

Southern Songhay Speech Varieties In Niger

*A Sociolinguistic Survey of the Zarma, Songhay,
Kurtey, Wogo, and Dendi Peoples of Niger*

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0 Introduction and goals of the survey

The Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) conducted a sociolinguistic survey from January through March, 1997, in order to verify that literature based on a single, standard form of speech would be comprehensible and acceptable to speakers of each variety of speech in the Southern Songhay dialect chain in Niger (Songhay, Wogo, Kurtey, Zarma and Dendi.) The survey team consisted of Byron and Annette Harrison and Michael Rueck with Mahaman Soumana as interpreter.

0.1 Reason for undertaking the survey

In light of:

1. existing published Zarma literature (see Appendix A),
2. the Songhay language development project recently undertaken in Gao, Mali by Dan and Brenda Stauffer and Matthias Liebrecht of SIL and
3. SIL's agreement with the Nigerien government to work in all national languages,

this present research seeks to know:

1. if further language development would be needed to provide all Nigerien speakers of this dialect chain with access to written literature in their mother-tongue and
2. how SIL might lend their linguistic expertise to aid other agencies working among these peoples.

0.2 Research questions

1. Which Southern Songhay speech varieties are spoken in Niger?
 - a) What are they called?
 - b) Where are they spoken?
 - c) How many people speak them?
2. How inherently intelligible are these speech varieties?
3. What are people's attitudes toward these various speech forms?
 - a) Which variety is perceived as the most acceptable or prestigious?

1 General information

1.1 Language name, classification and location

"It is not known for sure that the Songhay language is directly related to any other known language. Most linguists, following Greenburg, have tentatively classified Songhay as a Nilo-Saharan language, ... though others have classified it as Afro-Asiatic, Niger-Kordofanian or as its own independent family" (Eberle, 1996:0.3.1).

Creissels (1980) argues for its classification in the Mande language family primarily on the basis of shared syntactic features. "Nicolai [(1979b)] makes an interesting argument that Songhay grammar and suffixes are somehow related to Azer, a dead Soninké language (another branch of the Mande languages) once spoken throughout the Sahel" (Eberle, 1996:0.3.1).

"Another theory that has been advanced by some is based on the fact that Songhay has clearly borrowed much of its vocabulary from neighboring languages. This has led some to hypothesize that Songhay was originally a creole used by several different peoples as a trade language along caravan routes and that the Songhay themselves were originally not a separate ethnic group. There is little doubt that Songhay culture and religion has been largely borrowed from neighboring ethnic groups. Songhay traditions refer frequently to the neighboring ethnic groups and acknowledge the ethnic origins of their various spirit-gods" (Eberle, 1996:0.3.1).

The Ethnologue, a classification of the world's languages published by the Summer Institute of Linguistics, classifies Songhay, Zarma and Dendi in the following manner: "Nilo-Saharan, Songhai". Alternate names and spellings for Songhay (Ethnologue code [SON]) include *Songai*, *Songhai*, *Songoi*, *Songoy*, *Songay*, *Sonrai*, *Sonrhai*, *Kaado*, and *Kado*. Zarma (code [DJE]) is also referred to as *Dyerma*, *Dyarma*, *Dyabarma*, *Zabarma*, *Adzerma*, *Djerma*, and *Zarbarma*. "Zarma" is the spelling currently used in government publications. An alternate name for Dendi (code [DEN]) is *Dandawa* (B. Grimes, 1996:324-327).

The Songhay language chain has two main branches: Northern and Southern. The Northern dialects are spoken by a few nomadic and a few sedentary peoples, who share the Tamajaq culture. The dialects of the nomads include Tadaksahak (Dausahaq), spoken around Ménaka, Mali, and Tihishit (Tabarog, Tagdalt), spoken between Tahoua and Agadez in Niger. The sedentary dialects include Tasawaq (Ingelsi), spoken around In-Gall, Niger, and Korandje (Belbali), spoken at the Tabelbala oasis in southern Algeria (Nicolai, 1979b:13; B. Grimes, 1996:159, 311, 326). The Northern and Southern dialects are not intercomprehensible (Nicolai, 1979b:12). A survey of the Northern dialects spoken in Niger is planned for May, 1998.

The Southern Songhay dialects are spoken in the regions along the Niger River and the waterways that feed into it from Mopti, Mali, to Gaya, Niger, as well as around Hombori, Mali (see Map 1). Nicolai (1979b:13) follows Prost's identification of them with the exception of an additional Central dialect which he distinguishes from the Kaado dialect.

- Western - from east of Niafouké to Arnasey, Mali, including the Goundam and Timbuktu;
- Eastern - from Arnasey to the Niger border, centered at Gao, Mali;
- Central - from Hombori, Mali southward into Burkina Faso, including Tinié and Filio as well as the speech of the Marensé people of Burkina Faso;
- Kaado - of the arrondissements of Tera and Tillabéri in Niger and the province of Oudalan, north of Dori, Burkina Faso; Nicolai (1979b:13) and Rougga (1987:16,17) also include here the speech of the Wogo people, who live on the islands in the Niger River north and south of Tillabéri (canton of Sinder), and the Kurtey people, who live in this same region on the islands and along the river banks (cantons of Sansani, Dessa and Ayorou);
- Zarma - of the Zarmaganda (arrondissement of Ouallam) and the Zarmataray (arrondissements of Kollo (excepting the cantons of Karma and Namaro, which are Kaado), Say, Boboye, Dosso, Loga, and Filingue) including Niamey, Niger;
- Dendi - of the arrondissement of Gaya, Niger and southward to Kandi, Benin, as well as around Djougou and Parakou in northern Benin.

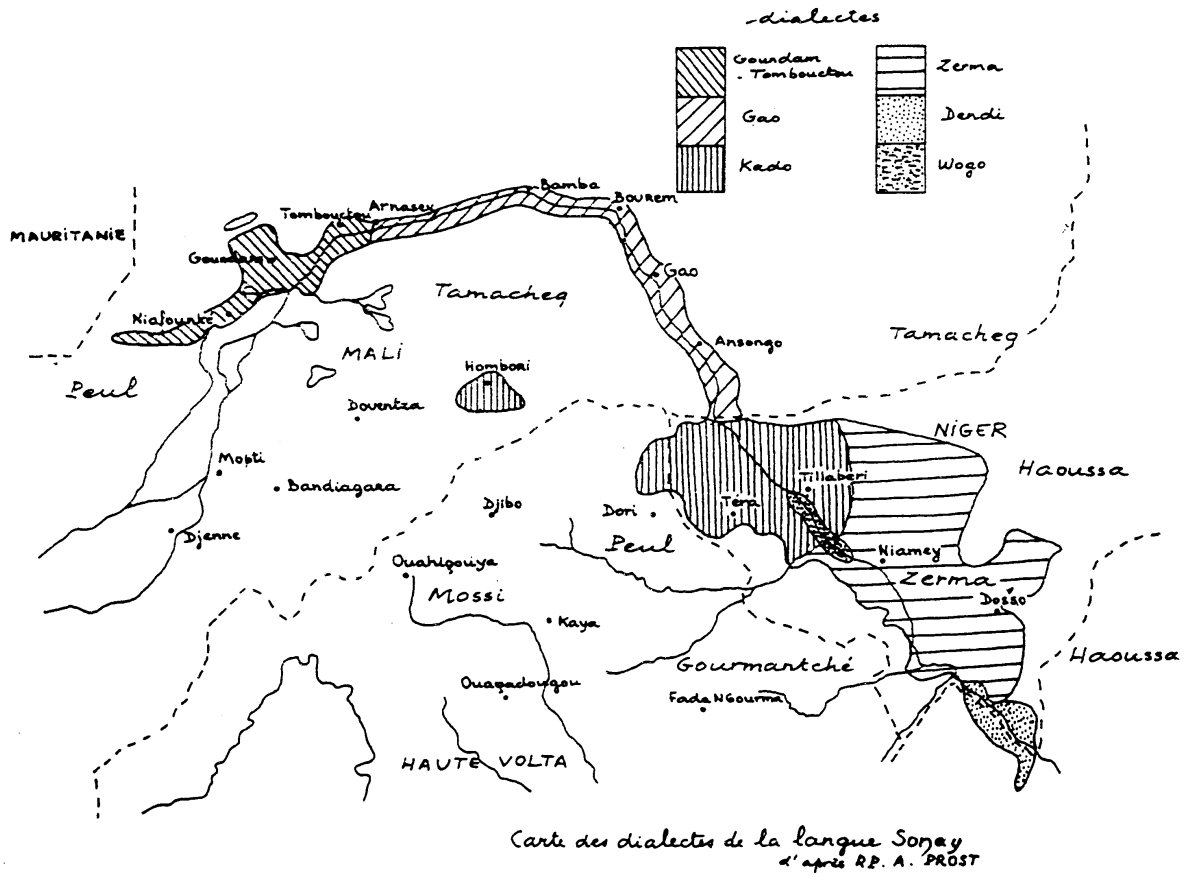
The Ethnologue (B. Grimes, 1996) also shows some Zarma and Dendi speakers in northwestern Nigeria (p. 331) as well as some Zarma speakers in Benin (p. 169) and Burkina Faso (p. 184).

The focus of this survey was the Southern Songhay dialects spoken in Niger: Kaado, Zarma, and Dendi. Comprehension of the Eastern or "Gao" dialect was also tested using a recorded text elicited by Matthias Liebrecht of SIL in 1996.

A certain amount of confusion over what names refer to arises in the study of the Southern Songhay dialects and peoples because the terms "Songhay", "Zarma" and "Dendi" are all used to refer to the people of one or more ethnic groups, their variety of speech, and their territory. The term "kaado" proved especially troublesome in this study. Prost (1956:428) defines it as follows:

kaado, dét. sg. *kada*, pl. *kaadey*, mot d'origine peule *kado* désignant les paiens, s'applique spécialement à la population Songay de Tilabery, Tera, Ayoru, etc. et Oudalan (Dori) qui se nomment eux-mêmes ainsi sauf les familles de chefs descendant de Mamar qui se disent "Songay".

Most people we spoke with in the course of this survey took "kaado" as a derogatory term and preferred to call themselves and their language "Songhay". Only in the Gorouol River Basin, in the far northwestern part of the region (around Dolbel), did we hear people using the terms "Kaado" and "Songhay" interchangeably when referring to themselves. (It was at the Catholic Mission of the Gorouol, in Dolbel, that DuCroz and Charles, who use the terms "Kaado" and "Songhay-Kaado" in their works (1978, 1984, 1985) served for many years.) In Dibilo (just north of Tera) people referred to their language alternately as "Songhay", "Kaado" or "Zarma" throughout our interviews with them. On the island of Sawani (north of Tillabéri) people called their language "Wogo", "Songhay" and "Zarma" without seeming to notice they had switched terms. The Kurtey people of Maloum Beri referred to their language as "Songhay", while people in Tera referred to the speech of the Wogo and the Kurtey as "river dialects".



Source: R. Nicolai 1981, Les dialectes du songhay

Carte des dialectes de la langue Songhay

Thus, our limited outsider observations are that most Nigeriens, including Zarma and Dendi speakers, refer to the dialect in the region around Tera, which is called "Kaado" in the linguistic literature, simply as "Songhay". All Southern Songhay dialects spoken in Mali are also called "Songhay", but the Eastern dialect (with which Nigeriens have the most contact) is usually distinguished by Nigeriens as the speech of Gao, while they use the term "Songhay" to refer to the dialect spoken in Niger.

1.2 Population

All population figures are estimates, and the estimates from different sources vary. The Recensement Général de la Population 1988 (RGP 88) reports that 22.9% of the total population of Niger speak principally the national language Djerma-sonraï. As of May, 1988 this would amount to about 1,660,000 people. Vanderaa (1991) breaks this category down by ethnic group. Applying Vanderaa's proportions to the 1996 World Almanac's total population estimate for Niger of 9,280,208 yields the figures in Table 1.2 which total to 2,042,000 native speakers of Southern Songhay dialects in Niger. Estimates for numbers of speakers of these dialects in neighboring countries are taken from the Ethnologue (1996).

Table 1.2 Populations of speakers of Southern Songhay dialects

	Mali	Niger	Burkina Faso	Benin	Nigeria
Songhay (W, E, C, K)*	600,000 (W, E, C)	489,000 (K, E)	122,700 (C, K)		
Kurtey		44,100			
Wogo		28,800			
Zarma		1,427,000	600	some	50,000
Dendi		53,100		30,000	a few

* Western, Eastern, Central, Kaado (as listed in Section 1.1)

1.3 Accessibility and transport

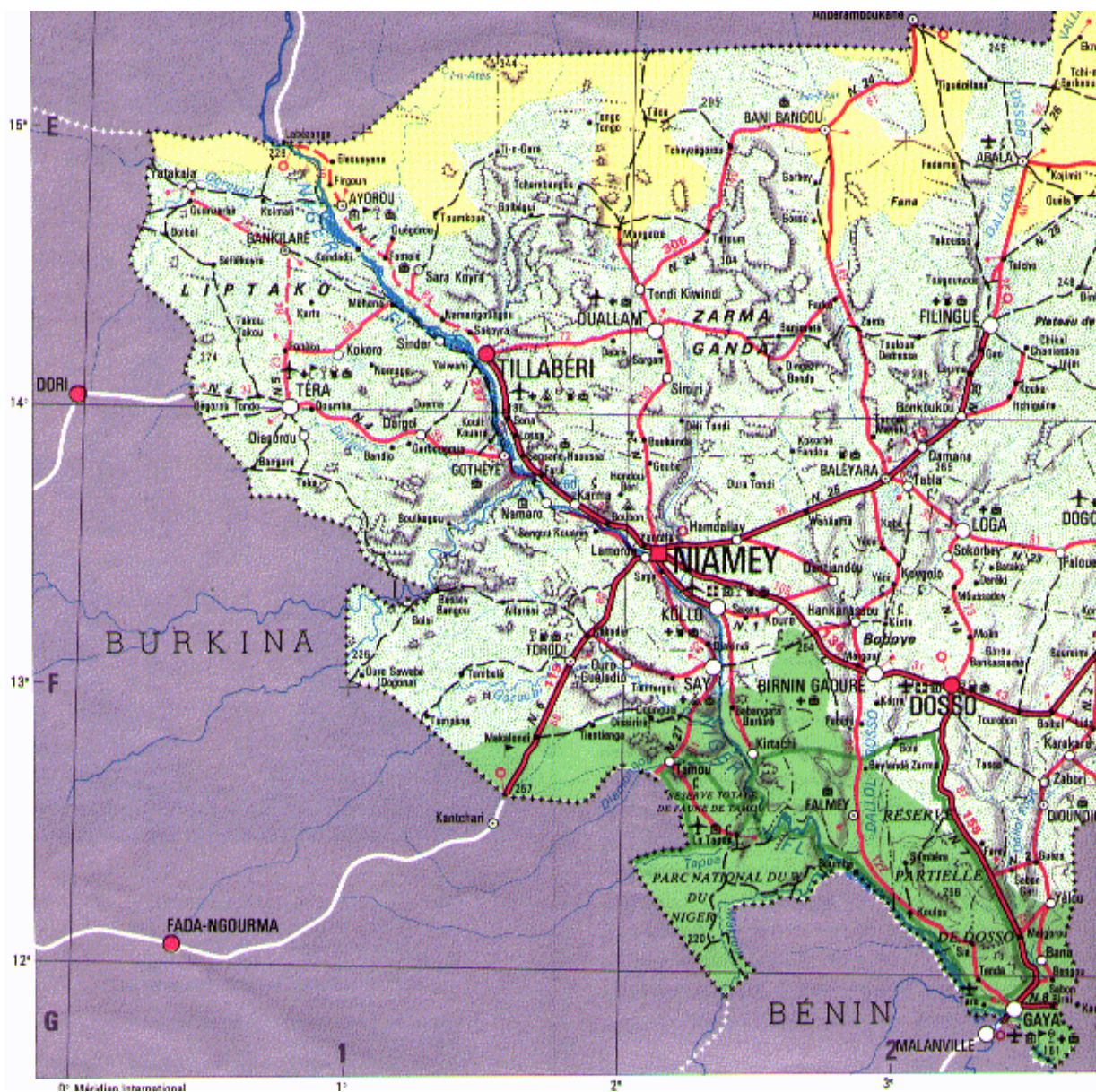
1.3.1 Roads: quality and availability

Paved roads offer year-round access to the larger cities throughout Niger (see Map 2). National Route 1 (N1) is very smooth from Niamey northwest all the way to Ayorou. Reliable access to Tera is via a ferry just off of N1 61 km north of Niamey. The ferry crosses the river westward on the hour and eastward on the half-hour from 7:00 a.m. to 6:30 p.m. From the ferry, it's a 2-hour drive to Tera on N4 which was paved in 1997. The laterite road from Tillaberi east to Ouallam was in good condition when we used it. N24, between Niamey and Ouallam was rough. N25, between Niamey and Filingue, is well-paved. N1 from Niamey to Dosso is paved and is probably the most heavily traveled stretch of road in the country as it carries all of the traffic to and from eastern Niger, Nigeria and Benin. N14 is another laterite road, typically washboarded, going north from Dosso. N7 is well paved from Dosso south to Gaya. A good bridge crosses the Niger River into Benin just south of Gaya, and there is constant traffic to and from the coast on a paved road. Access to the extreme southwestern part of Niger is via the Kennedy Bridge in Niamey, by which one can access N6, a paved road which continues on to Burkina Faso and, eventually, Abidjan.

