A RAPID APPRAISAL SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY
OF MUNDUM

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CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

A rapid appraisal language survey, including a modified Group Recorded Text Test with Bafut [ALCAM 912] and Mankon [ALCAM 913] texts, was carried out in February and May 2001 in the Mundum [ALCAM 911] language community of the Northwest Province of Cameroon.

Objectives of the research were to:
1. Assess certain sociolinguistic factors,
2. Make a preliminary assessment of Mundum speakers' comprehension of Bafut and Mankon and other languages adjacent to Mundum, and
3. Identify the attitudes of village residents about potentially reading and writing one or more of these languages.

It appears that Mundum is still a vital language in the home, but that speakers might have adequate access to literature in the Bafut language.

1. INTRODUCTION

A Rapid Appraisal (RA) language survey, including a modified Group Recorded Text Test (the RA-RTT) with Bafut [ALCAM 912] and Mankon [ALCAM 913] texts, was carried out February 15 and May 25, 2001 in the Mundum [ALCAM 911] language community of the Northwest Province of Cameroon. Research was done at the suggestion of SIL linguist Dr. Joseph Mfonyam who had come to believe during his development of his Bafut mother tongue that Mundum-speakers understood Bafut better than Mankon. Coming to an accurate conclusion about this was important since sociolinguistic field researchers surveying the Ngemba sub-family of languages in 1991 had come to a different conclusion (Sadembouo and Hasselbring 1991). Their research, which was only partial due to time constraints and difficult travel conditions (and a visit only to Mundum I), had led them to conclude that Mundum-speakers could probably use Mankon more readily than they would Bafut.

We are grateful for the welcome received from regional and local government, church, and traditional leaders, without whose cooperation and participation this mission would not have been possible.

1.1 Names

The residents of Mundum II call themselves and their language "Ba-Ndom," but when speaking English they refer to themselves and their language as "Mundum II." Residents of Mundum I refer to themselves and their speech variety as "Mundum."

For the purposes of this report, both the people and their language—whether from Mundum I or Mundum II—will be referred to as "Mundum."

1.2 History of the Mundum People

Mundum I interview participants (fifteen men and two women) at Nebeba say they originated in Widikum, later moving to Mankon where today there remains a Mundum-speaking quarter called Ala-Mundum. Some left this location and eventually split into two groups; one group settled in Mundum I, and the other went to Mundum II.

Mundum II ancestors are said to have passed through Oshie after the split and prior to settling at their present location. Fon Ngufor of Mundum II stated that World Wars I and II drove them to Beba near Bafut where they eventually had a land dispute[1] with Beba settlers and moved to Ntamanji. Then they finally moved to their present site to cultivate its fertile soil. Today, the residents of Mundum II say they share common origins with the Mankon people.

1.3 Location and Population

Administratively, the villages of Mundum I and Mundum II are found in the Bafut Subdivision, Mezam Division, of the Northwest Province of Cameroon.

The following table presents both census and reported populations:

Village:	1987 Census	2002 Extrapolation[2]	Local Estimate
Mundum I	2,153	3,122	9,000* (village census)
Mundum II	400	580	900 (village census)
			6,750 (fon's census)
TOTAL	2,553	3,702	

*Mr. Peter Fobang, the quarterhead of Nebeba Quarter, said that there were 9,000 from the last census but that the population of Mundum I could now be as many as 12,000.

Mundum II consists of the following quarters:
1. Nyang
2. Mekuru I, II, and III
3. Menyaw
4. Ntinafon
5. Anayakara
6. Za

Mundum I has 9 quarters. They are listed according to size from largest to smallest:
1. Nebeba
2. Mberemi
3. Munam
4. Aloni
5. Njanki
6. Ntubah
7. Sugeteb
8. Ntebumn
9. Nteteberekma

1.4 Linguistic Classification

The Atlas Linguistique du Cameroun [ALCAM] (Dieu and Renaud 1983) lists Mundum II under the language code of [911] and with the following classification: Niger-Congo, Atlantic Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Bantoid, Southern, Wide Grassfields, Narrow Grassfields, Mban-Nkam, Ngemba, Anyang (Mundum II Bamundum II). Anyang may constitute a separate language.

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[1]Mundum II has also disputed boundaries with Mundum I.
[2]According to the 1987 Census Publication (Demo 87:5), between 1976 and 1987 Cameroon experienced a 2.9% annual growth. If this rate continued in both Mundum-speaking villages from 1987 to the present, then Mundum I could now number over 3,000 with Mundum II being nearly 600, for a total village-based population of roughly 3,700.

According to Grimes (2000), Mundum I and Mundum II are classified with the Ngemba Cluster, as follows: NGEMBA (MEGIMBA, MOGIMBA, NGOMBA, NGUEMBA) [NGE] 70,000 (1982 SIL). Tuba and Western Bamenda Subdivisions, Mezam Division, North West Province. Linguistic affiliation: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Bantoid, Southern, Wide Grassfields, Narrow Grassfields, Mbam-Nkam, Ngemba. Dialects: BAGANGU (AKUM), NJONG (BANJONG), MBUTU (BAMBUTU, ALAMATU, MBOTU), SONGWA (NSONGWA, BANGWA, NGWA), MANKON (BIDA), MOMBU, SHOMBA (BAMECHOM, ALMATSON), MANGKUNGE (NGEMBA, BANDENG, BANDE, BANDE', NKUNE, MUKOHN), MBREREWI (MUNDUM 1, BAMUNDUM 1), ANYANG (MUNDUM 2, BAMUNDUM 2), ALATENING (ALATINING). Related to Bafut, Mandankwe, Pinyin, Awing. Distinct from Ngyemboon (Nguemba). Bilingualism in Cameroon Pidgin. Investigation needed: bilingual proficiency in Pidgin, intelligibility with Mundum, Mberewi, Anyang.

1.5 Previous Research

In 1989, Lawrence Seguin and Dr. Domche-Teko gathered wordlists (see appendix 6) and did a lexicostatistic analysis of the Ngemba speech forms, producing the following lexical similarity percentages:

Anyang (Mundum II) [911]
87	Mberewi (Mundum I) [911]			
78	72	Beba' [912]		
78	77	76	Bufe-Bafut [912]	
81	83	74	82	Mankunge (Mankon-North) [913]

In 1991, one question Sadembouo and Hasselbring sought to answer about the Ngemba Cluster languages was, "Are Mankon and Mundum dialects of the same language?" (p. 6). They carried out Recorded Text Testing [RTT] in order to help them answer this question. Their findings were that speakers from the village of Mundum I correctly answered comprehension questions about a Bafut text for a score of 65% (with a standard deviation of 18%) while scoring 75% (s.d. 15%) on the Mankon text. In other words, Mundum-speakers enjoyed only a slightly greater comprehension of the Mankon text than they did of the Bafut text.

