

**Sociolinguistic Language Survey
of Ngwe**

**Fontem, Alou, and Wabane Subdivisions
Lebialem Division
South West Province**

Michael and Charlene Ayotte

**SIL International
2002**

Contents

- 1.0 Introduction
 - 1.1 General Information
 - 1.2 Acknowledgements
 - 1.3 Research Objectives
 - 1.4 Locality
 - 1.5 Linguistic Classification
 - 1.6 Previous Research
- 2.0 Methodology
 - 2.1 Sociolinguistics: Rapid Appraisal
 - 2.2 Lexicostatistics
 - 2.3 Recorded Text Testing (RTT)
 - 2.3.1 Purpose
 - 2.3.2 Selection and Screening of Participants
 - 2.3.3 Interpretation of RTT Results
- 3.0 Ngwe Research Results
 - 3.1 Demographic Situation
 - 3.1.1 Origins
 - 3.1.2 Population
 - 3.2 Dialect Situation
 - 3.2.1 Nomenclature
 - 3.2.2 Language Variation within Ngwe
 - 3.3 Multilingualism
 - 3.3.1 Related and Other Languages
 - 3.3.2 Languages of Wider Communication
 - 3.4 Language Vitality and Viability
 - 3.4.1 Migration and Inter-marriage
 - 3.4.2 Language Use
 - 3.4.3 Language Maintenance and Shift
 - 3.5 Linguistic Attitudes
 - 3.5.1 Attitudes Toward the Mother Tongue
 - 3.5.2 Standardization Efforts
 - 3.5.3 Attitudes toward Other Languages
- 4.0 Summary
 - 4.1 Overall Impressions
 - 4.2 Lebang Dialect Summary and Conclusions
 - 4.3 Nwametaw Dialect Summary and Conclusions
 - 4.4 Njoagwi Summary and Conclusions
 - 4.5 Mmockngie Summary and Conclusions
- 5.0 Conclusions
- 6.0 Recommendations
- 7.0 Unanswered Research Questions
- 8.0 Modifications to *Ethnologue*
- Appendix A: *Ethnologue* Entries
- Appendix B: *ALCAM* Entries

Appendix C: Lexicostatistical Analysis Comparison Matrix

Appendix D: RTT Calculations and Comments

Appendix E: Ngwe Text and Test Questions

Appendix F: Yemba Text and Test Questions

Appendix G: Itinerary and Event Summary

Appendix H: Ngwe Word Lists

APPENDIX I: Group Questionnaire

APPENDIX J: Questionnaire for Church Leaders

APPENDIX K: Questionnaire for School Officials

Bibliography

 Additional Resources

1.0 Introduction

1.1 General Information

This report is a synthesis of the data from a rapid appraisal survey accomplished during the week of February 20–23, 2001, and a previous sociolinguistic survey done by Michael Nkwemnji Akamin as presented in his Master’s thesis (1985). The survey team did research on the Ngwe¹ language located in the Fontem, Alou, and Wabane Subdivisions, Lebialem Division, South West Province, Cameroon. The surveyors conducted group and individual interviews, collected word lists, and carried out recorded text testing in four locations: Lebang (Menji or Fontem), Njoagwi (Fotabong III), Nwametaw (Fonjumetaw), and Mmockngie (Fosimondi). The team consisted of Michael and Charlene Ayotte of SIL, Dr. Domché-Teko Engelbert, head of Linguistics at the University of Dschang, and Tanga Marcelle, a graduate of English and Linguistics at the University of Yaoundé I.

1.2 Acknowledgements

We would like to thank all those who were involved in the research and helped us to accomplish our goals. We gratefully acknowledge the assistance and welcome that we received from regional and local government officials, school representatives, church leaders, and traditional rulers, without whose cooperation this mission would not have been possible.

1.3 Research Objectives

The primary goal of this survey was to get a current overview of the language use patterns, intergroup relationships, and language attitudes of the Ngwe people and their language. Ngwe is of particular interest in how it relates to Yemba, currently the object of an SIL language project. More specifically, we wanted to ascertain the degree of mutual intelligibility among the speech varieties of Ngwe, perform comprehension testing between Ngwe and Yemba, and determine their attitudes toward the possibility of using written Yemba.

The secondary purpose of our sociolinguistic survey was to build on the research done by Akamin (1985). We wanted to substantiate the reliability of his findings and conclusions for making decisions pertinent to the goals of SIL and to supplement his research through comprehension testing. We undertook the survey guided by the following questions:

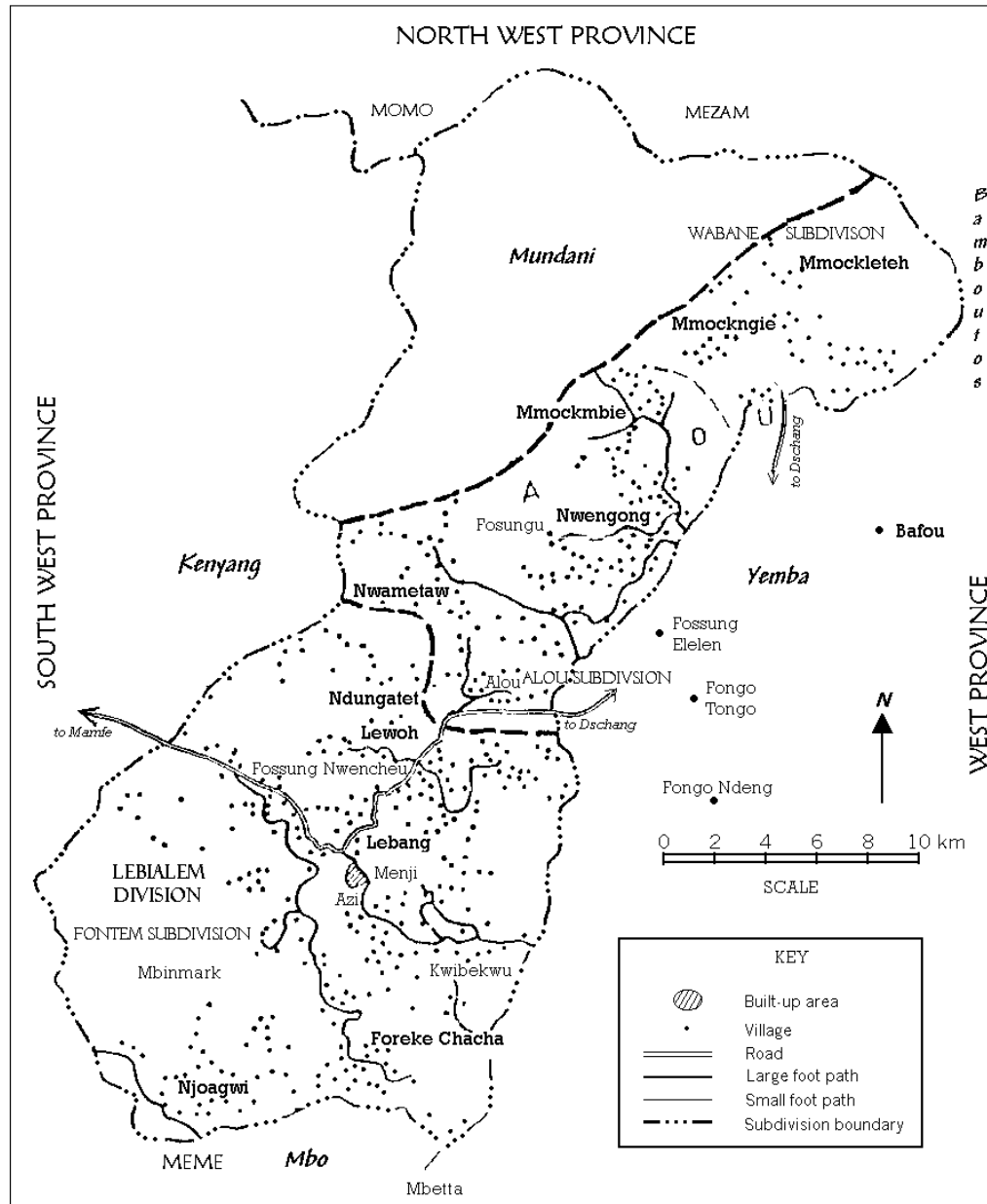
1. How homogeneous are the speech varieties spoken in the villages that belong to Ngwe?
2. Which village could serve as the central or reference dialect?
3. Could or would all of these villages cooperate on a single language development project?
4. Is there a significant population, need, and interest to justify the development of their language?
5. What level of contact exists between the Ngwe and Yemba?

1.4 Locality

The Ngwe language group comprises ten chiefdoms, roughly equivalent to ten major villages located over a forty kilometer stretch of thickly forested mountainous area. Akamin describes the land of the Ngwe as “located between high savannah plains and low forest regions” (p.7). Geography is split between lowlands and highlands. Narrow winding paths are the only routes joining many villages. The major trade route passes from Northwest to Southeast through Menji (Fontem). Map 1 following gives a layout of the villages, administrative boundaries, and some of the surrounding languages. Note that names of major villages and chiefdoms are often used interchangeably. Table 1 may help to clarify the identification of place names and dialects.

¹Spelled conventionally Nweh by native speakers and local administrators; written as Ngwe by linguists.

Map 1: Ngwe Villages and Surrounding Languages²



1.5 Linguistic Classification

ALCAM

Dieu and Renaud (1983:360, 453) classify Ngwe in the following manner: Bénoué-Congo, Bantoïde, Bantou, Grassfields-east, Bamileke Central.

²This map is a modified version of the one in Akamin’s thesis (p. 8) which he adapted from the original source: NMC&DA (1985) *Nweh-Mundani Cultural and Development Association*.

Ethnologue

Grimes (2000:49) classifies Ngwe as follows: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Bantoid, Southern, Wide Grassfields, Narrow Grassfields, Mbam-Nkam, Bamileke.

1.6 Previous Research

Previous linguistic and anthropological research on Ngwe is extensive and includes many publications listed in Additional Resources after the bibliography in this report. The sociolinguistic studies, which are of interest to us here, are limited to Akamin's thesis (1985).

The following chart, derived from this thesis (p. 14), provides a helpful starting point for the present research. It gives a broad but concise overview of the linguistic situation. The chart lists the various Ngwe chiefdoms, which Akamin equally considers dialects of the Ngwe language, along with the name of the primary villages corresponding to these "chiefdom-dialects" or speech varieties. Akamin (p. 3) explains the list in this way:

"The speech varieties of these chiefdoms are in some way distinct and their respective speakers are very conscious of this fact. Each chiefdom, though made up of several villages, (with minute variation as well) is viewed as a unique dialect. This implies that although the villages within each 'dialect system' (chiefdom) differ slightly in their speech characteristics, there is a meaningful similarity which they all share, as to reduce differences and bring sub-dialects into one form which they understand."

Table 1: Ngwe Dialect Chart³

	Names of the Chiefdom-Dialects:	Representative Village	Other villages
1	Mmockngie	Fozimondi	
2	Mmockmbie	Fozimombin	Fosimombin 1, 2, & 3
3	Nwengong	Fossungu	
4	Nwametaw	Fonjumetaw	<i>Njenawa?</i>
5	Ndungatet	Foto	<i>Njenche?</i>
6	Lewoh	Fotabong 1	Upper Fotabong
7	Lebang	Fontem	Menji, Azi,
8	Essoh-Attah	Foreke Chacha	<i>Nchen Essoh?</i>
9	Njoagwi	Fotabong 3	Lower Fotabong
10	Mmockleleh (<i>dialect only—not a chiefdom</i>)	Foteng	Fontang 1 & 2

Akamin collected word lists from each of these chiefdoms and made cognate count comparisons. Rather than limit his study to arbitrary administrative and geographic boundaries, he included three Yemba speech varieties and one from Bamboutos (not included here) to encompass the greater linguistic delimitations as well as to provide a comparison (p. 13). Based on the percentages of similarity, he constructed classification trees on the relationships between the various speech varieties and reduced the trees into the four dialect groupings, of which the second includes three Yemba villages (p. 54). A modification of these is shown in List 1 following.

