

# SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY REPORT

## FOR THE TIÉFO LANGUAGE

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## Survey Report on the Tiéfo Language

### 0 Introduction and Goals of the Survey

The following is a survey report on the Tiéfo language group of southwestern Burkina Faso. The survey was conducted by John and Carol Berthelette, accompanied by a Jula speaker, Joser Sanou, in February 1994. The survey had as its goals:

- ◆ to gather basic demographic facts about the Tiéfo people group;
- ◆ to elicit and record a word list in the Tiéfo language;
- ◆ to discover signs of vitality for a language that seems in danger of disappearing in a generation or two; and
- ◆ to determine attitudes toward both the Tiéfo and Jula languages, as well as to measure competence in Jula.

### 1 General Information

#### 1.1 Language Classification

The Tiéfo language is the language of the Tiéfo people of Burkina Faso. The *Ethnologue*, a classification of the world's languages published by the Summer Institute of Linguistics, classifies the Tiéfo language (code "TIQ") in the following manner: "Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, North, Gur, Tiéfo" (Grimes 1992:175).

#### 1.2 Language Location

The general Tiéfo territory lies to the south of Bobo-Dioulasso in the provinces of Comoé and Houet. There are Tiéfo villages located in the departments of Tiéfora and Sidéradougou in the Comoé province and in the departments of Bobo-Dioulasso, Péni, and Karankasso-Vigué in the Houet province. According to Kerstin Winkelmann, the following villages are ethnically Tiéfo: Dramandougou, Nyafogo, Koumandara, Dégué-Dégué, Derege, Laranfiera, Mousoubadougou, Yegere, Dabokeri, Noumouso, Tanga, Yanga, Kiefandougou, Dandougou, Kadio, Farajan, Sourkoutomo, Me, Matourkou, Damogan, Tien, and Kodala (Winkelmann 1996:165). All together, this area of about 20 small villages covers approximately 1,500 km<sup>2</sup>.

The only known village where Tiéfo is presently spoken is Dramandougou Tiéfo, a village located in the department of Tiéfora in the province of Comoé. Winkelmann also notes that certain older people of Nyafogo and Noumoudara still know some of their language (Winkelmann 1996:166).

**Figure 1.2.1**  
**Map of the General Dramandougou Tiéfo Area<sup>1</sup>**



### 1.3 Population

The Tiéfo population numbers between 12,000 and 15,000, according to calculations based on the 1985 Burkina census (INSD 1991), and attempting to take into account both population growth and the percentage of villagers who would not be Tiéfo. It is important to note, however, that there are presently around 1,000 Tiéfo who speak their mother tongue.

<sup>1</sup>Adapted from CNRST/INSS 1988.

## 1.4 Accessibility and Transport

### 1.4.1 *Roads: Quality and Availability*

Burkina Faso's main highway, N1, goes through Noumoudara and Péni. There are also two well-maintained dirt roads—National Route 11, just south of Tiéfo territory, going from Banfora to Gaoua, and Regional Route 20, on the eastern edge of Tiéfo territory, going from Bobo-Dioulasso to Diébougou. Otherwise, most Tiéfo villages are fairly isolated, located on tracks sometimes wide enough for four-wheeled traffic, but mostly accessible only to two-wheeled vehicles.

To the south of Toussiana is an escarpment which effectively cuts off some northwestern Tiéfo villages from four-wheeled traffic. The Tiéfo make use of several tracks climbing up the escarpment in order to get to the main highway. This escarpment, in serving to isolate the region, has probably been an important factor in allowing the village of Dramandougou Tiéfo to retain its language.

### 1.4.2 *Public Transport Systems*

There are many trucks, taxis, buses, etc. that travel along the main highway and the two dirt roads. Because the Tiéfo land area is small, most people are not too far from one or the other of these three roads. Also, the railroad goes through Péni.

### 1.4.3 *Trails*

Trails, suitable to two-wheeled traffic, connect all of the villages.

## 1.5 Religious Adherence

### 1.5.1 *Spiritual Life*

Most Tiéfo have abandoned their language in favor of Jula, presumably as a result of a perceived social advantage to be gained by using Jula. Along with abandoning their language, they have also abandoned their traditional beliefs and have converted to Islam.

In Dramandougou Tiéfo, where villagers have held off the influence of Jula in favor of the Tiéfo language, the inhabitants have likewise resisted Islam in favor of their traditional, animistic religion.

### 1.5.2 *History of Christian Work in the Area*

The Christian and Missionary Alliance (CMA), and WEC International work in the general Tiéfo area, but not specifically among the Tiéfo people. A WEC evangelist based in Sidéradougou, Andrew Lee, has visited Dramandougou Tiéfo, the surviving Tiéfo-speaking village. Furthermore, the Assemblies of God (AOG) Burkinabè Church has churches in the region. In spite of this contact, the closest churches that we know of in the Dramandougou Tiéfo area are in the villages of Tiéfora (Karaboro) and Nianha (Toussian), both at least 15 km away.

