

MINISTRY OF SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL RESEARCH

**A SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY OF THE
GLAVDA, CINENI AND VEMGO-MABAS
LANGUAGES
OF CAMEROON AND NIGERIA**

(RAPID APPRAISAL)

**Mayo-Tsanaga Division, Far North Province
REPUBLIC OF CAMEROON**

**Adamawa and Borno States
REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA**

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A SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY OF THE GLAVDA, CINENI AND VEMGO-MABAS LANGUAGES OF CAMEROON AND NIGERIA

By Cameron Hamm

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 five speech varieties on the Nigeria-Cameroon border located in the Far North Province and Borno and Adamawa States: Glavda, Cineni, Vemgo-Mabas, Gvoko, and Guduf. This report includes only Glavda, Cineni and Vemgo-Mabas. Details concerning Gvoko and Guduf are available in a separate report (Hamm 2000).

Cameron HAMM of SIL Cameroon and Ferdinand ASSAKO of CABTAL (Cameroon Association for Bible Translation and Literacy) conducted the research, accompanied by Cornelius Zaddaku, from the Hdi language, who served as an interpreter and guide.

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 and Literature

The Glavda language is coded as [112] in the *Atlas Linguistique du Cameroun* (ALCAM) (Dieu and Renaud 1983:88). The linguistic classification is as follows: Afro-Asiatique, Tchadique-Centre A, Wandala-est. In the *Ethnologue*, Grimes (2000:178, 38) classifies Glavda in the following manner: Afro-Asiatic, Chadic, Biu-Mandara, A, A.4, Mandara Proper, Glavda. Glavda populations are found in both Nigeria and Cameroon, the population centre being in Nigeria.

The Cineni language is not found in ALCAM but Grimes (2000:172) lists it as Afro-Asiatic, Chadic, Biu-Mandara, A, A.4, Mandara Proper, Glavda. The only information given in the *Ethnologue* entry is that it is a speech form closely related to Guduf and Glavda. Cineni was not recognised as a distinct language at the time of our survey (it was seen as a dialect of either Glavda or Guduf), but in the most recent edition of the *Ethnologue* it is seen as its own language. Therefore we will treat it in a different section from Glavda.

The Vemgo-Mabas language is coded as Mabas [123] in ALCAM (Dieu and Renaud 1983:88). The linguistic classification is as follows: Afro-Asiatique, Tchadique-Centre A, Wandala-ouest. The *Ethnologue* lists it as Vemgo-Mabas with Nigeria as its population centre and one-third of its speakers in Cameroon. Grimes (2000:200, 53) classifies Mabas in the following manner: Afro-Asiatic, Chadic, Biu-Mandara, A, A.4, Lamang. Earlier, Vemgo-Mabas-speakers were understood to be a dialect of Lamang (in the *Ethnologue* it is listed as South Laamang), but Vemgo-Mabas-speakers neither understand nor accept Lamang well enough to use its literature.

Previous research in these languages include an article on pronouns and verbs in Glavda (Rapp 1966), and a Glavda-English dictionary (Rapp 1968). Rapp's work focused primarily on the Glavda language, however it is not certain if, at the time, the author considered Guduf, a language to the south and west 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 this, the gospel of Mark and a songbook has been published for church use. As for Vemgo-Mabas, a 120-item word list exists, along with mention of the language in a survey conducted primarily on the Hdi and Lamang languages (Stalder 1993). 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 indication of ethnic groups and villages situated in the Mandara mountains (see Appendix B, map 4). There is no documentation available on Cineni.

1.2 Location

The majority of Glavda-speakers are found in the Gwoza Local Government Area in Borno State of Nigeria in eleven villages: Ngoshie, Agapalawa, Atagara, Amuda, Bokwa, Agandjara, Arboko, Halaghwa, Zamga, Ashigashiya, and Djibrili. These last two villages extend into Cameroon in the Koza Subdivision of the Mayo-Tsanaga Division in the Far North Province. The team conducted three group interviews in Agapalawa, Djibrili and Ngoshie. The Glavda area is easily accessible by road from Nigeria or Cameroon. From Nigeria, you leave the main highway connecting Maiduguri and Mubi at the village of Pulka and turn east and south skirting around a mountain ridge rising from the plain.

The Cineni-speaking population lives in the village of Cineni on the plains, surrounded by Glavda and Guduf villages in the Gwoza Local Government Area in Borno State of Nigeria. Cineni is accessible on the road between Ngoshie and Chikide.

Vemgo-Mabas is spoken in Mokolo Subdivision of the Mayo-Tsanaga Division in the Far North Province of Cameroon. However, the majority of Vemgo-Mabas-speakers are found in Nigeria in the Michika Local Government Area in Adamawa State. The Vemgo-Mabas language is spoken in the village of Mabas in Cameroon (including the quarters of Mayo-Sobare, Yekawa, Djambutu, Waizgad and Maksi) and eleven villages in Nigeria: Gwendji, Rovilik, Druf, Meda, Hiduk, Mazawa, Vdjirik, Vrokotok, Rumsi, Robadlama, and Vizik. All of these eleven are on the plains except for Vizik which is on the mountain plateau next to the Cameroon border. The majority of Vemgo-Mabas-speakers live on the plains south of Madagali, most of the villages hugging the foot of the mountains. (see Appendix B, map 3).

1.3 Population

The *Ethnologue* gives 20,000 Glavda-speakers in both countries in 1963 (the year of a Nigerian government census regarded as the most reliable in recent times) and 2,800 in Cameroon (1982). If we assume a growth rate of 2.5% per year¹, we can estimate a present population of about 40,000. Because it is very difficult to get reliable population data (some of the *lawans*'² districts are split between different linguistic groups), this will have to suffice as our most adequate population estimate for the moment.

Cineni is listed in the *Ethnologue* as having 3,000 or more speakers in 1998. We were unable to access any information to evaluate this number, but based on our impression from being in the village, it seems reasonable.

¹ 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).

² A *lawan* is the lowest level of government official in Nigeria.

The *Ethnologue* gives a 1993 estimate of 10,000 Vemgo-Mabas in Nigeria and less than 5,000 in Cameroon, citing ALCAM 1984 for the population estimate in Cameroon. Unfortunately no other population estimate was available from any official sources. Based on visiting the area and requesting an informal estimate of the population from the village chief, it seems like a more plausible number for the population in Cameroon to be 1,000 instead of 5,000. This would bring the total population figure down to 11,000 in both countries.

1.4 Livelihood

The Glavda, Cineni, and Vemgo-Mabas peoples are farmers for the most part, growing guinea corn, millet, groundnuts and beans as well as raising goats and sheep. The Vemgo-Mabas do most of their commerce at the Madagali market in Nigeria. The Glavda frequent markets in Gwoza, Gava, Ngoshie and also travel to Barawa, Ashigashiya, Kerawa (the latter two being on the Cameroon border) for commerce. Cineni frequent markets in Ngoshie, Gwoza, as well as Barawa and Ashigashiya.

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 (present day Hdi-speaking area). The Glavda call Ngoshe Sama their place of origin (Gvoko-speaking area³ in the mountains). There seemed to be a consensus that all of the Vemgo-Mabas speaking villages had origins in Tourou as well.

People from Cineni are said to be from a place in the mountains between Chikide and Dghwede areas. A knowledgeable elderly man from the Guduf area gave us the family lineage of his or her ethnic group and stated that the ancestors of Cineni and Guduf were brothers, but somewhere along the way, they split off and the Cineni descended from the mountains to the plains and mixed with Glavda-speakers. Hence, they consider Cineni to be something of a mixed language, combining their Guduf roots with Glavda on the plains.

2. THE SURVEY

2.1 Purpose of the Survey

This survey was conducted as part of an overall goal to assess the need for language development 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 Glavda [112] and Mabas [123] in ALCAM and Glavda, Vemgo-Mabas, and Cineni 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.

³ The Gvoko cite Tourou as their place of origin.

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 questionnaires and elicited word lists from the villages of Agapalawa, Ngoshie, Djebrili-Cameroon and Djebrili-Nigeria (Glavda); Mabas, Vizik, Meda, and Vdjirik (Vemgo-Mabas), and Cineni.

To assess the possibility of speakers' using the mother tongue 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 Glavda, three instructors were contacted (two in Ngoshie and one in Agapalawa) and interviewed concerning the use of the mother tongue during the first years of primary school.

Because of CABTAL's and SIL's interest in Bible translation, the team also interviewed local church leaders. These included the church officials in Meda, Druf, and Vizik for the Vemgo-Mabas area; in the village of Cineni; and in Agapalawa and Ngoshie for the Glavda-speaking area.

3. RESULTS OF INVESTIGATION: GLAVDA (40,000)

3.1 Dialectology

Our survey results do not agree with prior work which reported three dialects of the Glavda language. The *Ethnologue* listing for Nigeria includes the dialects of Glavda, Ngoshie (Ngweshe), and Bokwa as varieties of Glavda. According to the results of our group interviews, there is some disagreement among the communities as to how many speech varieties there may be and who belongs to each group.

In general there was some hesitancy to divide the Glavda-speaking community into groups. There was a strong perception that all of Glavda was one group and that the only sub-groupings that could be made would be along clan lines. However, when probed further, respondents to group interviews in Ngoshie identified two dialect groups: those who speak quickly and those who speak slowly. Those who speak slowly were people from Ngoshie, Amuda, Arboko, and Boko (Bokwa). All other Glavda villages form the "fast-speech" group.

