translations into French for funeral services. Songs in various languages have found their way into the church service. Kambolé Catholic Church reported use of Nago, Yoruba and Ewe, and La Voie du Christ use of Nago, Yoruba and French, whereas Manigri Catholic Church reported Nago only, and Manigri Methodist Church, Yoruba only.

Primary or exclusive use of Nago was unanimously reported for announcements, prayers (of leaders, of the congregation and during Bible study), women's and youth meetings, dramas and testimonies. In Kambolé, testimonies would be translated into French if foreigners were present, and in La Voie du Christ representatives would pray in French at times.

Regarding language use in the local mosque, community elders reported that the Koran readings are done in Arabic and followed by a translation into Nago while preaching is done directly in Nago.

5.3 Language attitudes

Attitudes toward the use of oral and written forms of Nago, Yoruba and Ife were explored through interviews, both with community elders (community questionnaires) and with individuals (ISQs).

5.3.1 Attitudes toward Nago and its development

All ISQ and RTT subjects were asked if they thought it would be a “good thing” for the Nago people if they could read and write in Nago. Everyone (37/37) responded affirmatively, giving reasons such as it is their first language and literacy in Nago would encourage the development of the language. Subjects were also asked if they themselves wanted to become literate in their language. Again, all subjects (25/25)⁵⁷ responded affirmatively, some giving as reason the fact that it is their own language—others explaining that it would enhance communication or provide better opportunities in life.

In regard to the choice of a potential reference dialect, wherever asked, the local elders stated that their language is spoken best in their village. When, in Manigri, elders were also explicitly asked which variety would be best for literacy, the answer was Manigri (the speech form).

To probe more indirectly with regard to the choice of a reference dialect, all subjects were asked where the best place is to learn their language. All RTT subjects (24/24) and most ISQ subjects (30/36 – 83%) named their own village while one ISQ subject from Goubi gave both Goubi and Kambolé and one ISQ subject from Igbéré named both Igbéré and Manigri. Among the remaining four ISQ subjects, all from Igbéré, two stated “n’importe où” (anywhere) and two declared “n’importe où dans la sous-préfecture de Bassila” (anywhere in the sous-préfecture of Bassila).

The literacy coordinator from Bassila, J. I. Gomon, and two of his literacy workers were interviewed and asked if any attempts in regard to Nago development had been undertaken so far.⁶⁰ They related that two classes in Nago are taught in Manigri-Oké, one in Manigri-Ikani and one in Partago (near Alédjo-Koura)⁶¹ (see ‘Non-formal education,’ Section 2.4, for details about on-going activities).

In regard to the on-going literacy program, Gomon was asked about future goals. He listed several, mentioning first the objective to produce primers, books and stories in Nago. Secondly, he hoped to produce written materials in Nago for the on-going post-literacy classes. To this aim, documents concerning law and a “Guide de l’administration” (Ali 1996) had already been translated. As a main follow-up of the post-literacy classes, a newspaper to share local news and exchange ideas was envisioned.

5.3.2 Attitudes toward the use of Yoruba and Ife

During individual interviews, subjects were asked to express their attitudes towards the ability to understand and speak Yoruba and Ife.

Almost all subjects (33/36 – 92%) saw Yoruba proficiency as positive. The remaining three subjects, all of them younger, explained their negative response by saying that Yoruba is not their language nor their ethnic identity.

For Ife, 19/24 subjects (79%) regarded proficiency as positive, mainly for communication reasons.⁶² Those who did not (5/24 – 21%) considered the Ife language area too remote, or expressed the feeling that Ife is a different language from their own.

When subjects were asked if they would like to be literate in Yoruba or Ife, about three-quarters responded affirmatively in regard to Yoruba (38/49 – 78%), and more than half concerning Ife (29/50 – 58%). Those subjects who responded negatively stated that these Ede varieties are not their language or that they do not speak either of these varieties well.

All subjects were also presented with a hypothetical situation in which they had the exclusive choice between Yoruba or Ife literacy classes. Most subjects (43/48 – 90%)⁵⁷ stated they would choose Yoruba versus 5/48 subjects (10%) preferring Ife literacy classes.

When community elders were asked whether they would prefer Yoruba or Ife for literacy, they preferred Yoruba. They indicated that while a Yoruba literacy program would be supported by the village leaders, an Ife program would not be. They also reported that the village community would be interested in Yoruba literacy classes, but not in those in Ife.

⁶⁰ As was pointed out in Footnote 14, it is not clear whether Gomon and the two literacy workers, when referring to Nago, meant the local vernacular or Yoruba.

⁶¹ See Volume 6.

⁶² There are no significant differences in responses across genders, ages or test types.

