SOCIOLINGUISTIC SURVEY REPORT

FOR THE MARAKA-JULA ETHNIC GROUP

WRITTEN BY: BYRON AND ANNETTE HARRISON

Contents

Maraka-Jula Survey Report

0 Introduction and Goals of the Survey

The following is a report of a sociolinguistic survey conducted among the Maraka-Jula of western Burkina Faso by Anne-Marie Giminez, Béatrice Tiendrébéogo, Zanga Traoré, and Byron and Annette Harrison. The first trip to the language area took place in February 1996, and the second trip took place in May of the same year. The survey had as its primary purpose to gather basic sociolinguistic information about the people calling themselves Maraka-Jula. The following goals were proposed to this end:

♦ Collect basic demographic information, as well as data concerning language use, language attitudes, and bilingualism, using group and individual questionnaires.

♦ Collect a word list using a list of 230 words chiefly in order to measure lexical similarity between Maraka-Jula and the related languages of Bolon and Jula.

♦ Collect a text for further study.

♦ Administer a Recorded Text Test in Jula.

♦ Carry out bilingualism testing in Jula using the Jula Sentence Repetition Test.

1 General Information

1.1 Language Name and Classification

Maraka-Jula as a speech variety is not classified in any publication that we were able to obtain. To date, it has been grouped under the Bolon language (Ethnologue code BOF). Although the people themselves deny that they are Bolon, their language closely resembles Bolon. The Bolon language is classified in the following manner: Niger-Congo, Mandé, Western, Northwestern, Northern, Greater Mandekan, Mandekan, Manding (Grimes 1992). Other closely related languages include Marka-Dafin, Jula, and Bambara.

1.2 Language Location

Maraka-Jula is spoken in the village of Téoulé which is situated in the Department of N'dorola, Province of Kénédougou (see figure 1.2.1). The village is on the edge of a swampy area, a few kilometers from the road leading to N'dorola. The village of Faramana in the same province, is also reported to be Maraka-Jula, however we were unable to confirm this.

Neighboring languages include Bolon, Senoufo languages, Mooré, Bobo-Madaré, Samogho, and Fulfulde.

Figure 1.2.1
Language Area

Localisation de la région Maraka-Jula
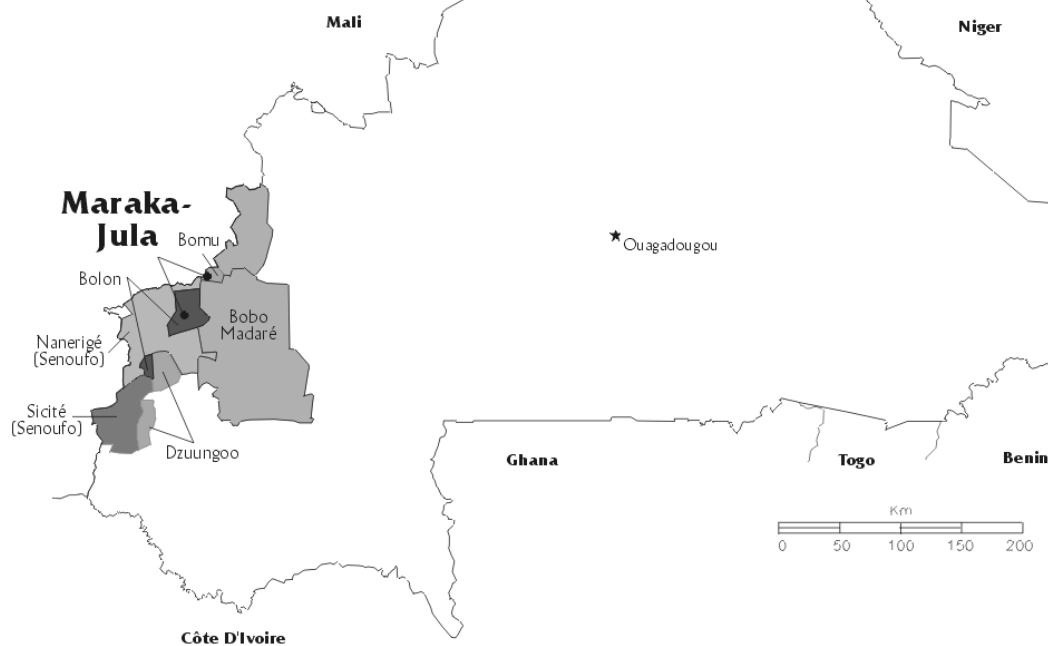
1.3 Population

According to figures from the 1985 census, the population of the village of Téoulé is between 1,100–1,400 people.

1.4 Accessibility and Transport

1.4.1 Roads: Quality and Availability

Téoulé is accessible by regional highway 26, an unpaved road which has recently been graded. The actual trail from the regional highway to the village is a little difficult to follow and can become impassable during the rainy season to all but foot and two-wheel traffic.

1.4.2 Public Transport Systems

Choices of travel are limited to privately owned bike or moped. Public or commercial transport by bus, bush taxi, or private merchants, is possible on an irregular basis from N'dorola.

1.4.3 Trails

There are several trails between Téoulé and nearby villages which allow for contact by foot, bike, and moped between villages that are not separated by too great a distance.

1.5 Religious Adherence

1.5.1 Religious Life

Each person we interviewed in Téoulé stated that all Maraka-Jula are Muslim.

1.5.2 Christian Presence

There is a small Christian presence in the area through two missionary families in N'dorola who work with the Senoufo. They have been there since the early 1980s. There is an Assemblies of God church in N'dorola, as well as a Catholic mission.

1.6 Schools/Education

1.6.1 Types, Sites, and Size of Schools

The school in Téoulé was built in 1992. There are three classes which alternate years so as to cover all six elementary levels. Approximately 100 students attend school; we estimate this to be nearly half of the number of eligible children. Téoulé's enrollment therefore compares favorably with that of the province as a whole. According to the MEBAM statistics of 1994–1995, 48% of Kénédougou Province's boys attended school, while only 26% of girls attended (MEBAM 1996).[1] The people we questioned asserted that parents do not find it difficult to send their children to school, as it is within their means.

