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MULTI LINGUALISM AND LANGUAGE IDEOLOGY: AN ETHNOGRAPHICALLY–INFORMED SOCIOLINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVE IN THE STUDY OF LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY IN LOWER BAFUT, NORTH-WEST CAMEROON

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF A DOCTORATE DEGREE IN LINGUISTICS

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DEDICATION

To my beloved late father, Vincent Chenemo

and mother, Rachael Lum who sacrificed their lives to raise me up to

what i am today.

And to my dear husband for his moral, intellectual and financial

assistance throughout my postgraduate studies.

Finally, I dedicate this work to all women who suffered from breast

cancer and survived. I know your pain, I have been there too, but all is

not lost when life continues.

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ABSTRACT

This work entitled " *Multilingualism and Language Ideology: an Ethnographically-Informed Sociolinguistic Perspective in the Study of Linguistic Diversity in Lower Bafut, Mezam Division, North West Region of Cameroon* sets out to discuss multilingualism as a phenomenon that is both geographical and societal with regard to Lower Bafut a locality in Bafut Sub division in Mezam Division, North West region of Cameroon. The study is an attempt at exploring new dimensions, other than political and financial, in which the people of the area try to gain societal influence through linguistic acquisition. Inspiration for the work was prompted by an article entitled "Multilingualism, Solidarity and Magic" DI CARLO (2012). In the write-up, he discusses Multilingualism both as a societal and geographical phenomenon in Lower Fungom, which has a direct bearing on, and similarities with, Lower Bafut.

The main objectives were first to investigate the natural dispositions and prejudices of an individual or a group of people vis –a-vis the languages they speak or languages spoken around them, and then to state the existence of the languages of Lower Bafut against the pressures of the dominant Bafut culture.

The main research techniques were a sociolinguistic questionnaire, an ethnographic questionnaire the Global Group Appraisal (GGA), the Recorded Text Testing (RTT), the Lexicostatistics and the Matched-Guise Technique (MGT). All interviews were audio recorded, annotated and the MGT spoken text and wordlist transcribed. A metadata was written on all audio files. The total number of respondents were 200 (GGA-60, RTT-80, MGT-36, Lexicostatistics-24).

The research was carried out in three phases. The first phase involved a sociolinguistic survey of the speech communities and the administration of the sociolinguistic questionnaire, the GGA and RTT. The second phase consisted of the administration of the ethnographic questionnaire and the MGT; and the last phase was the administration of the Lexicostatistics and the wordlist.

The sociolinguistic approach focused on the evaluation of intelligibility and inter-comprehension between the eight linguistic varieties in the Bafut Fondom through the application of the Global Group Assessment by Sadembouo, E. (1980), the Lexicostatistics by SWADESH (1950) and the Recorded Text Testing (RTT) by CASAD (1974).

The Matched-Guise Technique (MGT) by LAMBERT (1959) was used to measure people's opinions of a language. It addressed the following issues: What are the assumptions and projections about a language? Do people speak a language because the native speakers are perceived as possessing certain desirable personal and moral qualities, or it is a cultural practice to affiliate?

The application of the comparative method in a multilingual context enables us to realize four types of intelligibility: mutual intelligibility, acquired intelligibility, neighbour intelligibility, and non-reciprocal intelligibility. The evaluations revealed that Mbakong, Butang, Obang, Mantaa, Buwi, Otang are not dialects of other languages, but different languages of their own.

From the Matched-Guise Technique (MGT) we observed the following results:

i)Both essentialism and indexicality are present in Lower Bafut.

ii) The absence of prestige is revealed in the indexical use of the languages of Lower Bafut, while the presence of prestige is seen in the essential use of these languages. On the whole, inasmuch as the groundwork covered statistically through an inter-disciplinary approach is considerable, yet it provides even a greater impetus for more research work to be carried out in Lower Bafut.

RÉSUMÉ

Notre travail intitulé *" Multilinguisme, et Idéologie de Langue : une perspective sociolinguistique ethnographiquement-informée dans l'étude de la diversité des langues du Bas-Bafut dans l'arrondissement de Bafut, Département de la Mezam, Région du Nord-ouest du Cameroun,* vise **à** prouver la véracité de l'assertion si le multilinguisme est un phénomène géographique ou sociétal. A partir d'une double perspective sociolinguistique ethnographiquement-informée pour diagnostiquer les idéologies qui sous-tendent la résilience de ces différentes langues dans ce milieu multilingue soumis à de nombreuses influences ; nous entendons également déterminer ce qui motive les personnes plurilingues. Notre inspiration vien de Di Carlo (2012) dans l'article "Multilinguisme, Solidarité et Magie" dans son travail de Bas-Fungom sur le multilinguisme est un phénomène géographique ou sociétal.

Les Objectifs : Ce travail vise à déterminer les dispositions naturelles d'un individu ou d'un groupe de personnes ainsi que les préjudices qu'ils causent aux langues qu'ils parlent ou qui sont parlées autour d'eux. Prouver l'existence et la résilience des langues du Bas-Bafut face aux pressions de la culture Bafut dominante.

Les principaux instruments de recherche utilisés étaient un questionnaire sociolinguistique, un questionnaire ethnographique, des interviews, le *Matched-Guise Technique* (MGT) (technique des codes appariés), et une liste de mots. Toutes les interviews ont été audio enregistrées, annotées et le texte parlé MGT et la liste de mots ont été transcrits. Et des métadonnées ont été inscrites sur tous les fichiers audio.

Cette recherche a été effectuée en trois phases : la première phase consistait en l'étude sociolinguistique de la communauté linguistique et l'administration d'un questionnaire. La deuxième phase était l'administration du questionnaire ethnographique et des interviews ; et il s'agissait dans la dernière phase d'administrer le MGT et de collecter la liste de mots.

L'administration du questionnaire sociolinguistique qui contenait des questions sur la personnalité de l individue consultée, son identité linguistique, et sur ce qui motive son multilinguisme. L'approche sociolinguistique insiste sur l'évaluation de l'intelligibilité et l'intercompréhension entre les huit variétés linguistiques de la chefferie Bafut à travers l'utilisation de la méthode évaluation globale (GGA), la lexicostatique et le test de textes enregistrée (RTT).

Le *Matched-Guise Technique* de Lambert (1959) a été utilisé comme moyen pour savoir l'opinion des gens sur une langue, leurs hypothèses et projections. Les gens choisissent-ils de parler une ou plusieurs langues présentes dans leur environnement parce que l'on considère que les locuteurs natifs possèdent certaines qualités personnelles et morales recherchées ou bien est-ce pour eux une pratique culturelle de s'intégrer à travers ces langues ?
L'application de cette méthode comparative dans un contexte multilingue nous permet d'obtenir quatre types d'intelligibilité : l'intelligibilité mutuelle, l'intelligibilité acquise, l'intelligibilité voisine, et l'intelligibilité non réciproque. Le Mbakong, le Butang, l'Obang, le Mantaa, le Buwi, l'Otang et l Agah ne sont pas des dialectes du Bafut, mais sont plutôt des langues distinctes.

Le *Matched-Guise Technique* (MGT) nous a permis d'obtenir les résultats suivants: L'essentialisme et l'indexicalité sont présents dans le Bas-Bafut. L'absence de prestige se dégage de l'usage indexical des langues du Bas-Bafut, alors que la présence de prestige est revelée dans l'usage de ces langues.

En fin de compte, cette analyse statistiquement réalisée par une approche interdisciplinaire dans le but de prouver l'existence et la résilience des langues du Bas-Bafut face à la culture Bafut dominante, a jeté les bases pour des recherches plus poussées dans le domaine qui nous intéresse.

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

ARBIL	:	Archives Builder
A.C.C.T	:	Agence de Coopération Culturelle et Technique
A.L.A.C	:	Atlas Linguistique d'Afrique Centrale
ALCAM	:	Atlas Linguistique du Cameroun
A.P.I	:	Alphabet Phonique International
CERDOTOLA	:	Centre Régional de Recherche et de Documentation sur les Traditions Orales Pour le Développent des Langues Africaines
C.R.E.A	:	Centre de Recherche et D'Etudes Anthropologiques
DIPES	:	Diplôme de Professeur d'enseignement Secondaires
ELAN	:	EUDICO Linguistic Annotator
ELAR	:	Endangered Languages Archives
F.A.L.S.H	:	Faculty of Arts, Letters and Social Sciences
FLEX		Field Lexicon Explorer
G.G.A	:	Global Group Assessment
I.A.I	:	International Alphabet Institute
IMDI	:	ISLE Meta Data Initiative
ISO	:	International Standard Organisation
KPAAM-CAM	:	Key Pluridisciplinary Advances to African Multilingualism
LAMUS		Language Archives Management Upload Systems
MA	:	Arithmetic Average
N	:	Total Number of Root Resemblances
NACALCO	:	National Association of Cameroonian Language Committees
PROPELCA	:	Projet de Recherche Operationelle pour l'Enseignement des Langues au Cameroun
UNESCO	:	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation.
M.G.T	:	Matched-Guise Technique
R.T.T	:	Recorded Test Testing
SIL	:	Société Internationale de Linguistiques
NS	:	Native speaker
NN	:	Non-Native Speaker
G.S	:	Guise Speaker
F.S	:	Filler Speaker
PL	:	Prestige Language
EU	:	Essential Usage
IU	:	Indexical use
V	:	Linguistic Varieties
V1	:	Bafut
V2	:	Mbakong
V3	:	Butang
V4	:	Obang
V5	:	Mantaa
V6	:	Buwi
V7	:	Otang
V8	:	Agah

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF MAPS

LIST OF CHARTS

TABLE O F CONTENTS

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Introduction

The General Introduction introduces the work and handles the following: the topic, background to the problem, language documentation, the sociolinguistic context, statement of the problem, research questions, hypothesis, aims and objectives, significance of the study, methodology and structure of the study.

Topic

This present study entitled "*Multilingualism and language ideology: an ethnographically-informed sociolinguistic perspective in the study of linguistic diversity in Lower Bafut, North West Cameroon*" sets out to discuss multilingualism as a phenomenon that is both geographical and societal with regard to Lower Bafut a locality in Bafut Sub division in Mezam Division, North West region of Cameroon. The study is an attempt at exploring new dimensions, other than political and financial, in which the people of the area try to gain societal influence through linguistic acquisition.

Inspiration for the work was prompted by an article entitled "Multilingualism, Solidarity and Magic" DI CARLO (2012). In the write-up, he discusses Multilingualism both as a societal and geographical phenomenon in Lower Fungom, which has a direct bearing on, and similarities with, Lower Bafut whose language situation had been earlier investigated in (Chenemo, M.,2011) to come up with a thought-provoking conclusion that the several linguistic varieties existing in Lower Bafut are not varieties of the Bafut language but rather languages in their own right. Now, however, with the inspiration from DI CARLO (2012), we have ventured to extend our investigations by an interdisciplinary approach to include the sociolinguistic and ethnographic perspectives so as to re-evaluate the results of our previous finding.

From an ethnographically- informed sociolinguistic perspective, we then set out to diagnose the ideologies behind the languages of Lower Bafut that have kept them surviving side by side in this multilingual milieu. This work also investigates the motives for people speaking several languages, and this in order to ascertain whether multilingualism is a geographical or a societal phenomenon.

The main objectives were:

a) To investigate the natural dispositions and prejudices of individuals or groups of people with regard to the languages they speak, or that are spoken around them.

2

b) To investigate the resistance of the languages of Lower Bafut in relation to the pressures of the dominant Bafut language.

Linguistic diversity implies the existence of multiple languages within a given geographical area, be it large or small. It may equally imply more than one variety of a language or the mode of speaking of a social group, whether it is formally recognised as a language or not. On the other hand, multilingualism refers to an individual's competence in multiple languages. In such a case, some individuals may be monolingual (that is speaking only their own variety in a single given language), while others may be multilingual (speaking more than two languages). In this case many different languages are used for different purposes. For instance, in urban areas the different languages spoken have different hierarchies and are perceived differently as some are more prestigious than others. But traditional multilingualism does not work like the urban type because languages are not spoken for prestige but for affiliation and identity. For instance, it is difficult to live in an African country like Cameroon in seclusion. There is that desire to live with a particular person or group by speaking another language thereby acquiring multiple identities. Similarly, in intermarriages women learn their husbands' languages and still keep their mother tongues and then use both languages as the need arises. These identities allow them to define themselves as members of their husbands' communities and also members of their own kin. They activate depending on the context.

Many sociolinguists replicate western methods in African contexts without finding out whether these methods apply. This study is an attempt to introduce the motivations of individual multilingualism. What is in the minds of those who learn and speak many languages? What degree of competence will qualify one to be called a native speaker? A close observation of their behavior and culture may enable us to find answers to these questions.

Another motivating factor of multilingualism is spiritual insecurity. There is the urge that keeps Africans forming and quitting groups, associating with one cult or the other, or pacifying gods. In fact, the greatest hindrance to self-development within the African is uncertainty, the fear of the unknown. People long to know what will happen to them in the nearest future; that is why they live in solidarity with one another, seeking protection from their traditional rulers who represent the gods. In due course, false prophets and charlatans take advantage of this spiritual insecurity to extort money from their victims.

Similarly, multilingualism is prompted by political insecurity. When the socio-political structure of a community is not guaranteed, people tend to affiliate to groups. The more groups one belongs to, the stronger and more prosperous one feels. The assumption here is that multilingualism engenders a strong feeling of belonging, that is, the flagging of identity: I am with you; I am a man of the people; I am the son of the soil; we are together; united we stand, and so on. It has also been remarked in Cameroon that the lack of trust in service providers like the insurance companies and banks has tended to promote the prosperity of charlatans and "njangi" groups where multilingualism is practised. There is also a tendency for people to learn many foreign languages like English, French, German, Italian, Spanish and Chinese so as to affiliate to a wider international community with all the advantages that it entails.

Background to the Problem

The linguistic context of the Grassfield languages has been described by STALLCUP, K. (1988; 44) as the most linguistically fragmented part of the so-called sub-Saharan Fragmentation Belt. DALBY, D. (1970) and by WARNIER, J. (1979:412-413,1980:410, 832), describe it as a region of sub-Saharan Africa characterized by frequent internal migration and pervasive multilingualism.

This is true of Lower Bafut as several groups in this area speak distinct languages of different origins. These groups are made up of single language villages which are autonomous with a chief as a traditional head, except Obang which is an eight-village language community. CHENEMO, M. (2011), carried out a comparative study of the seven linguistic varieties in the Bafut Fondom namely, Bafut, Butang, Buwi, Mantaa, Mbakong, Obang and Otang. Here, her focus was limited to the Sociolinguistic approach in order to determine inter-comprehension and the linguistic relationship between these languages and Bafut. The results revealed that these linguistic varieties have no mutual intelligibility with Bafut and could therefore be considered distinct languages. Now, however, we have extended our work to include both the sociolinguistic and the ethnographic approaches; this because the previous results on intelligibility seemed not to have been directly determined only on the basis of linguistic features. Moreover, intelligibility between the languages of Lower Bafut could equally be determined by other sociological than by linguistic factors. And this then was the basis for our orientation towards an interdisciplinary approach. Our doubts in the previous results have been confirmed by our present results which reveal that, intelligibility between

the languages of Lower Bafut was due to the fact that they are spoken in a bilingual context. Consequently, these languages stand out as distinct languages of their own.

To MELVICE, A. (2013), Obang is one of the six related varieties of the Befang language which belongs to the Beba-Befang clan, one of the two clans that make up the Menchum valley subdivision. This subdivision is located in the valley between Wum and Bafut subdivision. In her work on the structural and typological approaches to the grammar of Obang, she made much reference to the Befang language since Obang is a variety of the Befang language. Her aim was to write a grammar that would facilitate the teaching and learning of this language by contributing to its development and challenging the misleading assumption about it. This is an indication that Obang is facing extinction just as many Cameroonian languages threatened by Pidgin English.

The people of Lower Bafut also practise active bilingualism by speaking more than one of the native languages, and code-switching due to the multilingual setting. A dramatic scene of linguistic pluralism is staged at the Tuesday market in Mbakong, the Wednesday market in Ndong and the Friday market in Tingoh. They are the central meeting points where the seven languages of Lower Bafut including Bafut, English and Pidgin English, are used for communication. Furthermore, there is a high rate of inter-marriages in the Basin as opposed to few cases with Bafut. This results in a lot of code-switching and bilingualism. Given the complexities of the linguistic situation of Cameroon, that of Lower Bafut is even more complicated because of the several linguistic varieties spoken within an area of about 24 square kilometres.

Linguistic Variation

Variation is the starting point of all sociolinguistic studies and the most important aspect studied in Linguistics. The notion of variation and /or multilingualism in Cameroon can be traced right back to biblical days since it sprang from the story of the Tower of Babel in the Old Testament (Genesis 11:1-9) where the people had ambition to build a tower to reach heaven so that they might stay together and never be scattered. But on seeing that their ambition stemmed from the fact that they were one and spoke one language, God decided to confuse their language and scatter them all over the world so as to frustrate their plans.

The reverse of this situation was true in the New Testament (Acts 2: 1-4) when, on Pentecost day, the Holy Spirit empowered Christ's apostles to spread the Gospel and win more souls by speaking other languages including Jews, Asians, Arabs, Medes and many others, much to the

amazement of their native speakers. Since then, linguists have been in search of the original language.

TADADJEU, M. (1990), in *Le Tour de Babel,* describes the multicultural linguistic state of Cameroon as having 248 indigenous languages and many more yet to be identified. Some of these languages have been documented and standardized while others are in an advanced state of standardization.

SIL International Dallas (2005), in the Ethnoloque of world languages, states that Cameroonian languages number 286.

SADEMBOUO, E. (2014), in LinguaPax Review on *Pratiques Linguistiques dans les Villes Africaines Multilingues: L'usage des langues dans les eglises, les ecoles,et chez les musiciens au Cameroun,* states that unlike Europe, Africa is a continent of mega linguistic and cultural diversity characterized by the presence of a multitude of indigenous languages of diffusion more or less stretched towards foreign languages instituted there by colonialism. He describes multilingualism in Cameroon and in Central Africa as characterized by a linguistic double heritage where of the 239 languages or language units spoken in the Cameroonian territory, 86 are less spoken and are trans-frontier, while 153 indigenous languages which have been identified by the researchers (DIEU,M et P. RENAUD, 1983), (BRETON,R, et BIKIA FOHTUNG, 1991), (BINAM BIKOI,C et al 2013), are widely utilized.

The issue of multiple identities is equally very common in Lower Bafut such that an individual could be identified by the many languages he/she speaks or the several groups he/she belongs to, such as: traditional groups, church groups, professional groups and social groups.

Linguistically, according to ALCAM (1983), Cameroon is called Africa in miniature because it is one of the most multilingual countries in sub-Saharan Africa. Out of the four linguistic systems in Africa, three are represented in Cameroon namely: Afro-Asiatic, Niro-Saharan and Niger-Kordofan.

The Linguistic Atlas of Cameroon presents the most recent classification of Cameroonian languages under historical and ethnic groupings. Bafut is found in zone 9 and its code is 912. It is classified under the Grassfield-East languages and it is further regrouped under the Ngemba languages in Bamenda central zone, as shown in the figure below.

Figure 1: ALCAM Classification (1983)

Phylum	→ Niger-Cordofan
Sub Phylum	→ Niger-Congo
Families	→ Benue-Congo
Sub Families	→ Bantoide
Branches	→ Mambiloide / Bantou
Sub Branches	→ Tikar / Grassfield-Bantou / Mbam -Equatorial
Groups	→ Ring / Grassfield- East / Menchum
Sub Groups	→ Bamiléké central / Ngemba / Noun / Momo
Languages	→ Mbui Mankon Pinyin Awing Nkwen Akum 912 Bafut
Dialects	→ Bufe Beba
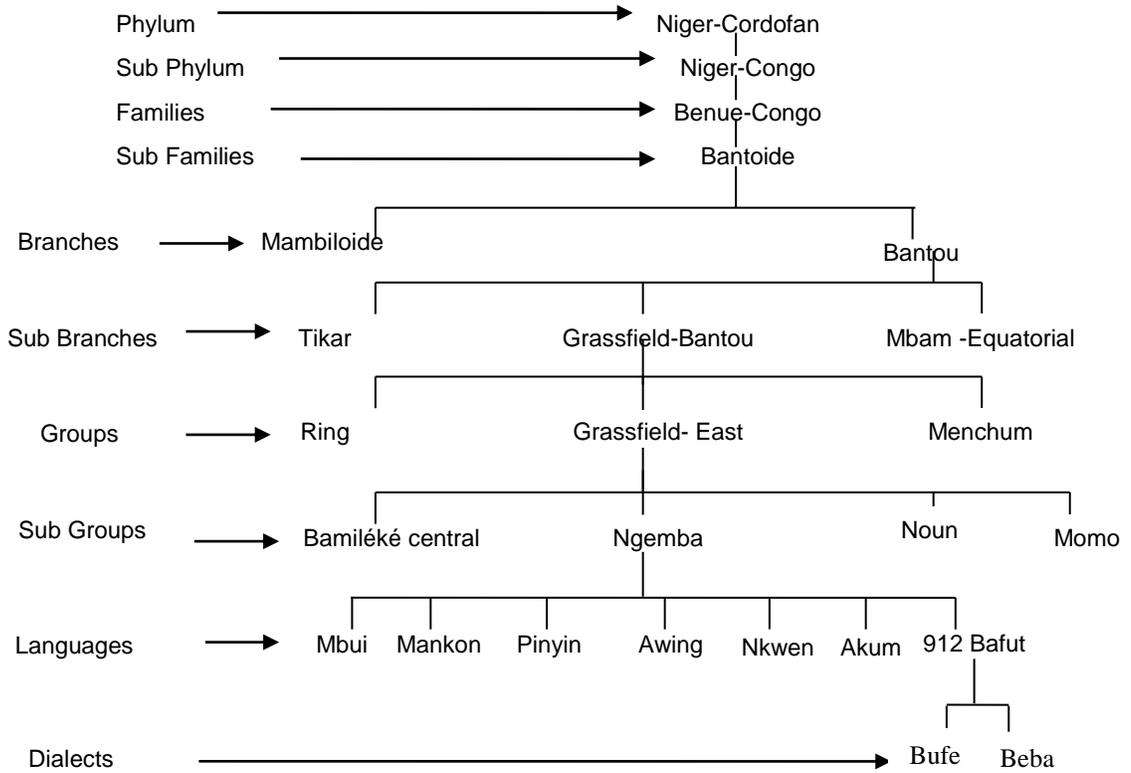
As we can notice, the linguistic varieties found in Lower Bafut are not mentioned in this classification. This is so because until our present work, no substantive evidence revealed that these languages were independent. Chenemo, M. (2011) limited her inquiries on whether these languages were dialects of Bafut or not. Therefore, they should be considered a new discovery in our present work.

Map 1: The map of the code zones of Cameroon languages.

(Source: Cerdotola 2012)

Map1: Presents the multicultural linguistic state of Cameroon as having 248 indigenous languages and many more yet to be identified (the Lower Bafut Languages inclusive).

Language Documentation

The field of language documentation is relatively new in linguistics, and it has brought about new developments, especially as it is related to the recording and documentation of endangered languages. There are so far no standard genres for this kind of writing and no evaluation metrics.

Language documentation, as a research area, is not yet understood as distinct from collecting data for linguistic description. In the African perspective, language documentation is full of illusions because of the rules brought about by canonical linguists on language purism, that is, one language, one lexicon, one theory, one, one, one...

Modern linguists researching in Africa, for instance, should use the contexts of bilingualism and multilingualism. That is why an ethnographic study is important in language documentation. Therefore, language documentation does not entail only language description as with descriptive linguistics; but also, the people, their culture and their language in use.

The linguistic practices of a speech community include the traditions of the people manifested in two ways, namely, observable linguistic behaviour seen in everyday interaction between members of the speech community, and the native speakers' metalinguistic knowledge as seen in their ability to provide interpretations and systematizations for linguistic units and events (HIMMELMANN,1998).

Language documentation contributes to the development of people of a speech community in that it gets many more people in the community involved as language consultants in the use of modern technology, and this ensures continuity. With the knowledge they acquire, they can continue to develop their languages on their own.

Language Endangerment

The degree of endangerment of the languages of Lower Bafut can be assessed by the following factors: total number of speakers, vitality of the language, inter-generational transmission, geographical accessibility, rate of intermarriages, language ideology and language policy.

The vitality of these languages is limited to a 24 sq km geographical space, excluding Bafut; while the domains of their usage include intra-family religion, trade, and non-kin-groups like fishermen, famers and hunters. Similarly, there has been no response to new domains of usage like radio and TV broadcasting, literary and didactic materials.

Another factor of language endangerment is inter-generational transmission of the languages by the younger people that can be rated very high. This is due to incorporation and adoption of other linguistic expressions into their languages, bilingualism and code-switching because of the multilingual setting of these languages.

Furthermore, the high rate of inter-marriages in the Basin results in a lot of code-switching and bilingualism by children who learn to speak either or both of their parents' languages.

The people's attitudes towards their languages are positive. Though their number is small, they have an unconscious policy of promoting and sustaining their languages jealously. That is why these languages have survived side by side in this multilingual area. Although they hold their languages in high esteem within them, elsewhere in the Fondom, they feel inferior speaking them because they would not like being identified and prejudiced by the Bafut people as their past slaves or uncivilised people. This past and present political influence of Bafut on these languages has created a very negative representation and a total disregard of their existence as inferior languages.

On the whole, from the forgone analysis, one could conveniently say that Mantaa, Buwi, Mbakong, Butang, Obang, and Otang fall under the list of the world's most highly endangered languages; so there is urgent need for lunching a documentation exercise for them.

Sociocultural Context of Lower Bafut

The people of Lower Bafut are highly superstitious. They believe that the natural world interacts with the supernatural world and that is why supernatural institutions grow stronger and stronger. To them the strengthening of these institutions ensures prosperity and those who affiliates are guaranteed supernatural protection. This assumption is risky because it keeps the people impoverished. In Africa, it is a belief that kinship builds relations. But this view is subjective, although it boils down to promoting societal wealth and power. If the ideology is endangered, much of language will be lost.

The people of Lower Bafut´s greatest worry is spiritual and social insecurity. There are no centralized systems of service providers like insurance, banking and social security. Consequently they tend to seek protection and assistance from solidarity groups. The more solidarity groups one belongs to, the more secured one feels in the society. So an individual could belong to as many solidarity groups as possible.

Context of Study

The context of study includes the following: the linguistic contexts of Bafut as found on the ALCAM 1983, the linguistic diversity, the geo-historical presentation and the socio-cultural context of Lower Bafut.

According to NUMFOR, C. (1978), culturally, the people of Lower Bafut are different from those of Bafut in that they do not have the same origin. They came to settle on this land during the 18th century waves of migration provoked by feudal wars and the quest for territorial domination.

The people of the various villages of Lower Bafut originated from different parts of the Widikum forest and the south-West Region of Cameroon, each group having their own language. When they arrived in Bafut, they could not establish themselves in those areas where the Bafut people were already settled. Finding the already settled Bafut people too strong to share their territory, they moved downwards to a safer settlement which was apparently very fertile.

Eventually, these groupings were attacked, conquered and dominated by the aggresive Bafut Fondom which then imposed the Bafut language on them, notably through slavery, appointment of new rulers by the paramount Fon of Bafut, and the payment of tributes. These groups are expected to pay allegiance to the paramount Fon and the administrative ruler of Bafut, in which these minority groups are found and till today, are ruled by second class chiefs the "Ba Atanchos" installed by the Fon of Bafut and the administration.

With each minority village paying allegiance to Bafut, many Lower Bafut people speak Bafut whereas only few Bafut people can speak a language of Lower Bafut. Indeed, if a Bafut man speaks a language of Lower Bafut, this is perceived in some ways as degrading.

Given their minority status, the inhabitants of Lower Bafut villages see Bafut people as superior, and for fear of being accused of insubordination will always show, in the presence of Bafut people, that they too are Bafut and respect Bafut culture, including speaking the Bafut language.

In such a context, one might expect that the minority languages would die out. However, contrary to the expectations, these languages are vibrant and this is explained by the strong identity that each of the minority groups has.

Thus, while all the small villages pay homage to Bafut, strong rivalries exist among them, with each village striving to dominate the others. In recent times, a series of inter-community conflicts have been recorded concerning fishing, farming and settlement sites. Five years ago(2012), an open confrontation broke out between the youths of Obang and those of Mbakong concerning a sandpit

on River Mezam, and between Butang and Mbakong inhabitants concerning the land on which the Mbakong health centre is built, with each of the villages claiming ownership over it. Interestingly, these groupings have been too small and too weak to seek to dominate each other. Identity sentiments are high and each community struggles to assert its uniqueness, and one of the ways that villages can show their uniqueness is through language. Reason why they jealously preserved their languages and culture.

The above discussions of the social relations in Lower Bafut is what motivated us in our research to understand how the interactions between languages play out in this setting. It should be understood here that the scenario in Lower Bafut is different from that of urban settings in Cameroon, where European languages like English, French, German, Spanish and Portuguese have prestige and power. But it is Bafut that has a status more similar to that of the European languages in urban centres. It is thus interesting to discover, amidst these various complexities of social life and identity, which language ideologies exist.

The Socio-political context of Lower Bafut

The socio-political and cultural systems of Lower Bafut are not as strong as those of Bafut because respect for the elder is based on achievements by the individual, while in Bafut, it is based on social status, rank and age. This explains why many subjects from Lower Bafut can speak Bafut, but few Bafut overlords would bother themselves learning to speak the languages of Lower Bafut.

Moreover, Bafut first came into contact with European influence, notably in the domains of Christianity, education, and commerce. So, in a kind of societal osmosis, the people of Lower Bafut were naturally pulled up to Bafut in a bid to acquire the European way of life with the advantages it entails. In the course of their stay in Bafut it became imperative for them to learn the Bafut language to ease communication.

Considering the socio-political structure of Lower Bafut today, we can notice that administratively, the villages of Lower Bafut fall under the Bafut subdivision, meaning that all their rights and duties as citizens of Cameroon are recognised in this area of jurisdiction headed administratively by a Divisional Officer and traditionally by the Fon of Bafut, His Royal Majesty, Abumbi II, paramount ruler.

Equally, the social structure of the Lower Bafut communities is not as solid as that of Bafut. People have less respect for traditional authority as compared to Bafut. The hierarchical structure is as follows:
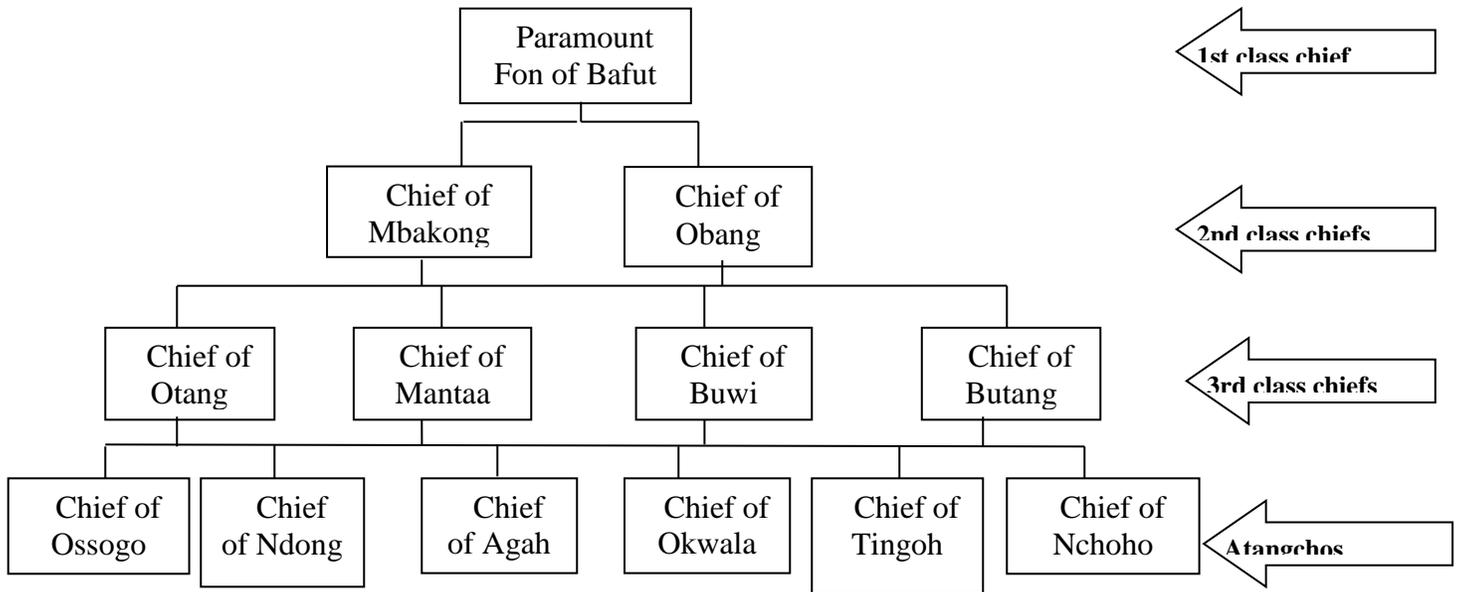
Figure 2: The Hierarchical Classification of the Chiefs of Lower Bafut.

(source: by Chenemo, M. 2018)

It should be noted from the hierarchical structure of Lower Bafut that the only first-class chief is the paramount Fon of Bafut under whom all the chiefs of Lower Bafut fall. Second in hierarchy are the second-class chiefs of Mbakong and Obang; ranked third are the chiefs of Otang, Mantaa, Buwi, and Butang follows; and lastly come the Atangchos or the sub chiefs of Osogho, Ndong, Agah, Okwala, Tingoh and Nchoho. The various classes of chiefs have different degrees of power recognised by the Administration and they all pay allegiance to the Fon of Bafut.

Geographical Context of Lower Bafut

Geographically, Bafut lies on latitude 6.05N and longitude 10.01E of the equator. Lower Bafut is located in the Bafut Sub-division in Mezam Division, North West Region of the Cameroonian Grassfield. It is made up of a cluster of villages in the Mezam Basin which lie to the northern fringes of Bafut. These villages include Mantaa, Buwi, Tingo, Okwala, Nchoho, Mbakong,

Butang, Obang, Ndong, Otang and Agah. They are located on the way to Wum, some 37 kilometres from Bamenda, the North West regional capital. The villages are scattered over a distance of 29 kilometres along the Bamenda-Wum road, stretching from Mantaa to Aguli, the boundary between Bafut and Befang in Menchum Division. Their main occupations are fishing and farming, a logical consequence of their location along the banks of the River Mezam.

Lower Bafut is bounded on the north by Bikom, on the south by Mundum, on the west by Befang and Wum and on the east by Bafut. (NGWA 1981)

The area boasts a population of about 20, 000 inhabitants, broken down as follows: Butang: 487 people; Buwi: 1526 people; Nchoho: 600 people; Ndong: 3000 People; Obang: 4,900 people; Okwala: 500 people; Osogho: 200 people; Otang: 500 people; Tingoh: 6000 people; Mantaa: 400 people; Mbakong: 2000 people and Agah: 300 people. The number of speakers per language makes their existence insignificant in the Bafut Fondom with the population of about 150,000 people (source: Bafut Council Development Plan, 2012)

Obang is spoken as a native language by eight dispersed language communities in Lower Bafut namely: - Tingoh, Nchoho, Okwala, Obang, Osogho, Aguli, Ndong and Maghom (found in Boyo Division). The Obang village called Anabam, is the original settlement of the population, while the other Obang-speaking communities resulted from in-migrations due to family feuds and witchcraft. But they all pay allegiance to the chief of Obang and have the same traditions. This brings the total number of Obang native speakers to 15,200 out of the 20,000 inhabitants of Lower Bafut (HOMBERT, 1980).

The kind of settlement of the population of Lower Bafut is in dispersed compounds bringing together people of the same kin groups. They first settled on the hills but later on moved down to the main road sides for administrative reasons. The settlement of the population on the Mbakong land gives a historical account of in-migration by the Obang–speaking groups of Nchoho and Ntakasala who do not respect the traditions and holidays of the people of Mbakong. Recently, in 2012, there was a land dispute between the Mbakong people and the Obang people over a sand pit in Nchoho, both sides claiming ownership of the land.

Economically, due to the extensive fertile plains, tropical climate, a drain of rivers and rich vegetation, the people of Lower Bafut are largely farmers, fishermen, timber exploiters and petty traders.

Map 2: Map of Bafut Sub Division (source: Di Carlo 2019)
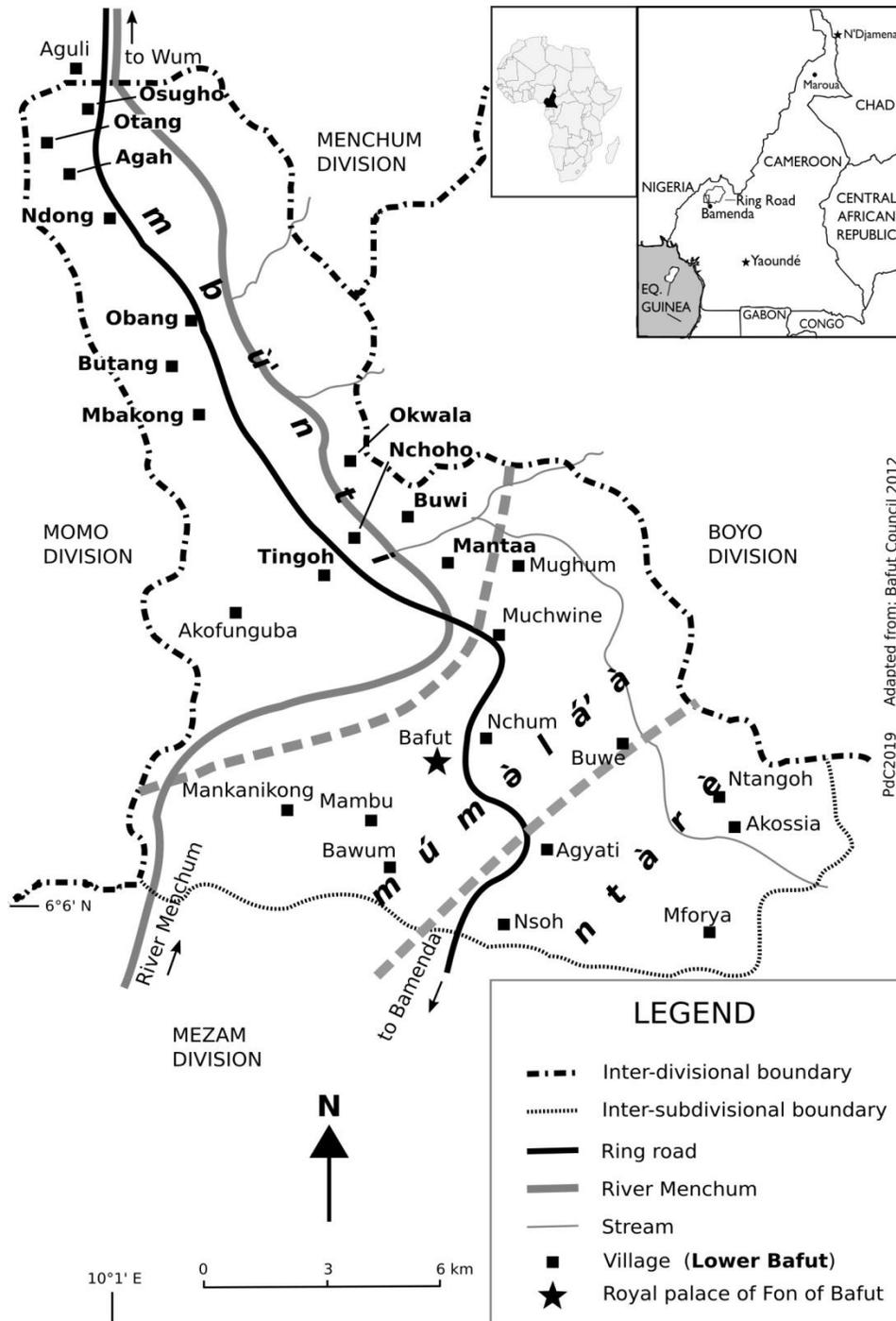
Map 2 presents the villages of the Bafut Fondom which include the villages of Lower Bafut as written in bold.

Historical Context of Lower Bafut

According to NFONYAM, J. (1989), *the Lower Bafut people are of the Tikar origin. Their movements can be traced back to the 18th century waves of migration when the Tikar people started moving southwards from the area of Tibati or Banyo. The group that now forms Bafut stopped first at Ndop, then moved again and finally settled in the present area that makes up the Bafut Fondom.*

As earlier mentioned, the villages of Lower Bafut seem not to have had the same origin as they came to settle on those plains during the migration caused by wars, power rivalry and territorial dominion. Definitely, they came in long after the Bafut people had occupied their present site.

After the Bafut people finally settled, their history was dominated by minor wars. They adopted a negative and passive attitude towards their neighbours owing to the influence of the slave trade, and this is how they established dominion over the whole area to the boundary with Befang. Till date, Bafut exercises dominion over these villages and has been responsible for the crowning of sub chiefs of the area, and their villages in turn pay a token annual tribute to the Fon of Bafut.

The Socio-political Structure of Bafut
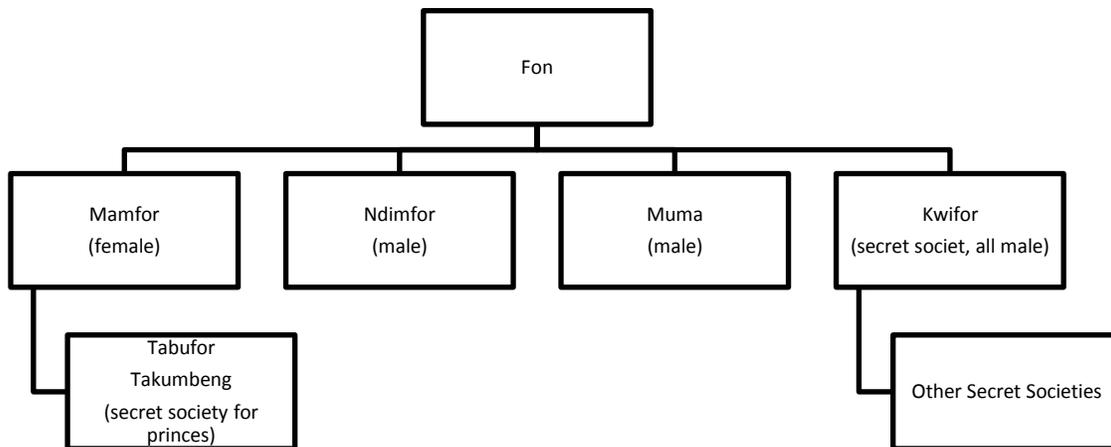
Figure 3 : The Socio-political Structure of Bafut

(source: Aletum, T., 1990)

According to ALETUM, T. (1990), and other oral sources, such as Numfor Crispus, the traditional political set-up of the Bafut Fondom has at summit of authority the Fon who is the paramount ruler. He is assisted by four major arms of governance, namely: the "Mamfor", "Ndimfor", "Muma", "Kwifor", and under these four arms are the "Tabufor" and other secret societies like the "Takumbeng and the "Tsong". The first three arms are attributed to particular

persons drawn from the royal family, usually the Fon's siblings. As for the fourth, it is an assembly of a select few individuals emanating from the majority commoners in the Fondom. Concerning governance in the Fondom, it can be asserted, without fear of error that a form of democracy existed in the Bafut Fondom before the introduction of colonial administration. The fact is that, as stated above, power revolves largely and firmly in the hands of the royal family. But for the purpose of checking excesses of authority, the "Kwifor" was instituted to exercise veto powers over the Fon and kin. In fact, the Fon is symbolically called the "Son of Kwifor" to this effect. Meaning therefore that he and the royalty which he symbolizes may not act without that "Kwifor" has authorized such action.

Coming immediately after the four arms of governance is the position of "Tabufor" a royal dignitary who is the embodiment of "Takumbeng", "Tsong" and other secret societies. Bringing up the rear in this administrative set-up are the sub-chiefs, "Ba Atangchos", the autonomous and quasi autonomous chiefs, who include the chiefs of Lower Bafut communities.

The Bafut Fondom practises a hereditary rule, and the selection of the heir to the throne is not by dint of an election of any kind; rather he is hand-picked through the pondered choice of the aging Fon who confides his decision to the college of king makers in anticipation of his demise.

In general, the political institutions of Bafut are made up of the central and regional organs. The central organs exercise authority over the entire Fondom while the authority of the regional ones is limited and shared to the different Bafut chieftaincies or village communities.

Prerogative of the Fon

The office of the Fon of Bafut as noted before, is considered in the superlative – paramount, king of kings- unrivalled by any other executive position in the land. The Fon is at the summit of administration. It is assumed that he embodies all the people's interests and values, excepting the "Ndakwifor" where he plays a subjective role. In principle, he is the head of all the institutions of power. During the colonial period, the Fon acted as a liaison officer between his people and the colonial administration.

Coronation ceremonies of all Bafut Fons also mark occasions for the renewal of oaths and pledges of fidelity. Such an occasion starts with the monarch swearing to be loyal and faithful to the Bafut customs and traditions as well as to the Bafut people be it at war or in peace time. Then in turn, the nobles and the royalty take the oath of allegiance by genuflecting before to receive and

drink palm wine poured out by him into their palms from the Bafut ancestral horn-cup-"Niba'a-ndong".

As the head of government, the Fon presides over every cabinet Meeting he attends, but the final deliberations carried out in consultation with the houses of "Nda-ngoro'o" and "Nda-chunnka'a" composed of representatives of the nobles and commoners. The Fon's role automatically switches to that of chief priest when it comes to conducting traditional sacrifices and rites for the protection and prosperity of the land. Last but not the least, the Fon appoints administrators or quarter-heads (usually of the royal family or noble character) over those communities where there are no hierarchical chiefs. Though it is the "kwifor" that officiates during the coronation of a sub-chief, this must be done in close consultation with the Fon according to the traditions of the land.

Almost every time and everywhere the Fon is also regarded as the supreme secret dignitary of the land. In terms of civilities, nobody is allowed to touch or shake hands with him except other Fons and traditional rulers of his rank, or foreign dignitaries not used to the culture. He must not be publicly insulted or challenged by any of his subjects; neither can he be addressed directly by anyone except by other rulers as well as nobles and title holders. He may not share a seat with anyone other than other rulers of his rank and entourage. Any seat occupied by the Fon must be overlaid with a piece of traditional satin reserved for this purpose; and a seat once occupied by the Fon must be set apart for him and his rank only. Farmlands, raffia palm fields and particular hunting grounds are set aside or reserved for the Fon. He is entitled to palm wine, food, wives and labour provided free of charge by his subjects. His designated palm wine tappers have the right to reserve the choicest palm trees and wine for him wherever they may be found. But it must be said in all fairness that modernism and the changing economic and social values of the Cameroon are putting pressure on all these traditional prerogatives and charge is encroaching into many areas.

Mamfor (queen mother)

The Next by dignity and not by rank in the Bafut political system is the post of "Mamfor", who custom holds, must be the natural mother of the reigning Fon; failing which she could be his sister or half-sister. Her responsibilities include: the training of the Fon's brides before puberty, the supervision of the Fon's farms and the settling of disputes between women over whom she exercises administrative authority.

Ndimfor

He is usually the Fon's elder half-brother who protocol positions on the left of the Fon seated on the throne. Regarded as the Fon's prime minister, his most prominent political duty is to guide the Fon and to advise the Fon in all aspects of Bafut tradition. Ndimfor is automatically the head of "Ndachunka'a", the equivalence of the Upper House of Parliament, reserved for princes only.

Muma

Muma is usually a position reserved for the Fon's junior half-brother. Protocol-wise, he sits on the right of the throne, although regarded as the Fon's right-hand man; and rightly so because he is administratively the second in command, acting as regent where and when necessary. His most important political function is deputising for the Fon on missions and ushering visitors and gifts to the Fon.

The Kwifor

The Kwifor can be regarded as the Bafut national assembly, meant for conceiving and executing policy. It is an-all-male secret society whose membership is reserved only for commoners in Bafut, and no princes may become members except those with remote royal origins. Membership of the Kwifor is either by hereditary or by dint of hard and worthy services rendered by commoners' children in the palace for many years. The functions of the "Nda-Kwifor" are centred on taking decisions affecting Bafut. The "Bikums"who are the nobles form the deputies representing all quarters and villages of Bafut in "Nda-Kwifor".

Tabufor

"Tabufor" means the father of Fons. This title is given to the first son whom the Fon might have fathered before being enthroned. Such children automatically gain the title of princes but do not have the same rights as the others born into royalty. They are respected by all the princes and in most cases, they are consulted first in matters concerning the royalty. They head the all-male secret society called "Takumbeng" and the "Tsong" to which all princes belong.

Contrary to the powerful traditional political system of Bafut, the people of Lower Bafut are different from those of Bafut in their kingship system. In Lower Bafut, we find less centralised

societies in which authority is mostly in the hands of elderly people while political power is attained by dint of one's personal achievements.

If the social structure of the villages of Lower Bafut is weakened because of the gradual disappearance of age-long practices that legitimize power distribution, we believe the ethnographic approach to the study of the way of life of these communities will go a long way to consolidate the disintegrating fabric. Lower Bafut villages can be compared to a typical economic specialization with patterns of socio-political consolidation and stratification, conditioned in part by local ecologies. In particular, they are groups in lower-elevation and moister peripheral areas. (DI CARLO, GOOD, 2012).

Map 3: The languages of Grassfield Bantou

(Source ALCAM 2008)

le bantou du Grassfield
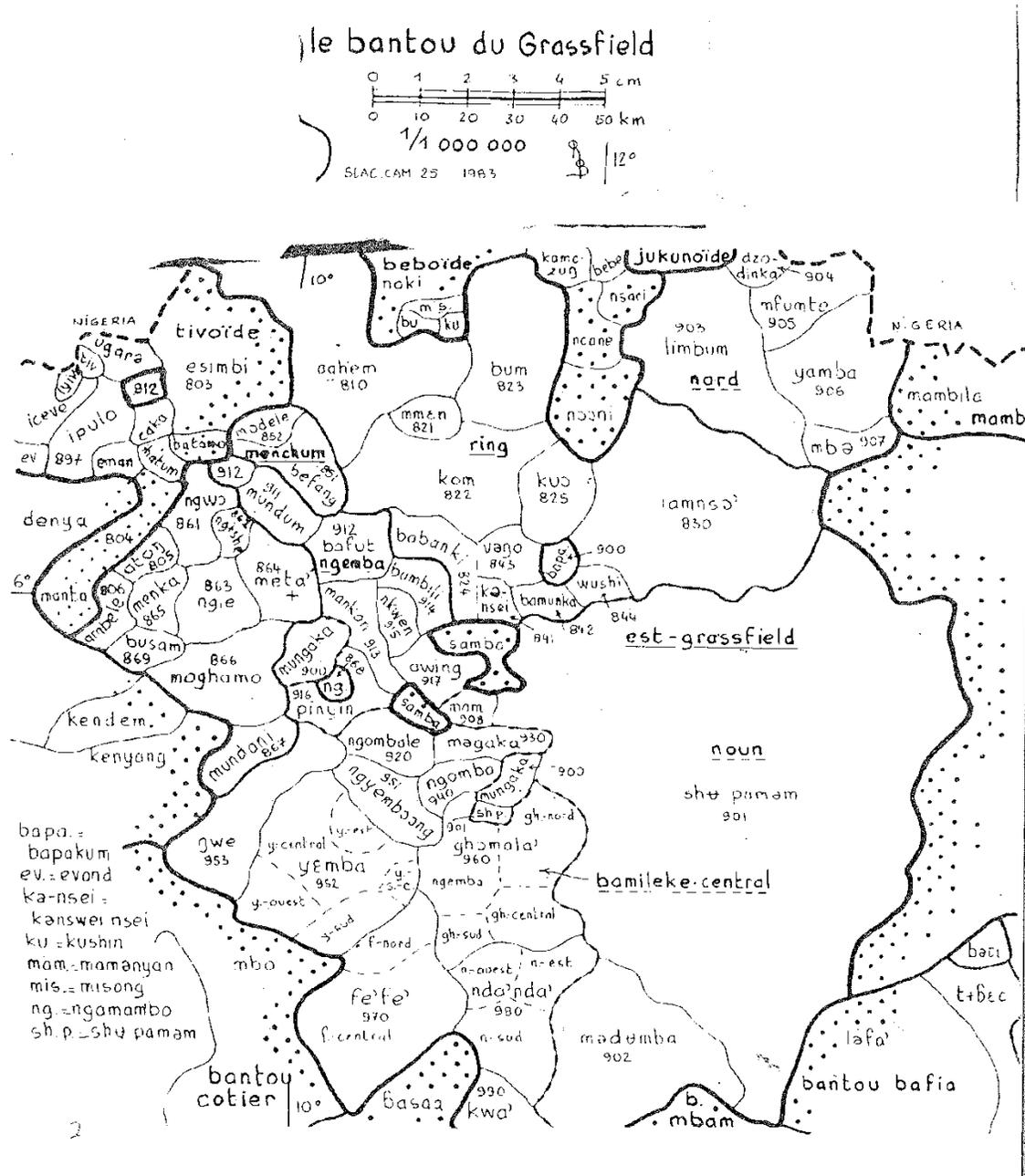
Map 3 presents the linguistic context of the Grassfields Languages, linguistically fragmented and pervasive multilingualism. (STALLCUP, K., 1988; 44, and DALBY, D.) Bafut is found in Zone 912 on the map.