5.3.3 Language attitudes in the church context

During church interviews (see ‘Language choice in the religious context,’ Section 5.2.4) several questions were asked to explore attitudes toward use and development of Nago. The following information was reported:

Nago is seen as the preferred language for church activities at all levels, and the congregations were thought to share this view. It would definitely be the language best understood, as Yoruba does not reach everybody, excluding especially children, older people and those who do not travel. In Kambolé, the congregations had in fact expressed their interest in Nago literacy and a Nago Bible translation to the representatives, because the vernacular is the language they understand best, and other languages have the Bible as well. Nago is promoted actively by the representatives of all four churches.

None of those interviewed had knowledge of anybody working on Bible translation in Nago, nor had steps toward translation been undertaken by the churches, although the pastor of La Voie du Christ had had the idea of Bible translation in mind. All four churches would be interested in taking part in an interdenominational Bible translation program though.

Apart from the production by La Voie du Christ of an alphabet and some songs in Nago (see ‘Non-formal education,’ Section 2.4), the churches investigated had not been active in Nago literacy of any kind.

As concerns the Yoruba Bible, the 1960 translation currently in use was considered difficult to understand, especially for children, older people and those who do not travel. The representatives from Kambolé were aware of the existence of the 1987 New Testament translation in modern Yoruba, the catechist of the Catholic church even having seen it. Upon being presented with a few selected passages, all representatives agreed this translation would be easier to understand for their congregations, the representatives from Kambolé specifying that it is closer to Nago. An additional advantage would be that tone is marked in this translation.

5.4 Bilingualism and attitudes regarding French

Although the investigation of bilingualism or attitudes regarding French was not a primary concern of this survey, the individual sociolinguistic questionnaire contained some questions concerning this language.⁶³

Passive proficiency was reported by 13/23 subjects (57%), whereas 14/29 subjects (48%)⁶⁴ claimed active proficiency. Abilities to understand and speak French are strongly linked to education with significantly higher percentages of educated versus uneducated subjects claiming passive and active French abilities. Across social groups, the incidence of reported active abilities among men is marginally significantly higher⁶⁵ than that among women, otherwise there are no significant differences across social groups.

⁶³ Detailed results regarding reported proficiency are given in Appendix E in ‘Reported data: Details’.

⁶⁴ The figures given here include those who reported ability to speak “un peu” (a little).

⁶⁵ According to Durieux’s (1997, personal communication) calculations; see Footnote 29.

Subjects with children were also asked about the French abilities of their children. Of 16 subjects who reported having children, three-quarters (12/16 – 75%) reported passive, and two-thirds (10/16 – 62%) active proficiency for their children, explaining that they started learning it when they enrolled in school. These data parallel the findings previously mentioned indicating that proficiency in French is coupled with education.

In addition, almost all subjects (33/35 – 94%) professed positive attitudes regarding the ability to speak and understand French, the majority stressing its usefulness (for communication, work, travel or self-development), and a minority indicating that it is an international language.

Spread of French proficiency could eventually in the long term lead to French making an inroad into domains currently reserved for Nago. However, with the data gathered it is not possible to make an accurate guess as to the spread of knowledge of French in the area. Language use data (see ‘Language choice in private and local domains,’ Section 5.2.1) seem to show that such a shift is not to be expected during the lifetime of the generation currently growing up.

5.5 Literacy

As information regarding literacy programs was already provided in ‘Non-formal education (Section 2.4) this section will mainly consider reported literacy levels of individuals interviewed. Both ISQ and RTT subjects were asked if they are able to read and write in Nago, Yoruba, Ife and French.⁶⁶

5.5.1 Nago

All subjects were asked whether they had ever tried to write their language. Less than one-quarter (11/61 – 18%) responded affirmatively, with five of them (5/10 – 50%) also reporting writing ability in Yoruba and 7/11 (64%) reporting writing ability in French. There is no significant difference across social groups or education. Furthermore, two older subjects admitting no writing skills in Yoruba nor French reported having participated for some time in a Nago literacy class.

5.5.2 Yoruba

About one-quarter of the subjects (17/61 – 28%) professed reading abilities—men with 42% (13/31) marginally significantly more often than women with 13% (4/30). Writing abilities were claimed by 7/60 subjects (12%), all of them men from Igbéré and Manigri.

In line with this preponderance of Igbéré and Manigri subjects is the fact that of the six (all male) subjects (out of 49 – 12%) who claimed participation in a Yoruba literacy class, five of them are from Igbéré and Manigri. The remaining subject was from Kambolé.

The main use for reading skills is Bible reading, and the main writing activity concerns letters.

⁶⁶ Detailed results regarding literacy are given in Appendix E in ‘Reported data: Details’.