## 1.6 Schools/Education

### 1.6.1 History of Schools in the Area

From this point on in the survey report we will be concentrating on the village where the vernacular is spoken. Dramandougou Tiéfo has its own primary school (see table 1.6.1 for further information). It is likely that the percentage of children who attend school in Dramandougou is lower than that of the provinces',<sup>2</sup> which stands at 41.6%, according to UNICEF statistics (MEBAM 1996).<sup>3</sup>

**Table 1.6.1**  
**Statistics for the Dramandougou Tiéfo Primary School (1992–1993)**

Province	Department	Village	Date of School Opening	Grade Levels	Total Students: 1992–1993	Number of Girls in Classes	Number of Boys in Classes
Comoé	Tiéfora	Dramandougou Tiéfo	1983	3	113	26	87

As is the case throughout the country, middle and high schools are few, forcing most students to travel outside of their home villages to attend. The closest middle school to Dramandougou Tiéfo is located in Toussiana (Toussian region), 15 km away. The closest high schools are in Bobo-Dioulasso and Banfora, both cities between 30 and 40 km away, and both predominantly Jula-speaking.

The Tiéfo seem to place a high value on attending school and learning French. Nevertheless, certain factors counterbalance the move to educating the young. The biggest single deterrent to educational access is not distance from schools, but parents' lack of money to send their children. Girls are generally the ones most greatly affected by the lack of funds, the parents usually opting to send sons to school in a case of limited resources.

The village has its own literacy class in Jula, started in 1993.

### 1.6.2 Attitude toward the Vernacular

In the primary and post primary schools, French is the only language spoken—neither the vernacular nor Jula is used by the instructors.

<sup>2</sup>The province's average—32.7% for the girls and 50.4% for the boys—is undoubtedly slightly elevated by the figures of Banfora. In urban areas, the rate of scolarity is invariably higher than in rural regions.

<sup>3</sup>The provinces' rates of scolarity vary from 11% for the province of Gnagna to 80% for the province of Kadiogo.

## 1.7 Facilities and Economics

### 1.7.1 *Supply Needs*

The economic situation in the general Tiéfo area is similar to that of most rural Burkina Faso: almost all are subsistence farmers who also cultivate some cash crops, such as cotton and peanuts. Most Tiéfo travel to other villages on the main roads to attend their markets. The markets are a gathering place for those of various cultures; here, Jula is the predominant language.

Both the men and the women of Dramandougou Tiéfo attend markets of Toussiana and Péni, two villages on the main highway, in spite of the escarpment.

Again, because the Tiéfo land area is small and the distances are not too great to keep them from traveling to other villages, the Tiéfo have at their disposal, if not within their means, the basic goods that they need to carry on their lives.

### 1.7.2 *Medical Needs*

As is true for all of Burkina Faso, medical treatment is an area of great need. There is a dispensary in the village where one can receive very basic medical attention. To buy medicines, however, one must travel to either Toussiana or Banfora. For more comprehensive medical treatment, one must go to Banfora or Bobo-Dioulasso, between 30 and 40 km away. Needless to say, the Tiéfo live relatively far from either of these two towns, the result being that many do not seek medical treatment for their illnesses until they have become gravely ill.

### 1.7.3 *Commercial Ventures*

The Tiéfo are subsistence farmers, relying on traditional agriculture. Some villages near the main roads sell either firewood or the surplus of their crops to passing trucks going to Bobo-Dioulasso, or even to Ouagadougou. There is no particular crop or other commercial venture that the Tiéfo people as a whole have started in order to increase trade.

### 1.7.4 *Government Facilities in the Area*

In short, the Tiéfo are involved with many non-Tiéfo in their dealings with the government. The residents of Dramandougou Tiéfo fall under the jurisdiction of the Tiéfora prefecture, and use Jula in order to communicate. There are police posts in Toussiana and Bérégadougou; again, Jula is the language of communication.

The nearest post office is in Toussiana, and to make telephone calls, one needs to travel to either Toussiana or Péni. In all of these situations, either French or Jula is required.

## 1.8 Traditional Culture

### 1.8.1 *Social and Religious Practices*

The Tiéfo of Dramandougou still speak their language and carry on their traditional religion. They make an effort to transmit their culture to their young, continuing to teach their



children the traditional songs and stories. However, according to the elders, not many young people know the history of the Tiéfo people.

As was mentioned previously, the Jula-speaking Tiéfo are at least nominally Muslim. They follow the Muslim calendar and religious festivals. Nevertheless, it is quite possible that under their Muslim veneer, the Jula-speaking Tiéfo have kept a considerable part of their old culture.