People present at the group interview in Djebrili identified three perceptible speech varieties. Amuda and Arboko each formed varieties of their own, and all the remaining villages formed the third dialect group.

In Agapalawa during the group interview, men signalled four dialect groupings: Ngoshie and Boko in one group, Arboko in another, Amuda in the third group and then all the rest in a fourth group.

Political boundaries may have been affecting some of the choices people made in dialect groupings because a *lawan* is located in Ngoshie, Boko, Agapalawa, and Chikide (whose area includes the village of Arboko).

Although somewhat unclear, we can see that everywhere we asked, Ngoshie and Boko were put in the same group. In the same way, Amuda and Arboko were always grouped different from others (and twice grouped different even from each other). Therefore, if one were to decide dialects on the basis of group interviews alone, it would seem best to describe the Glavda language as having four very similar dialects:

- Agapalawa, Atagara, Ashigashiya, Djebrili, Agandjara, Halaghwa, and Zamga seem to form one speech variety corresponding to the Glavda dialect listed in the *Ethnologue*. Estimated population: 28,000.
- Ngoshie and Boko (corresponding to Ngoshie in the *Ethnologue*). Estimated population: 8,000.
- Amuda (not mentioned in the *Ethnologue*). Estimated population: 4,000.
- Arboko (not mentioned in the *Ethnologue*). Estimated population: 4,000.

3.1.1 Inherent Intelligibility

There is always inherent intelligibility between Glavda people. At all three group interviews everyone said without exception that any Glavda can understand any other Glavda no matter which village he is from. Young children can equally understand any Glavda speaker. The international border does not seem to impede intelligibility in any way either.

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", we have followed the inspection method. By this we mean that as words are examined, those that look like they exhibit similar components 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 because of a lack of availability) as follows (approximate population figures in parentheses).

Guduf (20,000) – Guduf dialect⁴

94 Gava (10,000) – Guduf dialect

94 93 Chikide (10,000) – Guduf dialect

78 79 82 Cineni (5,000)

70 70 72 85 Glavda (40,000)

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 (11,000)

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

The word list for Glavda was elicited in Agapalawa and confirmed in Ngoshie and only negligible differences were found. We have used the Agapalawa list to represent Glavda. Because of this high degree of similarity, no further word lists were gathered in other villages.

⁴ All word lists are from different languages except for the first three, Guduf, Gava, and Chikide, which are dialects of the same language.

Glavda's highest similarity is with Cineni, but is also somewhat similar to the dialects of Guduf (Chikide, Gava, Guduf). The value of word list comparison here is mainly to screen out intelligibility. As a general rule, SIL has found that when the percentage of apparent cognates between two speech forms is less than 70% (taking into account a certain range of error), it is almost certain that the speech forms will *not* be mutually intelligible, and it is therefore appropriate to consider them as separate languages. However, if the lexical similarity between speech forms is 70% or greater, such decisions are not so easy to arrive at; a more direct method of testing for dialect intelligibility is necessary in order to determine the level of comprehension between the speech forms (Bergman 1989: 8.1.5–8.1.6). Therefore, more testing would be needed to further quantify the inherent intelligibility that Glavda-speakers have of Cineni and Guduf.

3.2 Multilingualism

3.2.1 Comprehension and Use

In this section, I will discuss the languages of which the Glavda people exhibit acquired intelligibility. Acquired intelligibility is used in reference to a language that is learned through extensive contact as opposed to a language that is understood due purely to linguistic similarity in which case we would speak of "inherent intelligibility."

Among the Glavda, the only local language that is spoken in addition to the mother tongue is Wandala. Wandala is classified in the *Ethnologue* as A4, Mandara Proper, Mandara (Glavda, is A4, Mandara Proper, Glavda). It is unclear how much effort is required for a Glavda person to learn to speak Wandala, but since Wandala is a large group and is fairly similar to Glavda, many Glavda learn it. However, it is not as widely spoken as is Hausa (see below).

3.2.2 Languages of Wider Communication

Hausa is the predominant language of wider communication (LWC) in this area. Glavda-speakers use Hausa most often with people from other ethnic groups, with the exception of Wandala-speakers, with whom they use both Hausa and Wandala. In the village of Djibrili in Cameroon, Fulfulde was used more in the past, but now Hausa is replacing it as the LWC.

English is the national language spoken in Nigeria, but among the Glavda only those who have gone to school can speak it. French is the official language in northern Cameroon, 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 Glavda have a positive attitude toward the use of Wandala. Most Glavda interviewed would like to learn to read and write in Wandala because it is a neighboring language and many already speak it. They also expressed interest in learning to read and write in Hausa and English.

As far as a choice for a reference dialect, it seems that the Glavda dialect would be a reasonable choice because it was preferred by the majority of those questioned and it is the largest dialect. The Ngoshie dialect however, is also acceptable to most and it seems to be the socio-economic centre. 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 dialects.

3.3 Language Vitality

The chief concern of this section of the report is to describe the vitality of Glavda in the presence of Hausa, the LWC of the area. Many Glavda speak Hausa, and there is significant indication that Hausa is gaining ground especially among the youth in most linguistic domains within the Glavda community. In order to determine if a language development project would be viable in Glavda, then, it is important to determine whether Glavda 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, Glavda is the language of choice in the home, with friends of the same age, and in the fields. At the local market both Glavda and Hausa are spoken. When the Glavda come to the larger markets, they speak Hausa, Wandala, and Glavda.

In Nigeria, the official language of instruction is English. However, students are not discouraged from using the mother tongue or Hausa on the school premises. When students do not understand, Hausa or the mother tongue 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.

Glavda-speakers use their mother tongue 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 many Christian denominations present in this area. In Nigeria, there are the Church of Christ in Nigeria (COCIN) and the Ekkliyyar Yan'uwa a Nigeria (EYN – the Christian Brethren Church), Deeper Life Bible Church, National Evangelical Mission, Baptist Church of Nigeria, and the Roman Catholic Church. Although there are also many Muslims in the area, there are fewer Muslims than Christians among the Glavda. EYN is the largest denomination with 20 congregations in the Glavda-speaking area.

The EYN churches use Hausa in their services but everything is also interpreted into Glavda because there are some that do not understand Hausa well (mostly the older generation). We were not able to speak to anyone from any of the other denominations, but respondents in the group interviews reported that the general trend among other churches is to use Hausa for all parts of the service, with occasional interpretation into the mother tongue.

The four villages we visited all have a Muslim community. Most of the villages are one-third to one-half Muslim. Although we were unable to inquire directly of members of the Muslim community in every village, respondents to group interviews 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.

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

3.3.2 Language Maintenance and Shift

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

One way to answer this question is to investigate if Glavda youth are speaking a language of wider communication (in this case, Hausa) more than their mother tongue. It is also essential to know if the youth are mixing Hausa with Glavda. 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 Glavda.

When we asked the question, "*Do your children speak another language more than Glavda?*" respondents from Agapalawa and Ngoshie answered that the youth speak more Hausa than the mother tongue. But in Djebrili, the youth are reported to speak more mother tongue than Hausa.

In all interviews, the adults reported that their children mix Hausa with Glavda, but all viewed this development negatively. When we asked if parents are happy to hear their children using Hausa in the home, respondents reacted negatively to the question. They feel that by using Hausa instead of Glavda in the home, children are showing bad manners, and it is disrespectful. Some fear that the children may forsake Glavda and just use Hausa. Some say it is bad because some people don't understand Hausa, so they won't understand what they say if they use Hausa. Some say it pollutes the mother tongue when children mix Glavda with Hausa.

The fact that Glavda youth are using more Hausa, and are doing so to the detriment of Glavda, raises a concern about the long-term vitality of the language, even if Djebrili youths don't speak as much Hausa as they speak their mother tongue. The older generation still generally do not speak or understand Hausa very well, but the rest of the community seems to have a generally good understanding of Hausa, although no individual questionnaires were used to probe this area more in-depth. The impression that we have is that Hausa is becoming more and more widely used among the Glavda. And because younger Glavda speak Hausa better than they do Glavda, it seems as if the future of Glavda is in jeopardy. At the least, the Glavda-speaking community seems to be shrinking. At the worst, Glavda could be in danger of extinction within the next generation or two.

3.3.3 Attitudes Toward the Mother Tongue

Attitudes toward the mother tongue are quite positive. In all three group interviews conducted, Glavda-speakers are interested in learning to read and write in their own language and want their children to read and write in Glavda 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 Glavda in the schools if such a program were to exist.

The two church leaders interviewed in Agapalawa and Ngoshie had the same opinion about the use of Glavda. Both see the need for using the mother tongue in their churches and are interested and willing to help in the translation of the Bible into Glavda. They say that the old men and women do not understand Hausa, so there is always interpretation done to accommodate their needs.

3.4 Language Development Project Viability

According to Watters (1990:6.7.1), 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. I will here follow with a discussion of these three factors in the context of the Glavda 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 concluded that the Glavda community is linguistically homogenous. People from all parts of the Glavda-speaking area say that they all speak Glavda. People were hesitant to divide up the language into dialects, wanting instead to emphasise similarities and unity.

Culturally, the Glavda consider themselves to be one ethnic group. Glavda-speakers make up the overwhelming majority of the population in every Glavda village.