Sadembouo and Hasselbring determined that not all Ngemba varieties needed to be tested using RTT, since the group questionnaires had indicated that certain pairs were sufficiently similar. One such pair was of Mundum I and Mundum II. They therefore interpreted the RTT results from Mundum I as applying also to Mundum II. They concluded:

> The results of the RTT indicate that none of the dialects tested [including Mundum I] have inherent intelligibility high enough that they could use either the Bafut or Nkwen standard which are already being developed. However, both Mundum and Nkwen understand Mankon at a level above[3] 75%. In each case, the standard deviation is below 15% but above 12%, indicating that the intelligibility may not be entirely inherent. In addition, Mankon speakers' comprehension of Mundum is more than 30% lower than the intelligibility in the reverse direction. This may indicate acquisition on the part of Mundum speakers, or extralinguistic factors that affected the performance of the Mankon speakers on the Mundum test.
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> In general, when adequate intelligibility is acquired, not inherent, the two forms would not be grouped together. But the fact that even children of Bafut, Nkwen and Mundum have fairly consistently acquired (if indeed the ability is not inherent) a

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[3]This should have said "at" rather than "above."

relatively high level of comprehension indicates that if Mankon was a standard, Bafut, Nkwen and Mundum could possibly use the materials. Sociolinguistic factors need to be carefully considered in order to make final conclusions." (1991:10)

On page 13 of their report, Sadembouo and Hasselbring conclude that based on their criteria (stated on page 12 of their report), the Mundum (at least those of Mundum I) are able to understand either Bafut or Mankon.[4]

1.6 Purpose of this Research
In light of the aforementioned facts, the research team's objectives were to:
- Assess sociolinguistic factors, as recommended by Sadembouo and Hasselbring (1991)
- Make a preliminary assessment based on the perceptions of village-based Mundum-speakers' representatives, of the comprehension of Bafut and Mankon and other languages adjacent to Mundum
- Identify the attitudes of village residents about reading and writing the language(s) of their choice

2. METHODOLOGY

2.1 The Rapid Appraisal
The surveyors employed the sociolinguistic research approach called the "Rapid Appraisal" [RA] (see Bergman 1991 and Stalder 1996) for assessing dialectology, multilingualism, and language viability and vitality based on word list comparisons and interviews of select individuals and groups.

After carrying out RA procedures, the team employed a modification of the Recorded Text Testing method (the RA-RTT), based on the intelligibility testing method documented by Eugene Casad (1974), to quickly measure Mundum-speakers' understanding of Mankon and Bafut recorded texts.

According to Stalder (1996:26), the Rapid Appraisal can be expanded to include Recorded Text Testing (RTT) called RA-RTT for groups. Stalder proposes evaluating the group's comprehension using a three-level scale:

Level 1: No comprehension. The group is unable to respond correctly to general questions about the story.

Level 2: Partial comprehension. Retelling of the different sections is done but people invent or add to the story. But if probed for details, they answer incorrectly.

Level 3: Good comprehension. The story is retold accurately and the people are able to supply details.

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[4]But of interpreting RTT scores Joseph Grimes states, "At threshold levels high enough to guarantee good communication from the central dialect to its periphery (usually 85% or above), it is reasonable to speak of the dialect cluster as a single LANGUAGE from the linguistic point of view. Speech varieties that come together at only 70% or below are too distinct to qualify as the same language. In between, 70% to 85%, is an area of MARGINAL intelligibility where some communication is satisfactory and some is not. The threshold depends on the risk associated with not communicating well; the final criteria are not purely linguistic." (1995:22)

Using the RA-RTT, the research team was able to estimate an upper limit of the group's comprehension of the languages of the texts.[5]

2.2 The Survey of Mundum

Sociolinguistic field researchers surveyed Mundum in two phases. The first phase involved a visit to the village of Mundum II on February 15, 2001. The language surveyors were doctoral linguistics students Pius Akumbu, Flora Bolima, and Roseta Swiri of the Department of Linguistics and African Languages at the University of Yaounde I and Edward and Elizabeth Brye of SIL. Research at Mundum I was carried out on May 25, 2001 by Edward Brye, Heidi Anderson, and Suzanne Krueger of SIL and Pius Akumbu and Roseta Swiri.

After landing at the primary school of Mundum II, our team trekked forty-five minutes to the fon's palace. There the fon assembled eight men and women between 20 and 65 years of age in his palace where he answered most questions himself. Individual interviews were carried out with the headmaster of the primary school in Mundum II, and with the catechist of the Catholic Church. Roseta Swiri, a mother-tongue speaker of Mankon, verified a list of words of Mundum II that had been phonetically transcribed previously for comparison with the list of the Mankon language.[6] To update the estimates of comprehension levels of Mankon and Bafut done through the individual RTT method in 1991, we administered a RA-RTT in the fon's palace at the same time that the RA group interview was being conducted in a separate room. We played two test tapes for a group of three women (two older and one younger) and a man (age 30+), but we asked each participant to give their responses to each question individually. We did not ask them to retell the story as is sometimes done in administering the RA-RTT. The Bafut text was the same one that had been used in the 1991 survey. We were unable to locate the Mankon text used in the previous survey, so Roseta Swiri, the Mankon speaker on our team, narrated a two-minute text for us and helped us construct appropriate comprehension questions.

On February 15, on the way to Mundum II, the team landed by helicopter in Mundum I, mistakenly thinking that this was Mundum II. We had a fifteen-minute interview with two village leaders: the quarterhead of Nebeba quarter and the headmaster of the Roman Catholic Primary School. (Forty others were present, but only a few leaders responded in an official capacity in the fon's absence.)

In the village of Mundum I on May 25, 2001, fifteen men and two women gathered in Nebeba quarter for a group interview. Three leaders were primarily responsible for providing responses to the interview questions. These included both the quarterhead of Nebeba quarter and the headmaster of the Catholic school who had also been present for the brief interview on February 15. the school headmaster translated for us. The sub-chief of Mundum I, who lives in Nebeba quarter, also contributed to the interview. The information gathered in both the February 15 and the May 25 interviews is included in the summary of results presented below.

3. RESEARCH RESULTS

3.1 Dialect Situation

In both Mundum I and Mundum II, the people agreed that their language is spoken without variation among the various quarters of each village.

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[5]Simons (1979:25) states that the group testing method is appropriate for finding the "upper potential" of the group.
[6]The standard wordlist is taken from ALCAM (see Dieu and Renaud 1983:132–133).

Representatives of the Mundum I group interview described their language as being spoken in nine quarters of Mundum I, plus in Mundum II. They included Mundum II in the larger Mundum language community. Mankon, they said, is a different language.

In the group interview at Mundum II, the people indicated that they understand Mundum I well, but one of the interviewees stated: "Mundum I resembles our language just a bit."

There is an 87 percent lexicostatistical similarity between the ALCAM wordlists of Mundum I and Mundum II, confirming that the Mundum language probably consists of two mutually intelligible dialects.

3.2 Multilingualism

In this section of the report, we will examine the degree of intercomprehension reported by Mundum-speakers about the languages of the people around them, with special attention to Bafut and Mankon. In addition, we will present a summary of the results of the RA-RTT carried out in Mundum II.

3.2.1 Languages Linguistically Close—Bafut and Mankon
Reported Comprehension in Mundum I and Mundum II

Of the large language groups of the Ngemba linguistic sub-family, Bafut is adjacent to the Mundum region. The other large language within the Ngemba language cluster is Mankon, which is further away and borders neither Mundum village. Mundum and Mankon speakers use their mother tongue whenever they communicate with one another. Mundum-speakers are increasingly acquiring the language of the Bafut community. They now prefer Bafut above Mankon as a language worth learning.