Statement of the Problem

Lower Bafut depicts extreme cases of linguistic pluralism in the Grassfields of Cameroon in terms of their ethno linguistic background, historical reconstruction and language ideologies. It has been noted that a cluster of villages in Lower Bafut use linguistic varieties which seem to be entirely different from each other. These villages are Mbakong, Butang, Obang, Mantaa, Buwi, Otang and Agah. The difference is not only noted in the linguistic aspect but also in their entire socio-cultural and economic life-style. The assumption that these linguistic varieties are dialects of other languages is the problem of our research.

Multilingualism in this area is both a geographical and a cultural phenomenon because of the existence of multiple languages within the area as well as the indigenes` competences in speaking multiple languages. This study sets out to investigate the motivations for which people speak several languages so as to contribute to knowledge of the language ideologies that make these languages strive side by side. This study considers speakers as social actors engaged in an ever-changing relationship with the language(s) they speak. As a result, it explores invariably advanced knowledge of cultural and linguistic data anchored to geography so as to reconstruct the development of the ideology that may have conditioned the various histories of languages under study. We also want to investigate the identities of these linguistic varieties and to state their existence with respect to the ALCAM and the Ethnologue of world languages. This will be done through the administration of the following methods: the sociolinguistic questionnaire, the Global group Appraisal, the Recorded Text Testing, the Lexicostatistics and the Matched Guise Technique.

Objectives

1. To find out the motivations of multilingualism in a rural area using an essentialist or an indexical point of view.
2. To investigate the major causes of language endangerment in Lower Bafut.
3. To investigate whether insecurity can be a major cause of multilingualism in Lower Bafut.
4. To investigate the ideologies behind resistance of the Lower Bafut languages to the Bafut dominant culture through an ethnographic-informed perspective.
5. To state the existence of the languages of Lower Bafut through a sociolinguistic- informed perspective.

Research Questions

     1. What motivates people to speak many languages?

     2. What are the assumptions and projections people have about the languages they speak and those spoken around them?

     3. How can a native speaker be determined from an essentialist or an indexical point of view?

     4. Why will some people be willing to learn some particular languages while others will not?

     5. Can insecurity be a major cause of the people of Lower Bafut forming solidarity groups?

Hypothesis

Recent research has relied overwhelmingly on data collection in urban areas where urban speech communities seem to align themselves to ideologies of hierarchy and prestige; whereas rural speech communities appear to show quite a different set of ideological trends in which, for instance, prestige is not a central notion for the valorization of languages. These language ideologies are based on essentialism and indexicality respectively. (Di Carlo and Good, 2015). In an attempt to affirm this dichotomy in the ideological divide in urban and rural configurations of multilingualism, we based our inquiries on the languages of Lower Bafut, a rural multilingual area.

Given this preliminary finding, it is important to study multilingual rural settings to shed light on a variety of questions: Do people in rural areas want to learn many languages? What is the degree of competence that qualifies one to be called a native speaker? How do speakers in such contexts make use of their repertoires?

There are many reasons for which people speak several languages in a rural milieu. Other than hierarchy and prestige, they would want to speak the same language for identity and affiliation, even if others who feel self-sufficient with their language would not want to learn other languages around them. Similarly, insecurity is a strong feeling that keeps people living together in solidarity and thereby unconsciously promoting multilingualism.

Our assumption here will be based on the fact that people become multilingual when they feel insecure. There is thus the tendency to construct and negotiate multiple identities by affiliation. These identities allow them to define themselves as members of their communities. These constitute the subject of our findings which the study would want to state clearly. The argument that multilingualism could be the main symbolic means through which these multiple identities could be enacted is very plausible.

Our expectations will be focused on whether indexicality would be the ultimate determinant of language choice in this area; or else there might obviously be many other motivations for individual and societal multilingualism. If so, our findings should have some impact on sociolinguistic scholarship as it would seem to add an important element of indexicality without any essence to the current understanding of language ideologies. Accordingly, if there are many reasons for which people speak several languages, documentation exercises should focus on the ideologies behind these languages.

To check this hypothesis, a sociolinguistic questionnaire, the Global Group Appraisal (GGA) adapted from SADEMBOUO (2008), the Recorded Text Testing (RTT) by CASAD (1974), the Lexicostatistics by SWADESH (1950)and the Matched-Guise Technique (MGT) adapted from LAMBERT (1959) were used to collect data on the Lower Bafut languages.

All these, in an attempt to erase the blurred image about these languages which has led to misleading assumptions that have contributed to their endangerment, and also to fit them into the general picture of the Bantu Languages by proving their existence and resistance through this inter-disciplinary approach.

Research Outcome

Expected results should have the following impact based on a tangible outcome from our inquiries that will provide a basis for innovation in Linguistics:

1. Raised awareness on the existence of these languages; combine multidisciplinary data to provide a basis for innovation in documentation.

2. Availability of literary material on the languages of Lower Bafut in the Ethnologue of the world's languages.

3. Illustration of the language ideologies of Lower Bafut through an ethnographic sociolinguistic data which will help explain people's motivations for speaking many languages.

4. Demonstration of the programming of different methods of data collection in relation to the following: observed communicative events, elicitation, and staged communicative events in a multilingual context.

5. Use of this invariably advanced knowledge of cultural and linguistic data anchored to geography in other studies.

Significance of Study

At this level, we are looking at the important role the work plays in Linguistic studies.

It is a highly interdisciplinary study which entails a combination of linguistic, ethnographic, archeological and ethno-historical disciplines. Its approach is recommended for students carrying out research studies in rural areas where there has been little or no documented material on target communities.

The reconstitution of histories and the in-depth exemplifications of language ideologies and cultures of Lower Bafut give room for revalorization of African cultures by students in these domains. This enables them to be more rooted in their cultures, yet open to the world.

The overall picture of Lower Bafut's ethno-linguistic background will portray a general framework for understanding recent Bafut history. Students who are working on the grammars of the languages of this area should find it quite valuable.

This study can therefore be used as a handbook by students documenting languages in highly multilingual areas because it throws more light on contemporary ideas of language documentation (HIMMELMAN, 1998), and calls for a more diligent approach that will strike a balance between documentary methodology and the ecological contexts (DI CARLO, GOOD, 2012)

Similarly, it calls for students working on endangered languages to pay particular attention to the cultural context in which the languages are found, rather than just implementing past canonical rules.

Language documentation is a relatively new domain in Linguistics which aims at developing fieldworkers' experiences using computer-aided technologies. It contributes to the development of a people's speech community through training and remuneration of language consultants and through team work.

Finally, apart from raising awareness on the existence of these languages, this study will make available literary material on ALCAM and the world Ethnologue of languages.

Motivations

Firstly, we happen to have spent our early life partly in Bafut and partly in Lower Bafut. This gave us the advantage of getting acquainted with all the communities, their customs and traditions. We usually went to all the neighbouring villages to attend occasions and we actively participated in their socio-economic activities such as cultural dances, farming and petty trading. During our field

work in 2010, we were able to revisit these areas and we met with traditional leaders and group representatives especially the chiefs, notables and quarter heads. We personally worked with the elderly people of the community of Lower Bafut when we were collecting data for the myths of origin. All these, coupled with our childhood memories, made us feel so much at home.

Secondly, the presence of several undocumented languages in Lower Bafut that are not found in the Linguistic Atlas of Cameroon, and the fact that many people speak several languages there aroused our curiosity to start this research using scientific methods. Hopefully, we might bring out some fresh and interesting findings on this linguistic plurality within the area.

Thirdly, there exists a plethora of books and unpublished works on almost all the languages that make up the Grassfield Bantu. These languages constitute a good percentage of Cameroon's linguistic diversity; yet they remain undocumented. The Lower Bafut languages fall under this class in which the least linguistic studies have been carried out. We were therefore intrigued by the availability of abundant literature on linguistic studies already carried out on Bafut. The following are some of the references we came across, presented thematically.

- **Anthropological Literature**

CROZIER, D. and M. ANETT. (eds.),1978*, Brifii, Nwa' and Nighaanuu*, *Stories written in the Bafut Language*,Yaoundé, Société Internationale de Linguistique.

- **Descriptive Works**

AMBE, H.,1989, *The structure of Bafut*. PhD dissertation, Georgetown University,

BILA, E.,1986, *A semantic-syntactic study of the Bafut verb*, Post-graduate diploma dissertation: University of Yaounde.

CROZIER, D., 1980b, Phonology of Bafut, Ms, Yaoundé, Société International de Linguistique

CHUMBOW, B. and P.N. TAMANJI.,1994, *Bafut*, Peter Kahrel and R. van Den Berg (eds) *Typological Studies in Negotiation,* Amsterdam, John Benjamins*,* pp 211-236.

MELVICE, A.,2013, *Structural and Typological approaches to Obang Grammar*, PhD dissertation University of Johannes Gutenberg.

MFOMYAM, J.,1989, *Tone in Orthography: the case of Bafut and Related Grassfield Bantu Languages*, PhD dissertation, Yaoundé: University of Yaoundé.

NEBA, A. F.,1998, *Tone in the Bafut Noun Phrase*, MA dissertation, University of Buea.

NEBA, A., 2004, The Floating Low Tone in Bafut, Journal of West African Languages 31.1, pp3-13.

NEBA, A.,2008, *Constraint Interactionin Bafut, Tonology*, PhD dissertation, University of Buea.

TANDA, V.,1993, *Coordination in Bafut*, PhD dissertation, University of Manchester.

TAMANJI, P. N.,1991, *The Bafut Noun Phrase, A governing and Binding Analysis.* Doctorat de 3eme Cycle Dissertation, Yaoundé: University of Yaoundé.

TAMANJI, P. N.,1999, *Agreement and the Internal Syntax of Bafut DPs*. Dissertation. Amherst: University of Massachusetts-Amherst.

From the works sited above, just one of them, (MELVICE, A, 2013), paid any particular attention to the languages spoken in Lower Bafut, so we decided to take the challenge.

Fourthly, our motivation for this work was equally kindled by a series of linguistic seminars and workshops we attended on language documentation between 2010 and 2017. such workshops and the capacities building programmes included:

- Introduction to language documentation in the area of language endangerment. University of Yaoundé 1, Di Carlo and J. Good, 2010.

- Training on techniques of application for foreign grants: Di Carlo, University of Buea, 2012.

- ELDP Building Capacities in Africa on Endangered Language Documentation. Training on data gathering using digital equipment like HD cameras, video cameras, smart phones, microphones and computers: Mandana, S. and Amaka, F. Buea Summer School, 2013

- Community Language Programming and development. Training in community programming of language revitalization: Sadembouo, E. NACALCO, 2013

- Curriculum development in the study of the mother-tongue: Training on use of local and cultural materials in writing school manual in the mother-tongue: ESSIM, NACALCO, 2014.

- Workshop on Language and Ethno-medicine UNIYOA 1. Training on methods of data collection on medicinal plants to write school manuals. Tamanji, P. LAPEM, 2014.

- KPAAM-CAM: Project Workshop on Multilingualism; Training on data analysis on issues of multilingualism using the ELAN platform. Di Carlo and Good, CATUC Bamenda, 2014

- KPAAM-CAM; Sponsorship of PhD research project. Sponsorship of fieldtrips and printing of materials needed in the research. 2015-2017

- KPAAM-CAM: Training on Digital Archiving; Training on processes of storing data in a digital archive using ARBIL and LAMUS platforms: Ngue Um, ALORA CERDOTOLA, 2015.

- KPAAM-CAM: African Multilingualisms; Yaounde Summer School: Good, Di Carlo, Cobbina and Ndeime. The University of Yaounde 1 and The State University of New York, Buffalo, 2017

Fifthly, Language Documentation is a relatively new area in linguistics, and with the use of computer-aided system in data collection analysis and archiving, we felt so passionate about the role of technology in data treatment.

Lastly, in the course workshops and seminars, we were able to exchange with experts with wide experience in issues of multilingualism and endangered languages who also excel in the domain of language documentation. Their works have been very resourceful to us.

Scope and Delimitation of Study

The scope of this study has been limited to the villages of Butang, Mbakong, Mantaa, Buwi, Obang, Otang and Agah. Bafut will be treated in the background to the study.

Methodology of Data Collection

The research was carried out in three phases. The first phase involved a sociolinguistic survey of the speech communities of Lower Bafut and the administration of the sociolinguistic questionnaire, the Global Group Appraisal (GGA) by SADEMBOUO (2008), the Recorded Text Testing (RTT) by CASAD (1974). The second phase consisted of the administration of the ethnographic questionnaire and the Matched Guise Technique (MGT) by LAMBERT (1959). The last phase was the administration of the Lexicostatistics by SWADESH (1950) and the collection of the wordlist.

The total number of respondents was 200 broken down as follows: sociolinguistic questionnaire-(GGA)- 60, Recorded Text Testing (RTT)-80, Matched-Guise Technique (MGT)-36 and the Lexicostatistics-24.

The sociolinguistic questionnaire consisted of short questions and interviews on the following: consultants' personal identity, linguistic competence, attitudes, ideologies and linguistic representations of their languages and other languages spoken around them.

The Recorded Text Testing was a collection of short probable narrative texts in dialect A, which were recorded into sections. Questions of dialect B were inserted and played back to determine whether the speaker of dialect B could understand dialect A.

For the Matched-Guise Technique, documentation was done in a controlled setting. Here only the audio recorder was used, but the main microphone was a shotgun (NTG2) mounted on a table stand or on a comparable device.

For the wordlists, it involved at least five hours of audio-video recordings for each language, for solidarity group activities and for artful performances and conversations in their natural contexts. All of these were, transcribed, provided with metadata and free translation into English and at least 10% of audio-video recordings were provided with annotation of phonological transcriptions and morphological analysis using ELAN.

Procedure

After recording the texts, the following were the steps taken:

-Naming of file using the standard naming format in LAMUS.

-Backup of data in hard drives and CDs and DVDs.

-Metadata written on the data collected.

-Access to data clearly indicated in bold as, ACCESS OPEN or ACCESS CLOSED.

-Both audio and video files annotated phonologically and morphologically and then translated into English using ELAN. Metadata management included all the relevant details of identification of position of speaker in the kinship lineage.

-A number of CDs and DVDs were provided, sufficient to contain all the audio-video documentation so that the people of Lower Bafut would be able to have access to it after completion.

-We envisaged to store the whole documentation in seven external hard discs to be stocked in the Bafut Council, SIL Bamenda, SIL Yaounde, CERDOTOLA, CABTAL, the University of Yaounde I library, leaving one for our personal use and a full backup sent to our supervisors.

Outline of Study

The General Introduction introduces the work and handles the following: the topic, background to the problem, language documentation, the sociolinguistic context, statement of the problem, research questions, hypothesis, aims and objectives, significance of the study, methodology and structure of the study.

Chapter One titled Literature Review surveys the theoretical frameworks and the literature on works related to the languages on the current study. It begins by the definition of key terms before embarking on literature on the work itself. The reviews summarise the related works and show how relevant they are to our present study.

Chapter Two titled Methodology explores the methodology of the research and the different methods involved. Furthermore, it presents procedural techniques of data collection, instruments and equipment of data treatment. Finally, it presents a summary of our results.

Chapter Three titled The Global Group Appraisal, seeks to evaluate the degrees of inter-comprehension between the languages of Lower Bafut. This was done through a sociolinguistic survey of the native speakers' attitudes towards speaking their languages and the representation they have of these languages as well as other languages spoken around them. From their attitudes towards these languages, we were able to delimit the number of language units which make up these linguistic varieties as well as the geographical extensions of each.

Chapter Four titled The Recorded Text Testing (RTT) presents the RTT as another method of evaluating dialect intelligibility and delimiting a dialect and a language. Consequently, a series of eight tests were conducted in the eight linguistic varieties under study.

Chapter Five titled The Lexicostatistics Method presents a procedural application of the method through comparison and quantification of lexical data. It enables us to present a wordlist as exhibit of vocabulary differentiation in the eight languages of Lower Bafut as well as measure the linguistic distances between varieties and then classify them with respect to their relative distances.

Chapter Six titled an Ethnographic Approach seeks to spatially reconstruct the ideologies behind these languages. It explores the possibility of using geographically-informed evidence of demographic history to reconstruct the development of the ideologies behind the languages of Lower Bafut. The aim is to understand the motivations for the existence of such complex multilingual entities within a common geographical sphere; and to present the cultural heritage of the people as a significant indicator to ideologies of multilingualism. The strong feeling of belonging to a group engenders multilingualism.

Chapter Seven entitled Language Ideology and the Matched-Guise Technique investigates the attitudes of native speakers towards the different languages and their speakers. It employs the MGT to measure the ideologies of essentialism and indexicality in language usage to account for the co-existence of these languages in a small geographical area such as Lower Bafut.

Chapter Eight titled Presentation of Key Findings presents a synthetic recapitulation of the key findings of Linguistic Diversity, Multilingualism and Language Ideology with regards to the languages of Lower Bafut. These results emanated from the interdisciplinary approach of investigation including the sociolinguistic and the ethnographically-informed perspective. The administration of the sociolinguistic questionnaire and the Matched-Guise Technique resulted in the fine-gained data analysis, which revealed that multilingualism is both a societal and a geographical phenomenon in Lower Bafut.

The General Conclusion presents a summary of discussions based on the significance and contributions of the study, as well as a conclusion and recommendations for future research in the area.

The Bibliography presents references and works cited in the study.

The Appendices present tools of data collection in the study, such as the questionnaire, the interview, and the wordlists.

The Index contains information on the subject matter and authors.

CHAPTER ONE

LITERATURE REVIEW

1.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews the theoretical frameworks used in the study, and several related works already covered on the topic. It defines some key concepts used in the study as well as demonstrates how tools were designed and used to attain the main goals of this research to carry out a sociolinguistic survey as well as a historical reconstruction of the languages of Lower Bafut, and to investigate the ideologies that would keep these languages striving side by side for survival. To this end, we relied on ethnolinguistic information that justified the existence of multilingualism and linguistic diversity in Lower Bafut.

1.2 Definition of Concepts

Concepts here mean the key terms we have used in the study to highlight the topic and the main ideologies running through the whole work. Some of these key concepts are:

- Language documentation.
- Language and society.
- Dialectology.
- Inter-comprehension.
- Linguistic variation.
- Attitudes and linguistic representation.
- Ethnographic approach.
- Linguistic conflict.
- Language ideology.
- Bilingualism.
- Multilingualism.
- Pluralism.
- Essentialism.
- Indexicality.
- Metadata.

1.2.1 Language Documentation

This can be defined as the comprehensive capturing of linguistic practices and characteristics of a given speech community. These linguistic practices include the traditions of the people

manifested in observable linguistic behaviour seen in everyday transactions. Members of the speech community and the native speaker's meta linguistic knowledge are seen in their ability to provide interpretation and systematization for linguistic units and events. (HIMMELMANN,1998).

Language documentation aims at producing high quality annotated video on CD-ROM which involves an understanding of performance and staging quite different from linguistic field experiences, usually, of recording data for evidence.

It equally aims at developing ways to collect fieldworkers' experiences on documentation projects using a computer-aided system; that is, it takes advantage of modern technological tools such as:

-FLEX which accounts for conceptual analysis of words.

-LEXUS and VICOS: they allow the researcher to draw conceptual lines to relations.

-ELAN; it is used for corpus annotation, phonological and morphological transcriptions and free translations.

-ARBIL; used for metadata recording.

-ELAR was created by ELDP and it stands for Endangered Languages Archives. It is a digital archives in which digital data can be stored and consulted online anywhere in the world.

Advantages of Language Documentation

Language documentation gives access of a language to the whole world through information technology and the Ethnologue of world languages.

It brings about unity among the people through teamwork, thereby resolving conflicts.

It is financially rewarding because it creates projects and remunerative activities for language consultants.

Language documentation gives a sense of control because in a situation of doubt one could easily do a verification process of material that is not explicit, using computer aided systems.

It is recreational working with modern technologies like the notebook, smart phones, video cameras etc. because they require users to record data.

Language documentation is satisfying and motivating because it ensures the agreement of language users before language is documented.

Lastly, it records all varieties.

1.2.1.1 Language Documentation and Semantics

Semantics is the structured idea about signs which are the embodiment of lexical items, grammar constructions, gestures and prosodic patterns that speakers of a language share and which are stored in their minds. These structures use combinatorial rules to give literal meaning. Documenting and describing meaning will entail the following considerations:

• Language as the best mirror of the mind. Through the precise analyses of the signification of words we can understand the way the mind works. -New Essays (LEIBNIZ, 1996:33)

• Quest for meaning (WHORF, 1965)

• Language as a guide to social reality, so for one to understand the social reality of a people, one must be able to decipher meaning from what they say.

• The central task in documenting any spoken language is to map the grammatical, lexical, prosodic and pragmatic structures and processes by which speakers infer meaning from sounds produced. – Making a dictionary by (EVANS and SASSE, 2007:59)

• BOLINGER, (1978:221) says this about meaning: Meaning is an exceedingly ill-sorted fellow. One can scarcely invite him to one's house without admitting at the same time one or more of his illusionary friends.

1.2.1.2 Meaning in Field Situations

For documentation in a multilingual context the expression "bilingual dictionary" is not very appropriate to use because the primary intension is not to write a bilingual dictionary but a dictionary of a language which is explained in other languages i.e. Bafut explained in English or French. These dictionaries are called explanatory dictionaries.

BLOOMFIELD, L. (1983) says: we cannot define some words to scientific language. We are interested in meaning that ordinary speakers of the language understand i.e. the meaning they share, not your private meaning.

There is a difference between scientific and folk meanings. In the African context, there is a lot of gendered behavior so it is clear that a male interviewing a female, or vice versa, will not have a clear meaning of taboo words.

Meaning as a reference is not what we are looking for because it is limited. That is, we cannot point to abstract concepts like love, hate, kindness, faith and truth.

Similarly, with shifting references like showing positions of objects, one can demonstrate with gestures; that is, meaning can be shown. Example: this is my father. That is the calabash.

On the whole, meaning has ostensive definition and this is based on the fact that meaning is reference. Every utterance has a propositional meaning which is referential.

-Who are you? –propositional meaning.

- I am the daughter of Chenemo- referential meaning.

1.2.2 Dialectology

Dialectology, one of the domains in sociolinguistics, is defined as the study of a dialect or dialects. What then is a dialect?

The term dialect could be applied to a form of language, particularly those languages spoken in more isolated parts of the world which do not have a written culture. CHAMBERS and TRUDGILL, P. (1980)

To them, a dialect therefore is a variety of a language which could be distinguished from other dialects of the same language (lexical, phonological, morphological and syntactical). It is worth noting that all languages have dialects.

Two types of dialects can be distinguished: local or regional dialects called regiolects or geolects which are considered on the basis of geographical area and studied by the dialectologists; social dialects or sociolects which are based on the society and are studied by sociolinguists.

The general objective of dialectology as stated by LABOV, W. (1971), is to identify the linguistic relations in geographical, historical and socio-spatial divergences. It also has as objective a comparative study which includes two principal forces of dialect convergences and divergences.

a) **Genetic Description:** This kind of study is often associated with diachronic or historical studies which explain the formation of dialects by showing their differences from a communal source; it is a process of dialect differentiation which is called delocalization.

b) **Anthropologic Description:** Here, dialectology studies the use of dialectal varieties in a given society, for example, when the lexis of a dialect is studied as regards custom, belief and techniques of organization of a society. This is what we call anthropo linguistics.

c) **Sociolinguistic Description:** At this level, dialectology is looked at from the point of view of the concurrence between different dialects found in a society (the situation of diglossia).

From these definitions on dialectology, we would be able to identify the linguistic varieties of Lower Bafut and indicate whether they are dialects of some languages or simply languages of their own.

1.2.3 Linguistic Variation

Variation in languages, as earlier said, stems from the story of the Tower of Babel in the Bible in which at first people spoke one language until God checked their ambitious plans by making them speak different languages. Since then linguists have been eagerly searching for the original language.

To LABOV, W. (1972), considered the father of variation, linguistic variation is inherent and can be rendered through the actual use of a language by its speakers. He made a distinction between practical and scientific investigation and the actual, most current theories used in generative grammar.

Similarly, BITJAA, K. (2000), defines linguistic variation as one of the major domains in sociolinguistics which investigates language variation through the observable gab between a language and its actual different ways of speaking it. It is interested in language use and its users. In order words, it is the gap between linguistic variables and social variables.

The main objective of linguistic variation is to investigate those linguistic and social variables that cause a variation or change in a language so as to come up with a social stratification - social variables about who speaks what. That is, all the elements that can change language in context. For example: age, sex, social class, profession, level of education, and type of language spoken are all the independent or social variables that influence the manner in which an individual speaks. Linguistic variables are phonetics, phonology, syntax and lexis.

From the above discussion, we gather three points about variation: it can be qualified by the use of time and space. With time, variation is discrete with speakers especially with those who are sentimentally attached to language. Variation equally delimits cultural unity as follows: it limits communication; it poses a problem of language choice; it poses a problem of attitude and linguistic representation; it creates a gap between linguistic variables and social variables; and finally, it causes some languages to die out while others are vitalized.

LABOV, W. (1972) in his study on the Island of Massachusetts, examined the pronunciation of the diphthong /àu/and/ə̄u/ in house and he found out that some people on the island pronounced the

diphthong /àu/ and other the /ǝu/ diphthong in the same word or expression. What then motivated this pronunciation change? Why did some people decide to turn their backs on the actual norms of the English language?

LABOV realized in his studies that all the independent social variables influenced the linguistic variation on the island positively, negatively or were neutral, giving clearly the distribution of users and after interviewing 65 inhabitants of the island, he found out that: tourists on the island use /àu/ and unemployed people who move out of the island use /àu/ but the permanent people on the island use /ǝu/.

This work is very impacting to us as it reveals how independent social variables can influence linguistic variation.

1.2.4 Attitudes and Linguistic Representation

Attitudes can be defined as the manifestation of negative or positive behaviour towards a language by an individual. These manifestations are often characterized as subjective, arising from an individual's personal feeling. The learning of a language by an individual is motivated by the value he places on the language.

Linguistic representation deals with the image or value that a speaker attaches to a language or languages. Linguistic representation is a kind of evaluation made by a speaker, i.e. what does he stand to gain or lose by speaking the language? Therefore, positive behaviour equals a positive image and vice versa.

The aim of such a study is to investigate the natural dispositions and prejudices of an individual vis-a-vis the language that he speaks or languages spoken around him.

BITJAA, K. (2000*). Attitudes et Représentations Linguistiques a Yaoundé in AJAL No 007 NACALCO Centre for Applied Linguistics in Yaoundé, pp 100-116.*

He investigated the attitudes and representations of some Anglophone students and some Francophone students towards the learning of French and English respectively. In the Cameroonian context which is multilingual with about 260 indigenous languages and two official languages, people have adopted different attitudes towards their languages, the languages spoken around them, and the two official languages, English and French.

His findings revealed French as more prestigious than English some four decades ago because it was a language of politics, administration and scholarship in Cameroon's lone university,

and was spoken by the majority of Cameroonians. Consequently, Francophone university students manifested a negative attitude towards English.

Recently, however, that attitude has changed because they have realized the many advantages that come with English. It is a language of science and technology, commerce and civil aviation, and it is widely spoken throughout the world.

On the contrary, the attitude of Anglophone students in Yaounde University forty years ago was dictated by the fact that they had not much of a choice because most of the lectures were given in French. Now, however, that attitude is changing, given the wide option in university education throughout the country.

The discussion above will help us to evaluate the linguistic strength of a language and to determine the degree of its resistance to threats of extinction. Acceptance or rejection of a language eventually determines the qualification of that language as living or dead, prestigious or ridiculous.

1.2.5 Inter-comprehension

In speaking about inter-comprehension, CASAD, E. (1974) uses the term mutual intelligibility, meaning reciprocal intelligibility between speakers whose languages are not identical in their structure.

Furthermore, SIMON, G. (1997) in his definition of inter-comprehension emphasizes more on the context in which the term should be used. Intelligibility is synonymous with understanding and comprehension. To him, dialect intelligibility refers specifically to the degree to which speakers of one dialect understand the speakers of another dialect. Inter-comprehension is therefore a question of the degree of comprehension between speakers of different dialects of languages. Simon calls this bilingualism. To him, when a person understands a dialect, it means the dialect is intelligible to him and we can easily talk about inherent intelligibility in the case where there is absence of preferable contact. His point of view contradicts with that of SANKOFF below.

SANKOFF, E. (1969), made some distinction: Intelligibility is a theoretically expected degree of understanding by an individual who had no experience with the other dialect. To SANKOFF, intelligibility should only occur when there are no established contacts, or communal life experiences between the speakers of the dialects involved; otherwise, we would be talking about bilingualism .

Similarly, SADEMBOUO, E. (2001) defines inter-comprehension *as* the framework of variation. Inter-comprehension is the first thing in communication among individuals who are members of the same region and who speak many languages that can be situated geographically by referring to the origin; that is, the original residence of the native of each variety in question. What is preoccupying is that, in a situation where these persons coming from different sub regions meet, it is necessary to know in which manner the communication is engaged. Does each of them use his variant of origin? Do they understand the content of the message, even if they have never had any regular contact with natives of this variant which has semblance with theirs? By so doing, the speakers of the different varieties would have noticed that they do not pronounce words in the same way and do not employ the same expressions in every case, but the message is well understood.

Dialects are therefore the concrete manifestations of a language which in effect is a regrouping of manifested varieties in abstraction.

From the above definitions of inter-comprehension, we are able to redefine inter-comprehension in Lower Bafut not as intelligibility between dialects but as different languages spoken in a bilingual context.

1.2.6 Bilingualism

According to FERGUSON, C. (1964), any person who can speak two or more distinct languages, is bilingual. Likewise, any community in which there are two or more subgroups, each of which speaks a separate dialect or language, is considered a bilingual (or multilingual) community. A rather different bilingual situation is one in which two variants of the same language are spoken by the entire population in social situations appropriate for the use of one or the other variant. This is referred to as diglossia.

In the same vein, DIEBOLD (1964), considers bilingualism as both an individual and a social phenomenon. In both cases it is modelled as a continuous variable rather than as an absolute characteristic. Finally, while the concept involved applies to studies of bilingualism between dialects of a minority language, the emphasis here is on bilingualism between a given minority language and a national language.

The objectives of bilingualism are to give a description of the relative position of two or more languages in a multilingual community and to specify the geographical, socio-cultural and psychological factors that influence language use. For example, in Cameroon, French and English

are given an official status and are more widely used in education, politics, administration, commerce and religion, whereas the other national languages are used in a limited context.

Finally, this area of research concerns group behaviour specifically directed towards the maintenance or shift of a language. These attitudes could be described not only as loyalty and antipathy towards a particular language but also as value judgment such as 'beautiful', 'ugly', 'harsh' or 'musical' to the features of given languages.

1.2.7 Multilingualism

Multilingualism refers to the presence of more than one variety of a language in a given geographical area, large or small. That is, the mode of speaking of a social group whether it is formally recognized as a language or not. In such an area, certain individuals may be monolingual, i.e. speaking only their own variety.

Multilingualism has been studied in the domain of psychology, grammar, and cognition. However, the researcher studies multilingualism from a social perspective. The researcher is not yet concerned with such problems as, "degree of interference among languages" or "the development of the multilingual mind". Rather, the researcher is intrigued by the high rate of multilingualism

1.2.8 Plurilingualism

According to MBA, G.(2009), plurilingualism refers to the repertoire of varieties of languages which many individuals use and is therefore the opposite of monolingualism. It includes the language variety referred to as mother tongue or first language and any number of other language varieties. Thus, in some multilingual areas, some individuals are monolingual and some plurilingual.

A critical look at this opposition shows that the two terms, multilingualism and plurilingualism, are very similar to each other, yet they refer to two distinct phenomena. Confusion arising from these lexical hypo-differentiations is likely to generate confusion within scientific circles, with the risk of leading people into further confusion between phenomena so distinct as linguistic diversity on the one hand and multilingualism on the other hand.

The concept of distinction between the two terms, multilingualism and plurilingualism, is intended to encode important and deserving terminology differentiation. The term plurilingualism has gained very little significance amongst mainstream linguists in that, multilingualism is generally

used to refer to both concepts. It is also interesting to note that the use of the term multilingualism seems to have gradually increased since 1960.

In Cameroon, we are more familiar with multilingualism which means the ability for the individual to comprehend or use more than one language, as well as the co-existence of more than one language in a geographical area. (Multi means many and pluri means many too). Some linguists consider the two concepts quite different as the first one refers to societal issues and the second to individual status. The distinction is made by the French Academia, and was created by the European Union for political jargons. Anglophones use multilingualism while Francophones use multilingualism and plurilingualism. In some works, some writers use societal multilingualism for one and individual multilingualism for the other. Crystal Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics (3rd ed) (1991).

It is also good to know that bilingual refers to the state of someone who uses two languages, while plurilingual refers to the state of someone who uses more than two distinct languages. This makes little or no difference in some areas of linguistics.

1.2.9 Linguistic Conflict

Languages in contact can become languages in conflict because when communities come together need arises for bilingualism, multilingualism, translation and lingua franca.

The force of circumstance, "natural or contrived", can cause a group to abandon its original language for another. For instance, influential languages such as English, French, Spanish can push smaller ones around and contribute to their demise; and competition can pop up among smaller varieties as they jostle for position, sometimes in the shade of an acknowledged and seemingly unassailable giant. If we are to study the contact, competition and conflict among languages and language varieties, and if furthermore we were to consider the reasons behind these phenomena as well as their relationship with, and influences upon, social life and group identity, it might be useful to begin by looking at evaluative reactions of a rather more decontextualized nature.

1.2.10 Linguistic Hierarchies

It has always been elitist tendency to talk about the best language or the most appropriate. By this, they are reflecting on dominant linguistic attitudes derived from preference and prejudice, attaching them to the speakers of the various languages. CAREW (1555-620), for example, sees

English as "excellent", Italian "without sinews", French "delicate" and Dutch "manlike". He was in effect giving us a picture of foreigners painted by an educated English man of the 16th century. When ANTIONE DE RIVAROL (1753-1801) observed that French was unanimous with clarity and that English, Greek, Latin and Italian were mediums of ambiguity, he gave us the same picture redrawn by the French man two centuries later.

Language attitudes then are better understood as attitudes towards the members of language communities and, as in these two instances above, are often allied with powerful protective sentiments for one's own group.

Can evaluation be fairly made of languages themselves? Being better or worse, stronger or weaker, beautiful or harsh are linguistic labels that can be objectively placed. It is more reasonable to ask if the languages compared are better, more logical or more expressive than others.

Is it perhaps more reasonable to ask if the languages compared are not relatively close to each other or somewhat further apart? Is one somehow more primitive or less developed than the other?

However, as implied earlier, it is quite clear that no language can be described as better, or as worse than another on purely linguistic grounds.

Given that a language is an arbitrary system of communication among members of the speech community, it follows that the only logic of language is to be found in its grammar. Logic of conversion in French, for example, has two negations, while English does not take two negations.

Conclusively, languages are best seen as different systems reflecting varieties of the human condition. Although they may be unequal in complexity, at given points, this does not imply somehow an overall greater expressive power.

That is why in a multilingual context there is code switching and some people will want to use the language that best expresses their intensions.

CELLNER, E. (1983) maintains that, although cultural relativism cannot be logically refuted, it nevertheless can be questioned. To him the most important argument against relativism is that, while it holds that culture cannot be judged, one with the other, or against themselves at different times, societies have always in fact engaged in such evaluation.

Social evaluation involves judgment, repudiation and change implicit in progress and the notion that change is for the better; that the society of a later time is superior in itself to an earlier one. It is also generally the only one which regularly criticizes itself for being ethnocentric and

43

supports a culturally relativistic view of other cultures - which themselves are often closer and tolerant.

It's a very large and vexing question as to why some societies do not develop as much as others and why cultures are extremely unequal in their cognitive power. But we must recall that although cognitive capacities are differently developed, the same underlying potentials are found in all cultures.

To conclude, linguistic relativity is unshaken as a basis for understanding language variation precisely because whatever the degree of development of the cognitive skills in other areas, the development of adequate language is universal. See more in EDWARD SAPIR and BENJAM WHORF (1897-1941), that is the SAPIR-WHORF hypothesis, which bluntly states that different languages curve up and allow perception of reality in different ways, and that the language one speaks determines the way one thinks.

This hypothesis is not generally accepted. Although languages do differ in their grammar and lexicon, we can obviously translate (imperfectly perhaps) among them and speakers of one variety whose circumstances change can learn another.

This is thus a common observation among linguists, anthropologists and others that languages are always sufficient for the need of their speakers.

According to 18[th]century VON HUMBOLDT, "all languages are of a like value… to each man; his language can completely communicate every doctrine".

A very good demonstration of this was provided by WILLIAM LABOV (1966). He studied Black English in the US, which makes an excellent test case for dialect validity, since it had for so long been rejected by the white middle class, and since its speakers were victims of prejudice that went well beyond language alone. This relates clearly to the linguistic situation of Lower Bafut where their languages have been misunderstood as dialects of other languages and the people are victims of prejudices.

It seems clear in summary that having dismissed arguments for dialect superiority of either a linguistic or an aesthetic nature, we should agree that evaluations are not based upon intrinsic qualities but rest rather upon social conventions and preferences. These in turn are most obviously related to the prestige and power possessed by speakers of certain standard varieties.

1.2.11 Language Attitudes

The concept of attitude, a cornerstone of traditional social psychology, is not one about which there has been universal agreement. At a general level, however, attitude is a disposition to react favourably or unfavourably to a class of objects; this disposition is often taken to comprise three components; feelings (attractive elements), thoughts (cognitive elements) and following upon these predispositions to act in a certain way (behavioural element), that is, one knows or believes something, has some emotional reactions to it and, therefore, maybe assumed to act on this basis.

Two points may be made here. The first point is that there often exists inconsistency between assessed attitudes and actions presumably related to them. This demonstrates that what people think and feel may not always be reflected in what they do. There are of course many reasons why this should be so: - they start from immediate self-interest to the desire to avoid embarrassment, a difference between views of an abstraction (members of a given ethnic group), for example and of concrete instances.

The second point is that, there is sometimes confusion between belief and attitude; this particularly is seen in questionnaires and interviews designed to tap from them. Examples of some attitude questionnaires used during the interviews:

R: Is English important to you?

C: Yes, it is the language of science and technology.

This indicates a belief. For example: he might believe that English is important for him, yet he may hate English.

In his monograph, WYLD, (1934), hinted at a problem in comparing language varieties to find out which one is more pleasant; he suggested that if he recorded a speaker of each variety and had the voices judged by listeners, how would he know if any differential relationship were partly due to features of the dialects themselves or to individual qualities of voice: tone, pitch, rhythm and pace, etc.

1.2.12 The Matched-Guise Experiment

The Matched-Guise Technique was developed by LAMBERT, (1959) and was first applied in Canada to measure people's attitudes towards English and French. It measures attitudes and personality traits which project language ideologies. After administering the questionnaire, people who are perfectly bilingual are taken to read a passage, first in their L1 and then in their L2. These

readings are recorded and then made to be listened to by a sample population of the study. Questions are asked to those who have listened to the two readings. The questions are on morality, social status, prosperity, honesty and fluency.

In our study, multilingual consultants were asked to speak on a topic in the three target languages and the researcher recorded them in three different tapes. These tapes were made to be listened to by other persons who were not aware that it was the same person speaking. After listening, they were asked to give the character traits of the speaker. From their opinions we then knew whether their judgments were based on essentialism or indexicality.

These MGT tests have been the first attempt of using the Matched-Guise Technique in small, largely unwritten languages. This is an experimental application of the method; reason why we make this very clear in our work by reviewing literature on the MGT.

1.2.12.1 Criticism of the Matched- Guise Technique.

The MGT has been greatly criticized for being artificial in that, judges rate speakers' various personality scales just by listening to them speak a set of texts. How is the reaction of the judges when they are asked to carry out such a task? Do the judges nevertheless feel that it is a pointless task because of lack of information about the speakers? This is where the MGT does appear useful because, employed in many different contexts, it seems to provide a modest addition to, rather than a distortion of, our understanding of a speaker's evaluation through speech.

Finally, it is worth recalling exactly what the MGT methodology aims to elicit; it is not the speech which is being evaluated; it is rather the speaker. The speech sample serves as a convenient identifier, facilitating the evocation of those stereotypes which in turn lead to language evaluation.

1.2.12.2 The Lambert and Associates Model

Another study carried out by LAMBERT and his associates (1959) considered reactions towards French and English guises in Montreal. English-speaking judges generally reacted more favourably to English than to French guises; more interestingly, French-speaking evaluators also rated English guises more favourably.

1.2.12.3 Criticism of the Model

It has been greatly criticized over the years with regard to the three-dimensional model. However, a similar attempt made in 1970 to regulate the sorts of scales used in the assessment of the speaker has revealed three dimensions underlying specific evaluation scales. These scales are:

- Socio- intellectual status pertaining to competence.
- Aesthetic quality pertaining to attractiveness and integrity.
- Dynamism referring to action, loudness and forcefulness.

1.2.12.4 The Speech Evaluation Instrument

Used in 1980, this measure also came out with three broad headings.

- Superiority
- Attractiveness
- Dynamism.

The differences among these approaches are partly due to the variations possible.

1.2.12.5 Conclusion on the Match-Guise Technique

After going through all the approaches, it could be concluded that the differences are due partly to the possible variations, and partly to the mathematical exercises which reduce a large number of personalities –evaluation scales to a smaller set of more basic dimensions. However, it will be apparent that in exercises of this sort, what you get out depends very much on what you did not achieve prominence in the early studies because scales relevant to it were not presented to listeners. Technicalities and inputs aside, we can see that, over three decades, researchers have continued to make important language judgments based on speakers' competence, prestige, and status on the one hand, and on wrath, integrity and attractiveness on the other.

These findings will help us investigate both favourable and unfavourable reactions from members of both the high-status group and the minority group. That will attract comment on their attitudes towards the target languages of our MGT, given that this is the first attempt of this experiment in rural speech communities in Cameroon.

1.2.13 Language Ideologies

Language ideologies have been defined most broadly as;

Shared bodies of commonsense notions about the nature of languages in the world (RUMSEY1990:346).

SILVERSTEIN (1979, 193) defines linguistic ideologies as *"sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use*

IRVINE, T. (1989; 255) defines Ideology as *the cultural systems of ideas about linguistic relationship, together with their loading of moral and political interest.* IRVINE and GAL, (2000; 39) note in their discussion of linguistic differentiation that *often the linguistic behaviour of others is simplified and seen as if deriving from those persons, essences.*

As for WOOLARD, A. (1998), language ideologies are implicit or explicit representations that interpret intersections of language and human beings in a social world. Language ideologies underpin not only linguistic forms but social groups as well as fundamental institutions as religious rituals, child socialization, gender relations and schooling. In multilingual societies, there has been a conscious self-struggle over language. Researchers have treated language ideologies as socially, politically and linguistically significant.

Similarly, HILL and IRVINE (1998) state that ideologies of languages are not about languages alone; on the contrary languages are merged with identity issues, morality, aesthetics and epistemology. Following MCINTOSH (2005), they address the language problem from a sociolinguistic perspective. To her, "language was treated as if it were the bearer of itself and of special ontological processes. If language was conceptualized as having power and potency, then it can be construed as changing the very constitution of the people who can speak and use it. In other words, language is not a vacuum.

The difference between language ideology and motivation of multilingualism is that a language is like a universe of ideas shared by a given group. This entails when to use a given form or a given register, who deserves polite language, which language should be learned and why. Motivations, on the other hand, are ideas, not written laws imposed on speakers of a language but ideas explaining why someone believes a language is useful or important or an asset of some kind that can be spent on in a given linguistic or symbolic market.

1.2.14 Essentialism and Indexicality

Essentialism is a theory that gives priority to essence over existence (Webster`s New Collegiate Dictionary 1974). Essentialism is a belief that things have a set of characteristics which

make them what they are, and that the task of science and philosophy is their discovery and expression. It expands on the doctrine that essence is prior to existence; that all children should be taught on traditional lines, ideas and methods regarded as essential to the prevalent culture; that categories of people, such as women and men, or heterosexuals and homosexuals, or members of ethnic groups, have intrinsically different and characteristic natures or dispositions. An instance of essentialism is when, after listening to a speaker, one generalises some aspects of the speaker's personality like: ``Igbo essence``, ``Euroba essence, `` Banso essence`` or`` Bamiliki essence.`` These are preconceived ideas about a language. When one speaks English, the essence behind it is that one is a ``gentleman``. Essentialism is not applicable in rural areas because languages are not learned for prestigious reasons but for affiliation. Essentialism can only be applicable in rural areas when French, English and pidgin come in.

MCLNTOSH, J. (2005) in Language Essentialism and Social Hierarchies among Giriama and Swahili, discusses that studies on essentialism have indicated a plurality of approaches of modes representation which inform cultural ideas of a language in a variety of complex ways. He discusses different ways in which cultures may apply essentialism to languages, and also shows how these varieties of language essentialism are obtained among high status Swahili and Subaltern Giriama in the township of Malindi on the coast of Kenya. He argues that such essentialisms are vital to local ethnic politics, including Swahili efforts to partake of power and prestige within other ethnic groups. The broader contention is the fine-grained attention to language essentialism that can help elucidate the relationship between language ideology and social hierarchy in other contexts: our study of essentialism and indexicality with the languages of Lower Bafut being a glaring example.

Anthropologists who explore the social construct of ethnicity, race and gender have drawn heavily from the concept of essentialism; usually using it to refer to an ontological stance in which social groups are treated as naturally distinct categories, each discovered rather than invented and each with its own essential identity. This was the case with the languages of Lower Bafut.

HIRSCHFELD (1996) defines essentialism as a potentially pernicious means of categorizing of race and ethnicity.

STOLER (1997) says what has been so rigorously explored is the way in which socially differentiated languages may be themselves essentialized to similar ends.

BICHANKJIAN (1995) defines essentialism as the misguided idea that language has a fixed basic substance structure.

BLOOMAERT, VERSHUEREN (1998), following WINDISCH (1990), suggest that the term essentialism might be used to characterize the recurrent nationalist idea that language is naturally linked to qualities such as descent, history, culture and religion.

To DI CARLO (2010), indexicality implies that all cultural elements are fixed or belong to a cultural group. That is no phenomenon is universal. Indexicality is the existential bond between copy and reality. Social indexicality in the human realm has been regarded as including any sign (clothing, speech variety). Indexicality is applicable in rural areas where languages are learned just for identity and affiliation. Identity here consists of the physical, social and moral status of a speaker while affiliation pertains to flagging or bonding.

Each of these approaches then stipulates a somewhat different relationship between languages and essentialism. The first focuses on the folk idea that language has a fixed intrinsic structure; the second on the folk idea that language is naturally yoked to ethnic qualities and the third on the folk idea that linguistic behaviour emanates from, and possibly shares, natural human essence. Of course, we need not choose between such models; instead, we can stipulate essentialism to be part of folk ideas of a language in a variety of complex ways. This will be illustrated by the Matched Guise Technique by (LAMBERT, 1959).

The theory of essentialism can be observed in the sense in which the Bafut man considers the people of Lower Bafut. They are addressed by the pejorative term [mbu' unti:] which means people of the low lands, or primitive people with inferior vernaculars. The Bafut man sees them as exploiters of the natural resources of that area, and payers of tributes to the ruling class.

Because of this overlord-like attitude of the Bafut people, the Lower Bafut people shy away from speaking their languages at public gatherings involving Bafut people and tend to speak Bafut, English or Pidgin English so as to identify with the Bafut people whose language they need in order to relate with the outside world. Meanwhile, the Bafut people do not need their languages at all. This theory of language dominance in Lower Bafut apparently is the origin of indexical use of language by the people of Lower Bafut.

1.2.15 Metadata

Metadata refers to the additional information appended to a primary information source such as video, audio, photo, or text. The purpose of metadata is to facilitate the management of the primary

information asset. Metadata is very relevant in information retrieval from a collection of data sets. It provides entries into the information about data, and makes data easily searchable.

Metadata description includes all the relevant details of identification of position of speaker in the kinship linage, using ARBIL. It also includes the mapping out of settlements, geographical features that influence the choice of ritual sites and ceremonial grounds. This makes part of the geography of the area under study which will be developed by a cartographer using a GPS receiver.

Metadata also serves in building data structures. Suppose you have a collection of video, audio and image files recorded in Lower Bafut. From a digital point of view, each video, audio or photo is encoded using the same coding standards, at least if the recording has been performed using the same device and the same recording parameters (e.g. output format, codec, resolution, etc.). For a computer, two videos look like two English textbooks; no matter who the author of each book is, both books have to be written based on the same set of characters (Roman), which in turn have to be assembled using the same combination rules (orthography). If these writing principles are met, every competent reader of English is able to read the two books with the same reading proficiency. Likewise, a computer reads backend digital code for two or more videos and displays them indistinctively. However, for a human being and a researcher, two videos may not have the same content value. One could be documenting a dancing session whereas the other could be documenting a hunting expedition. The video documenting a dancing session could further be part of a larger collection of media recordings during a wedding in church including other videos, audio and photos.

To make all these resources easily legible, we need to organize data hierarchically by setting levels of representation and following a structuring model, for example top-down. Once we define the data structure, (for examples: Country; Region; Division; Sub-Division; Chiefdom; Village or Language family; Language sub-family; Language group; Language Sub-group; Individual language; Dialect), we can next proceed to cluster each set of media pertaining to the same event (session) together.

1.3 Theoretical Frameworks

A theoretical framework is a supporting structure around a system of formal or scientific rules of investigation on which a subject of study is based. It could also be ideas which are suggested to

explain some facts of planning during a research project. (Cambridge Advance learner's Dictionary, 2003)

The two main theoretical frameworks used in this study are: sociolinguistic and the ethnographic approaches. The sociolinguistic approach includes: dialectological methods like the sociolinguistic questionnaire, sociolinguistic survey, linguistic diversity assessment, and dialect intelligibility testing. The ethnographic approach includes the ethnographic questionnaire, the Matched-Guise Technique and the historical reconstruction method.

1.3.1 Sociolinguistics and Ethno-linguistic Methods of Investigation

They are the approaches to the subject or topic as well as the manner in which research is carried out on a topic. There are two types of approaches in sociolinguistics:

1) Structural approach

It is called empirico or inductive. It has the following procedures:

- Going to the field

- Collection of data

- Studying (observing) data

- Treating data

- Applying data following generalities of the language

2) Generative approach

It is called hypothetical or deductive. It has the following procedure:

- Elaborating hypothesis following a universal data base

- Presuming that all the sociolinguistic situations should follow these norms.

- Going to the field to confirm by observation if the sociolinguistic situation validates the hypothesis already established.

