

**MINISTRY OF SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL RESEARCH**

**A SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY OF THE GVOKO  
AND GUDUF LANGUAGES  
OF CAMEROON AND NIGERIA**

**(RAPID APPRAISAL)**

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>1 INTRODUCTION .....</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 LINGUISTIC CLASSIFICATION .....	1
1.2 LOCATION .....	2
1.3 POPULATION .....	2
1.4 LIVELIHOOD .....	3
1.5 HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE .....	3
<b>2. THE SURVEY .....</b>	<b>4</b>
2.1 PURPOSE OF THE SURVEY .....	4
2.2 METHODOLOGY .....	4
<b>3. RESULTS OF INVESTIGATION: GVOKO .....</b>	<b>5</b>
3.1 DIALECTOLOGY .....	5
3.1.1 <i>Inherent Intelligibility</i> .....	5
3.1.2 <i>Lexicostatistical Analysis</i> .....	5
3.2 MULTILINGUALISM .....	6
3.2.1 <i>Comprehension and Use</i> .....	6
3.2.2 <i>Languages of Wider Communication</i> .....	6
3.2.3 <i>Language Attitudes</i> .....	7
3.3 LANGUAGE VITALITY .....	7
3.3.1 <i>Language Use</i> .....	7
3.3.2 <i>Language Maintenance and Shift</i> .....	8
3.3.3 <i>Attitudes Toward the Mother Tongue</i> .....	9
3.4 LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT PROJECT VIABILITY .....	9
3.4.1 <i>Homogeneity of the Linguistic Community</i> .....	10
3.4.2 <i>Openness to Change</i> .....	10
3.4.3 <i>Middle-aged Leadership</i> .....	11
<b>4. RESULTS OF INVESTIGATION: GUDUF .....</b>	<b>12</b>
4.1 DIALECTOLOGY .....	12
4.1.1 <i>Inherent Intelligibility</i> .....	12
4.1.2 <i>Lexicostatistical Analysis</i> .....	12
4.2 MULTILINGUALISM .....	13
4.2.1 <i>Comprehension and Use</i> .....	13
4.2.2 <i>Languages of Wider Communication</i> .....	14
4.2.3 <i>Language Attitudes</i> .....	14
4.3 LANGUAGE VITALITY .....	14
4.3.1 <i>Language Use</i> .....	15
4.3.2 <i>Language Maintenance and Shift</i> .....	15
4.3.3 <i>Attitudes Toward the Mother Tongue</i> .....	17
4.4 LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT PROJECT POTENTIAL .....	17
4.4.1 <i>Homogeneity of the Linguistic Community</i> .....	17
4.4.2 <i>Openness to Change</i> .....	18
4.4.3 <i>Middle-aged Leadership</i> .....	19
<b>5. SUMMARY .....</b>	<b>19</b>
5.1 GVOKO .....	19
5.2 GUDUF .....	20
<b>6. RECOMMENDATIONS .....</b>	<b>20</b>
6.1 GVOKO .....	20
6.2 GUDUF .....	21
<b>7. CHANGES TO ALCAM AND ETHNOLOGUE .....</b>	<b>21</b>

<b>REFERENCES .....</b>	<b>21</b>
<b>APPENDIX A -- WORD LISTS .....</b>	<b>24</b>
<b>APPENDIX B -- MAPS.....</b>	<b>30</b>
THE GVOKO AND GUDUF AREAS IN NATIONAL CONTEXT.....	30
GUDUF AND GVOKO LOCAL AREA .....	31
WOLFF'S MAP (1971).....	32

# 1 INTRODUCTION

This report outlines the results of a preliminary sociolinguistic survey (rapid appraisal) conducted from November 15 to December 6, 1999. The survey investigated four languages on the Nigeria-Cameroon border: Vemgo-Mabas, Gvoko, Guduf, and Glavda. This report includes only Gvoko and Guduf. Details concerning Vemgo-Mabas and Glavda are available in another report (Hamm forthcoming).

The Gvoko language is spoken in the Mokolo Subdivision of the Mayo-Tsanaga Division of the Far North Province of Cameroon. However the majority of Gvoko speakers are found in the Gwoza Local Government Area in Borno State of Nigeria. The Guduf language is spoken only in Nigeria in the Gwoza Local Government Area in Borno State. Cameron Hamm of SIL (Société Internationale de Linguistique) and Ferdinand Assako of CABTAL (Cameroonian Association for Bible Translation and Literacy) conducted the research, accompanied by Cornelius Zaddaku, from the Hdi language group, who served as an interpreter.

Previous research in these languages includes a word list in Gvoko and some intelligibility testing of Hdi among the Gvoko (Stalder 1993). As for Guduf, a dictionary and a partial grammar were produced as a result of a two-month stay by missionary Eugen Rapp (1966, 1968). Rapp's works focused primarily on the Glavda language, which is found to the north of the Gvoko language area. However, it is not certain if, at the time, the author considered Guduf to be a dialect of Glavda, since he gives examples in the text for both Glavda and Guduf (Gava dialect, also called Yaghwatadaxa). In addition to these investigations, a word list (Büchner 1964/65) and other linguistic works (Scheytt 1966/67) have been done. Also of significance to this report is the map accompanying Ekkehard Wolff's (1971) article "Die Sprachliche Situation in Gwoza-Distrikt (Nordostnigeria)," which gives a precise delineation of ethnic groups and villages situated in the Mandara mountain area (see Appendix C).

We gratefully acknowledge the assistance and warm welcome extended by regional and local governments, as well as traditional and church leaders. Without their co-operation this investigation would not have been possible.

## 1.1 Linguistic Classification

The Gvoko language is listed as Gevoko [121] in the *Atlas Linguistique du Cameroun* (ALCAM) (Dieu and Renaud 1983). The linguistic classification is as follows: Afro-Asiatique, Tchadique-Centre A, Wandala-ouest. In the *Ethnologue*, Grimes (1996) classifies Gvoko in the following manner: Afro-Asiatic, Chadic, Biu-Mandara, A, A.4, Mandara Proper, Glavda. Gvoko populations are found in both Nigeria and Cameroon.

Although the Guduf language is not listed in ALCAM, the *Ethnologue* lists it with Nigeria as its population centre with the possibility of some speakers Cameroon. Grimes gives Guduf the same linguistic classification as Gvoko.

## 1.2 Location

The Gvoko language is spoken in one village which is bisected by the international border (see Appendix B). This village is referred to as Ngossi, Gossi, Ngweshe, or Ngoshi<sup>1</sup>; the people themselves call it Gvoko. The team conducted three group interviews in Ngoshi in different quarters including one on the Cameroon side, and in Nigeria, one at the top of the mountain and another near the bottom. The village is about five kilometres long and extends from the bottom of the mountain in Nigeria to a plateau where it enters about half a kilometre into Cameroon. We found that the number of Cameroonian Gvoko speakers is only a small minority compared to the vast majority in Nigeria.

At the time of writing, there was no direct road access to Ngoshi (Gvoko). From Nigeria, the main highway connecting Maiduguri and Mubi comes within 2 km of the bottom of the mountain at Limankara village (10 kilometres south of Gwoza). A four-wheel drive vehicle will soon be able to climb most of the way up the mountain thanks to a road that the Gvoko are constructing. Access to the area from Cameroon is by vehicle to Tourou and from there, a one-hour hike through the mountains to the village.

As for Guduf, about half of the population lives on mountains east of Gwoza and half lives on the plains. The plains population is found in two areas: some to the east and north of the mountains and some to the west of the mountains. Originally all Guduf speakers lived on the mountains. Now, however, a significant number have moved down to the plains near Gwoza and on the other side of the mountains at Gava and Chikide. These places on the plains are called 'Resettlement Areas,' each of three former mountain villages having its own resettlement area on the plains near Gwoza. In addition to these Guduf resettlement areas, Glavda resettlements are found around the town of Gwoza (see Appendix C).

## 1.3 Population

The Ethnologue gives a 1990 estimate of 20,000 Gvoko in Nigeria. The *lawan* (village head) for Ngoshi (Nigeria) stated that there are about 1500 households in Ngoshi village. If we estimate each household as having 10 people we would have 15,000 Gvoko speakers in Nigeria. In Cameroon, the 1987 Census shows 160 households with a total of 808 people in Gossi village. The *lawan* from Cameroon agreed that this should be the current number. This figure reflects an average of 5 people per household. It is therefore possible that the total number of speakers of Gvoko could be between 15,000 and 20,000 in both countries, with less than 1,000 in Cameroon.

The Ethnologue enumerates 21,300 Guduf speakers in all countries in 1963 (the year of a Nigerian government census regarded as the most reliable in recent times). If we assume a growth rate of 2.5% per year<sup>2</sup>, we can estimate a present population of between 40,000

<sup>1</sup> To distinguish it from another village on the plains with the same name, they will say Ngoshi Sama or Ngoshi-Ndhang, which means "Ngoshi in the hills".

<sup>2</sup> The Second General Census of the Population and Habitat made in Cameroon in 1987 indicates an average growth rate of 2.5% per year over the last 12 years (Demo 1987).

and 50,000. Because it is very difficult to get reliable population data (some of the *lawans'* districts are split between different linguistic groups), this will have to suffice as the most adequate population estimate for the moment.

