

**Rapid Appraisal and Lexicostatistical Analysis Surveys
of Atong, Ambele, and Menka**

**Widikum-Menka Subdivision
Momo Division
North West Province**

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1 Introduction

1.1 General Information

This report is a synthesis of the data from a rapid appraisal survey gathered during the week of October 10–14, 2000. The survey team did research on three language groups: Atong, Ambele, and Menka, of the Widikum-Menka Subdivision, Momo Division, North West Province, Cameroon. The surveyors conducted interviews and collected word lists in nine villages. This team consisted of Michael and Charlene Ayotte of SIL and Dr. Bitjaa-Kody Zaché Denis of 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 Previous Research

Atong, Ambele, and Menka were relatively unknown to the researchers and editors of the *Atlas linguistique du Cameroun, or ALCAM* (Dieu and Renaud 1983:114–115, 117). Few studies had been done by the time of its publication. The languages of Atong, Ambele, and Manta¹ were initially grouped with their neighbours, based primarily on geographical proximity. Later studies placed Atong, Ambele, and Menka with the rest of the Momo languages of the Grassfields family in Momo Division. A report by Hamm, Assako, and Domché-Teko (1999) mentions that Manta people understand Atong.

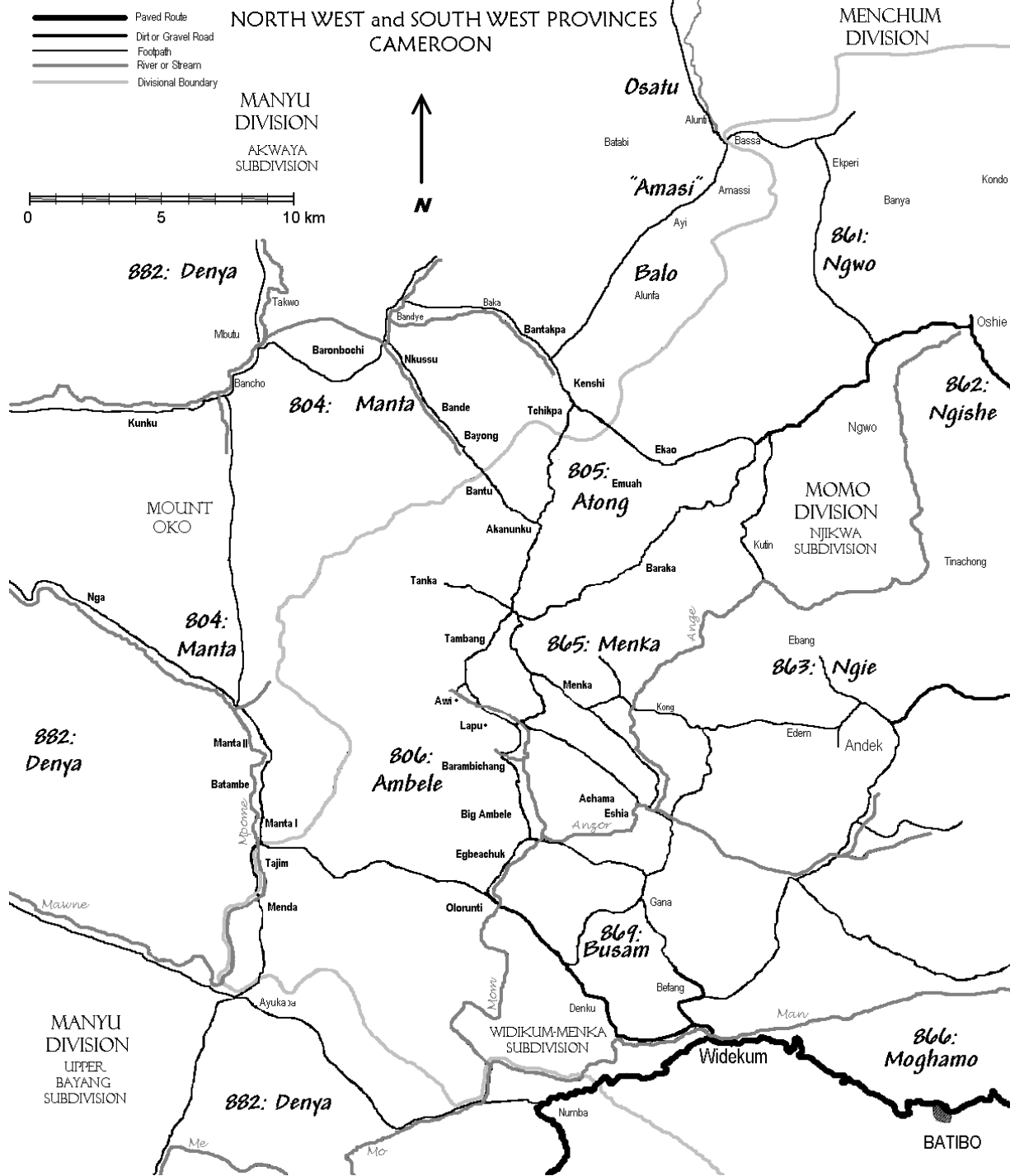
1.4 Research Objectives

The goal of this survey was to get a current overview of the language use patterns, intergroup relationships, and language attitudes of Atong, Ambele, and Menka. Work among the Meta language group by SIL linguist Klaus Spreda (personal communication, July 2000, Yaoundé) showed that Meta can be widely used among the language groups in the eastern half of the Momo Division, but that Ngwo might serve as a standard for western Momo languages. With this in mind, we undertook the survey guided by the following questions to verify his hypothesis.

- (a) What is the degree of lexical similarity between the Atong, Ambele, and Menka, and between these and Ngwo?
- (b) What level of contact exists among the Atong, Ambele, and Menka on the one hand; and what is their level of contact with Ngwo?
- (c) Do they speak or understand Ngwo to the extent that they could benefit from Ngwo language development?
- (d) Do they have positive attitudes toward Ngwo such that they would use an Ngwo written standard?

¹Manta is classified as a Tivoid language. For more information on Manta, see the preliminary survey report, July 1999, by Cameron Hamm, Ferdinand Assako, and Dr. Domché-Teko Engelbert. Refer also to a forthcoming report on Manta, including lexicostatistical analysis and comprehension testing by Michael and Charlene Ayotte.

Map 1: Linguistic, Geographic, and Administrative



2 Demographic Situation

2.1 Locality

The people in this region live in deep valleys separated by high mountain ridges and active streams. Most of the villages lack roads to them, making this region isolated, but Olorunti is served by a road that runs northward from Widikum, the principal town of the Widikum-Menka Subdivision. Olorunti is the first village of these groups reached by this road. The next closest road runs through

Andek to Ngwo, which is close to the Atong village of Ekao. This road does not reach any of the Atong or Menka villages.

During the rainy season the Mom River may overflow and inundate the only road out of the area. Vehicle travel out of the area then becomes difficult, and sometimes impossible, for all the villages of these three language groups. At the time of this survey, this river flooded and washed out the only bridge connecting this area to Widikum. However, no village is cut off from the others. The road from Widikum to Bamenda, in contrast, is newly paved and easy to travel.

The people live mostly by hunting, gathering, and small-scale farming.

2.2 Historical Background

The villages to which these three groups trace their origins can not be located on a map as they no longer exist. Points on the map indicate approximate village locations, but the majority of these points are not labeled (map 1). Sometimes these villages move, as the people relocate for various reasons.

2.3 Population

At the beginning of each group interview, we asked the group for their estimated population. There are wide discrepancies between the self-reported estimates of their populations and the official figures. Table 1 summarizes the language names, villages, origins, and populations of the groups featured in this report.

3 Linguistic Situation

3.1 Linguistic Classification

ALCAM

Dieu and Renaud (1983:360, 435) classify these three languages in the following manner: Niger-Congo, Bénoué-Congo, Bantoïde, Bantou, Grassfields, Momo. *ALCAM* states that there is some question whether Ambele belongs to the Tivoid.

Ethnologue

Grimes (2000:29, 45) classifies these languages in the following manner: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Bantoid, Southern, Wide Grassfields, Western Momo, with the exception that Menka is categorized as Wide Grassfields, Narrow Grassfields, Momo.

3.2 Nomenclature

The Ambele, Atong, and Menka consider themselves part of one larger ethnic group which we have chosen to call “greater Menka” in order to distinguish it from the language group. These three groups have gathered themselves together to form the Menka Cultural and Development Association. They have many cultural characteristics and some lexical characteristics in common. The linguists who contributed to the *ALCAM* and the *Ethnologue* adopted the name “Menka” to designate one particular people and their language, which we will call “Menka proper” for the sake of clarity.

The people of “Menka proper” refer to themselves and their language as “Wando.” People in neighbouring villages who belong to surrounding language groups use the same name, “Wando,” to refer to this group. There is one village in the Menka-speaking area called Menka, which may be the reason why linguists chose the name Menka.

The people of Atong refer to themselves and their language as “Etoh.” Members of communities in surrounding language groups also call them by the name “Etoh.” There is, however, one village among this group called Atong, which might explain why the first researchers chose the name Atong.

Ambele people refer to themselves as Ambele. Their language is known by the names “Ambala,” “Lembala,” or “Bata’o.”

Table 1 provides a summary of the previously mentioned linguistic and demographic information. The villages that we visited show up in the chart as those whose boxes contain complete data. We surveyed the selected villages in an attempt to get a representative sample of the overall linguistic situation but were limited to those locations where the helicopter could land. We chose the villages at the extremities of the language boundaries in order to compare the greatest possible differences. Owing to the large area covered by Ambele, we included some villages in between to provide a central reference along the continuum. Residents of Ambele villages, as well as the inhabitants of Tanka themselves, said that Tanka belongs to the Ambele clan. Manta speakers, on the other hand, claim Tanka as one of their own villages.

Table 1: Summary of Linguistic and Demographic Information

Name of Language in bold; self-reported names following	Name of Village	Name of People	Origin: oral history	Population: Self-reported	Population: 1987 Census	Population Estimate 2000
Ambele					2,650	3,638
Ambele, <i>Tinta</i>	Mantoh (map:Menda)	Mantoh	Etetizang	*200	*143	*207
	Anjaki (map:Tajim)				235	341
Ambala	Olorunti	Ambele	Geko	1850	594	861
	Big Ambele				238	345
Bata’o	Barambichang I & II		Lambun	2041	185	268
Lembala	Egbeachu(k)				226	328
	Lapu				105	152
Lembala	Awi	Ambele	Ewan	700	376	545
	Tambang				408	592
<i>Tentwa’</i>	<i>Tanka</i>	<i>Kekwo</i>	<i>Nekadankpa</i>	800	766	<i>N/A</i>
Atong					2,913	4,223
Etoh	Akanunku	Etoh	Widikum	600	562	815
	Atong				492	713
	Anjing				662	960
Etoh	Emuah	Etoh	Enyie	600	725	1051
	Ekao				472	684
Menka					2,937	4,259
Bando/Mamwoh	Baraka	Bando	Emi	450	595	863
	Kanimbom				276	400
	Efang				169	245
	Echibit				264	383
	Mpeng				72	104
	Tabonchum				405	587
	Larinji				224	325
	Onka/Menka				230	334
Wando	Achama Up & Down	Wando	Imi	200 + 300	506	734
	Eshia/Ishia				196	284

* Note: these numbers represent half of the actual figures, since one half of the population of Menda is Ambele and the other half is Manta (*Tinta*).

