

**SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY  
OF THE**

**KABALAY**

**LANGUAGE  
OF CHAD**

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**SIL International  
2002**

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## 1 INTRODUCTION

The Kabalay language, spoken by a community of speakers in the Tandjilé prefecture of southern Chad, is little documented. The present report of this language and of its sociolinguistic situation is largely based on the findings of a visit made to the Kabalay region last year. From April 14 to 21, 2000, a research team under the authorization of the *Ministère de l'Enseignement Supérieur et de la Recherche Scientifique*<sup>1</sup> conducted a sociolinguistic survey which was principally directed at Kabalay, but which also touched on the neighboring and related Nancere language, likewise located in the Tandjilé prefecture. The survey team consisted of Cameron Hamm and Erik Anonby, members of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL), and Calvin Mbernodji, member of ATALTRAB (l'Association Tchadienne de l'Alphabétisation, de la Linguistique, et de la Traduction de la Bible).

We would like to express our appreciation to the subprefect of the Laï subprefecture and the subprefect of the Béré subprefecture for their welcome and assistance during our trip. In addition, we would like to thank our Kabalay and Nancere interpreters who helped us immensely during the survey, as well as the villagers of Laï, Draye Mbassa, and Draye Ngolo, who received us warmly and assisted us in many ways during our stay.

## 2 CONDITIONS OF THE SURVEY

### 2.1 Objectives

The primary objective of the survey in relation to the Kabalay was to collect information on the linguistic and sociolinguistic situation of the Kabalay speech variety, in order to evaluate the appropriateness of a language development project for the Kabalay. In using the term language development project, we are referring, among other things, to the development of a standard orthography for the language, the production of reading materials, and the establishment of literacy programs involving the entire community. Another major goal was to assess the appropriateness of considering Kabalay as a language in its own right or if it could be better considered a dialect of Nancere.

In order to reach these goals, we specifically wanted to assess the following:

- (a) The degree of relationship and inherent comprehension between Kabalay and the closely related Nancere language.
- (b) The patterns of bilingualism among the Kabalay population, and their level of proficiency in Nancere.
- (c) The likelihood that the Kabalay will continue using Kabalay as their primary language in future years instead of replacing it with another language.
- (d) The interest and attitudes of the Kabalay towards the possibility of developing literature and of a literacy program in Kabalay, or else in another language that they know.

### 2.2 Survey Instruments Used

#### 2.2.1 Group Interviews

The first survey instrument used in each village that we visited was the group interview, which is intended to pool the collective knowledge and impressions of the notable members of the community. The questions asked in this interview concern the language and dialect situation, including neighboring languages and ethnic groups, patterns of multilingualism and language use within the community, social issues bearing on language use, and attitudes of the community toward language development.

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<sup>1</sup>(No. 010 /MDMENCES/DG/DRST/2000)

The full content of the group questionnaire is attached to this report as appendix B. In the Nougou quarter of Laï and in Draye Mbassa, the chiefs gathered several of the village elders along with a number of other knowledgeable men of the village for the interview. In Draye Ngolo, an interview was conducted with a village elder and a small group, people who happened to be available.

### 2.2.2 Individual Interviews

Another important instrument used during the survey was the individual sociolinguistic interview, designed to examine in detail a number of selected individuals for their actual experiences with language: language use patterns in various domains, contact with and proficiency in other languages, and certain language attitudes. The full text of the questionnaire appears in appendix C.

Individual interviews were conducted in the Nougou quarter of Laï and in the village of Draye Mbassa, where we chose twenty individuals to represent various sectors of the population. We specifically controlled the factors of sex and age in choosing our subjects: an equal number of men and women, and of younger and older people (age 35 being the division between old and young). Thus we had only five subjects instead of the normal ten in each of four categories (young men, young women, old men, and old women)<sup>2</sup>. An explanation of the formulae and statistical theory used is found in Bergman (1989:8.1.1–8.1.18).

We were aware of other factors that would affect the representativeness of our sample, although we did not control them specifically. We tried to interview subjects from different parts of the village, for example, and not more than one interview per compound. Because of the potential of special language use patterns in the religious domain, we also made an effort to sample individuals from each of the Catholic, Protestant, and unchurched communities. The level of education was not really seen as a relevant factor: the older people in general have not been to school, since the village school only started in 1960. Of the younger people interviewed, most had had some schooling, and some to a high level. Only one of the younger men had not done some secondary school, and only one of the young women had not been to school at all.

As part of the individual interview, each subject was questioned about his ability in the Nancere language, in an effort to assess his proficiency according to the 6-point U.S. Foreign Service Institute (FSI) proficiency scale, from 0 (no knowledge of the language) to 5 (native speaker proficiency). The following gives a summary of the meaning of some of the intermediate FSI levels (SIL 1989a:5.1.27–5.1.31):

Level 2+: “Able to satisfy most requirements with language usage that is often, but not always, acceptable and effective.”

Level 3: “Able to speak the language with sufficient structural accuracy and vocabulary to participate effectively in most formal and informal conversations on practical, social, and occupational topics.”

Level 3+: “Is often able to use the language to satisfy needs in a wide range of sophisticated and demanding tasks.”

Level 4: “Able to use the language fluently and accurately on all levels normally pertinent to needs.”

Our purpose in evaluating the subjects’ second language speaking proficiency was to get an indicator of the level of multilingualism throughout the whole community, to determine whether the population in general has an adequate level of proficiency to profit from literacy and development efforts in Nancere. In other words, if the Kabalay language itself were not developed, could all of the Kabalay population nonetheless learn to read and write in Nancere? In general, it is not easy to determine what exactly constitutes an “adequate level” for this purpose; SIL has accepted as a general guideline that anything under a level 3 of proficiency should be viewed as *inadequate* (SIL 1989b:9.5.2).

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<sup>2</sup>The surveyors misunderstood the sample size needed for statistical comparison, therefore comparison can only be made of men vs. women and young vs. old.

The subjects were tested using a self-evaluation questionnaire adapted by Stephen Quakenbush from a longer interview schedule in turn adapted by Barbara F. Grimes from the U.S. Foreign Service Institute's testing kit for second language oral proficiency. The questions asked are designed to find out the interviewee's own assessment of his ability to perform specific tasks in another language. For a person to score a certain level of proficiency, he must give an appropriate answer to every question on that level (and on all lower levels).

It must be admitted that this method of evaluation is quite subjective and cannot be relied upon for highly accurate results. In his study, Quakenbush (1992:70) evaluated the second language speaking ability of a group of people with both a more objective, direct testing method (Second Language Oral Proficiency Evaluation (SLOPE) as described in SIL 1989a:5.1.1–5.1.32) and also with his self-report interview schedule. It turned out that although ninety percent of the subjects scored at least level 3 with SLOPE, only 77.5% scored thus with the self-report method. It is also not certain that the interview schedule we used accurately distinguishes between level 3 and level 4 (Quakenbush 1992:190–191). In the present study, since we were most interested in level 3 as the threshold of “adequate proficiency,” we paid most attention to evaluating individuals as falling above or below this critical mark.

A second type of individual interview was conducted with church leaders concerning language use in the churches. In Lai we interviewed the leaders of both the Catholic and Protestant churches. In Draye Ngolo, we interviewed the pastor of one of the Protestant churches as well.

### 2.2.3 Word List

A word list of 225 common vocabulary items was collected from language of Nancere and Kabalay. These lists were compared to each other to discover the percentage of apparent cognates shared between them (the actual data are included as appendix D). The comparison was based on “apparent cognates,” i.e., words that look phonetically similar. Words known to be borrowings and compounds were excluded from the calculation, but no further research was done to ascertain whether the apparent cognates are truly historically cognate.

The word list comparison was used, in addition to its inherent interest for linguistic data in Kabalay, as an indicator of intelligibility between the related speech varieties. Simons (1977:90–94) found a high correlation between lexical similarity and level of intercomprehension between speech varieties. As a general rule, SIL has found that when the percentage of apparent cognates between two speech forms is less than seventy percent (taking into account a certain range of error), it is almost certain that the speech forms will *not* be mutually intelligible, and it is therefore appropriate to consider them as separate languages. However, if the lexical similarity between speech forms is seventy percent or greater, such decisions are not so easy to arrive at; a more direct method of testing for dialect intelligibility is necessary in order to determine the level of comprehension between the speech forms (Bergman 1989:8.1.5–8.1.6).

### 2.2.4 Recorded Text Testing (RTT)

To investigate the degree of comprehension between Kabalay and Nancere, recorded text testing (RTT) was used. Texts between two and four minutes in length were recorded in Nancere (at Koumbou) and Kabalay (at Lai). Texts that had too many loan words were rejected. Texts that did not have adequate detail, which merely described lifestyle or which did not relate a specific incident in the storyteller's life were also rejected. A written French translation of each text was made, noting where phrases ended and pauses could be inserted. Twenty key pieces of information were identified for each text. The French translation and the comprehension questions for each story are listed in appendix E.

Both the respondent and the researcher listened to the stories through headphones. The tape was stopped at each pause and the respondent was asked to retell the story. If the retelling included the key piece of information (whether correctly or incorrectly retold), the answer was recorded on the score sheet and the next section was played. If the response did not include information related to the question, the respondent was prompted more specifically and his response was recorded, with a note that a prompt had been necessary. If a section was replayed because the respondent requested it, this was noted on the answer sheet. If a section was replayed because the researcher thought a person or a sound had disturbed the respondent, it was not noted on the answer sheet that the section was replayed.

After testing each story on speakers of that particular language, the list of twenty key pieces of information was narrowed to ten, based on which ten all “hometown” subjects were able to readily identify. Speakers of the other language were evaluated based on their ability to correctly understand these ten pieces of information.<sup>3</sup> Subjects listened first to the test recorded in their own language to familiarize them with the testing method (and to screen out any subjects with hearing or other difficulties). The subject’s score on the test in their own language is then used to compare with their performance on the other language, e.g., if a subject missed one on their own language and only one on the test in another dialect, the subject will be considered to understand that other language satisfactorily.