³Note (1985:3): "The names [of the chiefdoms] are actually titles of the paramount chiefs who govern these chiefdoms but they are sometimes used to refer to the chiefdom as well." Variant spellings exist for many of the names—Fosungu/Fossungu, Fozimondi/Fosimondi/Fossimondi, Fozimombin/Fosimombin/Fossimombin, Foteng/Fontang, Nwametaw/Nwebetaw.

On sociolinguistic grounds, mother tongue speakers of Ngwe divide the ten speech varieties into three general groups (p. 72). These emic⁴ groupings, displayed in list 2 following, coincide almost exactly with those derived from Akamin's lexicostatistical analysis in list 1, with the exception of Ndungatet.

List 1. Lexicostatistical Grouping

A	Njoagwi, Essoh-Attah, Lebang, Lewoh, and Ndungatet
B	Nwametaw, Nwengong, (<i>Fongo Tongo, Bafou, Fongo ndeng</i>)
C	Mmockmbie, Mmockngie, and Mmockleleh

List 2. Sociolinguistic Grouping

A	Njoagwi, Essoh-Attah, Lebang, Lewoh
B	Ndungatet, Nwametaw, Nwengong
C	Mmockmbie, Mmockngie, Mmockleleh

According to Akamin's findings, both lexical and sociolinguistic, these groups differ linguistically on a continuum from the South toward the Northeast. He says that no matter which dialect is chosen as central, intelligibility reduces steadily as one moves outward. Geographic proximity seems to be the greatest factor affecting interintelligibility and lexical distance.

For Akamin, "the aim here was to attempt to group the dialects into 'units' within which the intelligibility was considered to be generally satisfactory. The informants were asked to group the dialects, putting within each group those dialects which speak 'the same'." (p. 69). While there is a clear distinction between the Mmock⁵ group (C) and the others, it is more difficult to separate the rest of the dialects to the south into two definitive groups (p. 72). Akamin (p. 73) quotes the anthropologist Robert Brain (1967:2)

Important dialectal differences occur...greater differences occur between the southern Bangwa chiefdoms and the northern Mok chiefdoms, which were cut off in the past by geographical and economic factors: Most links [social and economic] were east-west, not north-south.

Akamin (p. 90) synthesizes the lexicostatistical grouping and the sociolinguistic grouping into one set or cluster, harmonizing the differences between the two sets. He places the village of Ndungatet in the transitional zone between two sets or clusters of speech varieties because it seems to lie on the boundary between group A and group B and could easily belong to either group based on lexicostatistical analysis and native speaker perceptions:

- A—Njoagwi, Essoh-Attah, Lebang, Lewoh, and (Ndungatet) *in transitional zone*
 B—Nwametaw, Nwengong
 C—Mmockmbie, Mmockngie, Mmockleleh

2.0 Methodology

2.1 Sociolinguistics: Rapid Appraisal

We employed the sociolinguistic research approach known as the "rapid appraisal" method (Bergman 1991, Stalder 1996), which utilises group and individual interview questionnaires (forms in appendix). It provides an idea of the general sociolinguistic situation of the speech varieties being studied. Informant responses reveal the patterns of contact and degree of multilingualism. Researchers rely on speaker perceptions in conjunction with high lexical similarity to determine if intelligibility testing should be carried out. An awareness of language vitality and viability as well as the attitudes held by the community, notables and council members, religious leaders, and teachers help researchers assess the value and

⁴The term *emic* was coined by Kenneth L. Pike and signifies the "insider's perspective," a view of something from within the same system. This contrasts with another term, *etic*, which means an "outsider's perspective," that is, a view of some system from someone not belonging to the system. Sociolinguistic judgments based on native speaker intuitions are emic, whereas, lexicostatistical analyses are etic evaluations.

⁵Alternate spellings include Mmuock, Mmouck, Mok, and BaMok.

potential success of a development project. Survival of the language has a direct bearing on whether or not Scriptures and other literature in the mother tongue will be used.

Akamin used a similar method for gathering data for his thesis. He conducted group and individual interviews with representatives from each dialect (p. 15). In the cases where he could only find one spokesperson from a dialect, he interviewed at least one other individual from the same dialect at a later date to confirm or harmonize the responses given by the first. This approach provides a second means of establishing dialect groupings based on a social view of intelligibility.

Language Development Potential

According to Watters (1990:6.7.1), there are three factors that particularly 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. These factors have been incorporated into the report appearing in sections with their own headings along with the other responses to the sociolinguistic questionnaires and can be interpreted in like manner to the other results.

2.2 Lexicostatistics

We collected and compared 126-word *ALCAM* word lists (see Dieu and Renaud 1983: 132–133) in Lebang, Njoagwi, Nwametaw, and Mmockngie in order to evaluate the relatedness of the languages in question. To determine the percentage of lexical similarity between each of the speech varieties we compared the lists using the method of identifying shared apparent cognates.⁶

In most cases Akamin recorded his word lists on the field and did not transcribe them until later (p. 16). He cross-checked his word lists with previously collected lists. He used the same *ALCAM* word lists (then referred to as *CREA* word lists), but with the elimination of those words which were judged to be ambiguous or which likely generated synonyms which could not be compared (pp. 20–21).

2.3 Recorded Text Testing (RTT)

Description

The procedures for carrying out *intelligibility testing*, which came to be called recorded text testing (RTT), were documented by Eugene Casad (1974). A short (approximately 2-minute) anecdotal story of some real-life experience is elicited from the narrator and recorded. In most cases questions are obtained in the language of the speakers to be tested, then inserted into these texts in order to make test tapes of the given speech form. Ideally, a text complete with questions is an objective way for measuring comprehension and revealing whether the given dialects are mutually intelligible.

In our case, we had only the recorded texts in Ngwe and Yemba and written translations of the text and questions in English. In other words, we were unable to obtain and record questions interpreted into each of the speech varieties tested. It was, thus, necessary to modify the standard research methods. Since our RTT tapes were not complete and circumstances made it difficult to finish testing in some of the locations, we would consider the process a cursory study of the intelligibility situation. Therefore, we suggest further comprehension testing. Appendix 7 summarizes the problems encountered during the survey.

⁶In the cases where any two words were on the borderline of cognicity, we made the decision to count them as cognates. As a result the percentages that were generated are probably higher than analyses done by others.

2.3.1 Purpose

RTT tapes provide an additional indicator of intelligibility to compare with the lexicostatistical analysis and responses from the sociolinguistic questionnaires in order to give an idea as to whether two or more dialects could be served by a single language development project. We wanted to discover if the level of intelligibility between the various dialects of Ngwe is inherent or acquired. That is, we sought to determine if the homogeneity of the Ngwe dialects is such that they constitute one language and could share one standard. Although our assessment might be deemed more subjective, it nevertheless provides us with a description of the linguistic situation from another angle.

2.3.2 Selection and Screening of Participants

In each location, we tried to test at least ten adults. In order to obtain an accurate cross-section of the entire village population, we attempted to assemble five men and five women in a broad age range (teenage, young adult, middle-age, and elderly) to participate in the testing. We endeavored to find participants who had been born in and spent most of their life in the village under investigation. In some cases we included people who were raised elsewhere by parents both native to that particular village. Those who qualified then listened to a recording of a centrally located dialect of Ngwe (Nwametaw) and the reference dialect of Yemba (Bafou).

2.3.3 Interpretation of RTT Results

Under the circumstances of this survey, it was not feasible to create typical RTT tapes. Therefore, we have no numerical scores from which to calculate mean and standard deviation. We relied upon the self-evaluations of the participants and their ability to summarize the story in detail, as well as their responses to questions directed at them for clarification. A detailed chart of the comments is contained in appendix 4.

3.0 Ngwe Research Results

We conducted interviews in four select locations across the language area. We chose the most central and characteristic village for each of the three sets of dialect groupings described by Akamin. Since group A covers such a wide area, we included the Njoagwi dialect at the southernmost extremity, because of its distance from Lebang, the reference dialect suggested by Akamin. Although as many as 50 people were present for the group interviews, the following list shows more accurately the breakdown according to sex of those who actually participated in the discussions and responses:

- A. Njoagwi dialect in the village of Fotabong III—7 men, 3 women
- A. Lebang dialect in the village of Menji (Fontem)—10 men, 3 women
- B. Nwametaw dialect in the village of Fonjumetaw—3 men, 1 women
- C. Mmockngie dialect in the village of Fozimondi—5 men, 2 women

The Ngwe survey revealed a complex linguistic situation that will require careful reading in order to understand the interrelationships. For the sake of consistency and avoiding confusion we have used the names of the chiefdom-dialects throughout this report.

3.1 Demographic Situation

Homogeneity of the Linguistic Community

These villages are spread over great distances, obstructed by active rivers and difficult terrain. Most major roads lead out of the area toward Dschang, rather than between areas within the language boundaries. Though we took a helicopter to reach them, the roads are passable during the dry season, except for Njoagwi where there is no motorable road.

There has been more improvement in road travel in the past decade than there was in the previous 25 years. Long-distance movement, however, is still generally restricted. Yet, this does not completely hinder travel between Ngwe villages; it tends to foster contact with Yemba speakers rather than among the Ngwe dialects. The Mbangmi River is the greatest geographical boundary in the Nweh region according to Akamin, and subsequently, this river is responsible for creating the drastic linguistic differences separating the Mmock dialects from the other Ngwe dialects (p. 80). Another river, the Menkengma, together with the Mbangmi, isolates the Nwengong chiefdom as an inland island (p. 81).

In contrast, the trade route through the region links the chiefdoms of Ndungatet, Lewoh, most of Lebang, and touches on Esoh-Attah and Nwametaw (p. 83). Akamin believes that this is the reason these dialects have more lexical similarity. With the exception of Njoagwi and Esoh-Attah, no village is cut off from another such that travel between them is restricted, according to interviewees in Lebang. This may be attributed to the improvement of the roads in the last fifteen plus years since Akamin wrote his sociolinguistic study.

Geographical conditions continue to foster a certain level of heterogeneity between the Ngwe dialects that can only be overcome by a well-developed road system. Since this is unlikely to occur in the near future, the general absence of social and linguistic unity will persist for years to come. This situation may be an obstacle to an area-wide language project.

3.1.1 Origins

Their oral history shows that the southern groups migrated from the Mbo or Banyang forests to the west and south, the central chiefdoms originated from Fombe, and the Mmocks came from the area near Bafou (p. 9–10). Accounts from our interviews verified these same traditions delineated by Akamin. Lebang informants further specified that the first fon migrated from Bayangi land before the Germans came in 1901. The respondents from Njoagwi believe that they have always been in the area where they are now located.

3.1.2 Population

Akamin computed a total population of 46,000 for the Ngwe (pp. 6, 84) based on the census data of 1976. By the time of the 1987 census, the Ngwe numbered at least 58,000. Relying upon these latest figures, we then calculated the population projection for the year 2001.⁷ We compared this data to the estimates given to us during the group interviews. The discrepancies make the self-reported population and the official census figures difficult to reconcile. In addition, it is not clear if the figure listed for Fontem in the census includes the populations of Lebang and Menji. It is equally difficult to harmonise the names listed in the 1987 census data with those appearing on the maps and with those provided by the local people.