Interviewed church representatives (see ‘Language choice in the religious context,’ Section 5.2.4) stated that only a minority of their congregations possess a Yoruba Bible, exact numbers being given for the Manigri Catholic church (10/80 – 13%) and La Voie du Christ in Kambolé (10/35 – 29%). Questions as to the availability of Yoruba materials were only asked in Manigri. Reportedly, religious (such as a catechism) and literacy materials (such as a primer) are obtainable there, the Catholic church receiving them through their priest from Nigeria, and the Methodists acquiring them from Parakou, Djougou or Cotonou.

5.5.3 Ife

None of the subjects (0/49) stated any ability to read or write Ife, or had ever enrolled in an Ife literacy class.⁶⁷

5.5.4 French

French abilities are more widespread. Roughly half of the subjects (29/61 – 48%) reported reading abilities, while only 41% of the subjects (25/61) claimed writing abilities.⁶⁸

Reading and writing abilities in French are strongly linked to education with significantly higher percentages of educated versus uneducated subjects claiming to be literate in French. Across social groups, the incidence of reported writing skills among men (17/31 – 55%) is marginally significantly higher⁶⁹ than that among women (8/30 – 27%), whereas otherwise there are no significant differences across social groups.

Common reading materials are the Bible, novels, letters and newspapers, while writing is mostly restricted to letters and notes.

6. Interpretation and conclusions

The purpose of this survey was to assess whether and to what extent existing literature and literacy efforts in Yoruba and Ife could extend to the Northern Nago communities, or whether an additional language-based development program in Northern Nago would be beneficial, and to gather data that would help determine the nature and extent of SIL’s possible involvement among these communities. The following areas were investigated:

1. Level of dialect intercomprehension;
2. Language vitality of Idaca;
3. Language attitudes toward Northern Nago, Yoruba and Ife.

In addition, there are the peripheral factors for which data were gathered during the survey: reported proficiency and attitudes regarding French, as well as education and literacy levels.

⁶⁷ Reportedly, no Ife courses are offered in the area.

⁶⁸ The figures given here include those who reported ability to read and/or write “un peu” (a little), but exclude those who reported only being able to read and/or write their names or do arithmetic.

⁶⁹ According to Durieux’s (1997, personal communication) calculations; see Footnote 29.

Results for these factors have been previously presented and will not be discussed in further detail.

6.1 Dialect intercomprehension

With regard to dialect intercomprehension, three factors were examined: (1) the existent language situation, (2) the degree of lexical similarity between Northern Nago and both Yoruba and Ife as well as Kura, and (3) the level of comprehension of both Yoruba and Ife throughout the Northern Nago communities.

6.1.1 Existent language situation

Neither Capo (1989) nor the *Ethnologue* (Grimes 1996:168) list Northern Nago and Kura as two distinct speech forms but rather as one. However, the analysis of wordlists elicited in both areas does not clearly indicate that both varieties are indeed the same language (see Section 6.1.2). In addition, informants from the Nago area stated that the Kura variety is quite distinct from their own variety spoken in and around Kambolé and Manigri. A Beninese linguist agreed that there are differences between Nago and Kura and inferred, based on dialect differences, that the people of Kambolé and Manigri might have more difficulties understanding Kura speakers than the other way around. This conclusion corresponds to other observations and reports and the fact that the Home Town Test prepared in Manigri was successfully used throughout the Kura area, i.e. it was well understood by Kura speakers.

Concerning the Northern Nago language area, no dialects of Nago were reported to exist and the varieties spoken in and around Kambolé and Manigri are considered the same language with complete mutual understanding even though there are tiny yet characteristic differences between the speech varieties of the various villages. However, the surveyed communities in and around Kambolé and Manigri do not appear to have a felt need for a common language name. Language names mentioned other than “Manigri” or “Kambolé” were “Ana” and, as far as the communities in and around Manigri are concerned, “Nago.” However, both terms were found to be highly ambiguous. Thus, Capo (1997, personal communication) suggests “Northern Nago” or “Nago (Northern)” as a cover term.

6.1.2 Lexical similarity

The second factor to be considered is the degree of lexical similarity between Northern Nago and both Yoruba and Ife, as well as between Northern Nago and Kura.

The results show a lexical similarity of >75% at the upper confidence limit⁷⁰ between Nago and both Yoruba and Ife. These findings do not seem to indicate that, in accordance with previously established guidelines for wordlist analysis, Northern Nago is a different language, from either Yoruba or Ife.

The findings further show a lexical similarity of <75% at the upper confidence limit between Northern Nago and Kura (except for Kambolé-Awotébi with 76.5%) and of 72-76% between

⁷⁰ Upper confidence limit = percentage + range of error (variance).