Reaching villages off of the paved roads in the Songhay, Zarma, and Dendi regions did not pose any major difficulties during the dry season. Since donkey carts are commonly used to carry goods to and from market, there are paths to every village we tried to visit which are easily accessible to 4-wheel-drive vehicles. It appears that much of the region north of Tera would not be regularly accessible to light vehicles during the rainy season.

1.3.2 Public transport systems

From the Ecco Gare, near Wadata in Niamey, one can take a bush taxi to any destination on a paved road. Each taxi leaves when it is full. There are also some taxis which make weekly trips from the larger towns to some villages off of improved roads. A heavy truck travels from Tera to Dolbel every Thursday.



Map 2 Major population centers, roads, etc.

Source: Institut Géographique National du Niger and Institut Géographique National - France. 1993. NIGER : Carte Générale 1 : 2 000 000. Niamey.

1.4 Religious situation

Like most Nigerien peoples, nearly all Songhay peoples are Muslim. In addition to the Islamic University at Say, there are many Franco-Arab primary schools in the Zarma and Songhay regions which are incorporated into the public educational system. Nearly every village we visited had at least one mosque, and many people were following the fast of Ramadan during our initial round of visits to the villages in January.

One also hears on the street that the traditional practice of consulting mediums is still carried out. Also, many people use charms for protection from various dangers. Koranic verses are often incorporated in the making of these charms.

One village which we visited, Fantio, was also home to a number of Christians. The village chief, Mr. Antoin, is reported to be the first Nigerien to have become a Christian. One of the five quarters of Fantio is considered Christian, while the other four are Muslim.

1.5 Schools/education

The government continues to make an effort to integrate all Songhay-Zarma-speaking peoples into the national education system. There are primary schools in many villages throughout the region. However, most school masters must actively recruit children to attend school as most parents are reticent to send their children to school. Generally, the only perceived benefit of formal education is the opportunity for a student to get a job on the government payroll and thereby earn money to send back to his village. Since the government is able to employ only a small portion of graduates, most villagers see little advantage in sending their children to school. Rather, formal education is often seen as a detriment since schooled children are not available to help in the fields and thus, fail to learn the value of physical labor. There is also a negative, anti-colonial sentiment toward the government-sponsored schools since they were established by the colonizers. This is reinforced by an Islamic sentiment against things non-Muslim. We encountered notable exceptions to this generally negative attitude towards formal education in the villages of Namarigoungou and Fantio. Many people from Namarigoungou have succeeded in obtaining government jobs, and the village chief now requires that all children attend primary school. In Fantio, those who accepted Christianity were also eager to benefit from formal education. Enrollment in public middle schools and high schools is limited, and students must move to the larger towns (usually the "chef-lieu d'arrondissement") to attend them.

French is the language of instruction in public schools. All of the teachers we interviewed acknowledged that they must use the local language some with first-year students, since these students usually don't speak any French before they begin attending school. However, they try to make school a monolingual French environment. Students are usually punished for speaking in any language other than French at school. Three of the ten teachers we interviewed extend this to recreation time.

In 1972 a number of "experimental schools" were established throughout the Songhay and Zarma regions which used the mother tongue as the medium of instruction for the first three years. The staff of the experimental school in Tillaberi explained to us that although their students learn to read well in Zarma in just one year, they are at a disadvantage upon entering middle school with students from regular primary schools because they have had only three years of full-time instruction in French whereas the other students have been learning French and studying in French for six years by the time they enter middle school. Neither we nor the teachers are aware of any follow-up data on the subsequent progress of experimental school students.

1.6 Facilities and economics

1.6.1 Supply needs

The Songhay peoples' main occupation is subsistence farming. They generally get by with resources that are available locally. However, the farming season is only 5 months long in this region. Many men head south after the harvest (in October or November) and look for work elsewhere until June, when it's time to plant again. Generally, this means moving to Niamey or toward the coast. Many learn a bit of French or English during their *exode*, if they haven't learned it before. However, once back in their home regions, there is little apparent need to speak any language other than their own. French is a pre-requisite only to obtaining a job with the government.

1.6.2 Medical needs

Zarma can be used at all public medical facilities in the Songhay Zarma and Dendi regions.

1.6.3 Commercial ventures

The Hausa are the traditional merchants of the Sahel and control most of the large-scale trade. Thus, it is often advantageous to be able to speak some Hausa when doing business with them. However, most Zarma simply trade with other Zarma.

1.6.4 Government facilities in the area

Niamey, the national capital, is in the middle of the Zarma region. One hears people speaking Zarma, Hausa, and French both behind and across the counter in nearly all government offices in Niamey. We also heard Zarma spoken at all of the regional and local government offices we visited. In most of the villages we visited, people reported that they spoke their own language when visiting government offices. In Tanda people said they might also use Hausa. The Wogo of Sawani said they might use French too. Only in Fantio did people tell us that they would use French rather than their own language to speak with government officials.

The government promotes the use of national languages in the mass media. The national radio and television stations, ORTN and TeleSahel, both give the news in Zarma and other national languages in addition to French. Yves Bernard says that all Zarma radio announcers come from the Dosso area. SIL members working in Gao, Mali and Horizons members working in Markoy, Burkina Faso report that Radio Niger is popular there as well.

1.7 Traditional culture

Having inquired about traditional practices during the yearly Muslim fast of Ramadan, when Muslim religious fervor is generally at its peak, may have affected the responses we received. Responses to our questions about the vitality of traditional practices were mixed. In about half of the villages we visited people couldn't even conceive of some second language being used for funerals or traditional rites. In the other half, people said that the traditional practices were no longer followed, having been forbidden by Islam or replaced by Islamic practices. In Goría, which seemed to be a very stable village, we were told that the traditional Zarma funeral had been replaced by the Fulani funeral (the Fulani introduced Islam in this area) because it was a simpler ceremony.

In Tanda, Kargui Bangou (near Dosso), Bardouga, and Dibilo, we were told that the youth still learn traditional songs and stories like their parents did and that they know the oral traditions well. Everywhere else, people said that the oral traditions were passing away. Many complained that today's youth were no longer respectful, and some said that they were taken with modernism.

Reportedly, the Zarma use proverbs extensively in their every-day speech. One assumes that these proverbs draw upon the knowledge base of traditional Zarma culture. We were also told that people play with their language, turning it into a code for private communication. One example of this same practice by English speakers would be "Pig Latin".

1.8 Linguistic work in the language area

1.8.1 Work accomplished in the past

The Catholic missionary linguist André Prost (1956) included research in the dialects of Niger in his study of the Songhay language, and was the first to propose the dialect boundaries which have generally been accepted by subsequent researchers. Robert Nicolai later gathered very large word lists from sites spanning the entire Songhay area for his dissertation on the dialects of Songhay (1979). These are presumably the basis of the Songhay lexical database accessible on the internet at <http://Sahelia.unice.fr> in French and English. Nicolai gives a more comprehensive summary of past linguistic work in Songhay in the introduction to his dissertation.

Tersis (1972, 1981) and Hamani (1980) provide two thorough linguistic analyses of Zarma. Yanco (1984) studied Zarma/Hausa bilingualism in Niamey. Rougga Himadou (1987) located isoglosses of certain commonly-recognized phonological differences between Zarma and Songhay. And in 1994, Father Yves Bernard published a Zarma-French dictionary, including a grammar by Mary White-Kaba.

Niger's Institute Nationale de Documentation de Recherche et d'Animation Pédagogique (INDRAP) has published primary school textbooks in Zarma as well as the other national languages for use in the experimental schools. The Direction de l'Alphabétisation et de la Formation des Adultes (DAFA) has also produced literacy materials as well as many development-related booklets in Zarma.

Beginning Zarma language learning materials for non-native speakers have been produced by EBM (1970) and the Peace Corps (1976, 1992, 1993). For more information, see the Zarma Language Learning Bibliography, appended to this report. Scott Eberle's 1996 *Zarma Learner's Resource Notebook* is an invaluable contribution to any anglophone wanting to learn or do research in Zarma. Eberle attempts to help would-be zarmaphones advance past a basic competency, and he does an admirable job of pulling together and presenting what must be most of the material available in Niamey. It is to this ~500-page volume, with its 6-page annotated bibliography that we owe much of the credit for directing our initial research. We refer all who would learn about the Zarma language and people to it. There is one copy in the SIL library. It is also available on diskette in AmiPro Format from the author.

1.8.2 Present work

The works in progress that we are aware of include a French-Zarma/Songhay dictionary by Ousseini and Hamadou Soumana, of the Réforme, INDRAP, B.P. 10184, Niamey, and a compilation of botanical terms, with special attention to the medicinal uses of plants, by Yves Bernard.

1.8.3 Materials published in the language

See Appendix A, Zarma literature bibliography.

2 Methodology

2.1 Tools

2.1.1 The Recorded Text Test

We use the Recorded Text Test (RTT), based on a model developed by SIL in Mexico (Casad, 1974), as a tool for synchronic comparison studies of related dialects. It is primarily used to measure the degree of inherent intelligibility between various dialects, due solely to their linguistic similarity. We have not attempted to measure the average comprehension of the entire population, many of whom have travelled, and thus have learned to understand other speech forms through exposure to them. If a dialect is inherently intelligible to speakers of another dialect, then bi-lectalism is not an issue--even those who have no contact with the other dialect will be able to understand it. We did make slight modifications in developing and administering the Songhay/Zarma/Dendi Recorded Text Test because of our particular circumstances here in Niger. Below is a brief description of the steps in the preparation and administration of the test:

1. Two texts are elicited from a native speaker of Village A: one is a short text to be used to "teach" the testing method and weed out unreliable subjects. The second text is longer, approximately three minutes in length. It should be as free as possible from objectionable and predictable subject matters, proper nouns, and words borrowed from another language.
2. A group of 12-15 questions are developed based on the longer text. These questions are recorded into the dialect of Village A and inserted into the text. Ten native speakers of the dialect of Village A listen individually to the text and respond to the questions so that any badly composed or misleading questions can be isolated and removed. The ten best questions, to which native speakers have responded with the most correct answers, are chosen for the final form of the test.
3. In Village B, the ten questions from the Village A text are translated into Village B's dialect and inserted into the text. Thus, Village B residents will hear the text in dialect "A" but the questions in their own dialect.
4. At least 10 speakers in Village B are tested. First they are screened, and listen individually to the "learning text" which is followed by the "hometown" text, the text in their own dialect. If they are able to perform well, missing no more than one answer on the "hometown" text, they then listen to the text from Village A, and respond to the questions as they listen. They listen

to the text only once, though we allowed a subject to listen to a section a second time if there was a distraction or his (incorrect) answer to the question indicated that he did understand the text, yet was unsure of the correct answer to the question. The cumulative scores of the subjects on the RTT are interpreted as an indicator of the level of inherent intelligibility by Village B of the dialect of Village A.

One point was given for each correct answer. No points were given for an incorrect answer. If an answer contained two elements and the subject was able to give one of the two correctly, we awarded one-half of a point. For a test containing 10 questions, a score of “10” was a perfect score.

The original recordings and field transcriptions of all the texts used in this study are on file at the SIL office in Niamey, Niger. The text from Niki Beri, in the Dosso dialect of Zarma which has been chosen by the government as the standard variety, is shown in interlinearized form in Appendix D along with its comprehension questions.

A text which had been elicited (and validated as in point 2 above) by the SIL team in Gao, Mali (Liebrecht, 1996) was made available for our use during this survey. Although all ten Gao residents with whom the Gao text was validated got a perfect score, as we administered it, we realized that the answers given to the first question were unreliable. The correct answer to the question was a proper noun, the name of a place known to residents of Gao, but unknown to the subjects in Niger. The wide range of attempted pronunciations indicated that though the majority of the subjects understood it to be the name of a place, they were unable to correctly pronounce it, having only heard it once. We therefore decided to disregard the answers to this first question, making a perfect score on the text from Gao 9 points instead of 10 points.

Though we had texts from 10 different villages, we chose only four texts, plus the hometown text, to test at each village site, for a total of five texts. Previous experience administering RTT's had indicated that performance on the test dropped off after five or six texts due to subject fatigue. In addition, limiting the number of texts played helped us to narrow our focus to the dialects in which literature had already been produced.

2.1.2 Word lists

We elicited word lists in order to discover how similar the lexicons of each dialect are as an aid to determining the current levels of inter-comprehension between the dialects. We used the word list as a tool simply for comparison of lexical items in the Songhay dialects spoken in Niger. To this end we elicited a 230 item word list at each of the nine villages we visited. The list contains “core” lexical items taken from the Swadesh list and the list developed by SIL Africa Area. This list has been tested and used widely by SIL survey teams in Burkina Faso.

The list was elicited from a resident of the village who was recommended to us as having a good knowledge of his language, and a good knowledge of French. In most villages other men besides the primary word-pronouncer were present during the elicitation. They helped decide which word was the most appropriate in cases where the gloss we elicited could have been expressed by more than one word in the local speech variety. Each list was checked for discrepancies with data from contiguous dialects and the Zarma-French dictionary (Bernard and White-Kaba 1994) in order to avoid comparison of words which are actually synonyms in different dialects. During the second visit to the test site questionable items were re-elicited in order to make the list as reliable as possible in the amount of time available to the survey.

The word lists elicited in this study are shown in Appendix E. For more lexical data on Southern Songhay dialects, please see the Songhay lexical database accessible on the internet at <http://Sahelia.unice.fr>.

2.1.3 Interview schedules

In each village we visited, we asked the village chief if we could ask questions of a group of people. Generally, a group of five to fifteen men, aged 25 to 60 years, assembled to answer our questions. Often there were already this many on-lookers by the time we'd finished greeting the chief. In this way, we did not really have control over who answered our questions, but it did improve the chance that the answers and opinions expressed in response to our questions would most likely be a consensus of the group, and not the beliefs of just one person.

We asked questions from both a general demographic and a general sociolinguistic interview schedule. The answers to the former furnished information such as nearby schools, markets, and government services, furnishing information about the general level of the quality of life; the latter dealt with perceived dialect differences, language attitudes, bilingualism and language use. We also interviewed school teachers and religious leaders using interview schedules. The information gathered in this way provided a context for interpreting the results of the dialect intelligibility testing, and furnished background information about the Songhay peoples in Niger which would aid in developing strategies for work in the language.

Appendix F contains copies of the sociolinguistic and general interview schedules as they were administered, in French. Either our interpreter, a school teacher, or another francophone present translated the questions into Zarma as we asked them. Often, someone in the group could give a response in French. If not, the responses were translated by the same person translating the questions.