Table 1 summarizes the language names, villages, origins, and populations of the locations featured in this report and the rest of the Ngwe villages. The chart includes all of the names found in the census that we conclude are Ngwe villages. Names underlined and in bold designate area names comprised of the villages listed below them. Village names in italics indicate those not mentioned in any of the interviews but which appear in the census

⁷According to the 1987 Census Publication (Demo 87:5), between 1976–1987 Cameroon experienced a 2.9% annual growth. Assuming that the same 2.9% rate of growth has continued over the past 12 years and applies equally throughout the country, we can estimate the 2001 population based on the 1987 figure. There is no way of knowing if there has been significant immigration or emigration of the speech communities since 1987. Also, these figures do not include populations speaking the language outside of the village (in cities).

list along with the other population figures for the region. Village names in parentheses are those used by the local people themselves. An asterisk marks the villages that we visited on this survey. The second column shows the name the people give their language; column three is their ethnic self-designation; column four gives their oldest known origins.

Table 1. Summary of Linguistic and Demographic Information

Village Name	Self-Name of Language	People Name	Origin	Population: Self-reported	Population: '87 Census	Population: Estimate '01
Fontang 1 & 2 (Foteng)					1,784	2,700
Alou/Alouh					21,807	32,500
-Fosimombin					1,158	
-Fosimombin 1					2,192	
-Fosimombin 2					1,121	
-Fosimombin 3					116	
-Fosimondi(Mmockngie)*	Mmock/Yemba	Mmock		4,700	3,863	5,800
-Fosungu					1,174	
-Fonjumetaw				12,000-	2,888	4,300
-Nwametaw(Fonjumetaw)*	Ngwa	Bangwa	Fombe	19,000	5,630	8,400
-Ndungatet					2,661	
-Njenawa					1,004	
Azi					21,321	31,800
-Azi					1,254	
-Essoh-Attah					2,966	
-Foto					397	
-Lewoh					219	
-Njoagwi (Fotabong 3)*	Bingwe/	LiNgwe	Njoagwi	1,500	313	467
-Lower Fotabong	Kingwe				1,315	2,000
-Nchen-Essoh					756	
-Njenche					1,320	
-Upper Fotabong					1,958	
-Lebang					8,532	12,700
-Menji*	Bangwa	Nweh	Bayangi	25,000	2,291	3,400
Fontem⁸					12,597	18,800
NGWE total population			1976	→ 46,000	57,500	85,800

3.2 Dialect Situation

3.2.1 Nomenclature

Akamin uses the traditional spelling *Nweh*, a designation that “is restricted to the country and the language” (p. 6). *Bangwa* is the name he uses to refer to the people who speak *Nweh*. Fidelis Morfaw (1976:9) notes that the question remains whether the Ngwe

⁸Fontem, as it appears on many maps, previously designated both a subdivision of Manyu Division and the principal town, the administrative seat, bearing the same name. Recently, this subdivision became Lebialem Division, now divided into three subdivisions. The southernmost one is called Fontem. The town formerly referred to as Fontem is known as Lebang locally. Most official and government buildings occupy the quarter of Menji in Lebang town, Fontem Subdivision. It is unclear from the census data whether Fontem includes the populations of Lebang and Menji. The Subdivisional Officer furnished a population figure of 42,000 for all of Fontem Subdivision; 28,000 for Lebang; and 5,000 for Menji.

people are of Bamileke or Banyangi origin, as some of them carry names typical of the latter rather than the former. He has the following to say on the names:

Geography books, government documents and ordnance survey maps carry this spelling, *Bangwa*, an appellation of early colonial administrators, referred at once to the people, the land and the language. It is now being repalced by *Nweh*, a name that stands for the language and the land, but *not* the people. The people are called 'Mbangwe'. Some books use 'Fontem', but this is a misnomer since 'Fontem' (understood here to mean the land) is only one of the nine chiefdoms that make up Nweh.

Except for Mmockngie, the other three locations gave some variation on the name Bangwa as their self-designation as a people and Ngwe as the name of their language. In Mmockngie the people use the name Mmock for both the name of their language and themselves as a people. Some respondents also offered the names Yemba and Ngemba, of which they claim to be a part.

3.2.2 Language Variation within Ngwe

Lexicostatistical Analysis

Within each of the three clusters of Ngwe speech varieties delineated by Akamin there is a great deal of variation. Factors such as lexical differences, divers origins, multiple names, and varying geography contribute to a hypothesis that this group comprises several different languages that were arbitrarily grouped together historically under one political unit by several government administrations. Table 2 is an extract of the cognate count matrix from Akamin's thesis. He provides the following description of how he analysed and made judgments on the word lists he collected (p. 19):

In this study the criterion is essentially phonetic. Thus those items which on grounds of phonetic agreement appear similar are established as cognates. This is to say that those words which, in spite of their phonological contrast production, can be established as descendants of one and the same language are those which are selected. The cognates are then counted as common retentions from the proto-language.

The second matrix below (table 3) shows the degree of lexical similarity of word lists that we collected during this survey trip. We used the apparent cognate comparison method to count the percentage of related words between the dialects. The underlying concept of historical reconstruction with a view toward the protolanguage guided our decisions. Based on such judgments, we believe that these figures represent the maximum lexical similarity and subsequently, the highest potential level of mutual intelligibility. Akamin's calculations reflect the use of criteria similar to our own.

Table 2. Percentage of Shared Cognates

Njoagwi			
88	Lebang		
73	76	Nwametaw	
60	62	74	Mmockngie

(Extracted from Akamin 1985:44)

Table 3. Apparent Cognate Percentages

Njoagwi			
85	Lebang		
74	79	Nwametaw	
65	67	78	Mmockngie

We compared a new set of word lists and our analysis generated results similar to Akamin's, reinforcing the reliability of his lexicostatistic estimates. This gives us confidence in how to interpret the rest of his lexicostatistic percentages to help us screen for the degree of similarity among the other dialects of Ngwe with a view toward mutual intelligibility. (Appendix 3 has the complete table of percentages from Akamin's study.)

Lexicostatistic analysis shows that the central group of Ngwe speech varieties has more in common with the speech varieties of several Yemba villages than they do with the rest of the Ngwe speech varieties. Yet, at the same time the speakers of the central Ngwe villages claim to have no contact with Yemba people and low comprehension of the Yemba language. The results from the word lists clearly demonstrate that the Mmock cluster of speech varieties is a group apart, as well as the southern cluster of speech varieties. Results from the preliminary RTT testing further clarify this situation and give direction on how we should proceed.

The informants from Njoagwi profess to understand speakers as far away as Nwametaw, a distance of twenty kilometers. Each speaker can use his own speech variety when communicating with the other, and both can understand. Respondents in Lebang attested to comprehension of all the dialects to the south and those to the north as far as Nwengong and Mmockmbie. Those from Nwametaw claimed to understand all of the Ngwe dialects from north to south. Mmockngie participants say they speak with Ngwe as far as Nwengong. They report, however, that an Mmock child cannot understand someone from Nwengong before the age of 10 nor someone from Nwametaw before age 15.

Recorded Text Testing Results

RTT testing in Mmockngie showed that more than half of the respondents understand Yemba better than the Nwametaw variety of Ngwe. Individual testees understood most to all of the Yemba text and understood some to all of the Ngwe text. For comparison we tested a middle-aged group on their average overall comprehension of the two tapes. The group participants said that they understood most of the Yemba story and very little of the Ngwe story. In the group testing, on the other hand, Most Mmock people would use Pidgin to communicate with anyone from the two southern dialect groups of Ngwe. The Mmocks consider Yemba more similar to their mother tongue than Ngwe.

Testing of the Nwametaw tape in Njoagwi revealed only partial understanding by youth and young adults. Respondents of middle-age and older understood most or all of the text. Contact is necessary for these southernmost inhabitants of the Ngwe-speaking area. Two separate interviewees in Dschang, one from Lebang and the other from Essoh-Attah, also testified that contact is required for residents of their respective villages to understand Nwametaw. However, they admitted that they understand this variety of Ngwe better than they understand Yemba.

3.3 Multilingualism

3.3.1 Related and Other Languages⁹

Ngwe is most closely related to languages such as Yemba and Ngiemboon, with which it forms a linguistic continuum. Ngwe shares such resemblances with Yemba that their actual distinction on the village level seems arbitrary in relationship to the degrees of lexical similarity between the speech varieties of these two languages and favoured channels of contact between Ngwe villages and Yemba villages. This is evidenced in the greater likeness of some Ngwe dialects with Yemba dialects as revealed in the lexical and social groupings as well as the direction of trade and travel of Ngwe residents toward Yemba villages rather than between Ngwe villages.

⁹A Ghomala speaker and a Bamendjoun speaker on the team were each able to speak the mother tongue reciprocally with inhabitants of Mmockngie. These are both Bamileke languages.

Akamin suspects that though Ngwe and Yemba may have been more closely related in the recent past, they have been subjected to strongly divergent external pressures. Formation under different political, cultural, and linguistic influences has molded them accordingly. He states (p. 11),

Although the Nweh and Dschang [Yemba] have a close linguistic relationship, this on the whole appears to be limited mainly to lexicographic resemblance. There exists a significant difference at the level of grammar and phonology. The accidental separate development of these two tribes under radically different colonial systems of rule might be said to be largely responsible for the differences.

Furthermore, Akamin (p. 68) makes this assertion:

Most Nweh people understand very little Dschang [Yemba] as a whole. Generally, the intelligibility between Nweh and Dschang as gathered from informant's opinions is limited only to "sporadic recognition." But those villages along the borders with, or which are close to, Dschang can have a near average understanding of Dschang dialects like Fongo Tongo, Fongo ndeng [sic], Fossung Elemen. This is due to contact with these dialects mostly through markets... Although mutual intelligibility exists between these border villages, the Dschang border villages, appear to understand Nweh better than the reverse.