---

[1]Kénédougou Province lies on the middle of the scale if one is to compare their rate of scolarisation with that of the other provinces of Burkina. The rates of scolarisation vary from Gnagna Province's 11% to Kadiogo's 80%.

Table 1.6.1.1
Statistics for the Primary School in Téoulé, 1992–1993

Province	Department	Village	Date of School Opening	Grade Levels	Total Students	Number of Girls	Number of Boys
Kénédougou	N'Dorola	Téoulé	1992	3	66	20	46

The language of instruction is French, though apparently the school teachers speak Jula from time to time with the students. In order to continue their education, students must travel to N'dorola or Samorogouan, or even as far as Bobo-Dioulasso.

Téoulé has a Koranic school. Other education in the area includes a private school in N'dorola, as well as a CFJA (Centre de Formation des Jeunes Agriculteurs) school which teaches basic literacy and math skills. The language of instruction at the CFJA is Jula. The government has also initiated other literacy programs in Jula in N'dorola.

1.7 Facilities and Economics

1.7.1 Supply Needs

The economic situation in Téoulé is similar to that of most rural Burkina Faso: the people are farmers, and in addition, some have small herds of livestock. Extra supplies of staple grains are also used to generate small amounts of income. The closest market is in N'dorola, where the Maraka-Jula trade with the Bolon, Mossi, Fulani, Senoufo, and Bobo.

One result of meeting people of other ethnic groups is bilingualism, and in the case of the Maraka, bilingualism in Jula. It is important to note that this mixture of people groups is a strong characteristic of the market scene. Such gatherings provide the opportunity to gain at least a minimal proficiency in Jula, though in some cases only a minimal proficiency.

The Maraka-Jula have at their disposal, if not within their means, the basic goods that they need to carry on their lives.

1.7.2 Medical Needs

As is true for all of Burkina Faso, medical treatment is an area of great need. In the province of Kénédougou where the Maraka-Jula are located, the ratio of people to doctors is 100,000:1 (Laclavère 1993:49). There is a dispensary in N'dorola; for any other care the Maraka-Jula must travel to Bobo-Dioulasso. Two obstacles hinder those who need more urgent medical care: the distance to reach pharmacies, clinics, and hospitals; and the means to pay for the treatment.

1.7.3 Governmental Facilities in the Area

There is a prefecture office in N'dorola, as well as a post office, telephone facilities, and a police barracks.

1.8 Traditional Culture

1.8.1 History

The Maraka-Jula insist that their presence in the area predates the arrival of the Bolon and of the Senoufo, and that these two groups are their traditional enemies. Their traditional customs do not resemble those of the Bolon or the Senoufo, but their dances are like the dances of the Jula.

The Bolon maintain that the people of Téoulé follow Bolon customs and traditions and speak the Bolon language; however, they admit that the Bolon spoken in Téoulé is very difficult for them to understand. Groff and Solomiac report that a man they spoke with at the sous-prefecture believes that the people of Téoulé have changed their ethnic name due to the fact that the Bolon have been despised by neighboring groups (Groff and Solomiac 1983:1).

It is regrettable that we were unable to learn more about the historic origins of the village of Téoulé. However, we were able to identify a family name of Bolon origin, Cissé, (Zoungrana 1987:5–6) and the more widely used names of Jula origin, Ouattara, Konaté, Dao, as well as a family name whose origin we could not identify, Tanou, among the subjects in our testing.

While it is conjecture, this area of Burkina Faso contains villages which seem to separate themselves from the larger language group on the basis of Muslim identity. To the east, for example, villages which speak Bobo-Madaré adamantly refer to themselves as Bobo-Jula. It is possible that the Maraka-Jula were at one time Bolon, but the change in religious affiliation from the traditional religion to Islam has had ramifications affecting their ethnic identity and language. Again, although this is conjecture, it is a possible explanation for the differences in opinion of the Bolon and the Maraka-Jula.

1.8.2 Contact with Other Cultures

We have already mentioned the contact with the Senoufo who are Nanerigé speakers, and with the Bolon. Intermarriage is permitted with the Senoufo and the Bolon, yet we found a difference in the opinions of the women and the men concerning the marriage of their daughters. The women were strongly opposed to their daughters marrying anyone from any village but Téoulé, while the men were reticent but agreed that their daughters could marry someone from another village if that was the daughter's desire. An added stipulation was that the spouse be a practicing Muslim.

Other cultural groups in the area include the Mossi, Bobo-Madaré, and Samogho.

1.9 Linguistic Work in the Language Area

1.9.1 Work Accomplished in the Past

We know of no linguistic work from the village of Téoulé.

1.9.2 Present Work

We are not aware of any linguistic work being carried on at the present time.

1.9.3 Materials Published in the Language

There are no known materials published in Maraka-Jula.

2 Methodology

2.1 Questionnaires

During the Maraka-Jula survey, both a group and individual questionnaire were administered. For the group questionnaire, several men of Téoulé were gathered together. We asked them questions from both a general demographic and a sociolinguistic questionnaire. The subject matter covered by the questionnaires ranged from the ethnic composition and facilities in the area to perceived dialect differences, bilingualism, and language use. The men were chosen by the village's government representative, and sometimes the representative himself was included. Due to the surveyor's not knowing either the trade language or the local language, and in the hope of better monitoring the situation, French was used as the medium for asking the questions.

The individual questionnaire was a modified form of the group sociolinguistic questionnaire; interviewing was done with one individual at a time in order to yield data concerning the individual's contacts, daily language use, and attitudes. Results of the sociolinguistic questionnaires form the basis of much of our discussion on multi-lingualism in section 4. Section 1 in the appendix contains the data from the individual questionnaires, translated into English.

2.2 Lexicostatistic Survey

To determine the degree of lexical similarity between different speech varieties, we elicited a 230 item word list. This list was developed for use throughout Burkina Faso with recommendations from a list developed for survey in Africa by SIL. During the second trip to the village the list was checked for discrepancies with data from contiguous dialects in order to make the list as reliable as possible in the amount of time available to the survey. (See section 2 in the appendix for a complete list of the glosses and data.)