Geographically, Glavda villages are not difficult to access and move around in, and everyone we spoke to indicated that they can get to any village at any time of the year.

Economically, Glavda villages are dependent on Nigerian markets—even the Glavda found in Cameroon go to markets in Nigeria. The border does not stop people from going to buy and sell in Nigeria.

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. Fundamentalist Muslims are in the minority, and Muslim-Christian conflict is not prevalent.

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

3.4.2 Openness to Change

The Glavda community is open to change. This attitude is reflected in their responses to questions concerning health, education, and community development.

There are health clinics in Ashigashiya, Kerawa, and Agapalawa. When people are in need of medical assistance, they go to these clinics.

In both Nigeria and Cameroon, more than half of the primary school-age Glavda children go to school. Of those who finish primary school, a few continue on to secondary school.

People on both sides of the border are interested in developing their communities. The village of Agapalawa has a development association in which they train people in various practical skills. Djibrili village has a development association and they teach children how to play football and how to improve community sanitation.

3.4.3 Middle-aged Leadership

An important factor in determining the viability of a language project is the presence of middle-aged leadership. Albeit past middle-aged, the village leaders in both countries are between 60 and 80 years old and all live in the village. 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 leave the village after they finish their education in search of employment in the cities. A minority remains in the village to keep on farming. If the trend of leaving to search for employment continues, there will be a smaller pool of young men to take over from the current leaders of these villages.

Of the four types of communities defined by Watters (traditional, changing, changed, and disintegrating), the Glavda people fit best into what is described as a changed community: Changed communities are characterised by social homogeneity, and openness to change, but the lack of village-based middle-aged leadership due to increasing availability of education and the flight of youth to urban centres to serve in government and non-government urban roles. Watters' advice is that, "the best type of literacy program would be one which focused on specialised interest groups: i.e., churches, cultural associations, co-operatives and so forth, in order to help them meet their needs for written communication in the local language." (1990:6.7.6).

4. RESULTS OF INVESTIGATION: CINENI (5,000)

4.1 *Dialectology*

4.1.1 Inherent Intelligibility

The Cineni speech form is challenging to try to assess. The village of Cineni is composed of a group of people who descended from Guduf, but whose language has adopted features of Glavda. Their speech variety has changed so much that they can no longer easily communicate with speakers of Guduf. The language is also separate from Glavda (Glavda-speakers find it hard to understand Cineni). The language of Cineni is only found in the village by the same name and has no dialect differences. Respondents indicated that all people from the village of Cineni can understand one another perfectly.

Cineni-speakers understand Glavda and Gava-Guduf to a limited extent; in any interaction with them, each may start to use his or her mother tongue but will

eventually use Hausa to communicate since it is too difficult to understand the other's language. Therefore, strictly speaking, there is no other language with which Cineni is inherently intelligible.

It is interesting to note here that respondents to group interviews in Agapalawa and the Cameroon side of Djibrili (Glavda villages) stated that when they meet Cineni people, each person uses his or her mother tongue in communication. However, during group interviews in Ngoshie and the Nigerian side of Djibrili (other Glavda villages), they said Hausa and Glavda were used respectively.

As for Guduf villages, the people in Chikide said that when they meet with someone from Cineni, each person is able to use his or her own mother tongue 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 Cineni people; however, in Kusarha, a village up in the mountains, Hausa must be used to communicate with the Cineni. Although members of Guduf dialects also acquire the ability to understand the Cineni language, Cineni-speakers don't understand Guduf well.

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 Cineni (5,000)

70 70 72 **85** Glavda (40,000)

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 (11,000)

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

Cineni's most closely related language is Glavda at 85% similarity and then Chikide-Guduf at 82%. In spite of its high similarity and historical relationship with Chikide and other dialects of Guduf, Cineni may now be just as closely related to Glavda as it is to Chikide.

Because Cineni's lexical similarity figures with Glavda and Guduf are higher than 70%, more testing would be needed to further probe the inherent intelligibility that Cineni-speakers may have of Glavda and the various dialects of Guduf.

4.2 Multilingualism

4.2.1 Comprehension and Use

In this section I will discuss the languages of which the Cineni people have acquired intelligibility. Again, acquired intelligibility is used in reference to a language that is learned through extensive contact as opposed to a language that is understood due to linguistic similarity.

Among the local languages, Cineni-speakers understand and use Glavda best. In communication with the Glavda, they may use a combination of Cineni, Glavda, and Hausa.

4.2.2 Languages of Wider Communication

Hausa is the predominant language of wider communication (LWC) in the area. Cineni-speakers most often use Hausa with all others except the Glavda in which case they use some Glavda. Hausa is also used quite extensively by the youth when speaking among themselves, even when all are from Cineni.

4.2.3 Language Attitudes

Attitudes are favourable toward Glavda and the Gava dialect of Guduf. However, there were some negative attitudes expressed about reading and writing in Chikide. Respondents to the group interview held in Cineni expressed reticence to be literate in Gava-Guduf or Glavda, but were totally negative with regards to Chikide-Guduf. Attitudes were quite favourable among the youth, especially towards the use of Hausa. They find Hausa to be one of the important avenues for social advancement.

4.3 Language Vitality

The chief concern of this section of the report is to describe the language vitality of Cineni 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 Cineni 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

Responses to the questionnaires indicate that Cineni is the language of choice in the home and in the fields. But with friends of the same age, Hausa is preferred by the youth, while the older generation still use the mother tongue. At most markets and dispensaries, Hausa must be used because there are people from many different ethnic groups there.

Within the schools, English is the language of instruction. Teachers are free to use Hausa or the mother tongue to explain when children do not understand. During breaks at the Cineni primary school, children use the mother tongue among themselves and the teacher also uses the mother tongue sometimes.

Cineni-speakers use their mother tongue for all traditional ceremonies and announcements, but Hausa and English are used in local government area meetings.

Religious Domains

There are two Christian denominations present in Cineni village. The first church in the area was the Ekklisiyar Yan'uwa a Nigeria (EYN – The Christian Brethren Church) and is now the church with the most adherents. There is also a small church called the Bright Church of Christ. Cineni also has a significant Muslim population.

In the EYN Church, all parts of the service are held in Hausa, but they also translate the sermon into Cineni as they do the Bible reading and announcements. In the Bright Church of Christ, the mother tongue is not used. Prayers, songs and the sermon are in English and Hausa.

The village seems to be one-third to one-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.

In summary, the Cineni language seems to be spoken as much as Hausa at present. But more and more people are speaking Hausa in many domains, especially the youth among their friends. Some people speak more Hausa than the mother tongue every day.

4.3.2 Language Maintenance and Shift

To evaluate the language maintenance or shift of the mother tongue in the Cineni community, we examined the people's attitudes toward their mother tongue and their patterns of language use. People say they are eager to read and write their language, but it is clear that people are speaking Hausa often as well. We want to know if this positive attitude toward the mother tongue carries on to their children and if the Cineni 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 mother tongue. We also want to know if the youth are mixing Hausa with Cineni. 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 Cineni.

When we asked the question, "*Do your children speak another language more than Cineni?*" we found that the response was affirmative. The youth present at the group interview stated that they use Hausa more often than they use Cineni.

The adults report that their children mix Hausa with Cineni but they see this as a negative development. The elders see the mixing of the languages as negative because it is good to know Cineni and Hausa and they do not want to reject either language. If a child responds in Hausa when spoken to in the mother tongue, the adults think this is not good, but the youth contend that it is good, because Hausa is important to learn from a young age. The adults said that children these days cannot speak the mother tongue without adding Hausa and the youth that leave the village for longer periods (10 years) come back and cannot speak the mother tongue anymore.

Any outsiders that come to live in Cineni will not learn to speak Cineni. The only outsiders that are present are a few people from the villages of Chikide, Gava (Guduf villages) and some Glavda-speakers. When the Guduf people interact with Cineni people, each uses his or her mother tongue, and Glavda-speakers will continue to use Glavda, since so many Cineni speak or understand Glavda. Otherwise people will also use Hausa to communicate.

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

From our observations, evidence points toward the fact that language shift in the Cineni community is well under way. In cities and towns, youth rely on Hausa more than their mother tongue. In spite of this, Cineni 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 mother tongue, it may not be long before Hausa

is spoken more often and in more domains than Cineni, or before Cineni disappears completely.

4.3.3 Attitudes Toward the Mother Tongue

Attitudes toward Cineni are positive. Respondents to the group interview were interested in learning to read and write in their mother tongue.

The teacher we interviewed said that he would choose Cineni over English or any other language for the language of instruction in the classroom after Hausa. He thinks that it would benefit students to learn to read and write in their own language, and stated that he wishes to see the mother tongue introduced in the classroom.

The secretary of the EYN church says they use much more Hausa than they do the mother tongue because so many pastors and church workers are not living in their native areas. He encourages the use of the mother tongue in the services, but a problem arises when the pastor does not know Cineni. He expressed a desire to have the Bible in the language of the people and said that he would be willing to work with other denominations for the goal of Bible translation in Cineni, providing money and food to those involved.

4.4 Language Development Project Potential

As mentioned in section 3.4, Watters (1990:6.7.1) 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. I follow with a discussion of these three factors in the context of the Cineni language.