#### **1.4 Livelihood**

The Gvoko and Guduf peoples are cultivators for the most part, growing guinea corn, millet, groundnuts and beans as well as raising goats and sheep. The Gvoko do most of their commerce at the Tourou market in Cameroon although they also go the Gwoza and Madagali markets in Nigeria. The Guduf frequent markets in Gwoza, Gava and also travel to Barawa, Ashigashia, Kerawa (the latter two being on the Cameroon border) and Ngoshe markets.

#### **1.5 History of the People**

All of the people groups of the region say that their roots are in the mountains around Tourou in Cameroon. The *lawan* for Gvoko in Nigeria says similarly that they migrated from Tourou many years ago. In addition, the CAPRO Research Office in Jos, Nigeria has published some anthropological details of different ethnic groups and says this about the Gvoko (CAPRO: 1996):

*They trace their origin to a place called Tur, in Cameroon. Some also believe they have the same ancestors as the Marghi. There is a legend that their ancestor caught a grasshopper and wrapped it with a lot of vine branches until it became a big load. When he arrived home, he asked his wife, who was pregnant, to unwrap the meat in it. When she opened it the grasshopper jumped out and began hopping away. The husband asked her to go and get his meat for him. She pursued the grasshopper until she got tired and could not come back home, so she gave birth there. The place where she gave birth is claimed to be where the Gvokos live now.*

The Guduf also call Tourou their place of origin. In the town of Gava we were able to obtain some information about the people's ancestors and how the whole region was populated. Town inhabitants gave us the following family tree (italics indicate names of villages where Guduf is presently spoken):

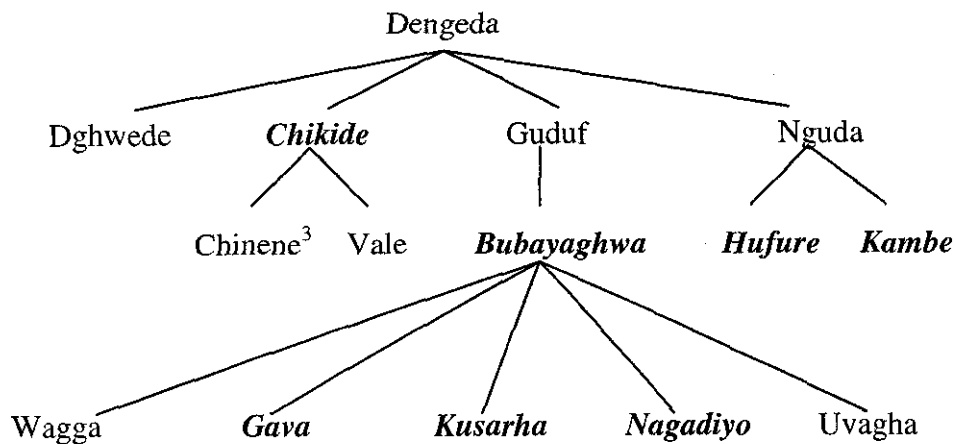


Figure 1. Lineage of Guduf people

At Kusarha, the people claim Dghwede as their place of origin. This is confirmed by inhabitants of Bubayaghwa who have stated that the original terrain of Guduf was from Tourou to the Dghwede area. Some time after the Guduf people split from Tourou, the Dghwede people also split from Tourou and settled where they are now. When there was a conflict, Guduf people left that place and came to the present site of Bubayaghwa.

## 2. THE SURVEY

### 2.1 Purpose of the Survey

This survey was conducted as part of an overall goal to assess the need for literacy development and Bible translation in the national languages of Cameroon. Because the languages under study were listed in both countries, we thought it necessary to visit both countries to get the most complete information. The research team's objectives were:

- 1) To make a preliminary assessment of the intercomprehension and attitudes of the people using the speech forms currently classified under Gvoko [121] in ALCAM and Gvoko and Guduf in the *Ethnologue*.
- 2) To assess the vitality of each of these languages as well as speakers' interest in language development.
- 3) To find out which other languages the people understand and use.
- 4) To find out which variety could be used as a reference dialect for each language.

### 2.2 Methodology

The research team employed the method referred to as "Rapid Appraisal" (see Bergman 1991). The team conducted group and individual interviews using prepared

<sup>3</sup> The village of Chinene is composed of a group of people who descended from Guduf, but whose language has adopted features of Glavda. The speech has changed so much so that they can no longer communicate with speakers of Guduf. The language is also separate from Glavda. See Hamm (forthcoming) for more details.

questionnaires, and verified the word list taken by Stalder from Gvoko village and elicited word lists from Bubayaghwa, Gava, Chinene, and Chikide in the Guduf area.

To assess the possibility of speakers' using the mother tongue (MT) during the first years of primary school, the team individually interviewed school officials in Nigeria. We were unable to contact school leaders in Cameroon at the local government school. In Guduf, three instructors were contacted and interviewed concerning the use of the MT during the first years of primary school. These instructors were from the villages of Gava and Bubayaghwa.

Because of CABTAL and SIL's interest in Bible Translation, the team also interviewed local church leaders. These included the pastor of the Church of Christ in Nigeria (COCIN) at Ngoshi and two elders in the Union des Eglises Evangeliques du Cameroun (UEEC, formerly UEENC) at Gvoko. Also, the pastor of the Ekklisiyar Yan'uwa a Nigeria (EYN) at Gava was contacted and interviewed.

### **3. RESULTS OF INVESTIGATION: GVOKO**

#### **3.1 *Dialectology***

Our survey results confirm the Ethnologue listing that there is only one speech form called Gvoko, spoken in the village of Gvoko (Ngoshi). Word lists were checked at two points and the lists were identical. This confirms the people's reports that there is only one form of Gvoko spoken.

##### **3.1.1 Inherent Intelligibility**

There is always inherent intelligibility between Gvoko people. When we asked about intelligibility with Hdi, their neighbours to the south, Gvoko speakers in Cameroon said that a child can understand it even at six years of age. This is not true for the speakers of Gvoko in Nigeria however. Generally, Gvoko children will not learn Hdi until age 15 or even 20. Therefore we can say that there is no generalised inherent intelligibility between Gvoko and Hdi, even if Gvoko speakers in Cameroon can speak it at a young age; Hdi intelligibility is acquired (see section 3.2.1 below).

##### **3.1.2 Lexicostatistical Analysis**

A synchronic comparison of the word lists was conducted with the aid of a lexicostatic program, WORDSURV (Wimbish 1989). This word list analysis serves only as an initial indicator of existing relationships between speech forms.

In grouping words together into apparent cognates, I have followed the inspection method. By this I mean that as words are examined, those that look like they exhibit similar components (and consequently could have come from the same root word) are grouped together.



In order to get a broader picture of the linguistic family, we compared word lists from all of the languages in the Biu-Mandara, A, A.4 group, with the exception of Wandala and Parkwa, as follows (approximate population figures in parentheses).

Guduf (20,000)									
94	Gava (10,000)								
94	93	Chikide (10,000)							
78	79	82	Chinene (5,000)						
70	70	72	85	Glavda (50,000)					
70	69	69	60	52	Dghwede (40,000)				
61	59	59	53	51	64	Gvoko (15,000)			
48	48	47	45	44	50	68	Hdi (40,000)		
48	48	47	44	43	50	64	82	Vemgo-Mabas (5,000)	
47	46	46	42	43	50	61	76	81	Lamang (50,000)

Gvoko's highest similarity is with Hdi, but is still fairly low and not significantly different (statistically) than its similarity to Dghwede and Vemgo-Mabas. The likelihood of a Gvoko man inherently understanding these three languages is doubtful.

### **3.2 Multilingualism**

#### **3.2.1 Comprehension and Use**

In this section, we will discuss the languages of which the Gvoko people exhibit acquired intelligibility. Acquired intelligibility refers to a language that is learned through extensive contact as opposed to a language that is understood due to linguistic similarity.

Among the Gvoko, the language that is spoken most after the MT is Hdi. In all locations where asked, respondents said that any Gvoko person can speak and understand Hdi. One man from Gvoko village in Nigeria said that some people from the Hamsa quarter of Gvoko village may not always understand Hdi, but people generally affirmed their own ability to speak Hdi well. When asked further if they could always understand proverbs in Hdi, the response was negative. Respondents in Nigeria said that their ability to speak Hdi is lower than what they can understand. In Cameroon, all said that they are able to speak Hdi very well. The fact that group interviews were conducted without difficulty primarily in Hdi is a strong indicator that the average Gvoko person may understand Hdi. Later, when the ethnic Hdi interpreter was asked about the quality of the Gvoko's Hdi during the group interview, he said that it was very good, with no accent.

#### **3.2.2 Languages of Wider Communication**

Hausa is the predominant language of wider communication (LWC). Gvoko speakers use Hausa most often with people from other ethnic groups, with the exception of the Hdi, with whom they always use Hdi. In Cameroon, Fulfulde was used more in the past, but now Hausa is replacing it as the LWC.

French is the national language spoken in northern Cameroon, but among the Gvoko only those who have gone to school can speak it. English is the national language in Nigeria, but again, only the educated are able to use it. However, owing to the frequent use of Hausa in Nigerian primary schools, Hausa is spoken well by the youth.

### 3.2.3 Language Attitudes

Speakers of Gvoko have a positive attitude toward the use of Hdi. Most Gvoko would like to learn to read and write in Hdi because it is an adjacent language and they already speak it. They would like to speak it well because of the large weekly market in Tourou and other close contact they have with the Hdi. They also expressed interest in learning to read and write in Hausa and English in Nigeria while Hausa and French were preferred in Cameroon.