2.2 Sampling

2.2.1 Choice of village sites

The literature and our interviews with knowledgeable people in Niamey indicated six towns as recognized centers for a dialect, locations recognized for historical significance, and locations which would be representative of the ethnic group reported in the area: Gaya, Dosso, Ouallam, Torodi, Tillaberi and Tera. However, since language change tends to occur more quickly in large towns than in villages, and people who live in large towns tend to have lots of contact with people from outside of their own speech community, we planned to gather our data from villages in each region rather than in these main towns. This should allow us: 1) to sample as pure a form of each regional dialect as possible, and 2) to test the comprehension of those people with the least contact with other speech forms. If they can understand them, those with more exposure will understand them even better. We also planned to include a Wogo village and a Kurtey village in this survey. These two ethnic groups, who also speak Southern Songhay dialects, inhabit islands in the Niger River between Ayorou and Gotheye.

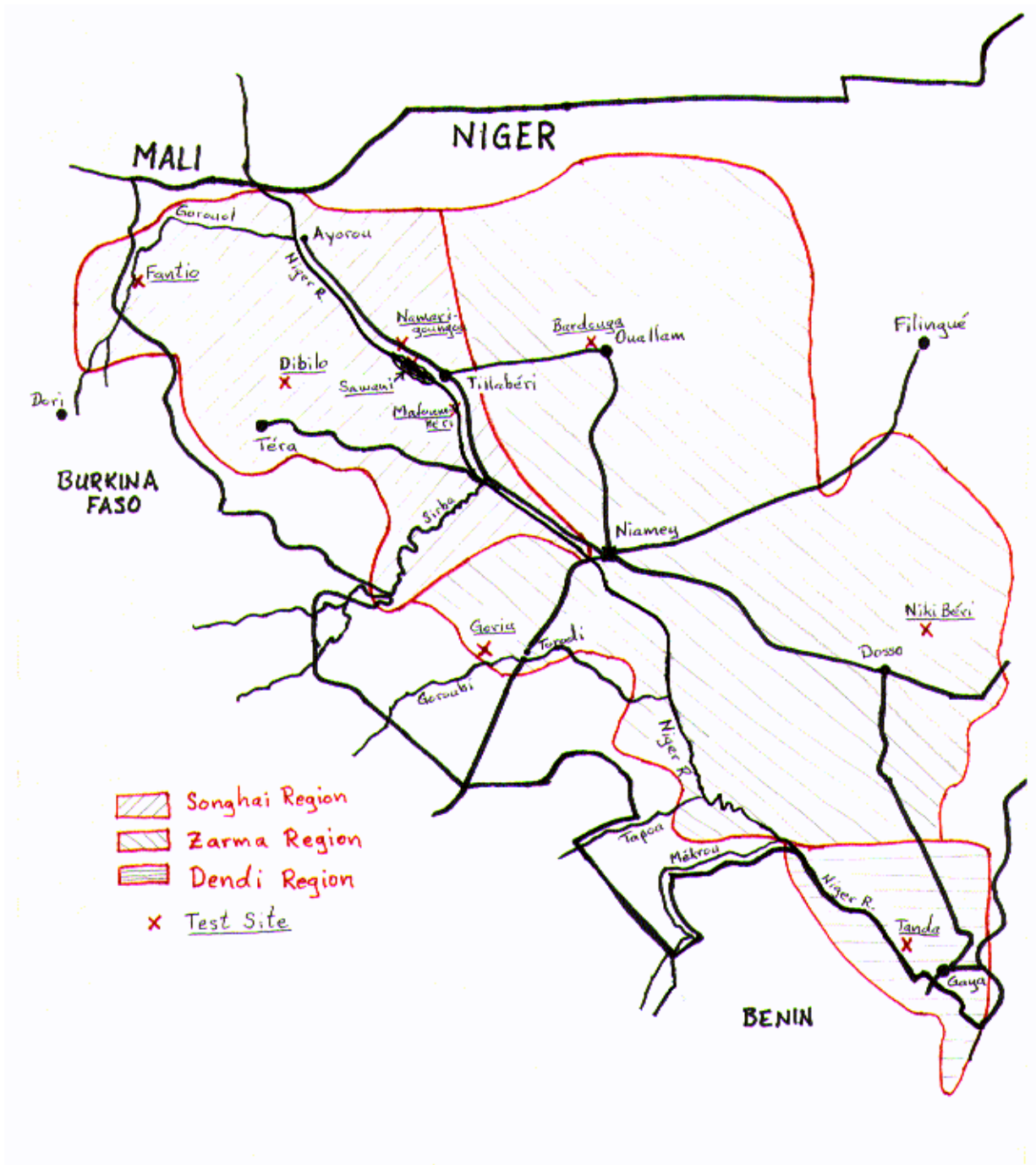
When we arrived in each area, we made a decision to visit one of the surrounding villages based on the following criteria:

- Homogeneous population of speakers of the dialect under consideration
- Limited contact of village population with speakers of other dialects
- Not on a major road
- Presence of a primary school
- Willingness of village leaders to cooperate

Thus, the village sites chosen for this survey were (see Map 3):

- Tanda - a Dendi village near Gaya
- Niki Beri - a village near Dosso, Zarmatarey dialect
- Goría - a Zarma village west of the Niger River near Torodi
- Bardouga - a village near Ouallam, Zarmaganda dialect
- Namarigoungou - a Songhay village on the east bank of the Niger River near Tillaberi
- Sawani - a Wogo village on an island in the Niger River near Sinder
- Maloum Beri - a Kurtey village on an island in the Niger River south of Tillaberi
- Dibilo - a Songhay village near Tera
- Fantio - a Songhay village near Dolbel

The village of Fantio was a choice made later in the survey based on information gathered during fieldwork in Tillaberi and Tera. While in Tera we were told that a six year old child from Tera would not be able to understand the speech in Fantio. This indicated a sufficiently large dialect difference to warrant first hand observation and testing. In addition, we wanted to visit the Catholic Mission of the Gorouol which has worked among the Songhay for almost half a century.



Map 3 Ethnic regions and village test sites

2.2.2 Choice of subjects for the Recorded Text Test

Our selection of subjects was not random. In each village location we tested students in the last year of the primary school cycle (CM2). This choice of subjects has been used successfully in Burkina Faso for several years, and for several reasons is helpful to eliminate some variables which may alter the outcome of the Recorded Text Test. First, the testing procedure for the Recorded Text Test is difficult to understand for those unaccustomed to a question-answer test method. Choosing young people with six years of schooling both facilitated the administration of the test, and reduced the possibility that low scores would be due to unfamiliarity with the test-taking procedure. Second, students of the CM2 level are generally 12-15 years of age: old enough to have a mature understanding of their own language, but young enough to be unlikely to have traveled outside their native dialect area. Third, we found that by testing school children we were assured that they would be available during the day, and not out in the fields away from the village, or on some other errands. Finally, children in a formal schooling environment and with a teacher who is generally not startled by the presence of foreigners, are less likely to be so frightened in the presence of strangers that they cannot perform well on the test.

Each student was screened before taking the RTT to ensure that he or she was a native speaker of the dialect in the target village, that his parents were also from this speech community, that he had not spent large amounts of time outside of the village. In addition, the short “teaching text” played before the actual recorded texts was used to screen candidates who for some reason were unable to catch on to the test method.

In Bardouga we did have some difficulty in finding enough CM2 students to test, and so also tested two adolescents of approximately the same age, but who had had no formal schooling. The unschooled subjects' scores fell within the range of the students' scores.

2.2.3 Choice of subjects for interview schedules

As was mentioned in Section 2.1.3, we were not in a position to truly “sample” the population when using the interview schedules, but asked a group of people the questions. Generally the group consisted of a core of five to fifteen men, usually between 25 or 30 and 60 years of age, with an additional group of onlookers of different ages. There were very rarely any women or girls present.

3 Dialect inter-comprehension and lexicostatistical data

3.1 Results of the Recorded Text Test

The numerical results of the Recorded Text Test should not be interpreted as an exact measure of the degree of comprehension between the dialects, but rather as an indicator. Thus, the figures reported in Table 3.1 below cannot be interpreted as being the exact percentage of inherent intelligibility between the dialect areas, but rather an indicator of the approximate level of intelligibility, and thus the level of predicted comprehension of a speaker of that dialect.

The results of the Recorded Text Test, administered at nine locations, are shown below in Table 3.1. The first column, “Test Site” shows the name of the village where the test was administered as well as identifying the dialect area it represented. In the next column “Text from:” is the name of the source village for the text that was played. At each test site we played texts from five villages, the first always being the “hometown” text, or text from the home village of the subject. The other four texts were from villages in key dialect locations. (See Section 2.2.1 for the list of villages.) The text from Gao is a sample of the Gao dialect of Songhay from Mali.

Table 3.1 Summary of results of the Recorded Text Test

Test Site <i>Dialect Area</i>	Text from:	Mean Score (%)	Standard deviation (%)	Sample Size
TANDA	Tanda	100	0	10
<i>Dendi</i>	Niki Beri	99	3	10
	Sawani	94	6	10
	Dibilo	99	3	10
	Gao	45	11	10
NIKI BERI	Niki Beri	99	3	10
<i>Zarmatarey</i>	Tanda	99	3	10
<i>(Dosso)</i>	Bardouga	100	0	10
	Dibilo	100	2	10
	Gao	28	13	10
GORIA	Goria	98	4	10
<i>Zarma, West</i>	Tanda	100	0	10
<i>of Niger River</i>	Niki Beri	97	5	10
	Dibilo	100	0	10
	Gao	31	11	10
BARDOUGA	Bardouga	97	6	11
<i>Zarmaganda</i>	Tanda	97	5	11
	Niki Beri	97	5	11
	Dibilo	98	4	11
	Gao	34	17	11
MALOUM	Maloum Beri	95	5	10
BERI	Tanda	98	4	10
<i>Kurtey</i>	Niki Beri	97	5	10
	Dibilo	100	0	10
	Gao	49	10	10
SAWANI	Sawani	96	5	10
<i>Wogo</i>	Tanda	95	5	10
	Niki Beri	92	8	10
	Dibilo	100	0	10
	Gao	64	21	10
NAMARI-	Namarigoungou	97	5	10
GOUNGOU	Niki Beri	100	0	10
<i>Songhay,</i>	Bardouga	100	0	10
<i>East Bank</i>	Dibilo	97	5	10
	Gao	47	12	10
DIBILO	Dibilo	100	0	10
<i>Songhay</i>	Tanda	95	7	10
	Niki Beri	94	5	10
	Fantio	98	4	10
	Gao	34	10	10
FANTIO	Fantio	97	5	10
<i>Songhay,</i>	Tanda	95	8	10
<i>a.k.a. Kaado</i>	Niki Beri	97	7	10
	Dibilo	98	4	10
	Gao	43	14	10

The third column “Mean Score” gives the arithmetic average of the test scores at each location as a percentage of the total points possible for each test. The “Standard deviation” column represents the spread of the scores, and is a valuable aid to verify that just one phenomenon is being measured. Our aim is to measure how inherently intelligible a reference speech form is to speakers of a second speech form. Since inherent intelligibility is a feature of the language itself, we assume that anyone who has mastered his own language will understand the reference speech form equally as well or as poorly as others who speak his language. Thus, if our test truly measures inherent intelligibility, the standard deviation of the scores should be small (<15%) (J. Grimes, 1988:30). A large standard deviation (>15%) would indicate that some subjects scored significantly higher than others. We assume that this means those subjects have had some opportunity to learn the reference dialect, so that their score reflects an acquired comprehension in addition to inherent intelligibility, and thus, the mean score is also a bit high as an indicator of inherent intelligibility. The last column shows the number of subjects for each test.

It appears that people from all Southern Songhay dialect areas in Niger are able to understand each other very well, and this even when they have not had the opportunity to learn the other Nigerien dialects. All mean scores on texts from within Niger were over 90%, with standard deviations of less than 10%. A threshold of 85% is usually considered high enough to predict good communication (J. Grimes, 1995:22). The low standard deviations give us confidence that we have indeed measured inherent intelligibility.

On the other hand, we found that no one in Niger understood the Songhay of Gao, Mali very well. The Wogo subjects from Sawani had the highest average score on the Gao text, which was 64%. However, a mean score of 64% indicates a level of comprehension which is still too low for the Wogo to profit from oral or written materials in the Gao dialect.¹ Also, the standard deviation of 21% indicates that some subjects most probably had the advantage of some previous contact with speakers of the Gao dialect, and had learned to understand the dialect. Indeed, post-RTT questions revealed that at least one family from Gao was living in Sawani. Also, the distribution of Sawani subjects' scores on the Gao text was bimodal, with the top five scores averaging 83% and the bottom five averaging 46%. We assume that 46% is the more accurate indicator of Wogo speakers' inherent intelligibility of the Gao dialect.

Likewise, the scores on the Gao text also had a bimodal distribution in Maloum Beri, Namarigoungou, and Fantio. In Maloum Beri the bottom six scores averaged 42%. In Namarigoungou, the bottom six scores averaged 39%. In Fantio the bottom six scores averaged 32%. We assume that these lower figures are better indicators of the inherent intelligibility of the Gao dialect in these villages than those in Table 3.1.

It is interesting to note that the higher scores on the Gao text were in villages right on the Niger River. In Niger, the distance of a village from the river seems to be a better predictor of its residents' comprehension of the Gao dialect than the distance between the village and Gao. However, we must underline again that even the highest mean scores on the Gao text indicated low comprehension of the Gao dialect in Niger.

The text which was most in focus during these tests was the text from Niki Beri representing the Dosso dialect. The Dosso dialect has been reported as being the source dialect for Zarma materials produced by INDRAP, DAFA, and the Evangelical Baptist Mission. The high degree of predicted understanding of the Dosso dialect by speakers of the other Songhay dialects of Niger would indicate that these materials can be used to serve the entire Songhay, Zarma, and Dendi-speaking populations of Niger.

¹ SIL guidelines indicate that an RTT score of 75% is the lowest acceptable indicator of comprehension, while other situations require scores of up to 85% as an indicator that the target dialect is understood well enough that the subjects would be able to use written materials in it. For further discussion on the interpretation of test results for decision-making at an administrative level, see "Language Assessment Criteria" in Notes on Scripture in Use and Language Programs #28 from June 1991.

3.2 Informal questions for the subjects of the Recorded Text Test

After the subject had listened to the text from a village other than his or her own, we asked four questions about the person who gave the text. The purpose of these questions was to sound out attitudes and opinions about the different dialects, concerning prestige, if the dialect is considered easy to understand, etc.:

- 1) Have you heard someone who speaks like this before? Where did you hear that person?
- 2) Where do you think the speaker comes from?
- 3) Does he speak your language well?
- 4) How much of what he said did you understand - a lot, about half, only a little?

We cannot consider the answers to these questions to be entirely reliable. Some subjects could not or would not answer the questions. Some subjects were given the answer (for instance, where the speaker was from) by the person who was translating for us. Other subjects clearly did not have an opinion but felt pressured to give an answer, any answer.

We make here a few observations about the experience of asking these questions. First of all, since we screened out subjects who had had previous contact with speakers of other dialects, questions 1 and 2 were outside their realm of experience, and therefore made the subject uncomfortable because he or she did not know how to respond. This usually served as a verification that the subjects hadn't had previous contact with speakers of these dialects. Several of the people informally helping us to translate, and anxious to prove their worth as someone knowing something about their language, would answer the question for the student. Some students did have ideas about where the person on the tape might have been from, which was interesting from the point of view that there are certain conceptions about speakers of other dialects, even in the minds of those who have not had much contact with them. It was also interesting that the adults who served as translators during the testing were almost always able to accurately identify where the story-teller was from. Occasionally, we learned that a subject did know someone who spoke that speech variety after all. For example, this is how we discovered that there were one or two families from Gao living in Sawani.