4 Methodology

4.1 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 understanding of language vitality and viability is valuable for determining the potential success of a language development program. Survival of the language has a direct bearing on whether or not mother tongue literature will be used. Attitudes held by inhabitants of the community, notables, council members, religious leaders, and teachers help the researcher to assess the possible success and value of a language development project.

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.

4.2 Lexicostatistics

We collected and compared 126-word ALCAM word lists (see Dieu and Renaud 1983:132–133) in each village visited 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 list using the shared apparent cognates method.²

We collected word lists in every village surveyed except Olorunti. However, due to the small size of the survey team, we were unable to tape-record the word lists that were transcribed. In the Ambele village of Menda word lists were taken of both languages spoken there: Ambele and Manta.³ Residents there claim to use both languages equally with one another in the home as well as in other domains of daily life. This community continues to have contact with other Manta speakers who live in the same valley running north.

Word lists from the three languages share many similarities. The greatest differences, however, occur between Ambele and the other two languages. In fact, Ambele showed great differences with many other languages in the region. ALCAM numbers do not necessarily show the actual interrelationship in its full reality.

In some cases, villages that belong to a particular clan have more in common lexically with villages of other clans than with the villages of their own clan. See the Tanka example (table 2), which stands out as an anomaly against the speech of the other Ambele villages. Though the inhabitants of Tanka and other Ambele villages said that Tanka belongs to the Ambele clan and language, Manta speakers (Hamm et al. 1999:4) list Tanka among their own. The table shows the names of the villages where the word lists were collected on this survey. Names given in brackets indicate the language in which the word lists were elicited. In the village of Menda, residents speak both Ambele and Manta.

²In 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.

³The language that is designated as Manta by linguists is referred to as Tinta or Tintoh by native speakers in the southern part of the language area and known by the name Kisam among the northern villages. However, we will henceforth refer to the language as Manta in this report.

Table 2: Cognate Count Percentages Matrix

Egbeachu [Ambele]									
95	Menda [Ambele]								
92	94	Awi [Ambele]							
42	45	46	Menda [Manta]						
49	50	50	88	Tanka [Manta]					
44	44	45	75	83	Akanunku [Atong]				
44	44	46	74	81	96	Emuah[Atong]			
42	42	44	68	70	71	67	Baraka[Menka]		
42	42	44	69	69	70	67	94	Achama[Menka]	

Table 3: Cognate Count Percentages in the Greater Linguistic Context

(Extracted from Hamm et al. 1999)

Osatu [Ihatum/Osatu] T⁴

66	Alunfa [Manta; <i>Ethnologue</i> : Balo] T											
54	70	Amasi [Manta; <i>Hamm et al.</i> : Amasi] T										
64	81	67	Manta [Manta] T									
63	81	66	97	Bantakpa [Manta] T								
63	81	66	98	98	Tanka [Manta] T							
66	80	66	86	86	86	Atong [Atong] WM						
58	69	60	74	75	75	78	Menka [Menka] M					
50	56	48	58	58	60	56	57	Ambele [Ambele] WM				
51	57	56	60	60	60	63	69	59	Busam [Busam] WM			
47	58	77	57	57	57	60	52	40	51	Konda [Ngwo] M		
49	60	78	62	63	63	68	59	44	52	77	Ngwo [Ngwo] M	
47	51	69	54	54	54	57	50	39	46	62	66	Basa [Ngwo] M

Note: The percentages in this matrix were derived from a synchronic analysis of apparent cognates with an 8.5% degree of error. This fact may partially explain the differences between the two tables. “T” designates Tivoid languages, “M” stands for languages classified as Momo, and languages followed by the letters “WM” are in the Western Momo subgroup. Busam is classified with Atong and Ambele, and Ngwo and the Meta group with Menka.

5 Research Results

5.1 Ambele

We conducted interviews in five locations (October 11, 12, and 14) ranging from the extremities of the language area to the center. The following list shows the breakdown by sex of those who participated in the group interviews: Olorunti—13 men, 3 women; Awi—12 men, 5 women; Menda—6 adults; Tanka—10 men, 5 women; Egbeachuk—10 men, 2 women (includes some Barambichang residents).

⁴“T” designates Tivoid languages and “M” stands for languages classified as Momo. Busam is classified with Atong and Ambele, and Ngwo and the Meta group with Menka.

5.1.1 Dialect Situation

5.1.1.1 Locality

The Ambele clan consists of eleven villages, nine in one valley running north-south, and two others, Menda and Anjaki, in another north-south valley to the west, separated from the others by two mountain peaks. The language area is about fifteen kilometers at its furthest points. The people of Olorunti included the name Bantoh in the list of villages, and the people of Tanka added Besubia, located between Olorunti and Menda. All of these villages are found at the far western boundary of Momo Division, North West Province.

The Ambele-speaking area is homogeneous. Residents of all the villages have relatively free access to one another by footpaths. The dirt road that runs from Olorunti to Widikum often becomes flooded, impeding road travel out of the Ambele area but never cutting off the villages from each other. Olorunti is the best single choice for placement of a language project team, despite the risk of seasonal isolation.

5.1.1.2 Names and Origins

Residents of all the villages refer to themselves as part of the Ambele clan. They refer to their language as Ambala, Lembala, or by the synonym Bata'o, depending on the village. The village that is designated as Menda on the map is known locally by the names Upper and Lower Mantoh. Menda residents say they belong to the lower Ambele clan, although they live in the same valley as do the Manta people. The original inhabitants of Mimbang (formerly existing village north of Manta) moved to Menda. They now make up half of the population of Menda. Everyone in the community speaks both Ambele and Manta.

The language spoken in Tanka is another anomaly of the Ambele. Though they claim to belong to the Ambele clan, they have more lexical resemblances with Manta and Atong, respectively. Some Manta villages include Tanka among the villages where people speak their language.⁵ Tanka villagers use the traditional term "Kekwa" for their name as a people and "Tentwa" for the language they speak.

Interviewees from each village mentioned a different location from which they had migrated (table 1). Unfortunately, these sites are no longer in existence. Based on many varied accounts, the Ambele came from the west and north, in the area around Mount Oko, two or three centuries ago.

5.1.1.3 Variation within Ambele

There are reportedly only slight differences in speech from village to village (and thus a high degree of uniformity) which does not affect comprehension. The interviewees designated several villages as speaking a standard variety of Ambele, and most agreed that Olorunti, Egbeachu, and Anjaki speak the best Ambele. This may indicate a lack of consensus on a dialect centre. Respondents in most of the villages consider the speech variety spoken in Tanka to be slightly different from standard Ambele. In only one village did people say that the speech of Tanka is different.

In the opinion of native speakers, the most different speech varieties are those situated at the extremities of the language boundaries: Menda, Tambang, and Tanka in particular. Tanka villagers claim to be part of the Ambele clan although they speak a different language. Word list comparisons show that the Ambele spoken in Menda is lexically close (94% and 95%) to the Ambele of the geographically central villages of Egbeachuk/Barambichang and Awi. Apparent cognate counts from Tanka reveal that they share only fifty percent lexical similarity with the other Ambele villages. At

⁵See Manta reports.

eighty-eight percent lexical similarity, Tanka shares much more in common with the Manta spoken in Menda than with the Ambele spoken there. It appears that the inhabitants of Tanka, though ethnically Ambele, are linguistically Manta.

5.1.2 Multilingualism

5.1.2.1 Related and Other Languages

Based on the numbers the *ALCAM* assigned to the languages of this area, one would assume that Ambele [806] is not only geographically close but linguistically close as well to the surrounding languages of Atong [805] and Manta [804]. A comparison of lexical similarity in table 2 shows,⁶ however, that Ambele shares fifty percent or less of its cognates with both of these languages. Ambele has as much lexical similarity with them as with other neighbouring languages whose *ALCAM* numbers reflect greater lexical distance, such as Menka [865] and Busam [869].

In regard to other Western Momo languages, namely Ngwo [861], which is of the most interest to us here, and Busam, the Ambele people claim to have no contact with them. Lexical similarity between Ambele and Ngwo is a low forty-four percent and between Ambele and Busam is fifty-nine percent according to table 3. For the two nearby languages of Kendem [883] and Denya [882] (Bitieku dialect) that border the Ambele, there is very little contact.

Other than their own language, Menda residents say they speak Manta best, then Kendem, followed by Denya. Residents of Tanka say that they speak Manta best, followed by Atong, then Menka. Residents of all the other villages, except for a few members of each community, claim to use Pidgin with speakers of neighbouring languages.

5.1.2.2 Languages of Wider Communication

Pidgin serves the Ambele as a trade language in encounters with speakers of most other languages. The inhabitants of Olorunti, Egbeachu, Barambichang, and Awi claim to use Pidgin with people from all neighbouring languages. In most Ambele villages people speak Pidgin every day. Adults, especially men, speak it best. Only children speak English every day because they must use it at school. As a result, the young people speak it the best. Residents of Menda and Tanka use Pidgin only with outsiders who do not speak one of the immediately surrounding languages.

5.1.3 Language Vitality and Viability

5.1.3.1 Migration and Intermarriage

The Ambele do not restrict any marriages vis-à-vis a particular language group; and there is no single group favoured among all the surrounding villages. Aside from their own language group, the people in Tanka marry more with Atong and Menka. People in Menda intermarry most with Denya, followed by Manta, Busam, and Menka. The people of Awi intermarry with the Menka, and those in Olorunti intermarry with the Denya.

Some Nigerian and Chadian traders pass through the area to do commerce but do not stay. People from Mbengwi, Busam, Denya, and Kenyang come for ongoing personal relationships and stay for jobs and to work the fertile land. In general, outsiders use Pidgin but some learn to speak Ambele.

⁶Table 3 shows that Ambele has as much as sixty percent lexical similarity with Atong and Manta.

5.1.3.2 Language Use

(a) Domestic and public domains

Ambele people continue to use their mother tongue in a wide variety of contexts throughout the general community. They speak it in the home, with age-mates, in the fields, at traditional ceremonies, for public announcements, at local council meetings, at the two government health centres,⁷ and sometimes at small local markets in various villages. For the village of Menda, language use is the same except that “mother tongue” designates both Ambele and Manta.