### 3.3 Language Vitality

The chief concern of this section of the report is to describe the vitality of Gvoko in the presence of Hausa, the LWC of the area. Although many Gvoko speak Hdi, there is no indication that Hdi is replacing Gvoko in any linguistic domains within the Gvoko community. In order to determine if a language development project would be viable in Gvoko, then, it is important to determine whether Gvoko will continue to be used alongside Hausa.

Decker (1993:1) provides the following definition of language vitality:

*Language vitality can be defined as: the presence of factors that maintain a language community as a separate and united social group, who perceive of their language as an important part of their identity.*

Following is a summary of how those interviewed report their language use in different social domains (3.3.1), their attitudes toward and use of Hausa (3.3.2), and their expressed attitudes toward their own language and its potential for development (3.3.3).

#### 3.3.1 Language Use

##### **General Community**

In all of the villages which the survey team visited, Gvoko is the language of choice in the home, with friends of the same age, and in the fields. People from Gvoko in Cameroon speak Gvoko as well as some Hausa in the home. When the Gvoko come to the Tourou market they will speak Hausa and Hdi. At the local market and when people go to the dispensary both Gvoko and Hausa are spoken.

In Nigeria, the official language of instruction is English. However, students are not discouraged from using the MT or Hausa on the school premises. When students do not understand, Hausa or the MT is used to explain new concepts. In Cameroon, however, French is used as the classroom and instructional language and any other language is forbidden from use during school hours. Having said this, a certain number of students still report use of the MT on breaks.

Gvoko speakers use their MT and Hdi for all traditional ceremonies and announcements, but local government area meetings are held in Hausa because of the variety of ethnic groups present.

### **Religious Domains**

There are three denominations present in this area. In Nigeria, there are the Church of Christ in Nigeria (COCIN) and the Ekkliseyar Yan'uwa a Nigeria (EYN – the Christian Brethren Mission), and in Cameroon there is an Eglise Evangelique du Cameroun (UEEC, formerly UEENC). There are very few Muslims in the area. COCIN is the largest denomination with seven congregations in the village (in the Nigerian part only).

The COCIN church uses Hausa in their services but everything is also interpreted into Gvoko because there are some that do not understand Hausa well. We were not able to speak to someone from the EYN, but respondents reported that the general trend among EYN churches is to use Hausa for all parts of the service, with occasional interpretation into the MT. In the UEEC, songs, announcements, and the message are given in Hdi, while the Bible is read in Hausa and interpreted into Hdi. The only time when something is interpreted into Gvoko is when a visitor comes from Hamsa quarter of Gvoko where people do not learn Hdi as well. This extensive use of Hdi may be encouraged by the pastor who is Hdi.

In summary, the Gvoko language plays an integral part in the daily lives of its speakers. People speak their MT in the home, at the farm, and among friends of the same age. Gvoko people speak Hausa most often when interacting with people from another language group although some of the youth use Hausa alongside Gvoko. Gvoko is also alive and well in the public domains of village life. Although Hausa is the predominant language of the churches, the sermon is usually translated into Gvoko or Hdi. These indicators, when taken together, show that Gvoko people have pride in their own language.

### **3.3.2 Language Maintenance and Shift**

To evaluate language maintenance or shift of the MT in the Gvoko community, we examined the peoples' attitudes toward their MT and their patterns of language use. As stated in the previous section, Gvoko respondents have indicated interest in reading and writing their own language. To determine whether a language development project is viable in Gvoko, it is necessary to evaluate whether this positive attitude carries over to Gvoko children and, by extension, whether the Gvoko language will continue to be spoken for generations to come.

One way to answer this question is to investigate if Gvoko youth are speaking a language of wider communication (in this case, Hausa) more than their MT. It is also essential to know if the youth are mixing Hausa with Gvoko. If so, it is important to find out how parents view these practices and whether they encourage or discourage the use of another language in addition to Gvoko.

When we asked the question, "*Do your children speak another language more than Gvoko?*" all respondents answered negatively. This indicates, conversely, that children speak the MT more than Hausa or any other language.

In two interviews, the adults reported that their children mix Hausa with Gvoko, but they viewed this development negatively. When we asked if parents are happy to hear their children using Hausa in the home, people from Cameroon say that it makes them happy; they say it is a good thing to be able to speak any language. But in Nigeria respondents reacted negatively to the question. They feel that by using Hausa instead of Gvoko in the home, children are showing bad manners.

Despite the fact that Gvoko youth are using Hausa, respondents feel that the youth are proud of Gvoko. No one expressed any sentiment that Hausa was taking over or would take over Gvoko in the future. Children are still speaking the MT well, even after returning from schools in towns. It seems clear that the MT is being well maintained in the Gvoko community.

### **3.3.3 Attitudes Toward the Mother Tongue**

Attitudes toward the MT are generally positive. In all three group interviews conducted, Gvoko speakers are interested in learning to read and write in their own language and want their children to read and write in Gvoko as well.

The teachers we interviewed said that they think that it would benefit students to learn to read and write in their own language, and the teachers would be willing to participate in teaching Gvoko in the schools if such a program were to exist.

The two church leaders interviewed had differing opinions about the use of Gvoko. In Nigeria, the pastor of the COCIN church we spoke to is from the Dghwede language group and he believes that it is necessary to translate the Bible into Gvoko. He encourages use of Gvoko in the church and is very positive about all aspects of its use. In Cameroon though, the Hdi elders' attitudes were negative towards Bible translation in Gvoko, citing the reason that most people understand Hdi and that the Bible is already being translated into Hdi. They also said that there is a lack of qualified personnel to translate the Bible into Gvoko.

### **3.4 Language Development Project Viability**

According to Watters (1990:105), there are three factors that affect the nature and development of language programs: the homogeneity of the linguistic community, their openness to change and development, and the presence of a middle-aged leadership at the local level. We will here follow with a discussion of these three factors in the context of the villages surveyed.

### 3.4.1 Homogeneity of the Linguistic Community

Watters (1990:106) writes: "The more homogeneous a given community is, the more chance there is for success in motivating broad based participation in the development of the language...in that community." There are several aspects to social cohesion that contribute to overall solidarity: the linguistic, cultural, geographic, economic, and religious elements.

Based on our observations and responses to our questions, we conclude that the Gvoko community is linguistically homogenous. People from all parts of the village say that they all speak Gvoko. People make *no distinction* in the ways in which a person speaks Gvoko.

Culturally, the Gvoko consider themselves as one ethnic group. Gvoko speakers make up the overwhelming majority of the population in every part of the village.

Geographically speaking, Gvoko village is difficult to access and move around in, but everyone we spoke to indicated that they can get to any part of the village at any time of the year.

Economically, Gvoko village is dependant primarily on Nigerian markets, but the market in Tourou is a major centre for them as well. The border does not stop people from coming to buy and sell at Tourou, where they can use Nigerian currency easily.

Religion is probably not a divisive factor because most people follow their traditional religion or have become Christians and there appears to be little conflict between the two in the area.

Overall, we affirm that the Gvoko people are socially very cohesive since they share a common language, culture, and history and the village population is almost entirely made up of Gvoko people.

### 3.4.2 Openness to Change

The Gvoko community indicates an openness to change. This attitude is reflected in their responses to questions concerning health, education, and community development.

There is a clinic on the Nigerian side of Gvoko village, on the plateau. When people are in need of medical assistance, they go to *this clinic*.

In Nigeria, more than half of the primary school-age children go to school and in Cameroon, all of them attend school. Of those who finish primary school, many continue on to secondary school in Mokolo (Cameroon) or in Gwoza (Nigeria).

People on both sides of the border are interested in developing their village. In Nigeria they are maintaining a road and building primary schools. In Cameroon a development association has not yet been started, but it was asserted that they want to start one.

### 3.4.3 Middle-aged Leadership

An important factor in determining the viability of a language project is the presence of middle-aged leadership. In Cameroon, the two village leaders are reportedly aged 50 and 120, while Nigeria's several village leaders are between 40 and 80 years old. Most of the leaders stay in the village, but the *lawan* of Nigerian Gvoko divides his time between his home on the plateau and the plains near Gwoza. Respondents feel that in the future there will be leaders to take the place of the present leaders.

It is important to note that most of the young people return to the village after they finish their education. A *minority remains in towns for employment*. If the trend of staying in the village for farm work continues, it is likely that there will be people to take over from the current leaders of these villages.

Of the four type of communities defined by Watters (traditional, changing, changed, and disintegrating), the Gvoko people fit best into what is described as a *changing* community. This may indicate that, "if mass literacy is the desired goal, then now is the time to carry out such a program" (1990:6.7.7). Changing communities are characterised by openness to change, a middle-aged leadership, and the presence of village-based leadership. Unlike a changed community, its leadership is more youthful and resides within the village. Even though the leadership of the Gvoko community do not fit the criteria of youth, the fact that there will be youth to take over from the present leadership gives credence to considering this community a changing community.

## 4. RESULTS OF INVESTIGATION: GUDUF

### 4.1 Dialectology

Our survey results disagree slightly with prior work which report four dialects of the Guduf language. The *Ethnologue* listing for Nigeria shows the dialects of Guduf, Gava (Yaghwatadaxa, Yawotataxa), Cikide (Chikide), and Cineni (Chinene) as varieties of Guduf. In the prose description it says, "Cineni may be a separate language" (Grimes 1996:346). But curiously it also lists Cineni as a dialect of the Glavda language, with the prose, "Cineni may be a dialect or separate ethnic group" (Grimes 1996). In the Cameroon listing of Guduf there is no mention of Cineni as a dialect of Guduf. After analysing the results of our group interviews, we have determined it best to consider Chinene as a language separate from both Guduf and Glavda languages, even though the Chinene people originate in Chikide village (see Hamm forthcoming and below for more details). This modification aside, we are in agreement with the existence of the dialects of Guduf, Gava, and Chikide. However, as to the geographical location, no Guduf speakers were found in Cameroon. Guduf is spoken only in Nigeria.