Question number 3 might have yielded some interesting results for the study of language attitudes; however, it seemed that the students were reticent to say anything that might have been critical of the person telling the story, and who was clearly older than they; therefore, the students almost always answered that the story-teller spoke the language well. The answers to question 4 seemed to reflect more the general performance of the student in the classroom, rather than on that particular text. This was revealed by observing the interaction between the student and the teacher who often acted as the translator, or sat next to the translator out of curiosity or to ensure sterling performance on the part of his students.

3.3 Results of lexicostatistical analysis

Nicolaï (1979b) has already carried out cognate studies of Songhay to draw certain conclusions about the relatedness of the Songhay dialects, their classification into language families, and the predicted comprehension between those dialects. Our purpose in gathering word lists was first of all, to add to the body of data collected, and secondly, to have lexical data from each test site of the Recorded Text Test. The analysis resulting from the comparison of apparent cognates is useful as a check on the results of the Recorded Text Test. We must underline the fact that these figures are not from studies of cognates, but from words which in their surface form appear to have a common root, that is, they are lexically similar.

Table 3.3 shows the lexical similarity percentages for word lists elicited in the villages visited. To find the lexical similarity between word lists from two villages, scan down the column of figures directly below the name of the first village until you reach the number in the row of the second village. These figures were calculated using the WordSurv program, Version 2.4, which counts the number of lexically similar words in two word lists and divides by the total number of words common to both lists. The numbers 4 through 10 and words which appear to have been borrowed from other languages were excluded from this calculation. See Appendix E for the entire word list.

Table 3.3 - Percentages of lexical similarity

Tanda (Dendi)								
93	Niki Beri (Zarma, Dosso)							
92	95	Bardouga (Zarmaganda)						
90	93	94	Goria (Zarma, W. Bank)					
89	92	93	96	Maloum Beri (Kurtey)				
89	92	93	93	91	Namarigoungou (Songhay, E. Bank)			
88	89	91	94	92	93	Dibilo (Songhay, Tera)		
87	87	89	94	92	90	93	Fantio (Songhay, "Kaado")	
85	86	86	91	90	91	89	90	Sawani (Wogo)

Joseph Grimes (1988) points out that while there is a correlation between low lexical similarity (<60%) and low intelligibility, high lexical similarity is not an accurate predictor of high inherent intelligibility. The lowest percentage of lexical similarity that we measured was 85% (between the speech of Tanda and the speech of Sawani). This simply confirms the need for the intelligibility testing which we performed.

3.4 Dialect preference

We did not detect attitudes toward any of the dialects which would interfere with comprehension or acceptance of written materials. In fact, we found it interesting that often speakers confused names of speech varieties (as mentioned in Section 1.1). For example, in the village of Sawani, people alternately said they spoke Wogo, Zarma, or Songhay. People in Dibilo (near Tera) alternately referred to their language as Songhay or Zarma.

When asking the question, "In which village is your language spoken the best?" the answers generally reflected a regional identity. For example, the people in Bardouga (near Ouallam) answered that Zarma was spoken the best in the Zarmaganda. For the people in Fantio (near Dolbel), the best Songhay is spoken in the Gorouol. Only in Goria did the people refer to a different region: Dosso.

The answers to the question, "If a foreigner wanted to learn your language, where is the best place to learn it?" reflected reasoning other than choosing the "purest" speech: in Fantio people said that a foreigner should learn Songhay in their village as there are many educated and literate people in the village. In Goria, though they had said that the best Zarma was spoken in Dosso, they said that Goria would be the best place for a foreigner to come and learn their language. Most of the other villages gave the response that any village would be suitable for learning the language. In Namarigoungou and Tanda, however, the responses were more along the lines of purity of speech: the people in Namarigoungou (on the east side of the river), responded that it would be better to learn Songhay on the west side of the river; the people in Tanda said that they spoke pure Dendi, and therefore a foreigner should learn the language in their village.

In spite of fairly neutral responses to our questions, there appears to be some amount of identification of some groups with certain characteristics. We were told that often in comedy skits on the radio, someone adopting the Dendi dialect would make people laugh. A speaker's area of origin can be detected by various speech characteristics, but there do not seem to be very strong feelings about the location of the "best" or "purest" Southern Songhay dialect in Niger.

3.5 Geographic differences

Before beginning our fieldwork, many people in Niamey told us that Zarma speakers all over Niger could understand each other, that it was simply a question of "accent" and some lexical differences. It appears that this is the case. Rougga Himadou, in his 1987 thesis, outlined the regional differences in

speech, charting the areas where certain phonological features are found, such as the f/h distinction, the kw/k distinction and the a/e distinction, among others. We found this helpful in choosing our test sites. Though he is primarily concerned with the phonological differences between Zarma and Songhay-Kaado, he does mention lexical, syntactic, and morphological differences which differentiate the two dialects.

The Songhay peoples as a whole do not appear to look to one town as representing an idealized representation of their language, but each region maintains a certain cohesive identity as part of the larger Songhay group.

4 Conclusions

There is no need for more than one body of literature in the Southern Songhay dialects of Niger on the basis of a lack of oral intercomprehension or acceptance among dialects. All Zarma, Songhay, Wogo and Dendi speakers in Niger should be able to understand the same literature. Neither is there an apparent need for separate bodies of literature from the perspective of language attitudes, ethnic identity, or historical background. The Zarma of the Dosso region, which is used on national radio and television broadcasts and was used by the Evangelical Baptist Mission in their translation work, appears to be acceptable to all.

There appears to be a place of involvement for SIL personnel, particularly at the village level, in promoting education in Zarma. As a non-governmental organization, SIL can be of particular service to the Republic of Niger in helping to standardize a convention for writing Zarma and in developing and testing Zarma literature.

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* See Table of abbreviations

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DAFA	Direction d'Alphabétisation et de Formation des Adultes
EBM	Evangelical Baptist Mission
FacLSH	Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines
CCFN	Centre Culturel Franco Nigérien
IFAN	Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire
INDRAP	Institut Nigérien de Développement de Recherche et d'Animation Pédagogique
IRSH	Institut de Recherches en Sciences Humaines
SIL	Société International de Linguistique (Summer Institute of Linguistics)
SIM	Society of International Missions
UBS	United Bible Societies

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* Organization listed in annotations is location of item in Niamey, Niger. See Table of abbreviations.

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Table of abbreviations

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INDRAP	Institut Nigérien de Développement de Recherche et d'Animation Pédagogique
SIL	Société International de Linguistique (Summer Institute of Linguistics)
SIM	Society of International Missions
UBS	United Bible Societies

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* Organization listed in annotations is location of item in Niamey, Niger. See Table of abbreviations.

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FacLSH	Faculté des Lettres et Sciences Humaines
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IFAN	Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire
INDRAP	Institut Nigérien de Développement de Recherche et d'Animation Pédagogique
IRSH	Institut de Recherches en Sciences Humaines
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Appendix C Zarma language learning bibliography

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* Organization listed in annotations is location of item in Niamey, Niger. See Table of abbreviations.

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- . n.d. Simple helps for conversing in Zarma concerning common ailments. [No author, date, or publisher given, but assume it is a companion work to the above. SIM]

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Appendix D Niki Beri text and questions

Ce texte a été raconté par un jeune homme de Niki Béri, dans le région de Dosso, République du Niger, âgé d'approximativement 22 ans. Il a été transcrit et traduit par Haruna KIMSO et vérifié par Aïssa AMADOU de Niamey avec référence au Dictionnaire zarma-français (Bernard et White, 1994).

Légende

1P	1er personne au pluriel
1S	1er personne au singulier
3P	3e personne au pluriel
3S	3e personne au singulier
DEF	défini
IMP	imparitif
LOC	locatif
NOM	nominalisé
PL	pluriel

Texte

to sɪntɪnà dáy bi yáciné áy kóy sájò rà k'áy mùráádèy té.¹
 bon début simplement hier comme ça 1S partir brousse dans pour 1S occupation-PL faire
Hier à pareil moment j'étais allé en brousse pour faire mes occupations.

ay n'é kúsáy hírí ká kóy ká sààbàrà béerì.
 1S 1S piège tendre pour aller pour sabara labourer
J'avais tendu un piège et j'étais allé couper des arbustes (sabara).

k'áy na kúsa hírí hál'áy gà sààbàrà béerì kúsá ò kùrédjè.²
 quand 1S piège tendre quand 1S sabara labourer piège-DEF attraper écureuil.
Quand j'avais tendu le piège pendant que je coupais le sabara, le piège a attrapé un écureuil.

diirá bándá, ay n'à wi áy kànd'a gisi ká góy.
 attrapage après, 1S 3S tuer 1S apporter 3S poser pour travailler
Après ceci, je l'ai égorgé et déposé pour continuer mon travail.

ay na kálo té,³ kálo téyám bándá áy n'à tóon, nd'ay béerè, kán mà Dàarí.
 1S clôture faire clôturefaire-NOM après 1S 3S grillé et 1S grand frère qui nom Daari
J'ai fait la clôture. Ensuite j'ai grillé l'écureuil en compagnie de mon grand frère qui s'appelle Dari.

i nà kurédja tóon ká ŋwà.
 1P écureuil-DEF griller pour manger
Nous avons grillé et mangé l'écureuil.

ay ká júmmà,
 1S venir grande prière,
Je suis venu à la prière du vendredi.

júmmà zúbú, áy ye ká yê kóynè kóy ká góyò sɪntɪn.
 vendredi descend 1S retourner pour retourner encore aller pour travail commencer.
Ensuite je suis retourné à mon travail.

ay na hàri jéere áy gòrjò yán se kân gò fári bármà dò.⁴
 1S eau porter 1S poulet des pour qui LOC champ grenier à
J'avais apporté de l'eau à mes poulets qui sont au champ au niveau du grenier.
 to, à bándá alamisso hánè ay kóy hábù.⁵
 bon, 3S derrière jeudi jour 1S partir marché
Bon, ensuite, le jeudi je suis allé au marché.

k'ay kóy hábú, hábú rá ay murádo sí nò tè.
 quand 1S partir marché marche dans 1S affaire non (absent) faire
Là-bas ça ne marchait pas.

ay yê ká kàa fù kóyne.
 1S retourner pour revenir maison encore
Je suis retourné à la maison.

k'ây kàa fù ay bísa ká kóy sajo ra.
 quand 1S venir maison 1S passer pour aller brousse dans
Quand je suis arrivé à la maison, j'ai continué en brousse.

hál'hòn kóynè kân síndà nóorù káyán, áy kúsà yê ká dàrfándè di.
 jusqu'aujourd'hui encore qui n'a pas argent enlèvement, 1S piège retourner pour perdrix
 attraper
Aujourd'hui encore, mon piège a attrapé une perdrix qui ne me coûtait rien.

áy tóon áy jéere, áy kánde zànkèy se.⁶
 1S griller 1S porter, 1S apporter enfant-PL aux
J'en ai grillé et je l'ai apporté aux enfants.

to, samedio hané ká kóy lahado, ay yê ká kòy híjây⁷ Soja Dey.
 bon, samedi le jour qui va dimanche 1S retourner pour aller mariage soldat puits
Bon, entre le samedi et le dimanche, je suis allé encore à un mariage à Soja Dey.

k'ây kóy híjájà dò, i arwasséy, i n'ílàásábù i fúrò móótò ká kòy
 quand 1S partir mariage à 1P garçons-PL 1P 1P compter 1P rentre voiture pour aller
Arrivé au mariage, nous les garçons avons été comptés, nous sommes rentrés en voiture pour aller

Tómbò Kwààrà no din no i kòy gà wáy-híjò sámbù.
 forêt de boababs village là là être 1P partir pour jeune-mariée prendre.
à Tombo Kwaré c'est là que nous avons pris la jeune mariée.

i kòy gà zúmbù wóndíyey kándé i se ñwàri yan, wo kân ga ñwà ñwà.⁸
 1P partir pour descendre filles-PL apporter 1P pour repas des celui qui manger manger
Aussitôt descendus, les jeunes filles nous ont apportés des repas, et ceux qui voulaient ont mangé.

i ye ká béré ká fúrò móótà ra ká yê ká kàa fù kóynè.
 1P retourner pour revenir pour rentrer voiture dans pour retourner pour revenir maison encore
Nous sommes revenus à la maison en voiture.

tô, hùnkúná ay nè gòndá ànníyà, ay ma kòy sájò rà
 bon, aujourd'hui 1S dire avoir intention 1S IMP partir brousse dans
Bon, aujourd'hui j'ai pris la décision d'aller en brousse

kà súbù háábú⁹, kân fàrkà nda bàrí da hâw gá ñwà.
pour herbe balayer que âne et cheval et vache mangent
pour ramasser de l'herbe que les ânes, les chevaux et les vaches mangent.

d'áy dú sùbù, d'ay kà wíciri kámbú ây gá yé, kà yé
si 1S eu herbe si 1S venir après-midi 1S retourner pour revenir
Après avoir ramasser de l'herbe, pendant l'après-midi, je retournerais

ây góy zéenà dò kóynè.
1S travail ancien à encore
à mes anciennes occupations.

tô, bìifó àlhádò kân yé kà bisá, ây yé kà kóy
bon avant hier dimanche qui retourner pour passer, 1S retourner pour aller
Alors avant hier, le dimanche dernier, je suis allé encore

Kóó béèrì kwáará fó kân gò ì jérgà.
baobab grand village un qui est 1P côté
à Koberi, un village voisin.

ây kóy ká ây àddá yán hìnsé zàmèy dó.¹⁰
1S partir pour 1S machette des arranger forgeron-PL chez
Je suis allé réparer mes machettes chez les forgerons.

Questions de compréhension

- | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| ¹ Oú est-ce que la personne est partie?
Man ga na boro koy? | en brousse
sajo ra |
| ² Qu'est-ce que le piège a attrapé?
I fo no kusa a di? | l'équireille
kuredje |
| ³ Qu'est-ce qu'il a construit?
I fo na a te? | la clôture
kalo |
| ⁴ Pour qui est-ce qu'il a amèné l'eau?
May se na koynda haro? | pour les poulets
gorŋo |
| ⁵ Quand est-ce qu'il est parti au marché?
Wati fo no a koy habu? | jeudi
alamisso |
| ⁶ À qui est-ce qu'il a amèné l'oiseau qu'il a grillé?
May se n'a kanda cura tana ton? | aux enfants
zankey |
| ⁷ Pourquoi est-ce qu'il est parti?
I fo se n'a koy? | pour assister à un mariage
hijey |
| ⁸ Qui leur a amèné le manger?
May yan no kand'i se ñwari? | les filles
wondiyey |
| ⁹ Pourquoi est-ce qu'il est allé en brousse?
I fo se n'a koy sajo ra? | chercher la paille
ka subu haabu |
| ¹⁰ Chez qui est-ce qu'il est parti?
May do na a koy? | chez le forgeron
zamey do |

Appendix E Word lists

La transcription adoptée est celle de l'Association phonétique internationale.

Les verbes ont été élicité dans la forme de la 3^e personne singulière au passé.