A relevant question concerns the period in which the Tiéfo began to adopt Islam (and to give up their language). While little is known for sure, it seems that the village of Péni was conquered by a conqueror named Tiéba around the year 1892 (Sanou 1978:6). This conquest may or may not be related to what G. Le Moal refers to as a “near-genocide of the Tiéfo in 1897, allegedly brought about during the invasion of Samory Touré”. According to Le Moal, the Tiéfo could not withstand the Jula invasion, despite the fact that they themselves were known as fine warriors (Le Moal 1980:31).

### *1.8.2 Attitude toward Culture*

The traditional animists have a strong fear of change, and they adamantly refuse anything cultural from the outside (even intermarrying). This is an understandable fear, noting that the rest of the Tiéfo people have succumbed to the Jula influence.

Nevertheless, according to the older Tiéfo, the young people often prefer living in towns rather than in the villages. This fact seems to show a preference for gaining a better lifestyle as opposed to guarding the traditional village ways. One characteristic of these “fortune-seekers” is a greater proficiency in Jula.

It must be stated, however, that comparatively few young people from Dramandougou actually leave to seek their fortune. Those from Jula-speaking Noumoudara, for example, gave the impression that if the young people had the opportunity to leave, they would leave. While it is true that many of these people return to the village after their moneymaking stint, the exact percentage of those who do return is unknown.

The elders of Dramandougou Tiéfo are caught between two worlds. They cling tenaciously to the way of life of their ancestors and strongly resist any cultural change in the village. Yet, seeking more economic security, they encourage Jula-learning in order to have “economic friendships” (their term) with other people. And their young people seem to be free, to an extent, to try to make more money in Côte d’Ivoire or Banfora, where it is certain they will face other religions and worldviews.

## **1.9 Linguistic Work in the Language Area**

A German researcher, Kerstin Winkelmann, has visited Tiéfo communities and has studied the Tiéfo language. We do not know of any other in-depth linguistic work on the Tiéfo language. See section 2 in the bibliography for a list of historical works about the Tiéfo.

## 2 Methodology

### 2.1 Sampling

Through a source in Banfora, we learned of the presence of at least 2 dialects. We chose one village within each dialect area, namely, Dramandougou and Noumoudara. The people of Dramandougou still speak the language. Those from Noumoudara, however, have adopted Julia as their mother tongue, and only a handful of the elderly still speak their dialect of Tiéfo.

### 2.2 Lexicostatistic Survey

To determine the degree of lexicostatistic similarity, we used a 200+ item word list, based on the Burkina Faso SIL word list used in the 1982 surveys. To this point, we have not checked the word lists, that is, we have not inquired further about discrepancies with the data from the two dialects. Section 2 in the appendix contains the word lists from the two villages.

### 2.3 Questionnaires

We questioned four men from Dramandougou concerning both general demographic and general sociolinguistic matters. The interpreter was a man bilingual in French and Tiéfo. The subject matter covered by the questionnaires ranged from the ethnic composition and facilities in the area to perceived dialect differences, bilingualism, and language use. The men were chosen by the village's government representative. Due to the surveyors' not knowing either the trade language or local language, the questions were asked in French with a translation through Julia when the question in French was not understood.

J. Sanou also administered individual questionnaires. According to the instructions given he went to several courtyards, attempting to interview only one person from each compound. He interviewed 6 males and 4 females, asking them questions dealing with contact with Julia speakers and use of and attitudes toward Julia.

Results of the individual and sociolinguistic questionnaires form the basis of much of our discussion on multilingualism (section 4).

### 2.4 Bilingualism Testing In Julia<sup>4</sup>

The Sentence Repetition Test (SRT) for the Julia language was developed by following the procedures of Radloff (1991). An SRT is comprised of 15 sentences, arranged in increasing order of difficulty. For each sentence answered correctly, 3 points are earned, with 45 being a maximum score. For each mistake, a point is subtracted from 3. The SRT used to assess proficiency in Julia was calibrated to a Reported Proficiency Evaluation (RPE).<sup>5</sup> The sample used to calibrate the SRT with the RPE consisted of 83 people who were both native and second language Julia speakers. They were volunteers found in the city of Ouagadougou.

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

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<sup>4</sup>Editor's note: R. Berger and S. Showalter have contributed significantly to this section.

<sup>5</sup>For a full description of the development of the Julia SRT, see Berthelette et al.(1995).

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

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

**Table 2.4.1**  
**Predicted RPE level from SRT score.**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In general, language groups having the SRT means below 16 (level 3 on RPE scale) were prioritized for minority language development while language groups with significantly higher SRT means had a lower priority. Of course, attitudinal factors were also considered when priorities were determined (Bergman 1990:9.5.2).<sup>6</sup>

### **3 Lexicostatistical Data between Villages**

#### **3.1 Summary**

From the questionnaire and word lists, we know that there were at least two distinct dialects. Nevertheless, we do not consider the data obtained at Noumoudara, site of another dialect, too highly reliable. In addition, we were not able to check the word lists a second time in order to best assure that differences did not simply involve the use of synonyms. Therefore we only present the list from Dramandougou in section 2 in the appendix.