People speak Pidgin at the large market located in Widikum, where Denya and English are also spoken. Visitors to the health center speak Pidgin as well as Busam, Manta, and Denya. Members of the local council occasionally speak Pidgin at meetings. Residents speak Pidgin when they encounter strangers or outsiders on their farms. Participants in regional council meetings use Pidgin, English, and Ambele. On rare occasions when well-educated friends meet, they may use only English.

(b) School⁸

English is the language of instruction and explanation in the educational system. However, teachers use Ambele for subjects related to nature, because children already know the names of flora and fauna in their mother tongue, and for pupils in class one and class two, since they are just starting to learn English. Pupils may, likewise, ask questions in Ambele. In contrast, teachers resort to Pidgin or simplified English, if a child needs explanation in any other subject. At recess, teachers speak to pupils in English. Pupils in lower classes speak Ambele with each other, whereas older students will use Ambele, Pidgin, or English.

(c) Church⁹

Some churches use Ambele for songs, prayers, and sermons; English for songs and prayers; and Pidgin for doctrine classes, prayers, and songs. The Women’s Association and the Cadettes use both Ambele and Pidgin in their meetings. The Bible is read in Pidgin and interpreted into Ambele. Only a few church members, usually the leaders, have their own Bible.¹⁰ Other informants made no mention of Mungaka being used in church services for songs or Scripture reading.

⁷The clinic in Olorunti serves the southern villages, one in Akanunku [Atong] serves the northern villages, and one in Anjaki serves the western villages.

⁸Each Ambele village has one primary school up to class seven. In the villages other than Menda and Tanka, all of the pupils are mother-tongue speakers of Ambele. Enrollment at Menda is 120; Tanka is 150; Egbeachuk is 172; Olorunti is 138; Awi is 300. If pupils wish to go beyond primary school, they must go to the government secondary school in Akanunku, an Atong-speaking village, and the government high school in Widikum.

⁹The Ambele people say that they are Christian, yet admit that nearly all are involved in traditional religious practices. Most villages have only one church.

¹⁰One church in Olorunti uses the Jerusalem and the New Verse Knox versions of the Bible. Leaders in some churches in Awi, Tanka, and Anjaki use the Pidgin Bible. The clergy in Egbeachuk uses both the Jerusalem Bible and the Pidgin Bible. Another church uses the King James version, while another uses the King James, the New International, and the American Standard versions.

Table 2: Ecclesiastical Language Use

AMBELE	Church 2	Church 3	Church 4	Church 1
Prayers	MT, P, some E	MT, P	MT, P, E	P
Sermons	P → MT	MT, P	E → MT, P for strangers	MT
Songs	MT, P, E	MT, P, E	MT, E	MT, P
Doctrine/Bible	P → some MT	E, P → MT	E → MT, P	
Meetings/Groups	MT, P	MT, P	MT if everyone is local	P
Announcements	MT, P	MT, P, some E		

Key: *MT*=Ambele; *P*=Pidgin; *E*=English; $X \rightarrow Y$ = language *X* interpreted into language *Y*

5.1.3.3 Language Maintenance and Shift

Ambele is a viable language used in many domains. There is little threat of disuse, as there is minimal contact with surrounding languages. Ambele people neither speak nor understand English very well. They speak Pidgin much more than they speak English, but they do not speak Pidgin to the same extent that they speak Ambele.

Adults say that the young people are proud to speak Ambele. It is a mark of their identity. With the exception of those who grow up outside the Ambele community, they speak it more than any other language. On the other hand, they report that young people mix Pidgin or English with Ambele because they do not know the words in Ambele. Most adults believe that this is a negative habit. Yet, some disagree because they realize that the young people are in the process of learning these two languages simultaneously.

Many parents do not mind if their children speak to them in Pidgin, since people are frequently heard speaking it. However, some parents would prefer that their children speak Ambele, because Pidgin is considered a foreign language. Other parents want their children to speak either Ambele or standard English.

5.1.4 Linguistic Attitudes

5.1.4.1 Attitudes toward Ambele

Overall interest in Ambele literacy appears low. Every one of the interviewees in all five villages hold relatively the same opinion on how they would prioritize the languages they want to learn to read and write. They would choose English first, French second, and Ambele third. Three villages noted Pidgin as a fourth choice. For the people of Menda, Manta was their fourth choice. In Tanka they would choose their local speech variety third and Ambele fourth.

It appears that, even though Ambele people are proud of their language, they realize the limited usefulness of it outside their immediate environment. They acknowledge that English and French have wider application in their own country and the world beyond their borders.

Several group questionnaires yielded the following reasons for supporting Ambele literacy:

- for privacy in keeping secrets in writing,
- to preserve the language in its present form,
- to help young people learn and understand the language,
- to maintain the culture and history intact,
- for personal pride and identity,
- for building up a body of literature for future generations,
- to promote the language beyond the community,
- for written communication with neighbouring villages, and
- for preaching.

Church leaders encourage the use of Ambele in all church activities and feel that a translation in Ambele is absolutely necessary. Members of all but one church have expressed interest in having religious materials in Ambele. Most church leaders feel that they could work together with other denominations on a translation project.

Teachers are thoroughly in favour of using Ambele for school instruction. Secondly, they feel that Ambele literacy would be beneficial, and they are willing to cooperate in any way for the success of such a programme.

5.1.4.2 Standardization Efforts

The Ambele people are interested in learning to read and write their language, but there is no language committee at this time in any of the villages. No significant work has been done on developing Ambele. There have been some attempts to write songs in the language. Respondents in Olorunti told us about a priest named Father Hendry who has tried to translate in Ambele.

5.1.4.3 Attitudes Toward Other Languages

None of the religious leaders objects to the use of Pidgin in church and believes that it is especially helpful for visitors from other language groups. They say that nearly everyone understands Pidgin. However, members and leaders agree that people's knowledge of Pidgin is not adequate for comprehending religious materials. If comprehension of Pidgin is not sufficient for a deep understanding of the Scriptures, then this leaves little hope that the Ambele would benefit from any Bible translation other than their mother tongue.

5.1.5 Attitudes Toward Change

Ambele people accept modern medicine. Overall, they are more inclined to visit a health centre before a traditional healer. This depends, however, on the type of illness. For certain ailments people will go first to traditional doctors, while for others they will first go to the nearest clinic. Still, there are some people who go only to traditional doctors. There is a man in Awi working out of his home as a private nurse who often sends people to seek out traditional medicine if he cannot help them.

Only two of the five villages have any committee for community development. Tanka residents weed the paths to other villages. Olorunti residents work on road maintenance, water supply, and school construction.

5.1.6 Local Leadership Presence

According to our interviewees there is no shortage of leadership in the Ambele villages, except perhaps in the case of Menda. All of the village councils have young members who will be able to replace aging notables. Many of the more educated members of the community who must leave in order to further their education do not return to the community. Only a few ever come back to live. The village of Olorunti seems to have the best authority structure and is centrally located, has a clinic, and has the largest population.

5.1.7 Summary

5.1.7.1 Conclusions

Traveling in and to the area occupied by the Ambele people is difficult, but not so much that it impedes contact between speakers living in different villages. On the other hand, the lack of good transportation and communication does not foster economic growth, with the result that young people who leave to further their education have no opportunity to return to the area for work.

The Ambele people continue to speak their mother tongue in many domains, including church services. Teachers and students speak Ambele in class from time to time. Ambele has strong linguistic vitality that would make it a viable language project. There is very little variation within the language from village to village over a wide area. They are very proud of their language, even though they themselves have a low interest in Ambele literacy. There is also a tendency among the young people to mix languages.

Respondents in the Ambele villages said that they have absolutely no contact with the Ngwo language. Lexical distance alone would rule out any possibility of mutual intelligibility. Comprehension testing with Ngwo would not be helpful, since language development in Ngwo would be of no use to Ambele speakers.

Comprehension of English is minimal, by our observations. Mastery of Pidgin is low according to church leaders, and attitudes toward Pidgin are somewhat negative. Although they speak Pidgin every day in a number of contexts, they do not use it nearly as much as their mother tongue. They use Pidgin in the community only with outsiders who live there, such as teachers and religious leaders. The Ambele people use Pidgin with speakers of other languages spoken in surrounding villages, but their contact with such people is infrequent.

The churches in this area have not been established for a long time. Local church leaders confess that the Christians have a meagre foundation in the Scriptures revealed in the syncretistic lifestyles of the church members. Church leaders encourage the use of Ambele in the service and meetings and feel that Ambele Bible translation is absolutely necessary. Teachers, including nonlocals, are enthusiastic about using Ambele as a medium of instruction as well as teaching it as a subject.

There is no language committee and only minimal development of the language. Only a few community development committees exist.

5.1.7.2 Recommendations

Because of a low lexical similarity and a low level of contact with other languages, there is no need to perform comprehension testing among them. There is also no contact with Ngwo. The Ambele group, therefore, warrants its own language project. Its status should probably be changed to definite need. Developing a written standard for Ambele and beginning literacy and translation work is contingent upon the initiative of the churches or communities to form a language committee. Olorunti might serve as a reference dialect as well as the most likely place to base such a project.

5.1.7.3 Modifications to *Ethnologue*

We suggest the following modifications to Ambele [AEL]: change to eleven villages; add the new population figure of 3,600 (year 2000 estimate); replace “Batibo Subdivision” with “Widikum-Menka Subdivision.”

Future survey records and reports should include Tanka in the list of Manta villages, since many Manta villagers claim it as one of their own, and the speech of Tanka is lexically closer to Manta than it is to any other language group in the area. Ambele seems to bear no greater resemblance to the Western Momo family of languages than it does to the Tivoid family of languages, based on the lexical comparisons alone as revealed in tables 2 and 3. More linguistic evidence, such as morphological and syntactic, would be necessary to classify Ambele more accurately.

5.2 Atong

The following information was compiled from the data contained in questionnaires from the group interviews conducted on October 12, 2000 in two Atong-speaking villages: Akanunku and

Emuah. We chose them as they lie at opposite ends of the language boundary and would give a broad impression of the overall linguistic situation. In Akanunku there were thirty-six men and eight women present, most of whom were actively involved in discussion. In Emuah there were twenty-seven men and nine women who participated in some of the discussion. Only five men actually responded to most of the questions.

5.2.1 Dialect Situation

5.2.1.1 Locality

The Atong language group comprises five villages, Akanunku, Anjing, Atong, Ekao, and Emuah, covering several relatively broad, open valleys. There is a maximum distance of six or seven kilometers by air between the two villages furthest apart. Travel between these villages is easier than among Ambele villages as they are separated by smaller, less forested mountain peaks than in those of the Ambele area.

There is considerably less to impede contact among the various Atong communities, even though footpaths provide the only routes of travel between all the Atong villages. They also have access to the road serving Ngwo and Oshie, which is less than half a day's walk away. The road leading to Widikum requires a full day of trekking to reach.