4.4.1 Homogeneity of the Linguistic Community

From our observations and questions, the Cineni community is linguistically homogenous. The Cineni language is spoken only in one community and they expressed no dialect distinctions.

Culturally, the Cineni-speakers consider themselves one people and are aware of their shared history. Geographically, Cineni is totally homogenous, having no area of the village that is cut off from another part at any time of the year.

Religion could become a divisive factor because there is a large number of Cineni who are Muslim and also a large number who are Christian. But because many also adhere to traditional religion in addition to either Islam or Christianity, Muslim-Christian clashes are less likely to occur.

Overall, we have observed that the Cineni people are socially cohesive since they share a common language, culture, and history. Religious differences do not presently appear to divide the community.

4.4.2 Openness to Change

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

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

Most children in the villages surveyed attend Cineni primary school and a few of those who complete primary education attend secondary school in Ngoshie as well.

The Cineni Development Association co-ordinates activities such as building dispensaries, digging wells, and building roads and power lines.

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. The *lawan* is located in Chikide (a Guduf-speaking village) and rules over three villages which speak three different languages (Guduf, Glavda, and Cineni). But the lower level leader (*bulama*) lives in Cineni and is 40 years old. Everyone affirms that in the future there will be someone to take the place of the present leaders.

It is important to note that most of the young people, if they leave the village to continue education, come back to the village to farm. If this trend continues, there will indeed always be someone suitable to take over leadership of the village.

Of the four types of communities defined by Watters (traditional, changing, changed, and disintegrating), the Cineni people fit best into what is described as a changing community. This indicates 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.

5. RESULTS OF INVESTIGATION: VEMGO-MABAS (11,000)

The Vemgo-Mabas are a group of about 11,000 speakers (without a language project) adjacent to two larger groups, Lamang with 50,000 speakers and Hdi with 40,000, each with a language project.

The *Ethnologue* lists three dialects of Vemgo-Mabas in Nigeria: Vemgo, Mabas, and Vizik. The first two appear in the Cameroon listing. A word list was elicited in the village of Mabas and checked in Vizik and Meda, with only negligible differences observed.

5.1 Dialectology

Our survey results disagree with the *Ethnologue* (2000). The term 'Vemgo' seems to apply only to the villages on the plains and refers only to an ethnic group, not the language. The term that the Vemgo use for their language is Ghuduvun. Vizik also calls their language Ghuduvun, but also use the term 'Kigiwo.' Mabas people only use 'Kigiwo' for their language.

In general there was some hesitancy to divide the Vemgo-Mabas speaking community into smaller groups for any reason; there was a strong perception that all of Vemgo-Mabas was one group, even including the Mabas and Vizik within an indivisible group. However, when asked to define groups based on speech differences alone, respondents to group interviews in Meda and Vdjirik (both villages on the plains) identified two groups: the villages on the plains and those in the mountains, who are said to speak 'harshly', fast and with a high voice. The mountain dialect includes Vizik in Nigeria and Mabas in Cameroon, while all the other villages on the plains form the other dialect. Vemgo would be an appropriate name for the plains dialect and possibly Vizik-Mabas for the mountain dialect. In order to use less ambiguous terminology and decrease confusion, we will refer to the two dialects as the 'plains dialect' and the 'mountain dialect' in this report.

5.1.1 Inherent Intelligibility

Speakers of both the plains dialect and the mountain dialect understand each other without any problem whatsoever. When asked if a child of 6 years of age could understand someone from the other dialect, the answer was always in the affirmative.

In all villages visited except Mabas, an assertion was made that when encountering a Lamang-speaker, each uses his or her mother tongue. Again, some disagreement came when judging if communication took place slowly or normally. People from Mabas learn Lamang in order to speak with them. This is due to the high rate of intermarriage with Lamang. The fact that Mabas is the farthest village away from Lamang and on the other side of the border from Nigeria contributes to the decrease in contact which is needed for the Lamang to understand Mabas. This is another reason why Mabas people do not use Lamang. All respondents agreed that Lamang and Vemgo-Mabas are not the same ethnic group and do not share the same origins⁵.

5.1.2 Lexicostatistical Analysis

I 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 Cineni (5,000)

70 70 72 85 Glavda (40,000)

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 (11,000)

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

The two most lexically similar languages to Vemgo-Mabas are Hdi and Lamang, both with practically the same similarity (82% and 81% respectively). The next closest language is Gvoko at 64% similarity but this is not high enough to suspect intercomprehension.

Because Hdi and Lamang's similarity is above the 70% threshold, more testing would be needed to further probe the inherent intelligibility that Vemgo-Mabas-speakers may have of Hdi and Lamang.

5.2 Multilingualism

5.2.1 Comprehension and Use

In this section I will discuss the languages of which the Vemgo-Mabas people have acquired intelligibility. Again, acquired intelligibility is used in reference to a language that is learned through extensive contact as opposed to a language that is understood due to linguistic similarity.

The languages that were cited as those that people have learned include Mafa, Kapsiki, Margi, Sukur, and Fulfulde. Kapsiki (from a different sub-group of Central Chadic) seems to be the language that was cited the most, but there is only a small

⁵ All respondents agree that the Vemgo-Mabas people from both dialects share the same origin.

minority that have learned to speak it. Again, adjacent languages Hdi and Lamang (from the same sub-group) were cited as different languages that some have learned.

Although all respondents to group interviews indicated that when encountering a Hdi-speaker, each person uses his or her mother tongue, there was disagreement within both dialect areas about whether a child of 6 years of age could understand a Hdi-speaker. It was agreed by all, however, that for any interaction, both speakers would have to speak slowly in order to be understood by the other.

5.2.2 Languages of Wider Communication

Hausa is the predominant language of wider communication (LWC) in Nigeria, and Fulfulde is used extensively as the LWC in Cameroon. Vemgo-Mabas-speakers most often use Hausa with people who speak a language that they do not know. People from Mabas use more Fulfulde than Hausa but those from Vizik use both Fulfulde and Hausa, depending on which LWC is more easily negotiated. Generally speaking, the youth speak Hausa better than the older generations.

5.2.3 Language Attitudes

All Vemgo-Mabas-speakers have a good attitude toward the use of Hdi with the exception of Vizik, who consider the Hdi village of Tourou too far away to be of benefit to them. Hdi was chosen the majority of the time as one of the languages they would like to learn to read and write in, and the one that they understand the best.

Lamang was generally considered less favourably by those interviewed. It is more difficult to understand and the impression we got from our interviews was that they found the Lamang language and people distant and the literature not helpful to them.

Attitudes are also generally favourable toward Hausa. Many times it was chosen by those interviewed for reading and writing in a language other than their own. Since it is a widely used LWC in Nigeria, there is strong impetus to learn it well.

It seems that the plains dialect would be a reasonable choice for a reference dialect. There is a bigger population there and a more homogenous population. 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 both dialects.

5.3 Language Vitality

The chief concern of this section of the report is to describe the language vitality of Vemgo-Mabas in the presence of LWCs in the region. From an early age, Hausa is used in schools, and its influence as the LWC is vast in Nigeria. Fulfulde is also an important LWC for mountain dialect-speakers who have more contact with Cameroonians from other language groups. With this in mind, it is important to determine whether Vemgo-Mabas will continue to be used alongside the predominant LWCs.

Following is a summary of how those interviewed report their language use in different domains of life (5.3.1), their attitudes toward and use of the LWC (5.3.2), and their expressed attitudes toward their own language and its potential for development (5.3.3).

5.3.1 Language Use

General Community

Questionnaires indicate that in all of the villages which the survey team visited, Vemgo-Mabas is the language of choice in the home and in the fields. But with friends of the same age in the villages of Vizik and Meda, Hausa is also used. At most regional markets and dispensaries, Hausa or Fulfulde must be used because there are people from many different ethnic groups present. Yet when Vemgo-Mabas people meet at local markets, the Vemgo-Mabas language is used among themselves.

Within the schools, English is the language of instruction in Nigeria and French in Cameroon. In Nigeria, teachers are free to use Hausa or the mother tongue to explain when children do not understand. On breaks, children use their mother tongue and Hausa. However, in Cameroon, French is strictly enforced as the language of education and no other language is used.

Vemgo-Mabas-speakers use their mother tongue for all traditional ceremonies and announcements except in Vizik, where Hausa and Mafa are also used. Hausa is used for local government area meetings and Fulfulde for regional council meetings in the village of Mabas.

Religious Domains

There are four Christian denominations present in this area. The first church in the area was the Ekklisiyar Yan'uwa a Nigeria (EYN – The Christian Brethren Church), which is the church with the most adherents. Every village that we visited has at least one EYN congregation. Other Christian denominations include the Deeper Life Church, the Roman Catholic Church, and the Lutheran Christian Church of Nigeria. Although Christianity is the majority religion in the area, all of the villages have a Muslim presence to some extent.

In the EYN Church, all parts of the service are held in Hausa, but they also use Vemgo-Mabas for songs and prayers while the sermon is sometimes translated into the mother tongue as well. In the Deeper Life Church as well as the Catholic Church, the mother tongue and Hausa are used for all parts of the service. No data is available for language use in the Lutheran church.

The four villages we visited all have a Muslim community. For most of the villages, Muslims are in the minority. As in other language areas we visited, 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.