#### **3.2 Areas for Further Study**

One area of further research is to study the relationship between the village of Tien and the other Tiéfo villages. Winkelmann lists Tien as a Tiéfo village (Winkelmann 1996:165), and indeed there is a relationship between them. Yet the inhabitants of Tien recognize a strong relationship with Moami, a village which Winkelmann recognizes as having linguistic ties with the Toussian ethnic group.

At this point, we cannot be sure how long Tiéfo will be spoken. In the interests of linguistic research, it would be helpful to do more in-depth studies on the language itself (grammar and phonology), as well as studies on the sociolinguistic factors that either encourage or discourage the vitality of the language.

### **4 Multilingual Issues**

For the purposes of the rest of the discussion on multilingual issues, we will limit ourselves to the situation in Dramandougou Tiéfo.

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<sup>6</sup>In 1989, the Summer Institute of Linguistics' Area Directors and Vice Presidents established the language assessment criteria for the organization. This work is a set of standards for such domains as dialect intelligibility, bilingual ability, etc., in an attempt to guide decision-making as to the need for language development in specific situations.

## 4.1 Language Use

### 4.1.1 *Children's Language Use*

Tiéfo is still the language of the household: six of ten of the respondents to the individual questionnaire state that young people speak Tiéfo most of the time. Also, children use Tiéfo when talking with other Tiéfo children. Nevertheless, learning Julia in Dramandougou starts at a young age. Children from different ethnic groups, including Julia and Toussian, attend the local school. On the playground, therefore, the language used is almost certainly Julia.

As an indication that language shift is taking place, three of seven respondents state that Tiéfo young people sometimes speak Julia even if no non-Tiéfo are present. Furthermore, five of ten state that Tiéfo young people mix Julia into the Tiéfo when speaking. Two of seven report that children sometimes start sentences in Tiéfo, but must finish them in Julia because they cannot express their ideas sufficiently well in Tiéfo.

### 4.1.2 *Adults' Language Use*

Adults from Dramandougou use Tiéfo among themselves. Having noted this fact, however, the situation is such that it is impossible for an adult Tiéfo—male or female—to survive without Julia. In the frequent contact with members of other villages—on the road, at the market, and in the village—the language is Julia. At the prefecture and in getting medical attention, the language is Julia (or French, with an interpreter). In listening to the radio, the language understood most easily is Julia. There are also marriages with those who do not speak Tiéfo as their mother tongue. Five of ten respondents even note that they use some Julia in the home, and seven of ten report that they sometimes speak Julia in the village.

Furthermore, travel to Côte d'Ivoire and such Burkina Faso villages as Banfora and Bobo to earn extra money is quite frequent. Nine of ten have lived in a Julia-speaking region for over six months. Of these, five have lived in such a region for over five years.

### 4.1.3 *Bilingualism with Other Vernacular Languages*

Little learning of other languages goes on, due to the influence of Julia. Some Tiéfo do learn Karaboro, however.

## 4.2 Bilingualism Testing in Julia

As stated above, bilingualism testing in Julia was conducted using the Julia Sentence Repetition Test. In June of 1995, Soungalo Coulibaly, administered the test in Dramandougou. While the choice of candidates generally involved quota sampling (as opposed to strict random sampling), Coulibaly was instructed to test in as many of the sections of the village as possible.

Table 4.2.1 shows the results of these tests.

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

Factor	Level	Mean	Standard Deviation	Number of Subjects	P
Village	Dramandougou	27.84	8.17	38	sig
Sex	Female	24.68	9.01	19	sig
	Male	31.00	5.89	19	
Age	12–25	29.21	1.73	14	sig
	26–45	30.79	1.73	14	
	46+	21.80	2.05	10	
Sex x Age	F x 12–25	26.86	2.45	7	ns
	F x 26–45	29.71	2.45	7	
	F x 46+	14.60	2.90	5	
	M x 12–25	31.57	2.45	7	
	M x 26–45	31.86	2.45	7	
	M x 46+	29.00	2.90	5	

In evaluating these figures, one concludes that Tiéfo young people and adults are very competent in Jula. Their averages are well above the level of 16 set as our minimal standard; in fact, they are all about the same as scores achieved by native speakers of Jula. However, a significant difference appears between men and women: the women scored lower, with an average score of 24,<sup>7</sup> which puts them at a predicted RPE level of 3+. The men, on the other hand, had an average score of 31, which correlates with an RPE level of 4.

The only group that fails to reach the minimal level of 16 is that of the older women. This fact is not overly surprising. The Tiéfo have been in a state of language shift since the late 19th century; it may very well be the women who were the last to take on the foreign language.