The numerical results of the RTT cannot be interpreted as an exact measure of the degree of comprehension between the speech forms, but rather is an indicator of the approximate level of intelligibility. The percentage at which one can reasonably claim “adequate” comprehension between speech forms is not always clear. SIL guidelines indicate that seventy-five percent is the lowest acceptable indicator of comprehension, whereas eighty-five percent is usually considered high enough to guarantee good communication. Between these two scores is an area of marginal comprehension, where other sociolinguistic factors must come into play (J. Grimes 1995:22).

The standard deviation of the RTT scores is important in evaluating whether the level of intelligibility that has been measured is inherent or acquired. Since inherent intelligibility is a feature of the language itself, it is reasonable to assume that speakers who have mastered their own language will understand the reference speech form equally as well (or poorly) as others who speak their language. Thus, if the intelligibility measured by our test is inherent intelligibility alone, the standard deviation of the scores should be small (i.e.,  $<0.15$ )<sup>4</sup> (J. Grimes 1995:30). A large standard deviation ( $>0.15$ ) indicates that some subjects scored significantly higher than others did, presumably because their score reflects an acquired comprehension in addition to any inherent intelligibility.

### 2.3 Itinerary

The first information for this survey was gathered on March 17 and 18, 2000 at the very end of another research trip in southern Chad. Coming back from Moundou, the team<sup>5</sup> stopped at the village of Dabgué Mbassa, south of Béré to elicit a word list in the Nancere language. The team then continued to Laï to gather information on the Kabalay area. The next morning was spent collecting a word list and performing a group interview in the village of Draye Ngolo.

The main part of the survey started with a visit to the village of Koumbou, north of Béré on April 17, 2000, in order to gather data on the Nancere language. This was done as a point of reference, since Nancere is the closest related language to Kabalay and has already been developed to some extent (with a written Bible). After finishing collecting and hometown testing a Nancere text there the following morning, we spent April 18 to 20 in Laï gathering linguistic and sociolinguistic information.

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<sup>3</sup>This method is described in detail in Casad (1974), although the method used varies slightly from this description. Instead of an adjustment of scores based on the “hometown” score, we eliminated questions missed by subjects in the original village before playing the test in the second village. In addition, the final testing was done with school students, since they were more willing to take the tests than adults, have more limited contact with speakers of other speech forms and could more easily understand the test method. It was decided to identify key pieces of information and leave pauses for the subject to retell the previous section for the following reasons: some of the people had never been to school and were unfamiliar with a question and response system: often we’ve encountered people retelling the entire recorded section, including the question at the end, apparently not clearly understanding that the question is not part of the story, in spite of the different voice. We suspect that often the question is interpreted as a dialogue going on within the story. Repeating the section seems to be a more culturally natural way of getting the answer we want, as long as the section is not too long, and the answer is not far from the end, so that it is not a test of memory.

<sup>4</sup>Note, however, that in cases where all speakers of a speech form have a high degree of contact with another speech form, a small (i.e.,  $<0.15$ ) standard deviation does not guarantee that the RTT results reflect inherent intelligibility.

<sup>5</sup>Kendall Isaac, Calvin Mbernodji, and Cameron Hamm.

In addition, the team spent an additional day in Draye Mbassa in an effort to complete our picture of the Kabalay-speaking community on April 21.

### 3 GENERAL SETTING

#### 3.1 Geographic and Demographic Setting

The home area of the Kabalay people is in Laï and along the eastern side of the Logone River, in the Messéré and Laï-Rural cantons of the Laï subprefecture in the Tandjilé prefecture of Chad. This is situated between latitude 9°36' N; longitude 16°9' E and latitude 9°24' N; longitude 16°18' E (see map in appendix A).

Within the Kabalay area, there is an enclave of two villages, some of whose inhabitants speak a dying language, Goundo. Formerly, only Goundo was spoken in the villages of Goundo and Tchoglo, but now inhabitants have shifted to Kabalay and Nancere (see Roberts 1999). Neighboring languages to the Kabalay include Besmé to the northwest along the river, Nancere to the west, Ngambay to the south (a variety called Mouroum), and Tobanga to the north and east.

The current Kabalay villages are five in number (of which three are homogeneously Kabalay, and two mixed), on the east side of the Logone River for a distance of about twenty-five kilometers. There are three *quartiers* of Laï that are majority Kabalay-speaking which make almost half of the total population of Laï. The following table shows the village names and any *quartiers*, languages spoken and indications of the population for each of the population centres.

**Table 1. Kabalay villages**

Village Name	<i>Quartier</i>	Language Spoken	Population
Draye Ngolo	Kandjilé	Kabalay	135
	Draye Mala	Kabalay	308
	Draye Ngolo	Kabalay	397
Goundo	Goundo	(Goundo), Kabalay, Nancere	331
Sategui	Tchoglo	(Goundo), Kabalay, Nancere	108
	Sategui	Kabalay	614
	Mala	Nancere	125
Draye Mbassa	Draye Mbassa	Kabalay	678
Djongo	Djongo	Kabalay	98
Laï	Tagbian	Kabalay, Ngambay	1671
	Taba	Kabalay, Ngambay	3264
	Noungou	Kabalay	1885

Kabalay point to the Gabri ethnic group as their ancestral origin. Migration was made to the present site of the Noungou *quartier* of Laï, and from there the group has spread to Taba and Tagbian *quartiers* of Laï and north along the river as far as Draye Ngolo.

The origin of the name “Kabalay” has been given several explanations. Participants of the group interview at Draye Mbassa say that the name is of Baguirmi origin and comes from the phrase “kabam ka lay” in Baguirmi, which means ‘my friend from Laï.’ They also say that the Nancere call them ‘kopkurié’ which means ‘river-dwellers’. The Gabri call the Kabalay language “kabayien.”

More than half of all Kabalay live outside the home area (51%); the highest concentration is in N’Djaména (19%). In the 1993 census, 17,885 people reported their ethnicity as Kabalay; of these, 3465 were in N’Djaména, 2261 lived elsewhere in the Chari-Baguirmi prefecture (mostly in rural areas), 1427 in the Mayo-Kebbi, 760 in the Logone Occidental. It is important to note that the majority of Kabalay are urbanized (58%). Of these urbanized Kabalay, 55% live outside of the Tandjilé (Laï is considered to be urban in this classification). The following table shows populations in each of the fourteen prefectures of Chad as well as N’Djaména.

**Table 2. Kabalay ethnic group distribution by prefecture**

	<b>Urban</b>	<b>Rural</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b>N'Djaména</b>	3465	0	3465
<b>Batha</b>	16	1	17
<b>B. E. T.</b>	72	13	85
<b>Biltine</b>	15	4	19
<b>Chari-Baguirmi</b>	106	2155	2261
<b>Guéra</b>	96	59	155
<b>Kanem</b>	39	1	40
<b>Lac</b>	8	78	86
<b>Logone-Occidental</b>	670	90	760
<b>Logone-Oriental</b>	168	73	241
<b>Mayo-Kebbi</b>	669	758	1427
<b>Moyen Chari</b>	304	121	425
<b>Ouaddaï</b>	69	12	81
<b>Salamat</b>	65	11	76
<b>Tandjilé</b>	4681	4066	8747
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>10443</b>	<b>7442</b>	<b>17885</b>

It is difficult to ascertain the actual size of the Kabalay-speaking population. One is never certain that all of the inhabitants of a village speak the same language. Even more questionable is the number of non-Tandjilé urban Kabalay who speak Kabalay. We have no estimate of this other than a guess that they will be less likely to maintain their language while in a mixed setting.

### 3.2 Linguistic Setting

Following the International Encyclopedia of Linguistics, the *Ethnologue* (Grimes 2000:65) classifies Kabalay as follows (from general to specific): Afro-Asiatic, Chadic, East, A, A.2, 2.

Also in the A.2 group are Kimre, Nancere, Lele, Gabri (South), and Tobanga (Grimes 2000b:587). The East Chadic "A" group of languages are mainly found between the Chari and Logone Rivers, directly north from the Sara languages of southern Chad.

Welters (1971:817) mentioned the existence of Kabalay and he tentatively classified Kabalay as a dialect of Nancere but also notes that it could be "Gablai." Paul Newman (1977) separates out Kabalay as a language on its own, still part of the Nancere group though, and Barreteau (1978:304) gives the same classification: "Branche EST, Sous-branche est-A, Groupe nancere (A.2)." Jungrathmayr (1981:410) puts Kabalay in his "Nancere-Gabri" group. During the course of the survey it became apparent that Nancere is the most significant related language through linguistic similarity and bilingualism.

One member of the Kabalay community has attended courses led by SIL (Discover Your Language) in Yaoundé and has produced a small dictionary in Kabalay. Waingué B. Martin's "Lexique kabalay" (1995) is available at the SIL library in N'Djaména.

There is a song book that exists and there may be Scripture portions included in the lectionary used by the Catholic church although these do not appear to be in use in N'Djaména.



### 3.3 Economic, Social, and Religious Setting

The Kabalay live from fishing along the river, and the cultivation of crops, primarily rice. There is a weekly market outside of the Kabalay area, in Misséré. Otherwise Laï has a daily market which many Kabalay frequent.

There is intermarriage between Kabalay and other language groups. In our group interviews, it was reported to be common, even as much as half of marriages were mixed with people from other language groups. We found several instances in our individual interviews. The pattern reported to us seemed to be general for the whole region: when a woman (Kabalay or otherwise) marries out of her own ethnic group, she moves to her husband's village, and integrates into that village; she speaks her husband's language, and her children normally learn only the language of their father. In Laï and Draye Mbassa, we found that eleven out of the twenty subjects had a non-Kabalay mother, and of the sixteen married subjects, two had married a non-Kabalay wife.