Légende

TAN	Tanda (Dendi)
NIK	Niki Beri (Zarma, Dosso)
BAR	Bardouga (Zarmaganda)
GOR	Goria (Zarma, West Bank)
MAL	Maloum Beri (Kurtey)
NAM	Namarigoungou (Songhay, East Bank)
DIB	Dibilo (Songhay, Tera)
FAN	Fantio (Songhay, “Kaado”)
SAW	Sawani (Wogo)

	1 personne	2 nom	3 homme	4 mari	5 épouse	6 père	7 mère	8 femme
TAN	bòjò	mā	hāibòjò	kūŋē	wāndèi	bàbā	ŋā	wēi:bòjò
NIK	bōrō	má	ālābōrō	kūrīŋī	wendī	bàbā	aiŋa	wéibōrō
BAR BAR2	bòrò	mā	ālbòrò	kūrīŋê:	wāndèi wèihījī	bā:bā	ja	wèibòrò
GOR	bōrō	má	ālbōrō	kūrīŋē	wāndē	bábā	ja	weibōrō
MAL	bōrō	māio	ālbòrò	kūrīŋō	wāndò	bā:bò	jaŋo	weiboro
NAM	bōrō	mā	ālbōrō	kūrīŋè	wèihījì	bābā	ŋa	wāndî
DIB	boro	mai	boro	guriŋe	weihijí	ba:be	ja	wandé
FAN	bōrō	maŋa	alboro	kuriŋo	wandei	babe	ja	weiboro
SAW	boro	ma:ŋo	aro	kurŋo	wando	ba:ba	jaŋo	weo

	9 garçon	10 fille	11 grande soeur	12 grand frère	13 petite soeur
TAN	hāiwāsù	wāndiò	wēimè	bējē	cīènè
NIK	alawusū	wendiu	beriwéibōrō	berialbōrō	kaināwēbòrò
BAR	ālbōrōi:zei	wèibōrōi:zēi	beraweibora	beralbora	kaine
GOR GOR2	alboro	wundio	weimēberi	beri arme	weimekaine
MAL	ārwōsù	fōndījā	wēimà	bērò	keīnāwèò
NAM	ālwōsù	hō:nīa	wēimābē:rì	bē:rè	wēimākàinà
DIB	alawasu	hōndi	weimeibé:ra	bé:rabé:ra	wemekeina
FAN FAN2	arawasu	houndi	weimbera be:riweiboro	be:ro	weima keino
SAW	arwaso	hwēndia	weimabé:ro	be:ro	weimakeina

	14 petit frère	15 chef	16 ancien	17 guérisseur	18 forgeron
TAN TAN2	cīēnè	kwěi	zēnō	zīmà bòjòkāsāfàò	zām
NIK NIK2	kainàālbòrò	kwa:rakwei maigari	ìsēinu	zi:ma	zām
BAR	keinekeine	kwārākwèi	ci	zi:mà	zāmū
GOR	kaine	kwārākòjò	dotigi	kwārākòjò	zam
MAL MAL2	keinaaro	ami:ro	dòtìjò	zi:ma sāfārkò:nì	gārāsà zim
NAM NAM2	kāinè	kwā:rākwèi	dòtìgò àlbē:ri	zi:mà	zam
DIB DIB2	ké:nkeina	kwarabonkono amí:ro	albé:razena	zi:mā	zem
FAN FAN2	keino	koirake koirakoio	do:tigi arakusu	zi:ma seferika	zem
SAW SAW2	keinaaro	kwe:rakwoio	borohen:o	zi:mà safarko	gārāsā

	19 couteau	20 village	21 case (maison)	22 mur	23 porte	24 grenier
TAN	zā:mà	kwā:jā	fū	jāmbàì	gāṅfū	bɔ
NIK	zā:mā	kwa:ra	fu	wìndí	fumidá:brìgì	barama
BAR BAR2 BAR3	zāmā	kwārà	fū gàbē gārū	wìndì	dā:ṅgālā	bòròmò
GOR GOR2	za:ma	kwara	hu fu	kaka	hudabrigi	sulu
MAL MAL2	zā:mà	kwērà	hu	gariwindi kakaka:ri	dabrigi caora	buwa
NAM NAM2	zà:mā	kwārā	hu sā:bā	gariwindi kwā:rì	hùmèdālā	bōròmò
DIB DIB2 DIB3	za:ma	kóira	hu	kaka mí:ro da:la	dabírji dængalei	bo
FAN FAN2	za:ma	koira	hu	wìndì kakadi:gene	humedabrigi	su:ru:
SAW SAW2	za:ma	kwe:rā	hugɔ bugɔ	wìndì kali	da:brigi	su:ro bona

	25 toit	26 pagne	27 boubou	28 sandales	29 bague	30 collier
TAN	fūbènè	zā:jà	kwēibiēi	tāmū	kwōrōbēi	ɟindēhiē
NIK	fube:ni	zārā	kwaiberi	tā:mù	kwōrōbē:zì	hi:ri
BAR BAR2	fūbēnē bā:tā	zā:rā	kwā:i	tā:mū	kōrōbēi	hīrī sīsīrī
GOR GOR2	hujole	zara antampa	kaibe:	tā:mū	korbeizī	ɟindihiri
MAL MAL2	huobene hume	zārā	ɟābā zārābe:ri	tā:mī	korbei	ɟindihiri:ri hi:ri
NAM NAM2	hūbōndābā da:bandi	zārā	kwāibēri	ta:mi	kōrbēzēi	ɟindihiri
DIB DIB2 DIB3	jenta fūbènè sābā	za:ra	kái	ta:mi	korbei	hi:ri
FAN FAN2	jenta	zara ta:fe	ɟaba kai	ta:mi	korbe	cɟindihiri:ro
SAW SAW2	jenta	za:ra	ɟa:ba kaiberi	ta:mi	corbei	ɟindahiri:ri

	31 fusil*	32 flèche	33 arc	34 corde	35 tisserand	36alebasse	37 panier
TAN	mālfā	hāṅgāū	birau	kwèj̄fō	cɟà:kāi	gā:sū	kwò:ndū
NIK	mēlāfā	hāṅgaūizei	biro	kōrfō	cɟākā	gā:sū	kila
BAR	mālfā	hāṅgāū	bīrō	bīròkòrfū	cā:kè	gā:sū	ci:la
GOR	malfa	haṅo	biro	korfu	cakai	ga:su	kila
MAL	marfa	haṅōṅ	bīrō	kārfū	cākāi	gā:sì	cɟil:a
NAM NAM2	mārfā	hāṅāu	bīrāu	kārfū	cākāi	gāsī	kwando cīlā
DIB DIB2	mālfā	haṅgó	biro	karfo	càkei	ga:si	koko:ndo cɟila
FAN FAN2	malfa	haṅo	biro	karfu	cɟa:kwei	ga:si	kwanta ferera
SAW	malfa	haṅó	biro	karfo	cɟa:kei	ga:so	kokondo

*exclu du calcul

	38 graisse	39 lait	40 sel	41 bâton	42 daba	43 hache	44 champs
TAN TAN2	ma:ni	wā	cī:ri	gō:bū	zākambundu đimbā	dēsì	fāi
NIK NIK2	ma:ni	wà:	ki:ri	gō:bù	kalma kumbu	deisi ā:dē	fāri
BAR BAR2	mà:nī	wā	cī:rī	gōbà sōrgī:lā	kālmā kumbu	dēsì	fāri
GOR GOR2	mani	wa	ci:ri	gobu	kalma kumbu	desi	fari
MAL MAL2 MAL3	mani	wā	cī:rī	gobu	kalma kumbu hiler	dè:sī	fari
NAM	ma:ni	wa	kī:ri	gōbù	kālmā	dēsì	fāri
DIB	ma:ní	wa	cçi:ri	gobu	sabugó	desi	feri
FAN	ma:no	wa	ci:ri	gobu	sabgo	da:so	faro
SAW	ma:ni	wawa	cçi:ro	gwɔbɔ	guro	deisi	faro

	45 riz	46 gros mil (actif)	47 petit mil (tardif)	48 gombo	49 arachide
TAN TAN2	mō	hamo so:ɲo	hē:niciè	lā:fòì	đānsī
NIK NIK2	mo	hamo sōmnò	hāiníkī:rē	lā:fwēi	dāmsī
BAR	mō	hā:mō	hēinī	lā	dāmsī
GOR GOR2	mo	hamocire somno	haineciri	la	damsi
MAL	mo	hāmō	haini	lā	demsu
NAM	mō:	hā:mū	hāinì	lāhōi	dāmsī
DIB	mɔ	hama	heini	la	demsi
FAN	mo	hama	hei:no	la	demsu
SAW	moa	ha:mo	haini	la:hoi	demsu

	50 sésame	51 broussaille	52 maïs	53 arbre	54 forêt	55 bois	56 herbe
TAN	lamti	dūdūbei	kòtòkṵā	tūrìjṵà	sǎjì	tu:rikatonu	sūbū
NIK NIK2 NIK3	lāmṵi	dūdūbei subu fērìzō:riā	kwālākātì	tūrìjṵà	sì:gì	tū:rì	sūbū
BAR BAR2	lāmṵi	dūdūbei	kǎlōkōṵì	tūrìjṵà	sa:ji turibobo	tūrì	subu
GOR GOR2	lamti	dudubei subu	kolkoti	turi	saji	turi	subu
MAL MAL2 MAL3	lamti	dudubei saji ganjiora	kolkoti	turi	saji gumbi	turikogo	subu
NAM NAM2	lāmṵi	dūdūbèi	kòlkòṵì	tūrìjṵà	sa:ji gāṵjṵò	tù:rikōgò	sūbū
DIB DIB2	lamti	dudubei subu	kolgotí	tu:ri	sa:ji	turikogo	subu
FAN	lamto	duduba	kologoto	tu:ro	tu:rojama	tu:rokō:ga	subō
SAW SAW2	lamti	dūdūbei safora	kolokoti	tu:ri	sa:ji	tu:rikwogo	subu

	57 karité	58 fleur	59 fruit	60 feuille	61 branche	62 écorce	63 racine
TAN	būlāṅgà	bò:sì	tūrìzè	kòsū	tūrìkām̀bè	tūrì:bàndà	kājì
NIK	būlāṅgà	bòsì	izei	kwáptò	tūrìkām̀bèi	turibanda	kà:gì
BAR	būlā:ṅgā	bòsì	tūrìzei	kwàbtò	tūrìkām̀bè	tūrì:bàndā	kaji
GOR GOR2	buluṅga	bosi	turize	kopto	turikambe gali	turibanda baraji	kaji
MAL	bulāṅga	bosu	turize	kopta	tūrìkà̀bè	tūròbàndà	kājò
NAM	būlāṅgā	bòsì	tūrìzèi	kòbətò	tūrìkām̀bè	tūrì:bàndà	tūrì:kājì
DIB	bula:ṅga	boso	turizo	kopto	tu:rkambe	turibanda	lɪntú
FAN	bulāṅgana	bō:sō	tu:ri:ze	kòbta	tu:rokambe	tu:robanda	tu:rolinto
SAW	buluṅga	bōso	tu:ri:ze	kopta	tu:rokabō	tu:robanda	ka:jo

	64 animal	65 chien	66 vache	67 cheval	68 mouton	69 chèvre	70 hyène
TAN	àlēmānī	hāsì	hóu	bāi	fējì	hīcçinè	kō:jò
NIK NIK2	alaman mjemùnēi	hā:nsì	haw	bārì	feigi	hīncçi	kōrò
BAR	ālāmàn	hānsì	hàu	bārì	fējī	hīncīn	kōrò
GOR	alman	hāsi	hau	bari	fe:ji	hinci	koro
MAL	àlmān	hāsi	hàu	bārì	fe:ji	hāncī	koro
NAM	ālāmàn	hānsì	hàu	bārì	fē:jì	hānkīnè	kō:rò
DIB	almen	hansi	haou	beri	fe:ji	haincin	kō:ro
FAN	alimen	hānsi	hao	beri	fē:ji	hancçin	kho:ro
SAW SAW2	daba alaman	hansi	hawo	bərio	fejo fezo	hancçin	kō:ro

	71 porc	72 oiseau	73 poule	74 araignée	75 termite	76 fourmi	77 sauterelle
TAN TAN2	bijīnā gwī:sīn à	cīò	gwēījò	dā̀dā̀:taō	dūsū	kwā̀ndò bwōmbēi	dō
NIK NIK2	bīrījā ālādē	ku:reisei	gwaroŋgo	dādā̀rá	dūsū kōma	úŋkwā̀ndù	doizei
BAR BAR2	bīrījā	cūrū	gwōrī̀nò	dādā̀:rā	dūsū	nori kwā̀ndò	dò
GOR GOR2 GOR3	bilīje	cīro	gorno	dadara	duso	anori aŋkondo antanda	dō
MAL MAL2	bilījā	cīrō	gōrōŋō	dādā̀:rā	dūsū	āŋkṑndō antanda	dō
NAM NAM 2 NAM 3	bījā	kīrē:zēi	gōrjōwēi	dādā̀:rā	duso kō:mā	no:ri dā̀cīlī antanda	dō
DIB DIB2	bilīja	cīro	goroŋwēi	dā̀ŋdārā	dūsū kómbahaŋa	kwando ta:nda	dōbīó
FAN FAN2	bilīja	cçiro	gorīja	dandara	duso zégó	no:ro tanda	duwa
SAW	bilīja	cçiro	gorgo	tata:ro	duso	nori	do:wa

	78 singe	79 lion	80 éléphant	81 serpent	82 poisson	83 aile	84 corne
TAN TAN2	fõnò	mõsübèi	cèbèi hãmbèi	gwõndi	cì:fì	fãtã	hĩli
NIK NIK2	fõ:rnò	mũ:sũberi	cçeberi	gwãndi	hamisa ki:fì	fãtã	hi:li
BAR	fõnõ	mũ:sũbè:rì	tèrãkùndè	gwõndi	hãmisã	fãtã	hĩli
GOR GOR2	fõnõ	muso	toŋkunde ceberi	gundi	hamisa	fata	hili
MAL	fõnõ	musu	tarkunde	gũndi	hãmissã	fãtã	hĩli
NAM	fõ:nõ	mũsũbè:rì	tãrkũndã	gwõ:ndi	hã:misã	fãtã	hi:li
DIB DIB2	fo:no	mu:so ganjeheila	tarakunda	gõndi	hamisa	fata	hi:li
FAN	fo:na	mu:sube:ra	tarkunda	gõndi	hamisa	fata	hi:li
SAW	fo:no	mu:sobe:ri	taraku:ndi	gwõndi	hamnisa	fata	hi:li

	85 oeuf	86 queue	87 viande	88 sang	89 os	90 corps	91 peau
TAN TAN2	gũŋgwĩ	sũfe lãcè	hãŋ	kwì	bì:	gãhãŋ	kũjù
NIK NIK2	gũ:ŋgũrì	sũfè dĩbã	hãm	kũrì	bĩrì	gaham	kuru
BAR	gũrì	sũfè	hãm	kũrì	bĩrì	gãhãm	kũrũ
GOR	guŋguri	sũfei	ham	kuri	biri	gaham	kũ:ru
MAL MAL2	gũ:rì	sũfei jĩbã	ham	kuri	biri	gaham	kuru
NAM	gũ:rì	sũfè	hãm	kũrì	bĩrì	gaham	kũrũ
DIB	gu:ru	su:nfe	ham	kuri	bĩrì	gaham	ku:ru
FAN	gu:rì	su:ŋfei	hamo	kuro	biro	gaham	ku:ru
SAW	gu:ri	su:nfe	ham	curi	biri	gaham	ku:ru

	92 tête	93 visage	94 cheveux	95 poils	96 nez	97 oreille	98 oeil
TAN	bwðŋ	mõ:dũmã	bwðŋhã:nĩ	hã:nĩ	nĩnè	hãŋgã	mõ
NIK	bõ	mo:duma	bõha:mni	ha:mni	nĩnè	haŋga	mõi
BAR	bõ	mõdũmã	hãmnĩ	hãmnĩ	nĩnè	hãŋgã	mõ
GOR	boŋ	anduma	hamni	hamni	nine	haŋa	moi
MAL	bõŋ	hãndũmã	hamni	hamni	nĩ:nè	hã:ŋã	mõi
NAM	bõ	mõndũmã	bõhãmnĩ	hãmnĩ	nĩnè	hãŋã	mõi
DIB	boŋ	monduma	boŋhamini	hamini	ni:ne	haŋa	mo:i
FAN	boŋ	moiduma	boŋhamni	hamni	nĩ:nò	haŋa	moi:
SAW	boŋo	mondũma	hamõno	hamni	ni:no	há:ŋa	moŋo