In summary, using the score of 16 as a minimal threshold for competency, it is clear that most of the population would probably be able to make use of written materials in Jula. The middle and younger generations show a level of Jula proficiency comparable to that of native speakers. Furthermore, one would not expect the older generation to be directly interested in learning to read and write.

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<sup>7</sup>Ed. note: For the purpose of being cautious in our estimates of proficiency based on the SRT, we always round down, even for decimals of .5 and above.

### 4.3 Language Attitudes Reported

The people of Dramandougou seem to cling to their language. They seem to know that they are the only Tiéfo speakers left, and do not want to go the way of the rest of their ethnic group. The following answers to the individual questionnaires support this attachment to their mother tongue:

- ◆ after nine of ten respond initially that they would like to learn to read and write in Jula, ten of ten state that given the choice, they would prefer to learn to read and write in Tiéfo as opposed to Jula;
- ◆ in the religious domain, eight of ten would prefer to have Tiéfo used in group religious practice; ten of ten would prefer to use Tiéfo when communicating with ancestral spirits; and ten of ten prefer using Tiéfo during sacrifices and funeral ceremonies;
- ◆ 17 of 17 state that traditional stories are best stated in the mother tongue.

If they could speak Tiéfo instead of Jula with their outside contacts, they would. The Jula language seems to them to be a necessary evil. Yet at the same time, only six of ten see Tiéfo as the most useful language of their region, and only five of nine respondents are disturbed when young Tiéfo speak Jula in the home. Are such results signs of a trend?

### 4.4 Summary

We have noted the strong attachment of the residents of Dramandougou Tiéfo toward their mother tongue. Yet their intercultural milieu is such that Jula is an integral part of daily life. At this moment, each language in general occupies specific roles in the lives of the residents. It is difficult to know if in future generations the Tiéfo will feel the need to keep their language alive in the tide of Jula influence. Even the Tiéfo themselves are somewhat pessimistic on this subject: only three of nine who responded feel that the children of their children will continue to speak their language.

## 5 Recommendations

### 5.1 Relative to Language Development Project Potential

Due to the fact that all but one of the Tiéfo villages have abandoned their language in favor of Jula, and that almost everyone in this one village speaks Jula very well, I would not recommend that a language development project be started in the Tiéfo language.

While it seems to be true that they regard Jula as a necessary burden, it is also true, even though seemingly contradictory, that they are making efforts to better themselves in Jula; for example, they do not oppose Jula literacy classes in the village.

### 5.2 Type of Program

Although it appears that Tiéfo will not die in the near future, the fact remains that Dramandougou is the only village that has not shifted to Jula. I feel that an in-depth analysis both of the language and of the sociolinguistic phenomenon of language shift are needed.

## Appendices

### 1 Relevant Questions/Responses from the Individual Questionnaire

Sex	4 are "F"	
Age		
Village	10 respond "Dramandougou"	0 no answer
Language	10 respond "Tiéfo"	0 no answer
Education	1 responds "yes"	0 no answer
Place lived in for a long period of time (besides home):	9 of 10 live in a place where they need to speak Jula at least 6 months; 5 for over 5 years	1 no answer
Amount of time lived there:		2 no answer
Do you speak often with those of village 1?		0 no answer
Do you speak often with those of village 2?		10 no answer
When you speak with those of village 1, what language do you speak?		0 no answer
Have you ever gone to village 2?		0 no answer
Do you speak often with those of village 2?		10 no answer
When you speak with those of village 2, what language do you speak?		0 no answer
Have you ever gone to village 3?		1 no answer
Do you speak often with those of village 3?		10 no answer
When you speak with those of village 3, what language do you speak?		1 no answer
Have you ever gone to village 4?		2 no answer
Do you speak often with those of village 4?		10 no answer
When you speak with those of village 4, what language do you speak?		3 no answer
How well can you understand those of village 1?		0 no answer
How well can you understand those of village 2?		0 no answer
How well can you understand those of village 3?		0 no answer
How well can you understand those of village 4?		0 no answer
What speech is easier to understand: the variety of village 1 or village 2?		0 no answer
What speech is easier to understand: the variety of village 2 or village 3?		10 no answer
What speech is easier to understand: the variety of village 1 or village 2?		10 no answer
What speech is easier to understand: the variety of village 2 or village 3?		10 no answer
What is the language/dialect that you like best?	9 respond "Biton"	0 no answer
What is the language/dialect that you like least?	6 respond "Denijan"	4 no answer
Would you allow your daughter to marry someone from village 1?		10 no answer
Would you allow your daughter to marry someone from village 2?		10 no answer
Would you allow your daughter to marry someone from village 3?		10 no answer
Would you allow your daughter to marry someone from village 4?		10 no answer
Birthplace of your spouse:		10 no answer
Mother tongue of your spouse:		10 no answer
Ethnic group of your spouse:		10 no answer
Language of the family:		10 no answer
What was the language you spoke when growing up?	5 respond "L1"	0 no answer
Do you speak Jula each day?	5 respond "yes"	0 no answer
Would you be able to do the following in L2: go to a dispensary with a friend and describe in detail his sickness?	9 respond "yes"	0 no answer
Would you be able to do the following in L2: understand all that is said in L2 on the radio, even words to songs?	6 respond "yes"	0 no answer