1.3.2 Types of investigations

Apparently, they are the methods or theories adopted to analyse data which has been collected. There are two main types: - Diachronic and Synchronic, and under these two we have Micro and Macro.

1-Diachronic studies method:

It deals with the historical evolution of a language.

2-Synchronic studies method:

It deals with the contemporary nature of a single language.

But apart from these two major methods, we may also mention the following additional ones:

a- Macro Studies deal with a wide society or a large population.

b- Micro Studies deal with a sample population.

c- Longitudinal approach:

It implements the diachronic method. It could be carried out on two or more studies of synchronic methods, that is, observing and comparing stages of language evolution

d- Transversal: It implements the synchronic method. For example, it is applied on different age groups in a simultaneous manner in order to observe the interaction.

e- Qualitative approach (quality of language).

This generally deals with the usage of language such as the mastery of rules of grammar, vocabulary, reading, writing and speaking... For example, do speakers understand well? Are they fluent?

f- Quantitative approach (percentage of population that responds to questions).

This approach deals with the size of the speakers, a chosen proportion of consultants; here the objective is to give the figures or the percentage of the dependent variables (how much language?)

g- Descriptive and prospective approach:

It is used when a researcher gives an account of a linguistic situation and proposes what will happen in future.

Traditionally, the data of primary interest to sociolinguists has been that representing the spontaneous everyday usage of vernacular speakers. However, the status of researchers as community outsiders inevitably challenges their ability to gain access to such data. The investigator is faced with this observer's paradox: ``we want to observe how people speak when they are not being observed''. The problem is made more acute when they tape analysis, since many speakers will tend to shift away from their casual usage in situations where they are being recorded by a stranger. Sociolinguists have developed a variety of techniques for overcoming the observer´s paradox or at least reducing its effects since the problem cannot be entirely resolved.

Precautions with observer´s paradox stem from certain beliefs about the speech variety known as vernacular. For example, ECKERT, P. (2000) refers to a vernacular as the language of locally based communities.

Our discussion in this chapter describes several methods for gathering sociolinguistic data of various types. The focus here is on data produced for a particular project, that is data initiated in some way by the investigator as opposed to data produced for other purposes, for example data from publicly available sources such as written texts or media broadcasts.

1.3.3 Survey Approaches to Data Collection

1.3.3.1 Written Questionnaire

Collecting data through a written questionnaire is an established method with sociolinguists and other scientific fields.

The sociolinguistic questionnaire differs from that of dialect geographers not so much in instruments used but rather in how they are applied. Both types of researchers may ask similar questions, but they typically ask them to rather different types of people. In keeping with their general orientation, sociolinguists strive to survey a sample that is more representative of the social diversity in a given population.

This study will gather data using a written questionnaire to be used as a guide to ask questions. It will contain a number of questions that will cover the ethnographic and the sociolinguistic approaches.

1.3.3.2 Instruments of Data Collection

In line with the ethnographic approach, the researcher used the following instruments for data elicitation: a questionnaire, a tape recorder and interviews. The researcher focused on the use of a questionnaire, bolstered by that of a tape recorder and interviews. The major advantage of using major surveys lies in their efficiency. They allow researchers to gather data from a large number of speakers in a relatively brief time limit. This study surveyed 200 respondents in three months.

CHAMBER, J. (1998) demonstrates statistically that data gathered this way is no less reliable than that gathered through questionnaires administered by field workers.

Disadvantages of written questionnaires

They are an efficient instrument for surveying a large number of people, but they do not allow for in-depth examination of language use for any speaker or community.

They generally call for categorical responses and do not attempt to examine individual social backgrounds. That is why in this study we used ethnographic information to complement the sociolinguistic information.

1.3.3.3 Fieldworker-Administered Survey

As an attempt to having respondents fill out surveys themselves, prepared questionnaires may also be administered by fieldworkers.

a- Disadvantage

- The low level of literacy among the people of the community constitutes an obstacle.

b- Advantage

-It allows for direct observation of language use.

The questionnaire contains metadata, which is the respondents' self-report, their ability to consider their own linguistic behaviour. For example, how do you call X, what is Y?

When questioned directly, some people claim not to use some particular forms that they in fact use at less guarded moments.

Despite such discrepancies, we should note that all self-reported data is less accurate than that collected through observation of actual usage.

Self-reports with data gathering can be done through indirect elicitation and through observation.

Direct questioning may provide a more accurate usage picture for some situations than would less metalinguistic approaches.

Fieldworker-administered surveys are traditionally very time-consuming (they can take years).

1.3.3.4 Sociolinguistic Interviews

Interviews constitute the most traditional approach to data collection amongst sociolinguists. Typically, these are one-on-one oral exchanges conducted in person. They differ from a survey by being relatively less structured. Whereas survey questions are usually asked in a predetermined order and prescribed form, interview protocols are more flexible.

-Surveys seek brief responses to fairly direct questions.

-Interviewers attempt to elicit more extended structures of unscripted conversational speech. The objective has often been to observe the subject's relaxed natural usage.

-Interviews have an open-ended format. How long should an interview last?

-The question of interview length, like so many methodological questions, can therefore be answered humanly in terms of the goal of the research.

A successful interview requires careful planning while the goal may be to engage the subject into free conversation. The interview situation is very different from spontaneous discussions that may arise among friends. Most importantly here, the responsibility for keeping the conversation going rests with the interviewer who manages the discussion by asking questions. For this reason, it is essential to have a prepared list of topics that will generate talk in each interview.

These interviews are structured in the form of modules or sets of questions organized around specific topics. The general idea of this interview schedule is to use interlocking modules to simulate the seamless topic-shift structure of normal conversation.

There is no fixed order for working through the modules and the fieldworker is expected to allow the subject´s interest in any particular set of topics to guide translation through the network from module to module.

a- Advantages

In a large-scale project like Lower Bafut research, the use of a detailed conversational network plan helps to establish consistency across the many interviews conducted by various fieldworkers.

By preparing questions in modules, it facilitates the conducting of interviews to different target populations because some items will be discussed by all while others will be relevant only to one or the other age group.

All the questionnaires pertain to the general topic of life in the subject´s town or village.

These topics can generate 60-90 minutes of conversation with each interviewee without them getting bored.

This interview locates cooperative speakers.

It prepares interesting topics that participants will eagerly discuss at length, for example, adults are fond of talking about their childhoods and how things have changed, while adolescents focus their conversation on school, their social lives and their plans for the future.

Questions asked generate extended conversational responses, thereby helping interviewers to learn about who their subjects are as well as how they feel.

Moreover, the questions help bring out basic demographic information about the speakers, such as age, sex, and possibly ethnicity and socioeconomic class which is recorded for later analysis as metadata.

Interviews often produce variable quantitative data that can complement qualitative analysis (GORDON 2001); for example, quantitative differences in usage may be due to social differences.

b- Disadvantages

As mentioned before, interviews have proved to be the most common method of data collection among sociolinguists. Despite this popularity, the interview offers a rather problematic solution to the needs of data collection. This is particularly true when the research seeks to elicit natural conversational speech.

The researcher finds much difficulty in interviewing because interviews are clearly defined and quite common speech events to which formal speech styles are appropriate.

It generally involves an interaction between strangers with roles of two participants being quite clearly defined. (LEVINSON,1983:100).

The basic counter-strategy of the sociolinguistic interview is to acknowledge the position of the interviewer as a learner, in position of lower authority than the person he is talking to (LABOV, W., 1984:40).

From what we gather from interviews, they have proven to be the fastest and most efficient instruments to elicit naturally data that we need in our GGA and MGT inquiries.

1.3.3.5 Interview Strategy for Eliciting Caused Speech

When people are emotionally involved (excited, angry, fearful and so on) in a discussion they are more concerned with what they say than with how they say it. Following this logic, interviewers can obtain less self-conscious speech by asking questions that bring such emotional reactions: this means that the questions we ask are subjects about situations in which they feared for their lives, ``danger of death´´ question. (LABOV, W., 1972 b).

Changing the dynamics of the interview away from the one-on-one format can turn into causal speech. This may be accomplished by having either two or more interviews or two or more interviewees. (WOLFRAM, W. and SCHILLING, E. 1996).

If a speech event can be defined as something other than interview, it is very likely that the group members will talk to each other rather than adopt the role of respondents (NORBERG 1980:7)).

In conclusion, the various strategies that we have discussed need to be used carefully and appropriately in conjunction with each other, and with local conditions very much in mind. In the end, however, investigators who, for whatever reason, need to examine speech styles that are unavailable even in the most relaxed interviews would do well to consider more ethnographic approaches. We consider such approaches as we examine issues related to participant observation.

1.3.3.6 Participant Observation

In most cases researchers investigate communities of which they are not members. Their outsider status poses a challenge to their ability to overcome the observer´s paradox. In an attempt to change this status, investigators may adopt the role of participant observer. This ethnographic approach entails long-term involvement in a community and fundamentally a pursuit of local cultural knowledge (STONE, J., 2000 b:82).

The principal benefits of participant observation are:

a) The amount and quality of the data collected.

b)   The familiarity with community practices gained by investigators; familiarity with community gives access to people´s behaviours and insights to make sense of data collected.

c) Participant observation can be achieved with such tremendous commitment of time.

a- Disadvantages

1)   The fieldworker sacrifices control over the recording situations which can become somewhat chaotic as several participants interact. Note the challenges that parallel conservations can pose intelligibility. It is recommended that fieldworkers keep notes on who is present and where they are situated.

Another potential problem for researchers pursuing quantitative analysis may be ensuring that enough speech is recommended from each speaker. This difficulty can be remedied by seeking follow up interviews.

b- Advantages

1) Participant observation works well in small, well-delineated communities where suspicions about outsiders might inhibit other approaches to data collection. In the presence of a community outside, the researcher will likely be bias about the results.

2) Participant observation can be an enormously fruitful method for sociolinguistic analysis. It produces a tremendous supply of high-quality data and crucial insights into community dynamics.

3) Alternatively, researchers might combine participant observation.

1.3.3.7 The Interview

The interview was carried out in STONE's (2000b:82) sociolinguistic study with the questionnaire acting as a guide. This was executed because the informants were non literates and as such could not have possible understanding of, and consequent responses to, the questionnaire. While the semi-structured interview was carried out, a pen was used to jot down important aspects. Also, during the interviews, a tape recorder was used so as not to miss out on any tiny detail which could be used during the data analysis. The interviews were conducted in the different localities visited: kitchens, homes and open-air settings. Each of these interviews lasted not more than an hour.

1.4 Literature Review

Literature review here entails works already published by researchers relating to the present field of study. In this section, we simply recount what has been published on the topic by accredited scholars and researchers, and show how they have guided us to come up with the findings in this study.

1.4.1 Early Studies on Dialect Intelligibility

VOEGELIN, C. and ZELLIGS, H. (1951) provided the impetus for collecting intelligibility data when they suggested four ways to distinguish between language and dialect. Two involved the assessment of intelligibility. The first method consisted of asking an informant what he perceived the dialect relations to be. This allowed one to make a preliminary grouping of languages and dialects. The second tested a subject's comprehension of oral materials. The procedure required that a subject translates portions of narrative speech into a language spoken by the investigator.

Regarding intelligibility per se, VOEGELIN, C., and ZELLIGS, H. (1951) pointed out that it could be non-reciprocal as well as reciprocal. Although they did not elaborate on this, they did link non-reciprocity to extralinguistic factors.

CASAD, E. (1974) distinguished between neighbour intelligibility and mutual intelligibility. Apparently, he felt that neighbour intelligibility was due to extensive contact between two language groups; mutual intelligibility resulted from a close genetic relationship.

OLMSTED (1954) used a questionnaire to ascertain intelligibility in a case of reported non-reciprocal intelligibility between two California Indian languages, Achumawi and Atsugewi. The reported state of intelligibility was that the Atsuwewi understood Achumawi but not vice versa.

HICKERSON, TURNER and HICKERSON (1952) applied the second method suggested by VOEGELIN, C. and ZELLIGS, H. (1951) to determine relationships among seven Iroquois dialects. They used two tests: one for measuring global understanding of discourses, and the other for measuring detailed understanding of shorter stretches of speech.

PIERCE, J. (1952) made a second study using intelligibility data among speakers of a group of Algonquian languages. He attempted to objectify the measures of dialect distance based on the percentage of information transfer (intelligibility). He also sought measures of the degree of the relationship among four speech communities.

PIERCE, J. duplicated HICHERSON, H. and TURNER, G. (1952) by using only non-folkloristic spontaneous narratives in testing. He used one test which roughly corresponded to the HICHERSON-TUNER test II. This test consisted of a one-and-a-half-minutes stretch of speech taken from one of the narrative texts. The abstracted portion was in turn divided into shorter segments of fifteen to nineteen sections which were separated by natural pauses. Now, the subject was asked to translate each of these sections, while the investigator repeated any sections if the subject so requested.

For scoring responses, Pierce constructed a "standard grading translation." For each narrative text he obtained translations into English from both the informant who gave him the text and two other speakers of the same community. He then divided the translations into sentences and analyzed each sentence into units. For example, the translations of a sentence might be as follows:

- They used to get me up early.
- They woke me up.
- They woke me up early in the morning.

The common denominator sentence with its units would be (1) they (2) awaken (3) me (4) early. Pierce could then grade a subject as correct, incorrect, or half-correct for all in each sentence of the text.

In addition, Pierce noticed an uncontrolled factor in the scoring of responses; that is, a subject's raw scores could be greatly affected by his ability to understand English. An adjustment was made by dividing the materials from his own dialect. In other words,

$$Adjusted\ score\ Y = \frac{score\ on\ the\ other\ dialect}{score\ on\ the\ own\ dialect}$$

He felt that this adjustment would adequately cover the effects of subject's differential ability in English on the scores 2, though he admitted that the resultant score might still be considerably below the actual level of intelligibility between fluent speakers of the dialect in question.

Finally, in order to obtain an objective measure of dialect distance, he computed a percentage of mutual intelligibly between any two dialects. The computation was as follows:
- people from dialect A score 85% on a text from dialect B.
- people from dialect B score 75% on a text from dialect A.
The arithmetic mean, or average, of the two scores is 80%. This value of 80% is considered the percentage of mutual intelligibility between dialect A and dialect B. It is also assumed to be an objective measure of the linguistic difference between the two dialects. Apparently, Pierce felt that both intelligibility and linguistic difference were symmetrical relations between pairs of dialects.

BIGGS, B. (1957) carried out a further study of intelligibility among speakers of Yuman languages. In this study he compared the method with others in order to test the validity of intelligibility testing as a measure of dialect distance. Though the method was essentially that of earlier studies, some of his procedures and assumptions were interesting.

He constructed three sub-tests for each language in order to increase the lexical ranges covered by the test materials. For one language these sub-tests consisted of a moralistic text of a pow-wow, an autobiographical text, and a set of isolated sentences translated into the language. The first text was eventually disregarded because of difficulties encountered in scoring it.

With regard to scoring responses, Biggs notes that there are actually two problems of possible language deficiency in obtaining a master translation which is the basis for evaluating a subject's translation of a text. The first is the investigator's own lack of knowledge of the test languages. As already noted, the second is the subject's level of ability in English. To aid the subject, Biggs

decided to ignore grammatical categories such as person, number and mode. He restricted his evaluation to content words in the subject's translation.

The index of intelligibility was taken to be the highest score obtained from a sample of subject responses to a particular test. Other studies used the main subject response as the index. The assumption that Biggs used was that purely linguistic structures would set an upper limit on intelligibility between pairs of languages. Thus, the highest score would most closely approximate this limit, and all lower scores could be attributable to psychological factors such as intelligence, motivation, or translation ability.

In a table comparing cognate percentages with intelligibility scores, Biggs shows that intelligibility was 70% or higher when the cognate percentage was above 85%, but that it dropped rapidly as the percentage of cognates dropped below that point. Between a pair of languages with 57% shared cognates, the index of mutual intelligibility was only 12.5%. The relative dialect distances indicated for pairs of languages by the two methods were basically in agreement. However, BIGGS also noted general agreement between the intelligibility results and the method which counts structural similarities between languages. In comparing the test that used an elicited text with that which consisted of elicited sentences, Biggs felt that the latter would often be easier to construct and would probably be more sensitive to differences between closely related dialects. Finally, he comments that intelligibility scores could serve to distinguish between separate languages and dialects of the same language, but that there is a point at which the decision is arbitrary.

1.4.2 Criticism of Early Study on Intelligibility

WOLFF, H. (1964) criticized the validity of intelligibility testing as a measure of linguistic proximity and the implications of inter-lingual communications. His treatment of uncontrolled factors in the testing and other inadequacies of the method can be summarized as follows:

- The test seems primarily to measure a subject's ability to translate from one language to another, but translation ability involves more than just intelligibility, and thus is not a fair measure of dialect distance.

- The language in which the subjects are required to make their responses is a third language, usually the investigator. Therefore, the subject's proficiency in that language is a factor in his response.

- The subject being tested may be reacting against the investigators, their methods, or the use of their language, thus if the method is to yield valid results for measuring linguistic attitudes, not only must the subject have no knowledge of the test language prior to the testing situation, but he must also be proficient in the use of the target language. He further must have no adverse reactions to the process of translation or the investigators, their methods and equipment, and the use of their language.

- WOLFF noted that for areas with a high degree of bilingualism, the test cannot distinguish between intelligibility due to learning of another dialect and intelligibility due to language similarity. He also stated that the test does not explain the significance of non-reciprocal intelligibility.

- He then concluded that intelligibility would not serve as a valid measure of linguistic proximity. Still, he considered that data on intelligibility would be useful for orthography work which requires a degree of language standardization. He found two phenomena that caused him to explain intelligibility in terms of sociological factors rather than linguistic ones. The first was a very low correlation between other measures of linguistic similarity and the degree of intelligibility claimed for them. And the second was the consistent measurement of non-reciprocal intelligibility for these closely related dialects. The measurements were taken by both asking and testing informants whenever possible.

In considering some cases of non-reciprocal intelligibility, WOLFF illustrated economic and political conditions and intergroup attitudes that influenced communication. In one case, the larger and more prosperous group claimed no intelligibility with a smaller group which was quite similar linguistically. On the other hand, speakers of the smaller group acknowledged intelligibility with the language of their prosperous neighbours. Wolff noted that the smaller group had been ruined economically by a shift in the course of a nearby river which cut off their access to a major harbour. In addition, the smaller group had lost their political power during a rebellion several decades previously. He suggested that the intelligibility data reflected the political and economic conditions of the two groups.

WOLFF, H. (1964) also mentioned the case of languages with high functional values. In this case the person who speaks such a language has certain advantages over one who does not. These languages are most widely understood throughout a multilingual area, regardless of the genetic relationships among all the languages.

From the two cases above and from several others, he suggested that non-reciprocal intelligibility exists in a bilingual area because sociological factors permit it. Conversely, he suggested that the lack of non-reciprocal intelligibility indicates that there are elements in the sociological pattern that preclude intergroup contact. In either instance, linguistic proximity plays a minor role. Finally, in the case of non-reciprocal intelligibility the language of the dominant group, or the language with the higher functional value, will be the most widely understood of the pair.

1.4.3 Adaptation of Criticism on Intelligibility

CRAWFORD (1967), in relation to literacy, agreed with Wolff's criticisms about the interpretation of intelligibility data and the primacy of non-linguistic factors in interlingual communication. Since intelligibility can be more directly determined by language dominance, interdialectal learning, and other sociological considerations rather than by linguistic features which indicate genetic relationships, he expected the results of intelligibility testing to be different from those obtained by comparative linguistic methods. Rather than reject the method of intelligibility testing, he felt that it could be quite useful if interpreted differently from the VOEGELIN-HARRIS viewpoint. Specifically, sociological factors that tended to invalidate the method as a measure of dialect distance were particularly relevant to the literacy problem, which consisted of:

- estimating the expected useful range of materials prepared at some point within a given language area, and

- comparing a set of points within that area as potential centres for distribution of literacy materials. Therefore, he interpreted intelligibility data as an index of the extendability of dialects in a communications network.

1.4.4 Early Studies on Lexicostatistics

Lexicostatistic takes its roots from glottochronology with linguists like LEES, R. (1953) and GUDSCHINSKY, S. (1956). This method was used by these researchers and those who followed, and was considered most appropriate for studying relationships between languages or dialects by observing similarities in vocabulary called cognates.

The method, which no one assimilates at the level of lexical statistics, is an application of the statistics methods on the description of vocabulary. DUBOIS. J, et al (2001).

It was first used at the beginning of the 1950s by SWADESH, M. and geared at establishing a percentage of common root based on the vocabulary to explain the degree of resemblance between the different linguistic varieties.

It is thanks to the Lexicostatistic method, that we begin from a basic vocabulary to establish a first relative chronology of differentiation inside a whole linguistic structure. PIRON, P. (1997).

The limitation of this approach stems from the fact that findings are done only on the surface structure of the word. It is particularly important and easily adopted in the genealogical classification of language without written traditions. The classification is the point of access to history and also to language not yet written.

GUDSCHINSKY, C. (1956) states that lexicostatistics is a technique which attempts to provide dates for the earlier stages of languages for archaeological findings. It is applied by simple inspection of comparative word lists, for example, the fact that the relationship of closely related languages can be discovered. But no one can say on the basis of simple inspection precisely how closely related two languages are. (SWADESH, M.1950).

HOCKETT (1953) adds that by the method of comparative linguistics it is possible to chart the phonemic changes by which contemporary languages developed from a common parent language and to reconstruct some of the vocabulary of the parent language. This method permits the investigator to decide, to some extent, the historical order of dialect differentiation.

SAPIR (1916) suggested a method for determining the chronological relationships of cultural elements to one another by the use of various kinds of linguistic evidence.

SAPIR (1921) also suggested that marked similarities in the basic morphological structure of otherwise dissimilar languages indicated remote common origins of the languages since the effects of borrowing or other influence of one language on another seldom penetrate to the structural core or nucleus of the language affected.

There are four main basic assumptions of Lexicostatistics:

SWADESH, M. (1951) attests that some parts of the vocabulary of any language are assumed on empirical evidence to be much less subject to change than other parts. This basic vocabulary includes such items as terms for pronouns, numerals, body parts and geographical features.

LEES, R. (1953) adds that the rate of retention of vocabulary items in the basic core of relatively stable vocabulary is constant through time; and that the rate of loss of basic vocabulary is approximately the same in all languages.

SWADESH, M. (1950) and GUDSCHINSKY, C. (1955) rounded off that if the percentage of true cognates within the core vocabulary is known for any pairs of languages, the length of time that has elapsed since the two languages began to diverge from a single parent language can be computed.

From the Lexicostatistic method which implies a simple inspection of comparative word lists, it would be possible to analyse phonemic changes by which contemporary developed from a common parent language and to compare the charted vocabulary to the parent language. This method was used to come up with the dialect differentiation of the languages under study.

SIMONS, G. (1983), in evaluating the Lexicostatistics method, affirms that if above 60 percent of the lexical resemblance intelligibility is higher than or below 60 percent, then intelligibility is low.

GRIMES, J. (1988) states that intelligibility is due to the different syntax, morphology and semantics of the languages assessed.

1.4.4.1 Advantages of the Lexicostatistics Method

-This method has access to history and also to languages not yet written.

-It is particularly important and easily adapted in the genealogical classification of languages without a written culture.

1.4.4.2 Limitation of the Lexicostatistics Method

- Findings are based on the surface structure and not on the deep structure of the lexicon.

1.4.5 Wordlist

The first essential in making a Lexicostatistical comparison of two or more languages is the collection of comparable word lists in the various languages. A convenient list for this purpose is SWADESH's 200 wordlist. The use of this list has several advantages: it is made up of non-cultural items that have been specifically chosen as a part of the core vocabulary. These items have been tentatively tested for their percentage of retention in languages with written historical records. Later tests may well indicate that a different assortment of words would be more useful, but any revised list must be tested to ascertain whether or not the same rate of vocabulary loss applies. Meantime, this list has been used in a number of comparisons, and will yield results that can easily be

compared with studies already made. It does not seem wise to start with a list shorter than 200 words, since the shorter the list of words used, the greater the probable error. Furthermore, it is sometimes impossible to get the entire list in all of the languages investigated so that the comparisons must be made with fewer items than in the original list. For these reasons it would be good if a longer list of satisfactory items could be worked out. SWADESH, M. (1955) experimented with the use of a list of only 100 items for a detailed analysis of a 200 -word list and then suggested revision to 100 words. The reasons given for eliminating some of the items (e.g. the repetition of some roots in such pairs as women-wife, the non-universality of such words as ice and snow, etc.) seem valid to this author. The gain in quality of test items, however, is balanced by some loss in terms of statistical accuracy. KROEBER (1955) has suggested that a list of 1000 items would be preferable, and doubts that deep time depths can be explored by use of a list as small as 200 words.

SWADESH, M. (1951) says in gathering the data, each English word should be translated by the most common conversational equivalent. If there is an equal choice of two or more expressions, one should be chosen purely at random by taking known cognates, since non-random choice could considerably skew the final results. It is essential, for statistical reasons, that the error be random, so that the accumulating errors tend to cancel each other out instead of compounding each other. The same meaning of each English word should be translated in each case. For example, "know" is understood as referring to facts rather than to persons.

LEES, R. (1953) says that translation from English of isolated forms in general ensures that the resultant forms in each language will be comparable root stems rather than affixes or other items which are not comparable. This is not, however, always the case, and the procedure is used to eliminate the irrelevant material.

SWADESH, M. (1953) states that greater time depths may be explored by the methods of Lexicostatistic if the list is filled in with the reconstructed forms of the postulated common parent language of a linguistic family or stock. A comparison of Proto-Romance with Proto-Germanic, for example, might be expected to give a more accurate picture of the historical facts than a comparison of modern French with modern German. Such comparisons are dependent on preliminary comparative studies and are limited by the fact that reconstructed forms for the entire list are seldom available.

1.4.5.1 Cognates Count

SWADESH, M. (1950) affirms that when the word lists have been compiled, the next step is to compare the words of the two lists in order to ascertain how many of the pairs of words are probable cognates. True cognates are developed from the same word in a common parent language, and only true cognates are conclusive evidence of genetic relationship. The most accurate estimate of whether or not the pairs of words in a given comparison are cognate is arrived at by the careful use of the comparative methods in reconstructing the proto-language. The major assumption of the comparative methods is that while the phonemes of the parent language develop differently in the different daughter languages, the development is consistent in each kind of linguistic environment within each daughter language.

MOHLIG, M. (1986) developed a computer program on analysis of dialectometric data. In this program, the data is introduced into the computer and assured that the words that have the same base or root are characterized by the same sign: A, B or C and the rest of the form with partial identity present themselves as subgroups.

1.4.5.2 Studies on Lexicostatistics in Tchad

DAVID, H. and DORIS, W. (1994) from the International Institution of Linguistics, conducted a case study on Maba, Karanga and Kashmere in Ouaddai and Biltine in Tchad. The objective of this study being to determine the number of Maba languages and to extablish a relationship between Maba, karanga and Kashmere.

The procedure was as follows; 160 words were collected from each language and compared to determine the similarities and differences, and to establish their percentages.

A sociolinguistic survey was also carried out on the attitudes of the people speaking Maba. Karanga and Kashmere, beside their mother-tongue and Arab that is spoken in Tchad.

A map was drawn for the localization of the geographical area under study.

From their investigations the following results were obtained: Maba population historically appeared to have their origin from the kingdom of Ouaddai. Equally, Maba, Karanga, and Marfa were found to be the same group from Nilo-Saharienne family. Maba had no dialect but different accents. Note that the accents were linked to individuals and not to ethnic groups. However, if the accents were linked to ethnic groups then they would have been called dialects. From the Lexicostatistics results Maba and Marfa are different languages entirely.

It should be noted that our work in Lower Bafut will be greatly influenced by this work because both employ the methodology of sociolinguistic surveys.

1.4.6 Initial Studies on Dialectology in Cameroon

SADEMBOUO, E. (2001) in De *l'inter-comprehension à la standardisation des langues: le cas du Cameroun,* first relaxations on this topic started at the time when many Cameroonian researchers were engaged in the programme of the Linguistic Atlas of Cameroon. This programme was highly supported by the government which intended to know the languages of the national territory with the aid of "l'Agence de Cooperation Culturelle et Tehnique (ACCT) in the vast programme of regional inventories of central African languages.

The first inventories brought to light many points of uncertainty and also shaded zones.

The methods chosen in this programme were Lexicostatistics used by researchers in l'Institut des Sciences Humaines, and Intelligibility Testing by CASAD, E. (1974) used by researchers of "la Societe Internationale de Linguistique au Cameroun (SIL).

These methods did not visibly prove to be realistic enough to attain the goal at a moderate cost and at a limited period. To linguists, this sociolinguistic approach was very incredible. The linguists had a pessimistic judgement. Why should there be the description of a majority of the language units presented in the preliminary inventory project? DIEU et al (1983) insisted on the sociolinguistic data.

It appeared therefore necessary to study this approach which seemed cheaper and more rapid, and to establish a procedure which can render it objective in scientific, anthropological and sociological perspectives.

SADEMBOUO, E. (1980) carried out a study on criteria of identification of standard dialects of reference, which put at the disposal of linguists an instrument that determines the development of languages in their written forms. The programme of ALCAM (1983) was preoccupied with inventories and the localisation of languages, but was not at all preoccupied with the development of these languages and how they were to be used in education.

Another programme of research started in the same Linguistics Department with more audacious researchers who included the following professors: TADAJEU, M., CHIA, E. and WIESEMANN, U. This project was titled « Projet de Recherche Opérationnelle pour l'Enseignement des Langues au Cameroun (PROPELCA) ». The programme which gained more

and more grounds did not exclude any language; whether official or mother tongue in the establishment of principles for the development of their writing systems and in the longterm standardization. Their goal was therefore to establish the itinerary of phases of this language unit's development. This poses the problem of inter-comprehension, meaning that the identification of languages should not be an end in itself but an initial step to a long process which will lead to the language units discovered towards their development and their written cultures.

NANFAH, G. (2007) treats a complex problem in the Yemba linguistic area. To determine and to define the limits of the different dialects that make up the language through the application of the dialectometric method, the exact number of Yemba dialects is defined scientifically. This definition is far clearer than that of DIEU, M. and RENAUD in ALCAM (1983).

In applied linguistics the results obtained from the dialectometric study constitute a strong base for linguistic policies to be adopted for this area. Yemba is a Bantoide language of Grassfield East, spoken by 100,000 natives in the Menoua Division in the West region of Cameroon.

NANFAH, G. (2007) defines dialectometry as a set of methods and procedures which permit the measurement of the proximity or linguistic distances between dialects in a well determined and same geographical area.

In his Procedure, he starts by the collection and transcription of data, compares the lexical data between two dialects and then quantifies the divergences in five levels i.e. 1-5, then he analyses the dialectometric data using a computer programme developed by MOHLIG, M. (1986). The results are presented in two stages:

The first confirms even clearer the regrouping of Yemba dialects by DIEU, M. and RENAUD, P. (1986), and makes it easier for agencies in charge of language planning to be able to choose a standard dialect.

The second affirms that the dialect of reference is defined in dialectometry as the linguistic variety that presents the higher indices of similarities than others. NANFAH, G. (2000). We are confronted at this level with two eventualities: the above statement and the criteria for choosing a dialect of reference.

This leads to the adoption of common principles and rules which harmonize, rationalize and stabilize discordant orthographic forms.

For a methodical approach of the standardization of orthography in general, and the orthography of the Yemba language in particular, there is a need to envisage orthographic studies as

a distinct area of applied linguistics which makes use of the knowledge, the know-how and the principles of fundamental linguistics to resolve problems linked to written communication.

In the course of development of a strategy of variation in orthography NANFAH elaborated a new model of writing system which presents the principles of orthography of the Yemba language: a stratified system of writing in other words. By reaffirming the option of a unique standard system of writing in the Yemba community it is legitimate to develop eventually for certain dialect poles or certain variants transitory to allow them to have access harmoniously to the principal written standard.

CHENEMO, M. (2011) carried out a study on the evaluation of intelligibility and inter-comprehension between the seven linguistic varieties in the Bafut Fondom, namely, Bafut, Mbakong, Butang, Mantaa, Buwi, Obang, and Otang. It is worth noting that a systematic application of the following comparative methods: the Lexicostatistics, the Recorded Text Testing and the Global Group Evaluation in a multilingual context enabled us to realize four types of intelligibilities: mutual intelligibility, acquired intelligibility, neighbour intelligibility and non-reciprocal intelligibility (VOEGELIN, C.. and HARRIS,1951, CASAD, E.,1987, LOVING, R. and SIMONS, G.,1977, 1988)

With the Global Group Appraisal (GGA), we found out that intelligibility was influenced more by economic, political and intergroup attitudes than by linguistic factors. Moreover, intelligibility could be more directly determined by language dominance, interdialectal learning and other sociological considerations rather than by linguistic features which indicate genetic relationship.

This study contributed to our present research, which sets out to re-evaluate our previous results implementing the interdisciplinary approach which came up with the findings of different ideological trends in Lower Bafut. Similarly, by looking at the problem from many approaches and different perspectives, the study was able to identify the fact that the different linguistic varieties in that hyper-multilingual context are distinct languages of their own.

MELVICE, A (2013) wrote on the structural and typological approaches to the grammar of Obang. To her, the basic phonological structural unit of prosodic in Obang is the syllable. It consists of an optimal onset, an obligatory nucleus and an optimal coda. Consonants occur in the onset and the coda while vowels occupy the nucleus slot. Consonants differ from vowels in the relative

closure or constriction of airflow at some point along the vocal tract; vowels on the other hand, are produced with the free movement of air within this tract.

Contrary to the claim on autonomy of linguistic layers (phonology, morphology, syntax), discussions will reveal the overlap that exists between the linguistics layers. For instance tones are traditionally a phonological phenomenon, but it will be discovered that they facilitate the understanding of associative construction. Floating grammatical tones can only be phonologically realized if two nouns come together to form an associative construction (a syntactic phenomenon). This only reiterates the fact that there are no clear-cut boundaries between linguistic subfields.

Her aim was to facilitate the teaching and learning of this language by contributing to its development and challenging the misleading assumption about it. This is an indication that Obang is facing extinction just as many Cameroonian languages threatened by Pidgin English, English and French.

This work is important to our research because it equally proves that Obang is a dialect of Befang. Also, her treatment of tone will facilitate our understanding of assignment of indices in the lexicostatistic Method since we are dealing with tonal languages.

1.4.7 Early Ethnographic Studies

Sociolinguistic studies embody lots of facets or ways of studying language(s) in a society. ECKERT, P. (2012), for instance, focuses on the analytical practice of the three waves of variation study. She basically describes the first two waves and focuses more on the third wave. Her three waves variation studies are distributed as follows: First wave> it deals with the relationship between linguistic variables and macro sociological categories like class, gender, age and ethnicity as exemplified by the works of LABOV She mentions the studies of LABOV, W. (1996) on the social stratification of English in New York City and on his use of survey studies in exploring his research.

The second wave consists of the use of ethnographic methods to explore the local categories and formation of parts that constitute macro sociological factors such as class, age, gender and ethnicity. In this wave, there is an achievement of theoretical status in the main stream of variation. ECKERT, P. (2012), states that linguistic features do not index sociological categories. This is explained by the fact that in her ethnographic study on adolescents of high school in the predominantly white sub-urban area of Detroit, she sought to find out the role of class in adolescent variation. This was all incited by the plausibility that adolescents lead in sound change and in the

use of vernacular. That is to say adolescents from the sub-urban area of Detroit speak the vernacular differently at the level of sounds. This study revealed two social categories: "jocks" representing the middle class, and "burnouts" the working class. In this school milieu, the "jocks" index extracurricular sphere and the "burnouts" index vocational curriculum i.e. no room for extracurricular life. However, the mismatch between the upper half and lower half representing the "jocks" and the "burnouts" respectively simply illustrates that variations are not set in childhood but develop much more with social identity. Therefore, this separation was ensured taking into consideration the sociolinguistic geography of the wider urban place. ECKERT further explains that as the socioeconomic status increases, the use of urban linguistic variables reduces with distance from Detroit. The results show that "burnouts" lead in the use of non-standard negation. He explains this result in connection with mother's education as well as social category. However, the sound changes correlate more with social category than with parental influence. This leads to ECKERT's conclusion to her two-wave variation study that variations are not set in childhood but serve as a resource in the construction of identity later in life. This demonstrates that a wider class correlation not simply stems from education and occupation, but rather reflects local dynamics rooted in practices and ideologies that in turn shape class. The ethnographic method employed here brings stylistic practices into view.

ECKERT's second variation study is suitable for the present study in terms of research design. An ethnographic study seems to be a suitable method in handling sociolinguistic matters. This enables us to better relate with the community under investigation. Rather than drawing unrealistic conclusions at a distance it is most appropriate to put one self in the place of the participants to understand the thoughts or minds of the people as well.

LABOV, W. (1996) made use of recorded interviews in an attempt to correlate features of speech (linguistic denotations) to macro sociological categories in order to represent a sample of the community of New York. The variable of class, for example, was explored to access the use of standard language and their exposure to linguistic change. This was solely exploited by the use of vernacular". And vernacular has been regarded by ECKERT, P. (2012) as central to the theory of variation. Again, variables were considered to mark gender dynamics and socio-economic status, for example, the use of "as" in "thing" was more prominent in the lower class. To LABOV, style (casual interview, formal interview or reading passage) was a representation of one's speech. ECKERT, P. (2012:4) however contradicts this way of looking at style, stating that style should be

the individual's natural choice of use depending on the context in which she finds herself. This is because an observer's paradox may result in the suppression of a natural cognitive process during conscious interviews. In sum, this first wave approach construed the social importance of variation on the basis of general understanding of the categories that serve to select and classify speakers rather than through direct knowledge of the speakers themselves and their communities.

1.4.8 Ethnographic Studies in Cameroon

1.4.8.1 Papers and Articles

DI CARLO, P. and GIOVANNA, P. (2012) wrote the paper titled Spatial Reasoning and GIS in Linguistic Prehistory; two case studies from Lower Fungom Northwest Cameroon.

This paper states how language change can best be addressed using Geographic Information System (GIS). In it the authors explain how GIS can integrate dataset from diverse discipline along with real-world geographical information, hence facilitating the investigation of the spatial relation existing between research items and past landscapes. Drawing from an ongoing project focused on the historical development of the extremely diverse linguistic situation documented in Lower Fungom region, this article explores the possibilities of placing authentic interdisciplinary research pivoting on linguistic issues within a GIS framework.

Moreover, this paper is a summary of an ongoing research on the historical development of the surprisingly high degree of linguistic diversity observed in Lower Fungom, a small region in Northwest Cameroon.

In the paper, Di CARLO, P, and GIOVANNA, P. (2012) aimed at contributing to the methodology used in the study of the prehistory of language by highlighting the great potential of spatial and landscape analysis and consequently the usefulness of some digital tools in implementing them.

Furthermore, they aimed at proposing a new model of language change that could be conducive to expanding the epistemological repertoire of historical linguists, especially of those studying Sub-Sahara African languages.

This study meets our need because it introduces the importance of including both geographic space and cultural landscape in research, while also briefly addressing some problems connected with the compatibility of spatial and ethno-historical data.

Unlike what is commonly found in studies of linguistic prehistory where the magnitude of the problem raised requires that the geography considered be expanded to cover continent-size, this study focuses its attention on a very small region: Lower Fungom.

Similarly, unlike, most works on linguistic prehistory which appear to consider that populations are passive bearers of a language, language movements are equivalent to demographic movements and vice versa. This study considered speakers as social actors engaging in an ever-changing relationship with the language(s) they speak as a result. It explored the possibility of using geographically-informed evidence of demographic history to reconstruct the development of the ideology that may have conditioned the various ways of the history of languages under study. In other words, the study accords language ideologies a primary role of shaping the historical trajectories of any given language.

This implies an aerial approach which we will use to reconstruct the language ideologies and histories in order to show unexpected possible historical readings of how linguistic diversity came about. By so doing, our horizon will be widened on more than one discipline.

DI CARLO, P. and GOOD, J. (2014) in Diversity, Change and Ideology at the edge of the Cameroonian Grassfields, sought to understand what we are trying to preserve.

They affirmed that discussions on endangered languages often portray language death as being associated with the loss of a language has been embedded in a particular language. At the same time, it is also clear that the losses associated with language endangerment need not be restricted to individual systems but can also involve the disappearance of a distributive language by ecologies. This paper explores the language dynamics of the Lower Fungom region of Northwest-Cameroon which offers an extreme case of linguistic diversity within the already exceptionally diverse Cameroonian Grassfield, focusing on what we can learn by looking at the languages from an areal ethnographically-informed perspective. It will be argued that in this area, languages are used to symbolize relatively ephemeral political formations and hence should not be taken as reflections of deeply-rooted historical identities. This conclusion has significance both regarding how research projects in the area should be structured and what it might mean to preserve the languages for a region which historically appears to have been characterized by frequent language loss and emergence conditioned by changes in territorial and political configuration.

They argued that "canonical" notions of documentation at present derive from ideologies which may align quite poorly with local language ecologies, since each of the villages of Lower

Fungom comprises an entity well known in western notions of settlement. Also the local context has a particular lexicogrammatical code "talk". These languages could easily be documented in a canonical way, apparently improving on our understanding of endangered languages. This approach would have failed to see the lesson these languages offer for our understanding of the local significance of our language because other important linguistic factors might be masked by this approach that emphasizes the documentation of individual ancestral codes as the primary academic response to endangerment.

To overcome this problem, DI CARLO, P. and GOOD, J. (2014) have implemented a language documentation approach which integrates comparative grammatical data with the results of ethnographic and historical investigation. But this will be more difficult and far beyond the reach of many projects. Nevertheless, what is essential in this approach is that it results not only in a mere record of grammar and lexicon, but also in codes in social interaction. This approach is open to criticism, though.

They, (DI CARLO, P. and GOOD, J., 2014), observed that the ethnographic approach to the documentation of the languages of a small but exceptionally diverse region of Cameroon makes these languages appear special not because of their rich cultural contents but rather because of their utility as tools for the flexible construction of multiple identities.

To conclude, their contribution here is new because it first accounts for the development of linguistic diversity in such a multilingual context with a region which has seen relatively little study, and thereby introduces an additional case to the unfortunately small catalogue of available studies that have been conducted along these lines. (STORCH, 2011, 2013) in DI CARLO, P. and GOOD, J. (2014).

In the paper Multilingualism, Solidarity and Magic, DI CARLO, P. (2015), new perspectives on language ideology in the Cameroon Grassfields have been exploited.

The case study is on the languages and societies of Lower Fungom, a small area located at the northern fringes of the Cameroonian Grassfields characterized by striking linguistic diversity and a language ideology which at the same time sees villages as embodying separate linguistic communities and forest individual multilingualism. Thanks to data collected in the field in 2010 and 2011, it is shown that this apparently contradictory language ideology is crucial to individuals who prefer affiliation to as many separate solidarity networks as possible. It is also suggested that this social phenomenon is ultimately rooted in traditional beliefs in magic. The ethnographic data

76

analyzed largely aligns with anthropological studies on African societies so as to ensure generalization of some preliminary results and hypotheses at a super-regional level.

In this paper, DI CARLO, P. (2015) attempted to show that, by approaching multilingualism in non-urban settings, and following a strongly ethnographic methodology, we can uncover a completely different state of affairs from that found in cities. Absence of prestige in the local linguistic market of Lower Fungom and Mambila (CONNELL, B. 2009) stand out as incontrovertible evidence that there are still wide margins for original sociolinguistic research in rural Africa, and that its results may also turn out to be highly influential for the discipline's theoretical advancement: we have suggested the one field where such a focus can be fruitful in research on language ideologies (section 4.1).

He equally tried to describe the inductive chain of argument in this case by starting from the recognition that high rates of multilingualism are the norm of Lower Fungom and that, except for colonial languages, the local linguistic market is not informed by iconization processes connected with the notion of social prestige. We have tried to show that an authentic bottom-up procedure can reach a depth unimaginable if we were to use other, "les ethnographiques" methods.

In conclusion DI CARLO, P. (2015) alleged that, of the two subsequent interpretative steps he has proposed in his search for cultural correspondences to multilingualism, acceptance of the first (section 4) will be less problematic than acceptance of the second (section 5). That multilingualism is the major way to maximize the number of latent networks of solidarity through the construction of a set of distinct social identities; though not banal, it is not only logical but also apparently corroborated by anthropological evidence and his survey results. That this tendency towards multiple affiliations is underpinned by spiritual insecurity may look strange to the Africanist, though less so to the non-Africanist. That the localist language ideology uncovered in Lower Fungom intersects this process and projects it on the figure of the village chiefs as invisible agents is as of now appealing, at best. He hopes to have the opportunity to devote future publications to this topic so as to make it appear as not only an eccentric and intriguing hypothesis, but also a convincing one. This paper was one of the greatest sources of inspiration to us when we carried out our research.

1.4.8.2- Importance of Ethnographic Approach in the Present Work

This approach will help us compare some key features of the target languages, and reconstruct the language ideology and histories, and show unexpected possible historical readings of how

linguistic diversity came about in Lower Bafut. The approach will equally allow us to widen our horizon in more than one discipline.

One of the main objectives of our study was to retrace the past of those societies, that is the traditional political systems, roles of the family head, quarter head, village chief, secret societies of both men and women where applicable.

In this approach, we have learned so much about language endangerment being associated not only with the loss of knowledge in a particular language but also with language dynamics and it could involve the disappearance of distinctive language ecologies. We have also learned much about how to study a language from areal and ethnographically informed perspectives which focus on language dynamics. This includes language control, the numerical strength of speakers, their status, attitudes and presentation of speakers and their cultural and socio-political realities. Unlike the canonical approach which tries to impose western ideology on African languages, the approach has not failed to depict the local significance of a language.

Furthermore, our approach portrays two very important aspects of ethnographic studies: Presentation of an ethnographic areal study in the documentation of the languages of the Lower Bafut region of Northwest Cameroon, and discussion on language endangerment (language death) which, more often than not, has been associated with the loss of the bulk of knowledge found in that language. It finally disproves this assumption by revealing that language loss is not only restricted to individual language systems but also to the disappearance of distinctive language ecologies (DI CARLO, P., GOOD, J. 2014).

This revelation was got through the implementation of an ethnographically informed perspective which explores in greater depth the key aspects of the local language ideologies that bring about change, such as: incorporation, transfers, monolingualism, bilingualism, multilingualism, multidialectalism, variation and the use of lingua-franca, all of which are contrary to the canonical approach to language study which is a direct implementation of western rules not applicable in the African multilingualism context. The approach best suits the context of linguistic pluralism in Lower Bafut, especially as it introduces the dimension of diversity that stems from peoples´ backgrounds, behaviours, activities, events, age, sex, status and social roles (NETTLE, D. 1996).

Significantly, this approach demonstrates new methodologies on how language documentation projects could be carried out in extreme cases of linguistic diversity like Lower Bafut.

Equally, it illustrates the importance of ethnographic studies in language documentation, taking into consideration the whole language system as well as the geographical, historical and cultural space, that is, language in use (DI CARLO, P., GOOD, J. 2014). It calls for greater involvement between the researcher and the language consultants; the researcher has to live with the people, experience their life and ways and be part of them, and secondly, he/she should never take anything for granted because there are many dimensions through which identity can be constructed: for instance cultural specific and context specific.

As earlier mentioned, unlike what is commonly found in studies of linguistic prehistory where the magnitude of the problem raised requires that the geography considered be expanded to cover continent-size, this study focuses on a very small region: Lower Bafut. Unlike, most work on linguistic prehistory which considers that populations are passive bearers of a language, hence language movements are equivalent to demographic movements and vice versa, the study considers speakers as social actors engaging in an ever-changing relationship with the language(s) they speak. As a result, it explores the possibility of using geographically-informed evidence of demographic history to reconstruct the development of the ideology that may have conditioned the various ways of history of languages under study. In other words, this study accords language ideologies a primary role of shaping the historical trajectories of any given language. Finally, this approach contributes greatly to the catalogue on Lower Bafut languages.

The issue of identity in Lower Bafut is similar to that of Lower Fungom in that, children born are given either a paternal or a maternal name depending on the turn of the parent to name. With inter-marriages, children born have double identities; that is, a name from the paternal side and another from the maternal side, and they are expected to speak both the languages of mother and father; reason why multilingualism is a cultural practice.

In conclusion, this approach presents a clear picture of Lower Fungom which reflects the scenario of Lower Bafut in terms of their village, entities, traditional and political hierarchy, language ideologies and linguistic diversity.

1.5 Conclusion

In this chapter we have reviewed some related literature and the theoretical frameworks used in the study. We have also defined some key concepts on language variation, multilingualism and language ideologies. Chapter Two coming up next, presents the methodology of data treatment employed in the study.

CHAPTER TWO
METHODOLOGY

2.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the methodology of research used in the study. The methodology of data gathering in the ethnographic-informed and sociolinguistic approach was realized by means of the best practices of recording with digital technology. This requires principally the elaboration of research techniques of the sociolinguistic and ethnographic questionnaires, as well as interview guides, with regards to the objectives and hypothesis of the study.

2.2 Theoretical Frameworks

In this study, we based our investigations on two main theoretical frameworks: the sociolinguistic and the ethnographic approaches which have proved their worth in dialectology and ethnography respectively. The sociolinguistic approach includes: dialectological methods like the sociolinguistic questionnaire, sociolinguistic survey, linguistic diversity assessment, and dialect Intelligibility testing. As for the ethnographic approach, it includes the Matched-Guise Technique and the historical reconstruction method.

In all scientific research, the reliability of the work depends on the methodology of the theoretical frameworks the researcher embarks on. Once the speaker's sample has been identified, the question arises as to how to obtain useful data. There are a variety of approaches available to sociolinguists. In choosing from among these, the investigator is guided by the aims of the research. What constitutes good data depends on the research objectives, as well as on the methods for collecting such data. Decisions about data collection are crucial because patterns of language use are sensitive to various contextual factors. As a result, researchers must recognize that the manner in which they approach a speaker will affect the data available for analysis.

2.3 Methodology

Methodology can be defined as an official or acceptable system of procedures used in combining a set of tools and techniques of investigation in relation to the subject of research. It describes the technical details of how the investigation was conducted. Like all other scientific domains, dialectology has its own research methods and techniques of investigation and experimentation which we are going to use later in the work.

Generally speaking, researchers in dialectology always used questionnaires to collect data from the dialects under study. There are two types of questionnaires, namely direct questionnaires and indirect questionnaires. Those who use direct questionnaires present their consultants with a series of questions which ask for specific answers. From there, they collect information which could be in nature, lexical or phonological. On the other hand, the indirect questionnaire takes more time. Those who use this type open up a conversation with their informants on a particular topic, and from the answers they collect their data. We can then deduce that these methods are used for the internal description of the dialect.

Otherwise there exist other particular methods in dialectology which are: Lexicostatistics and the comprehension test carried out on registered texts, Recorded Test Testing (RTT).

Dialectologists and sociolinguists have adopted scientific methods which are specific to the evaluation of linguistic variation. These methods are: Lexicostatistics, the Recorded Test Testing (RTT) and the Global Group Appraisal (GGA). This is to identify languages or to evaluate inter-comprehension between linguistic variations which could be learned and measured. To understand these terms, the following are four methods used by VOEGELIN, C.F and HARRIS, Z. (1951).

a) Ask the informant

b) Count the sameness

c) Examine the structural status

d) Test the informant

Methods b and c measure the internal similarities of linguistic varieties and also the instruments of analysis of communication. Methods a and d investigate the role of communication and also the speakers of different varieties. They are also concerned with what the speakers do with the linguistic variety of their own region, and at what point they can communicate satisfactorily when they encounter problems of putting a message across in the course of delivering it in one of the varieties concerned.

These different techniques and approaches make it possible to establish for each variety the distinction between language and dialects. The Lexicostatistics, the Recorded Text Testing (RTT) and The Global Group Appraisal (GGA) are the most currently used methods by researchers, and they are exclusive or complementary measures of inter-comprehension and identification of language limits.