	99 bouche	100 dent	101 langue	102 bras	103 jambe	104 doigt	105 cou
TAN	mé	hĩjē	dē:nē	kāmbē	cçē	kāmbēizē	jĩndē
NIK	mì	hĩjgē	dē:ni	kāmbē	ke	kāmbaizē	gĩndi
BAR	mē	hĩjè	dēnē	kāmbē	cē	kāmbēizèi	jĩndē
GOR	me	hĩje	dene	kabe	ce	kambezei	jindi
MAL	mē	hĩjē	dēnē	kabe	ce	kabi:ze	jinde
NAM	mē	hĩjè	dē:nì	kābē	cāo:	kābēzē	jĩnde
DIB	mε	hē	dε:ne	kabe	ce	kabize	jinde
FAN	mē	hĩō	dēnō	kābē	cē	kābizō	jinde
FAN2		hē					
SAW	nijo	hijo	dino	kabo	cawo	kabi:zi	jindo

	106 poitrine	107 coeur	108 ventre	109 bon (doux)	110 mauvais (amer)
TAN	jā:ndē	bĩnēizē	gū:ndè	kā:nī	fatu
NIK	gāndè	bĩnēizì	gunde	ākā:nù	āfátù
BAR	gāndē	bĩnè	gùndē	àgākā:nū	àgàfōtū
GOR	gande	bine	gunde	ākā:n	àgàhōrtù
MAL	gandē	bine	gunde	āgākā:nū	āgāfōtū
NAM	gāndò	bĩnī	gùndē	kanu	agahotu
DIB	gande	bĩne	gunde	kan	hotu
FAN	gāndè	bĩnè	gùndè	kan	hot:u
SAW	gando	bino	gúndo	khan	hotu

	111 dos	112 âme (esprit)	113 vivant	114 mort (pas vivant)	115 ciel
TAN	bāndádá:rī	bòkō	fūnā	buko	bē:nā
TAN2		bia	fū:ndì		
NIK	bāndādà:rì	bùkō	fūnā	ābù	bè:nā
BAR	bāndādā:rī	lakal	fūnā	bùkō	bēnā
BAR2	bāndā:rī				
GOR	banda	hundi	huna	abu	bēnā
GOR2		lākāl			
MAL	banda	lākāl	fūnā	abu	be:na
NAM	bandadari	bī:ā	hūnò	bùkō	bé:nā
DIB	banda	hu:nde	huna	abu	bε:na
FAN	banda	hu:ndo	hujno	abu	be:na
SAW	bandada:ro	hu:ndo	huna	bú	beina
SAW2		bio			

	116 soleil	117 lune	118 étoile	119 matin	120 jour	121 nuit	122 mois*
TAN	wēilù	hàndū	hàndēizei	sūsùbà	zā:ì	cīnī	hàndū
NIK	we:ndu	hâ:ndū	hândèriàizēi	sùsùbā	za:ri	cī:nī	hâ:ndū
BAR	wèinō	hāndū	hāndā:rā	sùsùbēi	zà:rī	cīnì	hāndū
GOR	wēnā	hāndō	hāndārā	sūsùbā	zâ:rō	cīnò	hāndō
MAL	weina	hando	handarezei	susuba	zariŋo	cī:nò	hando
NAM	wē:nā	hā:ndò	hā:ndāizē	sūsùbè	zārīŋō	cī:nò	hā:ndò
DIB	weino	hando	handirize	susuba	za:rīŋo	ci:no	hando
FAN	weina	hando	handiria	susuba	za:rīŋo	ci:no	hando
SAW	weina	handó	handara	susuba	za:rīŋo	ççī:no	hando

* exclu du calcul (c.f. "lune")

	123 année	124 vent	125 feu	126 fumée	127 eau	128 pluie
TAN TAN2	jī:	hīāū	dāindī nūnē	dūlū	hàì	benahari
NIK	gî:rī	hāw	dāndī	dūlū	hārī	benahari
BAR	jīrī	hāu	dēngī	dūlū	hārī	bēnāhārī
GOR	jīrī	heo	dēŋjī	dūlū	hārī	benahari
MAL	jīro	hewo	dēŋgī	dul:u	hari	benaharo
NAM	jīrī	hēwò	dāindī	dū:nū	hārī	bē:nāhārī
DIB	jī:ro	hewo	dēiŋjī	dulu	hari	benaharo
FAN	jī:ro	hewo	nina	dul:u	hari	PAS DE REPONSE
SAW	jī:ro	hewo	dēiŋjo	dulu	hari	bē:nahari

	129 terre	130 nuage	131 rocher	132 sable	133 poussière	134 chemin
TAN TAN2	labu gāndā	būjū	tōndī	tā:sī labu	kūsāū	fōndō
NIK	labo	buru	tōndī	lâ:bū	kūsà	fwāndò
BAR	là:bū	būrū	tōndī	là:bū	kūsā	fōndò
GOR GOR2	labo	dule buru	tondi	tasi labo	kusa	fondo
MAL	labo	du:le	tondi	tasi	kuso	fondo
NAM	lābū	būrū	tōndī	lābū	kūsā	fóndò
DIB DIB2	lēbo ganda	būrō	tondi	labu	kuso	fonda
FAN	lēbo	buro	tondi	ta:so	kusa	fonda
SAW	labu	dú:la	tondo	ta:si	khusao	fóna

	135 fer	136 blanc	137 noir	138 chaud	139 froid	140 sec	141 fort
TAN	gū:jū	kwā:jē	ībì	dūŋgù	jēī	kō:gū	gā:bi
NIK	gu:ru	kwàrà	bì	ādūŋgù	jeni	kogu	gà:bi
BAR BAR2	gūrū	àkwārēī	àgābī bī:rì	dūŋgū	jēī	kōgū	gā:bù
GOR	gu:ru	agakare	agabi	agaduŋgu	àgàjēī	ākōgū	gabi
MAL MAL2	guru	ikari	ibi	akoroŋ agaduŋgu	aje	ākōgō	gà:bi
NAM NAM2	gū:rū	ìkwā:rè	ibi	duŋgu kwà:nī	jē:nī	ìkōgò	ìgābī
DIB	guru	kare	bi	duŋgu	jei	kogo	ga:bi
FAN FAN2	gu:ru	ika:ri	ibi	akoroŋ aduŋgu	ajeji	akogo	ga:bu ga:bi
SAW SAW2	gu:ru	ka:ra	ibio	kōro duŋgu	hargu	akogo	ga:bu saŋa

	142 faible	143 grand	144 petit	145 long	146 court	147 vérité
TAN	PAS DE REPONSE	bē:ī:	cè:nā	akū	dūmbāī	ççí:mí
NIK	fā:bù	berì	kāinā	āgākū	aduŋgura	cīmî:
BAR	fa:bū	bērì	kāinā	àgākū	ādūŋgūrīē	cīmī
GOR GOR2	PAS DE REPONSE	berì	iduŋgurio keina	aku	aduŋguria	cimi
MAL MAL2	fa:bu	be:ri	keina	àgākū	ādū:ŋgūrīā agakeina	cimi
NAM	fa:bu	bērì	kāinā	ìkú:kù	dūŋgūrīāù	cīmī
DIB DIB2	fa:bu	bērì be:ri	keina	ku	duŋgurio	cim
FAN FAN2	fa:bu	be:ri	aduŋguria	ākú agamo:ru	aduŋguria	cīmī
SAW	PAS DE REPONSE	be:ri	ketdao	kuku	duŋguria	ççimi

	148 mensonge (faux)	149 vendre	150 dormir	151 gros	152 mince
TAN	tāŋgāi	ànē:ā	àjībī	wējgā	māi
NIK	tā:rī	ānē:rā	āgīrībī	awaraga	àmārī
BAR	tārī	ànē:rā	àjīrībī	àwārāgā	āgāmārī
GOR GOR2	tari	ànànē:rē	ajiribi	agawaraga agakasú	mari agamari
MAL MAL2	tā:rī	ànē:rè	ajiribi	agawaraga agahai	agamari
NAM	tārī	ànànē:rī	àjīrībī	ìwārgò	ìmārìò
DIB DIB2	tari	ane:re	ajrbi	wargo wasa	meri
FAN	tā:rī	ananere	ajiribi	wasa	meri
SAW	ta:ri	anane:re	àjīrībī	wargo	mari

	153 lourd	154 léger	155 loin	156 près	157 aigu (tranchant)	158 sale
TAN	tīŋ	àdògwànū	mō:jū	mâ:nì	kā:nì	zi:bi
NIK	agatī	agadogon	àgàmó:rū	ma:ni	àgākā:nù	agazi:bi
BAR	àgātī	àgādōgòn	àgàmō:rù	àgāmā:nù	àgākā:nù	àgàzībī
GOR GOR2	agatī	agadogon	agamoru	agamanu	agakanu agogadeni	àgàzi:bī
MAL	àgātīŋ	àgādōgōn	àgàmō:rū	agaman	āgākānū	āgāzì:bī
NAM NAM2	àgātī	àgādōgòn	àgàmō:rù	àgāmān	agaka:nu sàrfā	àgàzì:bì
DIB	thin	dogona	mo:ru	man	ka:ŋ	zi:bi
FAN FAN2	tīŋ	dogona	mo:ru	man agaman	kanə	zi:bi
SAW SAW2	thin	dogon	mo:ru	mano	khan soto	zi:bi

	159 pourri	160 droit	161 courbé	162 vieux	163 jeune	164 manger
TAN TAN2 TAN3	fũmbu	àkài	àsijì	zēnì	taigi zāṅkā tùnùkājì	āṅà
NIK	agafumbi	ākāi	àsì:rì	àzēinū	tāigì	aṅwa:
BAR BAR2	àgàfũbũ	kàjàntē	sìrāntē	izèinò	tagi zāṅkā	āṅwā
GOR GOR2	agafumbu	àkēi	asiri āgũṅgũm	azenu aje	teji zaṅga	āṅā
MAL	àfũmbũ	akei	asiri	aze:nu	zan	āṅā
NAM	àgàfũ:mbũ	kāi	isì:rò	izê:nù	tāgì	āṅwā
DIB	fumbu	kei	si:ri	zen	teji	aṅà
FAN FAN2	fumbu	kei	guṅgum goṅgo:si	zen	zanka	āṅā
SAW	fũmbu	khéi	si:ri	zén	teji	aṅā

	165 boire	166 voir	167 regarder	168 compter	169 donner	170 finir
TAN	àhāṅ	ādi	àgōnā	àkābũ	ànō	abani
NIK	āhāj	adi	aguna	akabu	ānānù	abāṅ
BAR	àhāṅ	ádi	àgōnā	àkābũ	ànō	àbān
GOR	àhāṅ	ádi	àgōnē	àkābũ	ànō	abaṅ
MAL	àhāṅ	ádi	àgūnā	akabu	ano	aben
NAM	àhāṅ	ádi	ànāgùnì	àkābũ	ànō	abaṅ
DIB	ahaṅ	adi	agune	akabu	anano	aben
FAN	āhāṅ	ādi	āgūnè	ākābũ	anano	aben
SAW	ahāṅ	adi	anaguna	anakabu	ānānó	abén

	171 monter	172 aller	173 partir (quitter)	174 venir	175 courir	176 voler (dérober)
TAN	ākā:ò	ākwéi	àdirā	ākā	àzūjũ	àzēi
NIK	ākā:rũ	àkweì	adira	àkà	àzūrũ	azei
BAR	àkārũ	àkwēi	àdirā	ākā	àzūrũ	àzēi
GOR	àkā:rũ	àkoī	àdirā	ākà	àzūrũ	àzai
MAL	àkā:rũ	àkoī	ādirā	ākà	āzūrũ	āzēi
NAM	àkā:rũ	àkwēi	adira	ākā	àzūrũ	àzai
DIB	aka:ru	akóí	adiraṅ	aka	azuru	azei
FAN	ākā:rũ	àkoī	ādirā	ākà	azuru	azei
SAW SAW2	azigi akaru	akoei	adira	aka	azuru	azei

	177 frapper	178 casser	179 couper	180 tuer	181 dire	182 parler
TAN TAN2	àkāō	àcēī	adumbu àpātī	awī	àcçī	àsānī
NIK	ānākār	ànàcçē:rī	ànàpātī	ànàwī	àkī:	asalaŋ
BAR BAR2	ākār	àcērī	àdū:mbū àbē:rī	àwī	àcī	àsālāŋ
GOR GOR2	àkar	anakeri	adumbu anapati	ānāwūi	ane àcì	àsālāŋ
MAL MAL2	ànàkār	ànàkērī	anadumbu anazafa	anawī:	ane	aseleŋ
NAM NAM2	ākā:r	ànàkē:rī	ànàdūmbū	ànàwī	ane àcī	àsālāŋ
DIB	akaro	akeiri	adumbu	awi	anei	aselan
FAN FAN2	akaru	anakeiri	anadumbu ānāzèfè	ānāwī	ānē	àsēlēŋ
SAW	anakhar	anake:rī	anadumgu	anawi	ane	aselen

	183 pleurer	184 recevoir	185 acheter	186 mordre	187 savoir	188 tirer
TAN	āhī	àdū:	àdēī	ànāmā	àbāī	àcçāndī
NIK	āhī	adu	àdēī	ānānāmā	àbēī	ànàcçā:ndī
BAR	àhē	ādū	àdēī	ānāmā	àbēī	àcçēndī
GOR	āhē	ādū	àdēī	ànānāmā	abei	ànàcēndī
MAL MAL2	àhē	ādū	ādēī	ānānāmā	abei adu	anacindi
NAM	àhī	àdwā	ànàdēī	ànānāmā	àbēī	ànàcāndī
DIB DIB2	ahe	ādū	adei	ànāmā	abei ādū	acendi
FAN	ahē	ādū	ādēī	ānānāmā	abei	anacendi
SAW	ahé	aduá	anadéi	ananama	abei	anacçéndī

	189 se baigner	190 laver	191 s'asseoir	192 pousser	193 jeter	194 accrocher
TAN TAN2	àṛūmāi	àṛūna	àgō:ḵō	àtūtī	àcātū	asoroku àkōtō
NIK NIK2 NIK3	ṛumai àmī:rī akurma	àṛōnà	āgwòrō	àntūtī	acçetu ānāḵīndà w	anāsarakū
BAR BAR2 BAR3	ṛumai àmī:rī àkūrūmà	àṛūmā àṛūnà	àgōrō	àtūtèi	àcçētū àḵīndāù	àsōrōkū
GOR GOR2	ṛunei aule	ṛuna	àgōrō	ānātūtè	àcātū	ànàdēḵī anasorku
MAL MAL2	ṛume	ṛuma	āgōrō	ātūtī	ānācētū	anadeḵi anasorku
NAM	àṛūneì	ànùnā	àgōrō	àtūtēi	àḵīndāū	ànàsōrōkū
DIB DIB2	anjume ami:r	ṛuma	agoro	atuti	acetu	anasorku
FAN FAN2	ṛunei	ṛuma	āgōrō	anatuti	anacetu	anadeḵi anasorku
SAW SAW2	ṛúmei	anṛúmei	agoro	anathuthı	anacçétu	anaḵéḵi asoroku

	195 lever	196 construire	197 creuser	198 tisser	199 attacher	200 tomber
TAN	àtūnū	àcēnī	àfā:ḵsī	àkā:i	àhōw	àkāḵ
NIK	àtūḵ	ācīnà	āfāsī	anaka:i	ānāhāw	akāḵ
BAR BAR2	àsāmbū atunu	àcīnā	àfā:sī	àkāi	àhāū	àkāḵ
GOR GOR2	anasambu atun	ānācīnā	afāđi	àkei	ànāhāw	akaḵ
MAL	athū	àcīn	àfāsī	anakei	ànāhāū	akaḵ
NAM NAM2	asambu àtūnandi	ànàcīnà	àfāsī	akai	ànāhāū	àkāḵ
DIB	atun	anacin	afā:si	āke:i	anahaou	akaḵ
FAN	anatunendi	anacín	afēsī	anakei	anahau	akaḵ
SAW SAW2	anasambu atunandi	anacín	anafansi	anakhei	anahao	akhaḵ