Would you be able to do the following in L2: joke and use proverbs?	5 respond "yes"	0 no answer
Would you be able to do the following in L2: pray?	5 respond "yes"	0 no answer
Would you be able to do the following in L2: do calculations very rapidly?	5 respond "yes"	0 no answer
Would you be able to do the following in L2: speak the L2 so well that one thinks you are of the L2 ethnic group?	2 respond "yes"	0 no answer
What is the language that you use at home?	5 respond "L1"	0 no answer
What is the language that you use in the village?	5 respond "L1"	0 no answer
What is the language that you use at the market?	0 respond "L1"	0 no answer
What is the language that you use at the dispensary?	0 respond "L1"	0 no answer
What is the language that you use at church/mosque?	0 respond "L1"	0 no answer
What is the language that you use in carrying out a sacrifice?	5 respond "L1"	1 no answer
What is the language that you use during funeral ceremonies?	5 respond "L1"	1 no answer
What is the language that you use during initiation rites?	6 respond "L1"	1 no answer
What is the language that you use in singing traditional songs?	4 respond "L1"	2 no answer
Which language do you like best?	8 respond "L1"	0 no answer
Why?		0 no answer
Which language spoken in the region is most useful?	6 respond "L1"	0 no answer
Why?		2 no answer
How do you feel if you hear your children speaking the L2 between themselves at home?		1 no answer
Which language you would like to have used at church/mosque?	8 respond "L1"	1 no answer
Which language you would like to have used when communicating with the ancestral spirits?	10 respond "L1"	0 no answer
Which language you would like to have used during sacrifices?	10 respond "L1"	0 no answer
Which language you would like to have used during funeral services?	10 respond "L1"	0 no answer
Would you like to learn to read/write in L2?	9 respond "yes"	0 no answer
If you were given the choice, would you prefer learning to read/write in the L1 or the L2?	10 respond "L1"	0 no answer
Why?		0 no answer
Have others ever made fun of you because of your language?	4 respond "yes"	1 no answer
Have there ever been initiation rites done here in L2?	4 respond "yes"	1 no answer
Does doing the initiation rites in L2 bother you?	6 respond "yes"	4 no answer
Which language do the youth use among themselves most of time?	6 respond "L1"	0 no answer
Do the youth use L2 even when no outsiders are around?	3 respond "yes"	3 no answer
Do children mix the L1 and L2 when speaking?	3 respond "yes"	0 no answer
Do youth mix the L1 and L2 when speaking?	5 respond "yes"	0 no answer
Does it ever happen that your children have to finish sentences in L2 because they do not know how to say something in L1?	2 respond "yes"	3 no answer
Are marriages permitted with those not of the culture?	6 respond "yes"	0 no answer
If yes, from what other ethnic groups?		5 no answer
Do children use the traditional stories and proverbs?	9 respond "yes"	1 no answer
If yes, in which language?	5 respond "L1"	1 no answer
Do you think that the traditional stories and proverbs are better said in the L1 or the L2?	5 respond "L1"	1 no answer
Nowadays do the village elders tell the traditional stories and proverbs?	8 respond "yes"	2 no answer
Do you believe that your children speak your language like they should?	7 respond "yes"	2 no answer
What language are your children's children going to speak here in the village?	3 respond "L1"	1 no answer