A large percentage of the Kabalay are Christian, either Catholic or Protestant. There is a Catholic church and a Protestant church in almost every Kabalay village. We were told that very few people in the village do not adhere to one or the other church; this was found to be true as well as we found it difficult to find Kabalay that were not adherents of some church.

The church service in the Catholic church is conducted in Kabalay while in Laï at the EET #2, Nancere is mostly used. The pastor there said that the main reason for this is because there is a Bible school there on the premises which uses Nancere; in other churches they encourage the use of Kabalay. The Protestants have put together their own songbook in Kabalay, and much of the singing is done in Kabalay. Bible reading is in Kabalay (Catholic) or Nancere (Protestant), but is not translated into Kabalay.

There are no Muslims among the Kabalay, but we were told that animistic practices are common.

### 3.4 Educational Setting

There are two schools in the rural Kabalay-speaking area. The schools in Draye Mbassa and Draye Ngolo include a complete elementary school cycle of six years and the other villages each have unofficial "spontaneous" schools, which have at least the first two years of elementary education.

The school enrollment figures for the 1999–2000 school year for the six years of elementary school at Draye Ngolo and Laï-Noungou are given in tables 3 and 4. The school at Draye Ngolo draws students from its own village and also from Kandjilé, Draye Mala, and Goundo. The school in Laï is mixed ethnically; only about half are Kabalay. From these figures, it seems that most children start school. However, it also seems that in general the attendance drops off as the years progress, with the final class one quarter the size of the initial one. Also, the female enrollment is about two-thirds the male but does not drop off even into the more advanced classes.

**Table 3. School enrollment at Draye Ngolo 1999–2000**

	CP1 (1st)	CP2 (2nd)	CE1 (3rd)	CE2 (4 <sup>th</sup> )	CM1 (5th)	CM2 (6 <sup>th</sup> )
Boys	34	32	20	31	22	20
Girls	15	12	27	24	15	15

**Table 4. School enrollment at Laï-Noungou 1999–2000**

	CP1 (1st)	CP2 (2nd)	CE1 (3rd)	CE2 (4th)	CM1 (5th)	CM2 (6 <sup>th</sup> )
Boys	104	100	100	152	120	85
Girls	57	81	70	115	75	62

**Table 5. Percentage of sample having undertaken certain educational levels**

	none	CP1 (1st)	CP2 (2nd)	CE1 (3rd)	CE2 (4th)	CM1 (5th)	CM2 (6 <sup>th</sup> )	Secondary
Male	40	60	60	50	40	40	40	30
Female	40	60	50	50	30	30	20	10
Total	40	60	55	50	35	35	30	20

In general, the educational level of the Kabalay villagers is stratified by age and sex. As mentioned earlier, the school in Draye Ngolo was started in 1960. Of the twenty individuals that we interviewed, only one of the older women and two of the older men had been to school. Among the younger people, all but one, a woman, had done some schooling (3–6 years) and one person had continued with some secondary school. The men in general are more likely to have a higher level of education: all of the young men had been to school, and three had been to secondary school. We were also told that many Kabalay young people continue with secondary education, but that they often return to the villages where they have grown up. It seems that a similar pattern can be presumed in the other villages of the Kabalay region.

#### 4 LANGUAGE AND DIALECT SITUATION

Kabalay speakers interviewed uniformly reported that there were only negligible differences in speech between the Kabalay villages; although it would be possible to tell the village of origin of a person by his speech alone if he were from Sategui or Goundo (former Goundo-speaking villages), this in no way impedes communication. In Draye Mbassa, men said that people from those villages mixed Nancere with Kabalay. Although no reason for this was given, it is possible that since these villages were entirely Goundo-speaking in the past, they have retained some pronunciation features of Goundo even though the language is dying out, and people speak Kabalay and Nancere. In the end we found no indication of significant dialectal variation within Kabalay.

In an effort to situate Kabalay with respect to its linguistic neighbors, information gathered from group and individual interviews showed that Nancere was chosen every time to be the closest linguistically. Therefore we elicited and compared word lists from Kabalay and Nancere, obtaining seventy-nine percent phonetically similar words (out of 221 words compared). Since this is above the seventy percent threshold referred to previously, other more direct methods of testing intelligibility were necessary; word list comparison alone is not sufficient to determine whether intelligibility is inherent or acquired.

We then carried out RTT testing of Nancere with ten schoolchildren in the CM2 class in the village of Draye Mbassa. We reasoned that children of this age were old enough to have mastered their native tongue, but probably not old enough to have learned Nancere (through travel, contacts, etc.), so that this test would give a good idea of how *inherently* comprehensible Nancere is with Kabalay. However, as testing progressed, we could tell that this assumption was not correct. In retelling the story as asked, at least four of the ten did so in Nancere, demonstrating not only passive bilingualism, but also some aspect of active bilingualism in Nancere. Nonetheless, the results of testing are discussed later.

The Kabalay students chosen performed well on the Kabalay “hometown” test, correctly retelling ninety-seven percent of the details in question (six performed perfectly, and the other four only missed one detail each out of ten details in question). When it came to the Nancere test, the students performed almost as well, correctly retelling ninety-six percent of the details in question. All but three students scored perfectly, two missing one detail each and one student missing two details. This shows that comprehension of Nancere is very high, but unfortunately still does not answer the question of whether this comprehension is inherent because the two varieties are linguistically similar or if it is significantly enhanced by bilingualism. Most likely there is a bilingual overlay on inherent intelligibility that aids comprehension based on contact the Kabalay have with the Nancere.

In choosing the site for testing comprehension, we aimed to find an area with little contact with Nancere. However it seems that all areas within the Kabalay-speaking region have significant contact with Nancere speakers. As shown in table 1, parts of two villages speak Nancere in addition to Kabalay

and there is even one neighborhood of Sategui (Mala) which is totally Nancere-speaking. Indeed, there may not be an area of the Kabalay home area without extensive contact with Nancere.

## 5 MULTILINGUALISM

Most Kabalay speak at least three other languages. In the individual interviews, one of the questions asked was what languages the interviewee was able to speak at least a “little bit.” Nancere was the language most frequently mentioned, with 100% of those interviewed naming it. Next was Chadian Arabic, mentioned by 60% of those interviewed. Other languages that were mentioned were French (40%), Ngambay (40%), Gabri (South) (25%), and Tobanga (20%). Besme, Kim, and Lele were also mentioned once each.

Women are generally bilingual in fewer languages on the average (2.4 languages), while men are bilingual in more languages (3.6 on the average). While all individuals we interviewed said they speak Nancere, the level of competence varies. The following table summarizes the results of the Nancere proficiency (self-evaluated, as explained in 2.3.2 above) from individual interviews, grouped by age and sex.

**Table 6. Second language speaking proficiency of Nancere**

	Total	< 3	≥ 3
Overall	100%	45%	55%
Men	100%	20%	80%
Women	100%	70%	30%
Young	100%	40%	60%
Old	100%	60%	40%

As can be seen, bilingualism in Nancere is widespread but is not evenly distributed throughout the population of Draye Mbassa and Laï. Although the overall average shows more than half of the respondents speak Nancere at an adequate level, seventy percent of women do not attain this level as well as sixty percent of older respondents.

Eleven of the twenty Kabalay speakers rated themselves at FSI level 3 or above in Nancere. These individuals were evenly split between those residing in Laï and those in Draye Mbassa. However higher levels of bilingualism in Nancere seem to have a high correlation with the male population and more importantly with those who have Nancere mothers. Eight of the eleven have Nancere mothers.

We can say that the Kabalay community is quite bilingual, in that everyone learns to speak Nancere to some degree and many Kabalay speak more than three languages. However, those individuals who achieve a high degree of mastery in Nancere (FSI level 3 or higher) are mostly those who have Nancere mothers. Nancere is clearly the strongest contender as a second language among Kabalay in both the rural and urban home area. Arabic is less important, nonetheless it is used to some extent by the majority of the population.

## 6 LANGUAGE USE AND VITALITY

In investigating a language with a relatively small population and a high frequency of intermarriage with a related language, a relevant question to the overall sociolinguistic situation concerns the language vitality: will the Kabalay continue to use their language in the future or will the language become extinct in the coming decades?

The Kabalay people themselves believe that their language will continue to be spoken by at least the next generation. When asked if they think that the Kabalay children of the future will continue to speak Kabalay rather than abandon it, all three groups interviewed gave an affirmative answer. However, some question was put forth in Draye Ngolo when asked if their grandchildren would continue to speak Kabalay. The reason for this was the probable increased use of French in the future as the country develops.

However, a much more realistic indicator of language vitality concerns the actual patterns and longitudinal trends in language use by Kabalay speakers in the various domains of communication and life situations.

A few domains of language use that are important in evaluating language vitality are those of personal relationships with spouse, offspring, friends, and coworkers. The responses to the language use questions were fairly consistent. In all these domains, the large majority (eighty-four percent) of respondents reported use of Kabalay only. It was only in the area of wider commerce or relating to health officials that there was significant use of other languages, notably Arabic, Nancere, and Ngambay. Thus in general, Kabalay is used for communication within the community, and a variety of others are used when communicating with those who are not Kabalay. These patterns of language use were consistent across our entire sample, both from the village of Draye Mbassa and Laï, and showed no differences for the younger generation.

In the case of intermarriage, people reported that the wives learned the husband's language and left their mother tongue. This seems to be a social pattern for the entire region, and not just the Kabalay. In general, the couple takes up residence in the husband's village, and the wife does not use her native language in the home. Thus, while Kabalay women marrying out of their ethnic group would be expected to give up speaking Kabalay, women marrying into the group learn Kabalay and use it with their children. So marriages with non-Kabalay are not expected to contribute to language loss.