2.3 Dialect Intelligibility Survey

As the relationship between Maraka-Jula and Jula is very close, the distinction between acquired and inherent intelligibility in this case is difficult to determine. We wanted to measure the degree of inherent intelligibility between Maraka-Jula and Jula to use as a check against the results of bilingualism testing in Jula. We followed the methodology developed by E. Casad (1974), commonly referred to as the Recorded Text Test (RTT). The steps in the preparation and administration of the test are as follows:

1. A text is elicited from a native speaker of Village A, a text as free as possible from objectionable and predictable subject matter and words borrowed from another language.
2. A group of 12–15 questions are developed based on the text. These questions are recorded into the dialect of Village A and inserted into the text. From six to ten native speakers of the dialect of Village A listen to the text and respond to the questions, in order that any badly composed or misleading questions can be isolated and removed. The 10 best questions, to which almost all native speakers have responded correctly, are chosen for the final form of the test.
3. The refined text/test of Village A is played in Village B, having recorded Village A's questions in the dialect of Village B. At least 10 speakers in Village B listen to the text, responding to the questions. Their cumulative scores to the recorded test are taken as the percentage of their intelligibility with the dialect of Village A.

The RTT was designed to test for inherent intelligibility and therefore it is important to screen out candidates who would have had opportunities to learn the speech variety of Village A. In this case, contact with Jula among the Maraka-Jula is so widespread that it was not possible to find candidates who had not had previous contact with Jula.

2.4 Bilingualism Testing In Jula[2]

The Sentence Repetition Test (SRT) for the Jula language was developed by following the procedures of Radloff (1991). An SRT is comprised of 15 sentences, arranged in increasing order of difficulty. For each sentence answered correctly, 3 points are earned, with 45 being a maximum score. For each mistake, a point is subtracted from 3. The SRT used to assess proficiency in Jula was calibrated to a Reported Proficiency Evaluation Test (RPE).[3] The sample used to calibrate the SRT with the RPE consisted of 83 people who were both native and second language Jula speakers. They were volunteers found in the city of Ouagadougou.

---

[2]R. Berger and S. Showalter contributed significantly to this section.

[3]For a full description of the development of the Jula SRT, see Berthelette et al.(1995).

The regression equation for predicting RPE means from SRT means was:

$$RPE = 1.94 + 0.0665 \; SRT$$

This calibration allows for a prediction of RPE levels based on the SRT scores, according to the following table:

Table 2.4.1
Predicted RPE level from SRT score.

SRT score range	RPE level equivalent
0–8	2
9–15	2+
16–23	3
24–30	3+
31–38	4
39–45	4+

A further comparison was done between the SRT scores and an oral proficiency exam using SIL's Second Language Oral Proficiency Evaluation(SLOPE) (SIL 1987). A subset of 25 of the most proficient speakers of the original sample was evaluated with this oral interview technique. It was found in this study that those scoring at or above 25 on the SRT could be reliably classed in SLOPE level 4; those scoring below 25 were below SLOPE level 4. This particular level represents the ability to "use the language fluently and accurately on all levels normally pertinent to needs" (SIL 1987:34). The discrepancy between RPE and SLOPE evaluations in relation to SRT scores, along with broader issues concerning the interpretation of the SRT, are discussed at length in Hatfield, ms.

In addition to the calibration effort, the completed SRT was given to a sample of reported native speakers of Jula in two villages of southwest Burkina, Péni and Sindou, to provide a means of comparison between L1 and L2 speakers of Jula in Burkina. The collective mean SRT score from samples in both villages was 30.5, lower than expected but still corresponding to a high level of Jula competence. This gives us a baseline of comparison between native and non-native speakers of Jula, and allows us to say that scores of 30 and above indicate a competence level similar to that of native speakers, as measured by this test. A full report on the development of the Jula SRT in Burkina Faso can be found in Berthelette et al. 1995

Maraka-Jula speakers were given the SRT to estimate their proficiency in Jula. The testers were instructed to visit a wide area in the village in order to make the sampling as representative as possible, using quotas based on sex and age.

To understand the interacting influences of sex, age, and geographical location of villages on Jula proficiency, a factorial analysis of variance (ANOVA) statistical design

was used on the SRT scores. This design was based on SRT data collected from both females and males whose ages were from 12 and up, and who lived in 10 villages. The specific factors examined were age with three levels: 12–25, 26–45, and 46+ years; villages with 10 levels; and sex with two levels. Interacting effects among these factors were examined. The specific ANOVA selected for the analysis was the General Linear Model (GLM) because the requirement of a balanced design was not a precondition for its use. A balanced ANOVA design requires equal numbers of subjects at all factor levels. Another unique feature of the GLM is that it considers the correlation coefficients among age, sex, and villages. These relationships were examined by regression analysis which involves correlational analyses. The GLM makes adjustments in the factor level means and standard deviations which are predicted from the correlated data.

Differences between factor level means which occurred by chance 5% or less were considered statistically significant. In probability terms, if mean differences in SRT scores occurred by chance five times or less out of 100 times between levels of a factor they would be considered statistically significant. In that case, the factor level with the largest mean would be considered more bilingual than the other level. If statistical significance was found among three or more levels, the Tukey test was used to determine which means were significantly different from each other.

In general, language groups having the SRT means below 16 (level 3 on RPE scale) were prioritized for minority language development while language groups with significantly higher SRT means had a lower priority. Of course, attitudinal factors were also considered when priorities were determined (Bergman 1990:9.5.2).[4]

Information about each subject was noted on his or her test sheet: his age, religion, level of education, amount of time spent in a Jula speaking area, and whether he had attended literacy classes in Jula. Because our goal in administering the SRT was to measure community-wide second language competency, and not necessarily individual bilingualism, this data would be helpful in studying patterns of language ability throughout the language community.

3 Dialect Issues

3.1 Ethnolinguistic Identity

As we talked with the people in Téoulé, they maintained the fact that they do not identify with any of the peoples around them. They insisted that no other village spoke their language.

---

[4]In 1989, the Summer Institute of Linguistics' Area Directors and Vice Presidents established the language assessment criteria for the organization. This work is a set of standards for such domains as dialect intelligibility, bilingual ability, etc., in an attempt to guide decision making as to the need for language development in specific situations.