## 2 A Word List of the Tiéfo Dialects

<i>Num</i>	<i>Word</i>	<i>Dramandougou</i>
001	personne	[ɛ́námɓí]
002	nom	[ɛ́jɛ́]
003	homme	[ɛ́dó]
004	mari	[ɛ́dɔ́]
005	épouse	[nóɟũ]
006	père	[nó́sɛ́]
007	mère	[nómní]
008	femme	[ɛ́jɔ́]
009	garçon	[ɛ́dɔ́]
010	filie	[ɛ́jɔ́]
011	grande soeur	[nóndɛ́jũ]
012	grand frère	[nóndɛ́tãɔ́]
013	petite soeur	[nómbídɔ́]
014	petit frère	[nómbídɔ́dɔ́bɛ́ɔ́]
015	chef	[ɛ́wṹjɛ́]
016	ancien	[ɛ́nándɛ́ɛ́ɛ́ɛ́]
017	guérisseur	[ɛ́sṹmklĩnɔ́]
018	forgeron	[ɛ́kɔ́ɔ́]
019	balafoniste	[ɛ́nãmbɛ́lũ]
020	village	[ɛ́wṹɟũ]
021	case	[ɛ́jṹɟũ]
022	mur	[ɛ́kɛ́kɛ́ɛ́]
023	porte	[bím'ɛ́ɛ́]
024	grenier	[ɛ́gbɔ́]
025	toit	[ɛ́bṹɟũ]
026	pagne	[ɛ́fɛ́ɛ́]
027	boubou	[jɔ́ɔ́tṹɟũ]
028	sandales	[cítã'ɔ́]
029	bague	[ɛ́kĩtɛ́gbúne]
030	collier	[ɛ́kɔ́]
031	fusil	[ɛ́dã'ámlɛ́ɛ́]
032	flèche	[sɛ́]
033	arc	[sã'á]
034	corde	[ɛ́ṹṹ]
035	tisserand	[ɛ́fɛ́ɛ́ɛ́no]
036	calebasse	[ɛ́klɔ́]
037	panier	[k'ɛ́ɛ́]
038	graisse/huile	[nú]
039	lait	[nó́nɔ́]
040	sel	[sɔ́]
041	bâton	[p'ɔ́ɔ́]
042	daba	[fɛ́]

<i>Num</i>	<i>Word</i>	<i>Dramandougou</i>
043	<b>hache</b>	[nãʔã]
044	<b>champs</b>	[ɛdɛ]
045	<b>riz</b>	[nãkɫã]
046	<b>gros mil</b>	[ɛgbɪɛʔɛ]
047	<b>petit mil</b>	[tũfɛ]
048	<b>gombo</b>	[ɛmmɛ]
049	<b>arachide</b>	[ɛgbɪʔi]
050	<b>sésame</b>	[sɔʔɔʔɔ]
051	<b>fonio</b>	[ɛllũ]
052	<b>maïs</b>	[sfjɔklã]
053	<b>arbre</b>	[ʃiʔi]
054	<b>forêt</b>	[pɔʔɔ]
055	<b>bois</b>	[ejɔʔɔ]
056	<b>herbe</b>	[ɛmp <sup>w</sup> ɔ]
057	<b>karité</b>	[ɛjɛʔɛ]
058	<b>fleur</b>	[fɛrɛ]
059	<b>fruit</b>	[ʃiʔimb <sup>j</sup> ú]
060	<b>feuille</b>	[ʃiʔimb <sup>j</sup> ɛ]
061	<b>branche</b>	[ʃiʔɔʔɔ]
062	<b>écorce</b>	[ʃiʔilũʔu]
063	<b>racine</b>	[ʃiʔinɛʔɛ]
064	<b>animal</b>	[pɔʔɔkãʔà]
065	<b>chien</b>	[b <sup>w</sup> ɔ:ɔ]
066	<b>vache</b>	[nã]
067	<b>cheval</b>	[sɔ]
068	<b>mouton</b>	[bã]
069	<b>chèvre</b>	[ɛwɔʔɔ]
070	<b>hyène</b>	[ʃiglũ]
071	<b>porc</b>	[sɔ]
072	<b>oiseau</b>	[k'ɔ]
073	<b>poule</b>	[lɔ]
074	<b>araignée</b>	[wɔdɛ́dɪʃjɛ]
075	<b>termite</b>	[flíkɔ]
076	<b>fourmi</b>	[ɛmlúmlú]
077	<b>sauterelle</b>	[ɛtitāplɔ]
078	<b>singe</b>	[ɛtúplɪpã]
079	<b>lion</b>	[ɛgbãgbãʔã]
080	<b>éléphant</b>	[ɛbɔ]
081	<b>serpent</b>	[ɛwúʔú]
082	<b>poisson</b>	[ɛf <sup>w</sup> ɔ.]
083	<b>aile</b>	[ɛbrãʔà]
084	<b>corne</b>	[ɛlliʔi]
085	<b>oeuf</b>	[wɛ]