5.2.1.2 Names and History

The people who have been referred to by linguists as Atong, call themselves and their language by the name "Etoh" (their spelling). For the sake of consistency, the remainder of this report will refer to them as Atong. Residents of Emuah claim to have migrated from a small village to the north that no longer exists. Akanunku residents say that they originated from Widikum around the time of the First World War and possibly from Tikari before that.

5.2.1.3 Variation within Atong

Speakers of Atong report no variation within the language. They say that people of all five villages speak exactly the same. Analysis of the word lists collected in Akanunku and Emuah show that they may not be exactly the same. The few phonetic and lexical differences between the two speech varieties are minimal (ninety-six percent lexical similarity).

On the issue of a central dialect, the people in Akanunku disagreed on where their language is spoken the best. Some interviewees chose Akanunku on the basis that it is the administrative hub, even if it is not geographically central. Others mentioned Anjing or Atong. The consensus seemed to fall more on Atong, which is more geographically central, despite its small size. The people of Emuah said that Akanunku should serve as the standard because it is the capital of the people. One could justify this choice since Akanunku is also one of the largest of the Atong-speaking villages and has the nearest secondary school and health centre for the area, as well as a small local market.

5.2.2 Multilingualism

5.2.2.1 Related and Other Languages

Many related languages, such as Menka, Manta, and Ngwo, surround Atong. Apparent cognate counts reveal a relatively high degree of lexical similarity with all of these immediate neighbours but much less similarity with the Ambele, with whom they share a common boundary and culture. Atong bears more resemblance to languages that are separated from it geographically, such as Busam,

Osatu,¹¹ Balo, and Amassi than it does to Ambele. Interviewees claim to speak Pidgin with people from all the villages representing these language groups. Some informants in Emuah stated that there are some older people who speak their mother tongue with speakers of Menka and Manta, who in turn use their own mother tongue, and each can understand the other.

The people of Emuah initially said that they speak Pidgin with the people of Ngwo. After further questioning, more than half of those interviewed claimed to speak Ngwo with Ngwo people. The group was unanimous that Ngwo is the language they understand the best, but one must be at least 18 years old to attain an adequate level of comprehension. In contrast, only one person in Akanunku claims to be able to understand Ngwo. This is understandable, given the increased distance away.

There are some Fulani herdsmen residing in the area who speak Mbororo. We do not know how much contact the Atong have with them, as respondents rarely mentioned them in the interviews.

5.2.2.2 Languages of Wider Communication

English and Pidgin are the only vehicular languages spoken among the Atong. The people say they use these languages every day. They use Pidgin to communicate with people from other language groups, and they use English for education and regional administrative purposes. Adult men speak Pidgin the best, whereas young men speak English best.

5.2.3 Language Vitality and Viability

5.2.3.1 Migration and Inter-marriage

Atong people marry mostly among themselves. Inter-marriage occurs primarily with the Menka, and some residents of Emuah intermarry with the Ngwo.

Traders come to do business in the area, while teachers and doctors come to work. They come from places like Nigeria, Bamenda, Widikum, Akwaya, Batibo, and a place called Bambara. Those who come to stay in Atong villages speak Pidgin with the locals.

Students who desire to continue their education must go on to secondary school in Akanunku, or high school in Njikwa, Widikum, Ngie, or Bamenda. Young people who leave for school normally do not return to the village after completing their education, except to visit their parents.

5.2.3.2 Language Use

(a) Domestic and public domains

Atong people speak the mother tongue at home, with age-mates, in the fields, at the nearest area market in Ekao, for traditional ceremonies, and for public announcements. They also sometimes use Atong at local and regional council meetings and at the health centre in Akanunku.

Some people speak Pidgin in the domestic domain: at home, with friends who are not Atong, and on the farm when they encounter someone from a different language. They use Pidgin at the markets in Ekao and particularly in Ngwo, in the health center, for public announcements, and during local and regional council meetings.

¹¹ALCAM classifies these last three languages as Tivoid. Osatu was assigned the number [899], while Balo and Amassi are still listed under Manta [804]. The *Ethnologue* now lists Balo in its own separate entry, but still includes Amassi with Manta. Hamm et al. determined that Amassi is not part of Manta, but a language in its own right.

(b) Schools¹²

English is the primary language of education. Teachers who speak Atong sometimes use it in classes one and two to explain things the pupils do not understand, but they resort to Pidgin for older pupils. Teachers who do not know Atong use Pidgin for explanations. Teachers say that they speak to the children in English during recess and that the children speak to each other in English as well. In Akanunku pupils speak to each other in English, Pidgin, and Atong.

(c) Churches¹³

Both Atong villages we visited have two denominational churches. In these churches a few people have either a Pidgin Bible or English versions of the Bible. English and Pidgin are used in services along with Atong in order to accommodate the foreigners and religious leaders who are not Atong speakers. No mention was made of the use of Mungaka.

Table 3: Ecclesiastical Language Use

ATONG	Church 1 (Akanunku)	Church 1 (Emuah)	Church 2 (Akanunku)	Church 2 (Emuah)
Prayers	E	P, MT	P, E	P
Sermons	E→P, MT	E→MT	P→MT	P→MT
Songs	E, P, MT	E, MT	E, P, MT	E, MT
Doctrine Classes /Bible Studies	E, some P and MT	E, P to explain	P, E	P
Prayer Meetings	P	P	P, E	P
Other Groups	E, P	E, MT	P, E	P
Announcements	P, MT	E, MT		MT

Key: E=English; P=Pidgin; MT=Atong; → = language X interpreted into language Y

5.2.3.3 Language Maintenance and Shift

Students who wish to continue beyond secondary school to high school must go to Njikwa or Widikum. Many of them leave the village never to return. This is particularly evident in Emuah, where the chief currently resides, and the only people with an adequate understanding of English are the teachers. On one hand, this means that the Atong language has a good chance of remaining an integral part of society. On the other hand, there may be difficulty finding potential personnel in the community to carry out a language project.

The rationale for wanting to learn to read and write in Atong reveal underlying attitudes that will foster the maintenance of the mother tongue. The reasons for having literature and literacy in Atong are that this would:

- build their pride in the Atong language,
- popularize Atong among others,
- help to promote commerce,
- allow speakers to write private letters that will be kept secret from others,
- preserve and promote Atong culture, and

¹²Emuah and Akanunku each have one primary school up to class seven with three hundred students each. Students walk an average of 1.5 kilometers to school. Akanunku also has two secondary schools, one up to form two and the other to form three. The schools in the Atong-speaking area consist predominantly of mother-tongue speakers. The next largest language groups represented are Menka, followed by Manta, then Ambele, and finally Ngwo.

¹³Residents and church leaders in Akanunku admitted that most people follow the traditional religion. In Emuah, however, the people claim to be mostly Christians. There are also some Muslims living among them.

- minimize the risk of information loss through translation and interpretation.

5.2.4 Linguistic Attitudes

5.2.4.1 Attitudes toward Atong

Adults say that Atong is “good.” The young people are proud of it, because it belongs to them—they have grown up with it. Despite their positive attitudes, young people still mix Pidgin and English with Atong. Parents think this is a bad habit. They believe that such a tendency will cause confusion in the society and a lack of understanding in communication.

All church leaders encourage the use of Atong among their congregations. Members have expressed an interest in having religious materials in Atong and some have expressed a desire for mother tongue literacy. Leaders and members alike assert that an Atong translation is important and necessary. They would be happy to have one, believing that everyone would have a better understanding of the Scriptures, especially the older women.

Teachers believe that Atong literacy would be very helpful for children. They would like to see the mother tongue introduced as the language of instruction in school and would be willing to assist in such a program. They suggested roles that interest them, such as training teachers, receiving training, encouraging children, motivating parental financial involvement, and creating materials.

5.2.4.2 Standardization Efforts

The Atong have no language committee, even though the people are interested in learning to read and write their language. To date no one has done any work toward language development. Most church members overall would cooperate with other denominations toward this goal, but some denominations in Akanunku expressed an unwillingness to collaborate with other denominations due to theological differences.

5.2.4.3 Attitudes toward Other Languages

Parents feel uncomfortable when their children speak to them in Pidgin. They would prefer having their children speak English over Pidgin. To them it is a bad thing to hear Pidgin rather than Atong. They believe the mother tongue is so vital that young people should speak it first. Religious leaders, in contrast, are positive about using Pidgin in the church, because the majority of people understand it, with the exception of some older women.

In regard to language preferences, the Atong people in Emuah would choose English before their own mother tongue as the first language to learn to read and write. In Akanunku the group ranked Atong as their third choice after English and French. Each group cited two reasons for these choices: both English and French are official Cameroonian languages and they are also international languages that facilitate worldwide communication. A few interviewees in Akanunku mentioned German as a fourth language useful to their children, since anyone who finishes high school and passes a German entrance exam is presented with the opportunity to go to Germany for studies, tuition free.

5.2.5 Attitudes Toward Change

Both Akanunku and Emuah have active community development committees. Their activities include: water supply projects, road maintenance, and construction of schools, churches, and health centers. They accept modern medicine, sometimes opting for the clinic over traditional medicine. Based on these sociolinguistic factors, the Atong people are open to change.

5.2.6 Local Leadership Presence

The two village councils are confident that there is no shortage of young members to replace the older ones who leave. The majority of the leaders, however, have completed only the primary level of school. This means, therefore, that most of these young people remain in the village because they have not continued their education. Nevertheless, Akanunku holds promise as a possible location for setting up a translation project. This village appears to have a much more organized authority structure in place and more educated members in the community than in Emuah.

5.2.7 Summary

Atong people speak the mother tongue in numerous domains. They believe that Atong is so vital, young people should speak it first. In general, Atong speakers are proud of their mother tongue and have expressed some interest in having religious materials in Atong. At the same time, comprehension of English is low. Only the teachers have an understanding of English adequate for meaningful communication. In most contacts with speakers of other languages, the Atong are more apt to use Pidgin than English, especially with those who come to live among them. Together, these factors make Atong a viable language. In contrast, respondents placed Atong as second and third choices behind English and French in terms of literacy preferences.

Travel between Atong villages is relatively easy, although there are only footpaths. Atong residents have more mobility and less hindrances than either the Ambele or the Menka, which might explain the greater linguistic uniformity among the villages. Atong speakers hold that there is no variation within their language. Yet, they believe that the variety spoken in the village of Atong should serve as the reference dialect, but that a project would better be based in Akanunku for logistical reasons.

5.2.7.1 Conclusions

Lexically, Atong shares more in common with Menka, Manta, and Ngwo than it does with Ambele. Speakers in Akanunku insist that they have no contact with Ngwo speakers. Half of those interviewed in Emuah, however, say they speak Ngwo. Ekao is closer to and lies along a path that leads directly to Ngwo. One might deduce from this, that the villagers of Ekao have a higher level of bilingualism with Ngwo. Inhabitants of these two latter villages could be tested on their comprehension of Ngwo, but the idea that they could benefit from Ngwo literature is doubtful.