The people of Téoulé look to Bobo-Dioulasso as their reference for the "standard" dialect. When asked if they could understand the people from Bobo-Dioulasso, they said they could understand easily, adding, "It is our large village". They said that people from Bobo-Dioulasso do not have difficulty communicating with them. However, when they go to Bobo-Dioulasso they are laughed at for their funny speech, but there does not seem to be any antagonism or resentment over that fact. They reported a teasing relationship between speakers of Maraka-Jula and Jula. One woman whose family is from Téoulé, but who was born and lived in Abidjan until three years ago, said that she has not been able to adapt her speech to Maraka-Jula. But she is able to understand the speakers of Maraka-Jula without difficulty, and says they can understand her without difficulty. She continues to speak her variety of Jula from Abidjan, and is answered in the Maraka-Jula variety.

There was a certain amount of confusion in the questioning: approximately 50% of the time Maraka-Jula was given as the mother tongue, and the rest of the time Jula was given as the mother tongue. And when we asked for clarification if their mother tongue was Maraka-Jula or Jula, the response was that it was the same language.

3.2 Observations

During the elicitation of a text, Béatrice Tiéndrébéogo, who speaks Jula, stopped the man giving the text and asked him not to tell her the story in Jula, but rather in his mother tongue, Maraka-Jula. He replied that he <u>was</u> giving the story in Maraka-Jula, and yet Béatrice was able to follow the story without much difficulty.

During the bilingualism testing, Zanga Traoré, a Jula speaker, found that he had some difficulty understanding Maraka-Jula at first, but after a short amount of time was able to communicate without difficulty. He was at first unsure whether his interlocutors modified their speech or whether he adapted his speech subconsciously to theirs, but by the end of his second consecutive day in the village he was convinced that they had modified their speech to accommodate him. Though the people in Téoulé didn't comment that the Jula he spoke was from Bobo-Dioulasso, they recognized that he spoke "real Jula".

The bilingual testing went very quickly because the subjects were able to understand the directions and perform so well on the Jula Sentence Repetition Test. Zanga remarked at a certain point that the people seemed to repeat with ease sentences that he might have had trouble with. As a result of this and Zanga's interactions with the people, he became increasingly confused as to whether Maraka-Jula could be simply a dialect of Jula, or whether everyone was very bilingual in Jula.

Towards the end of the second of the three days in the village, during the checking of the word list, people were able to point out which words in the list were Maraka-Jula, and which were Jula. However, they did need to concentrate on the question, and often debated the issue, some thinking it was Jula, others Maraka-Jula.

3.3 Results of the Recorded Text Tests

As a preliminary comment, linguists who have worked with the Recorded Text Test have debated the threshold of acceptable intercomprehension between two dialects. That is, what percentage signifies that those of one dialect region can make adequate use of written materials from another? An accepted minimum threshold for the Summer Institute of Linguistics is 75% (Bergman 1990:9.5.2).

Secondly, the use of the Jula text in this case is a little particular. The distinction between what is a separate language, and what is a dialect of a language becomes fuzzy in this instance. The exact relationship between Jula and Maraka-Jula has not yet been defined; and as mentioned above, one of the purposes of this study was to determine if the Maraka-Jula would be able to benefit from materials written in Jula. We used a text in Jula from the Bobo-Dioulasso area to test inherent intelligibility as if Maraka-Jula were a dialect of Jula.

The average score for the ten subjects was 96.5%, with a standard deviation of .63. The standard deviation indicates that the comprehension tested was not learned, but inherent comprehension.

3.4 Lexical Similarity

An in-depth study of cognates is beyond the scope of this survey, however a comparison of apparent cognates, words which in their surface form appear to have a common root, is helpful in the study of intercomprehension between dialects. Table 3.4.1 shows the lexical similarity percentages, or percentages of the number of apparent cognates, for word lists elicited in Téoulé, as well as in three Bolon villages, and a word list in Jula from Bobo-Dioulasso. The percentage of similarity with a Jula word list is included in order to see the relationship between Jula and Maraka-Jula, and to check this percentage against the results of the Recorded Text Test.

Table 3.4.1
Percentages of Lexical Similarity

Téoulé (Maraka-Jula)

75 Jula

72 71 Dana (Bolon)

69 67 68 Tigan (Bolon)

63 66 66 81 Siri (Bolon)

The lexical similarity between Maraka-Jula and Jula is approximately 75%. Lexical similarity between Maraka-Jula and the Bolon dialects falls in a range of 63% between

the Black Bolon village of Siri and the village of Téoulé, to 72% between the White Bolon village of Dana and the village of Téoulé.

After such a high level of comprehension of the Jula text, a percentage of lexical similarity 75% seems rather low. However, though we would have expected a higher percentage of lexical similarity, it is not uncommon to find a lower percentage, and it apparently does not detract from the ability of the subjects to understand a text.

For a complete word list for the village of Téoulé, see section 2 in the appendix.

3.5 Summary

The Maraka-Jula have a high level of inherent comprehension with Jula. The relationship between the two dialects, though not so close as to establish beyond a shadow of a doubt that Maraka-Jula is in fact a variety of Jula, is such that written materials from Jula can be used by the Maraka-Jula.

3.6 Areas for Further Study

The village of Faramana, approximately 35 kilometers from Téoulé, has also been identified as a "Maraka" village. Further study is necessary to establish if this is indeed the case and what levels of comprehension the two "Marakas" share, if they share an ethnic or linguistic identity, and what their language attitudes may be.

4 Multilingual Issues

4.1 Perceived Ability

4.1.1 With the Bolon Dialects

Residents of Téoulé have some degree of contact with Bolon speakers, as all of those interviewed have travelled to N'Dorola; 5 of ten respondents speak often with inhabitants of Siri; and 6 of 10 speak often with N'dana residents.

Maraka-Jula speakers claim to have much difficulty in understanding the Bolon speech. When asked how well they understood the Siri and N'Dana Bolon dialects, none of the respondents claimed to understand them well; at best, they understand them "a little". Difficulties may in part arise because of a difference in origin of the languages. While the Maraka-Jula claim to have roots in Bobo-Dioulasso, Bolon may have more of a tie to Bambara (see Jaquinod 1958). At the same time, it is unclear how much of this perception is tainted by certain negative feelings toward Bolon.