These habits were borne out in language use patterns seen in our individual interviews. As mentioned previously, we found thirteen examples of marriage with non-Kabalay (eleven among parents of our subjects and two wives of subjects). In all but four cases, the marriage partners spoke Kabalay between themselves and with the children (three among parents of our subjects each spoke his/her mother tongue between spouses; one polygamous man spoke Nancere with his Nancere wife and Kabalay with his Kabalay wife). Thus it does not seem that intermarriage is causing much loss of the Kabalay language.

In the churches, both Protestant and Catholic, activities also center around the use of the Kabalay language. The preaching, announcements, and youth meetings are all conducted in Kabalay except for the EET church in Laï. The pastor says this is so because they have a Bible school in which all classes are conducted in Nancere. However they do give announcements, pray, and sing in Kabalay as well in this church. Public reading of the Bible is done in Nancere or Kabalay (depending on the church), but there is invariably no translation into Kabalay from Nancere, because (we were told) the people in general understand it sufficiently.

Another consideration concerns the people's language use when outside the Kabalay area. When a Kabalay travels to another language area (Nancere, Kim, Gabri, Marba), he is obliged to communicate in another language, since the surrounding people generally do not learn Kabalay. In that case he falls back on whatever other language(s) he can manipulate (most frequently Nancere, Arabic, French, or Ngambay), but such situations in no way detract from his usage of Kabalay whenever possible. Such contacts cause people to learn vehicular languages such as Ngambay and Arabic, but only as much as necessary; they do not generally achieve high levels of proficiency.

The fact that a large portion of the Kabalay community resides outside of the Tandjilé suggests that there is significant migration out of the community, which tends to be to the detriment of the community.

We conclude from this evidence that Kabalay is a vital language at present. However the future of Kabalay is not exactly clear. To predict whether or not a language will continue to be spoken in the future is a difficult and often an impossible task. In particular, the small size of the Kabalay population would tend to militate against strong continued vitality. Urbanization, the fact that many educated Kabalay move to the cities, is another trend that could tend, in the long range, toward language loss.

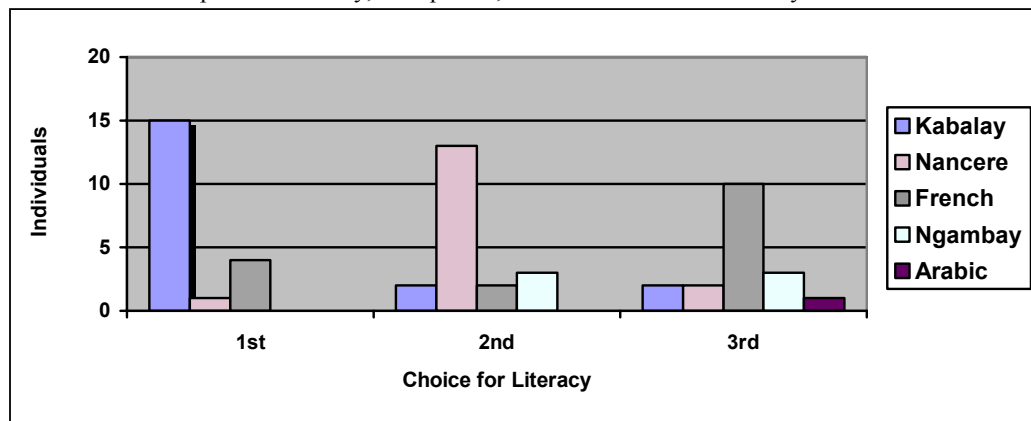
Nonetheless, the Kabalay have a very positive attitude toward their language, and are maintaining it successfully in all the relevant domains; these are very encouraging signs for the future of the language.

## 7 INTEREST OF THE COMMUNITY

In general, the survey team had the feeling that the Kabalay were open to outside involvement in their area. We were warmly welcomed, and the people expressed interest in a language development project, even in our informal discussions.

According to the individual interviews, the Kabalay appear open to literacy. When asked if, given the opportunity, they would be interested in learning to read and write Kabalay, all of the respondents gave an affirmative answer. Many also were open to literacy in other local languages. The following table shows the order of preference for literacy in the Kabalay community.

The choice for first place is Kabalay, as expected, with fifteen out of the twenty individuals



interviewed. A clear second choice is Nancere, with thirteen out of twenty choosing it. The other language that is clearly chosen in third position is French. One cannot assume that all of the respondents had a complete understanding of what becoming literate involves. Nevertheless, this is a positive indication of their openness to a literacy project in general, and to literacy in Kabalay in particular.

The fact that the Kabalay community has already put together and published a songbook in Kabalay is another indication of community interest and involvement in the development of the Kabalay language.

There was even some sentiment expressed by youth in Laï against learning Nancere. To a local Christian worker, the Kabalay seemed defensive about their language and were wanting to protect it from marginalization.

## 8 KABALAY: LANGUAGE OR DIALECT?

Several indicators help to assess the question whether Kabalay should be best considered a variety of Nancere or a distinct language; all of these are related to the criterion of the intelligibility of Nancere by Kabalay speakers: first, the reports of the people themselves; second, the results of intelligibility testing. Because Nancere is a related speech form, the question becomes more complicated. Bilingualism scores must also be considered to gain a better understanding of this question.

Randy Kamp (1992) would describe the relation between Kabalay and Nancere as one that exhibits learning-modified inherent intelligibility. That is, in addition to the understanding that a Kabalay speaker has of Nancere because of linguistic similarity of the speech forms, the contact he has with Nancere increases his ability to understand and speak Nancere.

When asked what language is used when Kabalay speakers meet Nancere speakers, it was the common consensus from all group interviews that each speaks his own speech form and they both understand each other. This demonstrates a passive bilingualism pattern, that is, an ability to understand each other but not necessarily to speak each other's language. In Draye Mbassa however, some Kabalay also speak Nancere when they meet Nancere speakers. Thus there is evidence of some type of active bilingualism, learning to speak the Nancere language.

Respondents from all three group interviews in Laï, Draye Ngolo, and Draye Mbassa assured us that Kabalay children could understand Nancere from a very young age. In Draye Mbassa respondents said that as soon as children understand Kabalay, they can also understand Nancere. This implies that there is a close relationship between the two speech forms inherent in the language itself, however this relationship could also be enhanced by learning as there is extensive contact even from a young age.

There seemed to be some confusion when we asked whether there was anything already written in Kabalay. Some reported that there was a Bible in Kabalay (referring to the Nancere Bible) and others indicated that some part of the lectionary was available in written form in Kabalay. However we were not able to verify if indeed Kabalay religious materials exist, or they were willing to accept the Nancere materials as Kabalay.

Intelligibility testing results also show that there is very good comprehension of Nancere, even though it is not clear to what degree contact plays a role. All subjects accepted for the RTT tests fulfilled the criteria of having both a Kabalay mother and a Kabalay father. Even so, it seems a major source of contact is through intermarriage. Half of the respondents to the individual questionnaires had Nancere mothers. Three of these ten mixed marriages were ones where, when the man spoke to his wife, he spoke Kabalay and the wife replied in Nancere. It is hard to say if this trend is continuing since only two of the sixteen married individuals we interviewed had a Nancere wife. However, of the 11 whose children have married, five married a Nancere spouse. Whether the trend continues or not, it is clear that there is significant contact with the Nancere language through intermarriage. A question that remains is, with this much intermarriage going on, will Kabalay continue to be seen in the future as its own ethnic group or will it eventually lose its identity as a distinct culture and language?

In an effort to gain more insight, we asked questions about ethnicity and social relationships. According to group interviews, Kabalay generally do not consider Nancere their "brothers" except in Draye Mbassa. However, from information gained during individual interviews, eighteen out of the twenty consider Nancere their brothers, while only eleven considered Nancere to be the same ethnic group. There seemed to be a clear distinction when people spoke of Kabalay and Nancere. Even though there may have been some disagreement or confusion in these questions, the results show that Kabalay recognize an ethnic distinction with respect to Nancere, but have good relations with them.

It was reiterated during group interviews that when a Kabalay man marries a non-Kabalay wife, she would learn to speak Kabalay and speak that to her children. This is borne out in our individual interviews. Never was it shown that any parent spoke any language other than Kabalay to their children, even when the parents each speak their own language to each other (with one exception of speaking French in addition to Kabalay).

So the question of inherent intelligibility of Nancere remains somewhat of a mystery. Other methods of evaluating this question would be necessary to get the heart of the question of Kabalay and Nancere.