In Mundum I, when interviewees were asked to list the languages they are exposed to, they listed only Bafut, Beba (which is currently classified as ALCAM 912 with Bafut), and Meta' [ALCAM 864]. They did not mention Mankon, perhaps because it is more geographically removed. They stated that Mundum I residents, including children from the age of 10 and up, are able to understand Bafut and Beba and also to be understood by speakers of these languages when they speak Mundum. However, they felt they were not "one people," nor did they share the same origins with speakers of Bafut or Beba. Later, when asked to list in order of preference the languages which they would like to learn to read and write, after their mother tongue of Mundum, the interviewees listed first Bafut and then Mankon. The reason they gave for listing Bafut was that they have the most contact with Bafut speakers and that they are learning their language. For Mankon, they said that they are "brothers" and they share "the same pronunciation with them."

In Mundum II, when asked what languages they would like to learn to read and write, the fon (who was representing the others in the group interview) listed Bafut, Mundum, and then Ngemba (Mankon). During the Mundum II interview, the fon asked the Mankon-speaking member of our research team, Roseta Swiri, a few questions. Each using their own mother tongue, there was sufficient similarity of speech between them that the two understood each other during their exchange of about a minute.[7] On arrival in the village, she also greeted the Mundum II speakers using the Mankon language, exchanging several phrases in the two languages with the young pupils.

RA-RTT in Mundum II

Participants listened to the Mankon text first. While the text was being played, their faces lacked expression except for the occasional smile from the women. As individuals, their

[7]Nevertheless, Ms. Swiri believes that Mankon and Mundum are two languages.

responses to the comprehension questions ranged from 60 percent correct (the young woman) to 82 percent correct (the man). As a group, they averaged 71 percent correct responses. If we were to evaluate their overall comprehension using the scale proposed by Stalder (see section 2), we would probably place their comprehension of the Mankon text somewhere between Level 2 (Partial comprehension) and Level 3 (Good comprehension).

We played the Bafut text for the same group, but this time comprehension was so good that once one person responded to a question, the others all agreed with the response. For the most part, as a group they answered every question correctly.[8] Using Stalder's scale, we would place them solidly at Level 3 (Good comprehension) for their comprehension of the Bafut text.

As we mentioned in section 2.1, these results give us only an estimate of the upper limit of the group's comprehension of the languages of the texts. In order to evaluate comprehension of the community as a whole, we would need to do Recorded Text Testing with individuals.

3.2.2 Language of Wider Communication [LWC]—Cameroon Pidgin English
Cameroon Pidgin English (or "Pidgin") is the major Language of Wider Communication (LWC, also called the "trade language") in the Northwest Province of Cameroon.

According to the Mundum II group interview responses, residents must use Pidgin to communicate with speakers of most adjacent language groups. Almost daily, the residents speak Pidgin most in the various markets, church, regional council meetings and also with any Nigerians, Meta' speakers, or other visitors who happen to come to their village to trade, graze their cattle, or farm. Reportedly, the adult women and the young speak it the most. The catechist said that Pidgin is used in the church for the sake of any foreigners.

The fon of Mundum II says that he does not feel negatively when children or other Mundum-speakers combine Pidgin and Mundum during speech since the use of Pidgin enables the people of his village to learn English more easily. To him, the mother tongue is useful only when the topic of discussion is supposed to be private. (He is himself a fluent speaker of English and, he says, also of Bafut.)

In Mundum I, interviewees indicated they do not use Pidgin daily in the village. However, the school headmaster, a Mundum-speaker, qualified this statement by saying that he uses Pidgin with the children who come to his school from elsewhere. He also said that it is his observation that children in the village start learning Pidgin from age 2 (their mothers speak it with them), and that children are speaking Pidgin increasingly to the point where they are now using it more than the mother tongue. He stated, "If you don't make a child learn Pidgin, he won't be able to communicate and speak fluently with others." However, although the young may be using Pidgin increasingly, he said, the older residents continue to use the Mundum language primarily.

3.2.3 Other Languages
As referred to above (section 3.2.1), Mundum I residents listed Meta' as a language group with which they have contact. However, they said that they must speak Pidgin with Meta' speakers in order to communicate with them. Only a few Mundum speakers have acquired an understanding of the Meta' language, which is of the Momo sub-family and not Ngemba.

Likewise in Mundum II, the people report that they do not understand Meta' or any other Momo language well. When we asked them to list for us the languages that they do understand, besides Mundum I, Mankon, Bafut, and Fombe (Beba), they referred to two

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[8]For a detailed list of the responses to both texts, see appendices 2–4.

villages called Barumbum and Ntabiza. In both cases, they said that in spite of some differences, they understand people from these locations. We have been unable to locate these villages on any map, including the one drawn for us by a Mundum II speaker. We would guess that the people in these locations probably speak some variety of Mundum, Bafut or Beba, but this would need to be verified.

In spite of the fact that at one time the Mundum people from Mundum II once lived in the main Ngishe-speaking village of Oshie, few from Mundum II understand and fewer yet speak Ngishe today. This was substantiated in a conversation between Flora Bolima, a Ngishe speaker on our research team, and a man and woman from Mundum II.

3.3 Language Vitality and Viability
The mother tongue is vital in the Mundum language community. The people we interviewed reported using it for all domains of daily life.

3.3.1 Language Use at Home, with Friends, and in the Community
In both villages Mundum is used at home and in conversations with friends of the same age group and other mother-tongue speakers. But in Mundum I the people also use Pidgin during conversations between friends.

Mundum II interviewees also reported that their mother tongue is the only language used for public announcements, local council meetings, and traditional religious ceremonies. It is only during regional council meetings that both Pidgin and Mundum are used.

3.3.2 Language Use during Work
The only language used for communication when working in the fields and on the farms is the mother tongue.

3.3.3 Language Use at the Markets
Two main languages are used at the markets: Pidgin and Mundum. In Mundum I, there are two markets. Pidgin is used at both the local and larger markets. Mundum II residents go to the local, a larger, and an area market. Those who are outsiders from Nigeria and elsewhere who do not understand Mundum II use Pidgin at these markets.

3.3.4 Language Use at the Health Center
Mundum I has a health center in the quarter of Munam and residents are able to use the mother tongue when they visit there. Mundum II, however, has no health center. When ill, residents trek to the neighboring health center at Njubu where most health workers do not speak Mundum and they therefore must use Pidgin.

3.3.5 Language Use at School
Mr. Kevin Suhambe is the headmaster of the only school in Mundum II, the Government Primary School. English is the only language used for class instruction. But during recreational (recess) periods, the pupils speak their mother tongue or Pidgin. The fact that they would choose to use Pidgin when there are no students from other language groups in the school (i.e., there is no real need to speak Pidgin), may be an indication that language shift is beginning to occur.

Although the Bafut-speaking headmaster has taught in this school for only four months, he said that he sees the value of introducing the mother tongue as a language of instruction in the first years as this might help students understand basic concepts. But he acknowledges his personal limitations to advance such a program since he understands little of the Mundum language.

The headmaster stated that he believes that most children of the village attend school. He reported that all pupils who attend the school are from Mundum II. Students trek 1.5–8 kilometers to school. He gave us the following enrollment numbers for the Mundum II Government Primary School: Class 1: 16, Class 2: 17, Class 3: 13, Class 4: 14, Class 5: 16 Class 6: 22, and Class 7: 10 for a total of 108 students.

All these students are mother-tongue Mundum speakers; no students come from outside of the Mundum II village.