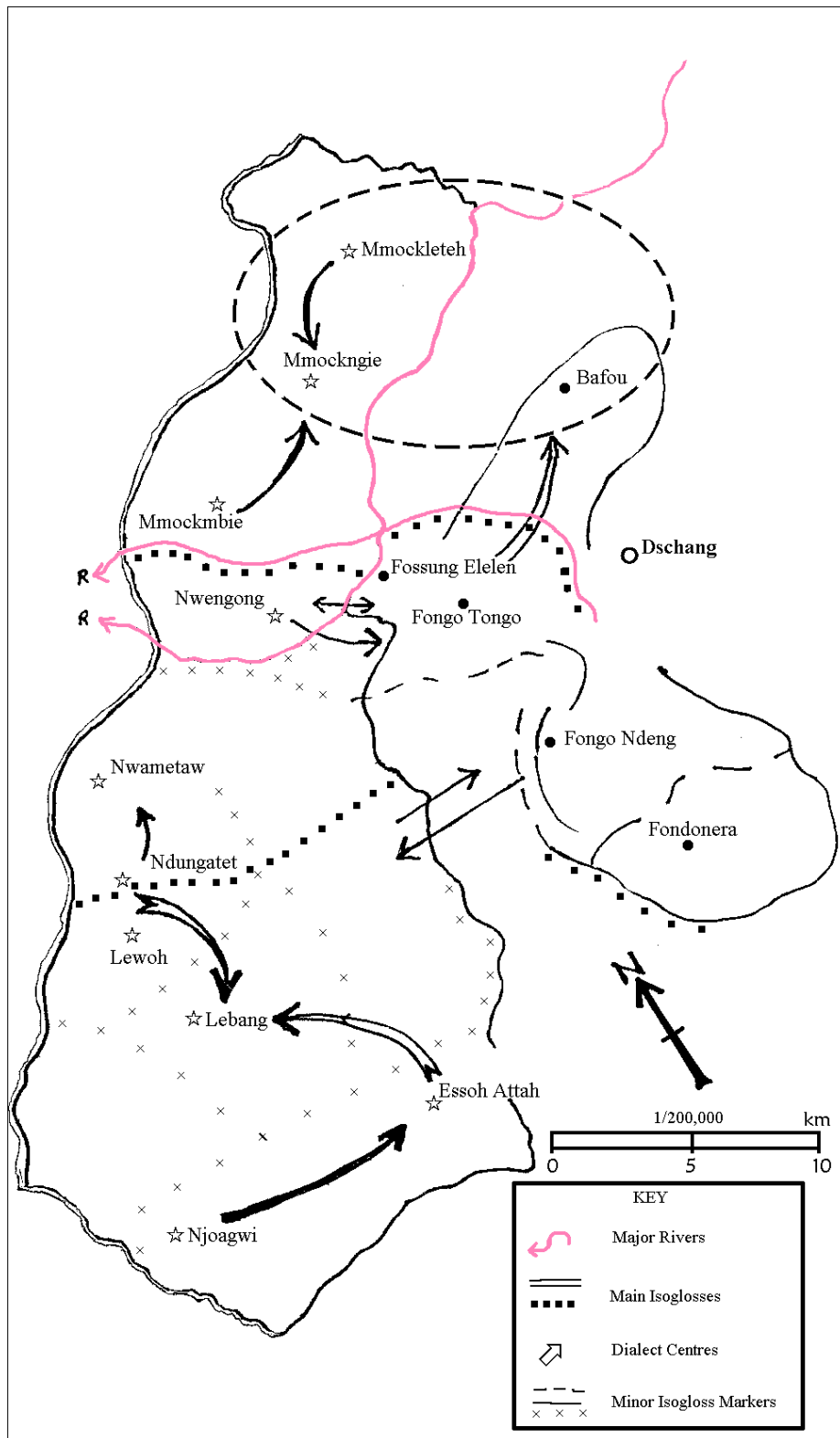
We found Akamin's assertion that most Ngwe people do not understand Yemba to be incorrect. Respondents from Njoagwi and Lebang profess to using the mother tongue reciprocally with those Yemba speakers to the east (Fongo Ndeng, Dschang), that is, each speaker can use his own mother tongue with the other and both can be understood. However, speakers from Lebang must be at least 15 to 21 years old to understand Yemba speakers, who must speak slowly, indicating that comprehension is acquired rather than inherent. The few informants from Nwametaw claimed no comprehension of Yemba. Mmockngie residents speak with nearby Yemba speakers to their south (Bafou, Fongo Tongo, Fossung Elemen). They said that they understand Bafou and Bamboutos better than the other dialects of Ngwe. Mmock people must be at least 10 or 12 years old to understand someone from Bafou.

3.3.2 Languages of Wider Communication

Pidgin serves all of the Ngwe as a trade language in encounters with speakers of most other languages. Ngwe speakers use Pidgin on a daily basis, but do not speak English every day. The young people speak both of these languages better than the adults.

The map on the following page (map 2) displays the various Ngwe and Yemba dialects along with the lines dividing the major and minor dialect groupings. It also illustrates significant rivers separating dialects, primary channels of communication between dialects, as well as the important influential dialect centers.

Map 2. Ngwe Dialect Relationship Map¹⁰



¹⁰Modification of the map from Akamin's thesis on page 74.

3.4 Language Vitality and Viability

3.4.1 Migration and Intermarriage

Speakers of the various Ngwe dialects prefer to marry most commonly within their own group. There is no favoured group with whom they intermarry. None of the Ngwe speakers interviewed mentioned any restrictions on intermarriage.¹¹

Foreigners from within and outside of Cameroon move into the area both permanently and temporarily. Some of them come from neighbouring villages and language groups. In Njoagwi, Mbo speakers from the south come for jobs on farms, others come from Bamenda. In Lebang, people come from all over for the numerous government jobs.

There are also many foreign missionaries sent as part of the Catholic Focolare Movement to start schools, clinics, and churches. They are highly concentrated in Lebang, but are also in Nwametaw. In Mmockngie, people from Foto Ngong and Bangang were driven there by famine and happened to find fertile soil.

Strangers most often begin using Pidgin, and in some cases English, with the local residents. In Lebang they eventually start speaking the mother tongue. Mmockngie residents claim that strangers use the local language as soon as they learn it.

3.4.2 Language Use

Ngwe people continue to use their mother tongue¹² in a wide variety of contexts, with the exception of those living in Lebang. In all other locations Ngwe speakers use the mother tongue in twice as many domains as they use Pidgin. Lebang residents, however, speak Pidgin in the same number of situations that they speak Ngwe. We observed this fact for ourselves in the midst of group discussions among themselves.

3.4.2.1 Community and Public Domain

Ngwe speakers use the mother tongue in the home, with age-mates, on the farm, at most of the small and large area markets, at traditional ceremonies, for public announcements, and during local council meetings. In addition to Ngwe, Lebang residents speak Pidgin and English with friends, at regional council meetings, and for public announcements. Respondents from all four locations affirm that they use Pidgin extensively at markets, health centers, and in regional council meetings, because many of the workers are outsiders. A few even speak English and French in these locations.

3.4.2.2 School¹³

English is the language of instruction and explanation in the educational system. All the teachers in Njoagwi are from the village. They use English most often in class, but resort

¹¹However, Yemba speakers told us that they do not want their daughters to marry Ngwe men because sorcery is strong in the Ngwe area.

¹²We hesitate to use the name Ngwe to refer to the mother tongue spoken by the Mmock peoples as it appears to be separate from the other dialects in many respects. The other dialects of Ngwe share more lexical similarity with Yemba than they do with the Mmock dialects, the Mmock people are cut off geographically, they have a different name for their language than the rest of the Ngwe, and Akamin has even suggested a secondary standard reference dialect for the Mmock people. (The language is alternatively called Aschinle by testees in Mmockngie as seen in the RTT responses documented in appendix 4).

¹³Every chiefdom has at least one primary school. There are, in addition, numerous institutions for higher learning beyond this. These include, but are not limited to, Fontem Government Bilingual High School, Azi Government School, Youth Technical Commercial College, (S.A.R./S.M., now G.T.C.), Government Teachers Training College, Lady Seat of Wisdom College, Lebang Government Secondary School, Essoh-Attah Comprehensive Secondary School, Fiadem Technical and Commercial Secondary School.

to Pidgin if they need to explain something to a student who does not otherwise understand. They use Ngwe only in rare instances during class instruction, but they speak Ngwe extensively with students during recess.

Nwametaw teachers use English exclusively while on school grounds during school hours. Students and teachers will not speak the mother tongue unless they are out of school. Likewise in Mmockngie, teachers and students use English for all activities but recess, during which they speak the mother tongue together.

3.4.2.3 Church¹⁴

The largest denomination among the southern groups of Ngwe is the Catholic Church; among the Mmocks the largest church is the Presbyterian Church in Cameroon. However, church leaders attest that the greater part of Ngwe people follow traditional religion.¹⁵ Few church members have their own Bible,¹⁶ except for those attending the Protestant churches in Lebang.

Some of the churches use Ngwe for songs, sermons, youth meetings, and announcements; but Pidgin is spoken the most, followed by English. Among all the churches combined one finds Pidgin and English being used in every aspect of church service and other activities, because most leaders are not Ngwe speakers. In all the churches someone interprets the Pidgin or English into the mother tongue either simultaneously or as a resume at the end of a given activity.

According to the pastors in Lebang, it is necessary to interpret or speak in Pidgin since most people do not understand English. For older people, especially women and those who are uneducated as well as very young children, Pidgin must be interpreted in the mother tongue. In the following table, mother tongue usage is in bold in order to highlight its occurrence in the church domain.

Table 4. Ecclesiastical Language Use

NGWE	Language Used	Interpret in MT	Methods (most common listed first)	Reason
Songs	MT , P, E	<i>some</i>	<i>if so, in advance; or resume</i>	for elderly, uneducated; for all
Sermons	P, E, MT	yes	simultaneous; resume	old people
Bible reading	E, P	yes	simultaneous; resume	for elderly, uneducated; for all
Bible Study/Doctrine	P, E	yes	simultaneous; resume	for very old/young; esp mothers
Youth Groups	P, E	rarely	<i>if so, simultaneous</i>	Youth understand P and E
Announcements	MT , P, E	<i>some</i>	<i>if so, simultaneous; resume</i>	elderly; all

Key: **MT**=Ngwe or Mmock; **P**=Pidgin; **E**=English

¹⁴The following list is a compilation of all information we were able to gather on the churches in each location that we visited. Each entry gives the name of the church, the year the church was established, and the average weekly attendance of the church. Lebang: Catholic—1940, 200; Full Gospel Mission—1970, 30; Presbyterian Church in Cameroon—1988; Apostolic—1998, 25; Christian Missionary Fellowship International—1998 18; Christadelphia—1999; Njoagwi: Catholic Church—1968, 70; Nwametaw Catholic Church—1973, 300; Mmockngie: Presbyterian Church in Cameroon—1922, 350; Catholic Church—1997, 300.

¹⁵Informants in Nwametaw state that missionaries from the Focolare Movement of the Catholic Church have been trying to eradicate animism for years, such that there are very few followers left. Respondents from Njoagwi say that 75% of the population adheres to Catholicism. The fon of Lebang says that as many as 85% of the inhabitants are still involved in the practice of traditional religions, most of them from the older generations. The fon of Mmockngie holds that traditional rituals are limited to celebrations with close family and friends.

¹⁶Catholic churches use the Pidgin New Testament, the Good News version, and modern Catholic versions in English. Protestants use either the Good News or the New International versions of the Bible.

3.4.3 Language Maintenance and Shift

Adults in each of the four locations agree that the young people speak Ngwe more than any other language. They are very proud of their mother tongue. Despite their satisfaction nearly all of the respondents admit that young people mix Pidgin and English with Ngwe. Most parents, particularly literate ones, would be bothered if their children spoke to them in Pidgin. They prefer that they speak the mother tongue first and speak it well. These parents fear that their language will be lost, diminished, or altered.

3.5 Linguistic Attitudes

3.5.1 Attitudes Toward the Mother Tongue

Interest in Ngwe literacy is diverse. Attitudes range from mild enthusiasm to extreme indifference. Lebang and Nwametaw interviewees listed Ngwe as third choice, after English and French, of languages they would like to learn to read and write. Their preferences do not derive necessarily from shame toward their language or the diminished importance of the mother tongue in daily life. Its lower placement is attributable to the higher status and wider usefulness of these other two languages. The group in Njoagwi chose Ngwe first, whereas those in Mmockngie chose the mother tongue, which we may deduce from their comments is not the same thing as Ngwe.¹⁷ Both mentioned English and French as second and third preferences, respectively.

Ngwe respondents believe that development of a written standard for Ngwe would...

- lend prestige to the mother tongue,
- allow written communication,
- permit locals to maintain privacy by keeping written materials secret from outsiders,
- popularize the language and culture to a broader audience,
- facilitate delivery of public addresses, and
- preserve and promote the language among native speakers.

Respondents from every location expressed a willingness to provide whatever is necessary for the success of a language program. As for where a project could or should be located, members from each village suggested their own village as the ideal location. Njoagwi residents proposed their village and Essoh-Attah because all the other dialects are different. Lebang residents said that one could learn good Ngwe anywhere, but insisted that the best Ngwe is spoken near the fon's palace in Azi, four kilometers from Menji, and that they would choose this dialect to develop. Nwametaw informants said that theirs is the most geographically central village and that residents from there, likewise, understand all the other dialects. They concede that the Mmock peoples to the north would have difficulty understanding the Lebang dialect. Mmockngie people naturally chose their dialect, particularly the variety spoken in the palace quarter, as the variety to learn if someone would want to learn the mother tongue.

Church leaders are unanimous in their opinion that Pidgin is a good language for use in the church, as most people understand it. Nearly every leader encourages the use of the mother tongue as much as possible in all church services, meetings, Bible studies, and evangelism. The greater part of church members have expressed an interest in reading and writing the mother tongue and in having religious materials in the language as well.