Teachers are in favor of mother tongue literacy for school children. Some local teachers already use Atong in the classroom to explain things for the younger pupils.

Church leaders and members speak Atong in a variety of situations. Leaders encourage its use in church context. They usually use English or Pidgin for the sake of foreigners. Their mastery of Pidgin is minimal and has been insufficient to grasp some of the foundational biblical teachings. As a result, syncretistic practices continue, due also to the recent introduction of Christianity in the last half of the twentieth century. Therefore, leaders and members alike realize the necessity of an Atong translation.

As of yet, there is no language committee, but both villages we visited have active community development committees. On the other hand, no one has made any effort toward language development. Except for Akanunku, there may be a lack of well-educated individuals in the communities.

5.2.7.2 Recommendations

Test intercomprehension among Atong, Menka, and Manta before pursuing development of a written standard for Atong and begin literacy and translation work. There is already an interest in language development among the people and the churches. Lack of cooperation between some of the denominations will be a hindrance unless someone can harmonize their differences. Akanunku would most likely be the place to base a language project.

5.2.7.3 Modifications to *Ethnologue*

We suggest the following additions for Atong [ATO]: add the alternate name “Etoh,” add the phrase “five villages;” and add the year 2000 population estimate of 4,200. Change “Batibo Subdivision” to “Widikum-Menka Subdivision.” Replace the line which reads, “Related to Ambele and Busam” with this one: “Related to Menka and Manta.”

5.3 Menka

The survey team conducted interviews on October 12 and 14, 2000 in two Menka villages, Baraka and Achama, at essentially opposite ends of the language boundaries. The group in Achama consisted of nine men and three women. The group in Baraka comprised fifteen men and five women.

5.3.1 Dialect Situation

5.3.1.1 Locality

The Menka people live east of the Ambele and south of the Atong in moderately forested mountains and valleys. They occupy approximately ten villages along a line running roughly from north to south-southeast, spanning a distance no more than ten kilometers. Baraka is the northernmost village, Ishia is the southernmost village, bordering the Mom River. Travel on the footpaths between villages is unhindered by the streams crossing them.

There are no roads leading to any of the Menka villages, so travel between them is accomplished solely by footpaths. However, the overall size of the language area and the distance between villages is not great. Local people say that they are unhindered by the rough terrain. However, allocating a language team to the area would be difficult.

5.3.1.2 Names and History

The people call themselves and their language “Wando,” “Bando,” or “Mamwoh.” They are also known locally as the “Wando” by other language groups. The people say that they originated from the area just to the southeast of their present location, in a place called “Emi” or “Imi,” which is no longer in existence.

5.3.1.3 Variation within Menka

The residents of Achama believe that the people in all ten Menka villages speak exactly the same, although they would choose their village as speaking the best Menka. Residents of Baraka divided the Menka villages into three dialect groups: (1) the northern villages of Baraka, Kanimbom, and Efang as those which speak the same as themselves, (2) the central villages of Larenji, Onka (Menka), Mpeng, Echibit, and Tabonchom as those which speak slightly differently from themselves, and (3) the southern villages of Achama and Ishia which speak differently than themselves. According to Baraka residents, these essentially represent differences in pronunciation. The Baraka group interviewees said they would choose their speech as the standard for development. The fon from the

village of Efang concurred with this view. Baraka, however, is not an administrative centre, nor are any of the other Menka villages.

5.3.2 Multilingualism

5.3.2.1 Related Languages

The Menka-speaking area is bordered by several languages, namely Atong, Ambele, Busam, and Ngie. Other surrounding, but more distant, languages include Ngwo, Manta, and Moghamo. The Menka people affirm that they have no contact with Ngwo speakers.

Menka speakers living in Baraka said that they have a high degree of bilingualism with their nearest neighbours, the Atong. They assert that one must be at least 12 years of age to understand Atong. There are only a few older residents of Baraka who claim to speak Manta. With speakers from any other language group, they use Pidgin.

Interviewees in Achama said they speak Pidgin with people from all of the neighbouring languages.

5.3.2.2 Languages of Wider Communication

Pidgin and English are the only vehicular languages for Menka and, in fact, the entire region. People speak Pidgin every day, but mostly with strangers who speak other languages. Adults speak Pidgin best, particularly those who have traveled outside the area. Young people of both sexes speak English every day in school, and therefore speak it better than adults.

5.3.3 Language Vitality and Viability

5.3.3.1 Migration and Inter-marriage

Menka people marry most among themselves. Outside of their group they intermarry primarily with the Atong, and secondly with the Ambele. They hold no marriage restrictions in regard to other language groups.

Foreigners do not move into the Menka villages to live. Nigerian Igbo speakers, though few in number, come as traders for months at a time and use only Pidgin with the local population.

5.3.2.2 Language Use in the General Community

(a) Domestic and public domains

Menka speakers use the mother tongue exclusively in the home, with age-mates, on the farm, in the local markets (Larenji, Menka, Baraka), for traditional ceremonies, for public announcements, and for local council meetings. Menka people use both the mother tongue and Pidgin at the health centre in Akanunku. They speak Pidgin at the larger markets in Efang and Widikum and at regional council meetings.

(b) Schools¹⁴

Teachers and pupils speak English in class, but some pupils use Pidgin or Menka, even though this is not officially encouraged. Nevertheless, one teacher professed to using Menka with the pupils.

¹⁴Baraka and Achama each have one primary school up to class seven. Baraka has a student body of 160 pupils. Achama has an additional Catholic school up to class four. Attendance at both schools totals three hundred students. Some students come from Ishia and walk as far as four kilometers to school.

The teachers say that during recess they always speak English to pupils and each other, while the pupils will speak either Menka, Pidgin, or English.

The teachers believe that most, if not all, children of school-age attend school. Only a small proportion of pupils continue their education to secondary school in Akanunku, to high school in Widikum, or to a professional school elsewhere. Most students with advanced education tend to look for employment, which usually takes them outside of the area.

(c) Churches¹⁵

One denominational church in Achama uses the Good News or New International version of the Bible, whereas the youth Bible study group uses Pidgin Scripture portions. On the other hand, most discussion is in the mother tongue. A church in Baraka from the same denomination reads the Mungaka Bible. At a different denominational church they use the Pidgin New Testament. Very few members in any of the churches have their own Bible. Both denominations use Pidgin in their services to accommodate foreigners who do not understand the local language.

Table 4: Ecclesiastical Language Use

	Church 2		Church 1	
	Achama 1964 (70 members)	Baraka 1950 (50–100)	Achama 1974 (25)	Baraka 1949 (20–30)
place/date established				
average attendance				
prayers	P	P ¹⁶ , E	MT	MT
sermons	P→MT	P ¹⁷ , E ¹⁸	P→MT	P, Mungaka ¹⁹
songs	E, MT	E, MT	E, MT	E, MT
doctrine/Bible study	P ²⁰	P	MT	
prayer meetings	MT		P, MT	
announcements	MT	P, MT	MT	E, MT

Key: E=English; P=Pidgin; MT=Menka; X→Y = language X interpreted into language Y

5.3.4 Linguistic Attitudes

5.3.4.1 Attitudes toward Menka

The adults declare that the young people are proud of their mother tongue and enjoy speaking it. They consider speaking their language as something normal, using it daily.

The teachers conditionally agreed that Menka literacy could be helpful. They were hesitant to give an emphatic response, except on the condition that the language be “proper Menka.” These teachers would like to see Menka introduced as a language of instruction in the schools and would be willing to assist in such a program. Yet, they propose French as the second language choice for instruction after English. They presented some well-articulated examples of what kind of services they could offer to a language development project: cultural information on music and songs, literacy materials such as stories, publicity, and teacher training.

Church leaders encourage the use of Menka in the services and meetings. In Baraka, the members are striving to have religious materials in Menka, but in Achama the people have never given

¹⁵Both Baraka and Achama have two denominational churches, whose leaders are all mother-tongue speakers of Menka. The ministers in Achama say that most villagers follow the traditional religion.

¹⁶Members read from a Pidgin prayer book.

¹⁷Pidgin is used for the adults’ meeting.

¹⁸English is used for the children’s meeting.

¹⁹The Mungaka Bible is read in church services.

²⁰The youth group Bible study uses Pidgin.

it a thought. Church leaders say that all the Menka people love their mother tongue and that a Menka Bible translation is absolutely necessary in order for everyone to understand the Scriptures. They would be extremely pleased if this were ever to happen.

5.3.4.2 Language Maintenance and Shift

Menka appears to be a very viable language. It was evident that most residents have little or no comprehension of English. Among themselves they speak the mother tongue. It is difficult to know how much Pidgin is competing with the mother tongue other than their testimony that Pidgin use is infrequent.

Residents of Achama hold that no language mixing occurs among the young people. The group of informants in Baraka admit that young people have a tendency to mix Pidgin and English with Menka. In their opinion, this is a negative habit. Parents believe that one should speak the mother tongue purely. Teachers prefer that children speak either their mother tongue or standard English.

5.3.4.3 Standardization Efforts

According to the residents of Achama, no one has written anything in Menka. During the interview their comments expressed very little interest or initiative in reading and writing their language. The people in Baraka, on the other hand, contend that the bishop of the area is working with a young person to write prayers in Menka. There is presently no language committee in Achama or Baraka.

Church leaders from both denominations expressed a willingness to work together in a language development project. The ministers suggested some possible contributions they could make, such as providing materials and the knowledge to achieve the best translation. There is a Menka Cultural Development Association, which includes the Menka, Ambele, and Atong language groups.

5.3.3.4 Attitudes toward Other Languages

Parents in Achama are pleased when their children speak to them in Pidgin. The adults in Baraka explain that some parents are not bothered when their children speak Pidgin because they do not recognize the danger of language mixing. In regard to language choices for literacy, the people of Achama rank English first, French second, and Menka third. The group in Baraka ranked the languages they would want to learn to read and write as follows (from most to least preferred with the reason for their choice).

- (a) Menka—it would be easy,
- (b) English—already using it; it is the Queen's language,
- (c) French—Cameroon is bilingual, and one should be able to communicate with the others, and
- (d) German—first colonizers.

Church leaders are positive toward using Pidgin in church because it allows better understanding for a wider audience than does English. Pidgin is simpler to understand than English, and it is, therefore, much easier for them to translate or interpret from Pidgin into Menka than to do so from English.