In summary, at present the Vemgo-Mabas language seems to be spoken as much as or more often than Hausa. But more and more people are speaking Hausa in many domains, occasionally in domains previously reserved for the mother tongue. Some youth speak more Hausa every day than they do the mother tongue.

5.3.2 Language Maintenance and Shift

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

When we asked the question, *"Do your children speak another language more than Vemgo-Mabas?"* we found that the responses were mixed. People from Meda village

replied that their children are speaking more Vemgo-Mabas than Hausa. In the same way, people from Mabas speak more Vemgo-Mabas than they speak Fulfulde. On the other hand, people from Vizik and Vdjirik feel that their children speak Hausa more than Vemgo-Mabas.

The adults from all villages report that their children mix Hausa with Vemgo-Mabas. In Vizik and Mabas (Fulfulde in the case of these villages) this is seen as a positive development; in Meda and Vdjirik, this is seen negatively.

However, when asked how one feels when a child responds in Hausa to a question in the mother tongue, all concluded that this was a bad thing. Parents worry that by using Hausa instead of Vemgo-Mabas in the home, children are abusing them, saying bad things without the parents knowing. In addition, they fear that their children will forget Vemgo-Mabas if they only speak Hausa. Finally, speaking Hausa in the home shows disrespect to the elderly, who cannot always understand Hausa well.

In spite of this all were agreed that their children speak the mother tongue well, even those coming back from an extended period of time away from the village. After some children leave the village for secondary school, only a few stay out in towns and cities in search of jobs. The majority return to the village to farm.

Interestingly, outsiders that come to live and work in Vemgo-Mabas villages will eventually learn to speak Vemgo-Mabas instead of continuing to use Hausa. The exception is Vizik, a mixed village, with a large population of outsiders. Also, when Vemgo-Mabas men marry outside the group, the wife must learn Vemgo-Mabas.

It is always difficult to ascertain the vitality of minority languages in this area where Hausa is so prevalent, but from our observations, language shift appears to be taking place in the Vemgo-Mabas community at the moment. The rate at which this is taking place, however, seems to be slower than in some other communities. Vemgo-Mabas is still probably spoken as much as Hausa is by the general population, and because the youth still speak the mother tongue well and many youth use the mother tongue more often than Hausa, this is an encouraging sign for the language's short-term vitality.

5.3.3 Attitudes Toward the Mother Tongue

Attitudes toward Vemgo-Mabas are generally positive. In every Vemgo-Mabas 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 Vemgo-Mabas. The people are proud of their language and do not want to see it die.

The three church leaders interviewed in Meda, Druf, and Vizik had the same opinion about the use of Vemgo-Mabas. All see the need for using the mother tongue in their churches and are interested and willing to help in the translation of the Bible into Vemgo-Mabas. They say that the old men and women do not understand Hausa, so there is always interpretation done to accommodate their needs.

All church leaders interviewed said that they would be willing to work with other denominations with the goal of Bible translation in Vemgo-Mabas.

5.4 Language Development Project Potential

5.4.1 Homogeneity of the Linguistic Community

From our observations and questions, the Vemgo-Mabas community is linguistically quite homogenous. The people from all the villages we visited say that they all speak

Vemgo-Mabas. The distinctions among dialects are so minimal that they did not at first want to divide the community into speech varieties.

Culturally, the Vemgo-Mabas-speakers consider themselves one people and are aware of their shared history. In all the villages we visited, Vemgo-Mabas-speakers make up an overwhelming majority of the population except in Vizik, where there is a significant amount of non-Vemgo-Mabas-speakers.

Geographically, in spite of the fact that the mountain dialect is cut off from the plains dialect by a three hour trek on foot (there is no road), especially the Mabas village which must also cross the international border to communicate with their brothers in Nigeria, people are used to travelling between the villages on the mountain and those on the plains.

Madagali, outside the Vemgo-Mabas language area, is the economic centre for the Vemgo-Mabas people in Nigeria. Mabas village, they relates more to Cameroonian markets in Mokolo and Tourou. Vemgo-Mabas villages all appear to be at about the same economic level, with the exception that those residing in the mountains have fewer amenities than villages on the plains.

Religion does not appear to be a divisive factor because the majority of Vemgo-Mabas are Christian and a minority are Muslim. Many also adhere to traditional religion in addition to either Islam or Christianity.

Overall, we have observed that the Vemgo-Mabas people are socially cohesive since they share a common language, culture, and history.

5.4.2 Openness to Change

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

All Vemgo-Mabas have access to clinics or dispensaries and use them when they have health problems. When someone is seriously ill, they go to hospital in Madagali (Nigeria) or Mokolo (Cameroon).

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 Madagali (for those in Nigeria) or Mokolo (for those in Cameroon).

In Vizik and Mabas, there are development associations. Some of their activities include building dispensaries, digging wells, and building and repairing roads and school facilities.

5.4.3 Middle-aged Leadership

A third important factor in determining the viability of a language project is the presence of middle-aged leadership. In all of the villages visited, the leadership is between 40 and 70 years. Most of the village leaders live in the village itself, whereas with respect to Mabas, some live in Mokolo. Everyone stated 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 return to the villages to farm. If this trend continues, there will be an adequate pool of people to take over leadership of these villages.

Of the four types of communities defined by Watters (traditional, changing, changed, and disintegrating), the Vemgo-Mabas people fit best into what is described as a

changing community. This indicates 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.

6. SUMMARY

6.1 Glavda (40,000 speakers)

- 1) Results from the present investigation generally indicate a straightforward social and linguistic situation in the Glavda community. However the long-term viability of the Glavda language seems to be in question. The Glavda share a strong sense of social identity. Four different speech forms have been identified within the community: Ngoshie, Glavda, Arboko, and Amuda. Although Glavda is considered a minority language in the area, most Glavda do not generally speak other languages of the local area, but are slowly shifting to Hausa.
- 2) The mother tongue is used in all domestic domains and in most aspects of everyday life. However the younger generation do not seem to share the same pattern as the older generations. The youth tend to mix Hausa with Glavda and speak Hausa more easily than the mother tongue. This raises serious concerns about the long-term viability of the Glavda language. If a language project is considered some time in the future, an updated and in-depth analysis of language vitality and viability should be done first.

Attitudes toward mother tongue development are positive and interest was expressed in supporting a language development project in concrete, practical ways.

- 3) The Glavda dialect (similar to our word list taken in Agapalawa) seems to be the first choice for a reference dialect, as chosen by the people, based on the perceived purity of the language.

6.2 Cineni (5,000 speakers)

- 1) The present survey indicates a clearly defined social situation, whereas the linguistic situation in the Cineni community is less certain. The Cineni language is spoken only in the village by the same name, and people say they speak the same language and share a social identity.
- 2) The mother tongue is used in most domestic domains and in many aspects of everyday life. However, the youth are using Hausa with greater frequency and ease in more and more domains. The youth mix Hausa with the mother tongue to the extent that some parents think their children will not learn the mother tongue well in the future. The people perceive that Hausa is gaining influence and that the youth speak more Hausa than the mother tongue. This is of special concern for a small language like Cineni.

Attitudes toward mother tongue development are positive, however. The Cineni want to see their own language written and want to learn how to read and write in their own language.

- 3) Where there is intermarriage and frequent contact, there is a higher level of acquired intelligibility. However, because Glavda is related to Cineni, the distinction between inherent and acquired intelligibility is blurred significantly. Cineni-speakers can understand and speak Glavda but, in interaction with the

Guduf community, either each person uses his or her own mother tongue or they use Hausa to communicate. Hausa is used for all other ethnic groups in the area. If the larger languages of Glavda or Guduf are ever developed, and if language shift to Hausa has not become irreversible by then, it would be good to assess the feasibility of people from Cineni using materials from one of their neighbours.

6.3 Vemgo-Mabas (11,000 speakers)

- 1) The present survey indicates a well-defined social situation, whereas the linguistic situation in the Vemgo-Mabas community is not fully clear. Vemgo-Mabas-speakers say they speak the same language and share a social identity that includes all the villages in the Vemgo ethnic group plus the villages of Vizik and Mabas in the mountains. It was difficult for them to even make distinctions between dialects, and whatever differences there may be, they do not impede intercomprehension. Although a final choice must be made by community leaders, we suggest that the plains dialect should be considered as a reference dialect because of the larger population base.
- 2) The mother tongue is used in most domestic domains and in many aspects of everyday life. However, some of the youth are using Hausa with greater frequency and ease in more and more domains. The youth mix Hausa with the mother tongue but parents still feel that their children speak the mother tongue well, even after prolonged absences from the village. Therefore, since major language shift does not appear to be taking place at the moment, the vitality of Vemgo-Mabas seems to be better than that of many small languages in the area.

Attitudes toward mother tongue development are good. Vemgo-Mabas-speakers want to see their own language written, and want their children to be able to read and write in the mother tongue.

- 3) Where there is intermarriage and frequent contact, there is a higher level of acquired intelligibility. However, because Hdi and Lamang are related to Vemgo-Mabas, the distinction between inherent and acquired intelligibility is blurred significantly. Hdi seems to be more widely understood than Lamang even though Lamang-speakers are closer and have more contact with Vemgo-Mabas-speakers than Vemgo-Mabas-speakers have with Hdi. A language project should not be started among the Vemgo-Mabas without further research into whether these people can use Hdi materials currently being produced.

7. RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Glavda (40,000 speakers)

According to David Bendor-Samuel's summary of possibilities for ongoing mother tongue literacy (1988:9.6.2), the Glavda community meets some of the criteria for the success of a mother tongue literacy and translation project. That is, they show strong cultural and demographic cohesion, a strong ethnic identity, a "natural framework for the use of mother tongue literature" (churches), and a willingness to be involved as a community. Factors working against the success of a language development project for the Glavda are its precarious situation of long-term vitality as seen by the decreasing use of the mother tongue by today's youth. We cannot tell if, in the future, the majority of Glavda will continue to speak the language or if it will be replaced by Hausa.

Although the middle-aged segment of society is very much in favour of literacy in the mother tongue, a more in-depth study would be necessary to gain a better

understanding of the vitality of the language and the patterns of language use especially among the youth before committing to a language development project.

7.2 Cineni (5,000 speakers)

The Cineni community meet some of the criteria for the success of a mother tongue 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 mother tongue literature” (schools and churches), and a willingness to be involved as a community. Factors working against the possibility of language development in the Cineni community are their extensive contact with and use of Hausa, and the small size of the linguistic community.

More information is needed to understand the patterns of bilingualism especially among the youth. Although the middle-aged segment of society is very much in favour of literacy in the mother tongue, a more in-depth study would be necessary to gain a better understanding of the vitality of the language and the patterns of language use especially among the youth before committing to a language development project. In addition, recorded text testing seems appropriate to check the Cineni population's ability to understand and possibly use Glavda and/or Guduf.

7.3 Vemgo-Mabas (11,000 speakers)

The Vemgo-Mabas community meets the criteria for the success of a mother tongue 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 mother tongue literature” (schools and churches), and a willingness to be involved as a community.

However, since many Vemgo-Mabas people show an interest in the use of Hdi literature, we suggest that trial literacy classes be started among the Vemgo-Mabas community to test acceptance and comprehension of the language. If in the end, these classes fail to adequately address their needs for a written standard, adaptation from Hdi to Vemgo-Mabas may be appropriate, given the high lexical similarity of the two languages and the number of bilingual speakers.

Recorded text testing may be appropriate in any case to gain a more in-depth understanding of the intelligibility that Vemgo-Mabas-speakers have of Hdi. No independent Vemgo-Mabas language project should be initiated without exhausting these other options.

8. CHANGES TO ALCAM and ETHNOLOGUE

There are no changes that need to be made to ALCAM for the Glavda language. The Ethnologue listing for Glavda in Nigeria can be modified to indicate that the four dialects are:

- Agapalawa
- Ngoshie (Boko)
- Amuda
- Arboko

No change is necessary for the *Ethnologue* entry for Cineni.

The Vemgo-Mabas entry in the Ethnologue should be updated in both Nigeria and Cameroon listings to indicate only two dialects, both appearing in the Nigeria listing and only the mountain dialect (called Vizik-Mabas) in the Cameroon listing. The

population figure should also be adjusted to reflect that there are only approximately 1,000 speakers in Cameroon, bringing the total down to 11,000 in both countries.

The Lamang entry in Nigeria should delete reference to South Laamang since it refers to a sub-dialect called Ghudavan which is very likely the same name that the Vemgo-Mabas call their own language. In the past, these speech forms were thought to be part of Lamang, but it was not possible to extend the Lamang written materials as far as Vemgo-Mabas. Since then, they have been recognised as a separate language.

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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	ɣaɣa	ɛəŋ	ɛan	ɛar	ɛre
4 hair	sidi	swidi	ɟidi	unza	ɛunza
5 tooth	ɬidiŋi	ɬi?iŋ	ɬi?in	ɬir	ɬire
6 tongue	ɣenee	ɛanik	nɛχek	roχi	rχe
7 nose	χɬiŋi	χɬiŋ	χɬin	χtor	χtire
8 ear	ɬimun	ɬəmən	ɬəmən	ɬuwo	ɬime
9a neck	wuleke	ŋgurgun	wulek	i?a	kɛinda
9b back of neck	DISQUALIFIED	---	---	---	---
9c throat	ŋguwara	nəŋglax	ngurgun	NO ENTRY	gurara
10 breast	uba	U?a	u?wa	u?a	uba
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	payapayasira	sla	papaxasla	papaxsigo	klyχasige
14 buttocks	ndurdi	dafatawamdr	dafatamdr	kafvɛnda	kfimbrte
15 belly	χudi	χudi	χudi	χuda	χode
16 navel	NO ENTRY	zimbid	zimbət	zimbo	zimbe
17 insides	mambila:	χari	χiri	χorχori	janda
18 blood	ubiŋi:	us	u?us	uza	koza?a
19 urine	kwi:ni	kani	kɛini	krojo	kure
20 bone	ɣudziŋi:	ɛudziŋ	ɛudziŋ	iɬati	ɬata
21 skin	χuta	χuta	χuta	ɟogo	ɬuvəɛa
22 wing	ɛəbuki	ɟambak	ɟambar	ɟambat	klva
23 feather	ɟəyaya	ɟakan	ɟakan	ɟakan	kude
24 horn	duli	duli	duli	dru	drawa
25 tail	χutiri:	χutur	gudur	χtil	χotəle
26 human being	undu	mndu	wundu	ado	udsigə
27 man	zugun	zgun	zəgun	zgun	zgune
28 woman	marakwa	marakw	marakw	nase	nise
29 husband	zugun	z?al	z?al	z?al	zəɬəkaja
30 child	uzan	zwan	uzan	uzar	vzire
31 name	zira	χgu	zər \ zəru	ɬuo	jaχa
32 sky	luwa	luwa	luwa	kololo	ɛalwa
33 night	urvidi	rvidik	rvidək	rvaɬe	vde
34 moon	tiri	tili	tri	təle	tile
35 sun	fiti	fitik	fitək	ibatʃa	fitse
36 wind	səfaka	falak	safak	vlojo	vle
37 cloud	yajuku	kojak	zak	kojoko	kɛbaka

Gloss	Lamang	Hdi	Vemgo-Mabas	Gvoko	Dghwede
38 dew	wunaniki	wuninik \ χəmtsək	ɤumtsək	ɤninok	mangiɟe
39 rain	imatil ^w a	imi	imi	jiwo	juwe
40 ground	utaka	χadik	χadak	χaje	χaja
41 sand	utakataɣ ^w a	wutak	wutak	χajjalak	ziɤe
42 path	wativi:	tvi	dzevi	tve	fri?e
43 water	imi	imi	imi	jiwo	juwe
44 stream	ɟirwi	ɤ ^w a	ɤ ^w a \ nuwak	nuwa \ dəlivo	ling ^w e
45 house	χuga	χəga	ɤga	ɤaja	ɤaja
46 fire	uvu	vu	uvu	ikar	kara
47 firewood	udzauvu	χasu?u	udzu	səmakə	dakara
48 smoke	dɟi	dɟ	ɤidən \ idən	izoko	zike
49 ash	χutsidifi	χutidif	χtʃidəf	fəʃu	fʃsu?e
50 knife	maŋa	maŋga	maŋga	kitʃa	kitsa
51 rope	zuwi:	zu?i	zui	zadə	za?a
52 spear	gupa	gupa	gupa	gupa	gupa
53 war	piʔayuva	vulu	uvən	uvol	pige
54a animal	ginaw:a	NO ENTRY	NO ENTRY	NO ENTRY	digata
54b meat	tuwi	tu?i	tu?i	təbo	tuwe
55 dog	kre	kri	kri	kəle	ɤde
56 elephant	giwaŋ	g ^w i?əŋ	gi? ^w an	g ^w i?əŋ	g ^w ine
57 goat	ogo	gu	gu	awe	ɤ ^w e
58 bird	dika	dijak	dijak	dijaŋ	iŋge
59 tortoise	kilk ^w i	klaku	kuʔuku	kuluki	klk ^w ijuwe
60 serpent	bubu	naχadik	bubu	k ^w adə	ʃiʃe
61 fish	kilpi	klipi	klipi	kəlif	klfe
62 head louse	tsatsa	tʃetʃi	tendi	tʃitʃi	dəŋgəle
63 egg	titi	titik	titi	toto	tete
64 tree	ufu	fu	ufu	ifa	ufa
65 bark	luɟi	blakatavu	lubu	lobo	sapa
66 leaf	baja	tχ ^w a	tχ ^w a	təvaka	lbəχa
67 root	tirɟi	tɟəŋ	tɟən	tɾo	tla
68 salt	yunu	ɤunu	ɤunu	tugulum	tasəne
69 fat	urdi	ɤuvid	ɤəved	ɤaved	ŋgəla
70a hunger	maiʃa	maja	maja	waja	waja
70b hunger (meat)	NO ENTRY	NO ENTRY	NO ENTRY	NO ENTRY	zinda
71 iron	tsuχ ^w ili	kufur	χtʃili	tusu	t ^h use
72 one	tala	tek ^w	tek ^w \ ten	teko	t ^h ek ^w e
73 two	χesa	χis	χeʃ	χetʃo	mitʃe
74 three	χukuna:	χkan	χkən	χk ^w aro	χkrɛ
75 four	ufada	f ^w ad	uf ^w ad	ofado	fide
76 five	χutafa	χutaf	χtaf	təto	ʃibe
77 six	muku:wa:	mku	ŋku	məkojo	ŋkuwe
78 seven	ilfəŋa	ndəfaŋ	ləfaŋ	ndəfaŋgo	udife
79 eight	tuyasa:	təras	təras	təraso	təkiʃe