Most leaders believe that a mother tongue Bible translation is absolutely necessary. Congregants would be able to better understand the Bible's message; it could be read to them directly without interpretation; and it would be beneficial to those who understand no Pidgin

¹⁷See footnote 12 for an explanation on the differences here.

or English at all. One pastor, however, said that it would be useless since most people are illiterate. All of them, on the other hand, agreed that they would work together with participants from other denominations and would be willing to contribute whatever time, money, accommodations, and food would be required to support a translation project.

Teachers, all of them Ngwe natives, are very positive about Ngwe literacy and using the mother tongue as a language of instruction in school. All of them would be willing to assist a program to teach Ngwe by offering training and encouragement. However, when asked what their second choice would be for educational language after English, every one of them said French.

3.5.2 Standardization Efforts

No standardization program or language committee has been established to date. There has been, however, substantial linguistic work done on Ngwe by both expatriates and nationals alike. Akamin suggests that Lebang (Menji/Fontem) should serve as the reference dialect and that Mmockngie could serve as a secondary standard for the northern Mmock cluster of Ngwe speakers based on the harmonization of Ngwe opinions (pp. 84–89, 101–103). While we agree that the Mmock speech variety warrants a standard other than Lebang, we disagree that the Lebang speech variety is such that it could serve the southern Ngwe speech varieties as the reference dialect.

Despite Lebang's apparent status as the most influential dialect, interviewees in Lebang showed little or no interest in language development. In addition, speakers of this reference dialect have a propensity to speak Pidgin as much as their mother tongue. The irony is that Lebang is, at the same time, the most likely and least likely candidate for a location to begin a program of standardization.

Local Leadership Presence

Each of the villages has an organized social structure and identifiable leadership. Every one of them has a village council, whose members reside in the village itself. The youngest leaders are in their twenties. All of the village chiefs, except for the one in Lebang, displayed strong leadership qualities. The chief of Lebang showed few of the manifestations common to someone in his position of authority for so large a community. (One man said that his father is the paramount chief of Fontem.) Members of the Ngwe communities are confident that there will always be qualified persons to take the place of aging leadership. This factor could help to foster the success of a language development project.

3.5.3 Attitudes toward Other Languages

Ngwe speakers, from the Lebang and Nwametaw speech varieties especially, have a high view of English and French. They realize the usefulness of these two languages in the global scheme of things. English and French enable communication with people from throughout Cameroon and the rest of the world. They know that they cannot be involved in external affairs or hope for advancement within their own economy without oral and written proficiency in either or both of these two languages.

Their opinion of Pidgin is somewhat lower than that of Ngwe, English, and French. Although Pidgin can serve native speakers over a wider area than Ngwe, it is still limited in scope. Pidgin is seen as a vehicular language for the masses, but unsuitable for educational and professional success. Pidgin poses a threat to the proper maintenance of the mother tongue and the international languages.

Attitudes Toward Change

Communities organize themselves to build and maintain bridges, roads, and paths between villages, to work on water projects, and to construct schools. The chiefdoms of Mmockngie and Njoagwi have cultural development organizations who promote local customs and encourage small self-help work groups.

Although each chiefdom has at least one primary school and a health center, the Lebang area has been highly favoured for social, economic, educational, and political development (Akamin 1985:86). Lebang (Nveh) is the site of the African headquarters for the Focolare Movement of the Catholic Church. They have contributed to small-scale industry and training. Lebang (Menji) is also the location of the first government secondary school, a clerical institution, and the largest hospital in Ngwe territory. Lebang (Azi) hosts the second most important center in Cameroon for the study and treatment of sleeping sickness (p. 87). Lebang is also the site of the divisional and subdivisional headquarters. Consequently, there is a police station, gendarmerie, a treasury, post office, and other government services (p. 88).

The Ngwe group is open to change in the secular and civic realm. They are conscious of the need for community development, that is, modernisation and improvement of living conditions. Education and the creation of small industry is encouraged.

On the other hand, there is a certain resistance to religious change among Christians and non-Christians as well as a tendency, especially around Lebang, to hold on to traditional religion. This atmosphere could hinder the progress of a language development project involving Bible translation.

4.0 Summary

4.1 Overall Impressions

The Ngwe-speaking area is not very homogeneous. There is as much and sometimes more difference between the different varieties of Ngwe as there is between Ngwe and Yemba. Contact among Ngwe villages is lower than the contact between Ngwe villages and neighbouring Yemba villages. Not only is there more interlanguage contact but there is in some cases higher lexical similarity between the two “languages.” It seems as though the Ngwe speech varieties have been arbitrarily and artificially grouped together ever since the colonials drew political boundaries and even now in how the present government continues to divide the region administratively.

The various Ngwe groups are separated from each other geographically by mountains, valleys, rivers, and dense forest. We noticed as well a considerable dialect variation from north to south in the culture and mentality of the people. Despite the claims of groups to have different origins and history, they have been included in the same language (ethnic, tribal) group by themselves and others due perhaps to a common cultural heritage, shared linguistic characteristics, and political circumstances. The fact that the numerous speech varieties have different origins might be responsible for the dialect variation between them. Although they find themselves separated by administrative boundaries and two different official languages, connections with Dschang and its surroundings are greater still as the better roads run in that direction. All of these factors combined potentially contribute to the lexicostatistic divergence that we find within the group and their relationship to Yemba.

4.2 Lebang Dialect Summary and Conclusions

The Lebang respondents expressed no interest in developing their mother tongue. They also showed a lack of motivation to organize themselves for the interview and for potential future language work. In the event that a development project were begun, it might be difficult to encourage involvement without the promise of monetary gain.

Pidgin holds a high place in society and daily use. Respondents chose English and French above their own mother tongue as languages they would want to learn to read and write. In addition, they were unable to come to a consensus as to which variety should serve as the standard. Uniformity between the varieties and unity among the speakers appears low.

There is high involvement in traditional religion, yet a perceived need for Bible translation. Churches already interpret much in the mother tongue in numerous activities during church services and other meetings. On the other hand, there is reported comprehension of Yemba due to frequent contact with Yemba speakers. For this reason it is possible that Lebang inhabitants could use the Yemba New Testament that is in the process of being translated. Speakers of the Lebang speech variety should be tested on their comprehension of Yemba by means of recorded text testing.

4.3 Nwametaw Dialect Summary and Conclusions

Nwametaw is located at the geographical center of the Ngwe-speaking area. This speech variety is the only one in the entire group possessing the widest extendability. Residents here believe that the Mmock peoples would be unable to understand the Lebang dialect of Ngwe. Furthermore, Nwametaw speakers claim to use their speech variety mutually with the Ngwe at both extremities of the language area.

Local people speak Ngwe in many domains, including interpretation into the mother tongue at church. Despite high usage of the language, they list the mother tongue as the third choice for literacy after English and French. In addition, they say that they have no contact with Yemba speakers. For these reasons, an Ngwe translation would be indispensable for them. However, resident missionaries and local leadership are resistant and may be uncooperative in regard to a standardization program.

4.4 Njoagwi Summary and Conclusions

Despite their apparent isolation, many residents of Njoagwi seem to have a good grasp of English and Pidgin. They themselves report understanding of Yemba and should therefore be further tested to verify this. On the other hand, the local language is viable and void of language mixing with Pidgin or English. They chose Ngwe first as a language they would want to learn to read and write. Yet, teachers placed Ngwe third behind English and French. Church leaders use Ngwe or interpret in Ngwe for most activities. Church leaders and members alike expressed an interest in and need for religious materials. People said that they would contribute to a project.

There exists a strong interest in language development among the people of Njoagwi, but few of the residents are highly educated, and community organization is minimally adequate for sustaining a language project. Njoagwi would be an unlikely candidate given its isolation and lack of access by road.

4.5 Mmockngie Summary and Conclusions

People in Mmockngie are proud of their language and continue to use it actively. The mother tongue is used at church in all situations, half of the time being interpreted from Pidgin or English. Church members express interest in written religious materials. Only a few residents understand the varieties as far away as Lebang. Yet, they attest to good comprehension of Yemba, including an ability to speak it. Furthermore, they have more contact with Yemba speakers than with other Ngwe speakers. The Mmock people have a greater chance of benefiting from the Yemba translation than the Lebang residents.

There is a high interest in language development, a strong leadership network, community organization, and a recognized authority structure. A standardization program

would have access to resources and industrious people. Road travel is possible but somewhat difficult without an off-road vehicle.

5.0 Conclusions

The lexicostatistical analysis in conjunction with sociolinguistic questionnaires serve complementary roles in fulfilling the objectives for investigating the language situation. Akamin (pp. 15–16) asserts that “any linguist or socio-linguist following the approach adopted [in his thesis], systematically, will eventually arrive at similar if not the same conclusions.” Having used similar methods, we did receive similar results.

Although the lexicostatistical analysis between the two surveys is harmonious, our findings from the interviews were somewhat different than Akamin’s. We differ as well on some of the conclusions drawn from the research. We did not find the kind of sociolinguistic unity that Akamin seems to imply in his presentation. However, ours did not have the same degree of depth and breadth as Akamin’s study and we cannot, therefore, question the existence of ten distinct speech varieties and the clustering of them into three dialect groups.

There is no indication that Yemba speakers understand Ngwe better than the reverse (that Ngwe speakers understand Yemba.) according to native speaker opinions and the results of comprehension testing. Overall comprehension of Yemba seems to be acquired rather than inherent and intelligibility of some Ngwe speech varieties also seems to be acquired for speakers of certain other Ngwe speech varieties. The population is great enough in any of the three dialect areas to warrant a separate translation project. However, comprehension of Yemba, though learned may be great enough that speakers could benefit by using the Yemba translation. Or perhaps the Yemba translation could serve as a basis for an adaptation into one or more of the Ngwe speech varieties.

In sum, the Ngwe group does not completely fulfill Watters’ criteria for the success of a language development project and mass literacy program. It is not homogeneous, but does fit the description of a “changing community” in that there is openness to change and a strong presence of a middle-aged leadership (see Watters 1989:6.7.7).

The Mmockngie do not belong with Nweh, but it would be premature to make a decision on how to group the other speech varieties.

6.0 Recommendations

The final consensus is to leave the recommendations open and wait for local initiative. We suggest additional RTT testing between the Ngwe speech varieties to verify the findings of this survey, so we can have more complete figures.

It would be advisable to check our findings from Lebang and Nwametaw. Due to the difficult circumstances encountered at the beginning of our research in these two locations, cursory follow-up RAs would be helpful, especially on the issue of attitudes toward using the Yemba translation. Thorough interviews would not be necessary. A simple and brief questioning of their opinions would provide enough information to determine how to proceed with this language group. Then, if attitudes of the Ngwe groups are positive toward Yemba, carry out a hometown testing of the Yemba text and administer it to the speakers of the Ngwe speech varieties.

Our conclusions and recommendations come with some reservations due to the lack of complete RTT testing and the shortcomings of our interviews. The team was too small to have cross-checking of group questionnaire information and mutual accountability for the word list elicitation as well. Owing to time constraints, there was often only one researcher leading the group interview and one leading the word list transcription.

7.0 Unanswered Research Questions

- What are the attitudes of each of these three groups toward using Yemba?
- What is the level of contact of the central dialect toward Yemba?

8.0 Modifications to *Ethnologue*

Eliminate Foto, Fongo Ndeng from the list of alternate names. (These are the names of Yemba villages, none of which were offered in any of the interviews by mother tongue speakers as synonyms for their language.) Change the population figure to 73,200. (This figure is the estimate for the year 2001 from a projection of the census figures, but excluding the population of the villages belonging to the Mmock group). Change first line to read: "Most of Lebialem Division, South West Province."

Pending results of the RTT and whatever additional information that might be provided by Gretchen Harro and Nancy Haynes, the northern variety might better be grouped with the Yemba language.