Northern Nago and Southern Nago. These results are somewhat ambiguous and do not clearly indicate whether or not Northern Nago is a different language, from either Kura or Southern Nago. However, since the main focus of the current study was to determine whether the Northern Nago communities could benefit from existing literature and literacy efforts in Yoruba and Ife, no further investigation was pursued as to the relationship between Northern Nago and either Kura or Southern Nago.

6.1.3 Comprehension of Yoruba and Ife

The third factor concerns the level of comprehension of both Yoruba and Ife throughout the Northern Nago communities.

1. Comprehension of Yoruba

The RTT results for the Yoruba narrative (99%) and the Bible passage in modern Yoruba (95%) are uniformly high. Applying Marmor's (1997:2f) previously mentioned guidelines⁷¹ by which to draw conclusions from comprehension testing results, comprehension of modern standard Yoruba should be defined as 'high'. These findings suggest that modern standard Yoruba would be a good choice for written materials. Tested and reported comprehension of the Bible passage from the 1960 translation, however, is lower (90%), and certain population groups have difficulty understanding it.

Another hindrance to adequate access to existing literature and literacy efforts in Yoruba may be the currently low literacy rate of just over one-quarter of the population. However, both Yoruba literacy classes and the 1987 New Testament translation that, according to RTT results and church representatives' opinions is much more readable, are available.

It can be inferred that use of written materials in modern standard Yoruba would be quite possible, with due attention given to the literacy situation.

2. Comprehension of Ife

The Northern Nago people seem to have a 'high' understanding of Ife, according to RTT results (95%, with a moderate standard deviation). Reported understanding is lower though, with three-quarters reporting general comprehension and only one-quarter claiming to understand most or all, possibly partly due to unacquaintedness – although a considerable percentage of the people interviewed reported listening to the Ife radio. Lexically, the variety of Kambolé, which borders the Ife area, is probably closer to Ife than is the variety of Manigri, but even for Manigri comprehension seems quite possible on lexical grounds.

Overall, measured and reported proficiency assessments⁷² are higher for Yoruba than for Ife, and most subjects would prefer Yoruba literacy over Ife. In fact, no Ife literacy of any kind was claimed by any of the subjects.

⁷¹ For more details, see Footnote 17 in Section 3.

⁷² Oral and written, active and passive.

Even though understanding of Ife is ‘high,’ some investment would be necessary to make Ife literature accessible given the total lack of literacy skills.

6.2 Language vitality

Domain-wise, Nago seems to have a firm basis, being the default variety in most situations, including formal and ritual. Other languages are apparently mainly used in contact with those who do not understand the vernacular (including speakers of other Ede varieties). A partial exception is the more formal church domain, where French (possibly for historic and denominational reasons) and Yoruba (because of availability of Bible translations) have made an inroad. In general, no generational shift was noticed by ISQ subjects with the reported data indicating that Nago is the preferred language of children and the youth.

These data must, of course, be seen in their elicitation contexts. Individual interviews were essentially only conducted in monolingual villages, where a stronger basis for Nago can be expected than in multilingual ones. There are, however, no indications or reasons to expect a possible loss of Nago in multilingual villages to spread to the currently monolingual ones in the near future, unless they also become multilingual.

Therefore, the Nago language seems highly viable.

6.3 Language attitudes

Virtually all subjects interviewed would want to learn to read and write in Northern Nago, and the main reason, apart from communication, is that it is their language. As reference dialect and ideal location for language learning, in most cases their own village and its variety were proposed.

Church representatives considered Nago the preferred language for religious purposes and expected their congregations to agree. They also were all positive toward the idea of Bible translation in the vernacular and claimed interest in participating in a translation project.

What little language change perceived by subjects was considered negative, and non-change positive.

Across the region, almost all subjects regarded Yoruba proficiency as positive while roughly three-quarters saw Ife proficiency as positive. The majority of subjects would be interested in literacy: about two-thirds would like to learn to read and write in Yoruba and just over half in Ife. When presented with the choice between Yoruba and Ife classes, 90% would choose Yoruba and 10% Ife. The main reason for esteeming these varieties, and literacy in them, is communication. These positive reported attitudes must, however, be seen against the low actual inscription numbers for literacy classes of 12% for Yoruba; reportedly, no Ife courses are offered in the area.

It would follow that attitudes toward Nago are highly ‘open and positive,’ and those toward Yoruba and Ife are generally ‘open and positive’ as well, for practical reasons. However, literacy in Yoruba appears to be more highly valued than literacy in Ife.

6.4 Conclusions

To restate the final conclusions, the results regarding dialect intercomprehension and language attitudes suggest that the Northern Nago communities could benefit from existing literature and literacy efforts in modern standard Yoruba, with the reservation that care be taken of literacy needs: comprehension of Yoruba is ‘high,’ and the attitudes toward Yoruba are ‘open and positive.’ This conclusion does not, however, automatically extend to more antiquated and/or literate registers of standard Yoruba.