However, in Mundum I, which has six schools including a secondary school, there are a number of children who come from other villages to attend school, even at the primary level.

3.3.6 Language Use in Church

In Mundum II a catechist of the Catholic Church and a mother-tongue speaker of Mundum told us that Christians make up 75 percent of the village population. He said that the Roman Catholic Church has the highest number of Christians in the village with a weekly average attendance of thirty-five. The mother tongue, along with Pidgin or English, is used for church announcements, sermons, songs, and youth group meetings. Other group meetings are conducted in English and Pidgin, but are interpreted into the mother tongue. Pidgin is used for the sake of outsiders.

He stated that everyone in church understands Pidgin or Mundum. He stated that in all domains of Roman Catholic group life there is a mix of the mother tongue, Pidgin, and English, and that it is therefore unnecessary for there to be a translation of the religious material into Mundum. Nevertheless, he would cooperate with representatives of the other denominations if a translation project into the mother tongue were to start.

Traditional religion is also practiced in the village, and the most prominent type is "Kwifo" of which the fon is the leader of a special group of fifteen to twenty-five adherents. He said that it was a taboo to tell us more about Kwifo.

In Mundum I, we interviewed Roman Catholic headmaster and Presbyterian sub-chief. Both men are Mundum-speakers. Three denominations are present in the village: Presbyterian, Roman Catholic, and Lutheran.[9] Presbyterians form the largest group and are found in all quarters. Roman Catholics are found in five quarters. The Roman Catholic and Presbyterian churches use English during the services. Language use patterns in both churches are similar to those described for Mundum II. However, in the Mundum I interview, we also asked about language use for prayer. Both men said they felt it would be important for church members to have religious materials in the mother tongue and be able to read them for the sake of effective communication. They both agreed as well that they would be willing to work in close collaboration with other denominations on a translation project.

3.4 Language Attitudes
3.4.1 Towards the Mother Tongue

For the most part, the Mundum-speakers we interviewed expressed positive attitudes towards their mother tongue. But the fon of Mundum II expressed his opinion that there would be little value in learning to read and write their mother tongue. Although there might be value in protecting their privacy and culture by learning to read and write their language, he said, they and their children would do better to learn to read and write Bafut. The reason he gave for his opinion is that the Bafut language group is nearby and is much larger and politically stronger, and they have already developed their language significantly. (The Mundum II administrative headquarters is located in Bafut.)

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[9]No one from the Lutheran Church was present to be interviewed.

The Catholic catechist and the headmaster (a Bafut-speaker), however, expressed the opinion that the mother tongue should be encouraged. However, as we reported in section 3.3.6, the catechist disagreed that a translation of religious materials into the mother tongue would be necessary.

In the interview, the fon also expressed the opinion that mixing the mother tongue with other languages such as Pidgin was not bad "except for private reasons." When a woman spoke up to say that children were speaking Pidgin "all the time," the fon conceded that he does not always like it when people respond to him in Pidgin when he is speaking to them in the mother tongue.

In the village of Mundum I, the people said that mother-tongue usage is "mixed" with Pidgin, resulting in laughter when this phenomenon occurs. Although the mix is considered bad, it is also entertaining!

3.4.2 Standardization Efforts
There have been no attempts to develop the Mundum language in Mundum II. The people reported that some are interested, but financial constraints keep them from carrying it out. Nothing has been written in Mundum II. The reason given was that no financial sponsors were available to start such a project.

At Mundum I, however, there has been an attempt to develop the language by writing up a calendar/diary. One man initiated this effort by translating the names of the days and months and then printing the diaries. The school headmaster went to a language course in Mambu Quarter of Bafut that was led by a group from Yaounde, but he did not finish it. There is currently no language, translation, literacy, or development committee.

Following the surveys in Mundum, two people have contacted SIL on separate occasions with an interest in receiving training to develop their language.

3.4.3 Migration and Intermarriage
There are indications that a rural exodus may be occurring among Mundum speakers. The interviewees at Mundum II reported that after all children of school age complete primary studies at the Government Primary School, those who can afford to will attend a secondary school while the rest leave the village in search of employment in the big cities. The rural exodus means Mundum speakers usually end up getting married in the cities to people of other languages.

There are only a few outsiders who come to the village to farm, graze cattle, do business, or to marry. Nigerians come to Mundum II to buy and sell their articles. Some of the outsiders stay and eventually start speaking the language. Those who come to Mundum II to marry may eventually learn Mundum also, but until they do they use Pidgin. Mundum II residents are allowed to marry whomever they wish, and they marry people from all nearby groups. When asked if there are any restrictions regarding intermarriage, they referred to "land disputes," which they apparently have with people from Babadji and Mundum I.

3.5 Language Maintenance or Shift
Factors pointing to maintenance of the mother tongue by Mundum speakers include the following:
- Use of the mother tongue in the main domains of daily life
- A generally positive attitude towards the mother tongue and some interest in seeing it written. Church representatives in Mundum I felt it would be important for church

members to have religious materials in the mother tongue and be able to read them for the sake of effective communication. They also agreed that others from their denominations would be willing to work in close collaboration on a translation project.

Other factors indicate that language shift may have already begun among Mundum speakers:
- The increasing use of Pidgin, particularly among the children
- The reported "mixing" of Pidgin with the mother tongue
- The Mundum II fon's expressed preference for using Bafut (a major neighboring language being developed) over Mundum for literacy purposes
- Church leadership in Mundum II does not see a mother-tongue translation of religious materials as necessary.
- A high incidence of rural exodus and intermarriage with other groups

3.6 Language Development Potential: Watters' Socio-economic Factors.
John Watters (1990:6.7.1) in his article "Three Socio-economic Factors Affecting the Nature and Development of Language Programs" states the following as being important:
- Homogeneity of the linguistic community (social cohesion)
- Openness of the community to change and to better living conditions
- Presence of the local level of middle-aged leadership

In addition, it is important to consider attitudes within the community and on the part of the leadership towards language development.

In this section, we will consider all these factors based on the information gathered from our interviews.

3.6.1 Social Cohesion: Homogeneity of the Linguistic Community
Residents of Mundum I expressed a more positive attitude in terms of seeing themselves as forming a linguistic unity with Mundum II. They indicated that Mundum II spoke the same language as they do without any dialectal variation. Mundum II residents, however, said that the language in Mundum I "resembles our language just a bit," although they also admitted that they understand speakers of Mundum I well. The word list comparison confirmed that there are some lexical differences between the two varieties. Mundum II interviewees referred to a land dispute with Mundum I, which would indicate that there might be some tension between the two groups.

The Mundum villages are relatively isolated. Our team used a helicopter from Bamenda because to reach either village would have required many hours of driving and trekking combined. Mundum II is a 2.5-hour trek from the nearest village on a motorable road. (Even using the helicopter, our team had to trek forty-five minutes from the primary school grounds where the helicopter landed to reach the fon's palace where we conducted the interview.) During the rainy season, the people said, it is very difficult to trade or to participate in celebrations with neighboring villages. A lot of trekking (or cycling for those who can afford bikes) is required to reach the nearest neighbor.

Rivers separate certain Mundum I quarters and also Mundum I from Mundum II.

3.6.2 Openness to Change
The Mundum Cultural and Development Association contributed toward the construction of the primary school at Mundum II. The association is currently working on a program to raise funds for the construction of roads and the rebuilding of the fon's palace.