Appendix A: *Ethnologue* Entries

(selected listings pp.32,40–41,44,47,49,51,54–55)

GHOMÁLÁ' (BANJUN, BANDJOUN, BANJOUN-BAHAM, BALOUM, BATIE, BAMILEKE-BANDJOUN, MANDJU, MAHUM) [BBJ]

260,000 (1982 SIL). Most of Mifi Division (except the extreme south and pockets in the north and west), eastern part of Menoua Division, a pocket in southern Bamboutos Division, and Bamendjou Subdivision, Mifi Division, West Province. Linguistic affiliation: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Bantoid, Southern, Wide Grassfields, Narrow Grassfields, Mbam-Nkam, Bamileke. Dialects: GHOMÁLÁ' CENTRAL (BANDJOUN, JO, WE, HOM, YOGAM, BAHAM), GHOMÁLÁ' NORTH (FUSAP, LANG), GHOMÁLÁ' SOUTH (TE, PA, DENGKWOP), NGEMBA (BAMENJOU, FU'DA, SA, MONJO, MEKA, MUGUM). Based on inherent intelligibility, Bameka, Bansoa, and Balessing are subdialects of South Ghomá'á', North Ghomá'á' has 2 subdialects, Central Ghomá'á' 4, and Ngemba 5. Taught informally to adults since the early 1900s. Adopted by UNESCO in the 1960s and 1970s as one of 9 languages of wider communication for Cameroon, one of 2 in west Cameroon. Taught formally in 6 RC schools since 1995. Literacy rate in first language: 5% to 10%. Literacy rate in second language: 25% to 50%. Traditional religion, Christian. Bible portions 1964.

MUNDANI [MUN] 34,000 (1987 SIL). South of Batibo, Mamfe and northern Fontem subdivisions, Manyu Division, South West Province. Linguistic affiliation: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Bantoid, Southern, Wide Grassfields, Narrow Grassfields, Momo. Dialects: BAMUMBO (BAMUMBU), BECHATI, BESALI, BANTI, FOLEPI, IGUAMBO (IGUMBO), BANGANG, NKO (NKONG). Dictionary. Literacy rate in first language: 5% to 10%. Literacy rate in second language: 25% to 50%. Mountain slope. Bible portions 1989-1990.

NGIEMBOON (NGUEMBA, NGYEMBOON, BAMILEKE-NGYEMBOON) [NNH] 100,000 (1987 SIL). Batcham Subdivision and in Balatchi in western Mbouda Subdivision, Bamboutos Division; north of Penka-Michel, Menoua Division, West Province. Linguistic affiliation: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Bantoid, Southern, Wide Grassfields, Narrow Grassfields, Mbam-Nkam, Bamileke. Dialects: BATCHAM, BALATCHI, BAMOUNGONG. Distinct from Ngemba. Literacy rate in first language: Below 1%. Literacy rate in second language: 25% to 50%. Bible portions 1984.

NGWE (NWE, FONTEM, FOTO, FONGONDENG, FOMOPEA, BAMILEKE-NGWE) [NWE] 50,000 (1992 SIL). Most of Fontem Subdivision, Manyu Division, South West Province. Linguistic affiliation: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Bantoid, Southern, Wide Grassfields, Narrow Grassfields, Mbam-Nkam, Bamileke. Part of a language continuum which includes Yemba and Ngyemboon.

NGOMBA (NDAA, NDA'A, BAMILEKE-NGOMBA) [NNO] 63,000 (1999 SIL). Southeast of Mbouda, southern Mbouda Subdivision, Bamboutos Division, West Province. 5 villages; each a separate dialect. Linguistic affiliation: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Bantoid, Southern, Wide Grassfields, Narrow Grassfields, Mbam-Nkam, Bamileke. Dialects: BAMENDJINDA, BAMENKUMBO, BAMESSO, BABETE (BAMETE), BAMENDJO. Dialect speakers appear to understand each other well. Bamendjinda, Bamesso, and Bamenkumbo are the most similar. Second languages are French and Pidgin. Church languages are Ngomba, French, Ngyembong, Medumba, or Bafunda. Ngomba is used by all in the 5 towns in all domains. Interest expressed in language development. 'Nda'a' is their name for themselves. Bafunda is a separate town and language (see Ghomala), but ethnically Nda'a. Different from Ngumba in the Maka-Njem group. Literacy rate in first language: Below 1%. Literacy rate in second language: 15% to 25%.

YEMBA (TCHANG, DSCHANG, BAFU, ATsang-BANGWA, BANGWA, BAMILEKE-YEMBA) [BAN] 300,000 or more. Major part of Menoua Division, centered around Dschang, West Province. Linguistic affiliation: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Bantoid, Southern, Wide Grassfields, Narrow Grassfields, Mbam-Nkam, Bamileke. Dialects: YEMBA, FOREKE DSCHANG (DSCHANG, TCHANG). Part of a language continuum which includes Ngwe and Ngyemboon. Literacy rate in first language: Below 1%. Literacy rate in second language: 15% to 25%.

Appendix B: *ALCAM* Entries

(pp. 80, 123–124)

[953] ngwe =ngwe
 =bangwa (selon LSSA)
 -dialectes: Fossimobing
 Fontem
 Bamok = mok (selon locuteurs)

[951] à [953] Le *ngyemboong* [951], le *yemba* [952] et le *ngwe* [953] forment de fait un ensemble dialectal sans nette solution de continuité, et l'on peut hésiter dans quelques cas à rattacher le parler de telle chefferie à tel des trois pôles plutôt qu'à tel autre. Le fait que des formes écrites distinctes soient développées pour chacun d'eux contribue fortement à figer une situation qui, sans cela, eût pu évoluer vers le regroupement autour d'une norme unique.

[951] Les cinq variétés énumérées sous le *ngyemboong* correspondent à autant de chefferies distinctes.

L'aire du *ngyemboong* correspond au sud-ouest du dép. des *Bambouto*, c'est-à-dire à l'arr. de *Batcham* (avec *Batcham* au centre, *Bamougong* à l'est, *Balessing* au sud et *Bangang* à l'ouest) plus *Balatchi*, au nord, dans l'arr. de *Mbouda*.

[952] La dénomination du *yemba* résulte d'une récente décision des locuteurs de cet ensemble de parlers qu'on désignait auparavant du nom de la ville la plus importante de l'aire, *Dschang*. Comme dans de nombreux autres cas, c'est l'équivalent de la locution "je dis que" qui a été retenue.

L'aire du *yemba* correspond au nord de l'arr. de *Dschang*, jusqu'au chef-lieu compris. Le dialecte ouest au hauteurs de l'arr. de *Santchou* dominant la plaine des *Mbo*. Le dialecte sud à l'arr. de *Fokoué*, le dialecte sud-est à la partie ouest de l'arr. de *Penka Michel* et le dialecte est à l'est de l'arr. de *Dschang*.

[953] L'aire du *ngwe* couvre la plus grande partie de l'arr. de *Fontem*, dép. de la *Manyu*. Dialecte *bamok*, *fossimobing* et *fontem* s'y succèdent du nord-est au sud-ouest. Tandis que le nord-ouest de l'arr. est occupé par le *mundani* [867].

[867] L'opposition "Upper" and "Lower *Mundani*" relève de la géographie, ceux de la plaine/ceux des montagnes, mais ne correspond pas à un clivage linguistique pertinent. Le *bamok* que K. Williamson (in LSSA) intègre dans le "Upper *Mundani*" est, en réalité, un dialecte *ngwe* [953].

Le *mundani* occupe traditionnellement le nord de l'arr. de *Fontem* (dép. de la *Manyu*) correspondent à la chefferie de *Bamundu* située en altitude (1600 m: "Upper *Mundani*"). Mais une partie de la population étant descendue progressivement vers le bassin de la haute *Manyu* (arr. de *Mamfé*) situé en contre-bas (200 m) à une dizaine de km au sud-ouest, on y distingue maintenant l'ensemble dit "Lower *Mundani*."

Appendix C: Lexicostatistical Analysis Comparison Matrix

Cognate Count Percentages in Akamin (1985:44)

Essoh- Attah

97	Njoagwi												
95	92	Lewoh											
91	88	94	Lebang										
85	84	87	85	Ndungatet									
58	58	61	57	62	Fongo Tongo								
56	56	56	56	61	89	Bafou							
68	67	68	68	72	80	82	Nwengong						
76	73	75	76	81	69	68	82	Nwametaw					
63	62	66	61	73	74	72	78	79	Fongo Ndeng				
60	60	60	61	66	69	70	75	77	68	Mmockmbin			
60	60	62	62	64	69	70	77	74	66	93	Mmockngie		
62	63	62	61	65	71	71	76	74	69	89	91	Mmockleteh	
52	51	53	50	52	70	72	64	57	63	59	61	62	Bangang

Appendix D: RTT Calculations and Comments

Texts: Yemba (Bafou dialect) and Ngwe (Nwametaw speech variety)

Respondents from Njoagwi/Fotabong III

Sex	Age	Parent L	NGWE TEXT EVALUATION
M	14	Lengwe	understood some; missed more than half the questions
F	20	Lengwe	understood half; missed more than half the questions
M	23	Ngwe	understood half; answered most questions
F	32	Lengwe	understood most; answered about half the questions
F	39	Lengwe	understood all; summarized entire story; grew up in another village
M	39	Lengwe	understood all; summarized all; answered questions in detail
F	47	Ngwe	understood all; summarized the story precisely
M	80+	Lenweh	understood most; summarized after beginning of story

Respondents from Mmockngie/Fossimondi

Sex	Age	Parent L	YEMBA TEXT EVALUATION	NGWE TEXT EVALUATION
1 M	12	Mmouck	understood all but numbers; summarized entire story; understand more than Ngwe	understood all; summarized the story and answered all questions;
2 F	14	Mmouck	understood most; understands Yemba best; missed numbers and other details	understood some, only a few words
3 M	18	Mmouck-Aschinle	understood all; summarized whole story; numbers difficult; understands Yemba best	understood nearly all; summarized entire story
4 F	18	Mmouck-Aschinle	understood all; summarized almost all; slight problem with numbers	understood most, only because lived in Alou for four years; summarized half
5 M	23	Aschinle ¹⁸	understood all; understands Yemba better than Ngwe	understood all; summarized the entire story with details; lived three years in Menji
6 M	45	Aschinle	understood almost all; summarized with most details;	understood half; summarized story leaving out details;
7 F	45	Aschinle	understood some; gave only little detail; Yemba better than Ngwe	understood some; summarized the story leaving out many details
8 M F	45- 80	GROUP Aschinle	understood most; understood more than half collectively	understood by a couple people; no one else understood enough to respond

Respondents from Dschang

Sex	Age	Village Home	YEMBA TEXT EVALUATION	NGWE TEXT EVALUATION
1 F	24	Mmock-leteh	understood all perfectly to every detail; considers it the same as his mother tongue	understood all; child of 5 can follow the general sense of the story; each can use MT
2 M	27	Mmock-ngie	understood most; need contact for children to understand; very close to MT	understood all; lived five years in Menji; Mmocks would use Pidgin, called Bamileke
3 F	31	Lebang	understood all well; admits she could not understand Yemba when she first heard it	understood half/some, with a lot of effort; even children can use MT with Nwametaw
4 M	36	Mmock-ngie	understood all; contact necessary; each uses MT at market; Bafou see Mmock as 2 nd class	understood well; living in Dschang 19 years; goes to Nwametaw for events;
5 M	52	Essoh-Attah	understood most; in Dschang 23 years; child would not understand; contact necessary	understood all; child understands partially; each uses MT; Mmock would use Pidgin

¹⁸ Testees gave the alternate name, Aschinle, for their language, though no one in the group interview mentioned it at all.