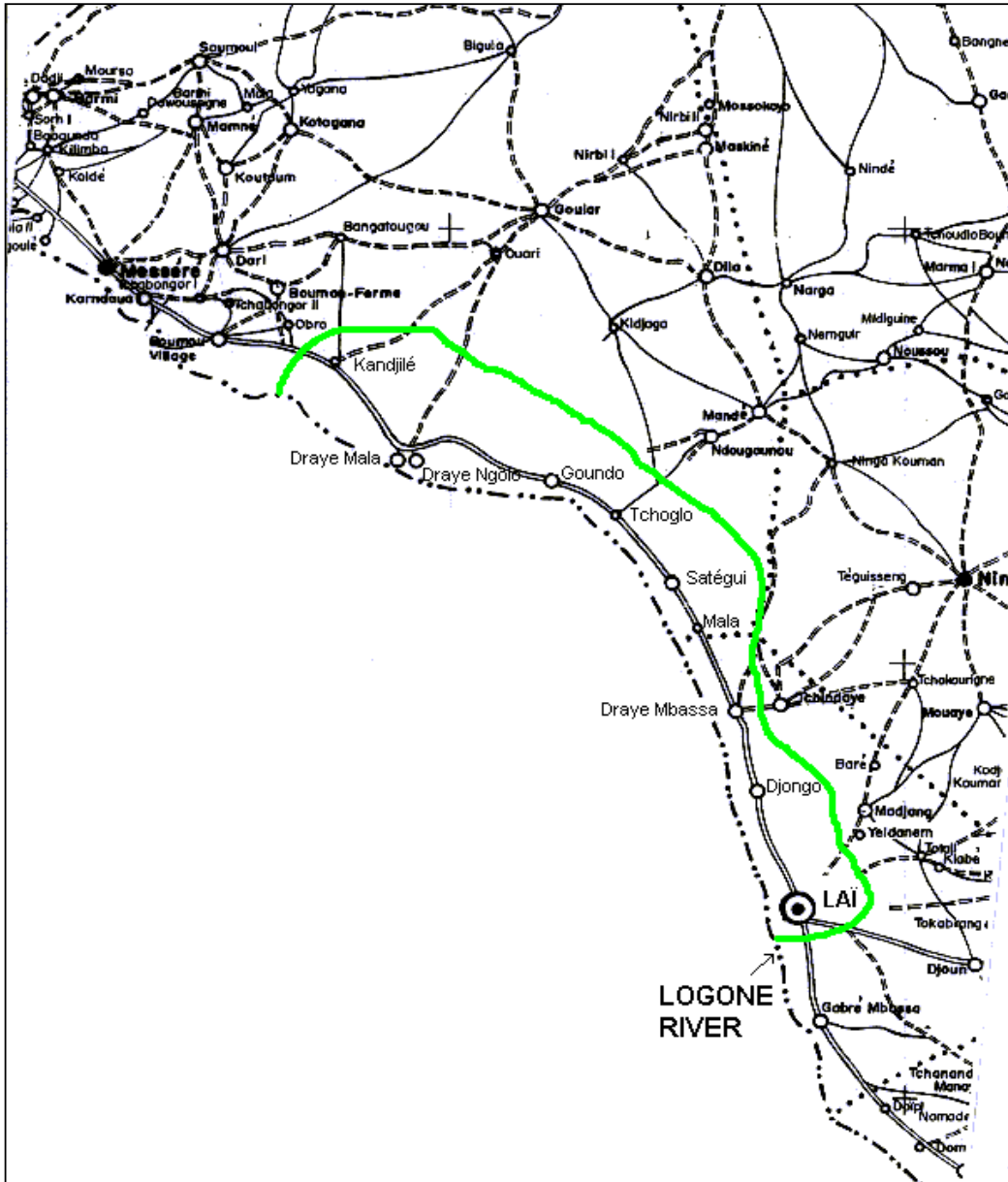
We see from the word list a significant shared lexicon. We were not able to find young monolingual Kabalay speakers for accurate inherent intelligibility testing because contact is so widespread. In light of this, the indicators discussed so far may not be fully adequate in this situation to determine the place of Kabalay with respect to Nancere.

The bilingualism self-evaluation scores show that the ability to actively communicate in Nancere is not evenly spread, as is expected with a different speech form. However, an important factor in attaining an adequate level of Nancere is contact in the home. This seems to imply that in mixed Kabalay-Nancere families, there is significant opportunity for children to hear Nancere being spoken, such that they develop an active ability to communicate in Nancere. However this does not seem to be done at the expense of Kabalay.

It seems best at this point to continue to consider Kabalay as a distinct language, although closely related to Nancere. The fact that only eleven out of the twenty expressed an ability to communicate adequately in Nancere (FSI level 3 or above in active language situations) suggests that contact is needed to enhance a Kabalay speaker's inherent understanding of Nancere in order to speak it well. The fact that those who scored low on the self-evaluation bilingualism questionnaire have less direct contact with Nancere (only two of nine subjects had Nancere mothers) and that the majority were women (seven of nine) gives strong credence to the argument that Nancere is too different for it to be considered the same language.

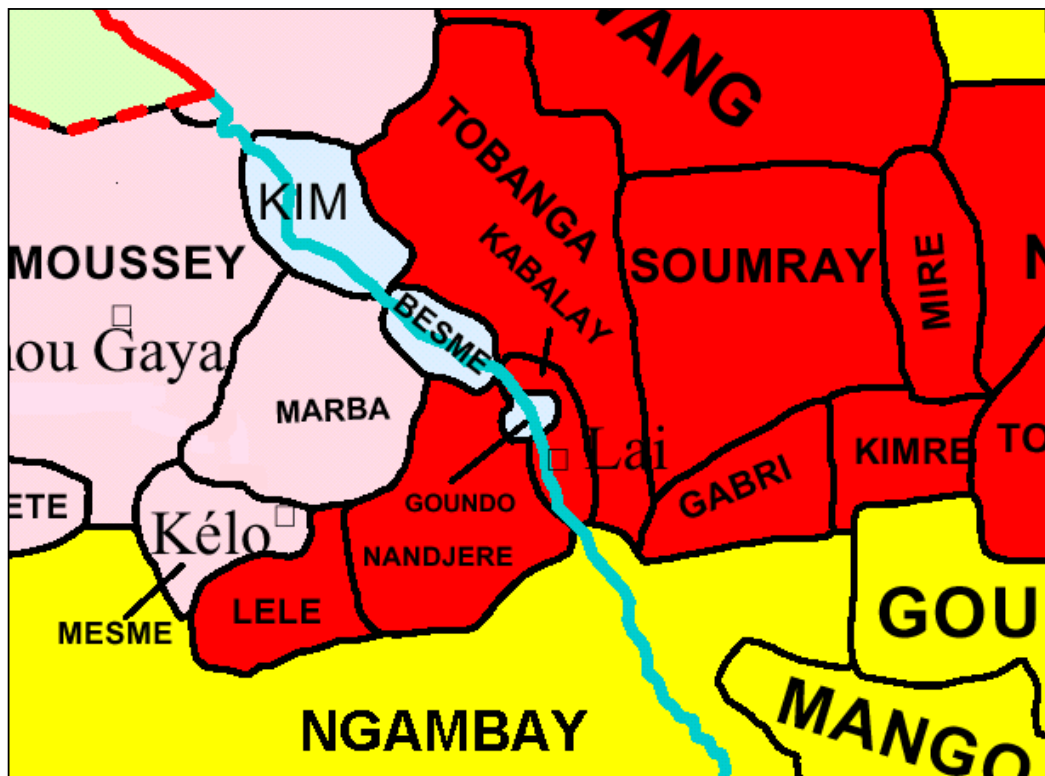
APPENDIX A:

Map of Villages





Area Map



## APPENDIX B: GROUP INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Chercheur(s): \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_ Lieu: \_\_\_\_\_  
 N° d'hommes: \_\_\_\_\_ N° de femmes: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Responsables présents: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Interprète: \_\_\_\_\_ Sa langue: \_\_\_\_\_

### I Situation dialectale

#### (I.a) Identification de dialectes

- 1.1 Comment vous appelez votre propre langue?
- 1.2 Quel est le nom dont les ethnies voisines appellent votre langue?
- 1.3 Comment vous appelez de votre propre ethnie (groupe ethnique, clan)?
- 1.4 Comment est-ce que les ethnies voisines appellent votre ethnie?  
(Qu'est-ce que vous pensez de ce nom-là?)
- 1.5 Quelles sont les origines de votre groupe? Si vous vous êtes déplacés pour venir ici, est-ce qu'il y a d'autres parties de votre groupe qui se sont déplacées ailleurs? Lesquelles?
- 1.6 Quels autres groupes (ethnies, régions) est-ce que vous considérez comme des frères?
- 1.7 Est-ce qu'il y a des conflits, querelles, disputes entre certaines groupes et vous?
- 1.8 Est-ce que tout le monde dans ce village parle la même langue?  
Sinon, quelles autres langues se parlent ici?
- 1.9 Avec les cartes, posez les questions suivantes en commençant avec les villages les plus proches, et continuez aux villages plus loins, jusqu'à tous sont d'une autre langue, ou il semble que les gens ne connaissant plus les villages. Si c'est la même langue, parlée exactement de la même façon, encerclez le nom du village. Si c'est la même langue parlée un peu différent, encerclez mais ajouter un lettre A, B, C, etc. et écrivez (en bas) le nom de cette façon de parler, s'il y en a, avec les différences que les gens constatent entre les deux façons de parler. Si c'est une autre langue, soulignez le village, avec le nom de la langue écrit à côté. Si c'est un village de plusieurs langues, emboîtez le nom du village, et écrivez les noms des autres langues à côté. (Si les abbreviations sont utilisées, donnez une légende pour expliquer. Notez la date, et le village où sont prises les données et le nom d'enquêteur sur chaque carte.)

Quelle langue est-ce qu'on parle dans le village de X?

*Si c'est le même nom que la langue des répondants,*

Est-ce qu'ils parlent exactement comme vous?

Sinon, est-ce que ces gens ont une autre appellation pour leur façon de parler?

Quelles sont les différences entre votre façon de parler et la leur?

Est-ce qu'il y a des difficultés de compréhension?

Est-ce que 100% de ce village parle cette variété?

Sinon, quelles autres variétés sont parlées là-bas?

Est-ce qu'il y a des villages au Cameroun où les gens parlent la même langue que la vôtre?

Exactement de la même façon?

#### (I.b) Intercompréhension entre les parlers et multilinguisme

1.10 Quand vous rencontrez quelqu'un de X / un X,

(a) vous parlez quel dialecte avec lui?

(b) il parle quel dialecte avec vous?

(c) il doit parler lentement ou normalement?

(d) un de vos enfants peut lui comprendre à partir de quel âge?

(endroit) (a) vous parlez? (b) il parle? (c) lentement / normalement (d) âge d'enfant?