	201 chanter	202 sentir	203 penser	204 attraper	205 vomir	206 être debout
TAN	ādò:nù	àmāhìàù	àmìlà	ādi	ājē:	àgōkāi
NIK	adonu	amaha:wo	àmì:là	ānādì	ājērī	àkài
BAR BAR2	ādōnù	àmāhāò	àmìlà	ādī	ājērī	àkāi àtūnū
GOR	ādō:nú	amaheo	ami:le	anadi	ajeri	āgōkāi
MAL MAL2	adonu	amaheu	ahɔŋgu ami:la	ànādī	ājē:rī	āgākēi
NAM	ādō:nù	àmāhēwò	àmì:là	ànādī	ajeri	àtūnū
DIB	ado:n	amahewo	ami:le	anadi	ajeri	PAS DE REPONSE
FAN	ādô:nù	anaheuzà	āmi:le	āndī	ājērī	àkēi
SAW SAW2	adonu	amahewo	ahɔŋgu ami:la	anadi	ajé:ri	athun

	207 tenir	208 danser	209 beaucoup	210 peu	211 un	212 deux	213 trois
TAN	ādī	àgā:nì	ìbō:bò	ìcēnā	afo	ihinka	ihinza
NIK NIK2 NIK3	agata āngōkàmbàrà anagaji	agā:nù	ibobo àgàbā	ikeina	āfō	àhīnkā	ìhīnza
BAR BAR2	ata ādī	àgānù	ìbōbū bā:	ìkainā	āfō	ihinkà	ihinzà
GOR GOR2	anadi ajari	agan	ibobo	ikeina	afo	ihinka	ihinza
MAL MAL2	anadi agokabora	aganu	bô:bô adu	keina	ifo	ihinka	ihinza
NAM NAM2 NAM3	ànādī ajeri anagaikambara	àgà:nù	ìbō:bò	ìkài:nā	āfō	ihinkā	ihinzā
DIB	aja:ri	aga:n	bobo	keina	afo	ihì:nka	ihì:nze
FAN FAN2	āndī anatemi	àgā:ne	ibobo	keina	afo	ihì:nka	ihì:nza
SAW	anajari	agán	bó:bo	háio	afo	ihnka	hınza

	214 quatre*	215 cinq*	216 six*	217 sept*	218 huit*	219 neuf*	220 dix*
TAN	ita:cçi	igu	idu	ije	ahaku	jaga	iwei
NIK	ità:cçi	igū	ītū	ijē	àhākū	jāgā	jūwēi
BAR	itāci	igū	īd:ū	ijē	āhākū	jāgā	īwēi
GOR	itaci	igu	id:u	ije	ahaku	ega	iwai
MAL	itaci	igu	id:u	ije	ahaku	eg:a	iwei
NAM	itāci	igū	īd:ū	ijē	ahaku	jaga	iwei
DIB	itaci	igu	idu	ije	ahāku	ega	jiwei
FAN	ita:cçi	igu	idu	ije	ahako	ega	iwei
SAW	itacçi	igu	idu	ije	jaháku	jaga	iwéi

*exclu du calcul

	221 chat	222 âne	223 chercher	224 trouver	225 demander	226 répondre
TAN	mūsù	fājkā	àcçējì	ādù	āhà	ātù
NIK NIK2	màji musu	fārākà	acçèkì	ādū ādījà	āhā	ātū
BAR BAR2	mūsū	fārākei	ācēcī	ādù ādīà	āhà	ātū
GOR	maji	farkai	anaceci	adua	aha	atuase
MAL MAL2	maje musu	farkei	ācēcī	ādīa	anahá	aturu
NAM	mūsū	farkei	ācēcī	ādīà	ànàhā	ātùàsē
DIB DIB2	haila ja:wí	farkei	aceici	adu	ahā	ato
FAN FAN2	mu:su	farkei	ācēcī	ādūā ādīā	anahā	atu
SAW SAW2	haila maji	farka	anacçe:cçi	adīja	anahá	atura:sei

	227 sauce	228 lièvre	229 le grand dieu	230 sauter	231 huile
TAN	fōi	tòbōi	ìkwēi	àsāū	jī
NIK NIK2	fwōi	tòbeī hīncīn	īrikòì	àsār	gi
BAR	fōi	tòbeī	irkwei	àsēr	jī
GOR	hoi	tobei	irkoi	àsār	jī
MAL	hoi	tobei	ir:koi	àsār	jī
NAM	hwēi	tòbeī	īrikòì	àsār	jí
DIB	hōi	tabe	irkoi	asaro	jī
FAN	hōi	tabei	irikwe	àsārū	PAS DE REPONSE
SAW	hoio	tobei	irkoi	asár	jī

Appendix F Questionnaires

Appendix F.1 Renseignements généraux sur la langue/l'ethnie

Village: Date: Enquêteur:

L1= L2= L3=

1.0 Nom de l'ethnie

En (L1), comment est-ce qu'on dit, " Je parle le (L1)"

En (L1), comment est-ce qu'on dit, " Je suis un (L1)"

2.0 Situation géographique précise.

3.0 Statistiques démographiques. (Il faut poser ces questions surtout si on ne fait pas un recensement détaillé.)

Il y a combien d'habitants de ce village?

Il y a combien de quartiers?

Combien de quartiers de locuteurs de chaque ethnie:

Dans quel(s) quartier(s) habitent les locuteurs de (L1)?

Est-ce qu'il y a beaucoup de gens d'autres ethnies qui habitent ce village?

Ils sont de quelles ethnies?

Est-ce qu'il y a des étrangers qui ont récemment déménagés ici?

De quelles ethnies?

Pour quelles raisons?

4.0 Travaux principaux des locuteurs.

Comment est-ce que les gens d'ici gagnent leur vie?

Est-ce qu'il y a des profs, des fonctionnaires, des infirmiers, etc.?

5.0 L'exploitation de la région.

Comment est-ce que vous tirez de l'eau? (forage, pompe, puisette)

Est-ce qu'il y a de l'électricité dans ce village?

Où est-ce que vous allez au marché?

Les gens de quelles autres ethnies sont au marché?

Où se trouvent les grands marchés de cette région?

Est-ce qu'il y a des moyens de déplacement publique dans la région (ex. taxi-brousse, autobus)?

Est-ce qu'ils passent fréquemment?

Est-ce qu'il y a un dispensaire dans ce village?

Sinon, où se trouve le dispensaire (ou la clinique) le plus proche? (Ou bien, où faut-il aller si on est malade?)

Où est-ce qu'on achète des médicaments?

Où se trouve la Poste la plus proche?

Où est-ce qu'il faut aller si on doit téléphoner à quelqu'un?

Où se trouve le gendarmerie le plus proche?

Où se trouve la préfecture la plus proche?

Est-ce que vous écoutez la radio?

Vous écoutez des émissions dans quelle(s) langue(s)?

Où se trouve les écoles la plus proche d'ici? (C'est mieux d'aller à l'école afin de poser ces questions:)

	La plus proche	Niveau maximum	Ouvert dans quelle année	Combien d'étudiants	Combien d'étudiantes
Primaire					
Collège					
Lycée					
Privé (catholique ou coranique)					
Stages techniques					

Est-ce que les parents le trouve difficile d'envoyer leurs enfants à l'école? Pourquoi?

Combien de gens d'ici ont finit l'école primaire?

Est-ce qu'il arrive que le maître parle votre langue dans la classe?

Dans la langue véhiculaire?

Est-ce qu'il y a un de vos villages où on a construit une école dernièrement?

6.0 Alphabétisation et matériels écrits

Est-ce qu'il y a des gens du village qui savent lire ou écrire (L1)?

Est-ce qu'il y a des gens d'ici qui savent lire le français?

D'autres langues (arabe)?

Est-ce qu'il y a jamais eu un programme d'alphabétisation pour adultes?

Dans quelle langue?

Qui l'a initié?

Est-ce que vous connaissez des gens qui ont écrit quelque chose sur le (L1) ou sur votre ethnie? Peut-être un blanc est-il arrivé pour faire des recherches...

Est-ce que vous avez jamais vu des livres écrits en (L1) (ex. livres religieux, des livres de chants, des journaux, des articles)?

Existe-t-il des cassettes enregistrées en (L1) (ex. de changs, d'histories)?

Est-ce que des portions des Ecritures sont-traduites dans le contexte de la préparation du culte de dimanche?

7.0 Religion

Les gens d'ici suivent quelle religion?

C'est comme ça depuis longtemps?

Quelles églises, missions, ou autres groupes religieux sont présents?

Est-ce qu'ils ont leur propres bâtiments/lieux de rencontre?

8.0 Changements

Quelles sortes de changements est-ce que vous constatez-vous parmi les gens d'ici, et surtout les jeunes?

Ces changements vous plaisent?

9.0 Histoire

Les premiers habitants de ce village sont venus d'où?

Comment est-ce qu'on a décidé sur cet endroit?

Est-ce qu'il y avait des ennemis?

Est-ce qu'il y avait des catastrophes?

Quel est l'histoire de votre peuple?

Quel est l'histoire de ce village?

10.0 Observations générales

Le terrain

Les gens

L'usage de la langue

Appendix F.2 Questionnaire sociolinguistique

Langue: Village: Date:

L2= L3= Enquêteur:

Description du groupe (nombre approximatif de participants, repartage par sexe, age):

1. Variation Dialectale

1.1. Quels sont les villages dont la majorité des habitants parlent le (L1)

1.2. Est-ce qu'il existe d'autres villages ailleurs, très loin d'ici, où les gens parlent le (L1)?

(Demandez en utilisant une carte)

- Dessinez un cercle autour des noms des villages où on parle cette langue.
- Mettez entre guillemets les noms des villages où on n'est pas sur que l'on parle cette langue.
- Dessinez un carré autour des noms des villages où habitent au moins deux ethnies différentes.
- Soulignez les noms des villages où on est sur que l'on parle une langue différente que celle-ci.
- Dessinez une ligne continue autour de la région où c'est sur que l'on parle cette langue et une ligne pointillé autour de la région où ce n'est que possible.

1.3. Quels sont les villages où les gens parlent exactement comme vous.

1.4. Quels sont les villages où on parle différemment d'ici, quoiqu'un peu?

Est-ce qu'il y a un autre nom pour ce parler?

Est-ce que ceux qui parlent ce dialecte peuvent comprendre le parler d'ici?

1.5. Quels sont les villages où l'on parle la même langue que vous, mais où la différence est encore plus grande.

Pouvez-vous quand même comprendre tout ce qu'ils disent?

Est-ce qu'il y a un nom pour cette autre façon de parler?

Est-ce que ceux qui parlent ce dialecte peuvent comprendre le parler d'ici?

1.6. Est-ce qu'un enfant d'ici, âgé de six ans, peut comprendre les gens de (X)?

Sinon, à partir de quel âge est-ce qu'il peut les comprendre?

1.7. Quels sont les villages où l'on parle la même langue que vous, mais tellement différemment que vous ne pouvez pas comprendre tout ce qu'ils disent quand ils parlent rapidement?

Est-ce qu'il y a un nom pour cette autre façon de parler?

Est-ce que vous considérez ceux qui ne parlent pas de la même façon quand même comme des (L1)?

Est-ce que ceux qui parlent ce dialecte peuvent comprendre le parler d'ici?

Quels sont les liens historiques entre vous?

Est-ce que vous avez un lien de parenté?

Est-ce que vous avez des liens coutumiers?

Est-ce que vous les considérez comme des membres de votre ethnie?

1.8. Quels sont les villages proches d'ici où l'on parle une langue complètement différente de la vôtre?

Est-ce que ceux qui parlent ce dialecte peuvent comprendre votre langue?

Quand vous vous rencontrez, vous parlez quelle langue?

Quels sont les liens historiques entre vous?

Est-ce que vous avez un lien de parenté?

Est-ce que vous avez des liens coutumiers?

Est-ce que vous les considérez comme des membres de votre ethnie?

1.9. Est-ce qu'il arrive à quelqu'un d'ici de devoir parler une autre langue (i.e. L2) pour communiquer avec un autre membre de votre ethnie?

1.10. Quelles langues se ressemblent à votre langue?

B. Préférence de dialecte :

1.11. Dans quel village est-ce qu'on parle votre langue le mieux? (Où est-ce qu'on parle le vrai (L1)?)

Et après?

1.12. Est-ce qu'il y a des villages où on ne parle pas votre langue comme il faut?

1.13. Selon vos traditions, quel est le village le plus important de votre ethnie:

sur le plan économique?

sur le plan traditionnelle?

1.14 Si un étranger voulait apprendre votre langue, où est le meilleur village pour l'apprendre?

2. Bilinguisme

2.1. Quelles autres langues sont parlées dans ce village?

Entre elles, quelle langue est la plus répandue dans ce village?

Est-ce que vous diriez que vous parlez mieux le (L1) ou le (L2) (ou le L3)?

Quelles sont les langues que vous parlez un peu?

Quelles sont les langues que vous comprenez mais que vous ne parlez pas?

2.2. Qui connaît mieux ces langues:

	Hommes v. Femmes	Vieux v. Jeunes
L2		
L3		

2.3. Est-ce que les hommes parlent le (L2) chaque jour?

Les femmes?

Les vieux?

Les jeunes hommes?

Les jeunes femmes?

2.4. Est-ce que les gens sont satisfaits de leur connaissance de ces langues, ou bien est-ce qu'ils veulent en apprendre plus?

S'ils pouvaient apprendre à lire ou à écrire en (L2), est-ce qu'ils seraient disposés à le faire?

Si vous pouviez apprendre à lire et à écrire le (L1) ou le (L2/L3), lequel des deux est-ce que vous préféreriez?

Pourquoi?

Quelle genre de choses est-ce que vous souhaiteriez voir écrites dans votre langue?

2.5. Dans le (L2), est-ce que presque tout le monde au village pourrait:

- accompagner un ami au dispensaire et décrire en détail la maladie et comment cela s'est produit?
- rendre un témoignage élaboré à un tribunal?
- comprendre tout ce qu'ils écoutent sur la radio, mêmes les paroles des chansons?
- blaguer et employer des proverbes?
- raconter des contes traditionnelles?
- réciter vos prières?

- parler si bien le (L2) que l'on pense que vous êtes de cette ethnie?
- faire vite des calculs en (L2)?
- exprimer des sentiments mieux qu'en votre langue maternelle?

2.6. Quelle langue est-ce que les enfants ici apprennent d'abord?

Quel est la deuxième langue qu'ils apprennent ici?

2.7. Est-ce qu'il y a beaucoup d'enfants qui apprennent le (L2) avant d'aller à l'école?

2.8. Est-ce qu'ils parlent cette deuxième langue mieux que leurs parents?

2.9. Est-ce que ça leur arrive de commencer une phrase en (L1) mais ils doivent finir la phrase en (L2)?

2.10. Est-ce que les gens trouvent que c'est difficile d'apprendre ces langues?

3. Vie Economique

3.1. Que font vos voisins (d'autres ethnies) pour gagner leur vie?

3.2. Est-ce qu'il y a des métiers chez eux qu'on ne trouve pas parmi vous (ex. ceux qui font l'élevage, la vannerie, la poterie; des forgerons, des fonctionnaires, ...?)

3.3 Est-ce que les ethnies (X) et (Y) (qui vous entourent) sont plus riches que vous?

3.4. Est-ce qu'il y a des gens d'ici qui quittent le village à certaines saisons?

Pour aller où?

Pour quoi faire?

Ils restent combien de temps à l'étranger?

3.5. Est-ce les gens d'ici vont souvent à _____ (ex. une ville importante)?

Est-ce qu'ils sont nombreux, ou quelques-uns seulement?

Combien de fois par mois est-ce que vous allez à (la ville la plus proche)?

4. Attitudes

4.1. Quelle est la langue la plus utile par ici?

4.2. Est-ce qu'il est plus important pour les garçons que pour les filles d'apprendre le (L2)?
Pourquoi?

4.3. Dans les écoles locales, la plupart des enfants sont de quelle ethnie?

4.4. Dans les villages voisins d'autres ethnies, est-ce que plus de gens ont fait l'école que chez vous ici?

4.5. A part votre langue, quelle langue aimez-vous le mieux?

Pourquoi?

4.6. Quelle langue vous plaît le moins?

Pourquoi?

4.7. Quelle est la langue que vos enfants devraient apprendre en premier lieu?

Pourquoi?