2.3.1 Global Group Assessment Method.

The Global Group Assessment (GGA) has been called in two other ways: Global Evaluation or Rapid Appraisal. The method was first developed by SADEMBOUO, E.(1980) and was later on used by a SIL /CABTAL sociolinguistics survey team as from 1989 to assess many linguistic communities. The description and the application of this method was further implemented in Cameroon by MBONGUE J. (1997), a member of the CABTAL research team, who gave a description and made an evaluation of the procedure... SADEMBOUO.E.(2001), finally used the GGA method to evaluate Cameroonian languages for Standardization in his *"Doctorat d' etat"* thesis.

a- Disadvantage

This method of interview is very inconvenient because the opinions sampled can be biased or subjective, different or inconsistent, from one individual to the other. In such circumstances, the objectivity of the Lexicostatistic Method should be implemented.

b- Advantages

It is less expensive because it doesn't need much equipment and much time.

It gives an internal image to a linguistic situation; that is, the attitudes of the speakers and the representation of the language to them.

It better resolves the problem of choice of a dialect of reference, the separation of units of language and identifies the dialects of a unit more than Lexicostatistics.

It gives room to a global knowledge of the degree of inter-comprehension between variants, no matter the context.

The Global Group Appraisal method consists of many phases.

2.3.1.1 The preparatory phase

This phase consists of preliminary studies which the researcher carries out in the library. The research has to be done rigorously like in any other research.

The objective of this phase is for the researcher to localize the linguistic area and to have an idea of the number of varieties which make up the linguistic area in question and which are found in records in libraries. At this level we must have had a good idea of the dialectal and parental situation.

- With the help of maps and diagrams we can ask questions corresponding to: -
- What is the perception of people on the dialectal situation?
- Which are the dialects that constitute the language?
- Which dialects are not considered part of the language?

Formal contacts bring the researcher face to face with the speakers of the language. Such encounters present a good picture of the linguistic situation and the region's accessibility.

2.3.1.2 Procedure

The Global Group Assessment method was carried out by the use of an elaborated questionnaire adopted from that proposed by DIEU, M. et al (1983). Our main questions of interest were   asked on the following areas:

- Identification of linguistic varieties spoken in area.
- The geographical extension of each variety.
- Evaluation of inter-comprehension of these varieties by the native speakers.
- Description of distinct language units by situating them and regrouping them according to speakers and mutual intelligibility in an acceptable and satisfactory manner.
- Evaluation of the dynamism and vitality of the language units in the area.

2.3.1.3 Administration of the Questionnaire

Our interviews were carried out orally. That is, questions were asked from the questionnaires and consultants answered orally. Totally correct answers scored 1, partially correct answers scored 0.5 and wrong answers scored 0.

2.3.1.4. Sample Populations

The informants were made up of a cross section of 18- years old and above from all walks of life in each linguistic unit. Some of them were chosen by the chiefs of the villages and others by the researcher herself.

2.3.1.5. Timing

The interviews took at most four hours for each linguistic form. Questions could be repeated or modified if consultants did not understand, and the researcher could ask leading questions to ease understanding.

The responses that were recorded by the researcher were arrived at by a general consensus and this entailed long arguments, debates and, at times, physical threats that could easily have degenerated into fights were it not for the quick intervention of notables.

When a group could not arrive at a consensus, the different points of view expressed by consultants were noted with the number of participants for each point of view.

2.3.1.6 Analysis of the Questionnaire

After administering the questionnaire, we then established the percentages of favourable answers following the opinion of the majority in the whole group. This was done especially when there was a choice to make between two or more languages for a dialect of reference after the various language limits had been delimited.

DIEU et al (1983) proposed a large sample of research questions. The data of the questionnaire was broken into six different parts to facilitate treatment:

Part I: Questions 1 – 7: Personal identity of consultants.

Part II: Questions 8 – 10: Linguistic identity of consultants.

Part III: Questions 11 – 14: Geographical extension of language limits.

Part IV: Questions 15 – 19: Evaluation of inter-comprehension of these varieties by native speakers.

Part V: Questions 20 – 22: Identification of dialect of reference.

Part VI: Questions 23 – 24: Evaluation of the dynamism of language units in the area.

2.3.1.7 Results of the Global Group Assessment Method.

From our results, we realise the following:

Firstly, each linguistic variety is well spoken by its native speakers and their closest neighbours.

Secondly, Bafut is understood in all the sites but the native speakers of Bafut can only understand Mantaa well and Buwi averagely.

Thirdly, Obang is understood in all the sites of Lower Bafut.

Fourthly, Mantaa and Buwi are highly comprehensible. They could be dialects of the same language.

Fifthly, Mbakong is understood in three sites while Butang and Otang are understood in only two sites each.

From the results of the table, we can regroup the varieties as follows:

The first group is Bafut and Agah have mutual intelligubility. Mantaa and Buwi have mutual comprehension of each other. Bafut has a good comprehension of Mantaa and an average comprehension of Buwi.

The second group is made up of Mbakong, Butang, Obang and Otang. The comprehension that exists between these linguistic varieties is not mutual but due to bilingualism that has arisen from the need of communication. Otherwise, they are singled out as different languages of their own.

2.3.2 Recorded Text Testing Method (RTT)

This method is applied by the use of recorded narrative texts or intelligibility test which measures the degree of information exchanged between two speakers of the languages under study without the help of an interpreter.

It took its origin from an article by CARL, F VOEGELIN, C. and HARRIS, Z. (1951) in which they proposed the intelligibility test as a means to evaluate different dialects in the hope of determining the limits between a dialect and a language.

But subsequently, the RTT was developed by CASAD, E. (1974) in his book "*Dialect Intelligibility Testing*". In it, when two varieties are considered to be two dialects of the same language, they will register two stories in each variety in question. These stories will be personal and based on an event lived by the author and not on folklore or history. In other words, the RTT consists of a registered story in dialect A which is made listened to by a speaker of dialect B. The text is interrupted by questions asked in dialect B. For every question, there is a corresponding mark. The result obtained determines whether there is intelligibility or not.

According to GRIMES, B. (1987), 10 persons constitute a sufficient sample to validate an inherent intelligibility test. These people are those who have never had open contacts with the dialect tested.

2.3.2.1 Procedure

Two texts are recorded in each of the two varieties in question, each one lasting for a duration of one minute, and the other lasting for three minutes. Once the texts are recorded, a word-for-word translation will be written in the language under study. From the translated version, we can then develop the questions. The next step is to verify the recorded tests by giving each to five speakers of the language. The answers they will give to the questions asked will give an idea as to what answers will be expected from the work on the field. This procedure, generally, also helps us to know which questions should be suppressed, maybe because of bad quality or because they are not well placed. After this verification the questions will then be translated into each of the dialects in which the tests will be administered. This is to enable every person tested to fully understand the questions posed to him.

2.3.2.2 Description of Test

In our study, the eight tests were fashioned after those of PIERCE, J. (1952) who attempted to objectify the measure of dialect distance based on the degree of relationship among four speech communities.

The tests we used were no-folklore stories but spontaneous narratives. Only one test was set in English and then translated into the seven linguistic varieties by native speakers who understood English well. The test consisted of a two- minute stretch of speech taken from each of the translated texts. The abstracted portion was in turn divided into shorter segments which were separated by natural pauses. The test then proceeded with five of these short sections, with questions asked in-between, in the consultant's native language. The researcher could repeat any section if the consultant requested it. Every response corresponded to a mark which could be qualified as correct = 2/2, half correct =1/2 and not correct =0/2. The total score obtained by each consultant determined whether or not there was intelligibility between the two languages tested.

The intelligibility tests comprised three parts: the introductive test, the main test and the dialect of reference test. The introductive test concerned the identity of the tested language. The main test consisted of questions on the text and the third consisted of the attitude of the consultant towards the language of the test.

2.3.2.3 Preparation for the Registered Test

After using two tape recorders to record the test in one and the questions in the other, we then proceeded to transcribe word for word the registered text. Then we studied how it could be inter-cut in logical segments by the questions. Finally, we recorded the test already prepared with the questions, each test in a separate CD. We used a CD player with good speakers to play back the tests.

2.3.2.4 Administration of the Test

During the administration of the tests, the first part was played without interruption and the consultants identified the language. The second part of the test, which was the test proper, was played segment by segment with a question following each segment. The consultants were then allowed two minutes to answer the questions as briefly as possible and to the point.

2.3.2.5. Timing

The recorded tests took at most one hour for each linguistic form, from the oral instructions till when the tests ended. Questions could be repeated or modified if consultants did not understand. The consultants were allowed only two minutes to answer after each segment of the test was played.

2.3.2.6 The Sample Population

In line with GRIMES, B. (1987), our sample population consisted of ten persons from each of the eight linguistic varieties, making a total of 80 persons. All of them were young educated people from 18 years and above who had very little or no contact with the eight languages under study.

The 80 persons constituted eight groups of 10, representing the eight linguistic varieties under study. Each group participated in seven tests, excluding that of their own native language. Every group was tested separately and at a different period in an environment. The consultants were not allowed to interact with others after the tests.

2.3.2.7 Summary of Results

Generally, the results reveal three kinds of intelligibility: mutual intelligibility, neighbour intelligibility and non-reciprocal intelligibility.

There is mutual intelligibility between Bafut, Agah, Mantaa, and Buwi shown by the scores of 80% - 90%.

There is neighbour intelligibility between Mbakong, Butang and Obang as shown by the scores of 80%.

There is non-reciprocal intelligibility between Bafut, Mbakong, Butang and Otang as shown by the range of scores between 00-80 %.

2.3.3 The Lexicostatistics Method

In applying the Lexicostatistical Techniques developed from the basic assumptions, the steps are: collecting of comparable wordlists from the relatively stable core vocabulary, determining the probable cognates; computing the time depth; computing the range of error; and, optionally, computing the dips.

2.3.3.1 Procedure

Lexicostatistic studies comprise several stages divided into three phases.

a) The preparatory Phase

- The choice of approach and the first contact concerns many activities which are consecutive and simultaneous. That is, choosing the goal and the perspective of studies.

- It is good to know the area of studies and be familiar with the socio-cultural milieu. This consists of a pilot investigation to collect samples of words asked from consultants or based on a questionnaire.

The elaboration of questions is based on a questionnaire of reference which could be:-

-100 – 200 words like those of SWADESH, M. (1950)

-120 – 150 words like those of ALCAM (1983)

-300 words like those of Grassfields Bantu working groups.

- The choice of consultants is important because the collection of data is done with people chosen among speakers of the language or dialect.

b) The investigation phase

- The choice of a language which is well understood by the consultant and the researcher himself/herself.

- The list of words is dictated to be eventually translated.

- The translated words are transcribed using phonetics.

- The determinant and grammatical morphemes are identified.

c) The Treatment and Analysis phase

- Giving judgement on data collection by appreciating resemblances and differences depending on the perspective chosen and in relation to the functioning of the goal to attain.

- Diachronic perspective: putting together the overall regular correspondences identified.

- Synchronic perspective: putting together the degree of phonetic similarities.

- Types of judgement of words compared.

   i) Cognates or not cognates.

   ii) Cognates or not/some probable cognates or not.

   iii) Cognates or not, and do they have phonetic similarities or not?

   iv) Total similarities, partially total, weak or nothing.

   v) Combination of the first and the fourth possibilities and calculation of the percentage.

$$\frac{number\ of\ cognates}{total\ number\ of\ words}$$

It entails the calculation of the percentage of cognates found. The varieties found are compared two by two and words are compared two by two and one by one.

- The matrix of similarities.

The methods of statistic calculation of similarities are placed on a table of double entry.

- Classification hierarchy.

The closer varieties are put together and the distant varieties are put further away.

d) Evaluation of the Method

- Evaluation of principles.

The techniques used for the phonetic resemblances or phone-static. G. Simons (1983) affirms that if lexical resemblance is above 60%, there is high intelligibility. But below 60% intelligibility is low.

To GRIMES, J. (1988), low intelligibility is due to differences in syntactic, morphologic and semantic aspects of the word.

e) Evaluation of Results

The inter-comprehension which Lexicostatistics presents on the basis of lexical similitude between varieties compared is simply previewed.

To evaluate results several parameters must be used: linguistic, psychological and sociological factors.

The researcher's judgement can vary from one linguist to the other when one takes into consideration the quantity of the variety compared and the extension of their geographical distribution.

2.3.3.2 Comparison and quantification of lexical data.

In our study, the comparison and quantification of lexical data was done by determining the percentage of common words in two linguistic varieties to decide whether they belonged to two dialects of the same language. Our comparison was limited to the eight linguistic varieties of the Bafut Fondom, namely: - Bafut, Buwi, Butang, Mantaa, Mbakong, Obang Otang and Agah. The Agah people speak Beba, officially stated as a variety of Bafut on ALCAM (1983). Through comparison, we will be able to regroup them as dialects of the same language or different languages of their own. This will be the basis on which to justify our analysis.

From the list of 200 and their plural forms, transcribed words from each variety which are found in the annex of this study were compared two by two and with the same attitudes so as to facilitate the attribution of the value of the degree of semblance. To be close to the realities of the field, we considered that there could be five degrees of semblance: 0, 0.25, 0.50, 0.75 and 1. The rates of attribution were as follows:

- The value 0 was attributed to a couple of words that have no resemblance at all.

- The value 0.25 was attributed to a couple of words which are highly different in the phonemes of the radical, for example, atuhu = atihu.

-The value 0.50 was attributed to two forms which represent probable similarities but have two phonetic differences. They could be phonemes that are slightly different or there could be a morphological difference in the suffix or the two forms compared. They should have the same composition and the same order of consonant root (for example gtan =ktan).

- The value 0.75 quantifies forms with partial similarities. That is, the phonetic difference between the phonemes is quite close and could be just in articulation like affricative/fricative, nasal/oral, voiced/voiceless. For example, be/pe.

- The value 1 quantifies a total of identical similarity. This is no difference at all or it is just a minimal degree phonetic difference as in vowels. Example :i/e, ə/a, u/o. They are generally considered null, example fa/fua.

The differences in this context can also be conditioned by alveolar consonants like ts, dz, s, z and palato-alveolar consonants like t/dz, z which are conditioned by the vocalic environment.

Sequences with labialized posterior consonants, followed by an unrounded vowel, are equivalent to those with posterior consonant followed by rounded vowels. Example: kwa/ko.

The treatment of tone will also facilitate our understanding of assignment of indices in the Lexicostatistic Method since we are dealing with tonal languages. Tonology refers to the ways in which tone relates to segments and other auto segmental phenomena. Here, we looked at the tonological processes that influence meaning:

-Tone ducking: it involves an underlying floating tone (L or H) becoming associated with a vowel in order for it to be phonologically realized. Examples: átú or átù =àtû

- Tone spread: it is a tonal derivation from the underlying level to the surface level in the language. Examples: àtsə̀'ə̀ = ǹtsə́'ə́

- Tone raising and lowering: it deals with tone assimilation that do not involve the spreading of all tone features like in the previous example but rather on only a part of these features. Examples: ilàŋ = óǹɑ́ŋ

- Final lengthening as questions marker: it is a very productive process in question formation in the languages of Lower Bafut. Examples: (statement) giə̂ = giə́ (question)

Note should be taken that comparison was based on the roots of the words and we considered the role of tones so as to be more accurate in value attribution.

After using the distribution criteria for the different values, we then illustrated the application of these values to some 10 items chosen from our corpus and transcribed in all the linguistic varieties concerned. The method used in choosing these words is random sampling from different areas like parts of the body, food, utensils, clothes, illness, movements and family. These words are also frequently used in the various speech forms.

The analysis of the lexicostatistic method was done with the aid of the software ELAN. The words of the different varieties were regrouped under apparent cognates. Apparent cognates were based on phonetic resemblance. We then calculated the percentages of apparent cognates between every list of words and present the results in a matrix of percentages.

The matrix of differences was done by adding the values of the variances and subtracting them from their corresponding values of the matrix of percentage to give a series of values.

If the percentage of similarities in vocabulary is above 60%, then they are dialects of the same languages, but if the percentage of similarity is less than 60% then they are distinct languages of their own. (SIMONS, G. 1983).

2.3.3.3 Preparation for the recording of the wordlists

At the scene of an event, we put on our Zoom H1 Hand recorder and set it on a tripod, then placed it on a table or an elevated area, at the centre of the activity. We could also hold the recorder in one hand if it was for the recording of interviews from individuals.

For the camcorder, we held it in one hand supported on the shoulder, and moved it round to scenes of performances.

a) **Audio Recording with Zoom H1 Hand Recorder**
   Workflow
   - Press power button on the left side of the recorder.
   - Press record button and red lights to blink.
   - Press record button a second time for red light to shine and indicate it is recording.
   - Record Level indicates the sensitivity of the microphone from 0-10. One may set it depending on how far one wants the microphone to capture, but it is advisable to set it on an average level so as not to keep changing levels.
   - Press the play button to play what has just been recorded.
   - Use speakers or earphones to listen to the quality of what has been recorded.
   - Upload or transport to computer.
   - Name the file.
   - Write metadata on file.
   - Indicate whether access to data is open or prohibited.
   - Back up data in a hard drive of CD.

93

b) Video Recording with a lens-hood Camcorder

Workflow

This type of camcorder has an UV-filter, lens cap and a shoulder strap.

- Place camcorder on a tripod with correct plates.

- Separate charger to be able to charge the spare battery while using the camera.

- Camcorder setting: set the white balance in order to get accurate images.

- The video camera can be interchanged with picture camera.

- Use external microphone because in-built microphones produce bad quality sound.

- Move camera slowly.

- To zoom, do it manually (zoom is not very important)

- Keep the sun behind you.

- Do not keep camera too close or too far from language consultant.

- Keep camera at the level of your eye.

- Pay attention to the headroom (the space between the top of the card and the head of the person you are filming)

- Start recording.

- Press power button on right side.

- Press button on top left to switch between moods; photographs or video.

- When in the video mood, press OK to start recording.

- Before you start recording, make a CLAP so that SOUND and ACTION will be synchronized and you export SOUND and IMAGES differently into ELAN.

- To stop recording, press OK

- Press middle left button to pause.

- Press top left button to take a picture while recording

- Write metadata on paper and fill it or just say it before you start filming but make sure you meet with time before event begins.

- Do a continuous time recording without pausing of breaking till end of session.

- Do not reuse a memory card because they are cheap.

- Do not hire a professional film-maker because they have a different perspective from that of a language documenter. For example, they zoom in and out for film making but language documenters do not have to move the camera but place it on a tripod or hold it firmly.

- For spatial information to be well managed, use more than one camera so that one will be focused on the audience and the other on the performance.
- The way you place the microphone and the camera is part of the metadata.
- Record the data as naturally as possible.
- Transport to computer and create a folder for your fieldtrip recordings, so that the moment you start annotation in ELAN, you can find all your files.
- Name the file.
- Indicate access.
- To back up data you can copy it to a folder, a USB stick, in a hard drive CD or DROP BOX.

2.3.3.4 Administration of the wordlists

During the administration of the wordlists, we first read out the word in English and then asked the consultants how they call the word in their language. We also asked if there were other ways of expressing it. If there were different ways in which they call the word, they would say so. The consultants were then asked to pronounce the word three times and we recorded with the Zoom H1 Hand recorder.

2.3.3.5 Timing

For the wordlists, it involved at least five hours of audio-video recordings for each language, of solidarity group activities, artful performances and conversations in natural contexts. All of these were annotated, transcribed, provided metadata and free translation into English.

At least 10% of audio-video recordings provided with annotation of phonological transcriptions and morphological analysis using ELAN.

2.3.3.6 The Sample Population

Our sample population consisted of three persons from each of the eight linguistic varieties, making a total of 24 persons. All of them were made up of old men and women who were very competent in their native languages.

2.3.3.6 Results of the Lexicostatistic Method

The analysis of ten words showed that the six varieties (Mbakong, Butang, Obang, Mantaa, Buwi and Otang) spoken in the Bafut Fondom were not dialects of the same language but different languages on their own because their matrices were far below 60%.

The analysis of one hundred words gave rates even far less than those of ten words. They ranged between 20% and 38%. Equally, the analysis of results from the whole corpus revealed, that is, those of ten words and one hundred words ranged from 11.25% to 27%.

From the forgone analysis, we can conclude therefore that the results got from the analysis of all the 200 words are weakest. Those got from 100 words are weaker than those from 10 words, meaning that the more the words we analyse, the wider the linguistic distances between Bafut, Mbakong, Butang, Obang, Mantaa, Buwi and Otang.

2.3.4 The Ethnographic method

Ethnography is important in language documentation because we do not only describe language but also document language in use. This entails the whole language system; phonetic description which is external and phonemic description which describes internal features of a given language. For example, s and z are different phonemically but are the same phonetically because they have the same features. That is why we need language in use which is the aggregate of the external language system-Etic and the internal language system-Emic. Ethno means culture and Graphy means writing.

2.3.4.1 Techniques of Data Collection

The research was carried out in three phases:

a-The historical reconstruction of the language villages

b- Issues of multilingualism: the MGT results,

c- Naming, solidarity groups and intermarriages.

2.3.4.2 Equipment

The following equipment was used in data gathering:

- an HD Zoom audio recorder
- a laptop
- a smart phone: Samsung Galaxy Grand neo

- an audio player

- a notebook

- batteries

- a battery charger

- writing material

- 3 SD cards of 4G

- Camtel internet modem

- 3 USB sticks

- an extension cable

- 2 earphones

2.3.4.3 Structure of Interviews

- The interviews for the historical reconstruction were oral but guided by written questions. All interviews were audio recorded.

2.3.4.4 Administration of the Questionnaire

The ethnographic questionnaire was subdivided into four parts:

Personal and linguistic details of language consultants,

- Questions on multilingualism issues

- Questions on the histories of the villages

A total number of 43 questionnaires and 07 interviews were administered as follows:

- 26 questionnaires to old men, 2 from each of the 13 villages of Lower Bafut, on the historical reconstruction of these villages.

- 12 questionnaires on multilingualism issues

- 05 questionnaires on naming

- 07 oral interviews on solidarity groups and intermarriages.

2.3.4.5 Population Distribution

For the historical reconstruction of the language villages, a total number of 50 people were interviewed and the gender distribution was as follows: 30 males and 20 females. The age

distribution of the male consultants ranged from 26 to above 90 years, while that of the female consultants ranged from 35 to above 85 years.

2.3.4.6 Results

From the 43 questionnaires and 07interviews we administered, interesting results were revealed.   The questions on the histories of the villages revealed that they have one origin which is Widikum, and they moved to different destinations before coming to settle at their present sites in Lower Bafut.

The questions of issues on multilingualism: naming and inter-marriages, reveal an in-depth of motivations of multilingualism coming as a result of friendship, trade, secrecy, family ties and education.

2.3.5 The Matched-Guise Experiment (MGT)

LAMBERT (1959) initially developed the MGT to capture manifestations of essentialist language ideologies among English and French speakers in Canada. What we have done is new; we have adapted the tool to also capture non-essentialist ideologies.

In our sociolinguistic pre-survey the administration of the questionnaire, enabled us to choose people who claimed to be multilingual to speak a passage, first in their L1 and then in their L2 and then L 3. These readings were then recorded and made to be listened to by a sample population of the study. Questions were asked to those who have listened to the three readings. The questions are on: morality, social status, prosperity, honesty and fluency.

From the multilingual consultants chose those who were competent and fluent in the target languages, and asked to speak on the topic in the three different languages while the researcher recorded them on three different tapes. These tapes were made to be listened to by another person who was not aware that it was the same person speaking. After listening they were asked to give the character traits of the speaker. From their opinions we then knew whether their judgments were based on essentialism or indexicality. In all, 36 people were administered the experiment: 04 speakers, 02 judges and 30 listeners.

2.3.5.1 Goals of the Matched–Guise Experiment

- To find out whether essentialism and indexicality are phenomena of both urban and rural areas.
- To find out which of the two is more projected in the rural area
- To bring out the ideas that run through people's minds when a language is spoken.
- To test language attitudes indirectly.

2.3.5.2 Research Question

- How do the concepts of essentialism and indexicality apply in a rural context of multilingualism?
- Are there essentialist traits on the part of the local language ideology concerned with local languages?
- Otherwise stated: do people choose to speak one or the other language present in their repertoire because they think that by using that language they will automatically be perceived by hearers as possessing certain desirable personal and moral qualities?

2.3.5.3 Procedure

An audio recorder was used to record voices speaking first in one language, then in another and then in a third. Listeners unaware that the speech samples were from the same person were made to judge the three or more guises of the same person as separate speakers.

There were three sets of consultants: speakers, listeners and judges.

- The speakers were those who interpreted the text into three or more languages.
- The listeners were those who listened to the tapes and then gave the personal traits of those who spoke the languages they listened to.
- The judges were those who assessed the degree of similarity in linguistic performances between the selected speakers and a native speaker.

The work was carried out in three phases: the first phase was a sociolinguistic pre- survey of the speech communities; the second was the administration of an ethnographic questionnaire and interviews, and the last was the administration of the MGT.

2.3.5.4 First Phase: Pre- Survey

Phase I: Administration of the MGT Questionnaire

A- The Speakers

The MGT questionnaires were administered to multilingual speakers of more than three local languages in addition to Pidgin English, English and French. The questions entailed detailed information about consultant's personal identity, linguistic identity and motivations of multilingualism.

- Identification of speakers of target languages, and administration of questionnaires in Mbakong market and Mbakong village.
- Pilot recording of the MGT
- Identification of speakers of target languages, and administration of questionnaires in Ndong Market, Ndong village, and Otang village.
- Pilot recording of MGT
- Oral interviews and Conversations.
- Identification of as many speakers as possible because some declined participating for ethical reasons.
- Selection of competent multilingual speakers through a mock rehearsal of speaking the text into the languages they claimed to speak, while judges evaluated their competence and fluency.
- Taking of appointments with all competent multilingual consultants who accepted to participate, following their time schedule.
- Administration of the questionnaires in Tingoh Market.
- Pilot recording of the spoken texts versions by each multilingual speaker in separate tapes.
- Identification of speakers of target languages and administration of questionnaires in Tingoh Market and Tingoh village, Nchoho, Mantaa village and Buwi in Titaisi quarter
- Administration of questionnaire in Mantaa village
- Pilot recording of MGT
- Administration of questionnaire in Butang village
- Administration of questionnaire in Obang village

- Recording of MGT with the first pair of speakers, male and female, at Mbakong Square

- Identification of listeners who were competent and who did not recognize the speakers when they listened to the recorded spoken texts.

- Recording during the interviews and administering the questionnaires to listeners.

- Transportation of recordings into WAV or MP3 files, codification, back-up and filling of metadata

- The main task of the judges was to listen to the tapes and judge the competences, the fluency and the language attitudes of the speakers.

- To identify speakers of more than one language, we asked people who could speak many languages.

- Those people who claimed to speak many languages were made to provide as much raw data as possible and also to speak the texts into the different languages they claimed to speak.

- During the administration of the questionnaires, other multilingual speakers were also identified

- Fluent bilingual or multilingual individuals were identified

- To ensure that they were fluent bilingual or multilingual speakers, they were asked to speak the text orally into the languages they claimed to speak, and judges determined whether they had competence in the language or not.

- Recording of the interviews

- The speakers of the three target languages were 12 in number, irrespective of their native languages, for four best speakers to be chosen for the MGT

- The target languages were: Bafut, Mbakong, and Obang. Since they are languages spoken in a rural area, we intended to find out whether they are used essentially or indexically.

2.3.5.5 Second Phase

B-The Listener

The identification of the listeners was based on the following reasons:

- They were judged to be fluent speakers of those languages they had to listen to.

- Listeners were chosen in the first phase during the pre-survey, but given that villagers know each other just too well, one important factor for selecting the listeners was that they did not recognise the speaker.
- They did not have to know that the speech samples were from one person, else it would affect their judgement.
- The listeners were either educated or old people who were very conversant with the spoken languages of the text.
- The number of listeners was to be at least 30 who could speak or understand the three target languages.

The main task of the listeners was as follows:

- listening to oral instructions.
- listening to texts which had been spoken in other languages and played back so that listeners listened to them, one at a time, then answered the set of four questions on each text.
1. After choosing the consultants, appointments were taken to meet them, especially on the three market days or their cultural holiday because they were available on those days.
2. We worked with them one by one in an isolated environment where there was no sound, wind, human or animal interference.

2.3.5.6 The Third Phase

C-The Judges

- There were three judges for the three target languages, and the criteria for choosing them were competence and fluency in the languages they had to judge.
- They judged the competences, the fluency and the language attitudes of the speakers.
- Some listeners can also have acted as judges.
- It should be noted that the research was qualitative, meaning that it is based on people's personal opinions. A judge who was competent in the Obang language was chosen to judge the fluency of the Obang spoken texts.
- The researcher was competent in Bafut and Mbakong and could also act as a judge to these two languages.
- The judges were educated people who were not necessarily living in the same villages as the speakers and listeners.

2.3.5.7 Population Distribution

A total of 73 consultants were interviewed, and the distribution was as follows: 43 males and 30 females. The total number of speakers was 35, made up of 15 males and 20 females. The total number of listeners was 30 made up of 17 males and 13 females. The age distribution was as follows: male consultants: between 25 and 60 years; female consultant: between 31 and 60 years; and 3 consultants from 70 and above.

2.3.5.8 Target Population

The target population was made up of men and women aged 25 years and above and drawn from any of the seven language communities of Lower Bafut provided they spoke the three target languages. They were native speakers of at list one language and speakers of at least two other languages including English, or pidgin.

The degree of representativeness of the sample population depended on the questions we wanted to ask. We were interested in language ecologies and how they have changed over time. We privileged older people as they were likely to be the last custodians of a disappearing ideology.

We worked with all the villages of Lower Bafut, together with some consultants from Bafut, because we wanted to bring out the theory of essentialism with the Bafut people.

2.3.5.9 Sample Variables

- The target languages were determined by the number of people who claimed to be competent and fluent in three same languages. It should be noted that the three target languages were determined by the 12 consultants who claimed to speak Bafut, Mbakong and Obang fluently.
- Men and women competent in the three target languages, irrespective of their village of origin.
- Not only one family represented a whole village; so this served as a balance in information.
- Once the quarters of each village and their populations were identified, feasibility plans for choosing the population to work with were made; so were the basic features of our desired samples.

2.3.5.10 Distribution of Sample Population of Speakers

The key consultants were selected by the researcher using her socio-cultural background knowledge and enlisting the help of some volunteers. The rest were selected on the basis of the degree of their multilingual competences. The selection was fundamentally conditioned by all the three target languages: Bafut, Mbakong and Obang.

A total number of 12 consultants spoke the texts in the three target languages (Bafut, Mbakong and Obang), and they were recorded.

The sample population distribution was as follows:

- 24 people, (12 men and 12 women), who were competent in the three target languages;
- 16 guise speakers, (08 men and 08 women), who were native speakers of one of the target languages.
- 30 listeners, men and women, who were competent in the three target languages.
- 03 judges who were native speakers of each of the target languages.

2.3.5.11 Instrument of Data Collection

- Written text to be spoken orally in the different languages and recorded on separate tapes.
- Recorded explanations in pidgin prepared by researcher in separate tapes
- A questionnaire of five questions.

Procedure

- The text**,** questions**,** and instructions were prepared before going to the field.
- The questionnaire was administered first. Through it, data collected was relevant to the following.

  (i) A clear and testified view of the language ecology of this area.

  (ii) Identification of good consultants for further phases of research.

- A pre-selection of multilingual speakers who translated the text into the different languages.
- The text was spoken by the language consultants in their native languages, but also in   two or three other languages of their localities.
- The texts had to be rehearsed by the speakers in order to be repeated in the languages they claimed to know or speak.

- A total of 40 consultants (24 main speakers and 16 guise speakers) were administered the questionnaire.
- From the judges' assessment of speakers' fluency in the spoken texts, 04 consultants were retained for the MGT main speakers.
- Therefore, the MGT spoken texts based on the three target languages administered to each of the four main speakers were those used for the Test.
- Administration of MGT recorded spoken texts to listeners at Mbakong Square, first time.
- Administration of MGT recorded spoken texts to listeners at Mbakong Market, first round.
- Administration of MGT recorded spoken texts to listeners at Mbakong Square, second time.
- Administration of MGT recorded spoken texts to listeners at Ndong Market.
- Administration of MGT recorded spoken texts to listeners at Mbakong Square, third time.
- Administration of MGT recorded spoken texts to listeners at Tingoh Market.
- Administration of MGT recorded spoken text to listeners at the Mbakong Market, second round.

2.3.5.12 Distribution of Sample Population of Listeners

- There was a total number of 30 listeners as follows: 15 men and 15 women
- The audio recordings were done in a quiet or closed environment where there were no sound or wind interferences.
- An oral introduction of the exercise was done by the researcher, closely followed by instructions to the consultants
- Each recorded text of three minutes was played twice while the consultant listened carefully and answered the questions orally.
- This same exercise was repeated for each text until all texts were administered.
- The researcher graded the responses of the listeners based on a scale of reference.
- The consultants were interviewed one at a time and for 20 minutes at most.

2.3.5.13 Distribution of Sample Population of Judges

- The total number of judges was three, one coming from each language.

- They listened to the spoken texts and passed their judgments on the competence, the fluency and the attitudes of the speakers.

2.3.5.14 Timing

The Matched-Guise Experiment was carried out on three market days following the calendars of different markets. This timing was important because on these days the inhabitants of the area converge on the market squares to buy and sell.

- First experiment: Mbakong market day.
- Second experiment: Ndong market day.
- Third experiment: Tingoh market day.

2.3.5.15 The MGT Texts: Bush Fire Outbreaks
The MGT Text in English

When you get up in the morning before going to the farm, cook food for your children. After lighting the fire, hide the match in the ceiling so that children will not reach it. When you finish cooking the food, make sure you put out the fire before leaving your house because we are in the dry season and the heat is very oppressive. Even those of you who burn grass in the farms are not allowed to do so. Anyone caught in the act of burning grass will be sanctioned very heavily by the "kwifor".

a) Questions
1. Which language has he/she spoken?
2. Is he/she a native speaker or a non- native speaker?
3. What is your impression about the speaker?
4. What are the personality traits of the speaker?
▪ Is the speaker rude?
▪ Is the speaker proud?
▪ Is the speaker intelligent?
▪ What is the speaker's social status?

a) **Oral Instructions**

- Listen to the tape carefully once and if you have anything to say, say it.

- Then listen to it the second time and then answer the questions that I will pose to you.

- Each text will take three minutes and there will be a five-minute interval before the next reading.

You will only give the answers after the second reading.

2.3.5.16 Results of the Ethnographic Questionnaire

At the end of the Matched-Guise Experiment, the results of our findings were based on motivations of individual, societal multilingualism and language ideology projections.

a) Motivations of Individual and Societal Multilingualism

Motivations for speaking the native language ranged from a sense of belonging to privacy, secrecy, rituals, security and feeling of authority.

- Motivations for speaking other native languages included inter-marriages, insecurity, friendship, travelling, and trade.

- Motivations for speaking foreign languages, e.g. English, French, and Pidgin were: education, religion, trade, living in urban centers and inter-marriages.

b) Motivations of Multilingualism

Multilingualism is a societal phenomenon in Lower Bafut, the main reasons being language contact, high rates of intermarriages, most men being polygamists, high rates of divorce, child-naming, and solidarity group activities.

2.4 Language Documentation method

In this section, we present the multimedia documentation of a language in ethnography which required the best practices of multi-media recording with HD cameras and recorders. Digital technology was used to create corpus of annotation and translation of speech data into audio and video format and a metadata. All of these depended on the type of communicative events and the sites of performances.

The data was then recorded, analysed and the structural corpora built, using the platform of FLEX, ELAN and ARBIL. Subsequently, the data was transmitted through the platform of LAMUS onto the digital archives ALORA and ELAR where it could be consulted online by other researchers worldwide.

2.4.1 Objectives

- To build capacities in methods of endangered languages documentation.
- To enhance good practices in data gathering on the field, and analyses using digital tools and equipment.
- To ensure safety of data by naming, backing up, making metadata entries, and storing in a digital archive so that it is available online to researchers all over the world.

2.4.2 Techniques of Data Collection

The multi-media documentation approach used digital technology to create corpus of annotation and translation of speech data into audio and video format. These technologies were used in recording, processing and archiving of data. This includes the following important steps in data treatment and storage:

a) Naming of file.

b) Backup of file.

c) Metadata of language consultants.

d) Access open or closed

2.4.3 Recording Equipment and Storage Media

The following were the recording equipment and storage media used. They were convenient in application, accurate in calculations, cost-effective and low on energy, given situations of high and low voltage or use of external batteries.

- An HD camera recording in MPEG4/H264/AVCHD with built-in flash memory, movable memory card or hard drive. It was tropicalized; it resisted rain and dust and also had a double microphone.
- The HXRNX70 video camera used for documentary film making was good for recording group performances.

- The audio recorder, zoom H4N produces excellent quality in compact size. It was used for translation sessions. The audio recorder together with the camcorder were used for open air performances involving a group of people.

- The short-gun microphone was mounted on the boom pole and the wireless was connected to the recorder to ease mobility.

- The CF or SD memory card of 16 gigabits was good for long hour performances. It could memorize for up to 4 hours.

- The clad cards were used to minimise wind interference during recording.

- The external USB-powered CD-DVD writer Samsung SE-SO84F was used for copying selected parts of our documentary material on CD and DVD.

- A stand-by generator was used for stand-by power during recording, in case of power failure. It was also used fully at site of performance where there was no electricity at all.

- The splinters were used to divide current in case of more than one recording at a time.

- The XLR cable was used to connect recorder and microphone where necessary.

- The portable laptop was used as immediate jotter and storage of information in the field and for compiling and analysing data at home.

- The antivirus was installed in the laptop to prevent viruses from destroying vital information of the study.

- The purchase and shipping of equipment was done abroad.

- Note should be taken that, before starting a project, the structure for your files should be made: articles, audio files, video files or transcriptions. For every recording session, the researcher has to make sure his/her equipment is in good condition by setting and testing it.

2.5 Methodology of Language Documentation

In documentary linguistics, data is the focus, so for it to achieve this goal, data must be collected from natural linguistic practices of a speech community. The expected outcome will be for a broader use by linguists, interdisciplinary researchers and members of the said speech community.

This study will be shaped by recordings done during natural occurrences of linguistic and cultural practices of the community, followed by a metadata description that complement data

reflecting negative and positive behaviour from varied methods, irrespective of the choice, sex, age and status of speakers.

Consequently, the specific outcome from the practical example will be realised uniquely from what occurs in the community and not from assumptions or generalised theories.

Therefore, the documentary method will serve two purposes:

- Provide the data base for vocabulary building in in the languages of Lower Bafut.
- Capture natural occurrences of the language use as comprehensively as possible

Using multi-dimensional methods of linguistic data collection in a field based documentary research illustrates how maps have an influence on the insights. Researchers can obtain from them, and to explore how different types of data contribute jointly to provide insight into the structure of a language, the linguistic situations of its speakers and their repertoires.

2.6 Communicative Events

The types of communicative events result from different methods of data collection.

2.6.1 Observed Communicative Events (OCE)

Since songs and dances are mostly performed by groups, documenting them will require the use of a professional audio technical lapel microphone and hyper cardioids rode NTG-2, a rode video microphone and cardioids rode M3. Here, the only influence of the researcher is dealing with their presence.

2.6.2 Staged Communicative Events (SCE)

They come in between stage event and elicitation. They are prompted or staged for linguistic purposes, but often use non prompts such as pictures, video clips that language consultants are asked to sort or describe, or games they are invited to play and describe. They owe their existence to the research work and hence do not constitute speech events in the sense of HYMES (1972). Their linguistic structure is less likely to be directly influenced by the research than that of elicitation.

For open air celebrations that involve three to twenty-five individuals and the population surrounding the stage and interacting with the performers, it requires a 2-channel high quality recorder and camcorder, fixed at the tripod and at a panoramic position. The former will be connected to two microphones, a short-gun M3 or NTG-2 and one lapel microphone mounted on a

boom pole. A wireless microphone will be connected to the recorder to ease mobility and the camcorder with its built-in stereo microphone and Rode video microphone mounted on it will be used by a held assistant to capture the most comprehensive sound cape.

2.6.3 Elicitations (E)

It is a communicative event heavily influenced linguistically and it is only created for the sake of research, such as wordlists, paradigms or tales.

Elicitations need to be done in a controlled setting. Also, there is use of a camcorder fixed on a tripod pointing at the main speaker and capturing environment sound cape. Then uninterrupted audio recording will be made using only hyper cardioids microphones.

2.7 Data Analysis and Storage

Both audio and video files are annotated phonologically and morphologically and translated into English using ELAN.

The whole documentation is stored in external discs and stocked in libraries like those of SIL and University of Yaounde 1 and CAPTAL. Full backup will be stored in ALORA and ELAR.

2.8 Standard Naming of Files

a) First three letters of each genre

INT- Interviews

VIS- Visual stimuli

QUE- questionnaire

ART- Artful display

FRE- Free Speech

PUB- Public Speech

b) Standard Naming Order

The standard naming of files follows this order.

Project Title_ Place of Research_ ISO of Language_ Researcher Initials_ Questionnaire No_ Year-Month-Day_ File Extension.

- Project Title = KPAAM-CAM
- Place of Research = Lower Bafut (LB)

- International Standard Organisation (ISO) = Variety of language.

- Researcher = Chenemo Margaret (CM)

- Questionnaire No = Q No.

- Date = Year -Month – Day.

- File Extension = MP3, WAV, PAPER.

c) Practical Examples of File Naming.

KPAAM-CAM_LB_Agah_CM_Q001_2015-04-01.MP3

KPAAM-CAM_LB_Otang_CM_Q003_2015-04-01.MP3

KPAAM-CAM_LB_Obang_CM_Q027_2015-04-10.WAV

KPAAM-CAM_LB_Butang_CM_Q049_2015-04-17.MP3

KPAAM-CAM_LB_Mbakong_CM_Q040_2015-04-15.MP3

KPAAM-CAM_LB_Mantaa_CM_Q030_2015-08-09.MP3

KPAAM-CAM_LB_Buwi_CM_Q005_2016-04-11.MP3

KPAAM-CAM_LB_Bafut_CM_Q006_2016-04-13. Paper

2.9 Metadata

Metadata refers to the additional information appended to a primary information source such as video, audio, photo, or text. The purpose of metadata is to facilitate the management of the primary information asset. Metadata is very relevant in information retrieval from a collection of data sets. It provides entries into the information about data, and makes data easily searchable. Metadata description includes all the relevant details of identification of position of speaker in the kinship linage, using ARBIL. It also includes the mapping of settlements, geographical features that influence the choice of ritual sites and ceremonial grounds. This makes part of the geography of the area under study which will be developed by a cartographer using a GPS receiver.

Table 1: Metadata Template Design

Fieldtrip	Session	Actors	Device	Sociolinguistic Q
Fieldtrip Reference	Fieldtrip Reference	Full Names	Device name	Name of Researcher
Fieldtrip timeframe	Session name	Code	Device full model name	Date of research
Fieldtrip goals	Session title	Language description		Place of research
No of files	Session date	Year of Birth		Name of file
Types of files	Session Description	Sex		Questionnaire No
No of ELAN files	Location or Country	Education Level		Name of consultant
No of files with complete metadata	Location Address	Contact name		Date of birth
Data last backed-up	Actors and Role	Contact Address		Occupation

Table 2: A Practical Example of Metadata

	FIELDTRIP						
Fieldtrip Reference	Fieldtrip Timeframe	Fieldtrip Goals	No of files	Type of files	No of ELAN Files	No of files with complete metadata	Date of last data back up
CM-FT 1	1-25 Aug 2013	Sociolinguistic Q, GGA and RTT	70	Audio	10	70	2/9/2013
CM-FT 2	1-30April 2014	MGT Tests and wordlist	73	Audio and video	12	73	5/5/2014
CM-FT 3	1-25Aug 2015	Ethnography Q	27	Audio	O3	27	8/9/2015
CM-FT 4	10-20April 2016	Motivations of	10	Audio	02	10	4/6/2016

		Multilingualism					
SESSIONS							
Fieldtrip Reference	Session name and date	Session title	Session description	Location/ Country	Location address	Actors	Role
CM-FT 1	**KPAAM-CAM-CM-Obang1-2/8/2013**	**SociolinguisticQ, GGA and RTT**	GGA in Obang	**NW Cameroon**	Anabam, Obang	Job	Teacher
CM-FT 2	**KPAAM-CAM-CM-Mbakong2-6/4/2014**	**MGT Tests and wordlist**	MGT spoken texts in Mbakong	**NW Cameroon**	**Ebafong, Mbakong**	Elizabeth	Farmer
CM-FT 3	**KPAAM-CAM-CM-Agah3-08/4/2015**	**Ethnography Q**	History and geography of Agah people	**NW Cameroon**	Ndong, Agah chief palace	Chrisantus	Traditional Chief
CM-FT 4	**KPAAM-CAM-Buwi4-11/4/2016**	**Motivations of Multilingualism**	Multilingualism in Buwi	**NW Cameroon**	Nchum, Bafut	Gladys	Farmer
ACTORS							
Full names	Code	**Language description**	**Year of Birth**	Sex	**Education Level**	**Contact name**	**Contact Address**
Che Job Nya	QCM58	Native of Obang, speaks Bafut ,English, Pidgin	1945	M	O/level	Job	Anabam ,Obang
Ngwadum Elizabeth	QCM29	Native of Makong, Speaks Bafut,obang,Buwi	1962	F	FSLC	Elizabeth	Ebafong Mbakong
Nfonteh Chrisantus	QCM19	Native of Agah,Speaks Bafut,Mundum,Ot	1974	M	FSLC	Chrisantus	Ndong Agah chief palace

114

		ang					
Manteh Gladys	QCM37	Native of Buwi, speaks Bafut,Ob ang,Mant aa	1983	F	FSLC	Gladys	Ndansuh , Buwi

DEVICE							
Device Name	Device full name and model						
ZoomH1h and recorder	H1 N2609Z49 4						
Samsung Galaxy	GT-19060						

SOCIOLINGUISTIC Q							
Name of Researche r	**Date of research**	**Place of research**	Name of file	**Questionn aire No**	**Name of consult ant**	Date of birth	**Occupat ion**
Chenemo	02/8/2013	Anabam, Obang	**KPAAM-CAM-QCM58-Obang1-2/8/2013. MP3**	QCM58	Job	1945	Teacher
Chenemo	06/4/2014	Ebafong, Mbakong	**KPAAM-CAM-QCM29-Mbakong 2-6/4/2014. MP3**	QCM29	Elizabe th	1962	Farmer
Chenemo	08/4/2015	Ndong Square	**KPAAM-CAM-QCM19-Agah3-08/4/2015 .MP3**	QCM19	Chrisan tus	1974	Traditio nal ruler
Chenemo	11/4/2016	Mbakong market	**KPAAM-CAM-QCM37-Buwi4-11/4/2016 .MP3**	QCM 37	Gladys	1983	Farmer

- Avoid selecting the highest node because it could bar other researchers from working.
- Select only the lowest node and mobilise, and after working, submit so that other researchers will be able to find it.

2.9.1 Sessions

They are something very specific to the place where the data was collected. For example, if you interviewed five people in one place, this would be five sessions depending on the actors present.

A session consists of:

- Name
- Title
- Date
- Description
- Location: Continent
- Location: Country
- Location: Region
- Location: Address
- Name of Quarter and consultant
- Multilingual Speaker Profiling

2.9.2 Researcher

- Right click on Content
- Click on view selected and start filling out the content
-Speaking a text
-Questionnaire
-Question and answer
-Dialogue
-Face to face
-Speech
-State in the metadata whether the data was private, interactive, planned, elicited.

2.10 Data

Our research data is categorized under two main headings: elicited data which consists of the questionnaires, interviews, grammar and wordlists and non-elicited data which consists of artful performances, free conversations and public speeches

Figure 4: Categories of data
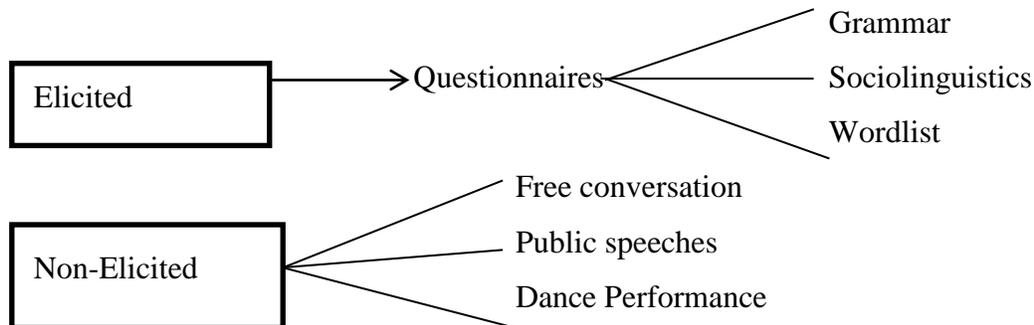
Figure 5: Template for data

```
KPAAM-CAM
│
├── Elicited
│     ├── Questionnaire ──────── Wordlist
│     │                          Sociolinguistic
│     │                          Grammar
│     │
│     ├── RTT ───────────────── Pictures
│     │                          Texts
│     ├── GGA Module ────────── Questions
│     ├── Interviews            Narratives
│     │                          Historical
│     │
│     └── MGT ───────────────── Text
│                                Questions
│                                Answers
│
└── Non-Elicited
      ├── Public
      │   Conversatio ───────── Historical
      │                          Politics
      └── Rituals ───────────── Artful performance
```

118
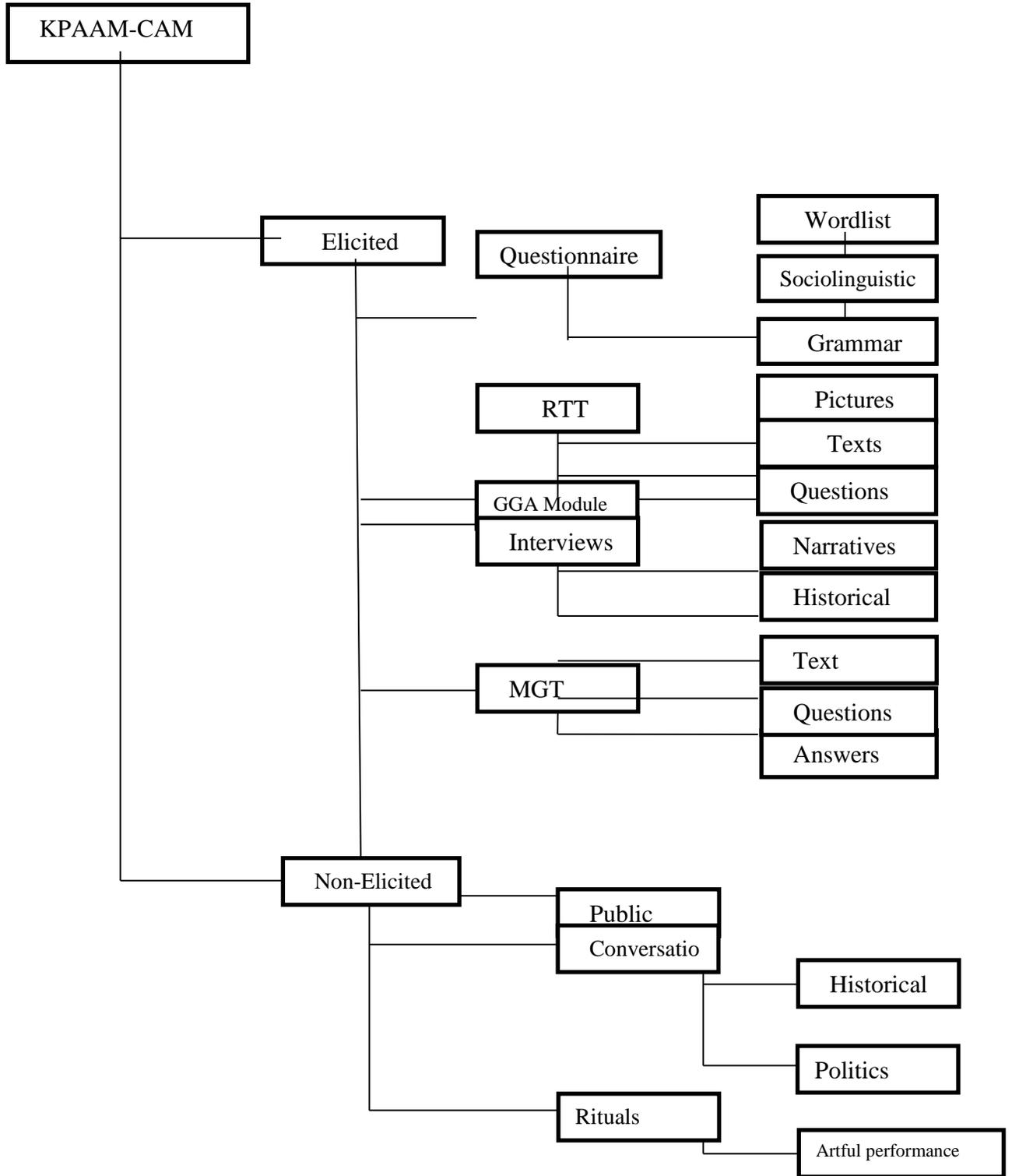
2.11 Soft Wares in Language Documentation

The three soft wares we used in our work are: ELAN, ARBIL and LAMUS.