#### 4.1.1 Inherent Intelligibility

The villages of Bubayaghwa, Kusarha, Kambe, Hufure, and Nagadiyo comprise the area in which the Guduf dialect is spoken. Gava village and Chikide village each contain their own dialects. Respondents indicated that these dialects are all inherently intelligible. This means that each variety understands the others because they are linguistically very similar. Members of all groups state that a child of six can easily understand the other dialects.

Communication among these groups always takes place with each group using their own language variety at a normal conversational speed and a six-year-old child can understand. All respondents agree that the Guduf people from all dialects share the same origin.

People from Chikide usually understand Glavda and Dghwede and in any interaction with them, each person uses his or her MT but has to speak slowly in order to be understood by the other. Children are also able to do this. However, the fact that they must alter their normal way of speaking indicates that they are less closely related and that contact is needed for the ability to understand. Nevertheless, from the lexicostatistic analysis below, we can see that they are fairly closely related.

#### 4.1.2 Lexicostatistical Analysis

We have repeated the exact same chart as is shown in section 3.1.2 for convenience of explaining results here.

Guduf (20,000) – Guduf dialect

94 Gava (10,000) – Guduf dialect

94 93 Chikide (10,000) – Guduf dialect

78 79 82 Chinene (5,000)

70 70 72 85 Glavda (50,000)

70 69 69 60 52 Dghwede (40,000)

61 59 59 53 51 64 Gvoko (15,000)

48 48 47 45 44 50 68 Hdi (40,000)

48 48 47 44 43 50 64 82 Vemgo-Mabas (5,000)

47 46 46 42 43 50 61 76 81 Lamang (50,000)

We see here a clear grouping of Guduf, Gava, and Chikide (above 93% similarity). Chinene is somewhat more distantly related at 82% similarity with Chikide, but still remains very closely related to Chikide and the rest of Guduf. In spite of its high similarity and historical relationship with Chikide and Guduf, Chinene may now be more related to Glavda than Chikide. The general percentages of similarity concur with the historical accounts that all groups originated with the Hdi. We anticipated a significant similarity between Guduf and Glavda and this can be seen here at 70%. Also interesting to note is Guduf's similarity to Dghwede, also at 70%.

## 4.2 Multilingualism

### 4.2.1 Comprehension and Use

In this section we will discuss the languages of which the Guduf people have acquired intelligibility. Again, acquired intelligibility refers to a language that is learned through extensive contact as opposed to a language that is understood due to linguistic similarity.

Old men from Bubayaghwa (Guduf dialect) are more able to speak Dghwede with the Dghwede people than are the youth or anyone from any other dialect of Guduf. This is the only time it was mentioned that someone could understand Dghwede. There is no statistically significant difference between their lexical similarity and that of Guduf and Glavda, but at the present time each person uses his or her own MT when the people of Chikide meet those of Glavda. This indicates that Chikide people do acquire an ability to understand Glavda and it does not only come naturally. Similarly, the old men from Bubayaghwa likely have had contact over the years that has enabled them to speak and understand Dghwede.

Chinene presents an interesting situation. As stated above, the people of Chinene have originated historically from the Chikide village, but have taken on aspects of the Glavda language. The people in Chikide say that when they meet with someone from Chinene, each person is able to use his or her own MT and speak in normal fashion and both understand each other. Even Chikide children can do this. In Gava, people reported the same occurrence with the Chinene people; however, in Kusarha, Hausa must be used to communicate with the Chinene. Taking into account the high percentage of lexical similarity between the three dialects of Guduf and the difference reported in the actual communication patterns between the different dialects of Guduf with Chinene, we may



assume that although there is inherent intelligibility, members of Guduf dialects also acquire the ability to understand the Chinene language, even among children. See also Hamm (forthcoming) for more on Chinene.

#### 4.2.2 Languages of Wider Communication

Hausa is the predominant LWC in the area. Guduf speakers most often use Hausa with people who speak a language that the Guduf do not know. Hausa is also used quite extensively by the youth when speaking among themselves, even when all are from Guduf.

#### 4.2.3 Language Attitudes

Speakers of Guduf, Gava, and Chikide have positive attitudes toward each other. In all the villages where we conducted group interviews, people are open and very willing to learn to read and write in most any dialect of Guduf, with one exception. People in Gava and Nagadiyo are opposed to learning to read and write in the Chikide dialect because of the differences in their speech. People from the Guduf and Gava dialects choose Bubayaghwa village as the most pure dialect of the Guduf language. Interestingly, in Chikide, they choose Gava, but are also favourable to the development of the Guduf dialect.

People from Gava and Chikide are aware that the Guduf dialect is the 'original' and most pure form of Guduf, and also have a positive attitude toward learning to read and write in it. The people of Kusarha told us that some of their children would have a hard time learning to read and write in Gava or Chikide dialects because of differences in the way they speak.

Attitudes are also very favourable toward Hausa. Many times the people's first choice for reading and writing in a language other than their own was Hausa, followed by English.

It seems that the Guduf dialect would be a reasonable choice for a reference, but the Gava dialect is also acceptable by most. If standardisation efforts are made, the final decision on which dialect to base written materials would need to be a community-based decision with local leaders present from all three dialects.

### **4.3 Language Vitality**

The chief concern of this section of the report is to describe the language vitality of Guduf in the presence of Hausa, the LWC in northern Nigeria. From an early age, Hausa is used in schools, and its influence as the LWC is vast. With this in mind, it is important to determine whether Guduf will continue to be used alongside Hausa.

Following is a summary of how those interviewed report their language use in different domains of life (4.3.1), their attitudes toward and use of Hausa (4.3.2), and their expressed attitudes toward their own language and its potential for development (4.3.3).

#### 4.3.1 Language Use

##### **General Community**

Questionnaires indicate that in all of the villages which the survey team visited, Guduf is the language of choice in the home and in the fields. But with friends of the same age, Hausa is preferred. At most markets and dispensaries, Hausa must be used because there are people from many different ethnic groups there. Yet when Guduf people meet, the Guduf language is used.

Within the schools, English is the language of instruction. Teachers are free to use Hausa or the MT to explain when children do not understand. On breaks children use the MT and Hausa.

Guduf speakers use their MT for all traditional ceremonies and announcements, but Hausa is often used as well, and local government area meetings are held in Hausa.

##### **Religious Domains**

There are several denominations present in this area. The first Christian church in the area was the Church of Christ in Nigeria (COCIN), but now the church with the most adherents is the Ekklisiyar Yan'uwa a Nigeria (EYN – The Christian Brethren Church). Every village that we visited has at least one EYN congregation. Gava also has a Deeper Life Church. There is also a Roman Catholic Church, a Baptist Church, and a God Evangelical Church in the Guduf area. All of the villages also have a significant Muslim presence.

In the EYN Church, all parts of the service are held in Hausa, but they also use Guduf for songs and prayers while the sermon is sometimes translated into the MT as well. In the Deeper Life Church, the MT is not used. Prayers, songs and the sermon are given in English and Hausa.

The five villages we visited all have a Muslim community. Most of the villages are one-third to half Muslim. Although we were unable to inquire directly of members of the Muslim community in every village, respondents told us that Muslims are being encouraged to abandon everything that is linked to the traditional ways, including their language in order to more fully embrace Islam. West of the mountains on the plains is predominantly Muslim, while on the mountains people mostly follow traditional religion and on the plains to the east and north the majority are Christian, but still with significant Muslim populations.

In summary, the Guduf language seems to be spoken as much as Hausa at present. But more and more people are speaking Hausa in many domains, even sometimes in the home and in the fields. Some people speak more Hausa than the MT every day.

#### 4.3.2 Language Maintenance and Shift

To evaluate the language maintenance or shift of the MT in the Guduf community, we examined the people's attitudes toward their MT and their patterns of language use. As

stated in the previous section, people from every village say they are eager to read and write their language, but its clear that people are speaking Hausa often as well. We want to know if this positive attitude toward the MT carries on to their children and if the Guduf language will continue to be spoken for generations to come.

One way to answer this question is to try and find out if the youth are speaking a language of wider communication (in this case, Hausa) more than their MT. We also want to know if the youth are mixing Hausa with Guduf. If so, it is important to find out how parents view these practices and whether they encourage or discourage the use of another language in addition to Guduf.

When we asked the question, "*Do your children speak another language more than Guduf?*" we found that the responses were mixed. People from Kusarha and Chikide village replied that their children are speaking more Guduf than Hausa. Meanwhile, people from Gava and Bubayaghwa feel that their children speak Hausa more than Guduf.

The adults from all villages report that their children mix Hausa with Guduf but they are all agreed that it is a negative development. The elders see the mixing of the languages as negative because it is good to know Guduf and state that if the children are responding in Hausa, it means that they do not know the MT well. Others added that if mixing continues, they will lose Guduf completely.