<i>Num</i>	<i>Word</i>	<i>Dramandougou</i>
086	<b>queue</b>	[ɛ́pánúʔu]
087	<b>viande</b>	[ekāʔā]
088	<b>sang</b>	[jālāl], [trɔ̃]
089	<b>os</b>	[kāũʔù]
090	<b>corps</b>	[dé]
091	<b>peau</b>	[k'ɛʔɛ]
092	<b>tête</b>	[ɛ́wúʔú]
093	<b>visage</b>	[ɛ́nnàʔà]
094	<b>cheveux</b>	[ɛ́wúʔúɓ]
095	<b>poils</b>	[ɛ́brà]
096	<b>nez</b>	[ɛ́méʔɛ]
097	<b>oreille</b>	[ɛ́nátō]
098	<b>oeil</b>	[éjú]
099	<b>bouche</b>	[ɛ́nwɔ́ʔɔ́]
100	<b>dent</b>	[kɔ́ʔɔ́]
101	<b>langue</b>	[m'ɔ́]
102	<b>bras</b>	[gbō], [ɛ́pɔ́ʔɔ́]
103	<b>jambe</b>	[ɛ́gbáʔá]
104	<b>doigt</b>	[ekítɛ́ʔúgbú]
105	<b>cou</b>	[ɛ́jɔ́ʔɔ́]
106	<b>poitrine</b>	[ɛ́gbègbè]
107	<b>coeur</b>	[ɛ́sɔ́]
108	<b>ventre</b>	[ɛ́plɔ́ʔɔ́]
109	<b>bon</b>	[àkò]
110	<b>mauvais</b>	
111	<b>dos</b>	
112	<b>âme</b>	
113	<b>vivant</b>	
114	<b>mort</b>	
115	<b>ciel</b>	
116	<b>soleil</b>	
117	<b>lune</b>	
118	<b>étoile</b>	
119	<b>matin</b>	
120	<b>jour</b>	
121	<b>nuît</b>	
122	<b>mois</b>	
123	<b>année</b>	
124	<b>vent</b>	
125	<b>feu</b>	
126	<b>fumée</b>	
127	<b>eau</b>	
128	<b>pluie</b>	
129	<b>terre</b>	
130	<b>nuage</b>	
131	<b>rocher</b>	
132	<b>sable</b>	
133	<b>poussière</b>	

<i>Num</i>	<i>Word</i>	<i>Dramandougou</i>
134	<b>chemin</b>	
135	<b>fer</b>	
136	<b>blanc</b>	
137	<b>noir</b>	
138	<b>chaud</b>	
139	<b>froid</b>	
140	<b>sec</b>	
141	<b>fort</b>	
142	<b>faible</b>	
143	<b>grand</b>	
144	<b>petit</b>	
145	<b>long</b>	
146	<b>court</b>	
147	<b>vérité</b>	
148	<b>mensonge</b>	
149	<b>vendre</b>	
150	<b>dormir</b>	
151	<b>large</b>	
152	<b>mince</b>	
153	<b>lourd</b>	
154	<b>léger</b>	
155	<b>loin</b>	
156	<b>près</b>	
157	<b>aigu</b>	
158	<b>sale</b>	
159	<b>pourri</b>	
160	<b>droit</b>	
161	<b>courbé</b>	
162	<b>vieux</b>	
163	<b>jeune</b>	
164	<b>manger</b>	
165	<b>boire</b>	
166	<b>voir</b>	
167	<b>regarder</b>	
168	<b>compter</b>	
169	<b>donner</b>	
170	<b>finir</b>	
171	<b>monter</b>	
172	<b>aller</b>	
173	<b>partir</b>	
174	<b>venir</b>	
175	<b>courir</b>	
176	<b>voler</b>	
177	<b>frapper</b>	
178	<b>casser</b>	
179	<b>couper</b>	
180	<b>tuer</b>	
181	<b>mourir</b>	
182	<b>dire</b>	
183	<b>parler</b>	
184	<b>pleurer</b>	
185	<b>recevoir</b>	

<i>Num</i>	<i>Word</i>	<i>Dramandougou</i>
186	<b>acheter</b>	
187	<b>mordre</b>	
188	<b>savoir</b>	
189	<b>tirer</b>	
190	<b>se baigner</b>	
191	<b>laver</b>	
192	<b>s'asseoir</b>	[kɔ̃tɛ̃]
193	<b>pousser</b>	
194	<b>jeter</b>	
195	<b>accrocher</b>	
196	<b>lever</b>	
197	<b>construire</b>	
198	<b>creuser</b>	[tũ]
199	<b>tisser</b>	[tĩ]
200	<b>attacher</b>	
201	<b>tomber</b>	
202	<b>chanter</b>	[gbe]
203	<b>sentir</b>	
204	<b>penser</b>	
205	<b>attraper</b>	[tɛ̃]
206	<b>vomir</b>	
207	<b>être debout</b>	
208	<b>tenir</b>	
209	<b>danser</b>	[ji]
210	<b>beaucoup</b>	
211	<b>peu</b>	
212	<b>1</b>	
213	<b>2</b>	
214	<b>3</b>	[bɔ̃t <sup>w</sup> ā], [tɔ̃nɔ]
215	<b>4</b>	
216	<b>5</b>	
217	<b>6</b>	
218	<b>7</b>	
219	<b>8</b>	
220	<b>9</b>	
221	<b>10</b>	
222	<b>chat</b>	
223	<b>âne</b>	
224	<b>chercher</b>	
225	<b>trouver</b>	[wɛ]
226	<b>demander</b>	
227	<b>répondre</b>	[ʃi]
228	<b>sauce</b>	
229	<b>lièvre</b>	
230	<b>sauter</b>	

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