2.11.1 ELAN

ELAN is the acronym of EUDICO Linguistic Annotator.

Workflow

1-Record

- Video or audio

  1 b-File format

- MP3, Smaller, compressed, suited for linguistic analysis.

1b2 WAV larger, compressed, suited for linguistic analysis, requires a lot of disk space

1c Microphone

1c1 with small recorders, you may choose between internal microphone or external one.

1c2 external microphone SHOTGUN more selective narrow angle; STEREO; two microphones at once.

1d Environment

1d1 if there is wind, the dead cat go closer to the speaker or they go indoor

1d2 if there is rain, postpone activity or use traditional houses but with some care.

Symbolic association is a rule you give to a child who looks exactly the same as the father. The child cannot be smaller than the father or cannot be subdivided. The stereotype that has the same length as father is linguistic association. You have to know the number of tiers you want to have and how many people will go into one tier. Make sure you know what is in your recorder.

2-Test the File

2a in the recorder, earphones

2b in your computer

3. Create the new folder

3a first is the general folder [project, eg CATUC-Bda-Training-Nov2014]

3b DATE-BASED SUB-FOLDER

4. Download the files into the computer: [i.e. into the right subfolder [rename the file but only if there are metadata]

5. Open ELAN

6. File-New-Select Media File [make sure the file format is visible]. = Add to the right Column

Save the file as: choose your principles for naming the file, location and date should always appear, name of annotator is optional, can always be added.

7. Check linguistic type

1. Type- add new linguistic type

1-Father, stereotype none

2-Child, stereotype symbolic association

3-Linguistic analysis, stereotype symbolic subdivision

8. Tier-add new tier

-First consider participants

9. Once you have one complete set of tiers, duplicate it for each of the participants.

File-new-select media file-add

Make sure the file format is visible

Add to right column-ok

1- How many names do I need that all of them get a separate set of tiers? A set of tiers can include from 3 to as many as 10 different tiers. Depending on the kind of work we are doing. Example, linguistic analysis and sociolinguistic interview, the transcription is the father and no one else can be the father.

2- Give a name to the participant [initials]

3- Give a name to the specific tier

4-One tier can be for text transcription

5-One tier can be for free translation ft in different languages or more.

6- One tier can be for comments. Ethnographic details, bibliographical details, experience from recording the event, contextual information, information about gestures.

For linguistic analysis, three tiers are small because we have the transcription, the tone, the morpheme break, and annotation.

You check whether we have the right linguistic type

2.11.2 ARBIL

ARBIL is the acronym of Archives Builder.ARBIL is an application for organizing research data and associating metadata into a format appropriate for archiving. ARBIL is designed so that it can be used offline in remote locations. The data can be entered at any stage in part or as a whole so that when internet connection is available, the existing corpus branches can be downloaded into ARBIL and the resulting work can then be transferred to the main archive via LAMUS.

Workflow

- Table view
- Drag and drop
- Bulk copy and paste
- Multiple undo and redo
- Resource file preview
- Customizable columns
- Can be used offline
- Controlled Vocabulary
- Language code fields
- Repository of reusable
- XLM compliance
- Linked gender and sub gender vocabulary
- Familiar icons from previous editors

2.11.3 LAMUS

LAMUS is the acronym of Language Archives Management Upload System

Workflow

1. Upload Files:

Transfers language resources and IMDI files from your local machine to the archives. At this level; the researcher should be able to give standard names to the files before sending them to the archives.

2. Request Storage:

To make it possible for you to upload files to the archives, corpus management needs to reserve space for it. With this function, you can request the space you require to upload your files.

3. Unlinked Files:

Show the nodes and resources which are not linked into your corpus tree. Uploaded files and unlinked tree nodes are listed here.

4. Submit Workspace:

When the corpus manipulation is finished and the resources are uploaded and linked into the tree, you need to submit this request to ingest the new corpus into the archive. As long as the ingest requested is not submitted, other users will not be able to see your changes.

5. Save and Logout:

Disconnect from LAMUS system. Your current work will be saved for later use. To connect again, you need to log-in at LAMUS home page.

6. Delete Workspace:

Delete the current workspace. All the files in the workspace and the changes you have made will be lost. The archive will not be modified. Your lock on part of the archive will be freed.

7. Help:

Get helpful information about LAMUS

8. About:

Shows your LAMUS info (User ID, workspace ID, request ID, available space and used space).

Menu Options:

The following items are entries from the pop-up menu you get clicking the right mouse button on one of the workspace nodes. The entries in the pop-up menu depend on the type of node you select. It is mentioned with each item of what type of nodes it is an option.

9. View Node (Session/Corpus nodes)

Show the metadata content of a session or corpus file

10. Add Corpus node (Corpus nodes)

Create a new corpus node as a child of the current

2.12 Archiving

There have been some misconceptions about the notion of archives, an accumulation of historical records in a location, accumulation of primary source documents of an individual or organization over a lifetime, or records that have been selected for permanent or long term preservation on grounds of their enduring cultural, historical and evidential value.

Archival records are normally unpublished and almost always unique; unlike books or magazines which exist in many copies. Archives are therefore generally distinguished from libraries with regard to their function and organization.

2.12.1 Training on Digital Archives

To reshape the concept of ARCHIVING in the digital era, an archive can be defined as follows; a digital infrastructure where records are stored, a multimodal source where documents are aggregated to convey information, or records that are made available for large dissemination.

2.12.2 Advantages of Digital Archives

- From conservation to accessibility
- Archives as institutions wield power
- The change from scarcity to abundance
- Digital archives are databases

2.12.3 Challenges of Digital Archiving

- Volume ; Bid data
- Velocity; Speed of accumulation
- Variety ; Mashing up of heterogeneous data
- Validity; amount of bias or noise
- Veracity; Correctness and accuracy
- Validity; persistence and longevity.

2.13 Conclusion

In this chapter we have presented the methodology of data collection, processing and analysis through an ethnographically informed questionnaire, a sociolinguistic questionnaire, the Lexicostatistics, GGA, the RTT and the MGT. We further elaborated on sampling procedure, instruments of data collection, the interviews, the Metadata, as well as introduced language documentation methodology in a situation of language endangerment, using multimedia equipment and a metadata.

We have equally explored methods in data gathering and processing from the communities of Lower Bafut using the platform of ELAN, ARBIL and LAMUS, as well as data storage in the digital archives ALORA and ELAR where it could be consulted online by other researchers worldwide. Chapter three coming up next presents the Global Group Assessment Method.

CHAPTER THREE
THE GLOBAL GROUP ASSESSMENT METHOD

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the evaluation of inter-comprehension between the eight linguistic varieties in the Bafut Fondom namely: Bafut, Mbakong, Butang, Obang, Mantaa, Buwi, Otang and Agah, using the Global Group Assessment Method. The assessment was done through a sociolinguistic survey of the native speakers' attitudes towards speaking their languages and the representation they have of these languages. Seven of the eight linguistic varieties found in the Bafut Fondom are highly concentrated in an area of about 24 square km. These linguistic varieties are mostly spoken in Lower Bafut such that there is hardly any distinction between who speaks what. Inasmuch as the people are quite multilingual, they still hold their linguistic varieties in high esteem and these positive attitudes were the bases of our investigations. From their attitudes towards their languages and the other languages spoken around them, we were able to delimit the number of languages and state their identities as distinct languages.

3.2 Ethical Issues

As earlier mentioned in the general introduction, considering the socio-political structure of Lower Bafut today, we can notice that administratively, the villages of Lower Bafut fall under the Bafut subdivision. This means that all their rights and duties as citizens of Cameroon are recognised in this area of jurisdiction headed administratively by a Divisional Officer and traditionally by His Royal Majesty Abumbi II Fon of Bafut.

Consequently, it was our duty as researchers to seek permission to carry out research in Lower Bafut from these administrative and traditional authorities. This we did through courtesy calls during which we presented our research authorisations from the Department of African Languages and Linguistics, University of Yaounde 1, as well as our reason for going to carry out research there. Accordingly, the customs and traditions of the Bafut people demand that no one, whosoever, should pay a visit to the palace or to the traditional head empty-handed. On that count, we had budgeted for gift items which we offered during our courtesy visits to the D.O, the Fon of Bafut and the chiefs and sub chiefs of Lower Bafut.

The Fon of Bafut received us warmly and greatly appreciated his gift. It should be noted that the Bafut tradition does not permit people without initiation titles to speak to the Fon. Fortunately, the researcher was a title holder and so could speak directly with the Fon; otherwise we would have required the services of an intermediary with extra expenses that such palace protocol entails. At the

end of the visit, he endorsed our request to work in Lower Bafut. He equally sent a verbal message through us to all the chiefs and sub chiefs asking them to authorize us to work there. The message stated thus: "I, Abumbi II, of Bafut, have authorized these Doctoral students from the capital city to carry out research in your villages. Receive them too as I did and also facilitate their work by giving them the right people to work with". We delivered the message and also gifts to every chief and sub chief of Lower Bafut, first thing on our arrival in each village. They were delighted and gave us the information and guidelines on how to go about with our work. Finally, for all language consultants we worked with, there were remunerations depending on length of time and quality of data collected.

3.3 Linguistic orientation

There has been a misleading assumption that the minority languages of Lower Bafut are dialects of Bafut, but this is not true; maybe this is due to the allegiance paid to the Fon of Bafut by these communities. History reveals that a majority of their languages originated from Widikum in Momo Division. If results of intelligibility testing reveal that these languages are not dialects of the same language but different languages of their own, this will create an impact in the linguistic situation of the Bafut Fondom. On the Linguistic Atlas of Cameroon, Bafut is found in Zone 9 and its code is 912. It is classified under the Grassfield-East languages and further regrouped under the Ngemba languages in Bamenda Central. In Lower Bafut, several groups claim to speak distinct languages of different origins; as at now, they are pending identification. However, Obang is officially stated to be one of the six dialects of Befang on ALCAM (1983), and it is spoken as a native language by the eight Obang communities in Lower Bafut, namely:- Tingoh, Nchoho, Okwala, Maghom, Obang, Oshugu, Aguli and Ndong. This brings the total number of Obang native speakers to 15,200 out of the 20,000 inhabitants of Lower Bafut. The Agah people speak Beba which is also stated on ALCAM (1983) as a variety of Bafut. Pidgin is used in Lower Bafut as a lingua-franca.

3.4 The Sociolinguistic Survey

From June to August 2014, a sociolinguistic study was carried out on the language communities of Lower Bafut. The survey was geared toward reassessing CHENEMO (2011) in the degrees of intelligibility and inter-communication among the people of Lower Bafut so as to state whether

these languages are independent languages or varieties of other languages. It aimed at determining the degree of endangerment of these languages and the urgent need for revalorization and revitalization, since they exist only in the oral form.

The methods of the investigation were the following: the sociolinguistic questionnaire, the Global Group Assessment by SADEMBOUO, E. (2008). The Recorded Text Testing by CASAD, E. (1974) and the Lexicostatistics by SWADESH (1950). These methods were used in this work as complimentary measures of inter-comprehension and identification of language units.

3.4.1 Results of the Sociolinguistic survey

The results of the Global Group Assessment by SADEMBOUO, E. (2008) revealed that there was no intelligibility between the languages but there exists inter-comprehension between these linguistic varieties, due to the bilingualism practised by them. Bafut was the most widely spoken language in the Bafut Fondom while Obang came second.

The Recorded Text Testing was applied by using recorded narrative texts or intelligibility tests, elaborated by CASAD, E. (1974). The method sets out to measure how much information passes between two speakers of the languages under study without the help of an interpreter. The results of the Recorded Text Testing proved that the 70 % and above score for the Bafut test was not due to inherent intelligibility but to the one-way bilingualism that exists in this area. Results of Mantaa and Buwi tests prove that these languages are quite intelligible and could be dialects of the same language. Agah results of 70 % and above were due to the fact that they speak Beba which is stated as a dialect of Bafut on ALCAM (1983).

The Lexicostatistics used 200 words like SWADESH (1950). The following steps were used: Collecting of comparable word lists from the relatively stable core vocabulary, determining the probable cognates and computing the rates of similarities and differences between cognates. In all, a 200-word list was collected from the eight languages of the Bafut Fondom, making a total of 1600 words and their plural forms which were analyzed. The results of the Lexicostatistics show that the similarities in vocabulary between Bafut and the six linguistic varieties are lower than 60 % and as stated by SIMONS, G.(1983), this means that Mbakong, Butang, Obang, Mantaa, Buwi and Otang are not dialects of Bafut but distinct languages. Results of Agah were higher than 60 percent, meaning that Beba is a dialect of Bafut.

3.4.2 Language Ideology Revealed by the Sociolinguistic Survey

The sociolinguistic survey reveals the ideologies that the people have about the speech forms, with regard to the fact that they are not dialects of the same language. The GGA and the RTT methods show how multilingualism has led to the ideology above. The Lexicostatistics confirms the reality that the speech forms are really different languages of their own. It should be noted that, comprehension here is not treated as inherent intelligibility but as acquired intelligibility. This is due to the pertinent problem of bilingualism in this situation with the exception of the Agah people who speak Beba, a variety of Bafut. This notwithstanding, native speakers of each linguistic variety are quite conscious of the linguistic peculiarities with which others speak their language. It is thanks to the internal study of language that this ideology was revealed.

From the separate languages emerges a new situation which is multilectal situation in that members of a plurilingual context use their linguistic repertoire as one language in real life situation, and another language in other contexts. This is how the whole ideology is founded, and subsequently revealed in the results of the GGA, the RTT and the Lexicostatistics.

We will be discussing the sociolinguistic survey in three chapters. Chapter three explores an internal investigation of language using the GGA. Meanwhile, chapters four and five are based on an external investigation through the RTT and the Lexicostatistics methods respectively.

3.5 The Global Assessment Method

The method has been known to be the researcher's tool for getting the necessary information that could give a global view of a linguistic and a sociolinguistic situation in a very short time. Even though this method is superficial for a complex sociolinguistic situation, all the pertinent factors are taken into consideration. It emphasizes on the use of none technical but precise instruments as group interviews, individual questionnaires and data on a village trip. Such useful information engenders a general impression of potential need and eventual codification. Results obtained in this first evaluation will be used in other more scientific methods.

Also, the method embarks on a sociolinguistic approach in assessing group opinions about their languages through the following procedures: observation, interviews and questionnaires.
Native speakers generally have a high sense of linguistic variation. This aspect should be expressed publicly while the dialects are regrouped according to their speakers. (LOVING, R.1977).

3.5.1 Identification of Consultants and Languages.

The table below evaluates questions 1-19 on the following: The personal identity of the consultants, the linguistic variety, geographical extension of their language and inter-comprehension between the varieties.

Table 3: Questions 1 – 19: Identification of Consultants and Languages.

Question no.	Subject of question	Negative response	Percent age	Positive response	Percent age	Interpretation
1-7	Identification	10/50	20%	40/50	80%	Majority of the consultants were willing to give their identity.
8-10	Linguistic identity of consultants	00	00	50/50	100%	Everybody could say what language they and their parents speak and situate it.
11-14	Geographical extension of language units	05/50	10%	45/50	90%	Almost all consultants could say in how many villages their languages are spoken
15-19	Evaluation of comprehension	12/50	24%	38/50	76%	Majority of the consultants could say which other languages they understood easily

3.5.1.1   Interpretation of Table 3

a- Questions 1-7 on identification of consultants; 20% of the consultants responded negatively   while 80% responded positively, meaning that a majority of the consultants were willing to give their identities.

b- Questions 8-10 on linguistic identity of consultants; 00% of the consultants responded negatively   while 100% responded positively, meaning that everybody could say what language they and their parents speak, and also situate it.

c- Questions 11-14on geographical extension of language units; 10% of the consultants responded negatively   while 90% responded positively, meaning that almost all the consultants could say in how many villages their languages were spoken.

d- Questions 15-19on evaluation of comprehension; 24% of the consultants responded negatively   while 76% responded positively, meaning that a majority of the consultants could say which other languages they understood easily.

3.5.2 Zone of Inter-Comprehension

Table 4: Zones of Inter-comprehension

Speaker of	Well understood in	Averagely understood in	Not understood at all in	Understands well	Understands averagely	Does not understand at all
Bafut	Bafut, Mbakong, Obang, Butang, Tingo, Buwi, Mantaa.	Otang, Maghom, Osogho, Aguli, Ndong, Nchoho.	//	Mantaa	Buwi	Mbakong, Butang, Obang, Otang.
Mbakong	Mbakong, Butang, Obang.	Tingo, Nchoho, Maghom, Okwala.	Bafut, Otang, Ndong, Aguli, Osogho.	Bafut, Butang, Obang.	//	Buwi, Mantaa, Otang.
Butang	Butang, Mbakong, Obang.	//	Okwala, Mantaa, Buwi, Otang, Ndong, Tingo, Maghom.	Bafut, Butang, Obang, Mbakong.	//	Buwi, Mantaa, Otang.
Obang	Mbakong, Butang, Obang, Nchoho, Tingo, Osogho, Okwala, Maghom, Ndong, Aguli.	Otang, Mantaa, Buwi	Bafut	Bafut	Mbakong	Butang, Mantaa, Buwi.
Mantaa	Mantaa, Buwi.	Bafut	Mbakong, Butang, Obang, Otang, Maghom, Okwala, Ndong, Nchoho, Tingo.	Bafut, Buwi,	Obang	Mbakong, Butang, Obang.
Buwi	Buwi, Mantaa.	Bafut	Mbakong, Butang,	Bafut, Mantaa.	Obang	Mbakong, Butang,

			Obang, Otang, Maghom , Okwala, Ndong, Nchoho, Tingo.			Otang.
Otang	Otang, Ndong.	Aguli	Bafut, Mbakong, Butang, Maghom, Okwala, Ndong, Nchoho, Tingo.	Obang	Bafut	Mbakong, Butang, Mantaa, Buwi.
Agah	Agah, Bafut, Beba	Otang, Buwi, Mantaa. Mbakong	Obang, Butang	Bafut, Otang	Obang	Butang, Mbakong

3.5.2.1 Interpretation of Table 4

From table 4, we realize the following:

Firstly, each linguistic variety is spoken by its native speakers and their closest neighbours.

Secondly, Bafut is understood in all the sites, but the native speakers of Bafut can only understand Mantaa well and Buwi averagely.

Thirdly, Obang is understood in all sites of Lower Bafut.

Fourthly, Mantaa and Buwi are well understood in Mantaa and Buwi, so they could be dialects of the same language.

Fifthly, Mbakong is understood in three sites while Butang and Otang are understood in only two sites each.

The table above presents three types of comprehension and they are: Mutual comprehension, reciprocal comprehension and acquired comprehension.

The figure below gives a clearer representation of the results from the table of Zone of inter-comprehension.

Figure 6: Representation of results from the table of Zone of inter-comprehension

Key

  Total comprehension

  Good comprehension

  Average comprehension

  Acquired comprehension

- - - - - ▶ Non-reciprocal comprehension
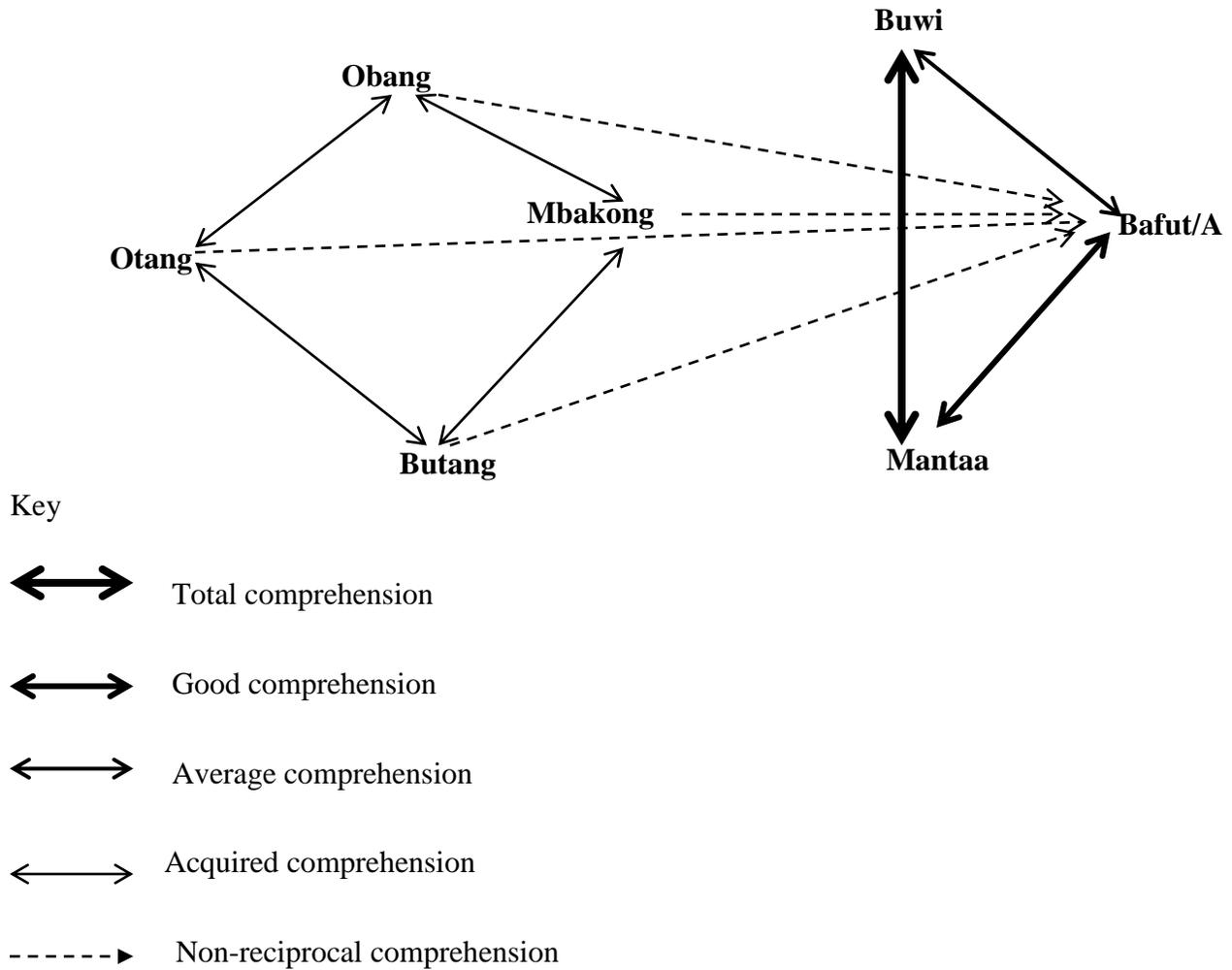
From figure 6 above, we can regroup the varieties as follows: -

- The first group is Mantaa, Buwi, Agah and Bafut. Mantaa, Buwi and Bafut have a good comprehension of each other. Bafut has a mutual comprehension of Agah, and average comprehension of Mantaa and Buwi.

- The second group is made up of Mbakong, Butang, Obang, and Otang. The comprehension that exists between these varieties is not mutual; rather it is acquired due to bilingualism that has risen from extensive contact between these communities. Otherwise, they are singled out as different languages of their own.

The results of our findings were based on the declarations of the native speakers of each linguistic unit and on the sociolinguistic situation of their linguistic variety. The following are the points on which the findings were based:

- The description of the geographical area of each language unit, conforming to that described by their neighbours.

- Evaluation of comprehension between the linguistic varieties identified and cited by this work as found in the geographical area.

- -Description of grouping of the varieties into one or more language units according to the inter-comprehension between them so that, eventually, a writing system could be developed.

3.5.3 Geographical Extension of Linguistic Units

From the geographical extension of language units on the map of the Bafut Fondom by NGWA (2001), we see that the villages that constitute Lower Bafut are Mantaa, Buwi, Tingo, Maghom, Nchoho, Okwala, Mbakong, Butang, Ndong, Osogho, Otang, Agah and Aguli. But in our study, only seven of these villages are investigated, the reason being that Tingo, Maghom, Nchoho, Okwala, Osogho, Ndong and Aguli speak Obang as their native language.

From the results of our interviews, we were able to confirm the fact that these people are native speakers of Obang and they use Obang in all their daily activities.

The table below recapitulates the description of the geographical extension of the linguistic varieties of the Bafut Fondom.

Table 5: Geographical Extension of Linguistic Units

Sites of research *I* Variety	V1	V2	V3	V4	V5	V6	V7	V8
Bafut	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Mbakong	+	+	+	+	--	--	--	--
Butang	+	+	+	+	--	--	--	--
Obang	+	+	--	+	--	--	+	--
Mantaa	+	--	--	+	+	+	--	+
Buwi	+	--	--	+	+	+	--	+
Otang	+	--	--	+	--	--	+	+
Agah	+	--	--	--	--	--	+	+
Tingoh	+	--	--	+	+	+	--	--
Maghom	+	--	--	+	--	+	+	--
Nchoho	+	--	--	+	--	--	--	--
Okwala	+	--	--	+	+	+	--	--
Ndong	+	--	--	+	--	--	+	+
Oshugu	+	--	--	+	--	--	+	--
Aguli	+	--	--	+	--	--	+	--

Note: + indicates the geographical extension to which a language unit is spoken.

- indicates the exclusion of a unit of language in an area.

3.5.3.1 Commentaries

Looking at table 5 above, we notice the following:

- Bafut is spoken both in Upper and Lower Bafut geographical areas.
- Obang is spoken in all of Lower Bafut area
- Mbakong is spoken in Mbakong, Butang and Obang
- Butang is spoken in Butang and Mbakong
- Mantaa is spoken in Mantaa and Buwi
- Buwi is spoken in Buwi and Mantaa
- Otang is spoken in Otang and Ndong
- Agah is spoken in Agah, Beba and Otang

It should be noted that, comprehension here is not treated as inherent intelligibility but as acquired intelligibility. This is due to the pertinent problem of bilingualism in this situation with the

exception of the Agah people who speak Beba, a variety of Bafut. This notwithstanding, native speakers of each linguistic variety are quite conscious of the linguistic peculiarities with which others speak their language.

3.5.4 Evaluation of Comprehension

The table below presents the rates of scores on comprehension of the linguistic varieties within the areas where they are spoken.

Table 6: Evaluation of Comprehension

Sites of research *I* Variety	V1	V2	V3	V4	V5	V6	V7	V8
Bafut	10	00	00	00	7.5	5.0	00	10
Mbakong	9.0	10	7.5	7.5	00	00	00	00
Butang	9.0	7.5	10	7.5	00	00	00	00
Obang	9.0	5.0	10	10	00	00	00	00
Mantaa	10	00	00	7.5	10	9.5	00	5.0
Buwi	9.0	00	00	7.5	9.5	10	00	5.0
Otang	5.0	00	00	8.0	00	00	10	5.0
Agah	10	00	00	5.0	00	00	5.0	10
Tingoh	9.0	00	00	10	7.5	7.5	00	00
Maghom	5.0	00	00	10	00	5.0	5.0	00
Nchoho	7.5	00	00	10	00	00	00	00
Okwala	7.5	00	00	10	5.0	5.0	00	00
Ndong	7.5	00	00	10	00	00	7.5	5.0
Oshugu	5.0	00	00	10	00	00	5.0	00
Aguli	5.0	00	00	10	00	00	5.0	00

3.5.4.1 Interpretation of Table 6

The following remarks can be used to qualify comprehension:

Poor, average, good, very good

0.25 = poor

0.5 = average

7.5 = Good

10 = very good.

To find the global comprehension, we find the arithmetic average of the rates of comprehension of each variant and multiply it by 100 to give the percentage. In this regard, we are not including Maghom, Aguli and Agah because the first two are not found in the Bafut Fondom, while Agah is a dialect of Bafut.

Bafut $= \frac{87.5}{120} * 100 = 72.9\%$

Mbakong $= \frac{22.5}{120} * 100 = \underline{18.8\%}$

Butang $= \frac{17.5}{120} * 100 = \underline{14.6\%}$

Obang $= \frac{88}{120} * 100 = \underline{73.3\%}$

Mantaa $= \frac{34.5}{120} * 100 = \underline{28.8\%}$

Buwi $= \frac{32}{120} * 100 = \underline{26.7\%}$

Otang $= \frac{15}{120} * 100 = \underline{12.5\%}$

Agah $= \frac{40}{120} * 100 = \underline{33.3\%}$

3.5.5 Interpretation of Results.

The table below presents the grades of the linguistic varieties and their sites of comprehension.

Table 7: Grades of Variants and Sites of Comprehension

Grade	Variant	Sites of comprehension
1st	Bafut	Bafut, Mbakong, Butang, Obang, Mantaa, Buwi, Otang, Agah, Tingo, Nchoho, Okwala, Ndong
2nd	Obang	Mbakong, Butang, Obang, Mantaa, Buwi, Otang, Agah, Tingo, Nchoho, Okwala, Ndong, Otang, Osogho.
3rd	Agah	Agah, Bafut, Otang, Ndong, Mantaa
4th	Buwi	Buwi, Mantaa, Bafut, Tingo.
5th	Mantaa	Mantaa, Bafut, Buwi, Tingo
6th	Mbakong	Mbakong, Butang, Obang
7th	Butang	Butang, Mbakong, Obang
8th	Otang	Otang, Ndong

From table 7 above, the following comments could be made:

- Bafut is considered grade 1 variant because it is understood in all the sites of the Bafut Fondom.
- Obang is considered grade two variant because it is understood in all the sites of Lower Bafut, except Bafut.
- Agah is the third variant because it is understood in four sites of the Bafut Fondom.
- Buwi is the fourth variant because it is understood also in four sites of the Bafut Fondom.
- Mantaa is the fifth variant as it is understood in four sites of the Bafut Fondom.
- Mbakong is the fifth variant understood only in three sites of Lower Bafut.
- Butang is the sixth variant understood only in three sites of Lower Bafut.
- Otang is the last variant understood only in two sites of Lower Bafut.

The foregone analysis on the eight languages in the Bafut Fondom has revealed that they are different languages on their own, except Agah, which has been stated as a dialect of Bafut on ALCAM (1983). In the next section we will be discussing proposals on a language policy in Lower Bafut, since the criteria for choosing a dialect reference are not applicable in this linguistic context.

From the analysis of the questionnaire we will be able to come up with suggestions for a language policy in this area.

3.6 Proposal for a Multilectal Literature for Pedagogy.

Linguistic research on Bafut has been in-depth since the promoters of this language developed its alphabet and its writing system.

The issue posed here is rather how to propose a multilectal literature for pedagogic purposes in such a multilinguistic context of Lower Bafut, where the linguistic units are independent entities.

Our objective in this section therefore is to determine from our results of Lexicostatistics, RTT and G.G.A, which of the seven linguistic varieties could be proposed for scrutiny.

From the varieties projected by the results of our investigation, we could then determine a variety which suits the criteria of choice of reference.

The results of G.G.A from the questionnaire beginning from question 13 reveal the degree of inter-comprehension between the different linguistic varieties. Question 8 reveals the geographical extension of a variety and question 15 reveals a probable variety of reference.

From the results firstly, Bafut is the most widely spoken variety in Bafut as well as Lower Bafut. Secondly, Obang is spoken in all the villages of Lower Bafut.

We have already come to terms with the fact that the linguistic varieties in Lower Bafut are not dialects of the same language but different language units. We have also been able to prove from results of the various methods that two varieties: Bafut and Obang, are widely used in this area.

Since the criteria for choosing a dialect reference are not applicable in this linguistic context, we were able to come up with suggestions for a language policy in this area.

The following were the suggestions we made:

- Bafut be taught in schools.
- Obang be taught in schools.
- The other language units should be promoted otherwise.

Table 8: Analysis of Questions 20-22

Varieties	Consultants of all varieties' judgement on variety easily understood and spoken	Percentage
Bafut	40/50	80%
Mbakong	12.5/50	25%
Butang	8/50	16%
Obang	35/50	70%
Mantaa	15/50	30%
Buwi	10/50	20%
Otang	5/50	10%
Agah	20/50	40%

Interpretation of table 8

Table 8 above presents the different varieties, the consultants' judgements on which variety is easily understood and spoken, and their percentages.

Looking at the rates of favourable responses we realise the following: -

Bafut is the most favourable variety with 80%.

Obang is the more favourable variety with 70%.

The rest follow thus: Agah-40%, Mantaa-30%, Mbakong 25% Buwi 20%, Butang 16%, Otang 10%.

On the whole, we see that the two varieties which can be used as standard varieties are Bafut and Obang. But the question remains; will the native speakers of the other varieties easily accept these two varieties to be used as standard references, since the tendency is for one to choose one's own proper language for reference?

At this point, consultants were asked to give their points of view if the language they would want added to their native languages be written and taught in schools?

3.7 Standardization

Standardization consists of identifying and establishing a unique written form of a language. There are some guiding principles of written communication which include other speakers of the language. This form, once established, will be the most concurrent of the others. It will hence forth be the official language that could be taught to everybody including foreigners who want to

communicate in writing in that language. It will be the communal language to which everybody will refer. That is why we call it the reference form. Its unique nature notwithstanding, it will maintain its relationship with the other oral forms of the language.

In fact, standardization uniformizes the written form but not the spoken form. Every user, by conforming to the norms of the written standard, could continue to speak according to his variant of origin, that which was used before his contact with the written form. Remember that in the process of language acquisition, oral precedes written (SADEMBOUO, E., 2001)

The issue of writing proves to us that to establish a standard form of a language, many procedures have to be followed.

3.7.1 Standardization by developing a new written form different from the existing oral forms

This is done through the realisation of a synthesis of the variants spoken. This written form proposed is consequently unknown to the speakers. It sounds artificial and prevents them from being attached to the language as a natural or first language speaker (SADEMBOUO, E., 1980). He equally adds that this could well be complemented with that of adopting one of the existing forms.

Above the principles which guide the adoption of this reference form or variant, there could be divergences in the fact that the choice could be arbitrary or discriminatory, imposed or consensual, subjective or objective, solitary or communal. In all the cases these types of standards remain the natural form of the language (SADEMBOUO, E.,1980).

3.8 Evaluation of the dynamism of a language

To evaluate the dynamism of each language, consultants were asked to say how related their languages were to others.

3.8.1 Analysis of question 24

This question helped us to evaluate what the people of Lower Bafut intend to do with their languages as far as their evolution and development are concerned.

The questions we asked were: Do they have local agencies and committees for the development of their languages and cultures which will study the factors that promote the growth and development of their languages? Do they have sufficient funds to finance the language projects if researchers get interested in their languages?

The answers to these questions were very unsatisfactory. No initial step had been taken by the speakers of each variety to develop it.

From the unsatisfactory answers given in relation to the development of the linguistic situation in Lower Bafut, it becomes obvious that these languages may be on the verge of dying out, following the UNESCO criteria for endangered languages.

3.9 UNESCO Criteria for Endangered Languages.

One of UNESCO's objectives is to promote the development of languages and cultures in the world. Linguistic studies on the revitalization of languages reveal that all languages without exception are dying out in various degrees. This decline is gradually leading to extinction at short term for some languages and at long term for others.

Listed below are the UNESCO criteria for the revitalization of endangered languages:

- Radio broadcasting: for endangered languages to be revitalized, they must be broadcast on local and national radios of the communities in question.
- Lingua Franca: languages with greater social functions such as commerce and religion will resist being extinct.
- Music: languages that are used in playing music are propagated.
- Standardisation; languages with spoken or written standard forms have less risk of dying out.
- Taught in schools experimental: endangered languages should be taught in schools.
- Alphabetisation: alphabets of undocumented languages should be created and books written on those languages.
- Religion: endangered languages should be used in religion and oral traditions.
- Number of speakers: isolated languages or languages spoken by less than 1000 speakers have a high risk of dying out. Therefore, the more the number of speakers, the more revitalized the language will be.
- Bilingualism: languages used in a bilingual setting but with a disadvantage to their neighbouring languages are likely to be endangered.

BITJA'A, K. (2004) presents three situations of endangered languages in Cameroon:- languages with limited danger of extinction, languages with great danger of extinction and languages on the verge of extinction.

BITJA'A, K (2004) also presents the linguistic image of Cameroonian languages on the verge of gradual disappearance. He identifies some of the social factors which accelerate the disappearance of Cameroonian languages as: the official bilingual policy, the audio-visual media, urbanisation and rural exodus, and interethnic marriages. He concludes that all existing languages have a life-span situated on a determinable point on an axis. The axis could be on a positive pole or a negative pole.

As far as this study is concerned, the linguistic varieties of Lower Bafut fall under languages on the verge of extinction. These languages do not have any social function; they are used neither in radio programs nor in modern music. They have no alphabet and are not taught in schools. Some have less than 1000 native speakers; they are used only orally in religion and in a bilingual situation with neighbouring languages in which they are disadvantaged.

3.10 Results

As we earlier mention, the results of our findings were based on the declarations of the native speakers of each linguistic unit and on the sociolinguistic situation of their linguistic variety. The following are the points on which the findings were based:

- The description of the geographical area of each language unit in conformity with that described by their neighbours.
- Evaluation of comprehension between the linguistic varieties identified and cited by this work as found in the geographical area.
- -Description of the grouping of the varieties into one or more language units according to the inter-comprehension between them so that, eventually, a writing system could be developed. From our results, we realise the following:

Firstly, each linguistic variety is well spoken by its native speakers and their closest neighbours.

Secondly, Bafut is understood in all the sites but the native speakers of Bafut can only understand Mantaa well and Buwi averagely.

Thirdly, Obang is understood in all the sites of Lower Bafut.

Fourthly, Mantaa and Buwi are highly comprehensible. They could be dialects of the same language.

Fifthly, Mbakong is understood in three sites and Butang and Otang are understood in only two sites each.

From the results of the table 8, we can regroup the varieties as follows:

The first group is Mantaa, Buwi, Bafut and Agah. Mantaa and Buwi have mutual comprehension of each other. Bafut has a very good comprehension with Agah, a good comprehension with Mantaa and an average comprehension with Buwi.

The second group is made up of Mbakong, Butang, Obang and Otang. The comprehension that exists between these linguistic varieties is not mutual but due to bilingualism that has arisen from the need for communication. Otherwise, they are singled out as different languages of their own.

3.11 Suggestions

To go by the sociolinguistic approach of Global Group Assessment from which sample opinions have been analysed, we can dare make the following suggestion on the linguistic varieties of Lower Bafut:

a) Multilingualism should be encouraged in the entire community since it is already being practised at the oral level. This would meet their immediate needs of mutuality, and also help prevent these linguistic units from dying out.

b) Bafut has been used over the time as a lingua franca, so it should be encouraged.

c) Bafut will be very common for all the speakers of the different varieties since there is no mutual intelligibility between them.

d) Obang should be developed as a different language from Bafut and taught in junior primary while Bafut is taught in senior primary.

e) Obang should be developed and standardised based on the observation that the speakers of Obang and Befang are mutually intelligible.

f) The mayor of Bafut and the local language committees, in collaboration with PROPELCA, NACALCO, SIL and other researchers of the Departments of Linguistics in the Universities of Cameroon should kick-start work for the development and revitalisation of these linguistic varieties.

h) Each of the six linguistic varieties under study (except Agah) should be developed as a language unit through alphabetisation and literature.

3.12 Conclusion

In this chapter we have evaluated inter-comprehension between the linguistic varieties of the Bafut Fondom and we have been able to delimit the geographical extension of each language. From the results of the GGA we have been able to conclude that the linguistic varieties of Lower Bafut namely: Mbakong, Butang, Obang, Mantaa, Buwi, and Otang are not mutually intelligible but there is inter-comprehension due to the pertinent bilingualism in Lower Bafut. Consequently, we have dared to propose for a language policy for this area. Chapter four coming up next will embark on the Recorded Text Testing Method.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE RECORDED TEXT TESTING METHOD

4.1 Introduction

The Recorded Text Testing method was used as another means of evaluating dialect intelligibility and differentiating between dialect from language. Consequently, a series of eight tests was conducted in the eight linguistic varieties under study: Bafut, Mbakong, Butang, Obang, Mantaa, Buwi, Otang and Agah.

4.2 Description of the Tests

In our study, the eight tests were fashioned after those of PIERCE, J. (1952) who attempted to objectify the measure of dialect distance based on the degree of relationship among four speech communities.

The tests we used were no-folklore stories but spontaneous narratives. Only one test was set in English and then translated into the eight linguistic varieties by native speakers who understood English well. The test consisted of a two- minute stretch of speech taken from each of the translated texts. The abstracted portion was in turn divided into shorter segments which were separated by natural pauses. The test then proceeded with five of these short sections, with questions asked in-between, in the consultant's native language. The researcher could repeat any section if the consultant requested it. Every response corresponded to a mark which could be qualified as correct = 2/2, half correct =1/2 and not correct =0/2. The total score obtained by each consultant determined whether or not there was intelligibility between the two languages tested.

The intelligibility tests comprised three parts: the introductive test, the main test and the dialect of reference test. The introductive test concerned the identity of tested language. The main test consisted of questions on the text and the third consisted of the attitudes of the consultant towards the test language.

4.3 Interpretation of Results

Our interpretations of the results from the eight tests were based on EUGENE CASAD, (1974) who stated that: scores above 70% represent mutual intelligibility and below 60% means marginal or low intelligibility. Generally, we can notice from the table that there are three kinds of intelligibility: - mutual intelligibility, neighbour intelligibility and non-reciprocal intelligibility.

We also made references to VOEGELIN, C., and HARRIS, Z. (1951) in terms of non-reciprocal, reciprocal as well as marginal intelligibility respectively, resulting from close genetic relationship, and neighbour intelligibility due to extensive contact between two or more languages.

Table 9: The Bafut Test

Scores/consultants	V1	V2	V3	V4	V5	V6	V7	V8
100								
90					90			95
80		85		80		80		
70			70				60	
60								
50								
40								
30								
20								
10								
0								

4.3.1 Results of the Bafut Test

Mbakong-85%

Butang- 70%

Obang- 80%

Mantaa- 90%

Buwi- 80%

Otang-60%

Agah- 95%

The results from table 9 above reveal that Agah consultants scored 95% in the Bafut test, followed by Mantaa with 90%, then Mbakong with 85%. Buwi, Obang and Otang scored 80% respectively, while Butang scored 70%. It is worth noting that the result from the Bafut test shows

that there is exceptionally a high performance which ranges from 70% to 90% (except Agah with 95% scores).

Table 10: The Mbakong Test

Scores/consultants	V1	V2	V3	V4	V5	V6	V7	V8
100								
90								
80			80					
70								
60				60				
50								
40								
30					30			
20						20		20
10								
0	00						00	

4.3.2: Results of the Mbakong Test

Bafut- 00%

Butang- 80%

Obang- 60%

Mantaa- 30%

Buwi- 20%

Otang- 00%

Agah- 20%

From the results of the Mbakong test on table 10, the following performances were observed: The Butang consultants scored 80% in the Mbakong test followed by Obang consultants with 60%, Mantaa with 30%; Buwi and Agah scored 20% respectively, while Bafut and Otang scored 00%.

- Bafut and Otang scored 00%, meaning that there is no intelligibility between them.
- Buwi and Agah scored 20%, respectively meaning that there is no intelligibility between them.
- Obang and Butang scored 60% and 80% respectively, meaning that there is neighbour intelligibility them.

Table 11: The Butang Test

Scores/consultants	V1	V2	V3	V4	V5	V6	V7	V8
100								
90								
80		00						
70								
60				60				
50								
40								
30								
20							20	
10								
0	00				00	00		00

4.3.2 Results of the Butang Test

Bafut- 00%

Mbakong- 80%

Obang- 60%

Mantaa- 00%

Buwi- 00%

Otang- 20%

Agah- 00%

From the results of the Butang test on table 11, we can notice the following: the Mbakong consultants scored 80% followed by Obang with 60%, then Otang with 20%. Bafut, Buwi and Agah scored 00% respectively.

- Bafut, Mantaa, Buwi and Agah scored 00%, meaning that there is no intelligibility between them.
- Mbakong and Butang have a reciprocal intelligibility of 80%.
- Otang consultants scored 20% in the Butang test. This was as a result of no intelligibility between these two linguistic varieties.

Table 12: The Obang Test

Scores/consultants	V1	V2	V3	V4	V5	V6	V7	V8
100								
90								
80		80	80		80	80	80	
70								
60								60
50								
40								
30								
20	00							
10								
0	00							

4.3.4 Results of the Obang Test

Bafut- 00%

Mbakong- 80%

Butang- 80%

Mantaa- 80%

Buwi- 80%

Otang- 80%

Agah- 60%

The results from the Obang test on table 12 above reveal that Mbakong, Butang, Mantaa, Buwi and Otang consultants scored 80% respectively, followed by Agah with 60%, meaning that they have neighbour intelligibility with Obang; while Bafut with 00% scores has no intelligibility with Obang.

Table 13: The Mantaa Test

Scores/consultants	V1	V2	V3	V4	V5	V6	V7	V8
100								
90						90		
80	80							
70								
60								65
50								
40								
30		30						
20			20	20				
10								
0							00	

4.3.5 Results of the Mantaa Test

Bafut- 80%

Butang- 20%

Obang- 60%

Mbakong- 30%

Buwi- 90%

Otang- 00%

Agah- 40%

From the results on table 13 above on the Mantaa test, we notice that Bafut consultants scored 80 %, Buwi scored 90% and Agah scored 65%. Consequently, we could say that Bafut, Mantaa, Buwi and Agah can form a dialectal group.

Otang, Obang, Butang and Mbakong consultants scored from 00%-30%, meaning that there is no intelligibility between these linguistic varieties and Mantaa.

Table 14: The Buwi Test

Scores/consultants	V1	V2	V3	V4	V5	V6	V7	V8
100					90			
90								
80								
70								
60	60							
50								
40								40
30								
20		20						
10			10					
0				00			00	

4.3.6 Results of the Buwi Test

Bafut- 60%

Butang- 10%

Obang- 00%

Mantaa- 90%

Mbakong- 20%

Otang- 00%

Agah- 40%

The results from table 14 above reveal that Mantaa consultants scored 90% in the Buwi test, followed by Bafut with 60%, then Agah with 40%. Butang scored 10%, while Otang scored 00%.

- Bafut consultants scored 60%, meaning that there is adequate intelligibility between Bafut and Buwi.

- Mantaa scores 90%, proving that there is inherent intelligibility between Mantaa and Buwi. Agah scored 40%, meaning that there is inadequate in intelligibility between Agah and Buwi.
- Mbakong, Butang, Obang and Otang scored between 00% and 20%, meaning that there is no intelligibility between them and Buwi.

Table 15: The Otang Test

Scores/consultants	V1	V2	V3	V4	V5	V6	V7	V8
100								
90								
80								80
70								
60								
50								
40								
30								
20				20				
10			10		10			
0	00	00				00		

4.3.7 Results of the Otang Test

Bafut- 00%

Butang- 10%

Obang- 20%

Mantaa- 20%

Buwi- 00%

Agah- 80%

- From the results of the Otang test table 15 above, we realize that there is no intelligibility whatsoever between Otang, Bafut, Mbakong, Butang, and Obang as the scores range from

00%-20%. This means that these languages are not dialects of the same language but distinct languages of their own.

- We also noticed that the Agah consultants scored 80%, meaning that there is non-reciprocal intelligibility between Agah and Otang.

Table 16: The Agah Test

Scores/consultants	V1	V2	V3	V4	V5	V6	V7
100							
90	90						
80							
70							
60					60		
50						50	
40							40
30		30					
20			20	20			
10							
0							

4.3.8 Results of the Agah Test

    Bafut- 90%

    Butang-2 0%

    Obang- 20%

    Mantaa- 60%

    Buwi- 50%

    Otang- 40%

    Mbakong- 30%

-The results from table 16 above reveal that Bafut consultants scored 90% in the Agah test, followed by Mantaa with 60%, then Buwi with 50%. This means that they are highly intelligible and can form a dialectal group.

-Otang scored 40%, Butang and Obang scored 20% respectively, while Mbakong scored 30%, meaning that they are not intelligible and therefore are not dialects of the same language.

Table 17: Summary of the RTT Results

Consultants/test	V1	V2	V3	V4	V5	V6	V7	V8
Bafut	X	00	00	00	80	60	00	90
Mbakong	85	X	80	80	30	20	00	40
Butang	70	60	X	80	20	10	00	20
Obang	80	60	60	X	20	00	20	30
Manta	90	30	00	80	X	90	10	40
Buwi	80	20	00	80	90	X	00	40
Otang	60	00	20	80	00	00	X	60
Agah	95	20	00	60	30	30	80	X

4.4 Summary of the RTT Results

Generally, we can notice from table 17 that there are four kinds of intelligibility: - mutual intelligibility, inherent intelligibility, acquired intelligibility and non-reciprocal intelligibility.

There is mutual intelligibility between Bafut and Agah ; Mantaa, and Buwi are inherently intelligible by the scores of 80% - 90%.

There is neighbour intelligibility between Mbakong, Butang and Obang as shown by the scores of 80%.

There is non-reciprocal intelligibility between Bafut, Mbakong, Butang and Otang as shown by the range of scores from 00-80 percent.

4.5 Interpretation of Acquired Intelligibility Scores

It is worth noting that the results from the Recorded scores on the tests do not reveal inherent intelligibility but acquired intelligibility due to the geographical closeness of the linguistic varieties or extensive contact between the inhabitants of these villages. The following results could be interpreted as acquired intelligibility:

The Bafut test results show that there is exceptionally a high performance which ranges from 70% to 90% (except Agah with 95% scores). This was not due to mutual intelligibility but what VOEGELIN and HARIES (1951) called non-reciprocal intelligibility arising from extensive contact between Bafut and the other linguistic varieties.

From the results of the Mbakong test, Obang and Butang scored 60% and 80% respectively. These scores might not have been due to mutual intelligibility but rather to neighbour intelligibility arising from extensive social interaction.

From the results of the Butang test, Mbakong and Butang have reciprocal intelligibility of 80% but this is rather neighbour intelligibility due to extensive social contact and the geographical closeness of the villages.

From the results of the Obang test, we can notice that only the Bafut consultants scored 00%. This is due to no intelligibility between Bafut and Obang. The scores of 80% from Mbakong, Butang, Mantaa, Buwi and Otang proved that there is intelligibility, but this intelligibility is acquired due to the following factors: neighbourliness, social interaction, intermarriages and bilingualism. The Obang language is highly functional in Lower Bafut, and can act like a lingua-franca.

We also noticed that the Agah consultants scored 80%. This was not due to mutual intelligibility between Agah and Otang but rather to the close social interaction between these two peoples. The Agah people are settled on Otang land.

To determine whether the arithmetic average of scores of intelligibility reflect a certain bilingualism, the Standard Deviation method is suggested by the researcher which could be developed in future works.

$$\sqrt{\Sigma \frac{(x - x)^2}{n - 1}}$$

4.6 Classification of Linguistic varieties according to Linguistic Distance

The classification of linguistic varieties will help us place each variety in relation to the distance that separates it from the other varieties.

4.6.1 Definition of Classification

The classification of linguistic varieties is a projection on a diagram of the different value rates of intelligibility recorded.

The figure below shows clearly corresponding representation of the classification of linguistic varieties in the Bafut Fondom, with regard the different value rates of intelligibility that reveal their linguistic distances.