4.1.2 Toward Jula

As would seem logical, given the high intelligibility results with Jula, 8 of the 11 respondents for the individual questionnaires claim to understand Jula very well, while only one stated that he has difficulty with Jula.

4.2 Language Attitudes

4.2.1 Toward the Mother Tongue

Both for the group questionnaire, and for the individual questionnaires the responses to questions concerning language attitudes yielded strong positive responses for Maraka-Jula, although as was mentioned in section 3.1, the terms "Jula" and "Maraka-Jula" were used interchangeably. Most people responded that Maraka-Jula was the language they loved the best, and that it was also the most useful. Most people responded that they would like to speak Maraka-Jula at the mosque, to the spirits, during sacrifices, and for funerals.

4.2.2 Toward Bolon

Thirty percent of the people questioned mentioned the speech of the Black Bolon villages of Dionkele, Kayan, Niena, and Sourou was pleasing to them. Seventy percent of the responses stated that the speech in Bolon villages was displeasing.

4.2.3 Toward Jula

In answers on the individual questionnaires, 60% of the responses gave Bobo-Dioulasso as the village where the speech was most pleasing.

4.3 Language Use

Though there was confusion in whether Maraka-Jula or Jula was considered the mother tongue, when people were asked to name the language they used in a given situation, the responses became more clear:

Approximately 40% of the people did not seem to make a distinction in language for inside vs. outside domains, stating that they spoke Maraka-Jula in every situation. However, close to 60% of the people did make a distinction between Maraka-Jula and Jula in the market context and at the dispensary. The difficulty was that we were forced to rephrase the questions a second time for precision as the distinction seems to make little difference to them.

In official contexts, at police checkpoints, at the prefecture, and before a judge, Jula is the language which is used, but is always given as a variety of their own language; apparently the language was the same, but the context called for a different type of use. As for children, Maraka-Jula was the language used both at school recess and as a play language outside of school.

At the mosque we were told that they would prefer to do everything in Arabic according to Islamic tradition, but when they couldn't, they used Maraka-Jula instead. For instance, prayers and singing are in Arabic, but the announcements are made in Maraka-Jula.

4.4 Results of the Jula Bilingualism Test

The results of the Jula Sentence Repetition Test (SRT) are presented in table 4.4.1. As mentioned previously, Téoulé is not far from a road in good condition, and within 3 kilometers of N'dorola which is a major market town, and also offers a range of services from the prefecture to the post office. There is ample opportunity for interethnic contact leading to bilingualism in Jula.

Table 4.4.1
Means and Standard Deviations of SRT Scores
for the Maraka-Jula People Group According to Villages, Age, and Sex

Factor	Level	Mean	Standard Deviation	Number of Test takers	P
Village	Téoulé	34.83	3.947	29	
Sex	Female	33.79	1.076	14	ns
	Male	35.79	1.041	15	
Age	12–25	35.01	1.041	15	ns
	26–45	34.57	1.076	14	
Sex x Age	F x 12–25	34.14	1.521	7	ns
	F x 26–45	33.43	1.521	7	
	M x 12–25	35.88	1.423	8	
	M x 26–45	35.71	1.521	7	

The results of the test indicate very high bilingual ability in Jula among all of the subgroups tested. The averages of the various subgroups varied only slightly, and every person tested, with the exception of one adult woman, scored over the threshold level of 16, the lowest figure corresponding to level 3 on RPE scale. In fact, the results from Téoulé compare very favorably with those of mother tongue Jula speakers. Looking only at the criteria of bilingual competence, the Maraka-Jula should easily be able to take advantage of written material in Jula.

4.5 Summary

As determined from their attitudes toward Jula and the high levels of bilingual ability as demonstrated by the Jula SRT, the Maraka-Jula should be able to benefit from written materials in Jula.

4.6 Areas for Further Study

The particular situation of the village of Téoulé raises several questions. First, is it truly the only village where the particular speech variety is spoken? Secondly, what are

the roots of the language? And finally, is Maraka-Jula an interlanguage, the result of a neighboring language such as Bolon in the later stages of language shift? As a diachronic study of the language is far beyond the scope of this brief study, it would be interesting to trace the history and linguistic developments of the Maraka-Jula. In addition, this speech variety seems to be another in the cluster of Mandekan languages which includes Marka-Dafin, Bolon, and Jula. Any studies which could shed more light on the nature of the relationships and development of these languages would be a welcome contribution.

5 Recommendations

The linguistic and sociolinguistic data suggest that the Maraka-Jula should be able to profit from written material in Jula and as such, we do not recommend the Maraka-Jula situation as a language development candidate.