\_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

1.11 Lesquelles de ces langues comprenez-vous le plus facilement?

Et après celle-là?

Le plus difficilement?

## II Viabilité et vitalité de la langue

### (II.a) Usage des langues

- 2.1 Quelles langues est-ce que c'est le plus souvent utilisé  
à la maison?  
avec les amis du même âge?  
au champ?  
au marché de (**nom de marché local**)?  
au marché de (**grand marché**)?  
à la clinique / dispensaire?  
à l'école par le maître?  
à l'école par les élèves? peut-on parler (**langue maternelle**)?  
à l'école pendant la récréation par les enfants?  
par les enfants quand ils ne sont pas à l'école, pour jouer?
- 2.2 Est-ce que les jeunes d'ici parlent plus votre langue ou une autre?  
Si un autre, laquelle ou lesquelles?  
C'est un bonne chose ou non? Pourquoi?
- 2.3 Est-ce les jeunes parlent votre langue exactement comme vous la parlez?  
Sinon, quelles sont les différences?
- 2.4 Pensez-vous qu'on continuera à parler votre langue quand les garçons qui sont maintenant petits se marieront?  
Quand ces enfants seront âgés?

### (II.b) Presence de notables au niveau local

- 2.5 Où est-ce que la plupart des notables de cette communauté habitent?
- 2.6 A l'avenir, est-ce ça sera vos jeunes qui vont prendre la relève de ceux qui sont actuellement notables?

### (II.c) Migration et mariage

- 2.7 Est-ce que beaucoup des hommes d'ici se marient avec des femmes qui ne sont pas (**ethnie**)?  
Elles viennent d'où (de quelles ethnies)?
- 2.8 Est-ce que beaucoup de vos filles se marient avec des hommes qui ne sont pas (**ethnie**)? De  
quelles ethnies?
- 2.9 Est-ce qu'il y a certains peuples ou groupes de gens avec qui vous ne vous mariez pas?
- 2.10 Est-ce que la plupart de vos enfants vont à l'école?  
L'école se trouve où (ici ou ailleurs)?  
Quelle(s) école(s)? publique coranique en français en arabe  
spontané officialisé (choisissez plusieurs)
- (Si il y en a plusieurs) Quelle a la plus d'élèves?  
Ils y assistent jusqu'à quel âge d'habitude?
- 2.11 Est-ce que la plupart de vos enfants vont à l'école secondaire?  
Que font la plupart des enfants après avoir terminé leurs études?
- 2.12 Est-ce qu'il y a des enfants qui viennent de l'extérieur pour assister à l'école ici? D'où?
- 2.13 Est-ce qu'il y a des étrangers qui viennent ici régulièrement?

Est-ce qu'il y a des étrangers qui habitent ici?

Est-ce qu'ils sont nombreux au village? (un quart, moitié)

### III Religion

3.1 La plupart des gens pratiquent la religion traditionnelle, l'islam ou le christianisme?

Au village:

Sur l'étendue de la langue:

3.2 Parmi les chrétiens, il y a quelles églises?

Laquelle est la plus grande?

La deuxième?

### IV Attitudes linguistiques

4.1 Si quelqu'un voulait donner un discours sur un sujet important ici, et il y avait trois locuteurs, l'un parlait langue X, un langue Y, l'autre Z, mais il n'y a personne qui parlait [variant du village], lequel écoutez-vous?

Et si cette langue n'était pas là? Et si c'est seulement [langue qui reste]?

4.2 Est-ce que vous voudriez apprendre à lire et écrire en X? en Y? en Z?

4.3 Quelle langue est-ce que vous préférez apprendre à lire et à écrire? Et si celle-là n'était pas disponible? Et si celle-là n'était pas disponible?

*(donnez une prompte si c'est nécessaire)*

4.4 Est-ce qu'il existe des choses écrites en votre langue?

(par exemple des chants, des prières, des portions des livres ou de la Bible)

4.5 Où est-ce qu'on parle le mieux votre langue?

Dans quelle autre région est-ce qu'on parle aussi très bien?

4.6 Avez-vous une fois réalisé vous-mêmes des projets tels que la construction de puits, d'écoles, de routes, de dispensaires?

4.7 Est-ce que vous seriez prêts à faire quelque chose vous-mêmes pour réaliser un projet d'alphabétisation?

## APPENDIX C: INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

0.1 Enquêteur:

0.2 Date:

0.3 Lieu de l'enquête:

### I Présentation du Sujet

- 1.1 Comment vous appelez-vous? (Sexe)
- 1.2 Vous avez quel âge?
- 1.3 Quelle est votre métier?
- 1.4 Est-ce que vous partez à l'église? Laquelle?
- 1.5 Etes-vous allé(e) à l'école? Jusqu'à quelle classe?
- 1.6 a. Où êtes vous né(e)?  
b. (Si pas ici) Depuis quand est-ce que vous avez habité ce village?  
c. Où est-ce que vous avez habité pendant au moins un an?  
Endroit                      Combien de temps?                      Quelle langue est-ce vous avez parlé là-bas?
- 1.7 a. Quelles langues parlez-vous, même un peu? (notez le nom utilisé par le sujet)  
b. Quelles langues comprenez-vous seulement?
- 1.8 Quelle est la langue maternelle de votre père?
- 1.9 Quelle est la langue maternelle de votre mère?
- 1.10 Votre père et mère parlent/parlaient quelle langue entre eux?
- 1.11 Quelle est la langue maternelle de votre mari/(vos) femme(s)?
- 1.12 a. Si votre enfant(s) est déjà marié, son époux(se) parle quelle langue? (notez nombre et sexe)  
b. Et ils parlent quelle(s) langue(s) entre eux à la maison?  
c. Vos petits-enfants parlent quelle langue?
- 1.13 a. Est-ce que les Nancere parlent la même langue que vous?  
b. Si oui, exactement?  
c. Quelle est la langue qui ressemble le plus à la vôtre?
- 1.14 a. Est-ce que les Nancere sont comme vos frères ou comme des étrangers?  
b. Est-ce que vous êtes tous de la même ethnie ?

### II Usage de Langues / Multilinguisme

- 2.1 Quelles sont les langues que vos enfants savent parler?
- 2.2 Quelle(s) langue(s) parlent vos enfants en jouant avec d'autres enfants?
- 2.3 Quelle langue parlez-vous
  - a. avec votre mari/femme(s)?
  - b. avec vos enfants?
  - c. avec vos ami(e)s du même âge?
  - d. au marché local?
  - e. au grand marché à ...?
  - f. aux champs?
  - g. avec le chef de canton?
  - h. à l'hôpital?

Quand vous êtes chez un ...

*groupe/ langue* a. vous parlez? b. il répond? c. normalement/ f. enfant comprend e. groupes qui ne  
lentement?                      à quel âge?                      parlent pas bien

2.4

2.5

2.6

### III Développement de la Langue

- 3.1 a. Si des publications écrites en votre langue n'étaient pas encore disponibles, mais il y avait des journaux et des livres dans la langue X, est-ce que vous voudriez apprendre à lire et à écrire dans X?  
b. Pourquoi?
- 3.2 a. Quelles villes et villages sont les plus importants et prestigieux de la région où votre langue est parlée ? C'est-à-dire les centres de la région ? Et à part votre village?  
b. Pourquoi (qu'est-ce qui s'y passe)?
- 3.3 Où parle-t-on le mieux votre langue? Si un étranger veut apprendre votre langue, où doit-il s'installer pour apprendre le ... pur? Et à part votre village?

- 3.4 a. Imaginez que trois hommes vont donner un discours très important dans trois endroits différents du village. L'un va le donner en X, l'un en Y et l'autre en Z. S'il faut choisir, lequel vous est-ce vous écouteriez?
- b. Est si celui n'était pas là? [La langue maternelle n'est pas dedans].

#### IV Self-Evaluation Bilingualism Questionnaire (SEBQ)

Adapted from the U.S. Foreign Service Institute Testing Kit by J. S. Quakenbush.

To score at a certain level, the subject must respond appropriately to all questions on that level and on all preceding levels. In addition, to score a level + the subject must respond appropriately to two of the questions on the following level.

FSI 0+

- A. Pouvez-vous parler le **L2**, même un peu?
- 

FSI 1

- A. Quand quelqu'un vous pose les questions suivantes en **L2**, pouvez-vous comprendre et répondre correctement en **L2**: Quel est votre village? Etes-vous marié(e)? Quel est votre travail? Quand et où êtes-vous né(e)?
- B. Quand quelqu'un vous demande le chemin à prendre pour arriver à l'école la plus proche, pouvez-vous lui indiquer le chemin en **L2**?
- 

FSI 2

- A. Pouvez-vous bien expliquer à quelqu'un votre travail en parlant seulement en **L2**? (par exemple, pouvez-vous expliquer à un(e) orphelin(e) **L2** le travail des champs?)
- B. Pouvez-vous raconter en **L2** comment vous vivez maintenant et ce que vous comptez faire à l'avenir?
- C. Pouvez-vous engager quelqu'un pour travailler pour vous et lui indiquer le salaire, les heures de travail et le travail à faire, tout cela en **L2**? (par ex. engager un **L2** pour transporter le mil de du champ à votre maison)
- 