Appendix E: Ngwe Text and Test Questions

Recorded on February 22, 2001

Location: Nwametaw/Mokang (Alou)

Language: Ngwe

Told by: Martin Fotebon

Translated by: Pius Njeteh

Researchers: Michael Ayotte, Marcelle Tanga

STORY—

I left my house with my wife at nine o'clock. We went down to Lower Fonjumetaw. I took my file and sharpened my cutlass. I started cutting one stick. And as I was cutting, one dry branch flew off and struck my head. So my wife called to those who were clearing, and they came and tried to take me to the health center. So, when I was taken to the health center, they gave me a bed. And they saw that it was just a wound, and nothing was broken. They started giving me injections. And I remained there for four weeks, one month. So, I went home, we started going to work on the same farm. When we got to the farm, my wife was clearing, and I was putting straight sticks in a straight line. After arranging the sticks, I looked for huckleberry. I cut all the trees, and after cutting the trees, I went and bought coffee seeds and came back and planted them. After planting, I would come clear the field with my wife, and we also asked other people to help us clear. As the coffee grew, and we continued maintaining it, after some five years we started harvesting a crop. By harvesting the coffee, we were able to support our families. Now that I am old and retired, it is that very same coffee farm that is helping me to provide for the family. The farm continues to grow, and until now I am still working on that farm. We also grow cocoyam, corn, and bananas, and with these we feed ourselves. Even up to now I am still working in this very same farm, and I am feeding myself from this farm in Lower Fonjumetaw in our village.

QUESTIONS—ANSWERS

1. With whom did he leave his compound?
2. At what time did he leave his compound?
3. What did he do before cutting one stick?
4. What happened to him?
5. Who took him to the hospital?
6. What did they see at the hospital?
7. How long did he stay there?
8. Did he go back to the same farm?
9. What did he look for?
10. What did he plant?
11. After how many years, did they start harvesting?
12. How does he maintain his family?
13. What else do they grow?

Appendix F: Yemba Text and Test Questions

Recorded on December 14, 2000
 Location: SIL-CTC, Yaoundé
 Language: Yemba (Bafou dialect)
 Told by: Jean-Claude
 Translated by: Jean-Claude
 Researchers: Ed Brye

STORY—(with tape meter readings)

- [0-] Yesterday was a typical day.
- [1-] The first thing in the morning I...
- [3-] ... took my two pigs.
- [4-] I put them in a basket...
- [5-] ...to go sell them at the market.
- [6-] I was thinking that I could probably sell them for 27,000 (francs).
- [10-] On the way down the road, I ran into one of my friends. Well, it had been five years since we had seen each other.
- [13-] So, I set my two pigs on the ground.
- [14-] Then we talked and talked and talked, so on and so forth.
- [15-] Eventually, I realized that the opening of the market had started.
- [16-] He told me how he was married and had three children.
- [18-] He explained that because he lives in Douala he has a job that pays him 66,000.
- [23-] He also shared with me about the time he had been sick, and they had taken care of him until he was well.
- [25-] We talked until I felt at ease.
- [27-] When I left for the market, I realized that it was now closed. The pig buyers had already gone home.
- [29-] So, I returned home with my pigs.
- [30-] While I was walking, I felt a constant sense of encouragement.
- [32-] Once at reached home, nothing was bothering me.
- [33-] From that day on I learned that friendship is more important than money.

No Questions have been created for this text.

Appendix G: Itinerary and Event Summary

We spent one and a half days from February 20 to 21 in the **Menji** quarter of **Lebang** (“**Fontem**”) to do some work that normally requires half a day to complete. During the group interview, the respondents were unable to agree on answers to about five questions. They told us to pass on those questions, but we never returned to them later. These interviewees paid little or no attention to us. At both of our departures each day, we were left without accompaniment. Those who offered any kind of assistance expected remuneration for whatever service they would render or information they would furnish. In the midst of their own discussions, they used Pidgin as much if not more than the mother tongue and showed little interest in developing their language. The chief here was informal, nonauthoritative, and was generally ineffective in mobilizing members of the community to contribute to our research, school teachers in particular.

We made seven attempts to record and create a text of their dialect. After transcribing the first story a man recounted to us, the group told us that everyone had already heard it. The man’s second story, after being translated into English, was an advertisement for his business as a snake seller and sorcerer. The following day a lady recounted one of her experiences but was unable after two attempts to eliminate the English and Pidgin from her story. One man in the room retold her experience as his own using Ngwe only. However, his first retelling of the story was too short and vague. So we wrote down the important details as a memory aid while he retold the story. The result of his second rendition was a literal translation of the notes. On the third attempt, he drastically changed the story, adding excessive repetition and embellishment, and leaving out significant detail that prevented us from finding enough content to make ten questions.

Michael Ayotte collected a word list on the first day. With the arrival of Dr. Domché-Teko the next day, the word list was elicited a second time to verify Ayotte’s transcription, and since Domché-Teko would be eliciting all the word lists for subsequent locations. There were several instances between the two elicitations in which different translations had been given for the same word, but there were only minor differences in transcription. Despite all the effort our research in this location remained unfinished. We therefore decided to continue the survey in another area. Administrative officials were quite accommodating, in contrast to the reception we received from local inhabitants.

We spent half a day in **Fonjmetaw (Nwametaw)**, where missionaries from the Focolare Movement and the divisional officer of Alou greeted us enthusiastically and were extremely helpful. Since the chief was not in town, the divisional officer told us that meeting his representative would not be necessary. Then, we returned to the quarter where the mission is located in order to begin our work.

Midway through our research procedure, the quarter head came to disperse our informants. Eventually, the group interview was reduced to one person, word list collection became difficult, and creation of the text was impeded as participants became uncooperative. Time constraints forced us to depart before we were able to finish.

We made plans to return the following day to complete the work but again experienced interference and were unable to continue our research. We met with resistance not only from the local people themselves but from the missionaries as well. Therefore, we continued to our next destination.

The people of **Fotabong 3 (Njoagwi)** received us with singing from the school children, and a dance from the women. The work there was successful since the fon was expecting us. Even though we had unfinished test tapes, we opted to play them anyway. Instead of the standard text and question format, we allowed participants to give us summaries of what they understood. When their summaries lacked specific details, we rephrased the question to them directly in Pidgin. As a result, we got responses to the comprehension questions, even though they were not dubbed into the taped text. By this means, we were able to get an idea of their relative comprehension of these other dialects, though the analysis is less technical.

At **Fossimondi (Mmockngie)** the people welcomed us warmly, and we experienced even better success. The entire process went very smoothly. Our visit coincided with a village-wide celebration where the entire community was present. The fon was very official, personable, welcoming, and helpful. The people have a strong interest in developing their language.

Appendix H: Ngwe Word Lists

English	Lebang	Nwametaw	Njoagwi	Mmockngie
1. mouth	nt̩fù	nt̩fù	nt̩fù	nt̩f̩yà
2. eye	lèrá	ləlík	lèré	lèzík
3. head	átú	átú	átú	àtsó
4. hair	nt̩f̩ʔ	lènoŋtú	ɲòŋtu	lènùŋ
5. tooth	lésóŋ	lēsōŋ	lésōŋ	lèsōŋ
6. tongue	àdí	àlí	àdí	àláyá
7. nose	lèró	lèf̩yé	lèró	lèzí
8. ear	lèt̩ŋí	lèt̩ŋ	àtoŋé	lèt̩ ^h ŋ
9a. neck	àmè	nt̩ŋ	àmì	nt̩ŋ
9b. back of neck	àmè	dzəm nt̩ŋ	àmì	ndzəm nt̩ŋ
9c. throat	nt̩ŋ	mp ^h iənt̩ŋ	bəl̩ŋ	ŋòrənt̩ŋ
10. breast	ləbuó	lébá	ləbiá	ləpáyā
11. arm/hand	àbó	àbó	àbó	əpwó
12a. claw	mpkàbé	ŋkùpé	nt ^h òhó	ŋkɛp̩ ɲià
12b. nail (hand)	mpkàbé	ŋkùpé	mpkwèbé	ŋkɛp̩
13a. leg	ləf̩yá	àkùò	àkù	əpfə
13b. foot	àkù	àlākù	àlākù	àlāpfə
14. buttock	lèsé	lèsāk	lèsá	lèsāk
15. belly	lèbəm	lèbəm	lèbām	lèpəm
16. navel	lèt̩ŋ	lèt̩ŋ	lèt̩ŋ	lèt̩ŋ
17. intestines	lèt̩ó	mèt̩ó	èt̩ó	lèt̩wó
18. blood	àlí	àlī	àdí	àlē
19. urine	nt̩ət̩f̩é	ntsèt̩sè	nt̩èt̩f̩j̩á	nt̩t̩entsai
20. bone	àkwě	àkwé	àkyé	àkwài
21. skin	ŋjét	ŋgùp	ŋgwèbè	ŋgèp
22. wing	lèpàp	lèpòp	lèpàp	lèpàp
23. feather	lèf̩i	lèt̩ŋ	àf̩ə	lèt̩ŋó
24. horn	ndón	ndón	ndón	ndón
25. tail	àsàŋá	àsàŋá	àsàŋá	àsàŋá
26. human being	wòŋòŋ	ŋùnòŋ	ŋwòŋòŋ	ŋənùŋ
27. man	ŋòmbàŋà	ŋùbàŋà	ŋwóbàŋà	ŋómbàŋà
28. woman	mèŋgwí	mègwí	mèg̩y̩	mgwě
29. husband	ndún	ndún	ndún	ndó
30. child	ŋwá	mú	ŋwá	mō
31. name	lèlén	ləlín	lèlén	lèzín
32. sky	lèbú	lèp ^h ú	lèbú	lèpfó
33. night	èt̩r̩ʔ	ŋkóʔtet	èt̩r̩y̩ʔ	èt̩úʔ
34. moon	f̩t̩t̩	f̩t̩ ^h y̩á	fw̩t̩ ^h y̩	sāŋ
35. sun	ɲòò	nò	ɲòò	nøɣà
36. wind	àf̩óm	àf̩óm	àf̩óm	f̩ùf̩ùèt̩
37. cloud	àluá	álō	àlùwā	àlō

80. nine	lèBàʔá	ləvəʔó	lèBàá	lèpùʔú
81. ten	lèyám	ləyám	lèyám	lèyám
82. come	fÿʔá	nfÿʔó	fùʔá	sèʔé
83. send	ntún	ntwón	t ^h ún	týh
84. walk	lèginè	lèjin	lèginì	ngéh
85. fall	lègùù	wùd	nfíé	ngūāh
86. leave	lèyùà	ngyā	lègwá	yŷā
87. fly	lèrá	nñílé	àgě	ziē
88. pour	ŋkwírī	ŋkwítē	sàŋá	kítā
89. strike	ndèp	ndāp	tsábá	tʃwá
90. bite	ndún	dún	ndún	leyh
91. wash	lèsō	sùk	lèsò	ʃòkó
92. split	séé	nsáá	séé	ziá
93. give	mfiá	fáá	fiá	jié
94. steal	ndzĩ	ndzi	ètsǒŋ	ndziō
95. squeeze	ŋkéé	ŋk ^h é	kíé	k ^h áá
96. cultivate	ndráʔ	ndíʔ	ndréʔ	ndzýʔ
97. bury	ntóŋé	ntón	ntóŋé	nt ^h ún
98. burn	ntwá	ntǒ	tùwá	nt ^h ō
99. eat	ndý	mpfét	líí	ndzý
100. drink	nnóó	nú	nó	nú
101. vomit	ntró	nzáʔlē	t ^h ÿʔhá	ndzáʔlō
102. suck	ɲón	nón	ɲónó	nón
103. spit	ntṛə	ntēk	twəhá	ntúk
104. blow	éfi	nfÿēt	fíhá	fiét
105. swell	ndóā	lèlù	álóō	ndū
106. give birth	ndzā	ñfé	ālě	ñzā
107. die	ŋkýy	k ^h wá	àkÿ	ŋkýh
108. kill	ñzā	ñswá	àzǒ	ndzú
109. push	ñtséhé	ntʃyálé	ɲilá	ñtʃí
110. pull	ñdzáá	ndzòó	səŋá	ʃūŋ
111. sing	ŋkwé	ndzōb	pèʔé	ñdzōp
112. play	ñtúʔ	mōyā	àzèhé	bəyā
113. be afraid	mbó	mbók	lèbó	ñtsàʔ
114. want	ñkōŋ	kōŋ	ŋkǒŋ	fáʔ
115. say	ñdýá	líó	ŋgýý	ngā
116. see	ñdzíá	nyý	dziyá	ñzé
117. show	ñtʃĩ	ntʃy	tʃĩ	ñtsē
118. hear	ñdzúʔ	nzúʔ	zúá	ndzwoʔ
119. know	ñzā	nzé	lèzúʔ	ñzā
120. count	sáŋé	sáŋ	sáŋé	sāŋ