Appendix A Summary of Answers to the Individual Questionnaires

Sex:	5 "F"	0 no answer
Age:		0 no answer
Village:	11 "Téoule"	0 no answer
Language:	0	5 no answer
Education:	3 "yes"	3 no answer
Place lived in for a long period of time (besides home):		7 no answer
Amount of time lived there:		7 no answer
What is the language spoken there?	0 "Téoule"	8 no answer
Have you ever gone to N'Dorola?	11 "yes"	0 no answer
Do you speak often with those of N'Dorola?	11 "yes"	0 no answer
When you speak with those of N'Dorola, what language do you speak?	0 "Maraka"	0 no answer
Have you ever gone to Siri?	5 "yes"	1 no answer
Do you speak often with those of Siri?	7 "yes"	1 no answer
When you speak with those of Siri, what language do you speak?	0 "Maraka"	3 no answer
Have you ever gone to N'Dana?	6 "yes"	1 no answer
Do you speak often with those of N'Dana?	7 "yes"	2 no answer
When you speak with those of N'Dana, what language do you speak?	0 "Maraka"	3 no answer
Have you ever gone to Bobo-Dioulasso?	8 "yes"	1 no answer
Do you speak often with those of Bobo-Dioulasso?	7 "Maraka"	4 no answer
When you speak with those of Bobo-Dioulasso, what language do you speak?	0 "Maraka"	0 no answer
How well can you understand those of N'Dorola?	0 "très bien"	0 no answer
How well can you understand those of Siri?	0 "très bien"	2 no answer
How well can you understand those of N'Dana?	0 "très bien"	1 no answer
How well can you understand those of Bobo-Dioulasso?	8 "très bien"	0 no answer
What speech is easier to understand, the variety of N'Dorola or Siri?	5 "Siri"	2 no answer
What speech is easier to understand, the variety of Siri or N'Dana?	3 "N'Dana"	3 no answer
What speech is easier to understand, the variety of N'Dana or Bobo-Dioulasso?	8 "Bobo-Dioulasso"	1 no answer
What speech is easier to understand, the variety of N'Dorola or Bobo-Dioulasso?	8 "Bobo-Dioulasso"	0 no answer
What is the language/dialect that you like best?	3 "Bobo-Dioulasso"	0 no answer
What is the language/dialect that you like least?	5 say all of the Bolon dialects, 2 specify the dialect of N'Dana, 1 says Faramana, 1 specifies Senoufo	1 no answer
Would you allow your daughter to marry someone from N'Dorola?	9 "yes"	0 no answer
Would you allow your daughter to marry someone from Siri?	9 "yes"	0 no answer
Would you allow your daughter to marry someone from N'Dana?	9 "yes"	0 no answer
Would you allow your daughter to marry someone from Bobo-Dioulasso?	11 "yes"	0 no answer
Birthplace of your spouse:	9 "Téoule"	2 no answer

Mother tongue of your spouse:	9 "Maraka-Jula"	1 no answer
Ethnic group of your spouse:	8 "Maraka-Jula"	1 no answer
Language of the family:	9 "Maraka-Jula"	1 no answer
What was the language you spoke when growing up?	8 "Maraka-Jula"	0 no answer; one said both Maraka Jula and Jula
Do you speak Jula each day?	1 "yes"	5 no answer
Would you be able to do the following in L2: go to a dispensary with a friend and describe in detail his sickness?	4 "yes"	4 no answer[5]
Would you be able to do the following in L2: understand all that is said in L2 on the radio, even words to songs?	4 "yes"	4 no answer
Would you be able to do the following in L2: joke and use proverbs?	4 "yes"	4 no answer
Would you be able to do the following in L2: pray?	4 "yes"	4 no answer
Would you be able to do the following in L2: do calculations very rapidly?	4 "yes"	4 no answer
What is the language that you use at home?	9 "Maraka-Jula"	1 no answer
What is the language that you use in the village?	9 "Maraka-Jula"	1 no answer
What is the language that you use at the market?	4 "Maraka-Jula"	1 no answer
What is the language that you use at the dispensary?	4 "Maraka-Jula"	1 no answer; some say both, some say French
What is the language that you use at church/mosque?	9 "Maraka-Jula"	1 no answer; 1 says Jula
What is the language that you use in carrying out a sacrifice?	8 "Maraka-Jula"	2 no answer
What is the language that you use during funeral ceremonies?	5 "Maraka-Jula"	5 no answer
Which language do you like best?	6 "Maraka-Jula"	0 no answer; 2 Jula, 2 French, 1 Mooré
Why?		1 no answer
Which language spoken in the region is most useful?	10 "Maraka-Jula"	0 no answer
How do you feel if you hear your children speaking the L2 between themselves at home?	10 no problem	1 no answer
Which language would you like to have used at church/mosque?	6 "Maraka-Jula"	1 no answer
Which language would you like to have used when communicating with the ancestral spirits?	6 "Maraka-Jula"	1 no answer
Which language would you like to have used during sacrifices?	8 "Maraka-Jula"	1 no answer
Which language would you like to have used during funeral services?	8 "Maraka-Jula"	1 no answer; 1 either/or
Would you like to learn to read/write in L2?	10 "yes"	1 no answer
If you were given the choice, would you prefer learning to read/write in the L1 or the L2?	1 "L1"	2 no answer; 3 said French, the rest Jula
Have others ever made fun of you because of your language?	8 "yes"	0 no answer

---

[5]In this section, several answered as if French were the mother tongue. Is that because they do not make a distinction between their language and Jula, or was it simply misunderstanding?

Which language do the youth use among themselves most of time?	10 "Maraka-Jula"	0 no answer
Do the youth use L2 even when no outsiders are around?	6 "yes"	0 no answer
Do children mix the L1 and L2 when speaking?	0 "yes"	0 no answer
Do youth mix the L1 and L2 when speaking?	3 "yes"	3 no answer
Does it ever happen that your children have to finish sentences in L2 because they do not know how to say something in L1?	0 "yes"	3 no answer
Do children use the traditional stories and proverbs?	11 "yes"	0 no answer
If yes, in which language?	10 "Maraka-Jula"	0 no answer
Nowadays do the village elders tell the traditional stories and proverbs?	11 "yes"	0 no answer
Do you believe that your children speak your language like they should?	11 "yes"	0 no answer
What language are your children's children going to speak here in the village?	10 "Maraka-Jula"	0 no answer; 1 French, 1 Mooré

Appendix B A Word List of Maraka-Jula

N°	*Français*	*Téoulé*
001	**personne**	[mɔ̀gɔ̀]
002	**nom**	[tōɣō]
003	**homme**	[cé]
004	**mari**	[fūrcē]
005	**épouse**	[fūrmūsó]
006	**père**	[fàcē]
007	**mère**	[mámúsó]
008	**femme**	[mūsō]
009	**garçon**	[gāmbélé]
010	**fille**	[sūŋgūrū]
011	**grande soeur**	[ŋkɔ̄rōmūsó]
012	**grand frère**	[ŋkɔ̄rōcē]
013	**petite soeur**	[lōɣōmūsō]
014	**petit frère**	[lōɣōcē]
015	**chef**	[dūgūtīgī]
016	**ancien**	[mōkɔ̄rōbà]
017	**guérisseur**	[flābōbá]
018	**forgeron**	[nūɣū̋]
019	**balaphoniste**	[bɑlɑfõbaː]
020	**village**	[dūgū]
021	**case**	[bùgû], [só]
022	**mur**	[kōkɔ̄ː]
023	**porte**	[kó]
024	**grenier**	[bòndő], [kōnóː]
025	**toit**	[tî], [sɑ̃̄]