FSI 3

- A. Quand deux **L2** en colère se disputent, pouvez-vous comprendre tout ou bien certaines choses vont vous échapper? (par ex.: quand deux femmes **L2** se chamaillent au marché?)
- B. Etes-vous sûr(e) de toujours comprendre tout ce qu'on vous dit en **L2**? Ou bien avez-vous peur parfois de ne pas connaître le sens de certains mots?
- C. Supposons que vous venez d'écouter deux personnes parler dans votre langue sur un sujet intéressant. Un(e) **L2** qui ne parle pas votre langue vous demande de quoi on a parlé. Pouvez-vous reprendre pour lui, en **L2**, de quoi il s'agit?
- D. Est-ce qu'il est toujours facile pour vous de comprendre et de parler avec des **L2**? Ou bien cela vous semble parfois difficile?
- E. Pouvez-vous bien disputer en **L2**?
- F. Pouvez-vous parler avec un groupe de chefs en utilisant seulement le **L2** et être sûr(e) de dire tout ce que vous voulez dire sans blesser ni amuser les chefs?
- \*G. Etes-vous toujours capable de compléter toutes vos phrases en **L2**? Ou bien est-ce qu'il vous faut parfois vous arrêter, réfléchir et reprendre?
- 

FSI 4

- A. Pouvez-vous facilement changer votre façon de parler le **L2** suivant que vous vous adressez à votre ami ou à un chef de village **L2**? (pouvez-vous parler aussi poliment aux chefs **L2** que les **L2** eux-mêmes, ou votre langage sera-t-il un peu plus simple?)
- B. Est-ce que vous pouvez travailler comme interprète auprès d'un chef **L2** (ou sa femme)?
- C. Dans toute discussion sur n'importe quel sujet avec des **L2**, est-ce que vous utilisez toujours les mots justes? Vous arrivez toujours à exprimer le sens précis de votre pensée? Ou bien les mots viennent parfois un peu difficilement et vous devez contourner un peu à gauche et à droite?
- D. Pouvez-vous bien parler en **L2**, même quand vous êtes fâché(e)? Pouvez-vous vous chamailler d'égal à égal avec un **L2** et tout lui dire en sa langue? Ou est-ce que vous aurez parfois besoin de finir dans votre langue?

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FSI 5

- A. Connaissez-vous autant de mots en **L2** qu'en votre propre langue? (connaissez-vous tous les noms des arbres, des fleurs, des animaux de brousse, de tout ce que vous voyez devant vous?)
- B. Dans votre tête, est-ce que les idées vous viennent plus souvent en **L2** qu'en votre propre langue?
- C. Parlez-vous le **L2** exactement comme un **L2**?
- D. Lorsque des **L2** vous entendent parler le **L2** sans vous voir (p.ex. si on enregistre votre parole sur une cassette), est-ce qu'ils vont dire: "voilà un(e) **L2** qui parle!" ou bien "celui-là (celle-là) n'est pas **L2**!"

## APPENDIX D: Word Lists

	French	Kabalay	Nancere
1	tete	tʃaj	tʃa
2	cheveu(x)	kəsbərə	kusardə
3	oeil	tʃidi	tr
4	nez	ʔindi	dʒində
5	oreille	sami	səma
6	bouche	ʔoli	kwoβə
7	dent	kasndi	kāde
8	langue	klandi	klandə
9	cou	kosi	kwarə
10	gorge	təmi	təmə
11	bras	kəbi	kəbə
12	main	DISQUALIFIED	DISQUALIFIED
13	doigt	kəbəkranɡə	kəbəkwarə
14	ongle	ɡusmaj	ɡusma
15	sein	kuba	kuba
16	ventre	kusi	kusə
17	nombriil	dendi	dane
18	dos	kasi	karə
19	fesse	tuwəj	tuwə
20	jambe	tabi	ɡwarə
21	genou	ɡubaj	ɡuba
22	pied	DISQUALIFIED	DISQUALIFIED
23	peau	bala	kobla
24	os	ʔəsə	əsə
25	sang	kabrə	kubra
26	urine	tʃəbrə	tʃəbrə
27	coeur	DISQUALIFIED	DISQUALIFIED
28	homme	ba	ba
29	femme	tamə	tamə
30	enfant	kunɡə	kwarə
31	pere	ba	ba
32	mere	ʔijə	da
33	frere	kindəŋ	kwomə
34	soeur	tamdəŋ	təmə
35	oncle maternel	kuna	kuna
36	nom	kusi	kusə
37	chef	kumalə	kumalə
38	chien	gara	gra
39	chevre	tu	tu
40	poulet	tuurə	tuurə
41	vache/boeuf	sī	sī
42	corne	tʃəmdi	tʃəmdə
43	queue	tʃindi	tʃində
44	chameau	nəma	djambal
45	elephant	dʒuune	dʒuune



46	serpent	koməla	kaalə
47	poisson	kusa	kusa
48	oiseau	tʃərə	tʃərə
49	fourmi	DISQUALIFIED	DISQUALIFIED
50	araignee	baqbaq	ləqər
51	scorpion	dəsəndə	bəsələ
52	pou de tete	gərsa	gərsa
53	arbre	hara	da
54	branche	harakəbi	dakəbi
55	feuille	harasami	dasəməj
56	ecorce	harakasi	dakari
57	racine	sari	dasari
58	fleur	bī	bī
59	(graine de) semence	kasa	kasi
60	herbe	harma	hanə
61	ciel	danə	danə
62	nuage	mulali	kumäləgri
63	soleil	təsa	tisə
64	lune	kədərə	kədərə
65	nuit	dəma	dələ
66	etoile	təsa	tisə
67	vent	kalə	kalə
68	terre	kəsəŋga	kəsə
69	colline	koruwuŋgə	wuŋgə
70	pierre	kudʒə	?asə
71	sable	kəlija	kəlija
72	poussiere	kudə	kudə
73	caillou	dʒəqələj	dʒəqələ
74	eau	kamə	ka
75	rosee	surə	sərə
76	riviere	kurājə	kurijə
77	feu	tuwa	tuwa
78	fumee	kasə	?usijə
79	braise	kudʒələ	kusələrə
80	an	dəqəl	dəqəl
81	saison pluvieuse	krndə	karbijə
82	saison seche	drtaba	antəba
83	village	nandə	na
84	champ	jogə	jagə
85	chemin	kərəj	kərgə
86	maison	?ja	?ja
87	lit	kasələ	tərbə
88	trou	?imgə	ʃogəl
89	ordure	gobə	gobə
90	habit	badəgə	bədəgə
91	calebasse	wi	dəŋgə
92	marmite	dəqələ	dəqələ

93	viande	kəŋga	sī
94	sel	đuugə	đuugə
95	huile	sūŋgə	sūwa
96	oeuf	kəsərəj	kəsər
97	lait	kuba	kuba
98	faim	kurŋgə	təmə
99	soif	tʃəmkamə	tʃəmka
100	corde	dagə	gagə
101	fer	wulma	wulma
102	couteau	dəsi	dasi
103	guerre	dʒurə	dudzi
104	un	pəna	pəna
105	deux	suwa	suwə
106	trois	sap	sap
107	quatre	pəri	pəri
108	cinq	bəj	baj
109	six	dʒi	mənəŋ
110	sept	dʒərgum	matal
111	huit	margum	pərpəndə
112	neuf	təgəs	tʃələ
113	dix	gwara	gwara
114	onze	gwaratʃajpəna	gwarakargipəna
115	vingt	gwarsuwa	gwarasuwa
116	cent	kəs	kəs
117	beaucoup	bədja	bədʒa
118	peu	di	di
119	tout	pət	pət
120	bon	kura	kura
121	mauvais	suma	sija
122	vieux	agwa	?agə
123	nouveau	?ərwa	ruwə
124	chaud	hədələ	heluwa
125	froid	sədələ	sədələ
126	haute taille	hənə	hənə
127	petite taille	gwadzə	gwadzə
128	long	DISQUALIFIED	DISQUALIFIED
129	court	DISQUALIFIED	DISQUALIFIED
130	lourd	nija	nija
131	leger	hamələ	hambələ
132	plein	wən	?wən
133	vide	jəbəj	gəna
134	propre	?afi	?alija
135	sale	məla	məla
136	sec	hajə	hajə
137	rouge	jilə	jilə
138	noir	?əndə	?əndə

139	blanc	burwa	bərə
140	partir	baʔər	baʔər
141	venir	baʔagə	baʔagə
142	arriver	DISQUALIFIED	DISQUALIFIED
143	se lever	basəjdənə	basəjdənə
144	s'asseoir	badjəndəj	bamədagə
145	se coucher	bajədəj	badidagə
146	tomber	baba	baba
147	marcher	DISQUALIFIED	DISQUALIFIED
148	courir	bagər	bagur
149	nager	banal	banal
150	voler (oiseau)	bəsəj	bəsəj
151	voir	bagwal	bagwal
152	entendre	batʃəgə	badəŋgəl
153	sentir (odorat)	baduwa	baduwa
154	engendrer	bajaj	bajaj
155	mourir	bama	bama
156	dormir	bajukuna	badikuna
157	souffler	bapikalə	bapi
158	siffler	babəjgwosa	bajdzippgusə
159	enfler	basadə	basadə
160	sucer	baʔəjəm	baʔijim
161	cracher	batəpkalə	batəmbəlkalə
162	tousser	baʔuuse	baʔwasə
163	vomir	babədəl	babəlu
164	aboyer	batər	batər
165	mordre	bajədə	bajər
166	manger	baləj	baləj
167	boire	basə	basə
168	vouloir	bagəj	bagəj
169	avoir peur	bamərə	baladzə
170	savoir	basəl	basən
171	penser/reflechir	bakərp	bakrəp
172	compter	badəgən	batəp
173	souffrir/avoir mal	bagaltʃindi	bagəltri
174	rire	baʔasi	baʔasu
175	pleurer	baʔalə	baʔələ
176	dire	bajə	bajə
177	demander	batuwəndə	batuwən
178	chanter	baʔejkra	baʔejkra
179	danser	basəkra	basəkra
180	jouer	basuur	basuur
181	donner	babə	babə
182	montrer	bagəl	bagəl
183	envoyer	bagwi	bagwi
184	acheter	bakəl	bakəl
185	se marier	baʔejtamə	baʔejtamə