For Ife, much the same arguments hold. Comprehension of Ife is ‘high,’ and the attitudes toward Ife are ‘open and positive. Concerning literacy, however, Ife appears to be less valued than Yoruba.

These findings indicate that existing literature and literacy efforts in Yoruba could extend to the Northern Nago communities, and there is no need for SIL to pursue a language development program in Northern Nago.

More specifically, it seems that especially the Beninese Nago communities would benefit from existing Yoruba literacy efforts; these literacy efforts might also be beneficial for the Togolese Nago communities. It would be worthwhile to also look into the possibilities for the use of Ife materials, possibly in parallel with Yoruba development. Even though attitudes seem to favor Yoruba materials, it might be possible to extend the existing Togolese Ife literacy program to the Kambolé area.

Appendix B. Language name⁷³

B.1. Nago

In regard to the origin of the term “Nago,” Parrinder (1947) explains that according to older Fon men the name “was given to the Yoruba people in general during the intermittent wars between Oyo (and later Abeokuta) and Abomey, in the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It was an insult, said to mean ‘the lousy’!” Other translations are “the people from over yonder,” or “the strangers from the north.” (p. 122; see also Tidjani 1945). According to the *Dictionnaire fon-français* (Segurola 1963:402), “Nagónu” (or “Anagónù”) refers to fetishers dedicated to the Sakpota cult, or to the Ségbó-Lisá, Măwŭ, Lisà or Gu cults.

The explanations given above appear to indicate that the term “Nago” is a cover term referring to speakers of Yoruboid varieties in general rather than to distinct communities. This view seems to be shared by Capo (1989:277) who states that “... the speakers of the cluster in Bénin and Togo ... are ... known as Nagó or Anagó” and that they “... are not distinct communities ...”

However, in the same article Capo (1989) also lists Nago as a distinct linguistic community among all the other Ede varieties, referring to the rural districts of Ifangni, Ikpínlè, Kétou, Pobè and Sakété in the Ouémé province as well as to some villages of Alédjo and Bassila and rural districts of Djougou in the Atakora province.⁷⁴

B.2. Ana

The term “Ana,” according to Capo (1989:277), is also used as a general cover term for varieties of the Defoid language group in Benin and Togo. However, Capo does not give any further details in regard to the origin and meaning of this term. In addition, Capo (p. 279) also lists Ana as a distinct Ede variety spoken in the rural districts of Bantè and Savalou in the Zou province in Benin and around Atakpamé in Togo, giving “Ifè” as an alternative name for “Ana.”

In contrast, the *Ethnologue* (Grimes 1996:168, 420) does not list Ana as a separate entry but gives it as an alternative name for Ifè, specifying for Ifè in Togo that Ana is the government name for the Ifè people; other alternative names are Baate⁷⁵ and Ana-Ifè. However, Klaver (1996, personal communication), member of the SIL Ifè team in Atakpamé, states that none of these alternative names are used by the Ifè people themselves. Boëthius (1993, personal communication), former member of the SIL Ifè team, reports that educated Ifè refer to themselves in French as “Ana.”

While Capo (1989) and the *Ethnologue* (Grimes 1996) link Ana to the Yoruboid dialect cluster, both Klaver (1996, personal communication) and Boëthius (1993, personal communication) state

⁷³ The following is quoted from Volume 1, Appendix C.

⁷⁴ Capo (1989:280) lists Ifangni as Ifanyin, Ikpínlè as Ikpínlé, Kétou as Kétu, Pobè as Ikpobé and Sakété as Ikakété. He refers further to Alédjo as Alejo, Bassila as Basila and Djougou as Dzugu.

⁷⁵ “Baate” seems to refer to “Bantè” in the Zou province, Benin. Capo (1989:279, 280) specifies that both Ica and Ifè are spoken in the rural districts of Baatè (Bantè) and Savalu (Savalou). As discussed in the report on the Ica survey (see Volume 3), the Ica distinguish two linguistically homogenous varieties of their language: Ica and Ifè, the latter also being referred to as “Ilodji.” In regard to Capo’s statement that Ifè is spoken in Bantè, it is left unclear whether he refers to the Ica dialect “Ifè” (Ilodji) or to the Ifè language, e.g. as spoken in Tchettì and in Atakpamé.

further that a separate language “Ana,” unrelated to the Yoruboid dialect cluster, exists. In the early 1990s, Boëthius elicited a wordlist in Bagou, approximately 50 km east of Sotouboua and 75 km south of Tchamba, and was told that the name of the language spoken in Bagou is “Ana.” According to Boëthius, the elicited data show that the language from Bagou is not a Yoruboid but rather a Gur language. As such it is also classified by the *Ethnologue* (Grimes 1996:419; see also Naden 1989:147): Central Gur, Southern, Grusi, Eastern.⁷⁶ However, the *Ethnologue* does not give “Ana” as the language name but rather “Bago.”