N°	Français	Téoulé
026	**pagne**	[tàfé], [pēnï]
027	**boubou**	[dēkēbɔ̄]
028	**sandales**	[sābāɾáw], [sāwàɾá]
029	**bague**	[būɾūgānïgɛ̀̃]
030	**collier**	[kā́nā́kɔ̌nɔ̂], [kōnó]
031	**fusil**	[mōfó]
032	**flèche**	[tṹmbïɛ̀̃]
033	**arc**	[kāɾā]
034	**corde**	[ɟùɾû]
035	**tisserand**	[dìsédāmāɣá]
036	**calebasse**	[fïɛ̃]
037	**panier**	[sīgɛ̄]
038	**graisse**	[tūɾū]
039	**lait**	[nōnó]
040	**sel**	[kōkó]
041	**bâton**	[bēɾē]
042	**daba**	[dābā]
043	**hache**	[gēné]
044	**champs**	[fōɾō]
045	**riz**	[māɾō]
046	**gros mil**	[bïmbïɾí]
047	**petit mil**	[sāɲó]
048	**gombo**	[pɔ̃]
049	**arachide**	[māntīgā̃]
050	**sésame**	[bēné]
051	**fonio**	[fïnï̃]
052	**maïs**	[māɣā]
053	**arbre**	[jïɾï]
054	**forêt**	[jiɾituː]
055	**bois**	[dugo]
056	**herbe**	[bḯ]
057	**karité**	[kōɾó]
058	**fleur**	[fᵊɛ̄ɾé]
059	**fruit**	[jìɾìdē̄]
060	**feuille**	[flábūɾū]
061	**branche**	[jïɾïbòɾù]
062	**écorce**	[kókóː], [fáɾá]
063	**racine**	[jìɾìdïɾï]
064	**animal**	[bēkū́]
065	**chien**	[wūɾú]
066	**vache**	[mísí]

N°	Français	Téoulé
067	**cheval**	[ʃôː]
068	**mouton**	[sàɣà]
069	**chèvre**	[bāː]
070	**hyène**	[sūɾūkū]
071	**porc**	[lɛ̄ː]
072	**oiseau**	[kōnó]
073	**poule**	[sīsɛ́]
074	**araignée**	[tālɛ̃́]
075	**termite**	[bɪ̄ɾɪ̄]
076	**fourmi**	[dūgūmáná]
077	**sauterelle**	[tɔ̂ː]
078	**singe**	[sūɾā]
079	**lion**	[jā̀ɾā]
080	**éléphant**	[sāmā]
081	**serpent**	[sâ]
082	**poisson**	[jege]
083	**aile**	[kāmá]
084	**corne**	[gbɑ̂̃]
085	**oeuf**	[kɪ̄ɾɪ̄]
086	**queue**	[kōkāɾā]
087	**viande**	[sōɣō]
088	**sang**	[ɟūɾɪ̄]
089	**os**	[kō̃ɾó]
090	**corps**	[pēɾɪ̄]
091	**peau**	[wōɾō]
092	**tête**	[kúŋgō̃ɾū]
093	**visage**	[ɲādâ]
094	**cheveux**	[kɯ̀ʃíé]
095	**poils**	[pēɾɪ̄sɪ̀é]
096	**nez**	[nɯ̃́]
097	**oreille**	[tóɾó]
098	**oeil**	[ɲākɛ̄ɾɛ̄], [ɲākɛ̄sɛ̂]
099	**bouche**	[dā]
100	**dent**	[ɲɪ̄]
101	**langue**	[nɛ̄né]
102	**bras**	[bóɾókāɾā]
103	**jambe**	[sɪ̄ŋkáɾá]
104	**doigt**	[bolokpɛ̃de], [bokʷɛnde]
105	**cou**	[kɑ̃́]
106	**poitrine**	[dīsɪ̄]
107	**coeur**	[dūsūkɯ̃́]

N°	Français	Téoulé
108	**ventre**	[kōnōbāɾā]
109	**bon**	[ākádī]
110	**mauvais**	[mājɛ́kāɲà], [ākákūō]
111	**dos**	[kūó]
112	**âme**	[nî̄]
113	**vie**	[nīnɛ̄]
114	**dieu**	[ālá]
115	**ciel**	[kābākóɾó]
116	**soleil**	[tɛ̄ɾɛ̄]
117	**lune**	[kāɾi]
118	**étoile**	[lōló]
119	**matin**	[sòɣómà]
120	**jour**	[tɛ̄lépè]
121	**nuit**	[sû], [sūpɛ̄]
122	**mois**	[kāɾi]
123	**année**	[sã̀]
124	**vent**	[fōnīɔ́]
125	**feu**	[pīsɔ́]
126	**fumée**	[sīsī]
127	**eau**	[ɟĭɛ́]
128	**pluie**	[sã̄jé]
129	**terre**	[duɣukuɾu]
130	**nuage**	[kàbàbùó]
131	**rocher**	[pāɾā]
132	**sable**	[kɛ̄̃gɛ̄̃]
133	**poussière**	[bṹgűbṹgṹ], [fɔ̀ɾɔ̀kɔ̂]
134	**chemin**	[sīɾá]
135	**fer**	[nīgɛ́̃]
136	**blanc**	[gʷēmã̄]
137	**noir**	[fīmā]
138	**chaud**	[akʷānā]
139	**froid**	[ʃɔ̄̃nî]
140	**sec**	[jānú]
141	**fort**	[pã̀ŋgâ]
142	**faible**	[pã̀ŋgàtẫ]
143	**grand**	[ɟã̀ɲàmâ]
144	**petit**	[pīsīnî]
145	**long**	[ɟà̃ɲàmã̄]
146	**court**	[sùnùmā]
147	**vérité**	[ʃíã̀]
148	**mensonge**	[fèɲâ]
149	**vendre**	[āɟāfīɾì]
150	**dormir**	[ādáɾá]