In Mundum II, interviewees said that the only people who go to the health center are those who can afford to do so. Those who do not have money visit the traditional doctors. Some people sell medicines in the village. But for the delivery of a baby, for example, a woman will go to the health center.

As stated in section 3.3.5, the headmaster of the Government Primary School in Mundum II reported his belief that most children of the village attend school. He also said that upon completion of their primary studies, those financially able to do so will attend a secondary school, the nearest being one at Mundum I.

Mundum I has six schools, three of which are Roman Catholic. In the interview, village leaders reported that more than half of the children attend primary school, but very few who complete primary school continue their studies at the secondary level even though there is a secondary school in the village.

3.6.3 Village-based Leadership
The leaders of Mundum II are between 40 and 80 years of age. Those interviewed stated that families would appoint successors to the current leaders when they die. All leaders of the village of Mundum II live in the village. The fon lives in Mundum II with three of his wives (although one wife resides in the town of Mankon, so at times he goes to Mankon town). The other heads of the ten quarters all live in the village.

The fon of Mundum II is opposed to the development of the mother tongue and favors the utilization of the already developed Bafut language. In Mundum II, those who complete their studies at the primary level (there is only one primary school) must leave the village if they are to continue their studies. Since most who go off to study do not return to the village to live, this leaves little potential within the village for developing the language.

The leaders of Mundum I are between 55 and 80 years of age. For personal reasons, the chief lives in a private residence in the quarter of Aloni rather than in the palace. The people feel assured that there will be leaders to take the place of current leaders when these pass on. The chief will appoint successors based on family line.

3.6.4 Attitudes towards Language Development
Mundum I and II interviews revealed that Bafut and the mother tongue would be the languages of choice for reading and writing. In both villages, the third preference was Mankon.

The Fon of Mundum II realizes that his language group is small, and that Bafut is the nearest major language group in the region. He encourages the development of Bafut above his own mother tongue. He also stated that he would like to see Bafut rather than Mundum II taught in schools because it is a bigger nearby language group and, administratively, Mundum II is located in the Bafut Sub-division. But Mundum II would be a second choice because their mother tongue is needed for maintaining their culture and for discussing private topics. Mankon could be the third choice for language development due to their history of migrating through this region.

There is neither a literacy program nor an interest or perceived need in having one, according to Catholic catechist, who also said that there is no need for translation of religious materials since people understand Pidgin. People in the church at Mundum II have expressed no interest in reading and writing, and there are no religious materials in the mother tongue. According to the catechist, translation into the mother tongue is unnecessary since everyone who attends church can understand Pidgin well enough. (Even a small child can understand

Pidgin.) Nevertheless, were there to be a translation project he would be willing to work with other denominations.

In our first brief interview on February 15 in the village of Mundum I, the school headmaster believed it would be better to teach Mankon than Mundum if given a choice between the two. However, in the group interview only three months later, the group listed their language preferences for reading and writing as follows (in the order given):

1. Mundum, since it is the mother tongue.
2. Bafut, because Mundum I residents "deal with them [Bafut-speakers] more than any others, and some [of us] are already starting to learn it."
3. Mankon, because "we [Mundum I] are brothers and we don't have much difference with them—the same pronunciation with them."
4. Meta', because of intermarriage (yet Mundum speakers need Pidgin to communicate with Meta' speakers).

When asked if it might be sufficient just to speak any of these languages, the response was negative. The headmaster gave as reasons the facts that the Meta' are their neighbors with whom they intermarry and that Bafut is becoming an "international" language.

At Mundum I, although those present for the group interview expressed an interest in developing the mother tongue, there was cautious hesitation and a reluctance to comment authoritatively without the voice of the village chief, who was absent, and who should have the final say.

3.6.5 Summary
The homogeneity of the Mundum community is somewhat tenuous due especially to geographic isolation. In the Mundum II interview there was also mention of a land dispute with Mundum I. There are some differences in their speech, but this variation does not seem to inhibit inter-comprehension between the two villages. As a whole, the Mundum community seems open to change and development. However, financial constraints keep many of their children from continuing their education beyond primary school, and those who do go on to secondary school often do not return to the village. This could imply a lack of qualified people present in the villages to participate in a language development program. In terms of leadership, though, there is a strong middle-aged leadership presence in both villages and the people believe that there will be successors for the current leaders.

Although some interest was expressed in developing the mother tongue, particularly for the purpose of maintaining their culture, during the various interviews the fon of Mundum II, a Catholic catechist, and a school headmaster (i.e., three significant leaders) all expressed opinions against pursuing the development of Mundum. In Mundum I, however, representatives from the churches indicated an openness to having religious materials translated; yet there was a hesitation to speak authoritatively since the fon must represent the official position.

In both Mundum villages, group interviews revealed that Bafut surpasses Mankon as a language preferred for reading and writing. Lexicostatistically, Mundum is closer to Mankon but sociolinguistically, the Mundum language community feels closer to Bafut due to proximity and to the rate at which they are acquiring the language.

4. SIL, CABTAL, NACALCO ACTIVITIES AND PLANS
None of these organizations has plans to work on the Mundum language.

5. CONCLUSIONS and RECOMMENDATIONS

Although the Mundum language appears to still be vital as a mother tongue, the viability of a project to develop the language looks questionable. There are indicators that language shift may be beginning to occur. The fon of Mundum II has expressed a firm opinion in favor of promoting Bafut literacy over developing Mundum, and this combined with the RA-RTT results showing good comprehension of the Bafut language, would seem to suggest that developing the Mundum language is not a high priority right now. However, the situation needs to be monitored.

One strategy might be to introduce the Bafut literature into the communities on an oral basis and also to offer Bafut literacy classes, at least one class in each Mundum village. Depending on the response to this approach, a RTT could be carried out in each Mundum village to further evaluate the level of comprehension of Bafut across the community.

Since two individuals have recently approached SIL expressing an interest in developing Mundum, it might be that interest and local initiative will grow. There is no language committee at present, but if the leaders from both Mundum I and Mundum II were to form a language committee and be recognized by NACALCO, then SIL could consider offering part-time consultant help in the area of orthography development.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: Linguistic Map (Mundum and Adjacent Languages) Dieu and Renaud 1983:401

APPENDIX 2: Group RTT Results of Mankon Text

Location: Fon's Palace of the village of Mundum II
Participants: 3 women, 1 man (those who didn't travel much)
50-year-old woman (had done some travel) [OW]
20-year-old woman (nursing mother had done some travel) [YW]
30+ year-old man (traveled some) [M]
Older woman – [OW2]
The first three participants said that they go to Mankon occasionally.
The tape was played by sections with Roseta asking questions in Mankon at times.