Therefore, it can be said that the term “Ana” could refer to “Ife” and/or “Bago.” However, according to the results of the Anii-Akpe survey (Tompkins et al. 1997), “Ana” could also refer to a distinct Yoruboid variety spoken in Kambolé⁷⁷ (Tchamba préfecture) as well as in Aworo, Biguina and Manigri in the sous-préfecture of Bassila (Benin).

In summarizing the information so far available, it remains unclear as to what the term “Ana” refers.

⁷⁶ Alternative name: Koussountou; spoken in Bagou and Koussountou.

⁷⁷ According to the *Ethnologue* (Grimes 1996:420), Kambole is closely related to Ife. However, according to Klaver (1996, personal communication), there is no intelligibility between Ife and Kambole.

Appendix C. Lexical similarity

For this computation, morphemes that are apparently affixed to the form used in another variety are included in the analysis.⁷⁸

Table 8: Lexical similarity between Ede varieties

Percent matrix										Variance matrix									
Yoruba (Porto-Novu)										Yoruba (Porto-Novu)									
62 Ife (Tchetti)										6.3 Ife (Tchetti)									
63	69	N. Nago (Kambolé)								6.8	6.5	N. Nago (Kambolé)							
61	60	80 N. Nago (Manigri)								6.9	6.9	6.1 N. Nago (Manigri)							
48	52	54	54	Kura (Awotébi)						6.5	6.5	7.0	7.0	Kura (Awotébi)					
52	54	54	53	87 Kura (Partago)						6.4	6.4	7.0	7.0	4.3 Kura (Partago)					
80	60	62	61	49	52	S. Nago (Kétou)				5.6	6.9	7.5	7.5	7.1	7.0	S. Nago (Kétou)			
77	61	56	57	48	48	79 S. Nago (Pobè)				5.9	6.9	7.6	7.6	7.0	7.0	6.3 S. Nago (Pobè)			

⁷⁸ See Volume 1, Appendix K for further details regarding the criteria applied for similarity groupings, Appendix L for a complete listing of elicited data sorted by gloss and Volume 1, Appendix M for computed percent and variance matrices for lexical similarity for all elicited Ede wordlists.

Appendix D. RTT results: Raw scores

#	Loc	SoGrp	Profession	E	Rel	Tr	YN%	YA%	YL%	IFE%	Int	Res
1	Manigri ^a	MO	farmer	+	Chr.		79	95	36	63	B	2
2	Manigri	FO	home-maker		Chr.		100	90	95	88	B	2
3	Manigri	FO	merchant	+	Chr.		100	85	91	67	A	3
4	Manigri	FY	tailor	+	Islam		100	95	82	92	A	3
5	Manigri	MY	farmer	+	Islam		100	100	100	100	A	3
6	Manigri	MO	doctor	+	Islam	Y	100			100	A	3
7	Manigri	MO	artist	+	Chr.	Y,I	100	100	100	100	A	3
8	Goubi	MO	farmer		Islam		100	100	100	100	A	3
9	Goubi	MO	carpenter	+	Islam	I	100	100	100	100	A	3
10	Goubi	FY	merchant		Islam		100	100	100	100	A	3
11	Goubi	FY	home-maker	+	Islam		100	100	100	100	A	3
12	Goubi	MY	farmer	+	Chr.		100	100	91	100	A	3
13	Goubi	FO	home-maker		Chr.		100	95	82	92	B	1
14	Kambolé	MY	secretary	+	Chr.		91	100	95	100	A	2
15	Kambolé	FO	home-maker	+	Chr.	I	100	100	100	100	A	2
16	Kambolé	FY	student	+	Chr.		100	100	82	92	A	2
17	Kambolé	MO	farmer	+	Chr.	I	100	100	91	100	B	3
18	Kambolé	FO	professor	+	Islam	I	100	100	91	100	B	3
19	Kambolé	MY	farmer	+	Islam		100	100	27	100	B	3
20	Igbéré	MO	farmer		Chr.		100	100	100	83	B	2
21	Igbéré	FY	home-maker		Chr.		100	100	95	92	B	2
22	Igbéré	FY	farmer		Chr.		100	100	100	100	A	3
23	Igbéré	MO	farmer	+	Chr.		100	100	100	100	A	3
24	Igbéré	FO	home-maker		Chr.		100	100	100	100	A	3
25	Igbéré	MY	farmer		Chr.		100	100	100	100	A	3

a. Manigri and Igbéré are located in Benin, and Goubi and Kambolé in Togo.