N°	Français	Téoulé
151	large	[wàgànì]
152	mince	[mèsɛ̀mɔ̂]
153	lourd	[kpīrīmɔ̂]
154	léger	[fīɛ̃mɔ̀]
155	loin	[dūɔjɔ̃́]
156	près	[dūɔsūnú]
157	aigu	[dāfīɛ̃mɔ̂]
158	sale	[nɔɣɔnî]
159	pourri	[tòrìnî]
160	droit	[tērēnî]
161	courbé	[kɔ̀gɔ̀rɔ̀nî]
162	vieux	[kɔ̀rɔ̀mɔ̂]
163	jeune	[kūlɔmɔ̂]
164	manger	[ēdùnìkē]
165	boire	[ājámī]
166	voir	[ājāɟè]
167	regarder	[ājápērē]
168	compter	[ājáɟātē]
169	donner	[ājādūmà]
170	finir	[ábāːnā]
171	monter	[ājērēlā]
172	aller	[ātārā]
173	partir	[àbɔrē]
174	venir	[ánānā]
175	courir	[ābírīrā]
176	voler	[ājāsɥ́jà]
177	frapper	[ājábɔ]
178	casser	[ājākárí]
179	couper	[ātīgērā]
180	tuer	[ājāpàrà]
181	mourir	[]
182	parler	[àkúmárá]
183	pleurer	[ākásírà]
184	recevoir	[àbásɔ̀rɔ̀]
185	acheter	[ājásā̃]
186	mordre	[ājākĩ̄]
187	savoir	[ājálō]
188	tirer	[ājásāmā]
189	se baigner	[ākūrá]
190	laver	[ākūrá]
191	s'asseoir	[ājésīgī]

N°	Français	Téoulé
192	**pousser**	[āɟásūsū]
193	**jeter**	[āɟápīɾī]
194	**accrocher**	[āɟādṹ]
195	**lever**	[āwúɾíɾá]
196	**construire**	[āɟálō]
197	**creuser**	[āɟásōɣō]
198	**tisser**	[āɟádā]
199	**attacher**	[āɟásīɾī]
200	**tomber**	[ābēnā]
201	**chanter**	[àɟēdṍɡíɾídā]
202	**sentir**	[aʃɔ̃mɛnɑ]
203	**penser**	[āɟāmìɾì]
204	**attraper**	[āɟámīnā]
205	**vomir**	[āfɔ́nɔ́ɾá]
206	**être debout**	[āwūlìɾìɾélō]
207	**tenir**	[āɟámīnā]
208	**dansers**	[ēdóŋkē]
209	**beaucoup**	[ʃīãmã̄]
210	**peu**	[pīsīnī]
211	**un**	[kēlē]
212	**deux**	[fīlā]
213	**trois**	[sāwā]
214	**quatre**	[nānī]
215	**cinq**	[lóɾú]
216	**six**	[wɔ́ɾɔ́]
217	**sept**	[wɔ̄ɾɔ́flā]
218	**huit**	[sēkī]
219	**neuf**	[kónṓtɔ̄]
220	**dix**	[tã́]
221	**chat**	[ɟākúɔ̀]
222	**âne**	[sòfàɾî]
223	**chercher**	[āɟàɟīnī]
224	**trouver**	[āɟásōɾō]
225	**demander**	[āɟādáɾī]
226	**répondre**	[āɟālámīnā]
227	**sauce**	[nɔ́]
228	**lièvre**	[dūɣāzɔ́]
229	**mort**	[asɑɾɑ]
230	**sauter**	[āɟépã̄]
231	**dire**	[àkúmáɾá]

Data gathered by Annette and Byron Harrison, Béatrice Tiendrébéogo, Anne-Marie Giminez, and Zanga Traoré on February 12, 1996.

*Données receuillies par Annette et Byron Harrison, Béatrice Tiendrébéogo, Anne-Marie Giminez, et Zanga Traor*é *le 12 février 1996.*

The symbols for phonetic transcription used in this document are in accordance with the standards of the International Phonetic Association (IPA).

Les symboles de transcription phonétique employés dans ce document sont conformes aux normes de l'Association Internationale Phonétique (AIP).

References

Bergman, T. G., ed. 1990. Survey Reference Manual. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Bergman, T. G., ed. 1990. Language assessment criteria. Survey reference manual. Dallas, TX: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Berthelette, John, Gregg Pruett, and Rebecca Pruett. 1995. Development of the Jula Sentence Repetition Test. Report to the Société Internationale de Linguistique, Burkina Faso. ms.

Casad, Eugene H. 1974. Dialect Intelligibility Testing. SIL publications in linguistics and related fields, 38.

Grimes, Barbara. 1992. Ethnologue: languages of the world. 12th ed. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics.

Groff, Randall, and Solomiac, Paul. 1983. Sociolinguistic Survey of the Bolon. Ouagadougou: Summer Institute of Linguistics. Unpublished manuscript.

Hatfield, Deborah, ed. ms. A critical appraisal of assessment of bilingualism in SIL using the Sentence Repetition Test. Proceedings of roundtable discussions, Oct 31–Nov 3, 2000. Dallas, Texas. Work in progress.

Jaquinod, F., and A. Prost. 1958. La langue des Bô ou Bôkâ. Bulletin de l'I.F.A.N. Dakar: I.F.A.N. Tome XX, Série B, 3–4.

Laclavère, Georges. 1993. Atlas du Burkina Faso. Paris: Les Editions Jeune Afrique.

Ministère de l'Enseignement de Base et de l'Alphabétisation des Masses (MEBAM). 1996. Carte de Burkina Faso: Taux brut de scolarisation par province (année 1994–1995). Ouagadougou : Direction des Etudes et la Planification (DEP)/MEBAM)/UNICEF.

Radloff, Carla. 1991. Sentence repetition testing for studies of community bilingualism. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Texas-Arlington.

Summer Institute of Linguistics. 1987. Second Language Oral Proficiency Evaluation. Notes on Linguistics 40:24–54

Zoungrana, Ambroise. 1987. Esquisse Phonologique et Grammaticale du Bolon (Burkina Faso) - contribution à la dialectologie mande. Thèse de Doctorat de 3e cycle. Université de la Sorbonne Nouvelle (Paris III).