Gloss	Lamang	Hdi	Vemgo-Mabas	Gvoko	Dghwede
80 nine	timbaja	təmbaj	təmbaj	təmbajo	təmbə
81 ten	ɣ ^w aja	ɛ ^w aj	ɛ ^w aj	ɛ ^w ajgo	ɛ ^w ajga
82 come	ʃe:we	saka	ʃewi	sawa	sawa
83 send	NO ENTRY	ɛunaj	ɛunu	dʒa	iʔija
84 walk	psuku	la	mbada	mbada	dzuwa
85 fall	ʒəʒumba	dədəgata	akdəda	duvede \ iɬimbəde	ʔija
86 leave	lubula	laɛ ^w i	mbada	ɬija	jaɛa
87 fly	ndura	ndru	ndru	ndəla	ndela
88 pour	puɣa	pəkaj	mbka	pa \ pəruse	pəkə
89 strike	dza	dʒaj	dzu	ndeba	kəda
90 bite	χudəta:	χiʔidaj	ɛdu	dinza	ndzaχa
91 wash (smother tongueh)	ɣ ^w uba	koɔaj	koɔo	χuba	ɛ ^w aʔa
92 split	ntata	ta \ tanapta	mta	uʒa	tsige
93 give	vəla	vɫaj	vla	mərma	birbə
94 steal	ɣila	ɛalaj	ɛili	gəlo	gələ
95 squeeze	əbitsa	dɪtʃaj	bitsu	dɪʃa	ʔitsa
96 cultivate	ɣuva	χvaj	ɛəva	mantra	usa
97 bury	paɔa	lamta	paɔo	paɔube	χəda
98 burn	duɣa	draj	dru	təruse	dəga
99 eat	za	za	za	uza	wuza
100 drink	sa	sa	sa	χuta	χu:ta
101 vomit	vunay ^w a	vənaxinta	venax ^w a	vraχa	vraχa
102 suck	uɔitsa	ɔisa	uɔis	dutʃa	utsa
103 spit (sth out)	untfa	tʃiginta	tfu \ tʃəmota	tfa	tfa
104 blow	uvu	χafaj	vusu	safa	fəge
105 swell	ŋgata	ɬaku	awŋgata	χɬa \ iχɬute	χɬa
106 give birth	jede	jəku	jəku \ axija	ijede \ juzar	jige
107 die	mta	mta	axəmta	mɪʃa	mɪtsa
108 kill	ɬiga	dzadza	akdza	kəda	kəda
109 push	ɬu	ɬing ^w a	tung ^w a	tung ^w a	pχəpχə
110 pull	atida	tɔa	tɔu	tɔa	ndɔa
111 sing	əɬɛ	faɬaχa	flɬa	faɬaχa	ndɪʃe
112 play (a game)	gogide	zavzavə \ katskatsu	mbrek	χudzuku	mbəɬuk ^w e
113 be afraid	tuɣuwɪŋ	ʒəŋ	ʒuʔin	ʒuɣu	gidza
114 want	dowi	dɔvaj	tambi	dawa	dawa
115 say	kə	mna	zalu	tɬa	k ^w ara
116 see	nvya	nka	nka	nka	nkanka
117 show	mara	mara	bisu	marene	nɛine
118 hear (listen)	sini	sna	sna	tʃina	tsəna
119 know	sina	snanta	santa	tʃine	tsamine
120 count	mide	mbəda	mbada	məda	tigotug ^w a

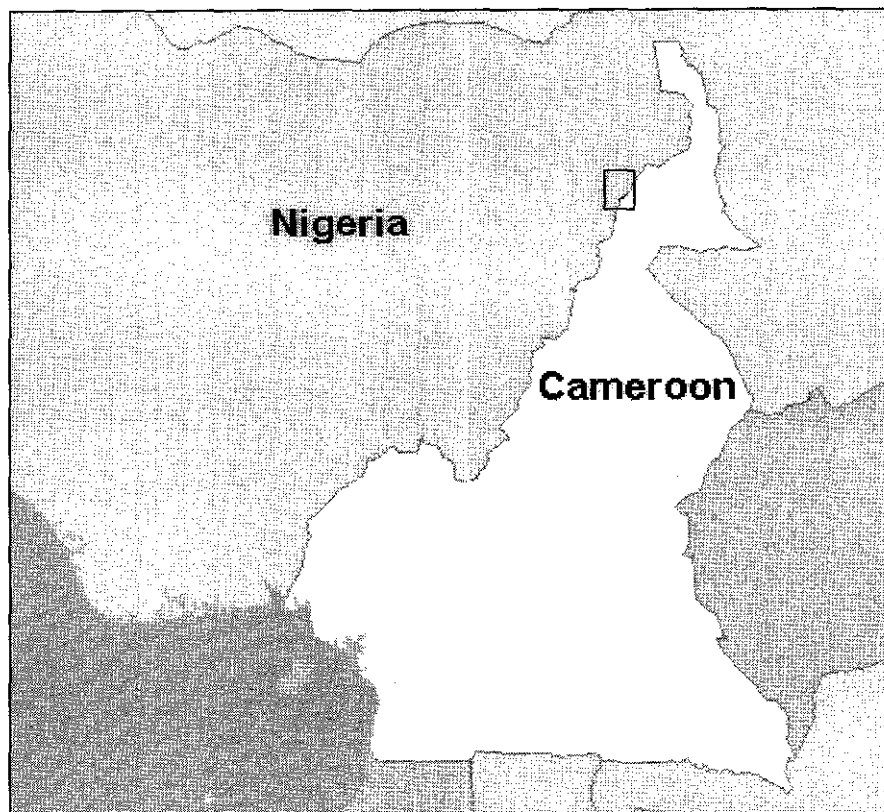
Gloss	Guduf	Gaya	Chikide	Cineni	Glavda
1 mouth	ɛaja	ɛaja	ɛaja	ɛaja	ɛaja
2 eye	dija	dija	dije	gija	gija
3 head	ɛare	ɛra	ɛare	ɛra	ɛra
4 hair	gudzi	gudza	gudza	gudza	gudza
5 tooth	ɬide	ɬida	ɬɪda	ɬɪda	ɬɪda
6 tongue	ʔɪɛ	ɛɪɛ	ɛɪɛ	ɛɪɛ	ɛɛɪɛ
7 nose	ɣtre	ɣtera	ɣtəra	ɣətra	ɣtra
8 ear	ɬime	ɬima	ɬime	ɬimja	ɬimija
9a neck	kɛinda	kɛinda	kɛinda	kʷinda	kuingja
9b back of neck	DISQUALIFIED	---	---	---	---
9c throat	moklara	mokulara	mbokulara	mbokulara	mbakulara
10 breast	uɖa	uɖa	uɖa	uɖa	uɖa
11 arm	dəva	dəva	dəva	dəva	dəva
12a claw	ɣaxide	ɣaxida	ɣaxida	ɣarda	ɣarda
12b nail of hand	DISQUALIFIED	---	---	---	---
13a leg	sigə	sigə	figa	figa	figa
13b foot	kulɣasigə	kəɬɣwasigə	klɣufiga	ligafiga \ kəɬɣʷəfiga	ligafiga
14 buttocks	kafkafimbɪte	kakafimbɪta	kafkafimbɪta	kakəfasoɣa	kakafesuxa
15 belly	ɣoɖe	ɣoda	ɣoda	ɣoda	ɣoda
16 navel	zimbe	zimba	zimba	zamba	zimba
17 insides	dəkɣude	dexoda	dexoda	dəkɣoda	dəkʰoda
18 blood	vəze	vəza	vəza	vəza	avza
19 urine	kɛɪja	kɛɪja	kɛɪja	kurja	kurja
20 bone	ɬata	ɬata	ɬata	ɬata	ɬata
21 skin	vəre	ɣoɬəvɛa	vəra	ɛəzəwavra	ɣəluwa
22 wing	kuɣəba	kuɣəba	kuɣəba	ɣəmbaka	ɣəmbaka
23 feather	ɣakʷe	ɣakʷa	ɣakʷa	gudza	gudza
24 horn	drawa	drawa	drawa	drawa	drawa
25 tail	ɣɪtile	ɣoɬila	ɣoɬila	ɣɪtjila	ɣɪkila
26 human being	wude	uda	uda	uda	uda
27 man	zɡʷana	dəɖɪŋʷa	ɛʷalva	ɛʷalva	ɛʷalva
28 woman	nɛʷasa	dəɛʷa \ nɛʷasa	nɛʷasa	usa	wusa
29 husband	zile	zilməɛa \ dəɖəməɛa	zila	zila	zila
30 child	zire	zəra	zəra	zra	zra
31 name	daxa	daxa	daxa	daxa	daga
32 sky	ɛəzɡlə	ɛəzəɡla	ɛəzəɡla	zigla	zigəla
33 night	vide	vəɖe	vide	vəɖe	avəda
34 moon	ɬila	təla	təla	kiela	kila
35 sun	fatsija	fatsija	fatɬija	fetɬia	fatɬija
36 wind	fude	fudə	fudə	fudə	fəda