Question 1: When did she have to go home?
OW – correct; YW – "Sunday"; M – didn't answer

Question 2: Where did she go?
M – correct; YW – no response (taboo?); OW – correct

Question 3: Who had already left?
M – correct; YW – correct; OW – correct; OW2 (joined at this point) – correct

Question 4: What did she do with the transport fare?
M – correct; YW – correct; OW – correct; OW2 – correct

Question 5: The person who started the conversation was sitting where?
OW – correct; YW – correct; OW2 – correct; M – correct

Question 6: Why was the man angry?
OW – correct; YW – incorrect; M – correct; OW2 – incorrect

Question 7: Cameroonians bear their names without knowing what?
M – correct; OW – incorrect; YW – incorrect; OW2 – incorrect

Question 8: Where exactly did the bus have a flat tire?
OW – correct; YW – correct; M – incorrect; OW2 – correct

Question 9: What did she buy?
M – incorrect; OW – incorrect; YW – incorrect; OW2 – incorrect

Question 10: What did the person who left the bus want to achieve?
OW2 – correct; OW – correct; YW – correct; M – correct

Question 11: When did the journey end?
YW – correct; M – incorrect; OW – correct; OW2 – correct

When the text was played, faces were fairly expressionless, although there were slight smiles from the women. We did not identify the cause of their smiles.

APPENDIX 3: Group RTT of Bafut

Question 1:   All answered correctly – OW, M, YW, OW2.
Question 2:   OW2 – correct; OW.
Question 3:   All answered correctly.
Question 4:   All answered correctly (simultaneously).
Question 5:   All answered correctly.

Question 6:   Three women answered correctly. But the man responded incorrectly.
Question 7:   OW answered correctly, and the other three agreed.
Question 8:   OW and the man answered correctly, and the others agreed.
Question 9:   All answered correctly.
Question 10:   OW answered correctly.
Question 11:   We did not ask this question.
Question 12:   All answered correctly.

Bafut Text (estimated date: November 5, 1990)

It is about two years since this happened, in the month of dry season, two months after Christmas. My wife, my child, and I went towards Mbunti (Wum) to prepare a farm.

QUESTION 1: Why did he go to Mbunti?
ANSWER 1: to prepare a farm
On our way, we had a tire puncture. When the puncture happened, I got someone to go and have it repaired. (We started going again) and we had a tire puncture again. I didn't know what to do. I asked my wife to go ahead and I would stay to fix the tire. We took off the tire (removed the leg of the moto) and carried it to a tire repairer.

QUESTION 2: Who removed the leg (tire) of the moto?
ANSWER 2: the narrator?
He (the tire repairer) said he knew how to drive.

QUESTION 3: What did the man who fixed the moto leg (tire) say?
ANWER 3: that he knew how to drive
He took the tire that he had repaired earlier and went (to where the car was) to put it on. He put the tire on and asked the boy to get into the car with him, but the boy refused. He said he would stay there and wait for his father to come and take him.

QUESTION 4: Where did the child say he would stand and wait for his father?
ANSWER 4: where the tire puncture took place
The repairer entered the car and since he did not know how to drive, he entered the car and was driving very/too fast.

QUESTION 5: How did he drive?
ANSWER 5: very/too fast
And when he was about to go around a bend, he went off the road and fell into a ditch. When he fell into the ditch, he came out and he had bruises/scratches on his face.

QUESTION 6: Where was he scratched?
ANSWER 6: on his face
One side of the car was shattered. The window glasses (windshield) was shattered and the eyes of the moto (lights) were also shattered.

QUESTION 7: What happened to the eyes (lights) of the moto?
ANSWER 7: they were shattered
He left the car in the ditch and ran and came to me. He said to me, "Father, the brakes of the car do not hold." So I asked, "Where is the car?" He said, "It is lying by the gutter there." I asked him, "How many people should I bring to push the car (out of the ditch)? He said, "About 3 people."

QUESTION 8: How many people did he say could push the car?
ANSWER 8: about 3
I took three people and we went to get it. We went for a long distance and stood. And when I stood and I asked, "Where is the car?" He said, "It is there very far away in a ditch. If you lift up your head, you will see that the ditch is very deep."

QUESTION 9: How will he be able to see the car?
ANSWER 9: by lifting up his head
I asked, "You said I should bring three people to bring a car out from such a ditch?!" He stood looking at me, and the people sighed. And they went and looked for many people while I went to look for the chief of the area.

QUESTION 10: What did the people do?
ANSWER: Sighed. Looked for many people
I (or the chief) sent many people to clear a path toward the pit.

QUESTION 11: What did the people who the chief called come and do?
ANSWER 11: cleared a path towards the pit
I looked for a bigger truck to pull out the car. I looked for a rope and tied it to the car and pulled it.

QUESTION 12: What did they use to pull the car out?
ANSWER 12: a rope
When it was pulled out, we tried it. I went into the car and saw that it was still working. I went in and I was driving without a windshield. And a lot of dust came in and covered me all over. My wife and my child took another car—a truck carrying sand. I brought up the car and repaired it.

APPENDIX 4: Mankon RTT Text_By Roseta Swiri (January 2001)

Yesterday, I had to go home. I packed my luggage…(marantz mtr 1.5),

QUESTION 1: When did she have to go home?
ANSWER: yesterday
…and I went to the bus stop. (marantz mtr 2.0)

QUESTION 2: Where did she go?
ANSWER 2: bus stop
The friends I had to travel with had already left. (mtr 4.5)

QUESTION 3: Who had already left?
ANSWER 3: friends
After paying the transport, I entered the bus. (5.5)

QUESTION 4: What did she do?
ANSWER 4: paid the transport
I didn't know with whom I would be conversing (talking with). (6.5/ 7.0) Somewhere when on the road, the person sitting beside me started conversing. [9.0]

QUESTION 5: What did the man next to her start doing?
ANSWER 5: conversing
He was angry about why people outside of Cameroon come [to Cameroon] but don't bear/adopt Cameroonian names. (12.0)

QUESTION 6: Why was the man angry?
ANSWER 6: People outside of Cameroon come but don't bear Cameroonian names.
But we Cameroonians bear/adopt their names without knowing what they mean. (14.0)

QUESTION 7: Cameroonians bear/adopt their names without know what?
ANSWER 7: the meaning(s) of the name(s)
He felt that Cameroonians should bear/adopt only their own names. (17.0) Somewhere along the road, the bus had a flat tire. (18.5) It took us some time to replace the tire. (20.0)

QUESTION 8: Where exactly did the bus have a flat tire?
ANSWER 8: along the road
When we arrived where we could buy something to eat, I didn't buy anything to eat but bought something to drink. (23.5)

QUESTION 9: What did she buy?
ANSWER 9: something to drink
Somewhere on the way, the person sitting beside me left the bus on his way to school where he wants to achieve a higher level of study. (28.0)

QUESTION 10: What did the person who left the bus want to achieve?
ANSWER 10: a higher level of study
We continued the journey until we reached our destination/home. (30.0)

QUESTION 11: When did the journey end?
ANSWER 11: upon reaching their destination/home
Upon arriving, we continued with what we came to do. (31.5)

APPENDIX 5: Previous RTT Results (Mundum re: hometown, Bafut and Mankon)

The following is an extract from page 9 of Sadembouo and Hasselbring's 1991 report:

COMPREHENSION OF: (as mean % and standard deviation %)

LOCATION
TESTED:	*Mundum*	*Bafut*	*Mankon*
Mundum	**95 (6.5)**	**65 (18)**	**75 (15)**
Bafut	44 (15)	98 (4.6)	73 (21)
Mankon	22 (12)	62 (21)	98 (4.4)

APPENDIX 6: ALCAM List / Liste de Mots ALCAM
(Adapted from/Adaptée de ALCAM le 23 septembre 1998)