Explanation of the column headings:

#:	Sequence number of the RTT subject
Loc:	Village of the subject
Cntry:	Country of the village
SoGrp:	Social group of the subject, i.e. gender (M/F) and age (Y/O)
E:	Education (+ = some school education)
Rel:	Religion
Tr:	Travel (Y = in a Yoruba region, I = in an Ife region)
YN%:	RTT scores: Yoruba narrative
YA%:	RTT scores: Acts 10:1–23 (1987 translation passage)
YL%:	RTT scores: Luke 19:11–17 (1960 translation passage)
IFE%:	RTT scores: Ife narrative
Int:	Interpreter (see Table 3)
Res:	Researcher

Appendix E. Reported data: Details

E.1. Proficiency

E.1.1. Yoruba⁷⁹

1. Locations

	GenCmp: ⁸⁰	HghCmp: ⁸¹	GenPrf: ⁸²	HghPrf: ⁸³
Goubi:	11/13 – 85%	3/13 – 23%	2/13 – 15%	1/11 – 9%
Igbéré:	10/12 – 83%	7/12 – 58%	3/12 – 25%	2/11 – 18%
Kambolé:	10/12 – 83%	6/10 – 60%	3/12 – 25%	0/10 – 0%
Manigri:	22/24 – 92%	16/21 – 76%	17/24 – 71%	14/22 – 64%
Benin	32/36 – 89%	23/33 – 70%	20/36 – 56%	16/33 – 48%
Togo	21/25 – 84%	9/23 – 39%	5/25 – 20%	1/21 – 5%

a) Benin-Togo:

HghCmp: Sign.: 95%< – <98%⁸⁴
 GenPrf: Sign.: <98%
 HghPrf: Sign.: <98%

2. Social groups

a) Gender: Male versus female subjects

GenCmp: 26/31 – 84% vs 27/30 – 90%
 HghCmp: 15/28 – 54% vs 17/28 – 61%
 GenPrf: 15/31 – 48% vs 10/30 – 33%
 HghPrf: 9/25 – 36% vs 8/29 – 28%

b) Age: Younger versus older subjects:

GenCmp: 22/29 – 76% vs 31/32 – 94%
 HghCmp: 11/24 – 46% vs 21/32 – 66%
 GenPrf: 8/29 – 28% vs 17/32 – 53%
 HghPrf: 7/23 – 30% vs 10/31 – 32%

⁷⁹ Unless marked there are no significant differences across the data.

⁸⁰ General understanding ability.

⁸¹ Ability to always understand everything when the subject hears Yoruba people speaking.

⁸² General speaking ability.

⁸³ Ability to always say everything the subject wants to say in Yoruba.

⁸⁴ According to Durieux's (1997, personal communication) calculations; see Footnote 29.

3. Residence patterns: Subjects reporting temporary residence versus those with no residence in the Yoruba language area:

GenCmp:	14/14 – 100% vs 39/47 – 83%	
HghCmp:	12/13 – 92% vs 20/43 – 47%	Sign.: <98% ⁸⁴
GenPrf:	13/14 – 93% vs 12/47 – 26%	Sign.: <98% ⁸⁵
HghPrf:	9/12 – 75% vs 8/42 – 19%	Sign.: <98% ⁸⁶

4. Education: Educated versus uneducated subjects

GenCmp:	26/32 – 81% vs 15/17 – 88%
HghCmp:	14/30 – 47% vs 8/16 – 50%
GenPrf:	10/32 – 31% vs 3/17 – 18%
HghPrf:	6/29 – 21% vs 1/14 – 7%

5. Religion: Christians versus Muslims

GenCmp:	25/30 – 83% vs 28/31 – 90%	
HghCmp:	15/28 – 54% vs 17/28 – 61%	
GenPrf:	8/30 – 47% vs 17/31 – 75%	
HghPrf:	4/27 – 15% vs 13/27 – 48%	Sign.: 95%< – <98%

6. Test types: RTT versus ISQ subjects

GenCmp:	22/24 – 92% vs 31/37 – 84%	
HghCmp:	13/24 – 54% vs 19/32 – 59%	
GenPrf:	5/24 – 21% vs 20/37 – 54%	
HghPrf:	3/24 – 13% vs 14/30 – 47%	Sign.: 95%< – <98%

E.1.2. *Ife*

1. Locations

	GenCmp:	AdqCmp: ⁸⁷	GenPrf:
Goubi:	6/13 – 100%	5/13 – 38%	2/13 – 15%
Igbéré:	6/12 – 50%	1/12 – 8%	0/12 – 0%
Kambolé:	8/12 – 67%	5/12 – 42%	0/12 – 0%
Manigri:	18/25 – 72%	2/10 – 20%	2/23 – 8%

AdqCmp:

Goubi – Manigri: Sign.: <98%
 Goubi – Igbéré: Sign.: 95%< – <98%

	GenCmp:	AdqCmp:	GenPrf:
Benin	24/37 – 65%	3/22 – 14%	2/37 – 5%
Togo	21/25 – 84%	10/25 – 40%	2/25 – 8%

⁸⁵ According to South's (1997, personal communication) calculations; see Footnote 29.