Gloss	Guduf	Gaya	Chikide	Cineni	Glavda
37 cloud	ɛʷojke	kojka	kojka	ɛabaga \ kojka	akumba \ ɛabaga
38 dew	wurɣe	wurɣa	wurɣa	wurɣa	wurɣa
39 rain	juɛaʒgla	juɛaʒgl	juɛaʒgla	juwezigla	ɛabəga
40 ground	ɣaja	ɣaja	ɣaja	ɣaja	ɣaja
41 sand	zakazake	zakəzakə	zakəzakə	səɣəla	səɣəla
42 path	dule	dula	dula	dula	dula
43 water	juwe	juwa	juwa	juwaxəba	juwa
44 stream	glakʷa	zaka	dulajuwa	dulajuwa	warawa
45 house	məka	məka	məka	məka	ɣinəɣa
46 fire	kara	kara	kara	kara	kara
47 firewood	dkara	dəkara	tʰkara	dakaramblakara	dəkarakara
48 smoke	zike	zika	zika	tsɣa	atsɣa
49 ash	ftse	ftsa	ftsa	ftsa	aftsa
50 knife	kojɕe	ɛʷaɕʰa	ɛʷaɕʰa	ɛʷaɕa	ɛʷasa
51 rope	zawe	zawa	zawa	zawa	zowa
52 spear	gupa	gupa	gupa	gʷopa	gupa
53 war	poge	piga	piga	ɛʷava	ɛʷava
54a animal	diksiɣa	dikdəkəla	dikɕiga	ləmana	aləmana
54b meat	tuwe	tuwa	tuwa	tʰa	tuwa
55 dog	ɛəda	ɛəda	ɛəda	ɛəda	ɛəga
56 elephant	gune	guna	guna	guna	guna
57 goat	waɛka	waka	waka	waka	agʷa
58 bird	dike	dika	dika	dika	dika
59 tortoise	kuɭkʷijuwe	kəɭkʷəjuwa	kəɭkʷəjuwa	kɭkʷəjuwa	kɭkʷəjuwa
60 serpent	bube	buba	buba	dəgədala	dikdaləga
61 fish	klfe	klfa	klfa	kilfa	klfa
62 head louse	tsitse	tsitsa	tɕitɕja	tsatsa	tɕetɕa
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	təlia	təlija
68 salt	təgule	təgula	təgula	izəmaləɣa	izə
69 fat	ŋgəla	ŋgəla	ŋgəla	ŋgəla	gələga
70a hunger	waja	waja	waja	waja	waja
70b hunger (meat)	zinda	zinda	zinda	zindaɬʷa	tura
71 iron	tʰuse	tʰusa	tʰusa	dəgəgʰa	agʰa
72 one	tekʷe	tɕekɛ	teka	tʰika	pala
73 two	mitse	mits	buwa	bʷa	buwa
74 three	ɣəkɾde	ɣəkɾɕ	ɣəkɾda	ɣkɾəda	ɣkɾda
75 four	ufade	ufaɕ	ufada	ufada	ufada
76 five	ɕibe	ɕib	ɕiba	ɕba	ɕiba

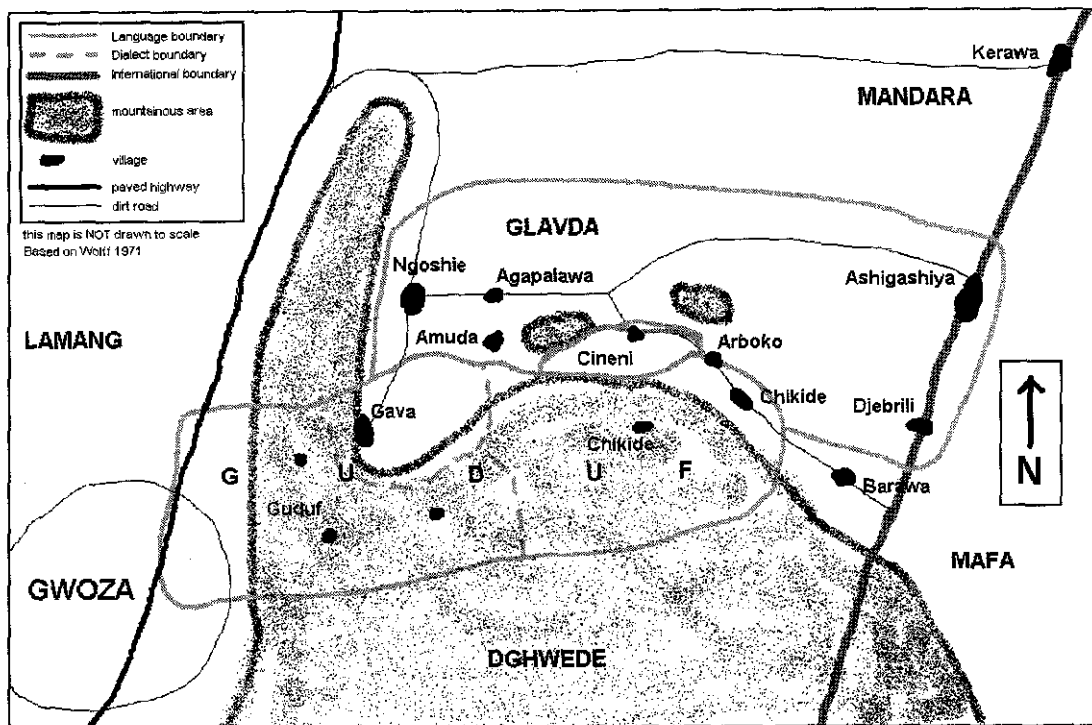
Gloss	Guduf	Gaya	Chikide	Cineni	Glavda
77 six	ɣk ^w axɛ	ɣk ^w ax	ɣk ^w axa	ɣk ^w axa	lk ^w axa
78 seven	udife	udif	udifa	udifa	udifa
79 eight	təkəse	təkəs	təkəsa	təχsa	tχsa
80 nine	vəslambadə	vəslambad	vaslambada	vaslambada	bəsləmbada
81 ten	k ^w lke	kldik	k ^w ldika	kilawa	kəlawə
82 come	sawe	sawa	sawa	sawa	sawa
83 send	ɬla	ɬla	ɬla	ɬəla	ɬləga
84 walk	dəge	dəga	dəga	digala	dəga
85 fall	ɬla	ɬəla	ɬaza	ɣkaxa	mɬəɬəga
86 leave	dəge	dəgala	diga	diga	aduga
87 fly	pəɬa	pəɬa	pəɬa	pəɬa	piɬga
88 pour	dija	ɬəɬambəda	ɬəɬambəda	guja	diga
89 strike	kəda	kəda	kəɬadikəda	tsiga	tsatsiga
90 bite	kəɬəva	kəɬəva	kəɬəva	kəɣga	k ^w owg ^w a
91 wash (smother tongueh)	para	kəba	para	para	barga
92 split	waxanawaxa	t ^h ida	t ^h iχa	taxa	tawg ^w a
93 give	barbəge	barbəga	barbəga	bara	vlavləga
94 steal	glɛ	glɛ	glɛ	glɛ	kəlgə
95 squeeze	ditsa	pɪtsa	ditsa	pɪtsa	pɪtsəga
96 cultivate	wusa	wusa	wusa	usa	usəga
97 bury	χɪda	χɪda	χəɬaxəɬa	χəɬa	χəɬəga
98 burn	ndəkane	ndəkandə	ndəkandə	mtsaga	mtfəga
99 eat	zuwa	zuwa	zuwa	z ^w a	zga
100 drink	χəba	χəba	χəba	χaba	χəbga
101 vomit	vəχa	vɪχa	vɪχa	ɣwulfa	vrəga
102 suck	dutsa	dutsa	χupada	χupada	mtfɪdiga
103 spit (sth out)	tfɪdutfə	tfɪdutfə	tfa	tfa	tfəga
104 blow	vɪta	fɪta	vɪta \ ydza	fɪta	fɪtəga
105 swell	χɪta	χɪta	χɪta	kɪta	kɪtəga
106 give birth	jige	jiga	jiga	jiga	jiga
107 die	ɣəmtsa	mtsa	mtsa	mtsa	mtsəga
108 kill	kəda	k ^h əda	k ^h əda	tsiga	tsətsəga
109 push	ɬəga	ɬəga	ɬəgaɬəga	ɬəga	ɬəga
110 pull	ndɪda	ndɪda	təda	təda	təɬəga
111 sing	χəgənduse	ndusa	ndusa	ndusa	ɬləga
112 play (a game)	ɣɪtəkəre	manasak ^w a	ɣɪdəkəra	dra	dra
113 be afraid	gidza	gidza	gidza	gidza	gidzəga
114 want	naka	naka	naka	naka	naga
115 say	kɪmara	kɪmara	kɪmara	k ^w ara	taga
116 see	naka	nəka	nəka	nəka	vəzga
117 show	mɣanmɣa	mɣamɣa	mɣamɣa	vaza	marga
118 hear (listen)	tsna	tsəna	tsəna	tsəna	tɣɪnga
119 know	satsəge	tsatska	tsənadzga	tsatsamaka	sɪga
120 count	tigwa	təgwa	təgwa	təg ^w a	kɣəga

APPENDIX B -- MAPS

Map 1 The Glavda, Cineni and Vemgo-Mabas areas in national context



Map 2 Glavda and Cineni local area



Map 3 Vemgo-Mabas local area