	L1	L2	L3	L4	L5
	Beba	*Mankon*	*Mundum I*	*Mundum II*	*Bafut*
1. bouche mouth	ǹtsɔ̀	ntsù	ntʃwè	ntʃ̀ù	ǹtsù
2. oeil eye	nèlyé	nə̀ɗíɣà	nèníɡɔ́	nèní	ǹ̀lí'í
3. tête head	àtó	àtúə̀	àtúɔ́	àtú	àtù

4. cheveux (chevelure) hair (on head)	nùtó	ɲòŋò	njúŋgà	nòɲátú	nnóŋ
5. dent tooth	nèsò	nəsòŋò	nsóŋgà	nésóŋ	nìśóŋ
6. langue tongue	àlέ	àlə́mà	ànέmè	ánέm	àləə̀
7. nez nose	nèlwí	nə̀lwê	nə̀núgà	nénüé	nìlẃ'í
8. oreille ear	àtònè	àtôŋnɔ́	àntúŋnɔ́	ántóŋné	àtoŋ̀nə
9. cou neck	ŋ̀güí	ntòŋó	ńtòŋɔ́	ńtóŋ	̀ŋtɔ́ŋ
10. sein breast	m̀bɶ́ , níbə̀rə̀	nəbúŋə̀	nə̀búnə̀	nébüɶ́n	nɪblíí
11. bras / main arm / hand	àbwó , níkw'ε	àbô	àbú	ábó	àbó
12. ongle nail (of hand)	àŋè bwó	àɲɛ̂	àɲìnə̀	aɲéŋɶbó	àɲîi
13. pied foot	akRó	àkùə̀	àfwà	ánáɲa kwú	àkorə̀
14. fesse buttock	mɪsa	nəsɑɣǎ	ndzə́ɲé	ɨdzəŋyɛ	mɪsa'a
15. ventre belly	nèbwò	nə̀bùmə̀	nə̀bùmə̀	nèbùm	ato'ô
16. nombril navel	nitô	nə̀tòŋó	nə̀tòŋɔ́	niton	nìtóŋ
17. intestins/boyaux intestines/ insides	mὲtyó	mə̀tu	mə̀tú ŋgómə́tú	métó	mɪtô
18. sang blood	àlέ	àlə́mə̀	ànɔ́mə̀	ánɶ́m	àləə̀
19. urine urine	mìdzὲ	mə̀džìŋə̀	mə̀džìŋə̀	mǐdziŋ	mǐdʒɛ̀è
20. os bone	ákwὲ	àkwɛ	àkwàŋɔ́	ákwàŋ	ákwὲὲ
21. peau skin	ŋ̀gó	ɲɛ̂	ŋgwòbɔ́ ànú	ŋ̀gòbὲ	ŋ̀gúù
22. aile wing	nèbyà	nə̀bàbnə̀	nə̀bàbə̀	nèbàbὲ	nɪbà
23. plume feather	nèflò	nəfuɔ̀	nə̀fwó	néfù	nɪfùrə̀
24. corne horn	ǹdɔ́	ndóŋò	ndɔ́ŋə̀	ǹkɔ́ŋ	ǹdɔ́ŋə̀
25. queue tail	ŋkɶ́rɶ́	ŋkùŋɔ́	ŋkɔ́nɔ́	ŋ̀kɔm	ŋ̀kùù
26. être humain human being	ŋɶ̀	ŋù	ŋwɔ̀nə̀	ŋ̀wɔn	ŋù
27. homme (mâle) man (male)	m̀bánɶ̀	bâŋɔ́	mbáŋnə̀	m̀báŋnɶ́	ŋùmbaŋnə̀
28. femme woman	màŋgyè	mə̀ŋgiɛ	mə̀ŋgyέ	màŋgyὲ	màŋgyὲ

29. mari husband	ǹdɔ́ [p]	dómə̀	ndómə̀	ǹdóm	ǹdoò
30. enfant child	mɔ́ɲkœ́	múə̀	mómə̀	mɔ́n	mù
31. nom name	kwo [p]	kùmɔ́	kúmɔ́ / íkúmɔ́	èkwùm	íƙùm
32. ciel sky	àblò	nə̀kàŋɔ́	nə̀kàŋə̀	nèkàŋ	àburə̀
33. nuit night	thú , tû	ètʃú?ə̀	ə̀túə̀	ètù'	ɬtugə̀
34. lune moon	máŋró	sàŋɔ́	sàŋə̀	sáŋ	sáŋ
35. soleil sun	nènɔb	nùmɔ̀	nə̀ɲòmə̀	nèŋòm	ninòò
36. vent wind	ŋ̀fwœ́k	kə̀fɛ̀rɛ̀	fɨgə̀	èfwœ́	afisə̀
37. nuage cloud	m̀bà	mbà?à	mbà?à	m̀bá'á	m̀bà'à
38. rosée dew	ŋ̀gyɛ̀ , àzürɛ̀	àmú?ə̀	àmɨ̀ə̀	àzú'ù	àmə̀gə̀
39. pluie rain	m̀büœ́	bàŋə̀	mbàŋə̀	m̀bwœ́ŋ	m̀bɔ̌ŋ
40. terre ground	enʃyé	ʃɛ̂	ɨ̌sí	èsé	nsyɛ́
41. sable sand	wàzɔ́ŋʃyé	àwaŋwaŋə̀	àwàŋə̀	àwàŋœ́ tésé	àwǎŋ
42. chemin path/road	méɛ̀ndzɛ̀	dúmdʒə̀	ndómdʒǐ	ǹdómdʒǐ	mǎndǯì
43. eau water	ŋ̀kyì	ŋkié	ŋkyɔ́	ŋ̀kyì	ŋ̀kì
44. cours d'eau stream (river)	ŋ̀kyì	mə̀zàmɔ́	ŋkyɔ́	ŋ̀kyì /wùyá'àt œ̀nœ̀	ŋ̀kì
45. maison house	ndyǎ	ndáɑ	ndí	ǹdɛ̀	ǹdǎ
46. feu fire	mɔ̀'ɔ́	mùɣɔ́	mùgɔ́	èmù	mɔ'ɔ
47. bois à brûler firewood	fɨkwì	ŋkwíŋə̀	mfúŋə̀	ŋ̀kwéeŋ	ŋkweè
48. fumée smoke	fòlí	fədí?ɛ	fúɲé	fœ̀ní'í	ɨ̌fɨ
49. cendre ash	àbú	ə̀bvúə̀	ábwé	àbú	àbú
50. couteau knife	mə̀ywɛ	ŋwɨ̂ɛ	míŋwé	miŋwí	nwi
51. corde rope	ŋ̀kRœ̀	ŋkhɨ̌ə	ə̀ŋkíé	èŋkhə̀	ŋ̀kə̀rə̀
52. lance, sagaie spear	nèkò	nə̀kòŋó	nə̀kóŋə́	nèkòŋ	nɨ̌kóŋ
53. guerre (combat) war (fight)	ntʃo	ntsu	ǹtsù	ǹisò	́ňtsò
54. viande meat	ndʒyà	ŋàmə̀	ŋàmə̀	ǹyàm	m̀bâ