When we asked whether parents are happy to hear their children using Hausa in the home, all respondents indicated that it makes parents unhappy. They worry that by using Hausa instead of Guduf in the home, children are abusing them, saying bad things without the parents knowing. In addition, they fear that their children will forget Guduf if they only speak Hausa. Finally, speaking Hausa in the home shows disrespect to the elderly who can not always understand Hausa well.

In addition to the fact that the youth are using more Hausa, people generally feel that if nothing is done, Guduf is going to be replaced by Hausa because Hausa is so prevalent. After children leave the village for secondary school many stay out in towns and cities in search of jobs. In the Nagadiyo resettlement area, the elders stated that the youth are not learning the MT well and in 30 years only the old generation will be speaking Guduf.

However, any foreigners that come to live in Guduf villages will eventually learn to speak Guduf instead of continuing to use Hausa. Also, most Guduf marry others from their ethnic group, and any time that they marry from outside the group, the wife must learn Guduf.

It seems clear that the younger generation looking for jobs in cities and in search of modernisation see their MT as less practical and as old-fashioned compared to Hausa or English, with which they can use for advancement in modern society. As more and more Guduf youth adopt a westernised lifestyle, the use of the MT will diminish accordingly— if the trend continues.

From our observations, evidence points toward the fact that language shift in the Guduf community is in the beginning stages. In cities and towns, youth rely on Hausa more than their MT. In spite of this, Guduf is still probably spoken as much as Hausa is by the general population. But the present situation is changing and because the youth speak more Hausa than the MT, it may not be long before Hausa is spoken more often and in more domains than Guduf.

#### **4.3.3 Attitudes Toward the Mother Tongue**

Attitudes toward Guduf are mixed. When we examine the domains of language choice, speakers from the villages of Gava and Bubayaghwa say they use some Hausa in the fields and with friends of the same age. In Gava, one can even hear Hausa in the home. And in both villages the youth use Hausa with their friends while working in the fields. In every Guduf village we visited, people are interested in learning to read and write in their own language and want their children to read and write in Guduf. One of the reasons given to write down the Guduf language, however, was so that there would be a revived interest in the language. It can be seen that the youth are less attached to the MT, while the parents are still quite attached to it and want to see an increased use among the youth.

The teachers we interviewed said that they would choose Guduf, over English or any other language, for the language of instruction in the classroom after Hausa. The teachers think that it would benefit students to learn to read and write in their own language, and stated that they would be willing to participate in teaching Guduf in the schools if such a program were to start.

Church leaders in the EYN church use much more Hausa than they do the MT because so many pastors and church workers are not living in their native areas. Although they expressed some desire to have the Bible in the language of the people, they also stated that most everyone has adequate comprehension of the Hausa Bible.

The Pastor at the EYN church in Gava said that he would be willing to work with other denominations with the goal of Bible translation in Guduf.

#### **4.4 Language Development Project Potential**

As mentioned in section 3.4, Watters (1990:105) has outlined three factors that affect the nature and development of language programs: the homogeneity of the linguistic community, their openness to change and development, and the presence at the local level of a middle-aged leadership. We follow with a discussion of these three factors in the context of the Guduf villages surveyed.

##### **4.4.1 Homogeneity of the Linguistic Community**

From our observations and questions, the Guduf community is linguistically homogenous. The people from all the villages we visited say that they all speak Guduf. The distinctions among dialects are minimal enough that they do not divide the community.

Culturally, the Guduf speakers consider themselves one people and are aware of their shared history. In all the villages we visited, Guduf speakers make up an overwhelming majority of the population. Their strong cultural identity is exhibited by the fact that they have homogeneous Guduf resettlement areas in the Gwoza area.

Geographically speaking, the Guduf resettlement areas are minimally cut off from each other by the extending western ridge of the Mandara mountains. However, there is a paved road that comes from Gwoza, near the Guduf resettlement areas, and reaches Pulka. From there a dirt road leads all the way to the other villages, so inhabitants of the resettlement areas are only somewhat isolated from the other dialects (see map in Appendix B).

Gwoza and Ngoshe, both outside the Guduf language area, are the economic centres for the Guduf people. Guduf villages all appear to be at the same economic level, with the exception of those residing on the mountains having less amenities than village life on the plains.

Religion could be a divisive factor because there is a large number of Guduf who are Muslim and also a large number who are Christian. Many also adhere to traditional religion in addition to either Islam or Christianity.

Overall, we have observed that the Guduf people are socially cohesive since they share a common language, culture, and history. Religious differences do not appear to divide the community. Gwoza, although outside the language area, is a point of contact for the Guduf people from many different villages.

#### 4.4.2 Openness to Change

The Guduf community shows openness to change. This attitude is reflected in their responses to questions concerning health, education, and community development.

There are clinics in Gava and in Arboko, a Glavda village very close to Chikide. When someone is seriously ill, they go to these clinics or to a hospital in Gwoza.

Most children in the villages surveyed attend primary school and some of them attend secondary school as well. Those who attend secondary school go to either Ngoshe, Gwoza, or Bama to continue their education.

In each Guduf village, there is a development association. Some of their activities include building dispensaries, digging wells, and building roads and school facilities.

#### 4.4.3 Middle-aged Leadership

A third important factor in determining the viability of a language project is the presence of middle aged leadership. In most of the villages, the leadership is between 30 and 50 years, while Chikide's *lawan* is 98 years old. As to where the village leaders live: in Bubayaghwa and Kusarha, they live in larger towns outside the language area; but in Gava and Chikide, they live in the village itself. Everyone affirms that in the future there will be leaders to take the place of the present leaders.

It is important to note that many of the young people remain in towns to search for a job after they finish their education. A minority returns to the villages to farm. If the trend of leaving the village for work in the towns continues, it will be harder to find people to take over leadership of these villages.

Of the four type of communities defined by Watters (traditional, changing, changed, and disintegrating), we observed that the Guduf people exhibit characteristics of a changed community. This means that "the community is not only open to change, but is well into the process of change" (1990:110). Changed communities are characterised by openness to change, a lack of middle-aged leadership, and the movement of the youth to urban centres. Unlike a changing community, the leadership may be older and may not live in the village. In Chikide, where half of the youth are still returning to the village, and in Gava, where there is a strong middle-aged leadership, we see that the Guduf are still in the process of changing. However, if the youth continue to live in towns after finishing their education, it will not be long before the Guduf community as a whole will be a changed community.

## 5. SUMMARY

### 5.1 Gvoko

- 1) Findings from the present survey indicate a straightforward social and linguistic situation in the Gvoko community. Throughout the Gvoko village of Ngoshi, people state that they speak the same language without variation and share a social identity.
- 2) The MT is used in all domestic domains and in most aspects of everyday life. Even though some of the youth mix Hausa with Gvoko, the older people do not feel like the youth are abandoning their own language.

Attitudes toward MT development are positive. But Gvoko people are also aware of the Hdi language development project and expressed an interest in learning to read and write in Hdi. *"The only problem is that no one has come to teach us."* And although some also expressed a desire to see their own language written, no one was persuaded that it could be a reality.

- 3) Most Gvoko have frequent contact with the Hdi in the market, in marriage, and death celebrations. Where there is frequent contact there is a high level of acquired

intelligibility. Out of four quarters, only people from Hamsa quarter were said to not always understand Hdi well. All others say that they speak Hdi well.

## **5.2 Guduf**

- 1) The present survey also indicates a clearly defined social and linguistic situation in the Guduf community. In every Guduf village, people say they speak the same language and share a social identity. They do not consider the differences between the three dialects great enough to impede intercomprehension. Although a final choice must be made by community leaders, Guduf or Gava should be considered as a reference dialect.
- 2) The MT is used in most domestic domains and in many aspects of everyday life. However, the vast majority of the youth and a growing number of adults are using Hausa with greater frequency and ease in more and more domains. The youth mix Hausa with the MT to the extent that some parents think their children will not learn the MT well and soon it will only be spoken by the elderly. The people perceive that Hausa is gaining influence and that the youth speak more Hausa than the MT.

Attitudes toward MT development are mixed. The Guduf want to see their own language written, and showed concern as to how to develop their language so that it will survive in the years to come. People generally believe that if there were a MT development project, it would revive the interest by the youth and adults alike to use the MT more. But no one can deny that the youth speak Hausa more than the MT and probably equate it with an 'old-fashioned' way of life.

- 3) Where there is intermarriage and frequent contact, there is a higher level of acquired intelligibility. However, because the languages Guduf speakers learn are related to Guduf, the distinction between inherent and acquired intelligibility is blurred significantly. People from Chikide learn to understand the people from Glavda and Chinene, and people from Gava learn Chinene. Even when Guduf people understand or speak another related language, they may also use Hausa, the LWC, to make their communication clear.

## **6. RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **6.1 Gvoko**

According to David Bendor-Samuel's summary of possibilities for ongoing MT literacy (1988:9.6.2), the Gvoko community meets many of the criteria for the success of a MT literacy and translation project. That is, they show strong cultural and demographic cohesion, a strong ethnic identity, a "natural framework for the use of MT literature" (churches), and a willingness to be involved as a community. These factors are also positive for the use of Hdi literature. Factors working against the Gvoko community are negligible.

Because the Gvoko people are very interested in using Hdi literature and their reported ability to understand and speak it is high, it is recommended that trial Hdi literacy classes be started among the Gvoko. Regardless of the success rate, more in-depth bilingualism testing seems necessary to verify that people will adequately understand the Hdi language and will be willing to use it instead of their own.