4.8. Si un jeune parle le (L2) à la maison, quels sentiments est-ce que vous auriez?

4.9. Est-ce que vous avez jamais été mal à l'aise parce que quelqu'un vous a entendu parler le (L1)?

Dans quelles circonstances est-ce vous avez honte de parler en (L1)?

Est-ce que vous avez jamais vu un jeune qui était mal à l'aise parce que quelqu'un l'a entendu parler en (L1)?

4.10. A votre avis, quelle est la meilleure langue pour parler à Dieu?

Et pour parler aux esprits?

4.11. Est-ce qu'il est jamais arrivé que l'on fasse des funérailles ici en L2?

Est-ce que vous seriez gêné si on faisait les funérailles en (L2)?

Quelle est la meilleur langue pour faire les funérailles?

4.12. Est-ce qu'on chante les chants traditionnels en (L2)?

Quelle est la meilleur langue pour chanter des chants traditionnels?

4.13. Est-ce qu'on fait des rites traditionnelles en (L2)?

Est-ce que vous seriez gênés si on employait le (L2) pendant des rites?

4.14. Est-ce qu'il vous arrive de chanter en (L2)?

4.15. Le pasteur/l'imam serait-il d'accord qu'on traduise le message en (L1)?

Pourquoi?

5. Usages Habituels des Langues

5.1. Quelle est la langue que vous utilisez le plus souvent:

- avec vos parents, vos frères et soeurs?
- avec votre mari/femme(s) et vos enfants?
- en demandant une faveur de Dieu?
- avec vos amis au village?
- aux funérailles dans les villages voisins?
- au marché local?
- au dispensaire?
- aux arrêts de police?
- avec les gens du gouvernement (à la préfecture)?

5.2. Est-ce qu'il y a des gens dans ce village qui ne parlent pas votre langue?

Quelle(s) langue(s) est-ce qu'ils parlent?

Est-ce qu'ils apprennent votre langue? D'habitude, ces persons sont de quelle ethnie?

5.3. Est-ce qu'il y a des gens d'autres ethnies qui parlent votre langue?

Est-ce qu'ils parlent votre langue un peu ou très bien?

Pourquoi est-ce qu'ils ont appris votre langue?

5.4. Si les gens des ethnies suivantes se rencontrent dans votre région, quelle langue est-ce qu'ils parleraient entre eux?

	L1	L2	L3	L4
L1				
L2				
L3				
L4				

5.5. S'il s'agit d'un jugement devant le préfet, quelle langue va employer quelqu'un de votre ethnie pour rendre témoignage?

- 5.6. Est-ce que les enfants de ce village vont à l'école dans un autre village?
 Si oui, quel village?
 Quelle langue est-ce que les gens de ce village parlent?
 Lorsque les enfants jouent à la récréation de l'école, quelle langue est-ce qu'ils parlent?
- 5.7. Lorsque les enfants qui ne vont pas encore à l'école jouent ensemble, quelle langue est-ce qu'ils parlent entre eux?
- 5.8. Quelle est la langue qui est utilisée la plus souvent à l'église/la mosquée pour:
 la lecture des Ecritures Saintes?
 la liturgie?
 le chant?
 le message/prédication?
 la prière?
 les annonces?
 Est-ce que celui qui prêche change de langue en cours de message afin de souligner un point ou pour corriger les gens?
 Si un invité prêche en (L2), est-ce qu'il y a une interprétation en (L1)?
 S'il parle aux jeunes, est-ce qu'il est également interprété?
- 5.8. Est-ce que vous écoutez la radio?
 Est-ce que vous écoutez les émissions en _____ ? (L1) (Tous les jours?

 _____ ? (L2) Une fois par semaine?) _____
 _____ ? (L3) _____
 _____ ? (L4) _____

6. *Maintien/Abandon de la Langue*

- 6.1. Les jeunes d'ici restent-ils au village où s'établissent-ils en ville?
- 6.2. Est-ce qu'il y a beaucoup d'étrangers qui viennent dans ce village?
 D'où est-ce qu'ils viennent?
 Qu'est-ce qu'ils viennent faire?
 Est-ce qu'ils restent longtemps?
 Est-ce qu'ils parlent votre langue ou d'autres langues?
 Quels étrangers viennent régulièrement?
- 6.3. Est-ce que c'est bien de permettre à un jeune homme d'épouser une fille de (L2)?
 Et dans le cas d'une fille d'épouser un jeune homme de (L2)?
 Est-ce que cela arrive souvent?
 Avec ceux de quelles ethnies?
 D'habitude, si un homme épouse une femme de (L2), où est-ce qu'ils habitent?
 Et leurs enfants vont parler quelle langue?
- 6.4. Est-ce que vous connaissez des villages de votre ethnie où l'on ne parle plus votre langue?
 Où est-ce qu'ils se trouvent?
 Pourquoi est-ce que cela est arrivé?
 Qu'est-ce que vous pensez de ces gens qui ont cessé de parler le (L1)?
 Est-ce que c'est une bonne chose?
 Pourquoi?
- 6.5. Est-ce que les jeunes apprennent des chants et des récits traditionnels comme leurs parents?

Est-ce que la tradition orale est bien connue par les jeunes aujourd'hui?

6.6. Est-ce que vous croyez que les jeunes préfèrent d'habiter dans une grande ville ou au village?
Pourquoi?

6.7. Est-ce que vos coutumes ressemblent aux celles des ethnies qui vous entourent?
Quelles coutumes se ressemblent-elles aux celles de (L2)?
Lesquelles sont très différentes?

6.8. Est-ce que vous croyez que c'est bien de vouloir suivre les coutumes de vos voisins?

6.9. Est-ce que vos enfants parlent le (L1) comme il faut?
Est-ce que les jeunes adultes font des fautes que vous ne faites pas?
Est-ce qu'ils mélangent des mots du (L2) en parlant le (L1)? (Pas du tout, un peu, beaucoup)

6.10. Est-ce que vous connaissez des familles de votre ethnie qui ne parlent plus votre langue chez eux?
Où est-ce qu'ils habitent?

6.11. Est-ce qu'il y a des enfants de votre ethnie dans cette région qui ne parlent même pas votre langue?

6.14. Est-ce que les enfants de vos enfants vont parler votre langue comme vous?
Sinon, quelle langue est-ce qu'ils vont parler?

6.12. Est-ce qu'on a construit des écoles récemment dans vos villages?

6.13. Quand vous étiez enfants, est-ce qu'autant d'enfants sont partis à l'école qu'aujourd'hui?
Est-ce que ceux qui ne gagnent pas leur certificats restent au village?

Appendix F.3 Questionnaire pour les maîtres d'école

Langue: Village: Date:

Maître d'école: Son éthie:

Au village depuis _____

L2= L3= Enquêteur:

1. Jusqu'à quel niveau les cours sont-ils dispensés dans cette école?

2. Quel est l'effectif de chaque classe? (si possible selon le sexe)

CI	CP	CE1	CE2	CM 1	CM 2

3. Quel est le pourcentage approximatif des élèves qui appartiennent au (L1)?

4. Est-ce que vous avez l'impression que la plupart des enfants du (L1) viennent à l'école?

5. Est-ce qu'il y a d'autres écoles dans ce village (eg Coranique? Privée)?

(voir Questionnaire de Renseignements Généraux)

6. Dans un rayon de combien de km les enfants viennent-ils à l'école?

7. Combien d'enfants continuent leur scolarité après avoir terminé l'école ici?
Où doivent-ils se rendre?

8. Combien de gens d'ici ont terminé l'école primaire? (Ou terminé d'autres cours?)

9. Est-ce que les parents le trouvent difficile d'envoyer leurs enfants à l'école?

Pourquoi?

Est-ce qu'ils sont disposés à faire de grands efforts pour envoyer leurs enfants à l'école?

10. Est-ce qu'il y a des gens qui savent lire et écrire dans le village?

Dans quelle(s) langue(s)?

11.a. Est-ce qu'on a fait une campagne ou un cours d'alphabétisation ici?

Dans quelle langue? Qui l'a initié?

Est-ce que c'était à l'intention des adultes ou bien des jeunes?

Quel était le taux de participation (bas, modeste, élevé)?

11.b. Est-ce que les gens seraient disposés à monter une campagne d'alphabétisation?

A votre avis, ce serait en (L1) ou (L2)? Pourquoi?

12. Quelle est votre impression de l'attitude de la population envers le (L1)?

Sont-ils fiers de leur langue?

13. Quelle langue, à part le français, utilisez-vous le plus souvent en classe?

Quelle langue utilisez-vous si les enfants ne vous comprennent pas?

Est-ce que vous utilisez aussi parfois le (L1)?

14. Quelle(s) langue(s) utilisez-vous le plus souvent pendant la récréation pour parler avec les enfants?
15. Quelle langue les enfants parlent-ils le plus souvent entre eux pendant la récréation?
16. Quel est en général le niveau de (L2) des enfants qui entrent à l'école (ex. Ils ne le parlent pas du tout; Certains le parlent; Tous le parlent; etc.)?
17. Quelle est votre impression du niveau de (L2) de la population de ce village en général?
Est-ce qu'il y a certaines groupes (ex. femmes ou vieux) qui ont du mal soit à comprendre soit à parler le (L2)?

Appendix F.4 Questionnaire pour les chefs religieux

Village: Date: Enquêteur:

Nom de l'Eglise/Mosquée: Affiliation:

Pasteur/Imam/Marabout: Ethnie:

L1= L2= L3=

1.1. Quand est-ce que cette église/mosquée a été établie (dans ce village)?

Eglise: Combien de gens font parti de l'église?

Mosquée: Combien de gens viennent prier?

1.2. Quelle est la langue qui est utilisée la plus souvent à l'église/la mosquée pour:

- la lecture des Ecritures Saintes?
- la liturgie?
- le chant?
- le sermon?
- la prière?
- les annonces?

1.3. Quelles ethnies sont représentées dans votre église/mosquée?

Combien de chaque ethnie font partie de l'assemblée?

Quand vous traduisez pendant le culte, est-ce que c'est une traduction phrase par phrase ou plutôt un résumé à la fin?

Lorsque les Ecritures sont lues à l'église, sont-elles aussi interprétées en (L1)?

Sont-elles même traduites par écrit à l'avance?

Le (L1) est-elle parfois utilisée dans le cadre des réunions publiques de l'église/la mosquée?

Si un invité prêche en (L2), y a-t-il une interprétation?

S'il parle aux jeunes, est-il également interprété?

Si vous ne traduisez pas en (L1), pourquoi pas?

(Si on ne traduit pas) Est-ce que tout le monde peut facilement comprendre le (L2)

Sinon, quels groupes comprennent mal (ex. hommes, femmes, jeunes, vieux)?

Avez-vous appris à parler en (L1)?

1.4. Existe-t-il du matériel écrit en (L1) tel que portions des Ecritures ou livres de chants?

Connaissez-vous des gens qui ont écrit quelque chose sur le (L1) ou sur votre ethnie?

Peut-être un blanc est-il arrivé pour faire des recherches...

Y a-t-il des gens d'ici qui travaillent à la mise par écrit de la langue?

Existe-t-il un comité de langue?

Si vous aviez une Bible dans (L1), est-ce que vous utiliseriez pendant le culte?

Est-ce que vous seriez prêt à aider dans le travail de mettre la Bible en (L1) à la disposition des gens ici?

1.5. Y a-t-il d'autres églises/assemblée/missions/mosquées au village?

1.6. Est-ce qu'il y a une population chrétienne/musulmane dans ce village?

Depuis quand?

Est-ce qu'il y a des gens de l'ethnie (L1) qui se sont convertis à Islam/au christianisme récemment?

Combien?

Qui (ex. hommes, femmes, jeunes, vieux)?

1.7. Est-ce qu'il y a des gens ici qui sont maltraités à cause de leur religion?

1.8. Est-ce que vous connaissez des gens d'autres ethnies aux alentours qui n'ont pas encore entendu le message de l'Evangile dans leur propre langue?

1.9. Est-ce qu'il y a d'autres caractéristiques importantes au plan religieuse de ce village (ex. Le village est reconnu comme centre de fétichisme.)?

Appendix F.5 Questionnaire pour animateurs d'alphabétisation

Langue: Village: Date:

Animateur: Langue maternelle: Né à:

Dialect 2= Langue2= Enquêteur:

- 1 Quand est-ce que le cours d'alphabétisation a eu lieu (dans ce village)?
 - b. Quelle organisation l'a initié?
 - c. Est-ce que vous avez reçu une formation pour animer les cours d'alphabétisation de cette organisation? Si non, où est-ce que vous avez suivi une formation d'enseignant?
 - d. Est-ce que vous saviez déjà lire le L1?
2. Est-ce que la plupart des gens de ce village comprennent bien le parler de (village of D2)?
 - b. Si non, quels sont les groupes qui ont le plus de mal à comprendre (ex. les vieux, les femmes, etc.)?
- 3.a. Parmi ceux qui ont suivi un cours d'alphabétisation de base, est-ce qu'il y a ceux qui ont trouvé que le syllabaire en (D2) est difficile à comprendre?
 - b. Si le syllabaire était en (D1), croyez-vous qu'apprendre à lire et à écrire en (L1) serait beaucoup plus facile pour ceux qui parlent le (D1)?
 - c. Est-ce que vous connaissez des (D1) qui hésitent de suivre un cours d'alphabétisation parce que les matériels sont en (D2)? Est-ce qu'il sont nombreux?
 - d. Est-ce que vous croyez que plus de (D1) seraient disposés à suivre le cours d'alphabétisation de base s'il y auraient des matériels en (D1)?
4. Parmi les (D1) qui ont reçu leur certificat, est-ce qu'il y a beaucoup qui trouvent que c'est difficile à lire ce qu'il y a comme matériels post-alphabétisation, c'est-à-dire, les évangiles, les livres de contes, les livrets sur la santé, etc.?
 - 5.a. Lors qu'on écoute les passages bibliques traduites en (D2) à l'église, est-ce que vous comprenez bien tout ce que vous entendez?
 - b. Croyez-vous que la majorité des croyants à l'église comprennent bien ces passages bibliques dans le parler de (village de D2)?
 - c. Si non, quels sont les groupes qui ont le plus de mal? (ex. les vieux, les femmes, etc.)
6. Est-ce que vous avez d'autres commentaires sur le sujet de l'alphabétisation des (L1)?
7. Est-ce que vous serez disposé à aider encore dans des cours d'alphabétisation?

Appendix F.6 Addendum aux questionnaires

Langue: Village: Date:
Enquêteur:

Renseignements généraux à l'intérêt du Service d'Alphabétisation:

1. Ecole - Scolarisation

1.1 Dans quelle année est-ce que cette école a été établie?

1.2 Est-ce qu'il y a eu des cours chaque année depuis cette date?

2. Alphabétisation

2.1 Est-ce qu'il y avait un cours d'alphabétisation pour adultes dans ce village?

2.2 En quelle année est-ce que ce cours a commencé?

2.3 Est-ce qu'il y a eu des cours d'alphabétisations chaque année depuis le début?

2.4 Quand est-ce que ces cours ont lieu? Dans quels mois?
Combien de fois dans la semaine est-ce qu'on fait le cours? (Est-ce qu'il faut venir chaque soir?
Tois fois par semaine?)

2.5 Qui a écrit une lettre dernièrement?
Quand est-ce qu'il l'a écrite?

2.6 Qui a lu quelque chose dernièrement? (un livre, une lettre, etc.)
Qu'est-ce que c'était?
Où est-ce qu'il a eu le _____ ?
Quand est-ce qu'il l'a lu?

Renseignements à propos des questions de variantes dialectales

3. Marriage

3.1 D'où viennent vos femmes? Où est-ce qu'elles sont nées? (Regardez une carte avant de poser cette question afin de pouvoir citer plusieurs villages avoisinants.)

3.2 Pourquoi est-ce que vous choisissez ces femmes?

3.3 Est-ce qu'il y a des gens avec qui il est interdit de se marier? Qui sont-ils?