5.3.5 Attitudes Toward Change

Some Menka people are open to modernization, though the degree depends on the level of development of the particular village. In Achama, people are more inclined to visit a traditional doctor than go to a clinic, whereas residents of Baraka would first go to the clinic. They are relatively organized in that both villages have a committee for community development. Their various ongoing

construction and agricultural projects involve road excavation and maintenance, water supply repair, school renovation, and cooperative farming.

5.3.6 Local Leadership Presence

All the members of the village councils in Achama and Baraka live within their respective communities. According to the group interviewed, there is no lack of young people participating in the village council. In the case of Achama, however, there are not many articulate people in the community, other than the teachers. The village chief lives and works outside the area in the South West Province. Here, a lack of educated leadership is quite evident and would affect any language project.

5.3.7 Summary

5.3.7.1 Conclusions

Respondents from the two groups interviewed believe that the people in all the Menka villages speak almost exactly the same, apart from slight differences in pronunciation. The Menka are proud of their language and speak the mother tongue exclusively in a number of contexts. The language is vital, which speaks well for the potential viability of a language project.

Menka speakers reported no contact with the Ngwo people and their language. The prospect of Menka people using an Ngwo written standard is improbable. No future testing of this hypothesis will be necessary. Baraka residents, however, boast a high degree of bilingualism in Atong. Achama residents, on the other hand, declare that they use Pidgin with everyone who does not speak Menka.

Interviewees in Baraka would choose their language as the first one to learn to read and write. They admit that young people mix Menka with Pidgin and English. Interviewees in Achama, however, value Menka literacy third after English and French. Nevertheless, English proficiency is very low among the Menka.

There is little influx of foreigners among the Menka people, other than teachers and church leaders. Some pupils occasionally speak Menka in class, whereas only one teacher, out of the three known mother-tongue speakers, says that he uses Menka with the pupils. Other teachers agreed with hesitation that Menka literacy would be helpful for school children.

Church leaders encourage the use of Menka in services and meetings, even though they have positive attitudes toward Pidgin. Church members in Baraka are pushing to have religious materials in Menka while their counterparts in Achama are indifferent. Church leaders expressed a willingness to cooperate with other denominations toward standardization of Menka for Scripture translation.

To date, there is no language committee in place, although there are community development committees in both villages. No one has made any progress on language development. As a whole, the people showed a low interest in mother-tongue literacy. Again, there is a lack of an educated leadership in Menka society.

5.3.7.2 Recommendations

Use recorded text test (RTT) tapes of Atong and Manta to measure comprehension of these languages among Menka speakers to determine the level of intelligibility. Develop a written standard for Menka and begin literacy and translation work if results reveal that they could not use one of these languages. This is contingent upon the initiative of the churches or communities to contact the appropriate agencies and to form a language committee. Baraka might be a potential location for basing a project.

5.3.7.3 Modifications to *Ethnologue*

We suggest the following for Menka [MEA]: add the alternate names “Wando,” “Bando,” and “Mamwoh;” add the phrase “ten villages;” change the population figure to 5,200 (year 2000 estimate); change from “Batibo Subdivision” to “Widikum-Menka Subdivision;” replace the line which reads, “Related to Ambele and Busam” with this one: “Related to Atong and Manta.”

6 Western Momo Division Overview

6.1 Summary and Conclusions

All three of these languages appear to be very viable. Speakers of each language seem to have very little contact with the speakers of the other languages, including neighbouring languages not featured in this report. The people of Ambele and Menka report that they have no contact with Ngwo speakers. Residents from one of the two Atong research locations said that they have some contact with Ngwo speakers. It does not, therefore, seem likely that the speakers of Atong, Ambele, and Menka could ever benefit from Ngwo language development.

English proficiency is extremely low, and proficiency in Pidgin is questionable, as they use it almost solely with nonnative teachers, traders, and church leaders. They have a low level of contact with their neighbours from surrounding language groups, with whom they maintain and improve their Pidgin.

The Bible does not have a prominent place in the churches of this region, and most church members continue with traditional religious practices. All three language groups have a definite need for translation, despite the meagre initiative they express toward their need.

Many of the villages showed almost no evidence of formal political organization. The two villages of Emuah and Achama had very little authority structure in place. The chiefs of Tanka, Baraka, and Awi live elsewhere and, therefore, had only a representative present in the village. Menda’s chief was informal and indistinguishable from the rest of the population, whereas the Ambele chiefs in Egbeachu, Barambichang, and Olorunti, as well as the Atong chief in Akanunku, all displayed strong leadership qualities.

6.2 Recommendations

Since contact with the Ngwo language is minimal, and lexicostatistical similarity is marginal or below, it will not be necessary to measure comprehension of Ngwo through recorded text testing. Hamm et al. (1999:10), suggested that a Manta written standard might serve Atong and Menka. It would, therefore, be necessary to test intelligibility of Manta among speakers of these two languages. Even though the languages of Atong, Menka, and Manta are currently classified linguistically as members of three different language subgroups, Western Momo, Momo, and Tivoid, respectively, cross-testing Atong and Menka with each other and with Manta, using RTT methods could be the next step.

6.3 Modifications to *Ethnologue*

Modifications to Ambele [AEL]: see section 3.1.5.

Modifications to Atong [ATO]: see section 3.2.5.

Modifications to Menka [MEA]: see section 3.3.5.

Appendix A: *Ethnologue* Entries

AMBELE [AEL] In about 10 villages in eastern Batibo Subdivision, Momo Division, North West Province. *Linguistic affiliation*: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Bantoid, Southern, Wide Grassfields, Western Momo. May be related to Busam or Atong.

BALO [BQO]

Akwaya Subdivision. *Linguistic affiliation*: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Bantoid, Southern, Tivoid. 60% lexical similarity with Osatu, 40% with Ipulo and Caka, 35% with Esimbi and Mesaka. Bilingualism in Pidgin. Literacy is in English, as it is with all languages in NW and SW provinces. Mountains. Traditional religion.

BUSAM [BXS] In villages of Bifang, Ambambo, and Dinku, Batibo Subdivision, Momo Division, North West Province. *Linguistic affiliation*: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Bantoid, Southern, Wide Grassfields, Western Momo. Related to Ambele and Atong.

ATONG [ATO] Extreme northwestern part of Batibo Subdivision, Momo Division, Northwest Province. *Linguistic affiliation*: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Bantoid, Southern, Wide Grassfields, Western Momo. Related to Ambele and Busam.

MANTA (MENTA, AMASI, AMASSI, BANTAKPA, BANTA, ANTA) [MYG] 13,600 (1982 SIL). Approximately 20 villages in a 40 km. stretch in Manyu Division northeast of Mamfe, from the border of Mom (Akwaya Subdivision) to Manta (Mamfe Subdivision), South West Province. *Linguistic affiliation*: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Bantoid, Southern, Tivoid.

MENKA [MEA] 12,500 (1982 SIL). West of Mbwengi, northwest of Batibo, Batibo Subdivision, Momo Division, North West Province. *Linguistic affiliation*: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Bantoid, Southern, Wide Grassfields, Narrow Grassfields, Momo.

NGWO (NGWAW) [NGN] 31,000 together with Ngishe (1982 SIL). Njikwa Subdivision, Momo Division, North West Province. *Linguistic affiliation*: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Bantoid, Southern, Wide Grassfields, Narrow Grassfields, Momo. Dialects: NGWO (NGUNI, NGWAW, MIGUHNI, NGUNU), KONDA, BASA (BASSA), IKWERI (EKPERI), BANYA, BAKO, OKOROB, ZANG. Literacy rate in first language: Below 1%. Literacy rate in second language: 15% to 25%.

OSATU (OSSATU, IHATUM) [OST] Southeast of Asumbo, Akwaya Subdivision, Manyu Division, South West Province. *Linguistic affiliation*: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Bantoid, Southern, Tivoid. 60% lexical similarity with Balo, 40% with Ipulo and Caka, 35% with Mesaka and Esimbi. Bilingualism in Pidgin. Literacy is in English. Mountains. Traditional religion.

Appendix B: *ALCAM* Entries

(compiled from pp. 69, 71, 359, 362, 435, 436, 455)

- [805] atong Bénoué-Congo, Bantoïde, Bantou du Grassfield, (Momo)
 [806] ambele Bénoué-Congo, Bantoïde, Bantou (du Grassfield, Momo/ -Tivoïde?)
 [865] menka Bénoué-Congo, Bantoïde, Bantou du Grassfield, Momo

[804], [805], [806]

Ces langues, mal connues, avaient été groupées sous des numéros de code voisins eu égard à leur proximité géographique. Une étude lexicostatistique, communiquée par A. Coupey, aboutissait à réunir amasi [ex-805] et ambele [806], étudiés par le GTBF, avec l'asumbo (tivoïde) en un groupe bien caractérisé. Dans cette perspective l'hypothèse d'un groupe "nord-momo" avait été ménagée. Selon les premiers résultats d'une mission Breton-Nseme (1983) il semble que le manta [804] inclue l'amasai [ex-805] et soit à verser dans le groupe tivoïde, tandis que l'ambele [806], de même que l'atong [805], inconnu précédemment, soit à ranger dans le groupe momo aux côtés du busam [869], lui aussi inconnu auparavant, et du menka [865], rejoignant ainsi le ngie [863], le moghamo [866], etc. (114)

[805] L'atong est parlé dans quelques villages situés à l'extrémité nord-ouest de l'arr. de Batibo (dép. du Momo) : Atong, Akanunku, Ekaw, Anjing. (115)

[806] L'ambele est parlé à l'extrémité occidentale de l'arr. de Batibo (dép. du Momo) dans une dizaine de villages : Big Ambele, Olorunt, Menda, Anjake, Egbeasho, Barambichang, Awi, Tambang et Tanka, à l'est des massifs – Ala Hati, Eti Bogat, Aktekon, Dyog-Ete – séparant ce département de celui de la Manyu et de l'aire des langues Grassfield de celle du Manta [804], tivoïde. (115)

[865] Le menka est la plus occidentale des langues momo, parlée dans l'extrémité nord-ouest de l'arr. de Batibo, comme l'ambele [806]. Le village de Menka est situé en bordure, mais à l'extérieur des limites de cet arr. dans celui, voisin, de Mbengwi. (117)

Appendix C: 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		
	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?

- 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 ½ ½ Less than ½ Very few
 - How many schools are there? Located where?
 - secondary school? Most More than ½ ½ Less than ½ 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 D: 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:

	Language used?	Interpreted to MT?	How?-simultaneously/ in advance/end resume	Why?
<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 the 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 into 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?

Appendix E: Questionnaire for School Officials

Interviewer: _____ Date: _____
 School Name: _____ Village: _____
 Instructor's name: _____ Language Group: _____

What is your MT?
 How long you have been living in this village?
 Do you speak the local language?

School Information

Up to which level are courses offered in this school? How many students in each class?