## **6.2 Guduf**

The Guduf community may meet some of the criteria for the success of a MT literacy and translation project. That is, they have a strong cultural and demographic cohesion, a strong ethnic identity, a "natural framework for the use of MT literature" (schools and churches), and a willingness to be involved as a community. Factors working against the possibility of language development in the Guduf community are their extensive contact with and use of Hausa, which indicates that language shift is moving beyond the beginning stages.

Because the Guduf people show an interest in developing their language, we suggest that a language development project could be started. In view of the progression of language shift though, it would be best that if any project be started, it be done as soon as possible. If delayed by more than a generation, the project may not be viable.

In view of the significant lexical similarity between Dghwede and Guduf (70%), any Bible translation project should consider the possibility of computer assisted related language adaptation (CARLA), the Dghwede New Testament serving as its base.

## **7. CHANGES TO ALCAM and ETHNOLOGUE**

There are no changes that need to be made to ALCAM. The Ethnologue listing for Gvoko can be modified to indicate that the population in Cameroon is less than 1,000.

The Ethnologue listing for Guduf should be modified to show that the population is only found in Nigeria, and that the listing in Cameroon can therefore be deleted. It would be valuable to include, in addition to the 1963 census figure of 21,300, the present population estimate of 40,000 – 50,000 (as discussed in section 1.3). The listing should also delete the dialect of Chinene and reclassify it as a separate language (see Hamm forthcoming).

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## Appendix A -- Word Lists

Gloss	Lamang	Hdi	Vemgo-Mabas	Gvoko	Dghwede
1 mouth	ewe	wi	wi	ɛajwe	we
2 eye	ili	iri	ili	odo	ɛike
3 head	ɣaŋa	ɛəŋ	ɛan	ɛar	ɛre
4 hair	sɪdi	swidi	ʃidi	unza	ɛunza
5 tooth	ʔidiŋi	ʔiʔiŋ	ʔiʔin	ʔir	ʔire
6 tongue	ɣenee	ɛanik	nɛxɛk	roxi	rxɛ
7 nose	χʔiŋi	χʔiŋ	χʔin	χtor	χtire
8 ear	ʔimuŋ	ʔəməŋ	ʔəmən	ʔuwo	ʔime
9a neck	wuleke	ŋgurlʊŋ	wulek	iʔa	kɛinda
9b back of neck	DISQUALIFIED	---	---	---	---
9c throat	ŋguwara	nəŋglax	ngurlʊn	NO ENTRY	gurara
10 breast	uɓa	uʔa	uʔ <sup>w</sup> a	uʔa	uɓa
11 arm	dzivo	dzəvu	dzəvu	χara	dəva
12a claw	dəχun	dəχəŋ	dəχən	χiri	χrdike
12b nail of hand	DISQUALIFIED	---	---	---	---
13a leg	sira:	NO ENTRY	NO ENTRY	NO ENTRY	sige
13b foot	paɣapayasira	sla	papaχasla	papaχsigo	kʔχ <sup>w</sup> asige
14 buttocks	ndurdi	dafatawamdr	dafatamdr	kafvɪnda	kfimbrte
15 belly	χudi	χudi	χudi	χuda	χode
16 navel	NO ENTRY	zimbid	zimbat	zimbo	zimbe
17 insides	mambila:	χari	χiri	χorχori	janda
18 blood	uɓifi:	us	uʔus	uza	ɛozaʔa
19 urine	k <sup>w</sup> i:ni	k <sup>w</sup> ani	kɛini	krojo	kure
20 bone	ɣ <sup>w</sup> udʒifi:	ɛudʒif	ɛudʒif	ɪfati	ʔata
21 skin	χuta	χuta	χuta	ʔogo	ʔuvəka
22 wing	ɓəɓuki	ʔambak	ʔambar	ʔambat	kʔva
23 feather	ʔəɣaŋa	ʔaɛan	ʔaɛan	ʔaɛan	kude
24 horn	duli	duli	duli	dru	drawa
25 tail	χutiri:	χutur	gudur	χtil	χɔt <sup>ɔ</sup> le
26 human being	u:ndu	mndu	wundu	ado	udsigə
27 man	zugun	zgun	z <sup>ɔ</sup> gun	zgun	zgune
28 woman	marak <sup>w</sup> a	marak <sup>w</sup>	marak <sup>w</sup>	nase	nife
29 husband	zugun	zʔal	zʔal	zʔal	zalt <sup>ɔ</sup> ɛaja
30 child	uzaŋ	z <sup>w</sup> aŋ	uzan	uzar	vzire
31 name	zira	χgu	zər \ zəru	ʔuo	jaχa
32 sky	luwa	luwa	luwa	ɛololo	ɛal <sup>w</sup> a
33 night	urvidi	rvidik	rvidək	rɔde	ɔde
34 moon	tiri	tili	tri	t <sup>ɔ</sup> le	tile
35 sun	fiti	fitik	fitək	ibatʃa	fitse
36 wind	səfaka	falak	safak	vlojo	vle
37 cloud	ɣajuku	ɛojak	zək	ɛojoko	kʔbaka
38 dew	wunaniki	wuninik \ χəmtsek	ɛumtsək	ɣninok	maŋgiʒe

Gloss	Lamang	Hdi	Vemgo-Mabas	Gvoko	Dghwede
39 rain	imatil <sup>w</sup> a	imi	imi	jiwo	juwe
40 ground	utaka	χadik	χadak	χaje	χaja
41 sand	utakatay <sup>w</sup> a	wutak	wutak	χajjalak	zike
42 path	wativi:	tvi	dzevi	tve	fri?e
43 water	imi	imi	imi	jiwo	juwe
44 stream	ǧirwi	κ <sup>w</sup> a	κ <sup>w</sup> a \ nuwak	nəwa \ dəlivo	ling <sup>w</sup> e
45 house	χuga	χəga	κga	κaja	κaja
46 fire	uvu	vu	uvu	ikar	kara
47 firewood	udzauvu	χasu?u	udzu	səməka	dakara
48 smoke	difi	dif	κidən \ idən	izoko	zike
49 ash	χutsidifi	χutidif	χtʃidəf	fətfu	ftsufə
50 knife	ma:ŋa	maŋga	maŋga	kitʃa	kitsa
51 rope	zuwi:	zu?i	zui	zaða	za?a
52 spear	gupa	gupa	gupa	gupa	gupa
53 war	piŋayuva	vulu	uvən	uvol	pige
54a animal	ginaw:a	NO ENTRY	NO ENTRY	NO ENTRY	digafa
54b meat	tuwi	tu?i	tu?i	təbo	tuwe
55 dog	kre	kri	kri	kəle	κde
56 elephant	giwaŋ	g <sup>w</sup> i?əŋ	gi? <sup>w</sup> an	g <sup>w</sup> i?əŋ	g <sup>w</sup> ine
57 goat	ogo	gu	gu	awe	κ <sup>w</sup> e
58 bird	diaka	dijak	dijak	dijaŋ	ingge
59 tortoise	kilk <sup>w</sup> i	klaku	kuʃuku	kuluki	klk <sup>w</sup> ijuwe
60 serpent	bubu	naχadik	bubu	k <sup>w</sup> ada	fife
61 fish	kilpi	klipi	klipi	kəlif	klfe
62 head louse	tsatsa	tʃetʃi	təndi	tʃitʃi	dəŋgəle
63 egg	tiŋi	tiŋik	tiŋi	təto	təte
64 tree	ufu	fu	ufu	ifa	ufa
65 bark	luβi	blakatavu	lubu	lobo	sapa
66 leaf	baja	tχ <sup>w</sup> a	tχ <sup>w</sup> a	təvaka	lbaχa
67 root	tiŋi	tʃəŋ	tʃən	tʃo	tla
68 salt	yunu	κunu	κunu	tugulum	tasəne
69 fat	urdi	κuvɪd	κəved	κəved	ŋgəla
70a hunger	maiʃa	maja	maja	waja	waja
70b hunger (meat)	NO ENTRY	NO ENTRY	NO ENTRY	NO ENTRY	zinda
71 iron	tsuχ <sup>w</sup> ili	kufur	χtʃili	tusu	t <sup>h</sup> use
72 one	tala	tek <sup>w</sup>	tek <sup>w</sup> \ ten	teko	t <sup>h</sup> ek <sup>w</sup> e
73 two	χesa	χis	χəf	χetʃo	mitʃe
74 three	χukuna:	χkan	χkən	χk <sup>w</sup> aro	χkr:ie
75 four	ufada	f <sup>w</sup> ad	uf <sup>w</sup> ad	ofado	fide
76 five	χutafa	χutaf	χtaf	tə?o	βibe
77 six	muku:wa:	mku	ŋku	məkojo	ŋkuwe
78 seven	ilfəŋa	ndəfaŋ	ləfaŋ	ndəfaŋgo	udife
79 eight	tuyasa:	təkas	təkas	təkasə	təkiʃe
80 nine	timbaja	təmbaj	təmbaj	təmbajo	təmbə
81 ten	γ <sup>w</sup> aŋa	κ <sup>w</sup> aŋ	κ <sup>w</sup> aŋ	κ <sup>w</sup> aŋgo	κ <sup>w</sup> aŋga
82 come	ʃe:we	sara	ʃewi	sawa	sawa