APPENDIX I: Group Questionnaire

Interviewer(s): _____ Date: _____
 Note-taker: _____ Time: _____
 Researchers present: _____

No. of people interviewed: _____ Male: _____ Female: _____
 Village (*note on map*): _____ Subdivision: _____
 Reported Population (*give source*): _____
 Interior (*locality proper*): _____ Exterior (*outside the locality*): _____

DIALECTOLOGY: (*to find the boundaries of speech variety*)

- Name of the people: _____ - Name of the speech variety: _____
 - Origins/History of the people: _____

- Villages (speaking your language) (*list with aid of map*): _____

Where (in what villages/quarters) do people speak ...

exactly the same				
slightly differently				
different/understand				
no understanding				

Are there dialects of your language? Y / N List these:

Homogeneity of the linguistic community—social cohesion (Watters)

- Are there certain villages cut off from the others during the rainy season, preventing people from going to the market or participating in celebrations? Y / N Which ones?

Name some other/different languages spoken in this region (in the surrounding area).

village name	1	2	3	4
lang name				
village name	5	6	7	8
lang name				

MULTILINGUALISM: Related and unrelated speech varieties: intercomprehension

You have contact with speakers of which languages? Are there others?

Speech Variety: or village names	Speak with?	You speak	They speak	slowly/ normally	Understand at 6 If no, what age?	People one?	Origins same?
	Y / N			s n	Y / N		
	Y / N			s n	Y / N		
	Y / N			s n	Y / N		
	Y / N			s n	Y / N		
	Y / N			s n	Y / N		
	Y / N			s n	Y / N		
	Y / N			s n	Y / N		

Which of these languages do you understand the most (best)?

Which of these languages do you understand the least (worst)?

Do you speak Pidgin everyday in your village? Y / N
 Who speaks Pidgin the best...? youth adult men adult women

Do you speak English everyday in your village? Y / N
 Who speaks it the best? youth (boys or girls) adult men adult women

VITALITY AND VIABILITY *Research Q=language contact/exposure*

Migration and intermarriage

With whom do you most often intermarry?
 Other than the MT is there a favored group?
 Are there any restrictions? Y / N

→Refer to School Questionnaire (General Info)

Youth: Hidden Research Q=Will there be educated people around to run a program/project?
 How many children attend...

- Primary school? Most | More than 1/2 | 1/2 | Less than 1/2 | Very few |
- How many schools are there? Located where?
- Secondary school? Most | More than 1/2 | 1/2 | Less than 1/2 | Very few |
- How many schools are there? Located where?
- Are there children from other locations who attend school here? Y / N
- Are they many? Y / N
- Do young people return to the village or prefer to live in town after finishing school? Y / N
- Why?

Presence of leadership between 35 and 50 years old at the local level (Watters)

- Where do most of the leaders of the village live?
- Approximately how old are they?
- When these leaders are gone, will there be others to take their place? Y / N

Foreigners: (extent of mixing and outside influence—strength of language—use with others)

- Do foreigners come to live here? Y / N Are they many? Y / N
- From where?
- Why?
- If they stay in your village, what language do you speak with them?

LANGUAGE USE *Hidden Research Q =Which languages are used most often (in village)?*

Domestic					
in the home					
with age-mates / friends					
in the field / on the farm					
Community					
at local market					
at larger/ area market					
at the clinic / health center					

Positive attitude towards change (Watters)

- Where do people go first when they are very sick (and why?):
 ...to the traditional healer? Y / N ...or to the clinic/health center? Y / N

Public					
announcements					
local council meetings					
regional council meetings					
traditional religion ceremony					

→ *Refer to School Questionnaire (Language Use)*

School					
classroom					
instruction					
explanation					
recess / on school grounds					

MT = mother tongue, P = Pidgin, E = English

- Name the traditional religions that still exist here.
- How many people participate in or follow these religions?

→ *Refer to Church Questionnaire (General Info)*

- *What other religions exist in your community that people follow?*
- *Of these groups which group(s) is the largest?*

Churches:					
prayers					
sermons					
songs					
doctrine/Bible study					
prayer meetings					
other groups					

→ *Refer to Church Questionnaire (Language Use)*

“Language Shift” indicators

- Do the youth here speak another language more than the MT? Y / N Which one(s)?
- How do the youth feel about their MT?
- Do the youth mix the MT with Pidgin or English? Y / N Is this good or bad? Y / N
- If your child speaks Pidgin to you, how does it make you feel?

Standardization efforts

- Have there ever been attempts to develop your language?
- If so, what happened?
- If not, why not?
- What has been written in your language? (*songs, prayers, Bible portions, other books?*)

-
- Are the books used?
 - Is there a language/translation committee or literacy program for your MT? Y / N
 - Why haven't more efforts been made? Who took the initiative? What happened?

Positive attitude towards change (Watters)

- Is there a committee for development here? Y / N What are their current activities/projects?

→ **Refer to School Questionnaire (Language Attitudes)**

→ **Refer to Church Questionnaire (Language Attitudes)**

LINGUISTIC ATTITUDES *Research Q = Which/where is the standard/accepted dialect?*

If someone wanted to learn your language and have the respect of all people, in what village or quarter should they live?

Where is your language spoken the best?

What dialect of your language (*after your own*) would you choose to read and write?

In which languages would you like to learn to read and write?

List several languages (*of all*) you would choose to read and write in order of preference.

1 st	Why?
2 nd	
3 rd	
4 th	
5 th	

Would it be sufficient (good enough) just to speak these languages?

Is it really necessary to learn to read and write each of these languages?

- How much would you be willing to invest in a literacy and translation endeavor?

...a bucket of vegetables?...a basket of fruit?...a sack of corn?...some money or time?
per month? per year?

- How much do you think others would be willing to invest?

APPENDIX J: Questionnaire for Church Leaders

Interviewer: _____ Date: _____
 Church Name/Denom.: _____ Village: _____
 Pastor's name: _____ Language Group: _____

General Information

-What is your Mother Tongue? Do you speak the local language? No | Some | Well
 -Which religion do most villagers follow/believe? Traditional | Christian | Muslim | Other
 -What other Christian denominations are there?

-Which is the largest?
 -What year was each church established in this village?
 -What is the average weekly attendance at each church?

Language Use in the Church

-How many members have their own Bible? Few | Half | Most Version?

-During church services which languages are used for:

	<i>Language used</i>	<i>Interpreid to MT?</i>	<i>How?-simultaneously/ in advance/end resume</i>	<i>Why?</i>
<i>songs</i>				
<i>Bible reading</i>				
<i>announcements</i>				
<i>sermon</i>				
<i>youth groups</i>				
<i>Bible Studies</i>				

-Are there people who don't understand the languages used in church? Y / N Who?
 -Is another language used for the sake of foreigners? Y / N Which?
 -What religious materials exist in MT?

Language Attitudes

-What do you think about the use of Pidgin (*or other LWC*) in church?

-Do leaders of this church encourage MT use ...for the services? Y / N
 ...for other meetings? Y / N Which meetings?

-Have church members expressed an interest in ...reading and writing the MT? Y / N
 ...having religious materials in the MT? Y / N

-Is a Bible translation in the MT absolutely necessary (*can you do without*)?
 -Why?

-Would you work together with other denominations on a Bible translation project? Y / N

-What contribution do you feel you could make to a translation project?

Bibliography

- Akamin, Nkemnji Michael. 1985. "A comparative study of Nweh dialects with a focus on mutual intelligibility." Yaoundé: University of Yaoundé I.
- Bergman, Ted. G. 1991. "Rapid appraisal of languages." *Notes on Scripture in Use and Language Programs* 28:3–11. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Brain, Robert. 1967. *The Bangwa of West Cameroon: A brief account of their history and culture*. London: University College.
- Breton, Roland, and Bikia Fohntung. 1991. *Atlas linguistique de l'Afrique Centrale: Atlas administratif des langues nationales du Cameroun*. Yaoundé: CREA, ISH, MESIRES, and CERDOTOLA. Paris: ACCT.
- Demo 87. *Deuxième recensement général de la population et de l'habitat*. Yaoundé: 2e RGPH, Cameroun/FNUAP.
- Dieu, Michel, and Patrick Renaud, eds. 1983. *Atlas linguistique de l'Afrique Centrale: Atlas linguistique du Cameroun (ALCAM)*. Yaoundé: ACCT-CERDOTOLA-DGRST.
- Grimes, Barbara F., ed. 2000. *Ethnologue: Languages of the world 14th ed.* Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Hamm, Cameron. April 1999. An evaluation of Nkemnji Michael Akamin's "A comparative study of Nweh dialects with a focus on mutual intelligibility." Unpublished review.
- Morfaw, Fidelis. 1976. "Reconsidering Nweh phonology." *Cameroon studies in English and French* 1:8–20. University of Yaoundé: Department of English.
- Stalder, Jurg. 1996. "Rapid appraisal." *Notes on Literature in Use and Language Programs* 48:5–23. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Watters, John. 1990. "Three socio-economic factors affecting the nature and development of language programs." In *Survey Reference Manual*, compiled by T.G. Bergman, 1990: 6.7.1–6.7.12.

Additional Resources

- Atemanjong, Justina. 1991. "Phonology and orthography of Ngwe." Yaoundé: University of Yaoundé I. Master's thesis.
(Atemanjong continues to do linguistic research on Nweh. She presented a paper on Nweh discourse features at the CAMCAL in Yaoundé April 1999.)
- Brain, R. 1981. "The Fontem-Bangwa: A western Bamileke group." *Contribution de la recherche ethnologique à l'histoire des civilisations du Cameroun*. Paris: Colloques internationaux du CNRS 551 2:355–360.
- Dunstan, Elizabeth. 1963. "Conjugation in Ngwe." *Journal of African Linguistics* 2 (3):235–243.
- Dunstan, Elizabeth. 1964. "Towards a phonology of Ngwe." *JWAL* 1(1):39–42.
- Dunstan, Elizabeth. 1964. "Tone on disyllabic nouns in Ngwe." *JWAL* 3(1):39–43.
- Dunstan, Elizabeth. 1966. *Tone and concord systems in Ngwe nominals*. University of London: Dissertation.
- Dunstan, Elizabeth. 1967. "Two Ngwe folktales." *RN* 1:21,24.
- Dunstan, Elizabeth. 1968. "Brief notes on the Grasslands languages of Cameroon." Leiden: Benue-Congo working group.
- Dunstan, Elizabeth. 1971. "Noun class systems in Mbam-Nkam." *J Afr L* 10(2):15–28.
- Nguendjio, Emile-Gille. 1989. *Morphologie nominale et verbale de la langue Bangwa*. Yaoundé: Université de Yaoundé.