⁸⁶ According to Durieux's (1997, personal communication) and South's (1997, personal communication) calculations; see Footnote 29.

⁸⁷ Adequate comprehension: "la plupart" (most) or "le tout" (all).

2. Social groups

a) Gender: Male versus female subjects

GenCmp: 24/32 – 75% vs 21/30 – 70%

AdqCmp: 9/23 – 39% vs 4/24 – 17%

GenPrf: 2/32 – 6% vs 2/30 – 7%

b) Age: Younger versus older subjects

GenCmp: 21/29 – 72% vs 24/33 – 73%

AdqCmp: 4/22 – 18% vs 9/25 – 36%

GenPrf: 2/29 – 7% vs 2/33 – 6%

3. Travel patterns: Subjects rarely traveling versus not traveling to the Ife language area

GenCmp: 6/6 – 100% vs 27/44 – 61%

AdqCmp: 6/6 – 100% vs 7/41 – 17% Sign.: <98%

GenPrf: 0/6 – 0% vs 3/44 – 7%

4. Education: Educated versus uneducated subjects

GenCmp: 21/33 – 64% vs 12/17 – 71%

AdqCmp: 11/32 – 34% vs 2/15 – 13%

GenPrf: 1/33 – 3% vs 2/17 – 12%

5. Religion: Christians versus Muslims

GenCmp: 19/30 – 63% vs 26/32 – 81%

AdqCmp: 6/29 – 21% vs 7/18 – 39%

GenPrf: 1/30 – 3% vs 2/32 – 9%

6. Test types: RTT versus ISQ subjects

GenCmp: 19/30 – 63% vs 26/32 – 81%

AdqCmp: 11/25 – 44% vs 2/22 – 9% Sign.: 95%< – <98%

GenPrf: 1/30 – 3% vs 2/32 – 9%

E.1.3. French

1. Social groups

a) Gender: Male versus female subjects

GenCmp: 8/11 – 73% vs 5/12 – 42%

GenPrf: 8/14 – 69% vs 6/15 – 23% Sign.: 95%< – <98%

b) Age: Younger versus older subjects

GenCmp: 7/12 – 58% vs 6/11 – 55%

GenPrf: 8/29 – 57% vs 17/32 – 40%

2. Education: Educated versus uneducated subjects:

GenCmp:	12/15 – 80% vs 1/8 – 13%	Sign.: <98%
GenPrf:	10/15 – 57% vs 0/8 – 0%	Sign.: <98%

E.2. Literacy

E.2.1. Nago

1. Social groups

a) Gender: Male versus female subjects

Writing: 8/31 – 26% vs 3/30 – 10%

b) Age: Younger versus older subjects:

Writing: 6/29 – 21% vs 5/32 – 16%

2. Education: Educated versus uneducated subjects

Writing: 6/32 – 19% vs 1/17 – 6%

E.2.2. Yoruba

1. Social groups

a) Gender: Male versus female subjects

Reading:	13/31 – 42% vs 4/30 – 13%	Sign.: 95%< – <98% ⁸⁴
Writing:	7/31 – 23% vs 0/29 – 0%	

b) Age: Younger versus older subjects

Reading:	4/29 – 14% vs 13/32 – 41%
Writing:	3/28 – 11% vs 4/32 – 13%

2. Education: Educated versus uneducated subjects

Reading:	11/32 – 34% vs 2/17 – 12%
Writing:	3/31 – 10% vs 1/17 – 6%

E.2.3. French

1. Social groups

a) Gender: Male versus female subjects

Reading:	19/31 – 61% vs 10/30 – 33%	Sign.: 95%< – <98%
Writing:	17/31 – 55% vs 8/30 – 27%	

b) Age: Younger versus older subjects

Reading: 13/29 – 45% vs 16/32 – 50%

Writing: 11/29 – 38% vs 14/32 – 44%

2. Education: Educated versus uneducated subjects:

Reading: 26/32 – 81% vs 0/17 – 0% Sign.: >98%⁸⁵

Writing: 22/32 – 69% vs 0/17 – 0% Sign.: >98%⁸⁵

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