186	lutter	baləməla	bakəp
187	tuer	badər	badər
188	voler (derober)	bakuj	bakuj
189	prendre	baʔəj	baʔəj
190	amener	baʔagəsəŋ	baʔagədəŋ
191	chercher	badagər	bapədəm
192	trouver	bahap	bahap
193	pousser	basəgəl	basəgəl
194	tirer	baɸuwa	baɸuwa
195	lier/attacher	basar	basar
196	frapper	batə	batəgər
197	fendre	bagaj	bakaju
198	gratter	bakər	bakra
199	presser	basər	basir
200	laver (quelque chose)	bapəl	bapəl
201	bruler	bahəl	bahəl
202	lancer	bawarī	badəp
203	verser	babəjtʃa	babəjtʃaŋ
204	enterrer	baʔim	baʔum
205	caler	bawusə	balaʃ
206	travailler	baləgwijə	balugwijə
207	balayer	bahan	bahan
208	tresser	bagar	bagar
209	cultiver	bajaga	bajak
210	préparer (la nourriture)	banəj	banəj
211	ici	korkō	kwərha
212	pres	məra	məra
213	là-bas	kəni	wa
214	loin	mari	mari
215	à droite	kəriba	kərba
216	à gauche	kəriqula	kərqula
217	maintenant	dʒogdʒok	tʃoktʃok
218	hier	nəŋga	naŋgə
219	demain	wəjnde	wəjnde
220	ou	niiga	məŋga
221	quand	wadəga	wadəga
222	comment	mənaga	məga
223	qui	wəŋga	wəjga
224	quoi	məga	nəməga
225	je/moi	ʔwunəŋ	ʔwən
226	tu/toi	tʃəbaŋ	gəŋ
227	il/lui	bā	baŋ
228	elle/lui	mənəŋ	təŋ

## APPENDIX E: TEXTS AND COMPREHENSION QUESTIONS

**Kabalay** Text narrated by Kosenga Modeng Kengele.

La parole d'aller à la pêche on nous apprenait. On nous disait lorsque l'hippopotame nous attaque dans l'eau, "voilà ce que tu devais faire lorsque l'hippopotame t'attaque avec la pirogue:<sup>6</sup> il faut rentrer sous l'eau, mais il ne faut pas aller vers l'autre côté, ni revenir vers le bord de l'autre côté non plus. Il faut prendre la direction du nord [en avale].<sup>7</sup> Si tu es sous l'eau, il ne faut pas aller jusqu'à toucher la terre ni flotter sur l'eau. Il faut prendre le milieu d'eau. Il faut couper la souffle pendant longtemps et il ne faut pas sortir." C'est ce qu'on m'a appris et ça a resté dans mon cerveau.

Un jour mon cousin [l'oncle paternel] est venu m'appeler<sup>8</sup> que nous allons à la pêche, dans l'endroit où se trouve les hippopotames. Même pendant le jour, je les voyais, moi aussi.

On est allé à la pêche. Nous avons mis le filet dans l'eau et l'hippopotame avait pris le filet avec son pied sur le sol. Mon cousin m'a dit de descendre dans l'eau, et je lui ai dit que je ne veux pas.<sup>9</sup> Il m'a dit de descendre dans l'eau, et je lui ai dit que je ne veux pas descendre mais il m'a tapé avec la perche à la tête.<sup>10</sup> Il m'a dit de descendre dans l'eau - c'est seulement le rocher qui a retenu le filet. Lorsque je suis tombé dans l'eau avec force, l'hippopotame avait fuit et il va revenir après. Lorsque l'hippopotame avait fuit, mon cousin avait retiré la pirogue pour le bord.<sup>11</sup> Lorsqu'il est reparti au bord, moi, je sais que c'est l'hippopotame. L'hippopotame est allé un peu à l'écart, il est sorti pour voir et moi aussi je suis sorti pour voir. Je suis rentré sous l'eau et j'ai pris le milieu comme on m'avait appris. L'hippopotame m'a cherché mais il ne m'a pas trouvé. Il m'a précédé, et il ne m'a pas trouvé. Il est sorti là où j'étais tombé avant. Il a vu comment mon cousin n'était pas là. Il est resté au bord. Moi, j'avais devancé l'hippopotame aussi. Lorsque je l'avais devancé, il est sorti. Il m'a vu au nord et il voulait me suivre, mais l'eau était en train de le pousser et il ne pouvait pas.

Cet enseignement de nos parents j'avais encrané et j'étais sauvé. Lorsque je me suis sauvé, j'étais entré sous l'eau et j'étais sorti dehors. Quand j'avais regagné mon cousin je n'avais pas de force, je ne faisais que le regarder.<sup>12</sup> J'avais un tremblement à moi, parce que j'étais sorti de la mort, j'ai rejoint mon cousin, mais il m'a dit qu'il ne m'a pas fait du mal.<sup>13</sup>

(C'est ce qu'on nous a appris, nous les jeunes de maintenant.)

Celui qui m'a fait ainsi m'a demandé, "est-ce que tu as ça à la tête?" Lorsque je suis sorti, il m'a dit que je suis un brave garçon et que je suis à mesure de faire quelque chose de bon demain. C'est ce que mon cousin m'avait fait comme mauvais; il m'a dit qu'il m'a montré comment se prendre dans l'eau.<sup>14</sup>

C'est ce qu'on nous apprenait à la pêche, pour que nous partions pêcher. Si ce n'était pas ça, j'allais mourir dans l'eau.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>Qu'est-ce qui t'attaque dans l'eau? L'hippopotame.

<sup>7</sup>Il faut prendre quelle direction? Le nord / en avale.

<sup>8</sup>Qui est venu m'appeler? Mon cousin / oncle paternel.

<sup>9</sup>Qu'est-ce j'ai répondu? "Je ne veux pas." [descendre dans l'eau]

<sup>10</sup>Il m'a tapé avec quoi? La perche.

<sup>11</sup>Mon cousin avait fait quoi? Retiré la pirogue vers le bord.

<sup>12</sup>Qu'est-ce j'ai fait après avoir regagné mon cousin? Je n'ai fait que le regarder / trembler.

<sup>13</sup>Qu'est-ce mon cousin a dit? Qu'il ne m'avait pas fait du mal.

<sup>14</sup>Qu'est-ce mon cousin a dit? Qu'il m'avait montré comment se défendre dans l'eau.

<sup>15</sup>Si je n'avais pas appris quoi faire, qu'est-ce qui serait passer? J'allais mourir dans l'eau.

### Nanchere Text

Nous sommes allés à la chasse. Nous sommes allés à “Kableu.”<sup>16</sup> C'est une chasse lointaine, il y a beaucoup de gens qui sont allés là-bas. Les gens sont allés avec les chevaux et avec les chiens.<sup>17</sup> Il y a aussi ceux qui sont allés à pied. Ils ont poursuivi les gibiers de loin. Le gibier est venu et je me suis couché sur une monticule.<sup>18</sup> Le gibier est venu vers moi et j'ai lancé le gibier avec mon couteau de jet.<sup>19</sup> Le gibier a fuit et moi, je suis à pied, j'ai poursuivi le gibier jusqu'à. Je suis revenu et quand je suis arrivé ils ont attrapé un autre gibier et ils ont resté avec. Ma force était aussi fini. Ceux qui sont venu à cheval ont coupé le gibier en morceaux<sup>20</sup> et ils n'ont gardé que la tête pour moi qui l'a tué. J'ai amené sa tête là jusqu'à la maison. Mes pères sont dans la joie. Mes mères sont dans la joie. Beaucoup de gens sont dans la joie. Ils ont poussé les cries de youyou, et ils ont fait beaucoup de choses sur le gibier là. Ils ont chanté l'hymne de victoire du temps jadis et ont coupé une branche de l'arbre. Ils l'ont planté devant la concession et ont pris les cornes du gibier pour mettre dessus.<sup>21</sup> Moi, le propriétaire qui l'a tué là, je suis arrivé en chemin et beaucoup de gens sont venus derrière moi et j'ai sifflé sur ma corne aux gens à haute voix et mon père a entendu que c'est son fils qui est allé au champ et qui revient et siffle dans sa corne. Mon père aussi qui est resté à la maison a pris sa corne et sifflé aussi. C'est ce que j'ai tué, amené. Et j'ai ramassé mon argent à la maison, partagé aux gens et j'ai acheté de la boisson aussi pour les gens;<sup>22</sup> j'ai amené différentes choses. J'ai amené beaucoup de choses et mis par terre aux gens. Nous avons dansé avec jusqu'à l'aube et le lendemain.

Je suis reparti en brousse avec le cheval,<sup>23</sup> j'ai lancé un gibier et il est allé mourir en brousse<sup>24</sup> et s'est décomposé et c'est les gens d'un autre village qui sont allés découvrir en brousse. C'est le deuxième gibier. C'est la joie de toi le laboureur; ta force c'est de tuer les animaux sauvages seulement.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>16</sup>Où sommes nous allés? A la chasse Kableu.

<sup>17</sup>Les gens sont allés avec quoi? Les chevaux et les chiens.

<sup>18</sup>Où est-ce que je me suis couché? Sur une monticule.

<sup>19</sup>Avec quoi lancé-je le gibier? Couteau de jet.

<sup>20</sup>Qu'est-ce que les gens à cheval ont fait? Coupé le gibier.

<sup>21</sup>Qu'est-ce qu'ils ont coupé pour planter devant la concession? Une branche de l'arbre.

<sup>22</sup>Qu'est-ce que j'ai acheté aux gens? De la boisson.

<sup>23</sup>Où suis-je allé? En brousse [de nouveau].

<sup>24</sup>Qu'est-ce que j'ai fait? Lancé un gibier.

<sup>25</sup>Quelle est la force de la laboureur? C'est de tuer les animaux.

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