Figure 7: Regrouping of linguistic varieties according to intelligibility
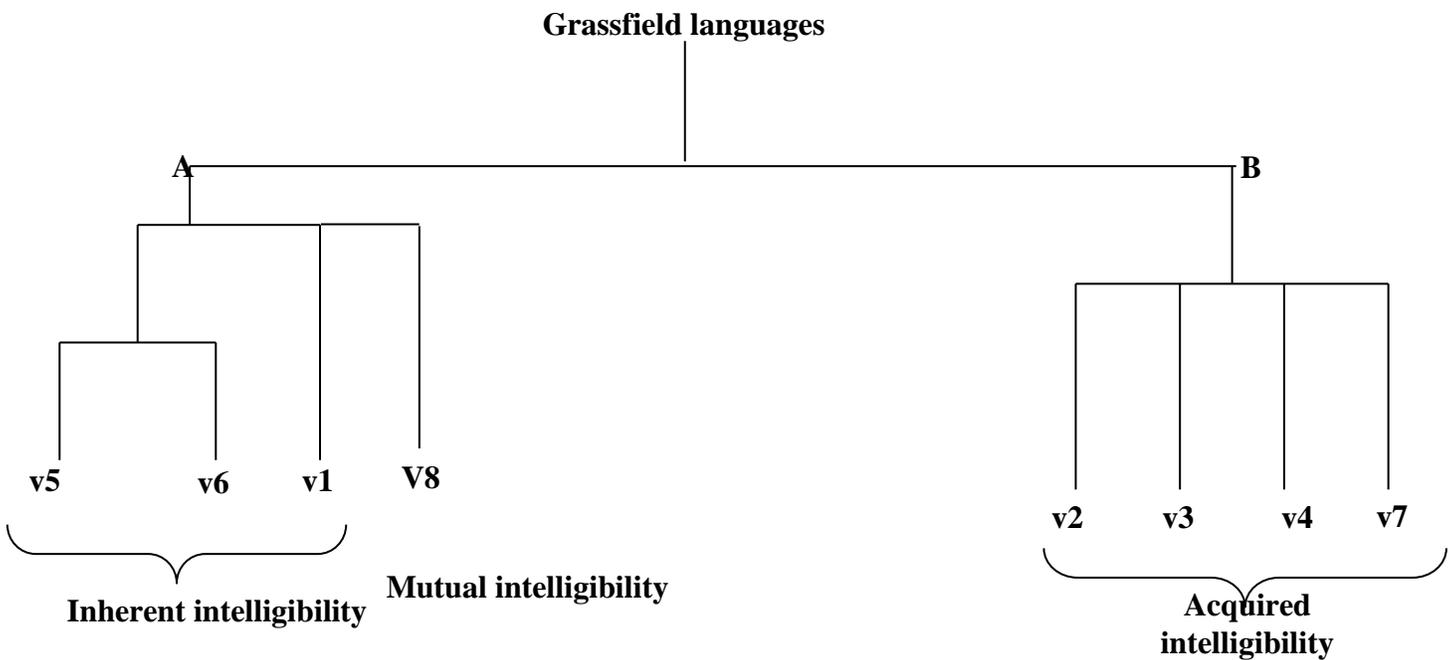
Figure 7 above illustrates the hierarchical regrouping of the linguistic varieties in the Bafut Fondom according to intelligibility. Mantaa regroups with Buwi at the lowest level and Bafut regroups with Agah, Mantaa and Buwi at the highest level. Mbakong, Butang , Obang and Otang also regroup highly according to acquired intelligibility.

4.7 Conclusion

We have been able to evaluate dialect intelligibility between Bafut, Mbakong, Butang, Obang, Mantaa, Buwi, Otang and Agah through the administration of the Recorded Text Testing method. The results of performances by consultants of the different linguistic varieties reveal four kinds of intelligibility: mutual intelligibility, inherent intelligibility, acquired intelligibility and non-reciprocal intelligibility. Bafut and Agah have mutual intelligibility meaning that Agah is a dialect of Bafut as stated by ALCAM (1983). Bafut, Agah, Mantaa and Buwi have inherent intelligibility as a result, they can form a dialectal group. Mbakong, Butang, Otang and Obang have acquired intelligibility because of the extensive contact between these languages. Finally, Bafut has non-reciprocal intelligibility with Mbakong, Butang, Obang and Otang meaning that these languages are not intelligible and therefore could not be dialects of the same language. Non-reciprocal and acquired intelligibility have been influenced more by economic, political and intergroup attitudes than by linguistic features which indicate genetic relationship. Consequently, the results of intelligibility testing should be different from those obtained by comparison and quantification of lexical data. Therefore, intelligibility data in this case will be considered as an index of extendibility (extensible possibility) of the linguistic varieties of the Bafut Fondom in a communicative network. Chapter five coming up treats the Lexicostatistic Method.

CHAPTER FIVE
THE LEXICOSTATISTIC METHOD

5.1 Introduction

The Lexicostatistics Method gave room for a procedural application through comparison and quantification of lexical data. This enabled us to measure the linguistic distances between linguistic varieties and then classify them with respect to their relative distances. Through the comparison and quantification of lexical data, we were be able to regroup them as dialects of the same language or different languages of their own. This will be the basis on which to justify our analysis.

5.2 Comparison and quantification of lexical data.

The comparison and quantification of lexical data was done by determining the percentage of common words in two linguistic varieties to decide whether they belonged to two dialects of the same language. Our comparison was limited to the eight linguistic varieties of the Bafut Fondom, namely: - Bafut, Buwi, Butang, Mantaa, Mbakong, Obang Otang and Agah. The Agah people speak Beba, officially stated as a variety of Bafut on ALCAM (1983).

From the list of 200 words and their plural forms transcribed from each variety found in the annex of this study, they were compared two by two with the same attitudes so as to facilitate the attribution of the value of the degree of semblance. To be close to the realities of the field, we considered that there could be five degrees of semblance: 0, 0.25, 0.50, 0.75 and 1.
Note should be taken that comparison was based on the roots of the words and we considered the role of tones so as to be more accurate in value attribution.

After using the distribution criteria for the different values, we then illustrated the application of these values to some 10 items chosen from our corpus and transcribed in all the linguistic varieties concerned. The method used in choosing these words was random sampling from different areas like parts of the body, food, utensils, clothes, illness, movements and family. These words are also frequently used in the various speech forms. Table 18 presents ten words from the corpus.

The analysis of the lexicostatistic method was done with the aid of the software ELAN. The words of the different varieties were regrouped under apparent cognates. Apparent cognates were based on phonetic resemblance. We then calculated the percentages of apparent cognates between every list of words and presented the results in a matrix of percentages.

The matrix of differences was done by adding the values of the variances and subtracting them from their corresponding values of the matrix of percentages to give a series of values.

If the percentage of similarities in vocabulary is above 60%, then they are dialects of the same languages, but if the percentage of similarities is less than 60%, then they are distinct languages of their own. (SIMONS, G.,1983).

5.3 Comparison and quantification of ten words

After presenting the corpus on the table below, we now proceeded to compare the items of the different linguistic varieties, starting with Bafut which we compared with the others. Table 18 below presents the different values of resemblance beginning from 0, 0.25, 0.50, 0.75, to 1 depending on items. The value 1 was attributed to the reference language to which the linguistic distance between the other languages was measured.

This same method of comparison and quantification of the lexical items is carried out on all the 200 wordlists of the languages, found in the appendix of this work.

Table 18: Corpus of ten words

No	English	Bafut	Mbakong	Butang	Obang	Manta a	Buwi	Otang	Agah
1 (1)	Head	àtû	átuk	átókó	àtó	kítúə	kɨ́tó	átú	àtû
2 (3)	Mouth	ǹtsù	Iitsù	ótsó	ótsŏ	tswúgè	tswūə	ɨ̀tsú	Ǹtsù
3 (22)	Cocoyam	mákàbə	Ilàŋ	óǹáŋ	óǹáŋ	mákàbə	mákàbə̀	máŋkáb à	mákàbə
4 (26)	Meat	m̀bà	ántèŋ	Ŋám	ŋyɔ́m	nyām	nyām	nyàm	ǹdʒà
5 (43)	Calabash	ātɔ̄ɔ̄	ɨ́tɔ̄ɔ̄	óŋkènɔ́	sûk bóm	kítɨ́ɨ	kɨ́tèm	áténmɔ́	Atéé
6 (41)	Pot	àntɔ̀ɔ̄	ǹtɔ̄ŋ	èntòn	ɛtɔ̀n	ǹtóiŋ	ǹtɔ̄n	mbùi'í	àntɔ̂
7 (69)	Dress	àtsə̀'ə̀	ātsɔ̄	átsɔ̄ɔ̄	ə̀ndú	ǹtsɔ́'ɔ́	ntsɔ̂ə̀	àtsé	àtsɔ̂
8 (83)	Fever	m̀fɔ́'ə̀	dʒɔkie	ójūū	ógɨl	fɔ́'hɔ́/ záhɑ́	wūndjɔ́ wè	ógí	nɨ̀ghari
9 (102)	Come	ʒĩ̄ĩ	ʒiê	Ŋgí	zí	giə̂	giə̂	ghɨə́	ʒẽ̀ẽ
10(121)	Father	tɑ̃̀ɑ̃	tɛ́	tà	dɑ̂	tɨ̀gɑ́	tɑ́lə̀	dɑ̂	taà

Table 19: Values of similarities between all linguistic varieties

No	Item	Bafut	Mbakong	Butang	Obang	Mantaa	Buwi	Otang	Agah
1	Head	1	1	0.5	0.5	0.75	0.5	1	1
2	Mouth	1	1	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	1	1
3	Cocoyam	1	0	0	0	1	1	0.25	1
4	Meat	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5	Calabash	1	0.75	0.5	0	0.25	0.5	0.25	0.5
6	Pot	1	0.75	0.75	0.75	0.25	0.75	0	1
7	Dress	1	1	1	0	0.75	0.75	0.5	1
8	Fever	1	0	0	0	0.5	0	0	0
9	Come	1	0.5	0.25	1	0.5	0.5	0.25	0.75
10	Father	1	0.25	1	0.5	0.25	0.5	0.5	1
Total	-------		10	5.5	4.0	4.0	4.5	5	3.5	7.5

On table 19 above, the reference variety is Bafut, against which the linguistic distance of the rest of the varieties is measured. The linguistic distance between all the eight linguistic varieties namely Bafut, Mbakong, Butang, Obang, Mantaa, Buwi, Otang and Agah are taken into consideration.

.

Table 20: Values of similarities between seven linguistic varieties

No	English	Bafut	Mbakong	Butang	Obang	Mantaa	Buwi	Otang	Agah
1	Head		1	0.5	0.5	0.25	0.25	0.75	1
2	Mouth		1	0.5	0.5	0.75	0.75	0.75	1
3	Cocoyam		1	0.5	0	0	0	0.5	0
4	Meat		1	0	0	0	0	0	0
5	Calabash		1	0	0	0	0	0	0.25
6	Pot		1	0.75	0.75	0.5	0.75	0	o.25
7	Dress		1	1	0	0.75	0.75	0.75	1
8	Fever		1	0	0	0	0	0	0
9	Come		1	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	o.25
10	Father		1	0.25	0.0	0.5	0	0.5	1
	Total		10	04	02.5	3.25	03	3.75	04

On table 20 above, the reference variety is Mbakong, to which the linguistic distances between seven linguistic varieties, namely Butang, Obang, Mantaa, Buwi, Otang and Agah is measured.

Table 21: Values of similarities between six linguistic varieties

No	Items	Bafut	Mbakong	Butang	Obang	Mantaa	Buwi	Otang	Agah
1	Head			1	0.75	0.25	0.25	0.25	0.25
2	Mouth			1	1	0.25	0.25	0.25	0.25
3	Cocoyam			1	0	0	0	1	0
4	Meat			1	1	1	0	1	0
5	Calabash			1	0	0	0	0	0
6	Pot			1	1	0.5	0.5	0	0.25
7	Dress			1	0	.75	.75	.75	0.5
8	Fever			1	0.25	0	0	0	0
9	Come			1	.5	.75	.75	.75	0
10	Father			1	.5	.25	.75	.25	0.75
	Total			10	5	3.75	3.25	4.25	02.0

On table 21 above, the reference variety is Butang, to which the linguistic distance of six linguistic varieties, namely Butang, Obang, Mantaa, Buwi, Otang and Agah is measured.

Table 22: Values of similarities between five linguistic varieties

No	Items	Bafut	Mbakong	Butang	Obang	Mantaa	Buwi	Otang	Agah
1	Head				1	0.25	0.25	0.5	0.5
2	Mouth				1	.5	.5	0.5	0.25
3	Cocoyam				1	0.75	0.75	0	0
4	Meat				1	1	0.25	1	0
5	Calabash				1	0.5	0.5	0	0
6	Pot				1	0	0	0	0.5
7	Dress				1	0	0	0	0

8	Fever				1	0	0	0	0
9	Come				1	0.5	0.5	0.25	0.25
10	Father				1	0	0.25	0	0.25
	Total				10	2.5	03	2.5	02.0

On table 22 above, the reference variety is Obang, to which the linguistic distance between five linguistic varieties, namely Obang, Mantaa, Buwi, Otang and Agah is measured.

Table 23: Values of similarities between four linguistic varieties

No	Items	Bafut	Mbakong	Butang	Obang	Mantaa	Buwi	Otang	Agah
1	Head					1	.75	.5	0.25
2	Mouth					1	.75	.5	0.5
3	Cocoyam					1	1	0	1
4	Meat					1	.25	1	0
5	Calabash					1	.75	25	0.25
6	Pot					1	.75	0	0.25
7	Dress					1	1	.75	0.75
8	Fever					1	0	0	0
9	Come					1	1	.5	0.25
10	Father					1	.25	.5	025
	Total					10	06	04	04

On table 23 above, the reference variety is Mantaa, to which the linguistic distance between four linguistic varieties namely Mantaa, Buwi, Otang and Agah is measured.

Table 24: Values of similarities between three linguistic varieties

No	Items	Bafut	Mbakong	Butang	Obang	Mantaa	Buwi	Otang	Agah
1	Head						1	0.5	0.25
2	Mouth						1	0.5	0.5
3	Cocoyam						1	0	1
4	Meat						1	0.5	0

165

No	Items	Bafut	Mbakong	Butang	Obang	Mantaa	Buwi	Otang	Agah
5	Calabash						1	0.5	0.25
6	Pot						1	0	0.5
7	Dress						1	0.5	0.75
8	Fever						1	0	0
9	Come						1	0.5	0.25
10	Father						1	02.5	0.5
	Total						10	03.5	05

On table 24 above, the reference variety is Buwi to which the linguistic distance between three languages namely Buwi, Otang and Agah is measured.

Table 25: Values of similarities between two linguistic varieties

No	Items	Bafut	Mbakong	Butang	Obang	Mantaa	Buwi	Otang	Agah
1	Head							1	1
2	Mouth							1	0.5
3	Cocoyam							1	0.25
4	Meat							1	0
5	Calabash							1	o.25
6	Pot							1	0
7	Dress							1	0.5
8	Fever							1	0
9	Come							1	0
10	Father							1	0.25
	Total							10	02.5

On table 25 above, the reference variety is Otang to which the linguistic distance between the last two languages namely Otang and Agah, is measured.

5.3.1 Analysis of Tables of Values of Similarities of Ten Words

When we have established our judgement on the ten words, we shall add the total values of each set of linguistic varieties compared to obtain the arithmetic average which represents the

166

linguistic distance between the pairs. We then use the total of the values on tables to apply the formula below:

MA = n/x 100

MA = Arithmetic average

n= Total number of root semblances

x = total number of compared items

100 = percentage.

For easy calculation, it is good to round up the decimals by multiplying the values n/x by 100 so as to get results in which numbers will be less than or equal to x.

Below are the recapitulations of the arithmetic averages of the ten items compared.

5.3.2. Recapitulation of the arithmetic averages of ten words compared in eight linguistic varieties

Bafut

-Mbakong $= \dfrac{05.5 \text{x} 10}{10} = 55\%$

-Butang $= \dfrac{04.0 \text{x} 100}{10} = 40\%$

-Obang $= \dfrac{04.0 \text{x} 100}{10} = 40\%$

-Mantaa $= \dfrac{04.5 \text{x} 100}{10} = 45\%$

-Buwi $= \dfrac{04.7 \text{x} 100}{10} = 47.5\%$

-Otang $= \dfrac{03.5 \text{x} 100}{10} = 35\%$

-Agah $= \dfrac{07.5 \text{x} 100}{10} = 75\%$

5.3.3 Recapitulation of the arithmetic averages of ten words compared in seven linguistic varieties compared.

Mbakong

-Butang $= \dfrac{04.0 \text{x} 100}{10} = 40\%$

-Obang $= \dfrac{02.5 \times 100}{10} = 25\%$

-Mantaa $= \dfrac{03.3 \times 100}{10} = 32.5\%$

-Buwi $= \dfrac{03.0 \times 100}{10} = 30\%$

-Otang $= \dfrac{03.6 \times 100}{10} = 37.5\%$

-Agah $= \dfrac{04.0 \times 100}{10} = 20\%$

5.3.4 Recapitulation of the arithmetic averages of ten words compared in six linguistic varieties compared

Butang

-Obang $= \dfrac{05.5 \times 100}{10} = 50\ \%$

-Mantaa $= \dfrac{03.75 \times 100}{10} = 37.5\%$

-Buwi $= \dfrac{03.25 \times 100}{10} = 32.5\%$

-Otang $= \dfrac{04.25 \times 100}{10} = 42.5\%$

-Agah $= \dfrac{02.0 \times 100}{10} = 20\%$

5.3.5 Recapitulation of the arithmetic averages of ten words compared in five linguistic varieties compared

Obang

-Mantaa $= \dfrac{02.5 \times 100}{10} = 25\%$

-Buwi $= \dfrac{03.0 \times 100}{10} = 30\%$

-Otang $= \dfrac{02.5 \times 100}{10} = 25\%$

-Agah $= \dfrac{02.0 \times 100}{10} = 20\%$

5.3.6 Recapitulation of the arithmetic averages of ten words compared in four linguistic varieties compared

Mantaa

-Buwi $= \dfrac{06.0 \times 100}{10} = 60\%$

-Otang $= \dfrac{04.0 \times 100}{10} = 40\%$

-Agah $= \dfrac{04.0 \times 100}{10} = 45\%$

5.3.7 Recapitulation of the arithmetic averages of ten words compared in three linguistic varieties compared

Buwi

-Otang $= \dfrac{03.5 \times 100}{10} = 35\%$

-Agah $= \dfrac{05.0 \times 100}{10} = 40\%$

5.3.8 Recapitulation of the arithmetic averages of ten words compared in two linguistic varieties compared

Otang

-Agah $= \dfrac{02.5 \times 100}{10} = 25\%$

5.3.9 Matrices of similarities and differences between the eight linguistic varieties

After calculating the arithmetic averages, we put the results on matrix tables to show the similarities and differences. The figures on the tables below represent the measure of the percentage of similarities and differences between the linguistic varieties.

Table 26: Matrix of similarities between the eight linguiticvarietie*s*

Bafut							
Mbakong	55						
Butang	40	40					
Obang	40	25	50				
Mantaa	45	32.5	37.5	25			
Buwi	47.5	30	32.5	30	60		
Otang	35	37.5	42.5	25	40	35	
Agah	75	20	20	25	45	40	25
	Bafut	Mbakong	Butang	Obang	Mantaa	Buwi	Otang	Agah

Table 27: Matrix of differences between the eight linguistic varieties

Bafut							
Mbakong	45						
Butang	60	60					
Obang	60	75	50				
Mantaa	55	67.5	62.5	75			
Buwi	52.5	70	67.5	70	40		
Otang	65	62.5	57.5	75	60	65	
Agah	25	80	80	75	55	60	75
	Bafut	Mbakong	Butang	Obang	Mantaa	Buwi	Otang	Agah

5.3.10 Analysis of matrix of similarities

If we look at table 26 on the matrix of similarities, we realize that the highest value is 75% between Agah and Bafut, meaning that there is mutual intelligibility between the two varieties. Between Mbakong, Butang, Obang, Otang, Mantaa and Buwi, the highest value is 55% and the lowest 25%, meaning that there is no intelligibility between the linguistic varieties. The similarity values are given below:

V1 = 100%

V2 = 55%

V3 = 40%

V4 = 40%

V5 = 45%

V6 = 47%

V7 = 35%

V8 = 75 %

V1 is the maximal value from which these percentages of values of similarities are obtained. Looking at the matrix of similarities, V8 has the highest percentage to V1. From V2 –V7, the values range from 55% - 25% which are lower than 60% to form a dialectal group.

SIMONS, G. (1983) states that, if the percentage of similarities in vocabulary of dialectal groups is above 60%, then they are dialects of the same languages, but if the percentage of similarities is less than 60%, then they are distinct languages of their own.

Given that similarities in a dialectal group begin from 60%, we can partially conclude from the results of the analysis of ten words that Mbakong, Butang, Obang, Mantaa, Buwi, and Otang are not dialects of Bafut but different languages of their own. Meanwhile, Agah with its 75% proves to be a dialect of Bafut as stated on ALCAM (1983).

5.3.11 Analysis of matrix of differences

On the table 27 on the matrix of differences of the ten words, we realize that the highest value is 75% while the lowest is 25%. We could then say that the distances are relatively wide.

Below are the values of the differences of the ten words.

V1 = 100%

V2 = 45%

V3 = 60%

V4 = 60%

V5 = 55%

V6 = 53%

V7 = 65%

V8 =25%

In terms of distance, V1 is the maximal point, V8 has the closest distance to V1 and V7 has the furthest distance to V1.

5.3.12 Calculating linguistic distance of ten words

To calculate the linguistic distance, we subtract the values of similarities obtained from the maximal value which is 100% to get the differences in values. From these values, we can then estimate the linguistic differences between the linguistic varieties. From the calculations, the following results will be obtained: -

- If the value percentage of similarity is high, the percentage of the difference will be low and consequently the linguistic distance will be close.

- In contrast, if the percentage of similarity is low, the percentage of difference will be high and consequently the linguistic distance will be wide.

From the above assertion, we realize that the percentages of similarities of six linguistic varieties are lower than 60%, while the percentages of differences are higher than 60%, except for Agah alone with 75%. From the result of the analysis of ten words, we can conclude that only Agah of the seven linguistic varieties is a dialect of Bafut. But since the analysis was done only on ten words, the result cannot be conclusive until after the treatment of all the items on the corpus.

5.4 Comparison and quantification of 100 words

We illustrated the application of the values of similarities and differences of 100 words from the corpuses which are found in the annex. The method used was choosing the first one hundred words that appeared on the corpus, including some of the ten words treated before. They are words from different areas like parts of the body, food, utensils, clothes, illness, movements and family.

After choosing the 100 words, we then proceeded to compare the items of the different linguistic varieties. The table in the Annex presents the comparison and quantification of 100 words from the corpus in the annex.

When we established our judgement on the 100 words, we added the total values of each set of linguistic varieties compared to obtain the arithmetic average which represented the linguistic distance. We then used the total values on the tables to apply the formula as presented before.

5.4.1 Recapitulation of the arithmetic averages of 100 words compared

Bafut

-Mbakong $= \dfrac{38.0 \times 100}{100} = 38\%$

-Butang $= \dfrac{25.0 \times 100}{100} = 25\%$

-Obang $= \dfrac{18.0 \times 100}{100} = 18\%$

-Mantaa $= \dfrac{27.5 \times 100}{100} = 28\%$

-Buwi $= \dfrac{28.5 \times 100}{100} \quad = 29\%$

-Otang $= \dfrac{20.0 \times 100}{100} \quad = 20\%$

-Agah $= \dfrac{80.0 \times 100}{100} \quad = 80\%$

5.4.2 Analysis of matrix of similarities between the linguistic varieties

After calculating the arithmetic averages, we put the results on a matrix table to show the values of similarities.

Table 28: Matrix of similarities of 100 words between the linguistic varieties

Bafut							
Mbakong	38						
Butang	25	38					
Obang	18	19	26				
Mantaa	28	21	18	13			
Buwi	29	22	20	15	56		
Otang	20	21	32	30	16	19	
Agah	70	20	10	15	40	40	20
	Bafut	Mbakong	Butang	Obang	Mantaa	Buwi	Otang	Agah

5.4.3 Analysis of matrix of similarities between the linguistic varieties

Table 28 on the matrix of similarities has 70% as the highest value of similarities and 18% as the lowest value. The rate of similarities of 100 words is far lower than that of 10 words, meaning that the more the words, the more accurate are the results.

The similarity values are given below:

V1 = 100%

V2 = 38%

V3 = 25%

174

V4 = 18%

V5 = 28%

V6 = 29%

V7 = 20%

V8 = 70%

Given that a dialectal group begins from 60%, we can partially conclude from the results of the similarity value of 100 words that Mbakong, Butang, Obang, Mantaa, Buwi, Otang are not dialects of Bafut. Agah has 70%, meaning that it is a dialect of Bafut.

After calculating the arithmetic averages, we put the results on a matrix table to show the values of differences

Table 29: Matrix of differences of 100 words between the linguistic varieties

	Bafut	Mbakong	Butang	Obang	Mantaa	Buwi	Otang	Agah
Bafut								
Mbakong	62							
Butang	75	62						
Obang	82	81	74					
Mantaa	73	79	82	87				
Buwi	71	78	80	85	44			
Otang	80	79	68	70	84	81		
Agah	30	80	90	85	60	60	80	
	Bafut	Mbakong	Butang	Obang	Mantaa	Buwi	Otang	Agah

5.4.4 Analysis of the matrix of differences

On the table 29 on the matrix of differences, of 100 words, we observe that the highest value is 82% while the lowest is 30%. Below are the values of differences of 100 words:

V1 = 100%

V2 = 62%

V3 = 75%

V4 = 82%

175

V5 = 72%

V6 = 71%

V7 = 80%

V8 = 30%

5.4.5 Calculating the linguistic distance using 100 words

In terms of distance, V1 is the maximal point and V8 has the closest distance while V4 has the furthest distance to V1. The distances between the linguistic varieties using 10 words range from 25% to 65% while those of 100 words range from 30% to 82%. From this analysis we can conclude that the more the lexical items compared, the wider the distance becomes. This assertion is still to be confirmed after the treatment of the whole corpus.

5.5 Comparison and quantification of 200 words

We illustrated the application of the values of similarities and differences of 200 words which are found in the annex of this study. This corpus includes the 10 words and the 100 words already treated. We then proceeded to compare the items of the different linguistic varieties.

5.5.1 Recapitulation of the arithmetic averages of 200 words compared

Bafut

-Mbakong $= \dfrac{55.25 \times 100}{200} = 27.6\%$

-Butang $= \dfrac{34.5 \times 100}{200} = 17.3\%$

-Obang $= \dfrac{22.25 \times 100}{200} = 11.3\%$

-Mantaa $= \dfrac{48.5 \times 100}{200} = 23.9\%$

-Buwi $= \dfrac{47.74 \times 100}{200} = 23.9\%$

-Otang $= \dfrac{26.75 \times 100}{200} = 13.4\%$

-Agah $= \dfrac{130 \times 100}{200} = 65\%$

176

A recapitulation of the values of similarities between the eight linguistic varieties shows that the highest rate is 65% and the lowest 13.37%. The rates of similarities of 200 words are lowest compared to those of 100 words and 10 words respectively. We observed that the more the words analysed, the more accurate the results obtained.

The similarity values are given below:

Bafut – 100%

Mbakong – 27.6%

Butang – 17.25%

Obang – 11.25%

Mantaa – 23.87%

Buwi – 23.87%

Otang – 13.37%

Agah – 65 %

From the similarity values, we notice that they are quite low, ranging from 11.25% to 27.6%, but for Agah which has 65%. Consequently, Mbakong, Butang, Obang, Mantaa, Buwi and Otang are not dialects of Bafut because the similarity values are far lower than 60% which is the value of a dialectal group. Agah on the other hand has 65%, thereby confirming that it is a dialect of Bafut as stated on (ALCAM, 1983).

5.5.2 Analysis of the values of the differences using 200 words.

To find the values of differences, we subtract the values of similarities from the maximal value which is 100%. From the result obtained, we can then estimate the linguistic distances between the linguistic varieties.

Bafut – 100%

Mbakong – 72.4%

Butang – 82.75%

Obang – 98.75%

Mantaa – 76.13%

Buwi – 76.13%

Otang – 86.63%

Agah – 35%

In terms of distance, Agah is closest to Bafut while Obang is furthest.

The table below presents a summary of values of similarities of the whole corpus.

Table 30: Matrix of similarities of 200 words between linguistic varieties

Bafut								
Mbakong	38							
Butang	25	38						
Obang	18	19	26					
Mantaa	28	21	18	13				
Buwi	29	22	20	15	56			
Otang	20	21	32	30	16	19		
Agah	65	20	10	15	40	40	20	
	Bafut	Mbakong	Butang	Obang	Mantaa	Buwi	Otang	Agah

5.5.3 Analysis of matrix of similarities in 200 words

The table 30 on the matrix of similarities has 65% as the highest value of similarity and 18% as the lowest value. According to SIMONS, G. (1983) if the results of lexicostatistics show similarities in vocabulary less than 60%, then the linguistic varieties of Lower Bafut are not dialects of the same language, but languages of their own. Only Agah which speaks Beba, marks 65% confirming the fact that Beba is a dialect of Bafut as stated on ALCAM (1983).

Table 31: Matrix of differences of 200 words between linguistic varieties.

Bafut							
Mbakong	62						
Butang	75	62					
Obang	82	81	74				
Mantaa	73	79	82	87			
Buwi	71	78	80	85	44		
Otang	80	79	68	70	84	81	
Agah	35	80	90	85	60	60	80
	Bafut	Mbakong	Butang	Obang	Mantaa	Buwi	Otang	Agah

5.5.4 Analysis of the matrix of differences in 200 words

Table 31 on the matrix of differences; the highest value of differences in vocabulary between the linguistic varieties is 82% and the lowest value 35%, meaning that Butang, Buwi, Mbakong, Mantaa, Obang and Otang are not dialects of the same language but different languages of their own. Agah which speaks Beba marks 35% difference confirming that Beba is a dialect of Bafut as stated on ALCAM (1983).

Table 32: Summary of values of similarities in vocabulary

Percentage / Variety	10 words	100 words	200 words
Bafut	100%	100%	100%
Mbakong	55%	38%	27.6%
Butang	40%	25%	17.25%
Obang	40%	18%	11.25%
Mantaa	45%	28%	23.87%
Buwi	47.5%	29%	23.86%
Otang	35%	20%	13.37%
Agah	82%	70%	65.5%

From table 32 above, we realize that the more the words compared, the lesser the values of similarities and the intelligibility between Bafut and the other six linguistic varieties.

Table 33: Summary of values of differences in vocabulary

% / Variety %	10 words	100 words	200 words
Bafut	100%	100%	100%
Mbakong	45%	62%	73%
Butang	60%	75%	82.75%
Obang	60%	82%	89.75%
Mantaa	55%	72%	76.13%
Buwi	52.5%	71%	76.14%
Otang	65%	80%	86.63%
Agah	25%	28%	32.5%

From table 33 above, we notice that the more the words compared, the more the values of differences and the further the linguistic distances between Bafut and the other linguistic varieties.

5.5.6 Analyses of the Different Matrices of Similarities and Differences

The analysis of the matrix of similarities enables us to verify if by using ten words from the corpus we could conclude that all the varieties have close cognates or distant cognates; that is whether the intelligibility rate is high or low.

When we observe the table matrix of similarities of ten words, we notice that the rates range from 13% to 55%. The only rate that goes nearer 60% is 55% and the rest are far below.

When we observe the table of matrix of differences of ten words, we notice that the rates range from 45 to 87, meaning that the linguistic distances are very wide.

The analysis of ten words shows that the six varieties (Mbakong, Butang, Obang, Mantaa, Buwi and Otang) spoken in the Bafut Fondom are not dialects of the same language but dialects of other languages, or languages of their own because their matrices are far below 60%.

The analysis of one hundred words gives rates even far less than those of ten words. They range between 20% and 38%. Equally, the analysis of results from the whole corpus reveals results from those of 10 words, 100 words and 200 words as ranging between 11.25% and 27%.

From the forgone analysis, we can conclude therefore that the results got from the analysis of all the 200 words are weakest. Those got from 100 words are weaker than those from 10 words, meaning that the more the words we analyse, the wider the linguistic distances between Bafut, Mbakong, Butang, Obang, Mantaa, Buwi and Otang.

5.5.7 Regrouping of the Linguistic varieties

From the matrix of similarities, we can already regroup the linguistic varieties following the rates of similarities.

The first group is Bafut and Agah with the similarity rate of 65%. This is higher than 60% as prescribed by SIMONS, G. (1983), meaning that they are dialects of the same language.

The second group is Mantaa and Buwi with a similarity rate of 56%. Though it is less than 60% as prescribed by SIMONS, G. (1983), meaning that there is a reduced rate of intelligibility between these two varieties but they can form a dialectal group.

The third group is Mbakong and Butang with a similarity rate of 38%. This means that the linguistic distance is very wide and intelligibility very low.

The fourth is Obang with a similarity rate of 26% and Otang with a similarity rate of 19%. We realize that the linguistic distance between them is still very wide.

5.6 Classification of Linguistic Varieties according to distant or near intelligibility in the Bafut Fondom.

The classification of linguistic varieties will help us place each variety in relation to the distance that separates it from the other varieties.

5.6.1 Definition of Classification

The classification of linguistic varieties is a projection on a diagram of the different value rates of similarities recorded on the matrix of similarities.

The figure below shows clearly corresponding representation of the classification of linguistic varieties in the Bafut Fondom, from the table of matrix of similarities of 200 words.

Figure 8: Showing the classification of linguistic varieties in the Bafut Fondom.
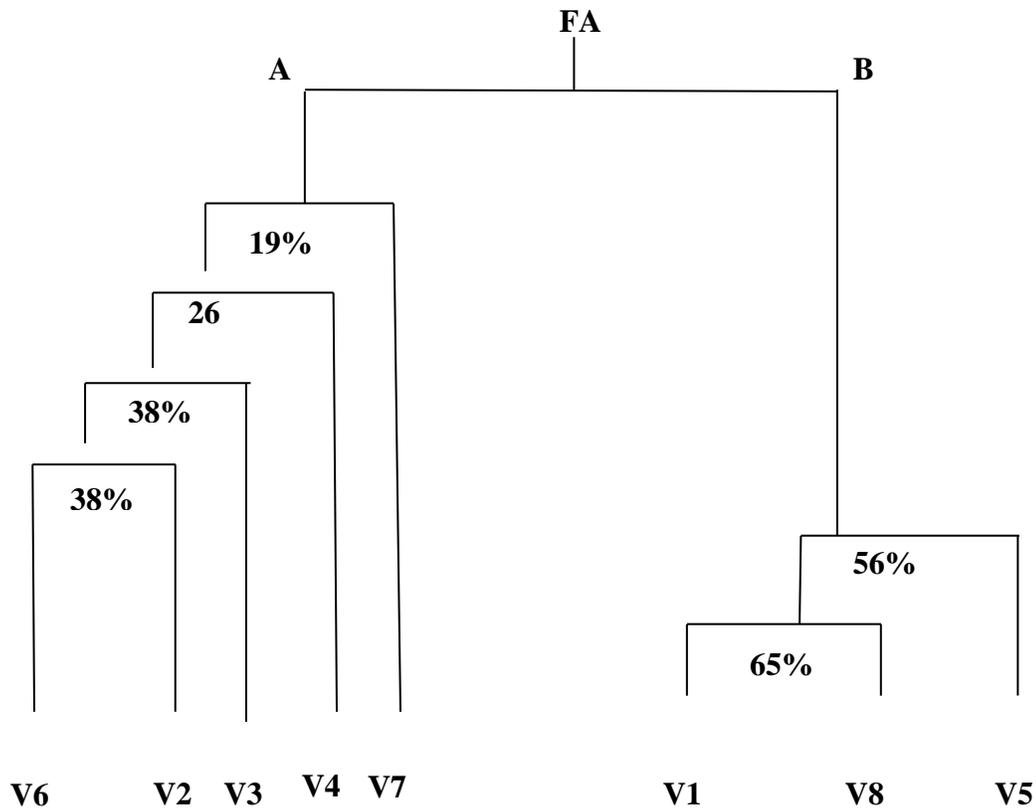
Figure 8 above presents a hierarchical classification of linguistic varieties in the Bafut Fondom through statistic measurement that can quantify the degree of resemblances between the linguistic varieties.

182

5.7 Discussions on the Lexicostatistic Method

The lexicostatistic method we have just treated in this chapter clearly delimits each of the seven language varieties spoken in Lower Bafut. From the diagram above, we can see how distant each language is from the other through statistical measurement which quantifies the degree of resemblances between the linguistic varieties.

According to SIMONS, G. (1983) if the lexical resemblances of two or more languages are above 60% there is high intelligibility, making the varieties dialects of the same language, but if below 60%, intelligibility is low, making the varieties different languages of their own.

The result of our matrices of similarities and differences on 10 words, 100 words and 200 words respectively revealed that none of the six linguistic varieties in Lower Bafut have similarities in vocabulary with Bafut up to 60%. Consequently, we can conclude that Mbakong, Butang, Obang, Mantaa, Buwi and Otang are not dialects of Bafut but different languages on their own. Drawing a conclusion from SIMONS, G. (1983), we can safely state that the linguistic varieties of Lower Bafut are not dialects of the same language but languages of their own. The only exception that proves the rule is the Beba speaking Agah which scores 65% similarity, thereby confirming the fact that Beba is a dialect of Bafut as stated on ALCAM (1983). Consequently, Mbakong, Butang, Obang, Mantaa, Buwi, and Otang are independent languages of their own.

5.7 Conclusion

The results of Lexicostatistics reveal from the matrices of similarity a range of values of 56%-13% which is far below 60%, meaning that Mbakong, Butang, Obang, Mantaa, Buwi and Otang are not dialects of the same language but could be distinct languages of their own. Only Agah has values above 60% and it is already stated as a dialect of Bafut on ALCAM. Chapter six coming up presents an ethnographically-informed approach to the study of the languages of Lower Bafut.

CHAPTER SIX
AN ETHNOGRAPHICALLY-INFORMED APPROACH TO THE
STUDY OF THE LANGUAGES OF LOWER BAFUT

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an ethnographically approach which explores the possibility of using geographically-informed evidence of demographic history to reconstruct the development of the ideologies that may have conditioned the various languages under study. It deals in greater depth with the rich cultural heritage from which emanate the ideologies of multilingualism as a cultural practice - a strong feeling of belonging.

6.2 Third Fieldtrip

From August 12 to September 02, 2015, we undertook a third fieldtrip to Lower Bafut. The main purpose of this trip was to collect data on the histories of the language speaking communities and solidarity groups of the area.

6.2.1 Objectives

a. An in-depth investigation into the contextual implications of the language ideologies using demographic history anchored to geography helped clarify whether multilingualism is a geographical or a societal phenomenon.

b. Collecting data on ethno-histories provided information on the communities, their histories, and their sociolinguistic phenomena.

c. Investigating the chronology of arrival of the linguistic groups and the impact of the ring road construction on the people threw greater light on the background of language change, conflicts, rivalry and resettlements in the area.

d. Further inquiries on such issues of multilingualism as solidarity, naming, intermarriages flagging, and prestige equally enlightened us on the motivations for multilingualism in this area.

6.2.2 Results

From the 43 questionnaires and 07interviews we administered, interesting results were revealed. The questions on the histories of the villages revealed that they have one common origin which is Widikum, and they moved to different destinations before coming to settle at their present sites in Lower Bafut.

The questions of issues on multilingualism: naming and intermarriages reveal an in-depth of motivations for multilingualism coming as a result of friendship, trade, secrecy, family ties and education.

6.3 Geographical Context of the Bafut Fondom.

Much has been said and done as far as the geography of the Bafut Fondom is concerned. Bafut is found in Mezam Division in the North-West Region of Cameroon. On map 2 presented in the general introduction, the location of Bafut and its 50 villages is shown. Information on the cultural heritage, the economic life and the worldview has been published in detail by NGWA (1981).Bafut covers an area of 425 square kilometers and has a population of about 150,000 inhabitants. (Bafut Council 2012)

Administratively, the villages in Lower Bafut fall under the Bafut subdivision, meaning that all their rights and duties as citizens of Cameroon are recognized in this area of jurisdiction headed administratively by a Divisional Officer, and traditionally by the Fon of Bafut, His Royal Majesty Abumbi II, paramount ruler.

6.4 Geographical Context of Area under Study.

6.4.1 Location

The cluster of villages in the basin of River Mezam lies to the northern fringes of Bafut in Mezam Division. These villages include Mantaa, Buwi, Tingo, Okwala, Nchoho, Mbakong, Butang, Obang, Ndong, Otang, Agah and Aguli. They are located some 37 kilometers from Bamenda, the North West regional capital, and they cover a distance of 29 kilometers on the Bamenda- Wum road, stretching from Mantaa to Aguli, which is the boundary between Bafut and Befang in Menchum Division. They are bound by Bikom on the north, Mundum on the south, Befang and Wum on the west and Bafut central on the east.

6.4.2 Population

According to the Bafut Council Development Program (2012), these villages have a total population of over 20,000 inhabitants, excluding that of the other Befang speaking communities.

Table 34: Population distribution in Lower Bafut

Sub-group	Language	Village	Population
Tingoh Nchoho Okwala Ndong Osogho Obang	Obang	Tingoh Nchoho Okwala Ndong Osogho Obang	6,000 600 500 3000 200 4900
	Butang Buwi Mantaa Mbakong	Butang Buwi Mantaa Mbakong	487 1526 400 2000
Agah	Beba	Agah	300
Total			20,413

Source: Bafut Council Development Program (2012).

According to the 2005 census, these villages' populations are as stated on table 34 above. The villages are all found on the Bamenda-Wum road, stretching from Mantaa to Aguli which is the boundary between Bafut and Befang in Menchum Division.

6.4.3 Other Important Geographical Features of Area under Study

Relief: Set in a fertile basin with extensive plains, the area is surrounded by lofty hills that make up the south-west range of the Bamenda highlands within the Cameroon high plateau region.

Climate: The area falls within a tropical zone characterized by two seasons: the rainy season that runs from March to October, and the dry season that runs from November to February. The temperatures are high, ranging from 40^{oc} to 60^{oc}.

Hydrology: The basin is drained by waters of the Rivers Mezam and Menchum – the latter being a tributary of the Katchina Ala. Their feeder streams flow downhill and swell them in the valleys, mostly during the rainy season. Lying in the volcanic region of the Cameroon highlands, the basin

has been affected by recent eruptions resulting in several crater lakes that spread into Wum, notably Lake Enep near Aguli, Lake Elum in Butang and Lake Wum.

Vegetation: Lower Bafut is characterized by savanna vegetation on the hills and gallery forests in the valleys.

Soil: Owing to recent eruptions, the soil is volcanic and fertile. It is humus-dominated in the valleys with alluvial toppings washed down the hills by rains. Uphill, it is mostly laterite.

Roads: The main communication link is the Bamenda-Wum road that snakes down the Menchum Basin, crossing the river twice, at mile 23 and mile 37. The construction of the Ring Road through the area brought about development in terms of schools, health centers, agricultural posts and administrative infrastructures. Economically, the Ring Road serves as a farm-to-market road for their produce such as rice, palm oil, cocoa, coffee, cocoyam, cassava, groundnuts, maize, okra, sand and timber. They are evacuated to nearby Bafut and Bamenda, as well as other distant destinations in Cameroon and abroad, especially Douala, Yaounde, and the neighboring countries of Nigeria, Gabon and Equatorial Guinea. Similarly, due to the Ring Road and the fertility of the soil, many non-natives have come to settle there permanently to establish businesses or embark on farming. However, the availability of products of the brewery industry has lured a lot of youths into alcohol consumption, thereby causing untold disorder, crime and laziness in the villages.

6.5 Economic and Social Situation of the Area.

6.5.1 Economic Situation

Located along the banks of the River Mezam, the inhabitants of Lower Bafut have as main occupations fishing and agriculture which constitute the greatest source of their livelihood. They cultivate such food stuff and cash crops as maize, paddy rice, groundnuts, oil palms, cassava, okra, vegetables, cocoyam, coffee and cocoa. A lot of fishing is also carried out on the River Mezam and in the surrounding lakes.

Agriculture and fishing apart, the economy of the basin is equally bolstered by logging and sand exploitation. The inhabitants harvest timber from Kom and Weh forests across the Menchum River and then float it down the River Mezam for local consumption or export. Similarly, sand exploited from the Mezam River is supplied to the building and housing industry in Bafut, Bamenda

and far away Bafoussam. Both the inhabitants and the Bafut Council benefit tremendously from this economic activity; not forgetting the middle men who trade in the sand.

6.5.2 Social Situation

A majority of the people experience abject poverty, so they could hardly be expected to attain any comfortable social standing. All the same, a rich minority has brought about much development to the basin.

Some decades ago very few families considered the education of their children a priority. Today, however, with the opening of many government primary and secondary schools, the inhabitants' mentalities are beginning to change, and they now think positively about the education of their children, especially that of the girl children.

In terms of integration, there are a lot of intermarriages between the villages in the basin whereas, as stated earlier, one can count only very few of such cases between the people of Bafut and those of Lower Bafut.

6.5.3 Demographic and Geographical Orientation

The geo-linguistic area of our study is Lower Bafut in Bafut subdivision, Mezam Division, Northwest Cameroon. It now boasts of a population of about 20,000 people, who started arriving to settle in this land during the 18th century waves of migration provoked by feudal wars and the quest for territorial domination. They came from several points of the Widikum forest and Southwest Region to settle in present day Lower Bafut.

6.5.4 Cultural Orientations

Culturally, the people of Lower Bafut are different from those of Bafut in that they do not have the same origin, neither do they speak the same language. As these groupings came from Widikum during the 18th century migration and found Bafut people already settled, they then moved downwards to occupy the basin. For obvious reasons they are very frequently attracted to the bigger markets, schools and religious denominations in Bafut.

Similarly, their sociopolitical and cultural systems are not as strong as those of Bafut respect for the elder is based on achievements by the individual, whereas in Bafut it is based on social status, rank and age.

That said, the issue of multiple identities is so common in Cameroon that an individual could be identified differently by the different groups he or she belongs to: traditional groups, church groups, professional groups and social groups.

Equally, in Lower Bafut, the issue of identity is very peculiar; children born are given either a paternal or a maternal name depending on the turn of the parent to name. Traditionally, it is the mother who names the first child and the rest of the children who follow are named by the father. These names are considered very sacred by the various families, and the children are regarded as though they were the very people they were named after. Hence, you would see a woman calling her son [*tata*]- meaning father or her daughter [*nana*]- meaning mother. But children born from inter-marriages have double identities, that is, a name from the paternal side and another from the maternal side, and they are expected to speak both the language of the mother and the language of the father. Reason why multilingualism is a cultural practice.

The people of Lower Bafut are friendly towards strangers such as those from Bafut, Mankon, Nkwen, Meta, Mundum, Kom, Befang, Wum and many other tribes. Their days of socialization are Tuesdays for the Mbakong Market day, Wednesday for the Ndong Market day, and Friday for the Tingoh Market day.

Finally, one can say the majority of the inhabitants of Lower Bafut are Christians but everybody is rooted in their culture. They have their gods and ancestors to whom they perform rituals according to season and activity.

6.6 Linguistic Orientation

In Lower Bafut, several groups claim to speak distinct languages of different origins. Chenemo (2011) on intelligibility revealed that Butang, Buwi, Mantaa, Mbakong and Otang have no mutual intelligibility but there is inter-communication between them. Obang is officially stated to be one of the six dialects of Befang on ALCAM(1983), and it is spoken as a native language by eight communities in Lower Bafut namely:- Tingoh, Nchoho, Okwala, Obang, Oshugu, Aguli, Ndong, including Maghom which is found in Boyo Division. This brings the total number of Obang native speakers to 15,200 out of the 20,000 inhabitants of Lower Bafut. The Agah people speak Beba

which is also stated to be a dialect of Bafut on ALCAM (1983). Pidgin is used in Lower Bafut as a lingua franca.

To conclude, linguistically, several groups in Lower Bafut speak distinct languages of different origins. These linguistic groups have single language villages which are autonomous with a chief as a traditional head, except Obang which is an eight-village language.

6.7 A Historical reconstruction of the villages of Lower Bafut

This part of Bafut subdivision starts form mile 23 (Mantaa) to mile 37 (Osogho) along the Bamenda-Wum road. It occupies the plains of the middle section of the River Mezam, having the lowest altitudes within the subdivision, hence the name "Lower Bafut". It is called [mbu'untii]in Bafut language meaning "Lower Zone".

6.7.1 According to NFONYAM (1989),

The Bafut people are historically of Tikar origin. Their movements can be traced back to the 18th century waves of migration, when the Tikar people started moving southward from the area of Tibati or Banyo. The group that now forms Bafut stopped first at Ndop and then moved again and finally settled in the present area that makes up the Bafut chiefdom.

The villages of Mbakong Butang, Obang, Mantaa, Buwi, and Otang seem to have had the same origin as they came to settle on those plains during the migration caused by wars, power rivalry and territorial domination. Definitely, they came in long after the Bafut people had occupied their present site.

The Bafut people invited their neighbours to wars against Bujong, Weh, Otang who developed a negative attitude towards aggressive visitors, especially the "*dugaris*" (fon's gendarmes) owing to the influence of slavery. This then is how Bafut established its dominion over the whole area up to the boundary with Befang which, according to Fon Abumbi II, quoting German maps, passes over the hill-top to Lake Enep.

After the Bafut people finally settled, their history was dominated by minor wars through which they absorbed the outlying units of the Widikum or forest migrations whom they encountered on all sides.

6.7.2 John FONTEM (1973) says:

... The Bafut man fought wars both to acquire more land and people, to defend himself or simply to show how strong he was. Buguri, Mbakong, Bukaa, Manta,Butang , and Buwi were all captured and made part of Bafut.

Bafut to date has dominion over these villages and has been responsible for the crowning of sub-chiefs of the area, and they in turn pay a token annual tribute to the Fon of Bafut.

Obang is spoken as a native language by eight dispersed language communities in Lower Bafut namely: - Tingoh, Nchoho, Maghom, Okwala, Obang, Oshugu, Aguli, Ndong. The Obang village is the original settlement of the population. While the other Obang –speaking communities resulted from in-migrations due to family feuds and witchcraft, they all pay allegiance to the chief of Obang and have the same traditions. This brings the total number of Obang native speakers to 15,200 out of the 20,000 inhabitants of Lower Bafut (HOMBERT 1980).

The kind of settlement of the population of Lower Bafut is in dispersed compounds with people of the same kin groups. They first settled on the hills and later on moved down to the main road sides for administrative reasons. The settlement of the population on the Mbakong land gives a historical account of in-migration by the Obang–speaking communities of Nchoho and Ntakasala who do not respect the traditions and holidays of the people of Mbakong. Recently, in 2012, there was a land dispute between the Mbakong people and the Obang people over a sand pit in Nchoho, both sides claiming ownership of the land.

Lower Bafut makes up approximately 20 percent of the total surface area of Bafut Sub division. (see copy map 2).

6.7.3 LOWER BAFUT: [mbu'untii]

According to NIBA MATHIAS LIVINUS (1981), and to the latest 1992 Administrative map of Cameroon, Lower Bafut (also referred to in the Bafut language as Mbu'untii), is part of the Bafut Fondom lying some 12 km North-West of the capital Bujong. It is thus part of the Bafut Sub-Division of Mezam Division, North-West Cameroon.

Administratively, it contains two second class chiefdoms; Mbakong and Obang, out of eight such chiefdoms of the Bafut first class fondom. The other chiefdoms which are yet to be classified are; Mantaa, Buwi, Butang, Otang and Agah. In addition, other settlements are emerging due to

population increase. These are Nchoho and Ndong. It covers an area of around 200 sq km. The population figures are not available because the figures are fused with those of Bafut sub-division.

Topographically, the area is low lying in the plains of the Menchum valley, with an average height of 500 meters above sea level. The principal hydraulic feature is the Menchum River. It is fed by the Mezam River rising from the Bamenda escarpment with its tributaries being the Muwii and Mughom Rivers which in turn take their rise from the Kom highlands.