Gloss	Lamang	Hdi	Vemgo-Mabas	Gvoko	Dghwede
83 send	NO ENTRY	ɛunaj	ɛunu	dʒa	iʔija
84 walk	psuku	la	mbaɖa	mbaɖa	dzuwa
85 fall	ɣəɣumba	dəɖagata	aɛdəɖa	ɖuveɖe \ iɬimbəɖe	ʔija
86 leave	lubula	laɕ <sup>w</sup> i	mbaɖa	ɬija	jaɕa
87 fly	ndura	ndru	ndru	ndəla	ndela
88 pour	puɣa	pəɕaj	mbɛra	pa \ pəɾuse	pəɕə
89 strike	dza	dzaj	dzu	ndeba	kəɖa
90 bite	χudəta:	χiʔidaj	ɛdu	dinza	ndzaɣa
91 wash (smth)	ɣ <sup>w</sup> uba	ɛobaj	ɛobo	χuba	ɛ <sup>w</sup> aʔa
92 split	ntata	ta \ tanapta	mta	uɣa	tsige
93 give	vəla	vɭaj	vɭa	məma	birbə
94 steal	ɣila	ɛalaj	ɛili	gəl:ə	gələ
95 squeeze	əbitsa	dɪtsaj	ɖitsu	dɪʃa	ʔitsa
96 cultivate	ɣuva	χvaj	ɛəva	manɬra	usa
97 bury	paɖa	lamta	paɖə	paɖube	χəɖa
98 burn	ɖuɣa	draj	dru	təɾuse	dəga
99 eat	za	za	za	uza	wuza
100 drink	sa	sa	sa	χuta	χu:ta
101 vomit	vunay <sup>w</sup> a	vənaxinta	vənax <sup>w</sup> a	vɾaxa	vɾaxa
102 suck	uɖitsa	ɖisa	uɖis	dɪtsa	utsa
103 spit (sth out)	untfa	tfiginta	tfu \ tɬəməta	tfa	tfa
104 blow	uvu	χafaj	vusu	safa	fəge
105 swell	ŋgaɬa	ɬaku	awŋgaɬa	χɬa \ iχɬute	χɬa
106 give birth	jede	jəku	jəku \ aχija	ijede \ juzar	jige
107 die	mta	mta	aχəmta	mtɬa	mtsa
108 kill	ɬiga	dzadza	aɛɖza	kəɖa	kəɖa
109 push	ɬu	ɬiŋg <sup>w</sup> a	tung <sup>w</sup> a	tungg <sup>w</sup> a	pχəpχə
110 pull	atida	tɖa	tɖu	tɖa	ndɖa
111 sing	əlɣe	faɭaɣa	fɪɣa	faɭaɣa	ndiɣe
112 play (a game)	gogide	zavzavə \ katskatsu	mbrek	χudʒuku	mbəɖuk <sup>w</sup> e
113 be afraid	tuɣuwɪŋ	ɣəŋ	ɣuʔin	ɣuɣu	gidza
114 want	dowi	dɖaj	tambi	dawa	dawa
115 say	kə	mna	zalu	tɣa	k <sup>w</sup> ara
116 see	nvya	nɛa	nɛa	nɛa	nɛanka
117 show	mara	mara	bisu	marəne	nɛine
118 hear (listen)	sini	sna	sna	tɬina	ts <sup>3</sup> na
119 know	sina	snanta	santa	tɬine	tsamine
120 count	mide	mbəɖa	mbaɖa	məɖa	tiɣotug <sup>w</sup> a

Gloss	Guduf	Gava	Chikide	Chinene	Glavda
1 mouth	ɛaja	ɛaja	ɛaja	ɛaja	ɛaja
2 eye	dijə	dija	dije	gija	gija
3 head	ɛare	ɛra	ɛəre	ɛra	ɛra
4 hair	gudzi	gudza	gudza	gudza	gudza
5 tooth	ɬide	ɬida	ɬɪda	ɬɪda	ɬɪda
6 tongue	ɽɾɛ	ɛɾɾa	ɛɾɾa	ɾɛɾa	ɛɾɛɾa
7 nose	χtre	χtɛra	χtəra	χ <sup>o</sup> tra	χtra
8 ear	ɬime	ɬima	ɬime	ɬimja	ɬimija
9a neck	kɛinda	kɛinda	kɛinda	k <sup>w</sup> inda	kuiŋgja
9b back of neck	DISQUALIFIED	---	---	---	---
9c throat	moklara	mokulara	mbokulara	mbokulara	mbakulara
10 breast	uɓa	uɓa	uɓa	uɓa	uɓa
11 arm	dəva	dəva	dəva	dəva	dəva
12a claw	χaxide	χaxida	χaxida	χarda	χarda
12b nail of hand	DISQUALIFIED	---	---	---	---
13a leg	sigə	sigə	ɟiga	ɟiga	ɟiga
13b foot	kulχasigə	kəɬχwasigə	klχufiga	ligaɟiga \ kəɬχ <sup>w</sup> əɟiga	ligaɟiga
14 buttocks	kafkafmbrte	kakafmbrta	kafkafmbrta	kakəfasoɾa	kakafesuxa
15 belly	χode	χoda	χoda	χoda	χoda
16 navel	zimbe	zimba	zimba	zamba	zimba
17 insides	dəχude	dəχoda	dəχoda	dəχoda	dek <sup>h</sup> oda
18 blood	vəze	v <sup>o</sup> za	v <sup>o</sup> za	v <sup>o</sup> za	avza
19 urine	kɛrijə	kɛrja	kɛrja	kurja	kurja
20 bone	ɬaɬa	ɬaɬa	ɬaɬa	ɬaɬa	ɬaɬa
21 skin	vəre	χotɬ <sup>o</sup> vka	vəka	ɛ <sup>o</sup> zowavra	χəluwa
22 wing	kuɟ <sup>o</sup> ba	kuɟ <sup>o</sup> ba	kuɟ <sup>o</sup> ba	ɟəmbaka	ɟəmbaka
23 feather	ɟak <sup>w</sup> e	ɟak <sup>w</sup> a	ɟak <sup>w</sup> a	gudza	gudza
24 horn	drawa	drawa	drawa	drawa	drawa
25 tail	χutile	χotila	χotila	χutjila	χukila
26 human being	wude	uda	uda	uda	uda
27 man	zg <sup>w</sup> ana	dəduŋ <sup>w</sup> a	ɛ <sup>w</sup> alva	ɛ <sup>w</sup> alva	ɛ <sup>w</sup> alva
28 woman	nɛ <sup>w</sup> asa	dəɛ <sup>w</sup> a \ nɛ <sup>w</sup> asa	nɛ <sup>w</sup> asa	usa	wusa
29 husband	zile	zilməka \ dədəməka	zila	zila	zila
30 child	zire	zəra	zəra	zra	zra
31 name	daxa	daxa	daxa	daxa	daga
32 sky	ɛazglə	ɛaz <sup>o</sup> gla	ɛaz <sup>o</sup> gla	zigla	zig <sup>o</sup> la
33 night	vide	v <sup>o</sup> dɛ	vide	v <sup>o</sup> dɛ	av <sup>o</sup> da
34 moon	ɬila	təla	təla	kiela	kil:a
35 sun	fatsija	fatsija	fatɟija	fetɟia	fatɟija
36 wind	fude	fuda	fuda	fuda	fəda
37 cloud	ɛ <sup>w</sup> ojke	ɛojka	ɛojka	ɛabaga \ ɛojka	akumba \ ɛabaga
38 dew	wurɛ	wurɾa	wurɾa	wurɾa	wurɾa
39 rain	juɛazgla	juɛazgl	juɛazgla	juwezigla	ɛabaga