Primary school	No. of students	Secondary school	No. of students
Class 1		Form 1	
Class 2		Form 2	
Class 3		Form 3	
Class 4		Form 4	
Class 5		Form 5	
Class 6		Upper 6	
Class 7		Lower 6	
Total number:			

- How many of the students belong to the MT? Most More than ½ Half Less than ½ Few
- What are the largest language groups represented in this school?
 (1) (2) (3) (4)
- Do you have the impression that most of the MT students come to school? Y / N
- From how many kilometers away do the MT students come to school?
- Do many students continue their education after finishing school here? Y / N
- Where must they go to continue their education?

Language Use

- Which language(s) do you and the students use in class?
- Which language do the students use when they don't understand something? Y / N
- Do you sometimes use their mother tongue to explain things? N
- Which language(s) do you use during recess to speak with the children?
- During recess do children from here speak to each other in their MT? Y / N
- During recess what language do the children from here speak to the children from outside?

Language Attitudes

- Do you think it is helpful for children to learn to read and write in their own language? Y / N
- N
- Would you like to see the MT introduced as a language of instruction in the school? Y / N
- Would you be willing to assist in a program teaching the MT? Y / N
- After English, what language would you choose as a language of class instruction for the school in this village?
- What role would you be able to play (*or what contribution could you make*) in the development of the MT for classroom use?

Appendix F: Atong, Ambele, and Menka Word Lists

Atong Word Lists

	English	Akanunku	Emuah
1.	mouth	èndzú	índzú
2.	eye	ìfí	éfi
3.	head	fí	fí
4.	hair	njónđi fí	njónđi fi
5.	tooth	èfwá/áfwa	éfwá
6.	tongue	ēnēmī	élémí
7.	nose	èzwí	ézwí
8.	ear	étóŋní	étóŋní
9a.	neck	èmì	émí
9b.	back of neck	kín kwā lēmê	éŋkómì
9c.	throat	níndwá	gíkùm
10.	breast	èbón	ébón
11.	arm/hand	ébúyū	ébúyō
12a.	claw	àdzíyā	àdzíyá
12b.	nail (hand)	àdzíyā	àdzíyá
13a.	leg	əbùyà	ébúyà
13b.	foot	múmbùyà	múmbùyà
14.	buttock	àbàβlì kjándū	àbáβlà kjándū
15.	belly	àŋgjà	áŋgjà
16.	navel	étwán	étwán
17.	intestines	mbùtəŋgjà	ñvùlùŋgjà
18.	blood	ŋkín	ŋkín
19.	urine	énsêť	ńtsêť
20.	bone	áwú	áwú
21.	skin	gôp	gôp
22.	wing	ápáβlì	épáβlì
23.	feather	àjùlì	éyùlì
24.	horn	éfõ	éfõ
25.	tail	èkjé	ékí
26.	human being	wêđ	wêđ
27.	man	wánóm	wánóm
28.	woman	wâjē	wâjé
29.	husband	ènòm	ñnòm/bànom
30.	child	wá	wá
31.	name	ékúmí	èkúm
32.	sky	ézóp	ńtám
33.	night	áfûp	áfûp
34.	moon	étá	étá
35.	sun	ñpúmtəntfwi	tintsì
36.	wind	èŋgùm	kifùfù/èŋgùm

37.	cloud	èmbà?	èmbà?
38.	dew	gǵèt	gǵèt
39.	rain	ēbūyū	ēbūyū
40.	ground	tʃwâp	tʃwâp
41.	sand	tíŋsē	tíŋtséndí
42.	path	gí	gí
43.	water	múyá	múyá
44.	stream	dziyà	dziyà
45.	house	ndó?	ndó?
46.	fire	èjwí	éjwí
47.	firewood	éwé/áwé	éwé/áwé
48.	smoke	àŋgí	àŋgí
49.	ash	èntúyō	ntúyú tī
50.	knife	èŋkúlō	ŋkúrò/ŋkútí
51.	rope	èyó	éyó
52.	spear	èwá	éwá
53.	war	bít	bít
54a.	animal	njâm	njâm
54b.	meat	njâm	njâm
55.	dog	bú	bú
56.	elephant	̀̀sò?	̀̀sò?
57.	goat	ví	ví
58.	bird	̀̀nón	é̀̀nón
59.	tortoise	̀̀mbó	̀̀mbó
60.	snake	dzúyó	dzúyó
61.	fish	ʃwí	ʃwí
62.	louse	gwít	gwít
63.	egg	ékôn	ákôn
64.	tree	títí	átí
65.	bark	gôp ètí	gôp étí
66.	leaf	èfùbì	èfú
67.	root	èŋká	̀̀ká
68.	salt	mjá	mjá
69.	fat	̀̀f ^w ám	̀̀fwám
70a.	hunger	tʃwá	tʃwá
70b.	hunger (meat)	tʃwé njâm	̀̀dzí njâm
71.	iron	átónó	átónó
72.	one	ábúŋ	ábvúŋ
73.	two	èfǵjèé	éǵjéé
74.	three	ètját	ètját
75.	four	ènjì	ènjì
76.	five	ètàn	ètàn
77.	six	ètǵèètí	ètǵèètí
78.	seven	èsàmbúyá	èsàmbúyá
79.	eight	ènjìní	ènjìní

80.	nine	ènjǐn nìbùŋ	enjìní nìbvúŋ
81.	ten	èfwát	èfwát
82.	come	nízī?ī	zí
83.	send	nítòm	nítòm
84.	walk	nízìnì	nízìní
85.	fall	nítīlī	nítīrī
86.	leave	nídì?ì	nísò/nídì
87.	fly	nífùlì	nífìlò
88.	pour	nídōŋgī/nítǫ	nídōŋgī/nígì
89.	strike	nígbī?ī/níwīlī	nígbē/níjwírí
90.	bite	nínōm	nínōm
91.	wash	nísò	nísò
92.	split	nídzà?àtè	nízātī
93.	give	nínjà	nínjà
94.	steal	nídzì	nídzī
95.	squeeze	nínǣāmī	níkǣām
96.	cultivate	níkīlī	níkīrī
97.	bury	níndzì	níndzì
98.	burn	nízwà?	nízwà?
99.	eat	níndī	níndī
100.	drink	nínwā	nínwā
101.	vomit	nízè	nízè
102.	suck	nífwātī	nífwā
103.	spit	nítǫ òsándí	nítǫ òsandí
104.	blow	nífē	nífē
105.	swell	nímòt	nímòt
106.	give birth	níbī	níbī
107.	die	nífù	nífù
108.	kill	nízwì	nízwī
109.	push	nítīn	nítīnī
110.	pull	nígò	nígò
111.	sing	níkwān	níkwān
112.	play	nítūm	nítūm
113.	be afraid	níbūm	níbvūm
114.	want	níkǣ	níkǣ
115.	say	nímòyò	nímòyò
116.	see	nízō	nízō
117.	show	nítī	nítī
118.	hear	nízū	nízū
119.	know	níkǣβà	níkǣβà
120.	count	nípìyì	nítā/nípìyì

Ambele Word Lists

	English	Egbeachuk	Menda	Awi	Tanka
1.	mouth	énòη	énòη	énòη	énú
2.	eye	ésí/ásí	ésí	ésíí	ésí/éjǐ
3.	head	î	î	î	fēē
4.	hair	dʒónónη	dʒónónη	dʒónónη	njón̄tsē
5.	tooth	ésōη	ésāη	ésōη	ésōη
6.	tongue	éléamá	éléamá	éléamá	énéémé
7.	nose	ágjí	ágjí	ágíí	ézwí
8.	ear	étó	étó	étó	étóηé
9a.	neck	gémì	γémì	gémì	émē
9b.	back of neck	ékát	ékát	ηkén	ηkpà èmē
9c.	throat	kùη	éwèγék/kòη	kòη	ñtò néndónη
10.	breast	ébón	ébón	ébón	ébón
11.	arm/hand	ébó	ébó	ébó	éb ^w ó
12a.	claw	égjá	égjá	égjá/ágja	édzá/ádzá
12b.	nail (hand)	égjá	égjá	égjá	édzá/ádzá
13a.	leg	gǵòη (gédzèt)	gédzèt	gédzèt	ébâ/ábâ
13b.	foot	gédzèt	ékàγé gédzèt	dzímγèdzèt	vékùlò/èvékùlò
14.	buttock	étám ètʃòk	étám ètʃòk	énàmètsòk/á-	ákápèé
15.	belly	ékót	ékót	ékót	ànjà
16.	navel	étóp bābāp	étúp bābāp	étúp bābāp	étúm
17.	intestines	bégjà	bégjà	bégjà	mbùsòηjà
18.	blood	lékīn	lékēn	lékīn	èηkīn
19.	urine	létʃèt	létʃèt	létsèt	éntsê
20.	bone	géwú	géwúú	géwú	áwú
21.	skin	gbê	gbê	gbê	gòʔ
22.	wing	ébàp	góbàp	gébàp	àpávòlé
23.	feather	étáη	étáη	étóη	ézwí
24.	horn	sáη	sáη	sóη	éfòη
25.	tail	ékpí	ékpíí	ékpí	ékéē
26.	human being	énòt	énòt	énòt	vêʔ
27.	man	mbà̀nòη	mbà̀nòη	èmbò̀nòη	vânóm
28.	woman	bénòt	bénòt	bénòt	vāγé
29.	husband	égjó̄m	égjó̄m	égjó̄m	énóm
30.	child	wán	wan	wán/létʃé	ván
31.	name	égjét	égjét	égjét	ékúm
32.	sky	ébólá	ébólá	ébóló	ézoʔ
33.	night	bétóp	bétóp	bétúp	étúú
34.	moon	étàη	étàη	étāη	étāη
35.	sun	gédzǐ	γédzǐí	gédzǐí	émpúmētʃ ^w ê
36.	wind	góœ	eem/góœ	éém	áfím/ηgù̀ηgù̀
37.	cloud	gémòk	gémòk	gémòk	àmò̀mò̀