The climate is the equatorial type characterized by high temperatures and heavy rainfall. The area used to be thickly forested providing habitats for such animals as elephants, leopards, deer and buffalo. Now, however, the animals have become a rare sight due to deforestation and hunting. The rivers teem with fish. Agricultural produce are mainly foodstuffs: tubers such as cassava, cocoyams and yams; cereals such as corn, paddy rice and groundnuts. It should be noted that rice and oil palms are the principal cash crops.

The People

The population of the area is diverse, understandably so because of such favourable economic factors as the practice of agriculture and the presence of several natural resources that have had new inhabitants relocating from the surrounding highlands of Kom, Bafut, Metta and Mundum to settle and exploit the resources. We do not know how long this valley has served as a settlement, since there is no archaeological and ethnographical data.

Bafut history sheds some light on the area, but as a non-literate society, part of the Bafut history was preserved in oral traditions. Some of these traditions were recorded by the British colonial administration HAWKESWORTH (1926), HOOK (1934), and later elaborated by CHILVER and KABERRY (1963) and NIBA (1981). According to these traditions, the Bafut were among the peoples of the Bamenda Highlands called the Tikars who traced their origins from the region of Ndobo or Tikari northwest of Fumban to the present-day Western Region of Cameroon. They migrated into the Bamenda plateau about 400 years ago. Others who today claim the same place of origin are those of Kom, Nso, Bum, Fungom, Ndop and Ntem. After wandering and stopping over in many places, the Bafut branch of the Tikars eventually settled in the present site. They then began to conquer and absorb the people around them, that is, those of the Widikum stock. The British administrators labeled as Widikum the peoples in present-day Momo, parts of Menchum and Mezam divisions who claimed the Widikum and Tadkon area of the Momo division as their

legendary place of origin. According to the clarification, the peoples, such as the Bukari, Buwi and those of the valley, that is, the Mbu'untii were grouped among the Widikum.

What distinguished the Tikar from the Widikum peoples was that the former had centralized political institutions headed by powerful chiefs (Fons) with fearsome regulatory societies, while the latter had decentralized institutions. The chiefs were merely family heads. The colonial authorities were thus more attracted to the centralized traditional policies than to the segmentary or decentralized ones. So, while these authorities engaged in the in-depth studies of the Tikars, they did not care much about segmentary societies. Reason why there is relatively very little information about our area of study. Whatever little information we have about the people comes from the slanted perspective of their larger neighbor, Bafut.

Before the advent of the German colonial rule in Cameroon in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the area had been under the control of the Bafut Fondom. How did this come about? When the Tikari-derived dynasty gained control of the Bafut chieftaincy after deposing the indigenous ruler, Nibachi of Mbebeli, it embarked on conquest and expansion.

Firstly, the Bafut subdued the Bukari and Buwi people who were the original or indigenous inhabitants of the area along with Mbebeli. This expansion was accelerated with the incursion of the Bali-Chamba into the Bamenda area at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The Chamba entry into the region profoundly affected the balance of power. It brought them into conflict with the bigger chiefdoms and sent the smaller chiefdoms seeking refuge under the bigger ones. Bafut, as one of the large and powerful chiefdoms, clashed with the chambas and became a rallying point for refugees from the Ngemba area. The chiefdom which sought permanent refuge from the Bafut were Mambu and Mankanikong, both of whom claimed to have come from Mberewi.

The expansion of the Bafut chiefdom northwards into the Menchum valley, that is our area of study, after the Chamba incursion sometime in the middle of the nineteenth century, was dictated by a desire for land grabbing as well as payment of tribute. In a series of raids, the Bafut conquered and subdued some of the peoples of the area, such as Otang, Buwi and Bugri. The rest of them, namely, the Mbakong, Mantaa and Butang voluntarily submitted.

The supply of meat, fish, leopard skins, elephant tusks, buffalo horns, palm oil and slaves to the Bafut palace made the Fondom (chiefdom) economically self-sufficient, in contrast to such neighbours as Mantaa and Bikom (WARNIER, 1985).

By the time of the German arrival, the Bafut Fondom had roughly assumed its present dimension as a powerful and economically self-sufficient political entity.

It was able to offer stiff resistance to German incursion and thus fought a series of wars against the Germans. When the Germans finally defeated Bafut in 1907 and exiled the Fon, Abumbi 1, they left the Fondom intact. When the Fon was re-instated after one year in exile, he became a convenient tool in the hands of the colonialists. By a policy of indirect administration, they used him to rule and exploit the people. Thus the Fon collected taxes for the colonial administration. He was also forced to supply labour for government projects in the various stations and in plantations on the coastal areas. Most of the taxes and labour came from the Mbu'untii area.

When the British replaced the Germans following the latter's defeat in the First World War (1914-1918), they continued with the German policy of indirect rule by formally creating the Bafut Native Authority (NA). This comprised the neighbouring chiefdoms of Nkwen, Bambui, Big Babanki, Babanki Tungo, Bamendakwe, Bambili and Bafut. Since Bafut had the largest land area with a corresponding large population, the Fon of Bafut was designated the Native Authority, assisted by the chief of Big Babanki. His duty was to maintain order and collect taxes from the other chiefs and his own people and pay into the divisional treasury. The Fon did not merely limit himself to collecting colonial taxes; he continued to extract tribute from the Mbu'untii people with the tacit support of the colonial administration. The Fon of Bafut grew relatively rich from the tax rebates paid by the authorities and from the tributes, while the chiefs who helped him in collecting the taxes had nothing but their small allowances. This situation prompted some chiefs to start protesting by writing petitions to the colonial authorities, pleading to be allowed to pay their taxes directly into the Government Treasury rather than through the Fon of Bafut. Paying taxes directly into the treasury meant also having their own rebates.

The petitions and protests were more vocal from chiefs of Mbu'untii. They did not only protest against paying their taxes through the Fon of Bafut, but they challenged the whole notion of payingtributes of meat, fish, palm oil, leopard skins, buffalo horns and elephant tusks to the Bafut palace. This time there were no slaves. The most outspoken opponent and ring leader was chief Nano of Obang.

The local administrators did not want to disturb the statusquo. So, they always ruled in favour of the Fon of Bafut, since he served as their agent and chief tax collector. The chiefs resorted to petitioning to higher authorities, even to the chief commissioner in Enugu, Nigeria to no avail. The

Fon of Bafuttoo resorted to court action when his tributes were not forthcoming. Nano was once imprisoned for insubordination. These problems between the Fon of Bafut and the chiefs of Lower Bafut have been examined by NGWA DIVINE (2011).

These protests have continued even till this day, especially with the government policy of bringing administration closer to the people and traditional rulers considered auxiliaries of the administration. Following the chieftaincy Decree of 1977, the Bafut Fondom was designated as a first-class chiefdom. Eight other chiefdoms were recognized as second class chiefdoms attached to the first-class chiefdom of Bafut. The chiefdoms of Mbakong and Obang were recognized as second class chiefdoms by the Cameroon Government. The creation of the Bafut sub-division in 1992 and later, the Bafut council in 1996, only whetted the people's appetite for more local autonomy; the ambition of Nano is to have a sub-division.

Table 35: First and Second Class Chiefdoms in Mezam Division (Source: Cerdotola 2012)

Mezam division	Area in Square Kilometers	Number of third-class Chiefdoms
1- Bamenda I Subdivision • Menda-Nkwen		00
2- Bamenda II Subdivision • First class chiefdom of Mankon • Nsongwa	319	00
3- Bamenda III Subdivision • Nkwen		00
4- Santa Subdivision • Pinyin • Bali Gham • Akum • Awing	542	00
5- Tubah Subdivision • Bambui (Fingue) • Bambili • Kedjom Keku • Kedjom Ketigoh • Sabga	436	01
6- Bafut Subdivision • First Class Chiefdom of Bafut • Manka Nikong • Manbu • Mankwi • Bawum • Banji • Obang • Mbakong • Nsem • Mundum I	342	00
7- Bali Subdivision • Bali Nyonga • Bawock	191	00
2 First Class Chiefdoms 23 Second Class Chiefdoms	1745	01

6.8 Chronology of Arrival and the Impact of the Ring Road on the Area

The chronology of arrival of groups in the area and the construction of the Ring Road have impacted language change, and also provoked conflicts, rivalry and in-migration in the area.

a- Many consultants claimed that the Mbakong people were the first to arrive the present site, given that the Catholic Mission was built there during missionary activities in Cameroon since 1884.

b- Others claim that the Obang people first came to settle at the river banks because their main occupation was fishing.

c- As for the construction of the Ring Road through the basin, it has had both positive and negative repercussions on the people. On the one hand, the road has facilitated accessibility, thereby promoting multilingualism and language change. On the other hand, it has generated several conflicts, provoked violence, and an unenviable rate of intermarriages and broken marriages which are a factor to language endangerment.

6.9 The Villages of Lower Bafut

As earlier said, Lower Bafut makes approximately 14% of the total surface area of the Bafut subdivision, with a total population of about 20,000 inhabitants. The villages that make up this area (see copy map 2) are: Mantaa, Buwi, Mbakong, Butang, Obang, Otang, Agah. Other smaller villages such as Tingoh, Okwalla, Nchoho, Anabam, Ndong and Osogho have cropped up in recent times as a result of migration of families from the majority Obang-speaking community.

Being oral, that is, not documented in any form, the history of the area has been adulterated from generation to generation and for political reasons. The information given in the pages that follow in this chapter was thus culled from interviews with inhabitants of the following villages:

1. Mantaa
2. Buwi
3. Mbakong
4. Butang
5. Obang
6. Otang
7. Agah
8. Tingoh

9. Okwalla

10. Nchoho

11. Anabam

12. Ndong and

13. Osogho

6.9.1 The Mantaa Village

Mantaa people migrated from an area called Bu in Menchum Division. The cause of their departure from Bu was succession or chieftaincy disputes. Two brothers, Buubi I and Tanifum, left Bu accompanied by two others, and the four together with their families laid the foundation of the Mantaa Village. When Buubi I died, Ngwaankanchang was enthroned. And he and his people relocated to a place called Kieutighang,the site of present day Okwalla. Here, they were subjected tobattles and frequent attacks from the Bikom people who outnumbered them. For fear of being eliminated, they pleaded with the Fon of Bafut, Achirimbi I, for protection. He asked them to go up the hill to a place called Nkwiilaa where they met the Bino'o settlers from Bafut. Conflict broke out between them and the Mantaa people started killing the Bino'o people and scotching their crops with witchcraft masterminded by their juju called Andjom. When the news got to the Fon of Bafut, he ordered them to leave immediately, so they came downhill and settled at the bank of River Mezam, their present site.

The Mantaa people on settling at the present site acknowledged that the land belonged to the Bafut people. The Fon of Bafut (Achirimbi I) also provided them protection from their invaders. Consequently, mutual collaboration developed. The Mantaa people participated in such activities as [bwii nfor] meaning the Fon's thatching grass for renovation of the palace, and [abinɨ nfor] meaning Fon's annual dance. Tribute was also paid to the Bafut Fon in form of palm oil, game and fish. The Fon of Bafut crowned their chief as [nt ɔ̄ɔ̄mantaa].

Mantaa is bounded by the following:

- Bukari on the south

- Tingho on the north

- Buwi on the east and

- River Mezam on the west.

199

Relationships with the neighbours are cordial as far as land matters are concerned, but there is a wrangle with respect to hierarchical arrangements of chiefdoms within the Lower Bafut area, with some chiefs trying to impose their rule on others.

Traditionally the Mantaa people are farmers, hunters and fishermen. The predominant activity is cultivation of foodstuffs: maize, beans, cassava, cocoyam, plantains etc for subsistence. Recently other produce such as oil palms, cocoa, plantains, paddy rice were introduced.

6.9.1.1 Tradition and Customs of the Mantaa people

At the head of the traditional set-up of Mantaa is the chief [nt ɔ́ɔ́ mantaa]. Below him are the [kwifɔ́]: the traditional ruling body and [bɨkum]: the king makers and the traditional council.

From migration to present day, the Mantaa people have been ruled by the following four chiefs:

- Buubi 1
- Ngwa'anka'a nchang
- Ngwa Marcus and
- Ngwa Vincent now on the throne.

All these chiefs bear the title [nt ɔ̄ɔ̄mantaa].

6.9.1.2 Secrete Societies:

- [kwif ɔ̄]: The traditional ruling body.
- [alɔ̄ŋganŋ]: male cult
-[takumbɔ̄ŋ]: male cult
-[andjɔ̄m]: wicked and destructive juju using witchcraft to kill and scotch vegetation on an enemy's land.
-[alɔ̄m]: male biennial secret cult.

6.9.1.3 Cultural Dances:

The cultural dances of Mantaa include the following:

- [nkɔ̄'ɔ́]: Black, ugly and powerful masquerade that performs only during important events.
- [funji]: youth's cult, only for males. It disciplines recalcitrant people in the community.
- [mabu'u]: It animates during cultural events and announces the presence of the [kwif ɔ̄]:

- [bugwatsu]: a male cultural animation juju

-[ndzaŋ]: A cultural animation dance for both men and women

- [fumbwὲn]: a female cult, performed only during funerals.

6.9.1.4. Language

The Mantaa people speak the Mantaa language. It is quite similar to the language of Bu from where they migrated, meaning it is a sort of mutilation of the Bu language. Mantaa language shares no similarities with Bafut or its neighbours, Buwi and Obang. The majority of the Mantaa people in addition to their mother tongue [mantaa] equally speak the Bafut language. This, they say, is the fruit of good relationship cultivated and nurtured with the Bafut people.

It is said that one of the chiefs of Mantaa stood witness in a court case in favour of the Fon of Bafut but refused a cash gesture of appreciation from the Fon. In turn, the Fon of Bafut gave him one of the princesses by name Manka'a shi who became the mother of subsequent chiefs of Mantaa, reason why these chiefs bear Bafut names such as Ngwa.

6.9.2 The Buwi Village

The Buwi people migrated from Banyo in the North of Cameroon because of intertribal wars. From Banyo they transited over the Ndop plains and settled at Santa Njong. Still fleeing from wars, they moved down to Mbebili in present day Bafut where they met Neba Chi the chief of the settlers at Mbebili at the time. From Mbebili they migrated through Banji to their present site because of chieftaincy disputes. Buwi is situated presently on a high hilltop, reason being that after escaping from many aggressors, they had to perch on a site from which they could easily observe the advance of any enemies or attackers. Still, the Buwi people suffered attacks from the Bikom and Mejang people. The Fon of Bafut protected Buwi from these villages and in return Buwi paid allegiance to Bafut and now accepts their belonging to the Bafut Fondom and subdivision. Buwi, till recent times, participated in major traditional rites and activities in the Bafut Fon's palace such as [bwii mf ɔ̄] : Fon's thatching grass and [abinì mf ɔ̄] : the Fon's annual dance.

Buwi has the following quarters:

- Ndansuh

- Ndabuseh

- Ndafukeh

and the following sub quarters:

– Bongwa

– Bondeh

– Bodiati and

– Bondaboh

Her neighbouring villages include: Tingoh, Okwalla, Maghom, Mejang Mbenkas and Bukari. Buwi has good relationships with these neigbours and also with the Fondom of Bafut. However, the tussle of supremacy among the chiefs of Lower Bafut does not spare Buwi.

As occupation, the Buwi people do subsistent farming, cultivating crops such as maize beans cocoyam, cassava plantain etc, and paddy rice was introduced by the Chinese in the early 1970s. They equally do hunting and fishing.

6.9.2.1 Tradition and Customs

Buwi has a chief at the head, assisted by:

-[ndii mf ɔ]: the chief's assistant.

- [muma]: the chief's brother.

-[mam mf ɔ]: queen mother, in that hierarchical order.

The traditional set up is as follows:

- [mf ɔ]: the chief

-[kwif ɔ]: The traditional ruling body.

- [bɨkum]: king makers

-[takumbɔ̄ŋ]: male cult for princes.

6.9.2.2 Secret Societies:

The secret societies of the Buwi people are:

- [kwif ɔ]: The traditional ruling body.

- [tum]: male cult

-[takumbɔ̄ŋ]: male cult

-[alɔ̄m]: male biennial secret cult.

6.9.2.3 Cultural Dances

Their traditional dances are listed below.

- [nkɔ'ɔ]: Black, ugly and powerful masquerade that performs only during important events.

-[funji]: youth's cult, only for males. It disciplines recalcitrant people in the community.

- [mabù ù]: It animates during cultural events and announces the presence of the [kwif ɔ]:

- [bugwatsu]: a male cultural animation juju

- [ndzaŋ]: A cultural animation dance for both men and women

- [fumbwὲn]: a female cult, performed only during funerals.

6.9.2.4 Language

The Buwi language is spoken only in Buwi. It is not similar to either those of neighbouring villages or that of Bafut. Many Buwi people speak and understand the Bafut language for reasons of good cooperation, easy administration and interaction among the communities. All these have resulted in intermarriages with the attendant spread of names as Che, Ngwa, Neba etc from Bafut.

6.9.2.5 Chieftaincy

Buwi is a third-class chiefdom in the Bafut Fondom. The following chiefs have ruled Buwi since the people migrated from the North.

These chiefs are:
- Ngwafel.
- Amohngwah
- Fukum Ngwandum I
- Mukwo Ngwandum II
- Ngwandum III presently on the throne.

Just as Buwi participates in traditional rites in Bafut, the Bafut Fon and traditional authorities take part in major traditional rites in Buwi such as the enthronement of chiefs. This is a mutual relationship and the Buwi chiefdom accepts her subordination to the first class Fondom of Bafut.

6.9.3 The Mbakong Village

The people came in from Widikum in Momo Division due to tribal wars during the 18th century waves of migration. They came in two separate groups under the leadership of Bonshu and

Bishi. After uniting in Bafut where they settled for some time, they moved on separately again with one group going as far as Menchum. The Bishi group settled at Abu'unchene and later moved to Bako in Mbakome, then later to their present site.

In the course of migration, they stopped at a place called Kaka near present day Banji where some of the Mbakong people were distracted by rhizomes. While they were eating the rhizomes, the rest of the people continued to Menchum division and settled at a place called Mbakumen, presently called Bako near Akwaya in the South West region. The faction that remained at Kaka selected a chief from the royal line. They later spread to other places within the same vicinity to exploit wild oil palms. These places were Kabeng, Mbeykunyam, Tinta and Tatcha. From the hills they came down to the banks of the River Mezam attracted by fertile soils, water, accessibility especially with the construction of the Ring Road, for easy administration. Presently, Mbakong has seven quarters as follows: -

- Nkurbia
- Mbekunyam
- Kakia
- Tinta
- Tatcha
- Ebafong
- Abeneba.

The following are neighbouring villages to Mbakong:

- Tingoh
- Mughie
- Akofunguba
- Adiemukong and
- Butang.

The relationship with their neighbours has been cordial. However, there exists a land dispute between Mbakong and the community of Obang settlers at the frontier with Tingoh where a locality known as Atsoho has been colonized and renamed Nchoho by some people of Obang Origin. Also, the Obang–speaking groups of Nchoho and Ntakasala do not respect the traditions and holidays of the people of Mbakong.

The population of Mbakong is settled in dispersed compounds regrouping people of the same kinship.

The main activity of the early Mbakong people was palm oil production. Reason why they settled along areas where the wild oil palms were found. They also practised hunting, cultivation of foodstuffs such as bananas, cocoyam, maize, beans and upland rice which they inherited from the Bahzi people. Around 1968, the Chinese introduced paddy rice cultivation to the villages of Lower Bafut with Mbakong as one of them. Today, rice is widely cultivated alongside plantains, cocoa, coffee and improved oil palms.

6.9.3.1 Tradition and Customs

Mbakong is a second-class chiefdom in the Bafut Fondom. Seven chiefs have ruled there since migration from Widikum. They are:

- Nteuhlatah

-Atekia Atekey Mbuhnkong

-Ngwamelaa

-Suh AsahI

- SuhAsah II

- Ngwamelaa II who is currently on the throne.

At the head of the Mbakong traditional set-up is the chief assisted by:

-[ndii mfɔ̀]: the chief's assistant.

-[muma]: the chief's brother.

-[mam mfɔ̀]: queen mother, in that hierarchical order.

The traditional set up is as follows: -

- [mfɔ̀]: the chief

- [kwifɔ̀]: The traditional ruling body.
- [bugɛ̀ɛ̀]: Economic regulating body (farming)
- [bɨ̀kum]: king makers
-[takumbɔ̄ŋ]: male cult for princes.
- [àtà ŋtso]: sub chief.

6.9.3.2 Secret Societies:

Below are the secret societies of the Mbakong people:

- [kwifɔ]: The traditional ruling body.
- [tum]: male cult
- [takumbɔ̄ŋ]: male cult for princes
- [alɔ̄m]: male biennial secret cult.

6.9.3.3 Cultural Dances:

The cultural dances of the Mbakong people include the following:

- [nkɔ̄'ɔ̄]: Black, ugly and powerful masquerade that performs only during important events.
- [funji]: youth's cult, only for males. It disciplines recalcitrant people in the community.
- [mabù ù]: It animates during cultural events and announces the presence of the [kwif ɔ]:
- [bugwatsu]: a male cultural animation juju.
- [ndzaŋ]: A cultural animation dance for both men and women.
- [fumbwὲn]: a female cult, performed only during funerals.
- [alɔ̄m]: The Mbakong people are the authors of [alɔ̄m] and to them it plays a very important role in the wellbeing of the people.
- It is a unifying factor.
- It is prestigious to be a member.
- It is the basis of social rank and hierarchy.
- It constitutes a deep-rooted tradition.
- Non-initiated members do not have a voice.
- It is expensive to be a member.
- It is believed to bring fertility and prosperity to the people of the land.

6.9.3.4 Language

The language spoken by the Mbakong people is very similar to that spoken in Widikum where they migrated from. Another locality which speaks a similar language to Mbakong is Mbakomen now called Bako. It should be noted that this was a faction of the Mbakong people who migrated from Widikum and separated with their brothers at Kaka. The Bafut language is widely spoken in Mbakong, and Bafut names are widely used; for example, Che, Suh, and Neba. One of the chiefs by name Suh Asah is said to have had direct blood links with the Bafut palace as a result of

intermarriage between the chief of Mbakong and a princess of Bafut; reason for the names Suh, Neba, in the Mbakong royal line.

6.9.3.5 Relationship with the Bafut Fondom

Mbakong people came to settle at their past and present sites when Bafut people were already there. They accepted peaceful coexistence with Bafut, and also recognized the supremacy of the first class Fondom of Bafut. As such, they paid allegiance and also participated in royal activities as [bwii mf ɔ́]: fon's thatching grass and [abinìmf ɔ́]: The Fon's annual dance at the Bafut palace. During enthronement of Mbakong chiefs, the Bukums [king makers] of Bafut accompany those of Mbakong. There are also many intermarriages between Mbakong and Bafut people.

6.9.4 The Butang Village

The Butang people are said to have migrated from Widikum. They first settled at a place at mile 18 along the Bamenda Wum road which they named [ala'a butaŋ]; meaning "Butang country". From there, they moved northwards to a small hill at Atsoho (mile 26) now called Nchoho. They continued northwards to another locality called Kai Mantsang in Mbakong, then to Mfumeka (Butang black bush) and to Fendong (just above their present site at mile 29 Wum road). At the time of these movements, the Ring Road had not yet been constructed. They recently moved down to the roadside after its construction for easy accessibility and proximity to the administration.

The word Butang is a poor transcription of [ota ŋgɔ́ŋ]; meaning indigenous people or "country people". The Butang people migrated to escape from inter-tribal wars and slave raiders, given that most of them were caught and sold into slavery by indigenous slave traders. At the time of settlement in their various sites, the Butang people met neither indigenous people nor other settlers. They therefore did not negotiate any deals with anybody. However, the Bafut people, in their expansionist venture, subdued the Butang people and imposed certain annual tributes on them in the form of palm oil, fish and game.

Present day Butang has the following neighbours:

- Mbakong in the south
- Obang in the North
- Banji in the West.

It also has the following quarters:

- Filieu
- Figwe
- Betebe.

Because of her small population, Butang is at constant risk of aggression in the form of encroachment into their land by her three neighbours Mbakong, Obang and Banji. Respect for the law has greatly diminished this threat in recent times, though it remains far from being extinct.

The Butang people are farmers and they cultivate food crops for subsistence. In the late 1960s when the Chinese introduced paddy rice cultivation, the Butang people also embraced it. Today new crops such as plantains, improved oil palms, cocoa and coffee are grown. Some Butang people also carry out hunting, fishing and rearing of domestic animals and ruminant live-stock.

6.9.4.1 Traditions and Customs:

Butang is a third-class chiefdom in the Bafut Fondom. Since migration from Widikum, Butang people have been ruled by 6 chiefs: -
- Baca Ndom
- Kenteuleuh
- Awasang
- Alomengum
- Konengum
- Ndangang is the present chief.

The traditional set-up of Butang is as follows:
- [mfɔ̄]: the chief
- -[kwifɔ̄]: The traditional ruling body.
- [bìkum]: king makers
- -[takumbɔ̄ŋ]: male cult for princes.
- [àtà ŋtso]: sub chief.

6.9.4.2 Secret Societies:

Below are the secret societies of Butang:
- [kwif ɔ̄]: The traditional ruling body.
- [tum]: male cult

208

- -[takumbɔ̄ŋ]: male cult
- -[alɔ̄m]: male biennial secret cult.
- -[ekum]: male cult

6.9.4.3 Cultural Dances:

The cultural dances of Butang are:

- [nkɔ̄'ɔ̄]: Black, ugly and powerful masquerade that performs only during important events.
- [funji]: youths cult,only for males. It disciplines recalcitrant people in the community.
- [mabù ù]: It animates during cultural events and announces the presence of the [kwif ɔ̄]:
- [bugwatsu]: a male cultural animation juju.
- [ndzaŋ]: A cultural animation dance for both men and women
- [fumbwɛ̀n]: a female cult performed only at funerals.
- [atsam] male dance.

   These cultural dances originated from Widikum. Butang people assist in traditional activities in the Bafut Fon's palace. The traditional authorities of Bafut also take part in Butang traditional activities such as enthronement of new chiefs. As earlier mentioned, this interaction was imposed through conquest and has been maintained with Butang having no other option.

6.9.4.4 Language

   The Butang language is spoken only in the Butang village. It is the most difficult and stagnant language within the Lower Bafut communities. Because of the limited population and their restricted hospitality (strangers are very reluctant to settle in Butang), the language is at risk of extinction. For instance, over 90% of Butang people use the languages of their neighbours for communication. Obang, Mbakong and Bafut are used in their homes, whereas very few outsiders understand the Butang language, let alone speak it. Again, because of their small numbers, aspects of intermarriage have led to assimilation of the Butang language.

6.9.5 The Obang Village

   The name Obang comes from fish farming [abaŋ]: meaning fishing hut. Naturally, the Obang people are fishermen and they spend weeks on the River Mezam fishing. Wherever they went, they built a hut called [abaŋ] and this gave rise to the name Obang.

The Obang people migrated from the south of Cameroon from a place called Fernando Po. They moved north-eastward to Widikum, fleeing from wars and slave raiders. Part of the Obang people moved to Bikom at a place called Mbwene. These are known presently as Obang Bikom. From Widikum, they migrated to Befang, at a place called Efle, now Aguli, before moving up to the present site where they then settled at a place called [osok]: meaning wild palms. From Osok, they moved down to the roadside when the Bamenda Wum road was constructed.

Obang is a second-class chiefdom. From the time of migration till the present day they have been ruled by five chiefs:

- Nanoh Beh
- Ata'a Kum
- Nanoh 1
- Nanoh II
- Nanoh III now reigning.

The quarters of Obang village are:

- Anabam
- Osogo
- Ndong
- Ekwi Kum (mile 32)
- Nchoho
- Okwalla
- Tingoh

Some of these quarters have grown into small villages headed by chiefs such as Osogo, Ndong, Okwalla, and Tingoh. Obang mainland has as neighbours the following villages:

- Otang
- Aguh
- Butang

Like the Mungbam-speaking villages of Lower Fungom, Obang is spoken as a native language by eight dispersed language communities in Lower Bafut namely: - Tingoh, Nchoho, Maghom, Okwala, Obang, Osogo, Aguli, Ndong. The Obang village is the original settlement of the population. While the other Obang-speaking communities resulted from in-migrations due to family feuds and witchcraft, they all still pay allegiance to the chief of Obang and have the same traditions.

210

This brings the total number of Obang native speakers to 15,200 out of the 20,000 inhabitants of Lower Bafut (HOMBERT, 1980).

It should be noted that Obang is made up of multiple villages dotted here and there within the Lower Bafut basin, having the same origin and traditions, but not a defined common territory. For example, Tingoh is Obang but they moved in from Bikom and settled at the present site called ``Ntee Ngoh`` meaning below the rock, now called Tingoh. Tingoh is separated from mainland Obang (Anabam) by two villages – Mbakong and Butang, meaning that Tingoh, though Obang-speaking, does not share a common boundary with mainland Obang. Okwalla is also an Obang-speaking village, settled across the River Mezam. The people are believed to have equally moved in from Boyo (Bikom). They do not share a common boundary with mainland Obang.

Nchoho is a community of Obang-speaking people. They moved in from across the River Mezam and settled at a farmland known as [atsɔ'ɔ] meaning marshland in the Mbakong language. Now, they have given it the name which does not share a common boundary with mainland Obang, but rather with Tingoh, Mbakong, Banji and the River Mezam.

The traditional occupations of Obang people are fishing and farming. They fish along the Rivers Mezam and Menchum. With the decline in the quantity of fish these days, they are increasingly taking on farming with the cultivation of crops such as maize, beans, cassava, plantain, groundnuts and recently paddy rice introduced by the Chinese in the late 1960s. The staple food of the Obang people is corn fufu and fish.

6.9.5.1 Reason for the Dispersed Settlement of the Obang people.

The Obang people by nature are very hostile and aggressive, even among themselves. In recent times, they have proved to be very inhospitable, reason why strangers hardly settle among them. The first reason for their dispersed settlement is chieftaincy disputes. History holds it that because of succession disputes, the Obang people split right at Bikom, and each leader went with his own faction. The faction that came to Mezam was under the rule of chief Nanoh Egho Odung. They had no respect for this chief and despised his rule. In anger, therefore, their chief walked away and disappeared into the Menchum falls. Before leaving he pronounced a curse on the Obang people to the effect that they would continue to be hostile and disunited. After his death, confusion set in and the Obang people split into the many small villages cited above under separate rulers. Wherever they settled, they brutally suppressed the people they met, and named the area Obang. For instance,

Ndong is a cosmopolitan village with settlers from: Mundum, Banji, Beba, Agah, Otang and Bafut. Recently in the 1990s, some retired workers of Obang extraction who returned from the plantations of the South West and other government services came and settled at Ndong. Today Obang claims that Ndong is a quarter in Obang, a claim that Otang challenges and disputes.

6.9.5.2 Relations with Bafut

Before the arrival of the Obang people in the valley, the paramount Fon of Bafut had colonized the entire area right down to the borders with Menchum Division, although the land remained unoccupied. The Obang people found virgin land on which they settled without consulting anyone and, surely, without knowing that it belonged to anybody. During some of their hunting expeditions, agents from the Bafut palace came across these settlers. The paramount Fon sent his agents to subdue them and make them pay royalties to his palace. This was done through negotiations, and since then, the Obang people paid yearly tributes to the Bafut palace in the form of fish and game. The Bafut royalty equally took part in major decisions concerning Obang; for example, the enthronement of chiefs. It is the Fon of Bafut who enthroned chiefs Nanoh and the present Nanoh III. During the early days, the Obang people, like other smaller villages within the Bafut territory, accepted the dominance of Bafut as a powerful Fondom in the area. Bafut in turn defended them against enemies during inter-tribal wars and used these villages as cannon fodder against her enemies, reason why they were placed at the borders.

Relations between Obang and Bafut became sour in recent years when agents from the Bafut palace started maltreating Obang people and forcefully collecting heavy tributes without the knowledge of the Fon. The Obang people could not stand this and so started revolting. In 1954, they led a rebellion to cut off the German bridge across the River Mezam at mile 24 as a sign of severing links with the Bafut people. The administration further worsened the situation by mapping them into Bafut Sub Division thereby roughly confirming the German boundaries of the Bafut Fondom.

6.9.5.3 Relations with Neighbours

As earlier indicated, the Obang people are aggressive among both themselves and towards their neighbours. They migrate with the name of their village and settle everywhere with it. They even encroach on neighbouring territory and name it after Obang. Two clear examples of these are:

- Nchoho, a farmland belonging to Mbakong, has now been colonized by Obang right down to the Mbakong market which they have now renamed as Nchoho Obang.

- Ndong is a quarter of Otang which they have encroached into and claimed as Obang territory. Note that the Otang people were transferred down to Ndong when the Ring Road passed, and two chiefs of Otang have ruled since they came down to Ndong, with the tomb of the former chief right there at Ndong. But Obang has created a new chiefdom at Ndong thereby setting confusion.

Even among themselves, the various Obang villages are not in unity; their scattered locations are a contributing factor. The present chief Nanoh III claims that he is paramount Fon of all the Obang speaking villages such as Tingoh, Nchoho, Okwalla, Ndong and Osogo. But the sub chiefs in these villages do not accept his authority over them. In response to his tyranny, they turn to the Bafut Fondom for protection. A case in point are the Tingoh and Okwalla villages which recently went to the Bafut Fon's palace to disclaim their involvement in chief Nanoh III's moves towards separation from the Bafut Fondom. Equally, the non-Obang-speaking villages of the Lower Bafut do not want to accept the Obang people for fear of assimilation by the majority Obang speaking villages. For instance, if Nanoh III is made paramount chief to rule from mile 37 to mile 23 on the Wum road, then villages like Mbakong, Buwi, Mantaa, Otang and Agah which are non-Obang-speaking, yet interspersed with Obang villages, would fall under his rule. This is an unacceptable situation as it may result in cultural assimilation and consequent loss of cultural identity of the above mentioned villages.

6.9.5.4 Tradition and Customs

Chieftaincy in Obang is hereditary. The traditional set up is as follows:

- [mf ɔ̄]: the chief
-[kwif ɔ̄ n]: The traditional ruling body.
- [gle em ɔ́]: king makers
- [takumbɔ̄ŋ]: male cult for princes.
- [àtà ŋtso]: sub chief.

6.9.5.5 Secret Societies

Listed below are the secret societies of Obang:

-[kwif ɔ̄n]: The traditional ruling body.

-[tum]: male cult

-[takumbɔ̄ŋ]: male cult

-[alɔ̄m]: male biennial secret cult.

-[ekum]: A river cult

6.9.5.6 Cultural Dances

Listed below are the cultural dances of the Obang people:

- [nkɔ̄'ɔ̄]: Black, ugly and powerful masquerade that performs only during important events.
- [funji]: youths'cult, only for males. It disciplines recalcitrant people in the community.
- [mabù ù]: It animates during cultural events and announces the presence of the [kwif ɔ̄]:
- [bugwatsu]: a male cultural animation juju
- [ndzaŋ]: A cultural animation dance for both men and women
- [fumbwɛ̀n]: a female cult performed only at funerals.
- [kunus]: female dance
- [atsam] male dance
- [mbakala] male and female youth cultural animation dance.

6.9.5.7 Language

The language of communication is Obang. It is similar to the Befang language. The Obang language is also spoken in Bikom at Mbwene among the Obang Bikom people and also in Maghom. Some Obang people speak and understand the Bafut language well. These are, however, on the decline because of threatsfrom the hard-core Obang people who consider them sell outs to Bafut.

6.9.6 The Otang Village

The Otang people migrated from Widikum. They first settled at a place in Bafut called Muchu in Mbebali. They then moved down to Lower Bafut and settled at the present site up the hills. Note that because of wars in the early days people avoided valleys and settled on hills for easy view of an approaching enemy and for defence. The present day Otang was formerly known as Bigiri. When they came to settle, they met the Befang people. A fight ensured in which the Bafut people helped Otang against Befang and in 1932, a German Administrator Lt. Cantel demarcated the boundary between Bafut and Befang. This boundary exists till today, though administrative boundaries do not respect it.

According to Otang sources, the Otang people first settled in the valley and recognized the Bafut authorities because they protected them from aggressive neighbours. At this time, the present Bamenda-Wum road had not yet been constructed. The road went from Mile 11 Nsoh to Adiemukong, Ataya, Mofor and down to Befang. The same source says that when the Obang people came, the Fon of Bafut, Achirimbi I, asked the Otang and Mbakong people to allocate land to them. That was when the Wum road was being constructed and people were settled along it. So they attributed the section from Mile 30 to 32 to Obang while Otang retained mile 32 to mile 37. The Butang people only came down the roadside later to occupy the section of the road at mile 29.

Since arrival in this area, Otang has had six chiefs:

- Ketchem who brought his people from Widikum
- Ndonyam I
- Lieu Ben
- Gam
- Afolekah
- Ndonyam II
- Ndonyam III who now rules.

One regent named Fonjong also ruled after the death of Ndonyam I who was shot by a step brother. Fonjong was never a chief but was brought in to cleanse the blood of the late Ndonyam I.

Otang has the following quarters:

- Ndong
- Mofor
- Oso Okum
- Kutoko
- Osogo.

The Otang palace was transferred to Ndong by the roadside in 1972 along with all rites. Otang claims that Agah is a quarter in Otang because they came and settled on Otang land. But the languages of Otang and Agah are not similar.

The staple food of Otang is corn fufu and pounded cocoyam. Their economic activity is dominated by farming and hunting. They cultivate the following crops: cocoyams, plantains, maize, cassava and, recently, such cash crops as cocoa, coffee, and oil palms.

6.9.6.1 Relations with Bafut and neighbours

Otang has good relations with Bafut. Its people first settled in Bafut. Then the Fon of Bafut allocated the present borderland to them and protected them against the Befang people. The Fon of Bafut, at the time Achirimbi I, referred to them as [bɔ̄ ntɔ̄'ɔ̄]: meaning princes and princesses. Otang is qualified to be a third-class chiefdom in Bafut but this classification is still awaited.

Otang has the following villages as neighbours:

- Obang
- Befang
- Mukuru
- Okoromanjang
- Bebah
- Mundum and
- Banji

Otang maintains good relations with all, except Obang with whom it has a dispute over Ndong and Osogo. The chief of Obang even claims that he is paramount over the Otang chiefdom, although they don't speak the same language.

6.9.6.2 Tradition and Customs

As earlier mentioned, Otang is supposed to be a third-class chiefdom. Succession is hereditary.

The traditional set up is as follows:

- [mf ɔ̄]: the chief
- [kwif ɔ̄ n]: The traditional ruling body.
- [takumbɔ̄ŋ]: male cult for princes.
- [àtà ŋtso]: sub chief.

6.9.6.3 Secret Societies

The Otang people have the following secret societies:

- [kwif ɔn]: The traditional ruling body.
- [takumbɔ̄ŋ]: male cult for princes
- [alɔ̄m]: male biennial secret cult.

- [ekum]: a water cult

6.9.6.4 Cultural Dances

The cultural dances of the Otang people include:

- [nkɔ̄'ɔ̄]: Black, ugly and powerful masquerade that performs only during important events.
- [funji]: youth cult, only for males. It disciplines recalcitrant people in the community.
- [mabù ù]: It animates during cultural events and announces the presence of the [kwif ɔ̄]
- [bugwatsu]: a male cultural animation juju
- [ndzaŋ]: A cultural animation dance for both men and women
- [fumbwὲn]: a female cult performed only at funerals.

6.9.6.5 Language

The Otang language is used for communication and it is spoken only in Otang. The people also speak and understand Bafut for administrative purposes. Otherwise Pidgin English is used.

6.9.7 The Agah Village

Like many other villages in the area, the Agah people are a faction of the Beba people who migrated from Widikum. They share a common boundary with Nebeba (which falls under Menchum division), Otang and Banji. Agah speaks a language which is quite similar to that of Nebeba, meaning that they are of the same family.

Very little is known about the history of Agah because they are a very small group of settlers, and Otang claims that they are a quarter in Otang. The people of Agah, on their part are not agreed about their origin and belonging. Agah I or Upper Agah admits that they belong to the Bafut Fondom, but Agah II or Lower Agah says they belong to Menchum Division. These two Agahs are constantly at loggerheads with one another and have separate sub chiefs, though they both speak the same language. Bafut participates in traditional matters within Agah I,but faces a lot of resistance from the people of Agah II. Administratively, however, the two Agahs fall under the Bafut Fondom, municipality and subdivision.

4.9.8 Osogho, Ndong, Nchoho, Okwalla and Tingoh Villages

These are Obang-speaking quarters, some of which have grown into sub chiefdoms. They share the same origin, history, traditions and customs with the mainland Obang village headed by

chief Nanoh III. Where they differ is in their loyalty. Some accept Nanoh III as their paramount chief and reject the idea of submission to the Bafut Fondom. Others claim autonomy from the rule of Nanoh III and seek protection from the Bafut Fondom with hopes of emerging into autonomous second-class chiefdoms within the Bafut Fondom.

Ndong is a cosmopolitan settlement area with inhabitants from several parts of the Mezam, Momo and Menchum Divisions, including Bafut, Mankon, Mundum, Bebazi, and Nkwen. The Menchum people are: Bu, Mbenkas, Maghom, Beba, Aguli, Bangwe, and Befang, who extend from mile 37 upwards to Ndong. These people were attracted by the fertile lands of the volcanic lake of Enep and they came to settle and carry out farming and trading.

The original settlers of Ndong were the Obang people who span from Obang Anabam (mile 30) downwards. The Otang were the next who came down from the hills to settle along the Ndong plain. Finally, the Agha people came in long after the Obang and the Otang people had settled. So, we find an influx of settlers from all corners of the area, creating pressures on the centre. On the Ndong market day, one would encounter people speaking all these languages mentioned above. It is a small market centre where farmers supply their produce on wholesale and attract traders from Bafut, Bamenda, Bafoussam, Befang and Wum.

Tingoh is one of the Obang-speaking Villages which has grown into asub chiefdom under a third-class chief. Like Ndong, it is a cosmopolitan settlement area with inhabitants from Obang mainland, Okwalla, Buwi, Bafut, Mankon and Mundum. Other settlers come from several parts of Mezam, Momo, Boyo and Menchum Divisions. These people were attracted by the fertile plains on which paddy rice farming is being carried out. Other reasons for settlement there are fishing and sand scooping on the River Mezam. Another force of attraction to Tingoh is the whole sale market centre for local produce, where traders from all over the North West Region converge, to buy and retail in other parts of Cameroon and beyond. The Tingoh people are gradually claiming autonomy from the rule of Nanoh III, and are seeking to emerge as a second-class chiefdom within the Bafut Fondom.

Okwalla is another Obang-speaking village which is gradually growing into a sub chiefdom. The original settlers of Okwalla left the mainstream and settled across the River Mezam due to power rivalry and witchcraft. To go to Okwalla, one has to travel by boat on the Mezam River. The inhabitants are ruled by a third-class chief whose authority is totally subservient to the chief of Obang. The quarters in Okwala are Gabon, Tule, Baleh and Mbongsuh (real name Igenafuusi).

Nchoho village is said to be Mbakong land on which a hand-full of Obang people came and settled. Though settled on Mbakong land, they disrespect Mbakong traditions but practise those of the Obang people, and observe the same traditional holidays. Their sub chief admits total loyalty to Nanoh III.

Osogho is the last Obang-speaking village at the boundary of the Bafut Sub Division. They are ruled by a sub chief who is totally subservient to the chief of Obang, Nanoh III.

6.10 Cults and Solidarity Groups

They are social, cultural and political solidarity groups, and each of these is considered beneficial to the members. Some solidarity groups are in the form of secret cults and one must be initiated to become a member. Most of these cults are unisex; that is, all male or all female. For example, the [kwif ɔ́] and the [alɔ́m] are both male, while the [f ɨ mbwɛ̀n] and the [muʃinke] are both female. Some other solidarity groups are: [nʃi]: farmers' solidarity group, [alee]: fishermen solidarity group, [aboo]: hunters' solidarity group and [ndzaŋgi]: financial solidarity group. The overall reason for solidarity groups is not for prestige but for influence, affluence, power and security.

6.10.1 The Fumbwin Female Cult [f ɨ mbwɛ̀n]

[f ɨ mbwɛ̀n] is a female cult and it is said to be one of the oldest dances that dates back 500 years. It started with the old generation that left Widikum and it was a big dance that was performed during funerals. From the origin it was only for females but as time went on men came in to participate. There is a tradition in all Lower Bafut that warrants that when a native woman or man dies, this dance has to be performed. It is a women's traditional way of mourning a fellow member of their community. The [fɨmbwɛ̀n] songs are dirges chanted on the shortness of life and the inevitability of death. They are chanted in a rhythmic pattern, accompanied by instruments, to evoke sadness, pity, fear and an overall sense of mysticism. The [f ɨ mbwɛ̀n] is not a Christian cult; consequently, it does not participate at a Christian's burial. But in the case where the dead person was a member, they can go to sing at the grave side three days after the Christian burial rites have been performed. For non-Christian members, the [fɨmbwɛ̀n] goes there on the day of the burial and dance, till dawn the next day, and continues with performances three days after burial. Every day participants are given beans and palm wine as their share of traditional feeding. Spectators also

219

donate money to them for their endurance. In a nutshell, the [fɨmbwὲn] cult can be compared to dirge singers or professional mourners in some developed countries.

Today, both men and women dance it, but any man who comes to participate donates some money to the dance group.

The dance is performed in two circles; the outer circle is for younger women and the inner circle for older ones. At the centre of the inner circle are masquerades called [takumbɔ̄ŋ], made up of very old women. Men are not allowed to see the [takumbɔ̄ŋ], but if they mistakenly do, they have to pay some fine to the women. To be a [takumbɔ̄ŋ], a woman must be aged 60 and above, and must have given birth to both male and female children. Women who have given birth to only males or only females, or have not given birth at all, can never become [takumbɔ̄ŋ].

As for the [fɨmbwὲn] dance, membership is open to any female who is ready to comply with rules and regulations of the group. One needs just a bowl of corn, or beans, or groundnuts or 500 CFAF to become a member of the [fɨmbwὲn]. It is often headed by an elderly member of the community who is still strong enough to move around and attend all funerals of that community. The leader receives the fee items for registration and makes some incantations thereby initiating the concerned into the group which is made up of children, girls and women.

Women in the [fɨmbwὲn] are always given respectable positions whenever they attend occasions, especially occasions in the palace. They are also highly respected by the elders in the village.

In the Mbakong village, the oldest [fɨmbwὲn] member is about a hundred years old and she is the one at the head. Every village has its own [fɨmbwὲn]. During funerals, all the [mɨmbwὲn] come together and perform their dances in the language of that village. For instance, if there is an event in Mbakong, women will come from Obang, Butang, Mantaa, Buwi, Otangand Agah to participate and they sing the [fɨmbwὲn] songs in Mbakong. This female cult is found in allquarters of each village. When they are appreciated with any amount of money, it is shared according to quarters, then the leaders in turn share according to age and rank in the [fɨmbwὲn].

6.10.1.1 Instruments of the [fɨmbwὲn]

Formerly, instruments of the [fɨmbwὲn] included flat and long portable stones or small round ones from the stream, precisely, black stones. Dancers usually held the flat stones in their left hands and the round stones in their right hands and hit the ones against the others. But today, those stones

have been replaced by iron bars, drums and bottles to produce an awesome melody, which is indeed unique.

The songs, especially the lyrics, are often so sorrowful that one only thinks of death on listening to them. Everyone can join in singing the [f ɨ mbwèn] songs, but as far as the instruments are concerned, only women who have been initiated can play them.

If a member of [f ɨ mbwèn] dies, the children of the dead member are supposed to entertain the [f ɨ mbwèn] very well by adding extra drinks and food to the ones prescribed. It is often said that if the [fɨmbwèn] is not well entertained, the spirit of the dead person will not be happy and this may invoke a curse on the children or grandchildren.

The [f ɨ mbwèn] can equally act as a traditional dance group out of the village community. In this case, the person hiring the dance will take care of their transportation, feeding and lodging. It usually requires the slaughter of a goat, a pig or many chickens to entertain the dance group.

On their arrival at a funeral, dancers are received with a big basket of well-cooked corn fufu and another basket is added after burial. Dancing could then continue till dawn if the feeding is topped up with their symbolic dish of cooked beans.

6.10.1.2 Challenges of the Women:

There are two common challenges women face in the traditional communities and even in the corporate world: not being taken seriously and being victims of wife battering.

From the results of our ethnographic interviews, the following remarks were made about women in Lower Bafut.

- Women are not good leaders.
- Women are less ambitious.
- Women are less intelligent.
- Women are less confident.
- Women are less trust-worthy.

On the contrary, men believe that women are more caring, more jovial, more sociable and more devoted to tradition.

In the modern society, men have always lorded it over the women who are then left to struggle to salvage their reputation. Since they are financially dependent on their husbands, they have no other option than to stay at home and cater domestically for the family. On the labour market they

dare not settle for a particular position at work because a woman should not be seen pushing too hard to climb up the career ladder, (though that has been changing in recent times).

In the traditional societies, women suffer the same grievances of poor self image since they are supposed to be seen, not heard, as far as the socio-political set-up of the village is concerned. They bear children, provide food for the family and bring in income for funding health care and children's education, yet their role is disregarded by men.

Take for example the fact that in the social set-up, no woman can belong to the men's cult societies. Not only are they barred from seeking membership into[alɔ̄m], [fɨ̀nji], [anzɔ̄m], [kwifɔ̄], [mabu'u] or [takumbɔ̄ŋ]; but they must also take cover when a male cult is approaching, otherwise just setting eyes on the masquerade can bring untold consequences and even death onto them.

Surprisingly, these same men who deprive women of such freedoms dash in to participate in what was originally meant to be a female cult and then go scot-free. They would rather pay a fine for participating in a female cult than allow the women their due privacy in their social activity.

In conclusion, there are no female cults that men do not participate in, whereas there are many male cults that women do not set eyes on.

6.10.2 The [fɨ̀nji] - A Male Cult

The [fɨ̀nji] is a male cult which acts as a disciplinary force in the villages. It comes out when there is community labour to ensure that everybody participates in the activity. It disciplines those who boycott manual labour and also those who go to the farm on traditional holidays which are set apart for ancestral intervention for the good of the village. The spirits of the ancestors are believed to come out and invoke good harvest on the land. People who dishonour such days by going to the farm interrupt the peace of the spirits and the consequences are a bad harvest. The [fɨ̀nji] disciplines by corporal punishment. It beats up undisciplined people with long whips until they plead for forgiveness. The [fɨ̀nji] also performs at funerals.

6.10.2.1 Costume of the [fɨ̀nji]

The [mɨ̀nji] are a set of masquerades robed in thorny costumes and generally dark and dreary in appearance. They hold long whips in their hands and run at the speed of light, instilling fear into onlookers to run for their dear lives on sighting them at a distance.

222

6.10.2.2 Membership

Membership is open to all young and old men. To become a full member the men have to provide feeding consisting such items as goats, chickens, palm wine and corn fufu. The newly recruited members are then taken to the top of a hill to be drilled physically for one month, followed by initiation rites performed on them. The one-month period is called the [fìnji] festival.

Women are allowed to see the masquerades but are not allowed to go to their shrine where they unmask.

6.10.3 The [alɔ̄m] Male secret cult

The word [alɔ̄m], though common to all villagers of Lower Bafut, does not have a clear meaning. It is believed to have been derived from the words:

-[alɔ̄]: which in the Mbakong language means dry season, or

-[alo] which in the Banji language means dry season equally.

This concept is further strengthened by the fact that the cult Alom comes up during the dry season.

6.10.3.1 Origin of the Cult

According to AKUE CLEMENT NGOM, [alɔ̄m] is the brain child of four hunters from four different villages:

- Ako – from Butang
- Neba – from Banji
- Nsuh – from Mbakong
- Agba – from Otang

These hunters were friends and usually hunted in the forest bordering the River Mezam during the dry season. The hunters used to stay in the forest for weeks, killing and smoking animals. During the day they would hunt game and at night they would make a huge fire on which the meat was smoked. While the meat dried, they set hooks at night in the River Mezam for fish.