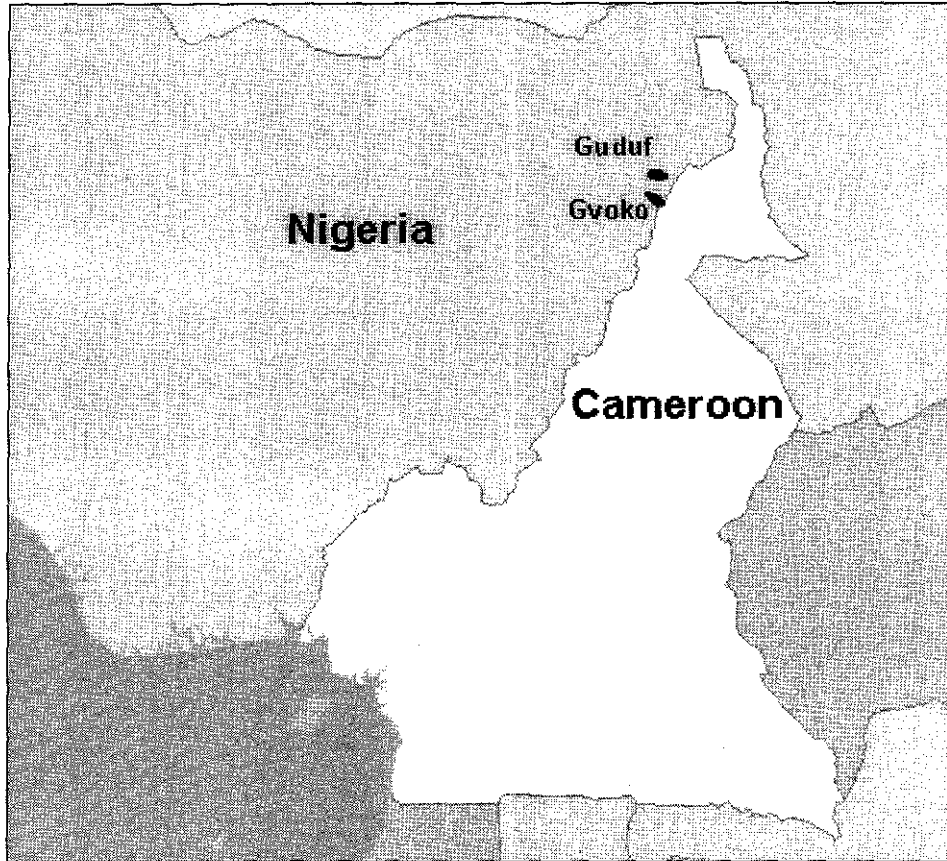
Gloss	Guduf	Gava	Chikide	Chinene	Glavda
40 ground	χaja	χaja	χaja	χaja	χaja
41 sand	zakazake	zakəzakə	zakəzakə	səkəla	səkəla
42 path	dūle	dūla	dūla	dūla	dūla
43 water	juwe	juwa	juwa	juwaχ <sup>3</sup> ba	juwa
44 stream	glak <sup>w</sup> a	zaka	dūlajuwa	dūlajuwa	warawa
45 house	m <sup>3</sup> ka	m <sup>3</sup> ka	m <sup>3</sup> ka	m <sup>3</sup> ka	χineχa
46 fire	kara	kara	kara	kara	kara
47 firewood	dkara	d <sup>3</sup> kara	t <sup>h</sup> kara	dakaramblakara	dəkarakara
48 smoke	zike	zika	zika	tsχa	atsχa
49 ash	ftse	ftsa	ftsa	ftsa	aftsa
50 knife	kojfe	κ <sup>w</sup> afja	κ <sup>w</sup> afja	κ <sup>w</sup> afa	κ <sup>w</sup> asa
51 rope	zawe	zawa	zawa	zawa	zowa
52 spear	gupa	gupa	gupa	g <sup>w</sup> opa	gupa
53 war	poge	piga	piga	κ <sup>w</sup> ava	κ <sup>w</sup> ava
54a animal	diksigā	dikd <sup>3</sup> kala	dikfiga	l <sup>3</sup> mana	aləmana
54b meat	fuwe	fuwa	fuwa	f <sup>3</sup> a	fuwa
55 dog	kəda	kəda	kəda	kəda	kəga
56 elephant	gune	guna	guna	gu:na	guna
57 goat	wakā	waka	waka	waka	ag <sup>w</sup> a
58 bird	dike	dika	dika	dika	dika
59 tortoise	ku <sup>3</sup> k <sup>w</sup> ijuwe	kə <sup>3</sup> k <sup>w</sup> əjuwa	kə <sup>3</sup> k <sup>w</sup> əjuwa	k <sup>3</sup> k <sup>w</sup> ajuwa	k <sup>3</sup> k <sup>w</sup> ajuwa
60 serpent	bube	buba	buba	dəg <sup>3</sup> dala	dikdal:ga
61 fish	k <sup>3</sup> fe	k <sup>3</sup> fa	k <sup>3</sup> fa	kilfa	k <sup>3</sup> fa
62 head louse	tsitse	tsitsa	tʃitʃja	tsatsa	tʃetʃa
63 egg	tije	tija	tija	tija	tija
64 tree	ufa	ufa	ufa	ufa	ufa
65 bark	labufa \ laba	laba	laba	laba	alaba
66 leaf	masa	masa	masa	timijufa	timijufa
67 root	təla	təla	təla	talía	talija
68 salt	təgule	təgula	təgula	izəmalaxa	iza
69 fat	ngəla	ngəla	ngəla	ŋəla	gil <sup>3</sup> ga
70a hunger	waja	waja	waja	waja	waja
70b hunger (meat)	zinda	zinda	zinda	zinda <sup>3</sup> a	tura
71 iron	t <sup>h</sup> use	t <sup>h</sup> usa	t <sup>h</sup> usa	d <sup>3</sup> g <sup>3</sup> g <sup>3</sup> a	ag <sup>3</sup> a
72 one	tek <sup>w</sup> e	tʃek <sup>w</sup>	teka	t <sup>3</sup> ika	pala
73 two	mitse	mits	buwa	b <sup>w</sup> a	buwa
74 three	χakrde	χkrđ	χkrda	χkr <sup>3</sup> da	χkrda
75 four	ufade	ufađ	ufada	ufada	ufada
76 five	ɣibe	ɣib	ɣiba	ɣba	κiba
77 six	ŋk <sup>w</sup> axe	ŋk <sup>w</sup> ax	ŋk <sup>w</sup> axa	ŋk <sup>w</sup> axa	lk <sup>w</sup> axa
78 seven	udife	udif	udifa	udifa	udifa
79 eight	təkəse	təkəs	təkəsa	t <sup>3</sup> χsa	tχsa
80 nine	vəslambade	vəslambad	vaslambada	vaslambada	bəsləmbada
81 ten	k <sup>w</sup> lke	k <sup>3</sup> dik	k <sup>w</sup> l <sup>3</sup> dika	kilawa	kəlawā
82 come	sawe	sawa	sawa	sawa	sawa
83 send	bl:a	bl:a	bl:a	bəla	bl: <sup>3</sup> ga

Gloss	Guduf	Gava	Chikide	Chinene	Glavda
84 walk	d <sup>o</sup> ge	d <sup>o</sup> ga	d <sup>o</sup> ga	digala	dəga
85 fall	ɓl:a	ɓ <sup>o</sup> la	ɓaza	ŋɓakra	mbəd <sup>o</sup> ga
86 leave	d <sup>o</sup> ge	d <sup>o</sup> gala	diga	diga	aduga
87 fly	p <sup>o</sup> ɓa	p <sup>o</sup> ɓa	p <sup>o</sup> ɓa	p <sup>o</sup> ɓa	piɓga
88 pour	dija	ɓədambəda	ɓədambəda	guja	diga
89 strike	k <sup>o</sup> da	kəda	k <sup>o</sup> dadikəda	tsiga	tsatsiga
90 bite	ɓədəva	ɓədəva	ɓədəva	ɓojga	ɓ <sup>w</sup> owg <sup>w</sup> a
91 wash (smth)	para	ɓoba	para	para	barga
92 split	waxanawaxa	t <sup>h</sup> ida	t <sup>h</sup> iɓa	taxa	tawg <sup>w</sup> a
93 give	barbəge	barbəga	barbəga	bara	vlavləga
94 steal	gl:e	gla	gla	gla	ɓəlgə
95 squeeze	ditsa	pɾtsa	ditsa	pɾtsa	pɾts <sup>o</sup> ga
96 cultivate	wusa	wusa	wusa	usa	us <sup>o</sup> ga
97 bury	χ:da	χ:da	χədaxəda	χ <sup>o</sup> da	χəd <sup>o</sup> ga
98 burn	nd <sup>o</sup> ɓane	ndɓandɓa	ndɓandɓa	mtsaga	mtɓəga
99 eat	zuwa	zuwa	zuwa	z <sup>w</sup> a	zga
100 drink	χəba	χəba	χəba	χaba	χəbga
101 vomit	vəɾɕa	vɾɕa	vɾɕa	ŋwulfa	vrəga
102 suck	dutsa	dutsa	χupada	χupada	mtɕidiga
103 spit (sth out)	tɕdutfə	tɕdutfə	tɕa	tɕa	tɕ <sup>o</sup> ga
104 blow	vɾta	fɾta	vɾta \ ɣdza	fɾta	fɾt <sup>o</sup> ga
105 swell	χɭa	χɭa	χɭa	kɭa	kɭ <sup>o</sup> ga
106 give birth	jige	jiga	jiga	jiga	jiga
107 die	ɾ <sup>o</sup> mtsa	mtsa	mtsa	mtsa	mts <sup>o</sup> ga
108 kill	k <sup>o</sup> da	k <sup>h</sup> əda	k <sup>h</sup> əda	tsiga	tsets <sup>o</sup> ga
109 push	ɭ <sup>o</sup> ga	ɭ <sup>o</sup> ga	ɭəgaɭəga	ɭ <sup>o</sup> ga	ɭ <sup>o</sup> ga
110 pull	ndɭda	ndɭda	t <sup>o</sup> da	t <sup>o</sup> da	t <sup>o</sup> d <sup>o</sup> ga
111 sing	χ <sup>o</sup> g <sup>o</sup> nduse	ndusa	ndusa	ndusa	ɓɭ <sup>o</sup> ga
112 play (a game)	ɕit <sup>o</sup> ɓəre	manasak <sup>w</sup> a	ɕidəɓəra	dra	dra
113 be afraid	gidza	gidza	gidza	gidza	gidz <sup>o</sup> ga
114 want	naɓa	naɓa	naɓa	naɓa	naga
115 say	kɔara	kɔara	kɔara	k <sup>w</sup> ara	taga
116 see	naɓa	nəɓa	nəɓa	nəɓa	vəzga
117 show	mɕanmɕa	mɕamɕa	mɕamɕa	vaza	marga
118 hear (listen)	tsna	ts <sup>o</sup> na	ts <sup>o</sup> na	ts <sup>o</sup> na	tɕiŋga
119 know	satsəge	tsatska	tsənadzga	tsatsamaka	sɾga
120 count	tigwa	təgwa	təgwa	t <sup>o</sup> g <sup>w</sup> a	kɕ <sup>o</sup> ga



## APPENDIX B -- MAPS

### *The Gvoko and Guduf areas in national context*



**Guduf and Gvoko local area**