38.	dew	lô	a(γ)òp	gêt	gê?
39.	rain	émòò	émòò	(émò)bèbóóló	ébóóló
40.	ground	γátòp	γátòp	gátòp	tʃúà
41.	sand	láyáñé	láyáñé	láyáñé	éténsé
42.	path	lèngbí	lágjá	lágjá	ázjá
43.	water	émòò	émòò	émò	múā
44.	stream	dʒò	dʒò	dzòò	dʒúā
45.	house	gǰù	gǰù	gǰù	nnó?
46.	fire	éwūū	éwūū	éwūū	éví?
47.	firewood	éwén/awén	éwén	éwén/áwén	évéñ/ávéñ
48.	smoke	ádʒók	ágjók	ágjúk	ánjíí?
49.	ash	bátó	bató	létó	éntúòsē
50.	knife	álété	álété	àlétó/létó	èñkúlò
51.	rope	éγē	éγē	éγèè/áyèè	éγóò
52.	spear	gègbàm	γègbàm	gègbàm/be-	éγwòñ
53.	war	bét	bét	bét	bí?
54a.	animal	njâm	njâm	njàm	njâm
54b.	meat	njâm	njâm	njàm	njâm
55.	dog	bô	bô	bô	mámjá
56.	elephant	ésòk	nsòk	èsòk	nsò?
57.	goat	wî	wî	wî	bíí
58.	bird	ánōn	ánōn	ánòn/lénòn	énōn
59.	tortoise	lángbé	lángbé	lángbé/bàláng-	èmbó
60.	snake	dʒò	dʒò	dʒò	dʒwó
61.	fish	sú	ʃú	sú	ʃú
62.	louse	gbêt	gbêt	gbêt	gbí?
63.	egg	égō	égō	égō/ágō	ékōn
64.	tree	gégjét	gégjét	gégjét/bé-	átété
65.	bark	gòp ègègjet	gòp	gòp	gò?/átété
66.	leaf	éwúú	éwúú/gègjenè	éwú/áwú	éfú/áfú
67.	root	ékàñ	ékāñ	ékāñ/ákāñ	ékāñ/ákāñ
68.	salt	ñmâñ	ñmâñ	ñmâñ	mjáñ
69.	fat	láoám	láoám	láoám	émf ^{AV} ám
70a.	hunger	ñgán	ñgán	ñgán	tsòñ
70b.	hunger(meat)	ñgán (ènjàm)	ñgán (enjàm)	ñgán (njàm)	áfwán
71.	iron	géesén	géesén	gēsēn/bē-	átónó
72.	one	gèmò	γèmò	gèmò	ábíñ
73.	two	bééé	béé	bēē	ēfēē
74.	three	bètát	bètát	bètát	ètá?
75.	four	bènjì	bènjì	bènjì	ènyì
76.	five	bètèn	bètèn	bètèn	ètàn
77.	six	bèlèndát	bèlèndát	bèlèndát	ètjèté
78.	seven	bèlèndátlèmò	bèlèndátèmò	bèlèndátgèmò	èsàmbá
79.	eight	bèlènjí	bèlènjí	bèlènjí	ènjìní

80.	nine	bèlènjílèmò	bèlènjílèmò	bèlènjígèmò	ènjìnínàbìṅ
81.	ten	bèát	bèát	bèàt	èfwáá
82.	come	gèbè	bá	bá	záʔá
83.	send	gétōm	γétōm	tóm	tóm
84.	walk	gégjà	γégjà	gjà	ézínì
85.	fall	gétʃā	γétʃā	gátsóá	tílí
86.	leave	gégà	éṅgà	gàá	dèé
87.	fly	gèwùlì	γèwùlì	ùlì	fùlì
88.	pour	gètùḁ	γésálè/γètùḁ	sálé/dóṅé	sálé/dóṅké
89.	strike	gèwìlì	γèwìlì	wílí	gbéʔé/vílí
90.	bite	gégjóm	γégjóm	gjóm	nóm
91.	wash	gésò	γésò	sōō	sòó
92.	split	gédzātè	γèdzát	dzát	záʔ
93.	give	génàk	γénàk	nāk	nàáʔ
94.	steal	gédzī	γédzīí	dzí	dzí
95.	squeeze	gékām	γéṅámè	kám	ṅámé
96.	cultivate	gégbàt	γègbàlà	gbàlá	vətóó
97.	bury	gégì	γégì	gjì	njìí
98.	burn	gédzòk	γèdzòk	dzōók	zwāʔ
99.	eat	gélōō	γétʃāβē	lō	ní
100.	drink	gédzōṅ	γédzōṅ	dzóṅ	njóṅ
101.	vomit	gédzèn	γédzèn	dzēn	zēṅ
102.	suck	gésóá	γésāā	dzám	ʃwáté
103.	spit	gétú bàtáá	γétū	tú	tú
104.	blow	géfō	γéfō	fō	fóté
105.	swell	géfōnì	γémòt	gékprí	múò
106.	give birth	gèwíjà	éwíjà	gèwíjà	bé
107.	die	gékúú	ékúú	kú	kú
108.	kill	gébòṅgè	γébòṅgè	bòṅgè	zwí
109.	push	gétìnì	γètìnì	tíní/pàké	tíní
110.	pull	gèwòḁ	γèwòḁ	wóó	wòó
111.	sing	gékónà	γèkón	kón	kpáná
112.	play	gép ^w à àsèlé	àsèlé	tóm	átwám
113.	be afraid	gèèbòlà	γèbūlà	búlá	ébúmí
114.	want	gèkóṅḁ	γèkjà	béṅkíjà	kjé
115.	say	gédzjòm	γègjòm	gjām	mwó
116.	see	gèbón	γèbán	bān	zón
117.	show	gèténdè	γèténdè	téndé	té
118.	hear	gèdzó	γédzō	dzó	zó
119.	know	gèkààbé	γèkàβè	kàβé	kàvé
120.	count	gèpèjà	γèpè	pēē	pèé

Menka Word Lists

	English	Baraka	Achama
1.	mouth	àzûm	àzûm
2.	eye	èʃí/àʃí	ìʃí
3.	head	fí	fí
4.	hair	ɲwôɲ fí	ɲwôɲ fí
5.	tooth	èsóɲ	èsóɲ
6.	tongue	èlé mí	èlé mí
7.	nose	èz wí	èz wí
8.	ear	èt wóɲ ú	èt óɲ ú
9a.	neck	èmî	òmî
9b.	back of neck	èkpárǎfí	èkpárǎfí
9c.	throat	àdz ^w áʔá	àdz ^w á
10.	breast	èbón	èbón
11.	arm/hand	èbúō	òb ^w ó
12a.	claw	àdzâ	èdzá/àdzá
12b.	nail (hand)	àdzâ	èdzá/àdzá
13a.	leg	ènâm	ònâm
13b.	foot	èlóró	àdzérǎnâm
14.	buttock	èndzùʔ	ndzù
15.	belly	àljà	àtó
16.	navel	èt wóɲ	èt óɲ
17.	intestines	àljâ	àljâ
18.	blood	ɲkín	òɲkín
19.	urine	ìntʃínʃèt	òɲʃínʃèt
20.	bone	àvú	àvú
21.	skin	èkpá	òkpá
22.	wing	àbáβlì	àbáβlì
23.	feather	èví	òví/àví
24.	horn	èfǒɲ	òfǒɲ/àfǒɲ
25.	tail	èkjî	òkwî
26.	human being	vêt	vêt
27.	man	jàr ^w ôm	jàlwóm
28.	woman	jàjó	jàjó
29.	husband	èrwòm	òlwòm
30.	child	jítʃàɲ	ítsàɲ
31.	name	èkúm	òkúm
32.	sky	èzúbó	èzíbó
33.	night	nìtʃú	òtʃúʔ
34.	moon	ètáɲ	òtáɲ
35.	sun	émpúm	ómpúm
36.	wind	èɲgùm	àfjóm/ìɲgùm
37.	cloud	èmbàʔàrì	mbáʔ
38.	dew	gwîť	gwîť

39.	rain	èbwó	èb ^w ó
40.	ground	tʃwâp	tʃwâp
41.	sand	díʃó	ríʃó
42.	path	glí	glí
43.	water	múā	mwá
44.	stream	dzà	dzâ
45.	house	lóp	lóp
46.	fire	èvít	òvít
47.	firewood	èvíŋ	òvíŋ/àvíŋ
48.	smoke	àlíʔ	àlíʔ
49.	ash	ntʃ ^w ó	òntʃwó
50.	knife	ètó	ètó
51.	rope	èyó	òyó
52.	spear	èvónŋ	èvónŋ
53.	war	bít	bít
54a.	animal	njàm	njàm
54b.	meat	njàm	njàm
55.	dog	jábū	bú
56.	elephant	èsòʔ	èsòʔ
57.	goat	bí	bí
58.	bird	énĕn/dínĕn	ónĕn/rínĕn
59.	tortoise	èkpámḃ	pámḃʔ
60.	snake	dʒúḃ	dʒwó
61.	fish	ʃú	ʃú
62.	louse	àzáʔ	àzá/òzá
63.	egg	èkôn/àkôn	èkôn
64.	tree	átí	átí
65.	bark	àʒwôp	tʃúm (tʃùmḃtí)
66.	leaf	èfúru	efúru/àfúru
67.	root	ekáŋ	èkáŋ
68.	salt	míáŋ	mjáŋ
69.	fat	èfúām	dìfwám
70a.	hunger	tʃóŋ	tsóŋ
70b.	hunger (meat)	sómbú (njàm)	tsóŋ (njàm)
71.	iron	ántĕn	ántĕn
72.	one	àbíŋ	àbíŋ
73.	two	éfĕ	òfĕ
74.	three	ètăt	òtăt
75.	four	ènjì	ònjì
76.	five	ètʃàn	òtʃàn
77.	six	dààtí	dàtí
78.	seven	dààtí nĕmwà	dàtínĕmwà
79.	eight	ènjí	ònjí
80.	nine	ènjínĕmwà	ònjínĕmwà
81.	ten	èfwát	òfwát

82.	come	nízā?ā	nízá?ā
83.	send	nítwòm	nítòm
84.	walk	nízìnì	nízìnì
85.	fall	nítŷīrī	nítŷīrī
86.	leave	nízòjâ	nídìì
87.	fly	nífìlì	nífìlì
88.	pour	nítŷù	nítŷù/nígì
89.	strike	nígbē?ē/nívīrī	nívírí
90.	bite	nírōm	nílwōm
91.	wash	nísù	nísò
92.	split	nízātī	nízātī
93.	give	nínà	nínà
94.	steal	nídžī	nídžī
95.	squeeze	nítŷwèrè	nítŷwèrè
96.	cultivate	níkjērē	níkjērī
97.	bury	nílwè	nílwè
98.	burn	nízwà?	nízwà?
99.	eat	nílì	nílī
100.	drink	níŋwō	níŋwō
101.	vomit	nízòŋ	nízòŋò
102.	suck	níŷwā	níswā
103.	spit	nítŷù òtŷá	nítùntŷá
104.	blow	nífwōrū	nífwōrū
105.	swell	nímwòrù	nímjà
106.	give birth	níbī	níbī
107.	die	nífù	nífù
108.	kill	nízwī	nízwì
109.	push	nítīndī	nítīlī
110.	pull	nígwò	nígwò
111.	sing	níkpān	níŷwò
112.	play	nípùtŷwám/nítūm	nítùm
113.	be afraid	níbūm	níbūmū
114.	want	nítī	nítjē
115.	say	nímwò	nímwò
116.	see	níbwā	níbwā
117.	show	nítīkī	nítīkī
118.	hear	nízū	nízū
119.	know	níkàβe	níkàβè
120.	count	nípè	nípèè

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