55. chien dog	m̀bó	mbvúɔ̀	m̀bwóá	èmbú	m̀bú
56. éléphant elephant	ǹsɛ́	èsɛ̂	ə̀sɨnə̀	ísɛ̀n	ǹsəə̀
57. chèvre goat	m̀bì	mbíɛ̂	mbyə̀	m̀bî	m̀bì
58. oiseau bird	máʃi	sánə́	síŋə́	ʃin	siŋə
59. tortue tortoise	tʃimako	tsímakɔ̀ʔ	kímə́ŋkɔ̀	toɾiki	kwimăŋkɔ́'ɔ́
60. serpent snake	ɲɔ́	ɲû	ə̀ɲúə̀	èŋɔ́	nô
61. poisson fish	fòbwè	ʃuɛ̂	fə̀wí	fə̀gwè	fɨbwɛ̀
62. pou (de tête) (head) louse	ǹtrə̀	ntə̀và	ntirə̀	ǹtyírè	ǹt̆irə̀
63. oeuf egg	nèbɔp	nə̀bùmá	nə̀bómá	nèbò	nĭbòò
64. arbre tree	áthì	àtɨ̀ɣɔ́	àtyɔ́	áfi	àf̆ì
65. écorce bark	ǹgɔ̀ thì	ŋgùbə̀ / àkùbə̀	ngòbà	ǹdžim àtyè	ǹguùti
66. feuille leaf	àfɨ̀	àfɨ̀ɔ́	žǐŋə̀ àfɨ̀	àfwù tyî	àfɨ̀
67. racine root	eǹgà	ŋgàŋə́	ŋgàŋə̀	ǹgàŋ	ǹgàŋ
68. sel salt	fə̀gbwá	fùgwáŋə̀	fə̀ŋgwáŋə̀	fèŋgwáŋ	fɨ̀ŋgwà̃ŋ
69. graisse fat	nòfwáp	nə̀fómə̀	nə̀fɔ́mà	néfɔ́m	nimfɔ́ɔ́
70. faim (général) hunger (general)	ǹdzɛ̀	ndʒiɛ̀	ndzyé	ndʒyɛ̆	ǹdʒĭ
71. fer (le métal) iron (the metal)	àtœ̀rœ̀	àt̆iŋɔ́	àtə̀nɔ́	àtènœ̀	àf̆ɨ̀
72. un one	mɔ̀	mɔ́ʔo	mɔ̀ʔɔ́	mɔ́'ó	mɔ̀'ɔ
73. deux two	byá	báɑ	bə̀bî	bebé	baa
74. trois three	tRá	tárɔ́	və̀tárɔ́	bètárá	tarə
75. quatre four	kʷ̊wà	kwà	nə̀kwà	nékwà	kwà
76. cinq five	bɨ	tán	bə̀táŋə̀	bètán	ǹtaà
77. six six	ǹtɔ̀fò	ntúkə́	bitɔ́gə́	ǹtúɣœ̀	ǹto'o
78. sept seven	sèmbyá	sambá	sàmbî	sàmbé	sàmbà
79. huit eight	nèfwà	nə̀fɑ̃ŋ	nə̀fɑ́ʔə̀	nèfɑ̀mœ̀	fwamə
80. neuf nine	àbù'ó	nə̀bvuɔ́	nə̀bwòʔɔ́	nèbú'œ̀	kwalɛ̀'ɛ

81. dix ten	nèwób	nəɣúm	nèwúmə̀	nèwúm	tàʁûm
82. venir come	zè	yǐê	yíná	yènœ́	ǐzi
83. envoyer send (someone)	ǹtʃá	tíká	túmá	ìsǎ	too
84. marcher walk	zènté	témá	yìntá	yìntœ́	təə
85. tomber fall	[ǹ]wó	vùɔ̂	wúə̀	gwúœ̀	wǒ
86. partir leave	lyó	ɣê	núə̀	noə̀ʊ	ʁɛ̀ɛ
87. voler (oiseau) fly	[n]lé	líə̀	ndjee	ŋí	darə
88. verser pour	ŋkərə	tʃɥèrə̂	niŋə	niŋə̀	kùrə̂
89. frapper strike	[ŋ]kʷwé	lùbə̂	sumə	sóm	ʁɔ̀ɔ̂ fɛɛ
90. mordre bite	nlɔ̀p	lúmə̀	numə	nómə	loo
91. laver (transitif) wash (transitive)	[n]sóɣ	sùɣə̂	sugə	sùwœ́	sǐʔi
92. fendre split (wood)	[ǹ]sè	sə	sanə	sántœ́	saa
93. donner give	fyà	ɣə̂	ge	yé	fa
94. voler (dérober) steal	ǹdʒə̀	zée	ʒiɛ	dʒə̂	nərə
95. presser squeeze	ŋkì	nùʔə̂	kamə	kàmə̀	kaa nɔ̀ʔə̂
96. cultiver cultivate	ŋgwè	líʔɛ̀	kwiɛ	kwí	lɨgɨ
97. enterrer (transitif) bury (transitive)	ŋkpwi	twə̂n	pɨŋəə	twə̀ŋ	twiŋə
98. brûler (transitif) burn (transitive)	ŋtɔ́	tòŋô	tɔnə	tón / wǐ'khœ̀	tɔ̀ɔ̂
99. manger eat	dʒè	dzúə̀	dʒiɛ	dʒí	dʒɨ̂
100. boire drink	ɲó	nû	nu	nɔ́	nô
101. vomir vomit	tyóɣə́	fɨkə̂	figɛ	fi'ékhœ́	fi'ikə
102. sucer suck	[m]féé	ɲóŋò	swɔŋə	ʃǔœ̀ŋœ̀	nɔŋə
103. cracher (salive) spit (saliva)	thú	tʃérə̀	tugə	thúœ́ / mɨtwɛ	twǔ
104. souffler (sur) blow (on)	[m]fəɣœ̀	fáɣə̀	fənə	fwɔ́thé	fə'ə kwɛ'ɛ
105. enfler swell	[m]fɔ̀ɣ	ŋkóʔo	murə	mwɔ́thé	kwɔ'ɔ

106. engendrer give birth	[n]dʒüé	dʒwîə̀	dʒwɛ	dʒüĩè	dʒwi
107. mourir die	kú	kfúîə̂	fuə	küɔ / kpfɔ̀	kwo
108. tuer kill	ʒüìtè	ʒwitə̀	ʒwətɛ	ʒüĩtœ́	zwitə
109. pousser push	dé	tíŋè	tinə	tínœ́	tii
110. tirer pull	ʃúú	ʃùŋɔ́	furə	ʃyùŋœ́	swuŋə
111. chanter sing	zə̀ˈ	zɔ̀bə̂	zɔbə	wètœ́	yəə
112. jouer (un jeu) play (a game)	tsέˈ	fɔ́rà	fɛrə	fέré	dorə
113. avoir peur be afraid	Ró	nə̀bóɣə̀	bɔgwə	wùrœ̀	bɔ'ɔ
114. vouloir want	ló	lòŋó	nɔnə/ nɔntə	nonɔ	lɔ'ɔ
115. dire say	là	súŋə̀	naa	yám	swoŋə
116. voir see	[ǹ]zέ	zê	zɛnə	zéŋ	yə
117. montrer show	ndɛʔɛ	ɗiʔê	ndegə	dɛ̌	dîʔɨ
118. entendre hear	zó	zúʔə̀	zuə	zó'ó	yu'u
119. savoir, connaître know	yǐ	ʒê	ʒiɛ	ʒ̃ìè	ẑi
120. compter count	tá	kwáʔɑ	sɛŋə	séŋké	səŋə

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