One night as they dried their catch, Ako from Butang heard a strange song from the river. He alerted the other three who accompanied him to the river bank. As they approached, they noticed a river animal that resembled a dog. The "water dog", as they named it, sang melodiously as it searched the hooks set by the hunters, removing any fish found in them. Lured by this song the four

223

hunters followed the water dog as it sang along, removing the fish from the hooks they had set, one after the other. (Access is prohibited to versions of song interpreted by the hunters).

The hunters deciphered that the dog was singing to its children, promising to bring them home a good catch from the hooks. Because of the interest they had in the song of the water dog, the four hunters did not kill the animal. Instead, they returned to their bush hurt and started practising the new song they had learnt from the animal. This song was sung in the Mbakong language.

When the hunters returned to their various villages, each person tried to translate the strange song into his own dialect. The Mbakong hunter brought together the nobles of his village and taught them this song which they used to form a sacred juju named [alɔ], meaning "dry season". This juju was named after the dry season because this is the period during which hunters carry out their activities. As a result, [alɔ] or [alɔm] is danced during the dry season between October and February.

Note that the dance equally starts from the river where the water dog was found and tarries along the river banks for about a month before proceeding to the village for the final sessions.

Now of the four hunters, three had big rivers near their villages where they could practise this dance, but Neba of Banji did not have a big river near his village and so could not practise the dance. Having succeeded to organise dances in their villages, the three other hunters saw Neba as a threat. They felt he could leak their secret since he was not benefitting from the dance, so they planned to kill him. They organised another hunting trip, invited Neba and in that expedition he was killed. Before then, Neba had released the secret to his people that the song was from a water dog. So when these three hunters killed Neba, they reported to his people that he had been eaten up by the animal whose song he sang.

Two years after Neba's death, the Banji people tried to reorganise the [alɔm] dance, but it resulted in the death of many people – reason being that cleansing had not been done after the killing of Neba. Angered by this, Banji people stopped the dance and vowed never to have any interaction with the villages of the valley. For instance, until recently after the cleansing, no intermarriages took place between the Banji people and the villages of the valley.

Every two years, as [alɔm] is danced, tribute is paid to Neba. In fact, he is mourned during every annual dance and statements such as these are made: -

[Neba na waa? Neba wi ngom] in the Mbakong language, meaning "who is Neba? Neba son of a slave".

After Neba's death, the other three hunters became mutually suspicious of each other. Till date, though all the villages of the valley now have [alɔm], one village cannot go to the sacred place of the other; for fear of being killed.

As far as importance of villages in the [alɔm] tradition is concerned, the following hierarchy is strictly upheld: Mbakong, Butang, and Otang, in that order. The Butang man claims the origin of the cult because it was discovered or founded within his territory. Mbakong wields more power than the other villages because it was generous with the dance, extending it to:

- Obang Anabam in exchange for the [f ìnji].

- Okwalla which violently killed the bearer of the Mbakong [alɔm] and took the secret to the Okwalla palace.

- Buwi which officially took [alɔm] from Mbakong.

So, these three villages, Obang, Okwalla and Buwi, pay tribute to Mbakong as the cradle of their [alɔm].

[alɔm] is strictly a male dance because the founders feared that involving women might expose the secrets' origin. Even as a male dance, it is not general because each member has to be initiated before admission. Among the items needed for the initiation is a mature pig. The founders demand this pig as a substitute for the water dog they did not kill.

According to NFORBANG CONELIEUS, the [alɔm] was started more than four generations ago by some Mbakong and Banji hunters in a river called [iki wig]. They caught an animal that made a dreaded sound, so they brought the animal home and learned how to imitate the sound. After mastering the sound, they decided to introduce it to the chief of Mbakong and the Banji people also took theirs to Banji. After developing it into a ritual performing dance, the Mbakong people went back to the spot on the river and performed some rituals. From that time till date rituals for the commencement of the [alɔm] festival in Mbakong are performed at that spot on the river.

The Mbakong people are therefore confirmed as the founders of [alɔm] which all the other villages borrowed from them. The Butang people were the second to do so and the Obang people followed suit, while the Otang, the Buwi and Mantaa peoplecame last. Recently the Fon of Bafut was initiated into the [alɔm] cult and he took it to Bafut. The Agah people do not have [alɔm].

6.10.3.2 Changes Observed within the Cult over Time

From origin, the cult practised human sacrifices. This has been replaced by animals such as pigs, goats and fowls. However, old human skulls are still used during incantations to evoke the spirits. The demands made on newly initiated members have also been reduced to the barest minimum. Lastly, unlike in the past when [alɔm] was an army that sang war songs and destroyed farms, houses and livestock of notorious or recalcitrant villagers, it is now a sporting dance, though war songs are still being sung.

6.10.3.3 Proposed Modifications to the Cult

- The festival should be enlarged to include women and children in the form of a cultural jamboree, even if the secret must remain with the men.
- The initiation requirements should be harmonised among the villages that practise the cult and greatly reduced to encourage massive participation.

6.10.3.4 What if the Cult is abolished?

- Cultural identity would be lost.
- Come-together will be hampered or limited.
- The usual sense of belonging will be weakened.
- No respect for elders and cultural values.

From its inception, some 300 years ago, the[alɔm] cult believes in continuity. Members believe that [alɔm] is a living force with 17 children who are regenerated during the festivals. To mystify the cult to non-members, [alɔm] uses traditional instruments that veil the voices of members during the dance. This they say evokes the voice of the water dog from which the songs were learnt. There is also a wild [alɔm] – the [vuuuuu vuuuuu] sound that could be heard across hundreds of meters, warning non-members not to dare come face to face with [alɔm].

6.10.3.5 Instruments

The instruments used to produce [alɔm] melody can only be denoted from the sounds they produce because members are forbidden from giving a detailed description of[alɔm] instruments. However, from the sounds produced, one could decipher the following instruments: drums, irons, trumpet, xylophones, rattles and flat bamboos that when swung in the air produce the melody:

Vou vou vou vou

Vou vou vou vou

Vou vou vou vou vou vou

Vou vou vou vou vou vou

Vou vou vou vou vou vou vou vou

Vou vou vou vou vou vou vou vou

Vuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuuu

6.10.3.6 Membership

Men are initiated into [alɔm] class by class: it could be according to age groups or professional groups or men coming from the same town out of the village concerned. To become a full member of [alɔm] a man must contribute goats, pigs, chickens, palm wine, beer, and food items within a given period of time at the end of which the member is made to drink palm wine from a cow-horn called [ndɔŋ mbɔŋ]. At this point, a member is fully initiated. Men who do not complete their contributions do not drink out of the [ndɔŋ mbɔŋ] and are not respected by other [alɔm] members. New members are rubbed with cam wood and then they move half-naked from one quarter to another for one week before the main dance. The camwood signifies that the young men are new recruits into [alɔm], and people identify them as such. At the end of the festival, the new recruits stay on for one month for certain traditions to be taught them.

6.10.3.7 The [al ɔm] Festival

The [alɔm] festival is a very big celebration that involves the whole village. Everybody right down to women and children are mobilised and young men troop into the village to participate in the event. [alɔm] is celebrated biennially and celebrations last for one week. Only initiated members come out of their houses when [alɔm] is performing. Non initiated members, women and children hide in their houses, but could listen to the melody and dance. During the one week of celebrations all activities including farming and marketing are halted. Even public schools almost close down because pupils are scared to stay at home. One day during that week is set apart to receive all the other [alɔm] cults from neighbouring villages.

6.10.3.8 Benefits of [al ɔ́m] to the Practising Communities

- A cultural blessing: The people believe that each time the [alɔ́m] festival is performed, yields of crops increase, so does the population.

- A unifying factor: All villages come together during this festival and even enemies reconcile and share common meals and drinks.

- Feast for all: There is abundance and every person is invited to feast, even the poor and disabled.

- Economically, there is a boost in activity, trade and tourism, with exchange of gifts.

- Promotes culture as only traditional items are used in the whole festival.

- Discipline: [alɔ́m] instils a high sense of discipline among the youth and elders in general. Ranks within the cult could be likened to those in the military and every member is charged with ensuring respect of hierarchy.

Although it is expensive to become a member of [alɔ́m], given the low income situation of the people of Lower Bafut, it is said to be of enormous benefit to the communities.

[alɔ́m] festival serves as a training ground for young men who could represent the village in battle fields.

It is a uniting force that brings together everybody from far and near, the young and the old, the weak and the strong, the poor and the rich. Youths who live in the cities come home and contribute to development in the villages, thanks to the [alɔ́m] festival. [alɔ́m] unites the whole of Lower Bafut because it is found in all the villages.

[alɔ́m] may be seen as exploitative, but its presence in the villages instils order and discipline. Members of [alɔ́m] are taught respect for the hierarchy and these moral lessons make them examples to emulate.

Members of [alɔ́m] enjoy more prestige and spiritual power than ordinary people. They are respected and listened to at public gatherings.

[alɔ́m] is open to all males, unlike [kwifɔ́], [ikonki], [ndɔ́ŋatù], [andjɔ́m], [takumbɔ́ŋ], [alɔ́ŋgaŋ] and [bɨ̀kum] where members have designated places.

[alɔ́m] brings development as when the youths come home, they are motivated by others to start building projects and business establishments. They also pomp a lot of money into the economy of the villages.

Christians initiated into [alɔ̄m] are given the free choice about whether or not to go through the ritual performances. They are allowed to pay their rites only, meaning they give what belongs to Caesar to Caesar and what belongs to God to God.

[Alɔ̄m] appeases the villages through the ritual performances. Many sacrifices are offered to the gods and are believed to pacify them so they could in turn protect the land from evil spirits and witch craft.

On the whole, although [alɔ̄m] is costly to the members, it brings joy and happiness to families when they listen and dance to the melodious sounds of the instruments and also share in the food their husbands and brothers bring from the [alɔ̄m] festival which is a great event that creates a sense of belonging, love and peace. Everybody in Lower Bafut talks about [alɔ̄m] festivals with much excitement.

6.11 Discussions

The thought of replicating methods and tools of analysis used in western contexts elsewhere in the world without posing the question whether these people are different from others is what we have defiled in this approach. Here we have used a greater nuance approach to show how the peoples' lives fashioned after their culture, beliefs and occupations such that the supernatural is what determines their future.

The question of spiritual insecurity as a strong feeling that keeps people moving in and out of groups, associating with one cult or the other or pacifying gods here and there with rituals, has been attempted by connecting cultural data to sociolinguistic data. As a matter of fact, the greatest hindrance to self-development for the people of Lower Bafut is the fear of the unknown. People fear to venture into new spheres of life so as not to arouse the anger of the gods. They fear to travel because of accidents; fear to invest in businesses or build good houses because they may not live long enough to enjoy them. They fear to eat at gatherings because they suspect everyone; fear the night because of ghosts; fear rivers and oceans because of mermaids; fear the rain because it causes thunder and lightning that kill; and so on and so forth.

Their total atmosphere is that of uncertainty, reason why they affiliate and bond together. They live in solidarity, looking up to their chiefs who are custodians of culture, representatives of the gods on earth, mediators for protection, reproduction. Even with Christianity, churches are packed full of those who need some kind of exorcist prayers and deliverance from evil spirits. The

people of Lower Bafut long to know what will happen to them in the nearest future, so they do not hesitate giving away all that they have in exchange for spiritual security. Equally, because there are no central service providers such as insurance companies and banks, we find many ``njangi`` houses, false prophets and charlatans prospering while folks live in abject poverty.

Finally, in Lower Bafut, the supernatural world interacts with the natural world. That is why when they grow stronger, the villages prosper and when people affiliate, they benefit from supernatural security. If this ideology is endangered, it may result in a huge loss of language.

6.12 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the geographical situation and the historical reconstruction of the villages of Lower Bafut. The area depicts an extreme case of linguistic pluralism in the Grassfields of Cameroon in terms of its ethno-linguistic background, historical reconstruction and language ideologies.

It has explored the possibility of using a geographically-informed evidence of demographic history to reconstruct the development of the ideologies that have conditioned the various aspects of the languages under study. It has attempted to present in some depth the rich cultural heritage from which emanates the ideologies of multilingualism. Chapter seven coming up next presents the language ideologies and the Matched-Guise Technique.

CHAPTER SEVEN
LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES AND THE MATCH-GUISE TECHNIQUE

7.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the study of the language ideologies of essentialism and indexicality by employing the Matched-Guise Technique, (MGT) developed by LAMBERT (1959). Investigation through observation of their behaviour and culture, will help us understand the attitudes and personality traits projected on the minds of the people when languages of Lower Bafut are spoken. The concept of attitude, a cornerstone of traditional social psychology, is not one about which there has been universal agreement. At the general level, however, attitude is a disposition to react favourably or unfavourably to a class of objects; this disposition is often taken to comprise three components: feelings (attractive elements), thoughts (cognitive elements) and following upon these predispositions to act in a certain way (behavioral element); that is one knows or believes something, has some emotional reactions to it and, therefore, maybe assumed to act on this basis.

This chapter highlights the dichotomy between urban and rural configurations of multilingualism in Lower Bafut, a rural multilingual area. Our objective is to evaluate the degree to which the essentialism versus indexicality dichotomy can help account for the findings of our work. Since the discussion between urban and rural multilingualism is crucial in the discussion of language ideology in this chapter, it is imperative to note the four distinctive characteristics of urban setting (kashoki; 1992.144): migration, urbanization, geographical mobility, and education. On the contrary, we consider rural environment to be characterized by a lack of demographic pressure, industrial development and a context where most inhabitants are engaged in food production. (Di Carlo, Good and Dida, 2019)

7.2 Context of Study

As earlier mentioned, the people of the various villages of Lower Bafut originated from different parts of the Widikum forest and the south-West Region of Cameroon, each group having their own language. When they arrived in Bafut, they could not establish themselves in those areas where the Bafut people were already settled, so they chose to inhabit the northern area of Bafut, which was apparently very fertile. The Fon of Bafut who is the traditional administrative ruler of this unit in which these minority groups are found, dominates them and imposes the Bafut language on them. These groups are expected to pay allegiance to the Fon of Bafut, the first-class paramount ruler, while each minority village is headed by a lower-level ruler.

With each minority village paying allegiance to Bafut, many Lower Bafut people speak Bafut whereas only few Bafut people can speak a language of Lower Bafut. Indeed, if a Bafut man speaks a language of Lower Bafut, this is perceived in some ways as degrading.

Given their minority status, the inhabitants of Lower Bafut villages see Bafut people as superior, and for fear of being accused of insubordination will always show, in the presence of Bafut people, that they too are Bafut and respect Bafut culture, including speaking the Bafut language. In such a context, one might expect that the minority languages would die out. However, contrary to the expectations, these languages are vibrant this is explained by the strong identity that each of the minority groups has.

Intercommunity conflicts have been reported among the minority groups Lower Bafut communities over fishing, farming and settlements sites with each of the villages claiming ownership of the disputed land. Thus, while all the small villages pay homage to Bafut, strong rivalries exist among them, with each village striving to dominate the others. Identity sentiments are high and each community struggles to assert its uniqueness, and one of the ways that villages can show their uniqueness is through language.

The above discussions of the social relations in Lower Bafut is what motivated us our research to understand how the interactions between languages play out in this setting. The issues at stake here can be summarized as follows:

- How does a speaker of each of these communities feel when they hear Bafut, the dominant, popular, and administrative language?
- How do members of each of these speech communities feel when they hear another
  language of Lower Bafut?

These questions can only be answered through observation of their behaviour and cultural activities.

It should be understood here that the scenario in Lower Bafut is different from that of urban settings in Cameroon, where European languages like English, French, German, Spanish and Portuguese have prestige and power. In Lower Bafut, these European languages and Cameroon Pidgin English hover in the air (especially English, since this area is located within Anglophone Cameroon); but it is Bafut that has a status more similar to that of the European languages in urban centres. In addition, there are the local social rivalries among the members of the minority

communities. It is thus interesting to discover, amidst these various complexities of social life and identity, which language ideologies exists.

7.3 The Field Trip

We were able to carry out a second field trip to Lower Bafut from March 29th to April 27th 2015 to collect data on the language ideologies based on essentialism and indexicallity using the MGT. Our main objective in this research was to document the ideologies that have kept the languages of the area surviving side by side in this influential multilingual milieu; and also to find out what motivates many people there to be able to speak and understand many languages. The Matched-Guise Technique by LAMBERT (1959) was the instrument used to diagnose the ideas that run through people's minds when they hear someone speak a language.

7.4 The Choice of the Languages for the Study

The three target languages used for this experiment were: Bafut, Mbakong and Obang. The choice of languages in this study were selected from the languages spoken in Lower Bafut. As we discussed earlier, the Bafut language was selected because it is the dominant language of the area, having prestige and power, and also being the language of the administrator, with whom the people of Lower Bafut are obliged to interact. The Fon of Bafut, being the paramount Fon the only first-class ruler in the subdivision, consequently, the language associated with him ranks highest in power and prestige, administration and development. This contributes to the ideologies and attitudes that the people develop towards the language and it would be very interesting to discover how the people of Lower Bafut think and feel about Bafut.

Unlike Bafut, Obang and Mbakong were chosen for a number of reasons: They are each ruled by second-class chiefs and therefore come second in hierarchy, while the rest of the villages: Mantaa, Buwi, Butang, Otang and Agah are ruled by third-class chiefs. As well as their position is second in hierarchy, Obang and Mbakong are also the most widely spoken languages in Lower Bafut. Moreover, the researcher speaks two of these languages: Bafut and Mbakong.

7.4 Language Ideologies

A great deal has been written over the past few decades about multilingualism, and recently some attention is being paid to issues of language choice and linguistic ideologies. Among the

concepts of concern in this literature are language ideologies, essentialism, and indexicality, with language attitudes often being linked with these. Language ideologies have been defined in various ways by different authors with the common characteristic being the central role of culture, habits, and social relationships.

As earlier mentioned in our literature review, WOOLARD (1998) defines language ideologies as "implicit or explicit representations that interpret intersections of language and human beings in a social world." She underscores that

"Language ideologies underpin not only linguistic forms but also social groups and fundamental institutions such as religious rituals, child socialization, gender relations and schooling. In the multilingual societies, there has been a conscious self-struggle over language. Researchers have treated language ideologies as socially, politically and linguistically significant."

IRVINE (1989; 255) defines essentialism as "the cultural (or sub cultural) systems of ideas about language and linguistic relationship, together with their loading of moral and political interests." IRVINE and GAL (2000; 39) note in their discussion of linguistic differentiation that often the linguistic behaviour of others is simplified and seen as if deriving from those persons and essences of prestige and hierarchy.

To DI CARLO (2010), indexicality implies that all cultural elements are fixed or belong to a cultural group. That is no phenomenon is universal. Indexicality is the existential bond between copy and reality. Social indexicality in the human realm has been regarded as including any sign (clothing, speech variety). Indexicality is applicable in rural areas where languages are learned just for identity and affiliation. Identity here consists of the physical, social and moral status of a speaker, while affiliation pertains to flagging or bonding.

The difference between language ideology and motivation of multilingualism is that, while a language is like a universe of ideas a given group shares about a language,(that is: when to use a given form or a given register, who deserves polite language, which language should one learn and why), motivations are ideas, not written laws, imposed on speakers of a language, ideas explaining why someone believes a language is useful or important or an asset of some kind that can be traded on in a given linguistic or symbolic market.

There were two types of speakers: the filler speakers and the guise speakers. The filler speakers were competent in only one of the target languages and spoke the text just once. The aim of using these filler speakers was to confuse the listeners' minds. The guise speakers were the ones

who were competent in the three target languages and could speak them fluently for recording. From a total number of 35 multilingual speakers interviewed, four main guise speakers were selected: two males and two females (aged between 34 and 70 years).

The listeners were those who elicited data for our findings. They listened to the tapes of different spoken texts by the same individual and, without knowing that they were the same persons, described personality traits of varying degrees in the same individual. These were rather projections of the ideologies people have about the target languages and not personality traits. A total number of 30 speakers listened to the tapes and responded.

7.5 The Theory of Essentialism in Lower Bafut

The languages of Lower Bafut are used more indexically than essentially.The theory of essentialism can be observed in the sense in which the Bafut man considers the people of Lower Bafut. Due to the dominant attitude of Bafut people, the people of Lower Bafut shy away from speaking their languages at public gatherings involving Bafut people. They tend to speak Bafut, English or Pidgin English so as to identify with the Bafut people whose language they need in other to connect to the outside world. Meanwhile, the Bafut people do not need their languages at all. This theory of language dominance in Lower Bafut apparently is the origin of indexical use of the languages of Lower Bafut.

Our inquiries are based on the MGT adapted from LAMBERT (1959) used to investigate the personality traits that project language ideologies. Our purpose is to contribute to knowledge about the motivations for which people speak many languages. Do people choose to speak one or more languages present in their locality because the native speakers of those languages are perceived by hearers as possessing certain desirable and moral qualities, or because it is a cultural practice for people to affiliate through the act of speaking many languages?

7.6 Results of the Ethnographic Questionnaire

At the end of the Matched-Guise Experiment, the results of our findings were based on motivations of individual and societal multilingualism and language ideology projections. Motivations for speaking the native language ranged from a sense of belonging to privacy, secrecy, rituals, security and feeling of authority.

- Motivations for speaking other native languages included inter-marriages, insecurity, friendship, travelling, and trade.
- Motivations for speaking foreign languages, e.g. English, French, and Pidgin were: education, religion, trade, living in urban centers and inter-marriages.

7.6.1 Language Attitude Projections

- Positive attitudes.
- Negative attitudes
- Mixed
- Neutral

7.6.2 Intermarriages

The high rate of intermarriages between the villages, in contrast to few intermarriages, between Lower Bafut and Bafut was due to high rate of mobility between men and women, and polygamy is a cultural practice.

7.6.3 Motivations of Multilingualism

Multilingualism is a societal phenomenon in Lower Bafut, the main reasons being language contact, high rates of intermarriages, most men being polygamists, high rates of divorce, child-naming, and solidarity group activities.

- Bafut is regarded as a prestigious language and people who speak it admire the Bafut people and would want to be like them.
- The Mbakong people are the most multilingual people of the area, seconded by the Buwi people. The reason is that they are very friendly to their neighbours, welcoming to strangers and also create a lot of relationships outside their villages through intermarriages, trade, education, and jobs. They speak Mbakong, Bafut, Obang, Butang and understand many others.
- Obang people are the least multilingual people in the area because they are a rebellious set of people of the Fondom. They are aggressive towards strangers, proud and self-centred. They are mostly monolinguals with regards to the local languages. They claim to speak only Obang and Pidgin English.

237

- The Butang people are consecutive and closed since they are very few. They are bilinguals in terms of the local languages, Butang and Obang.

- The Mantaa people being very few in number also adopt a self-defence policy by fortifying themselves with wicked masquerades that can devastate vegetation and kill massively within enemy territory. They are the third most multilingual people in the area, with almost everybody speaking Mantaa, Buwi, Obang and Bafut as local languages.

- The Otang people are calm, reserved, and almost inexistent in the Fondom. They speak: Otang, Aghah, Obang, and many languages of Menchum Division.

- Agah people are aggitative when it comes to talking about their origin because their history is that of betrayal and bloodshed. They were formerly part of the Beba in Menchum Division who broke away and came to live in Agah in Mezam Division. They came like refugees but have now settled and gained recognition as part of the Fondom. They speak Beba, Mundum, Bafut, Mankon, Otang, Obang and some languages of Menchum Division.

- The Bafut people too are monolingual in terms of the local languages. They consider Bafut as the prestigious language of the Fondom that everybody should speak while minimizing the languages of Lower Bafut.

- Because of the powerful influence of the Bafut Fondom, the chiefs of Lower Bafut live in total subservience to the Fon of Bafut who is the paramount chief, while they are classified as second class and third-class chiefs of the Fondom. From our interviews we were able to notice some kind of political rivalry between the chiefs.

7.7 Tables Showing Negative, Positive and Neutral Responses of Listeners

Below are presentations of tables showing negative, positive and neutral responses of the MGT listeners.

The MGT should be noted, is a qualitative research because it analyzes people's personal opinions. The respondents listened to a series of voices speaking different languages but they were asked to rate the speakers at various personality scales, using qualifying adjectives in positive and negative superlative forms. The scores ranged from 1-5.

- 1and 2 were the scores for negative responses. (bad, worse, very bad, worst)
- 3 was the score for neutral responses. (okay, normal, nice, not really, not bad, somehow)
- 4 and 5 were scores for positive responses. (good, better, best, very good excellent)

For the first procedure of analysis, we considered all the rating scale of scores as follows: (1, 2, 4 and 5) as essentialist and (3) as indexical. By so doing, we realised that languages could be placed on a cline: at one end, there is Bafut with high figures 1, 2, 4 and 5, and very low figures of 3; at the opposite end is Obang with more 3s.

Also, in another exercise for further insights, we considered 1and 5 as essentialist and 2 and 4 as mixed essentialist, and 3 as neutral or indexical.

We then calculated the percentages of 1, 2, 4 and 5 as opposed to 3s. The total no of scores per possibility/ 29 respondents times 100/1.

Our results revealed in both analysis that: Bafut is highly essential, Mbakong is mixed essential and Obang is highly indexical.

This is how we got the totals, for example, table 37 pp 234: For Bafut, the negative responses are 2, the positive responses are 35, and the neutral responses are re 19. We considered that essentialist tendencies are revealed by both negative and positive attitudes, so therefore, we added 2+35= 37. The neutral responses remain constant.

In the end we summed up all essentialist scores and neutral (indexical) scores of each target language. Bafut has the highest scores for essentialism and the lowest scores for indexicality; Mbakong scored averagely in both essentialism and indexicality (mixed essentialism), and Obang scored highest in indexicality and lowest in essentialism.

From each marksheet, (see appendix), one respondent answered questions positively, negatively and neutral. So, we counted all possibilities of each ideology and added accordingly; for example, on table 37, for Bafut, the respondent gave just two negative responses, consequently, we counted just 2 scores the presented negative attitudes.

It should be noted that, people's both positive and negative attitudes to a language are derived from their essences of prestige and hierarchy while their neutral attitudes are derived from their indexical use of those languages.

Table 36: Audio files: Zoom 0090, Date: 14/04/2015

Bafut			Mbakong			Obang		
Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral
6	38	12	7	35	14	20	15	21
Total essentialist			Total essentialist			Total essentialist		
44		12	42		14	35		21

Table 37: Audio files: Zoom 0092, Date: 14/04/2015

Bafut			Mbakong			Obang		
Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral
2	35	19	5	31	20	11	15	30
Total essentialist			Total essentialist			Total essentialist		
37		19	36		20	26		30

Table 38: Audio files: Zoom 0093, Date: 14/04/2015

Bafut			Mbakong			Obang		
Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral
0	45	11	0	46	10	1	34	21
Total essentialist			Total essentialist			Total essentialist		
45		11	46		10	35		21

Table 39: Audio files: Zoom 0094, Date: 14/04/2015

Bafut			Mbakong			Obang		
Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral
0	35	21	0	36	20	2	29	25
Total essentialist			Total essentialist			Total essentialist		
35		21	36		20	31		25

Table 40: Audio files: Zoom 0095, Date: 14/04/2015

Bafut			Mbakong			Obang		
Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral
0	45	11	0	45	11	0	39	17
Total essentialist			Total essentialist			Total essentialist		
45		11	45		11	39		17

Table 41: Audio files: Zoom 0098, Date: 14/04/2015

Bafut			Mbakong			Obang		
Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral
5	42	9	0	44	12	0	37	19
Total essentialist			Total essentialist			Total essentialist		
47		9	44		12	37		19

Table 42: Audio files: Zoom 0096, Date: 14/04/2015

Bafut			Mbakong			Obang		
Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral
1	41	14	0	46	10	1	41	14
Total essentialist			Total essentialist			Total essentialist		
42		14	46		10	42		14

Table 43: Audio files: Zoom 0099, Date: 14/04/2015

Bafut			Mbakong			Obang		
Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral
2	40	14	1	44	11	2	40	14
Total essentialist			Total essentialist			Total essentialist		
42		14	45		11	42		14

Table 44: Audio files: Zoom 0100, Date: 14/04/2015

Bafut			Mbakong			Obang		
Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral
4	39	13	2	43	11	1	35	20
Total essentialist			Total essentialist			Total essentialist		
43		13	45		11	36		20

Table 45: Audio files: Zoom 0101, Date: 14/04/2015

Bafut			Mbakong			Obang		
Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral
2	46	8	0	37	19	7	18	31
Total essentialist			Total essentialist			Total essentialist		
48		8	37		19	25		31

Table 46: Audio files: Zoom 0102, Date: 14/04/2015

Bafut			Mbakong			Obang		
Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral
0	43	13	0	41	15	1	32	23
Total essentialist			Total essentialist			Total essentialist		
43		13	41		15	33		23

Table 47: Audio files: Zoom 0104, Date: 16/04/2015

Bafut			Mbakong			Obang		
Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral
0	46	10	4	40	12	4	35	17
Total essentialist			Total essentialist			Total essentialist		
46		10	44		12	39		17

Table 48: Audio files: Zoom 0105, Date: 16/04/2015

Bafut			Mbakong			Obang		
Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral
0	43	13	0	39	17	5	23	28
Total essentialist			Total essentialist			Total essentialist		
43		13	39		17	28		28

Table 49: Audio files: Zoom 0106, Date: 16/04/2015

Bafut			Mbakong			Obang		
Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral
3	40	13	2	46	8	2	39	15
Total essentialist			Total essentialist			Total essentialist		
43		13	48		8	41		15

Table 50: Audio files: Zoom 0107, Date: 17/04/2015

Bafut			Mbakong			Obang		
Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral
1	44	11	0	45	11	5	33	18
Total essentialist			Total essentialist			Total essentialist		
45		11	45		11	38		18

Table 51: Audio files: Zoom 0108, Date: 17/04/2015

Bafut			Mbakong			Obang		
Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral
0	46	10	0	46	10	8	30	18
Total essentialist			Total essentialist			Total essentialist		
46		10	46		10	38		18

Table 52: Audio files: Zoom 0109, Date: 17/04/2015

Bafut			Mbakong			Obang		
Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral
0	46	10	1	38	17	2	35	19
Total essentialist			Total essentialist			Total essentialist		
46		10	39		17	37		19

Table 53: Audio files: Zoom 0110, Date: 21/04/2015

Bafut			Mbakong			Obang		
Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral
5	44	7	2	43	11	8	35	13
Total essentialist			Total essentialist			Total essentialist		
49		7	45		11	43		13

Table 54: Audio files: Zoom 0118, Date: 21/04/2015

Bafut			Mbakong			Obang		
Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral
0	46	10	1	44	11	13	23	20
Total essentialist			Total essentialist			Total essentialist		
46		10	45		11	36		20

Table 55: Audio files: Zoom 0137, Date: 03/05/2015

Bafut			Mbakong			Obang		
Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral
1	37	18	2	38	16	0	51	5
Total essentialist			Total essentialist			Total essentialist		
38		18	40		16	51		5

Table 56: Audio files: Zoom 0140, Date: 03/05/2015

Bafut			Mbakong			Obang		
Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral
2	36	18	1	32	23	0	34	22
Total essentialist			Total essentialist			Total essentialist		
38		18	33		23	34		22

Table 57: Audio files: Zoom 0139, Date: 03/05/2015

Bafut			Mbakong			Obang		
Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral
3	38	15	0	45	11	0	43	13
Total essentialist			Total essentialist			Total essentialist		
41		15	45		11	43		13

Table 58: Audio files: Zoom 0144- 47, Date: 03/05/2015

Bafut			Mbakong			Obang		
Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral
4	38	14	2	30	24	1	43	12
Total essentialist			Total essentialist			Total essentialist		
42		14	32		24	44		12

Table 59: Audio files: Zoom 0148-51, Date: 03/05/2015

Bafut			Mbakong			Obang		
Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral
0	43	13	3	38	15	3	35	18
Total essentialist			Total essentialist			Total essentialist		
43		13	41		15	38		18

Table 60: Audio files: Zoom 0152-53, Date: 03/05/2015

Bafut			Mbakong			Obang		
Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral
0	47	9	1	46	9	0	44	12
Total essentialist			Total essentialist			Total essentialist		
47		19	47		9	44		12

Table 61: Audio files: Zoom 0154-55, Date: 03/05/2015

Bafut			Mbakong			Obang		
Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral
1	41	14	0	39	17	2	32	22
Total essentialist			Total essentialist			Total essentialist		
42		14	39		17	34		22

Table 62: Audio files: Zoom 0156, Date: 03/05/2015

Bafut			Mbakong			Obang		
Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral
1	45	10	2	44	10	7	28	21
Total essentialist			Total essentialist			Total essentialist		
46		10	46		10	35		21

Table 63: Audio files: Zoom 0157-159, Date: 03/05/2015

Bafut			Mbakong			Obang		
Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral
2	44	10	0	45	11	3	32	21
Total essentialist			Total essentialist			Total essentialist		
46		10	45		11	35		21

Table 64: Audio files: Zoom 0160, Date: 03/05/2015

Bafut			Mbakong			Obang		
Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral	Negative	Positive	Neutral
3	43	10	1	46	9	1	28	27
Total essentialist			Total essentialist			Total essentialist		
46		10	47		9	29		27

7.8 Summary of Essential and Indexical use of Bafut, Mbakong and Obang

Table 65: Summary of Essential and Indexical use of Bafut, Mbakong and Obang

Bafut ess	Bafut ind	Mbakong ess	Mbakong ind	Obang ess	Obang ind
44	12	42	14	35	21
37	19	36	20	26	30
45	11	46	10	35	21
35	21	36	20	31	25
45	11	45	11	39	17
47	9	44	12	37	19
42	14	46	10	42	14
42	14	45	11	42	14
43	13	45	11	36	20
48	8	37	19	25	31
43	13	41	15	33	23
46	10	44	12	39	17
43	13	39	17	28	28
43	13	48	8	41	15
45	11	45	11	38	18
46	10	46	10	38	18
46	10	39	17	37	19
49	7	45	11	43	13
46	10	45	11	36	20
38	18	40	16	51	5
38	18	33	23	34	22
41	15	45	11	43	13
42	14	32	24	44	12
43	13	41	15	38	18
47	19	47	9	44	12
42	14	39	17	34	22
46	10	46	10	35	21
46	10	45	11	35	21
46	10	47	9	29	27
1264	370	1229	395	1068	556
Bafut essen 43.5862069	Bafut index 12.7586207	Mbakong essen 42.3793103	Mbakong index 13.6206897	Obang essen 36.8275862	Obang index 19.1724138

From table 65 above, we realize that Bafut is highest in essential use and lowest in indexical use; Mbakong is second both in essential and indexical uses and Obang is least in essential use and highest in indexical use.

7.9 Charts showing Essential and Indexical use of Bafut, Mbakong and Obang.

Chart 1: Essential and Indexical use of Bafut
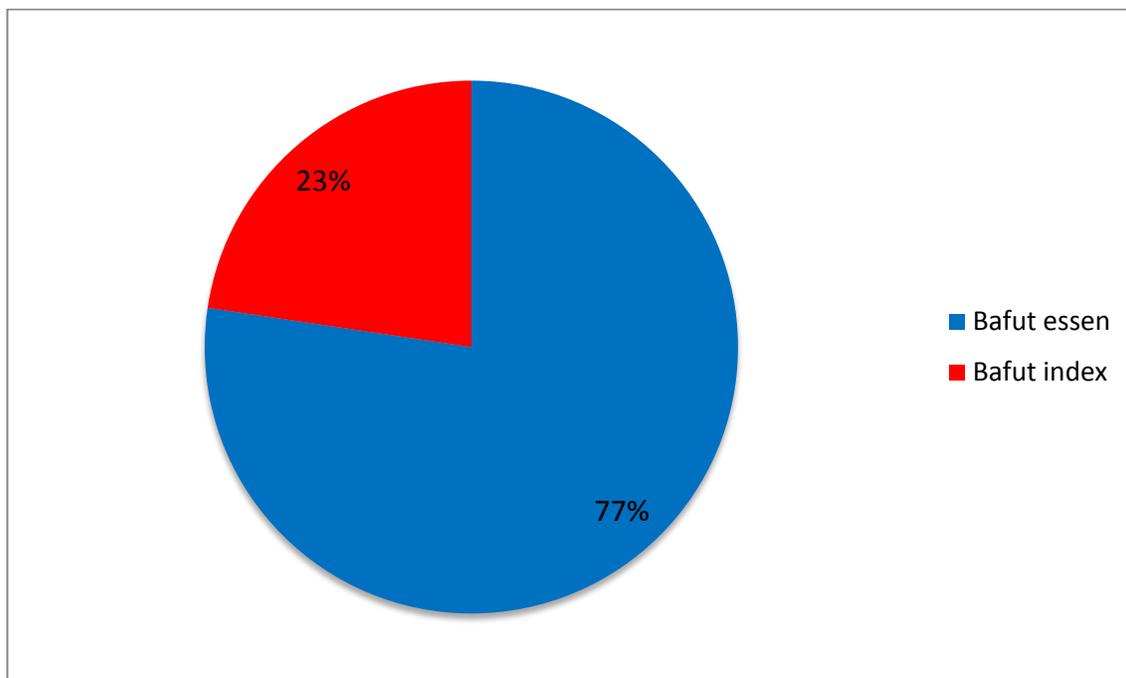
On chart 1 above, blue represents essential use of Bafut and red represents indexical use. Bafut is highest in essential use and lowest in indexical use.

Chart 2: Essential and Indexical use of Mbakong
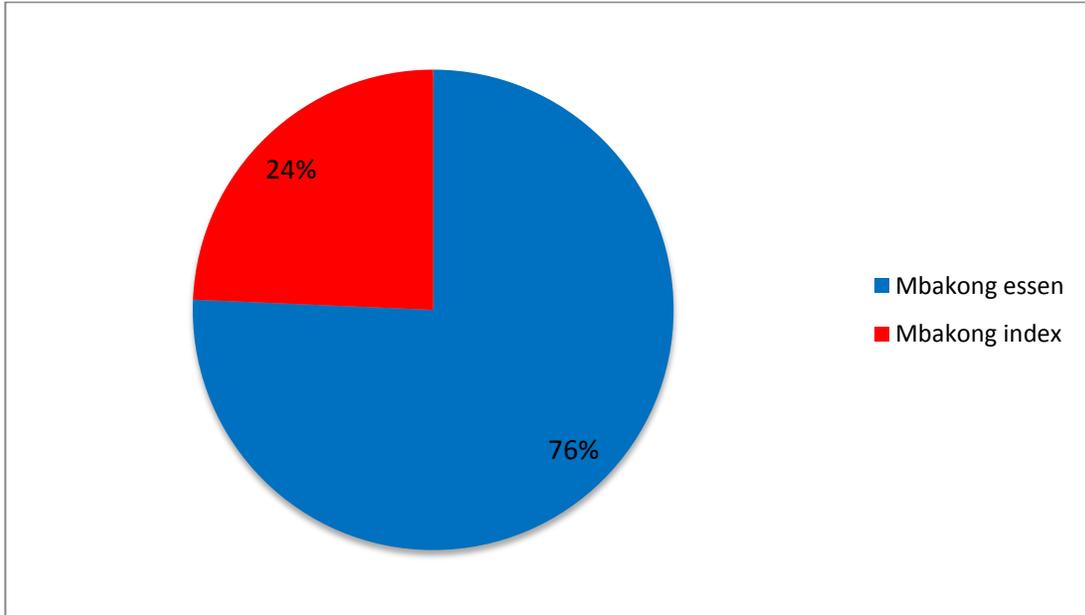
On chart 2 above, blue represents essential use of Mbakong and red represents indexical use. Mbakong is second both in essential and indexical uses.

Chart 3: Essential and Indexical use of Obang
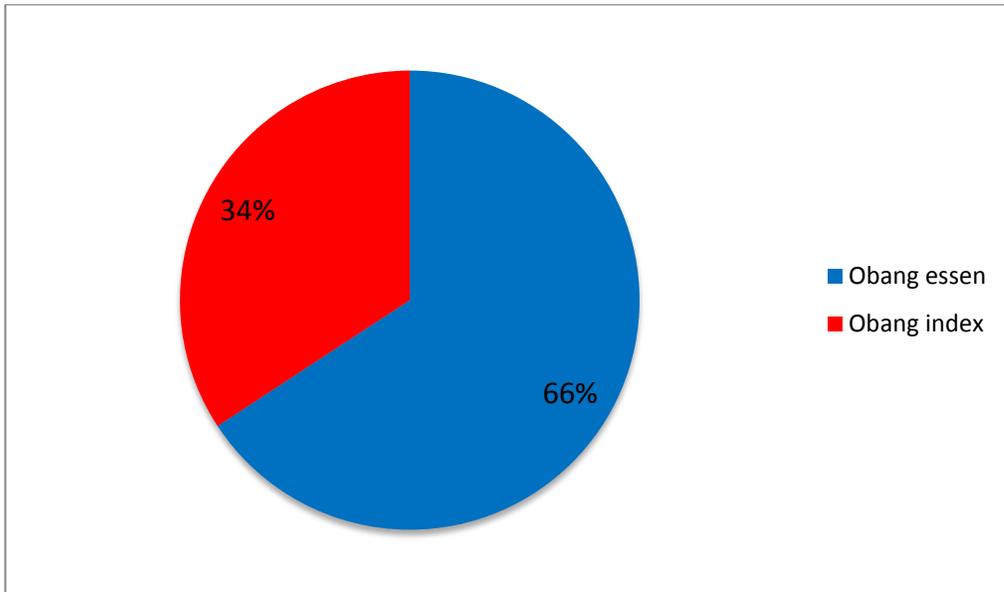
On chart 3 above, blue represents essential use of Obang and red represents indexical use. Obang is least in essential use and highest in indexical use.

Chart 4: A Cline in the essential and non-essential use of Bafut, Mbakong and Obang
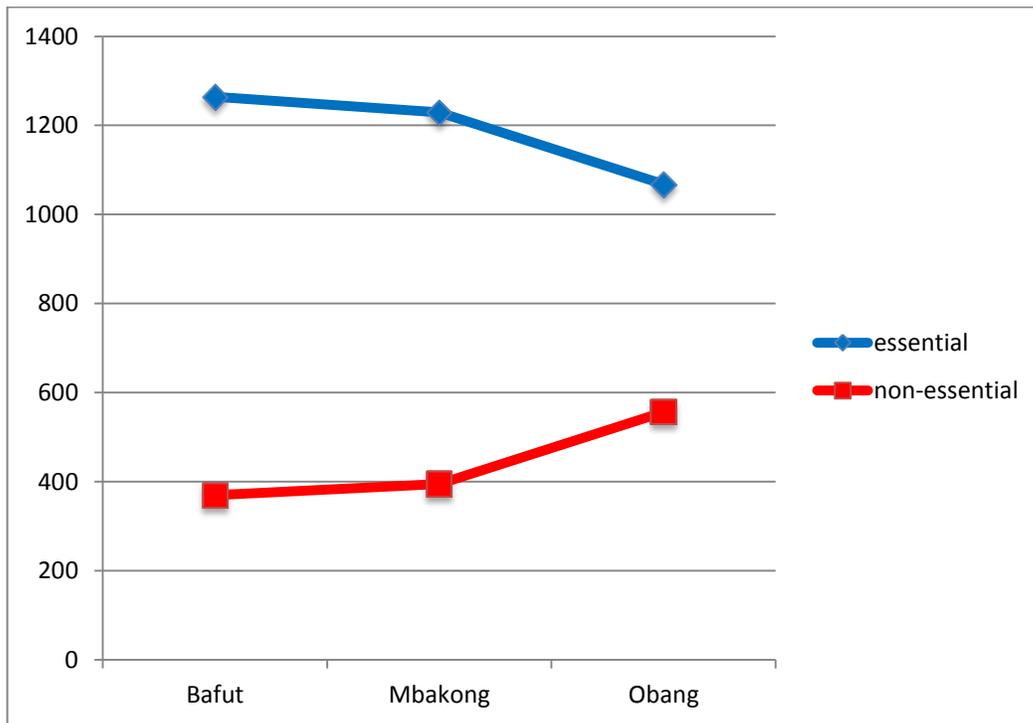
From chart 4 above, we realize a cline in Bafut's highest essentialism and lowest indexicallity; Mbakong's second both in essentialism and indexicallity; as well as Obang's least in essentialism and highest in indexicality.

7.10 Tables showing Essentialism, Mixed Essentialism and Indexicality in the use of Bafut, Mbakong and Obang

In order to get some further insights, we did another exercise by considering 1 and 5 as essentialist and 2 and 4 as mixed and 3 as neutral. Then we looked at the results again to see whether they aligned with our hypothesis.

Table 66: Audio file: Zoom 0091, Date 14/04/2015

Bafut			Mbakong			Obang		
Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral	Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral	Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral
34	10	12	28	14	14	19	16	21

Table 67: Audio file: Zoom 0092, Date 14/4/2015

Bafut			Mbakong			Obang		
Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral	Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral	Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral
28	09	19	10	26	20	08	18	30

Table 68: Audio file: Zoom 0093, Date 14/04/2015

Bafut			Mbakong			Obang		
Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral	Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral	Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral
40	05	11	33	13	10	35	10	21

Table 69: Audio file: Zoom 0094, Date 14/04/2015

Bafut			Mbakong			Obang		
Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral	Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral	Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral
31	04	21	24	12	20	23	08	25

Table 70: Audio file: Zoom 0095, Date 14/04/2015

Bafut			Mbakong			Obang		
Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral	Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral	Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral
35	10	11	35	10	11	31	08	17

Table 71: Audio file: Zoom 0098, Date 14/04/2015

Bafut			Mbakong			Obang		
Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral	Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral	Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral
34	13	09	30	14	12	30	07	19

Table 72: Audio file: Zoom 0096, Date 14/04/2015

Bafut			Mbakong			Obang		
Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral	Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral	Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral
38	04	14	36	10	10	31	11	14

Table 73: Audio file: Zoom 0099, Date 14/04/2015

Bafut			Mbakong			Obang		
Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral	Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral	Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral
38	04	14	33	12	11	31	11	14

Table 74: Audio file: Zoom 0100, Date 14/04/2015

Bafut			Mbakong			Obang		
Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral	Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral	Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral
36	07	13	35	10	11	30	06	20

Table 75: Audio file: Zoom 0101, Date 14/04/2015

Bafut			Mbakong			Obang		
Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral	Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral	Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral
45	03	08	23	14	19	14	11	31

Table 76: Audio file: Zoom 0102, Date 14/04/2015

Bafut			Mbakong			Obang		
Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral	Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral	Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral
35	06	13	24	17	15	24	09	23

Table 77: Audio file: Zoom 0104, Date 16/04/2015

Bafut			Mbakong			Obang		
Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral	Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral	Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral
42	04	10	29	15	12	29	10	17

Table 78: Audio file: Zoom 0105, Date 16/04/2015

Bafut			Mbakong			Obang		
Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral	Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral	Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral
38	05	13	23	16	17	19	09	28

Table 79: Audio file: Zoom 0106, Date 16/04/2015

Bafut			Mbakong			Obang		
Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral	Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral	Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral
37	06	13	34	14	08	28	13	15

Table 80: Audio file: Zoom 0107, Date 17/04/2015

Bafut			Mbakong			Obang		
Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral	Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral	Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral
44	01	11	26	19	11	21	17	18

Table 81: Audio file: Zoom 0108, Date 17/04/2015

Bafut			Mbakong			Obang		
Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral	Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral	Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral
40	06	10	23	23	10	15	23	18

Table 82: Audio file: Zoom 0109, Date 17/04/2015

Bafut			Mbakong			Obang		
Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral	Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral	Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral
40	06	10	21	18	17	22	15	19

Table 83: Audio file: Zoom 0110, Date 21/04/2015

Bafut			Mbakong			Obang		
Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral	Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral	Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral
39	10	07	22	23	11	17	26	13

Table 84: Audio file: Zoom 0118, Date 03/05/2015

Bafut			Mbakong			Obang		
Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral	Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral	Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral
43	03	10	25	18	11	16	20	20

Table 85: Audio file: Zoom 0137, Date 03/05/2015

Bafut			Mbakong			Obang		
Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral	Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral	Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral
31	07	18	15	23	16	45	12	05

Table 78: Audio file: Zoom 0140, Date 03/05/2015

Bafut			Mbakong			Obang		
Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral	Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral	Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral
38	10	18	19	14	23	24	10	22

Table 86: Audio file: Zoom 0139, Date 03/05/2015

Bafut			Mbakong			Obang		
Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral	Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral	Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral
33	08	15	15	30	11	28	15	13

Table 87: Audio file: Zoom 0144-47, Date 03/05/2015

Bafut			Mbakong			Obang		
Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral	Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral	Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral
29	13	14	10	22	24	30	14	12

Table 88: Audio file: Zoom 0148-51, Date 03/05/2015

Bafut			Mbakong			Obang		
Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral	Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral	Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral
36	07	13	27	14	15	26	12	18

Table 89: Audio file: Zoom 0152-53, Date 03/05/2015

Bafut			Mbakong			Obang		
Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral	Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral	Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral
42	05	09	33	14	09	34	10	12

Table 90: Audio file: Zoom 0154-55, Date 03/05/2015

Bafut			Mbakong			Obang		
Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral	Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral	Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral
29	13	14	21	18	17	20	14	22

Table 91: Audio file: Zoom 0156, Date 03/05/2015

Bafut			Mbakong			Obang		
Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral	Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral	Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral
36	10	10	28	18	10	13	22	21

Table 92: Audio file: Zoom 0157-59, Date 03/05/2015

Bafut			Mbakong			Obang		
Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral	Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral	Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral
39	07	10	30	15	11	25	10	21

Table 93: Audio file: Zoom 0160, Date 03/05/2015

Bafut			Mbakong			Obang		
Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral	Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral	Essentialist	Mixed	Neutral
38	08	10	27	20	09	16	13	27

Table 94: Summary of Essentialism, Mixed Essentialism and Indexical use of Bafut, Mbakong and Obang

Bafut			Mbakong			Obang		
Ess.	Mix.	Neu.	Ess.	Mix.	Neu.	Ess.	Mix.	Neu.
34	10	12	28	14	14	19	16	21
28	09	19	10	26	20	08	18	30
40	05	11	33	13	10	35	10	21
31	04	21	24	12	20	23	08	25
35	10	11	35	10	11	31	08	17
34	13	09	30	14	12	30	07	19
38	04	14	36	10	10	31	11	14
36	07	13	35	10	11	30	06	20
45	03	08	23	14	19	14	11	31
35	06	13	24	17	15	24	09	23
42	04	10	29	15	12	29	10	17
38	05	13	23	16	17	19	09	28
37	06	13	34	14	08	28	13	15
44	01	11	26	19	11	21	17	18
40	06	10	23	23	10	15	23	18
40	06	10	21	18	17	22	15	19
39	10	7	22	23	11	17	26	13
43	03	10	25	18	11	16	20	20
31	07	18	15	23	16	45	12	05
38	10	18	19	14	23	24	10	22
33	08	15	15	30	11	28	15	13
29	13	14	10	22	24	30	14	12
36	07	13	27	14	15	26	12	18
42	05	09	33	14	09	34	10	12
29	13	14	21	18	17	20	14	22
36	10	10	28	18	10	13	22	21
39	07	10	30	15	11	25	10	21
38	08	10	27	20	09	16	13	27
Total	Total	Total	Total	Total	Total	Total	Total	Total
1030	200	346	706	474	384	673	369	542
Average	Average	Average	Average	Average	Average	Average	Average	Average
36.79	07.14	12.36	25.21	16.93	13.71	24.04	13.18	19.35

KEY:

Ess = Essentialist

Mix = Mixed

Neu = Neutral

From table 94 above, we realize that Bafut has highest essentialism and lowest mixed/neutral essentialism. Mbakong is second in both essentialism and mixed/neutral essentialism. Obang is least in both essentialism and mixed/neutral essentialism.

7.11 Charts Showing Essentialism, Mixed Essentialism and Neutral use of Bafut, Mbakong and Obang

Chart 5: Essentialism, Mixed Essentialism and Indexical use of Bafut
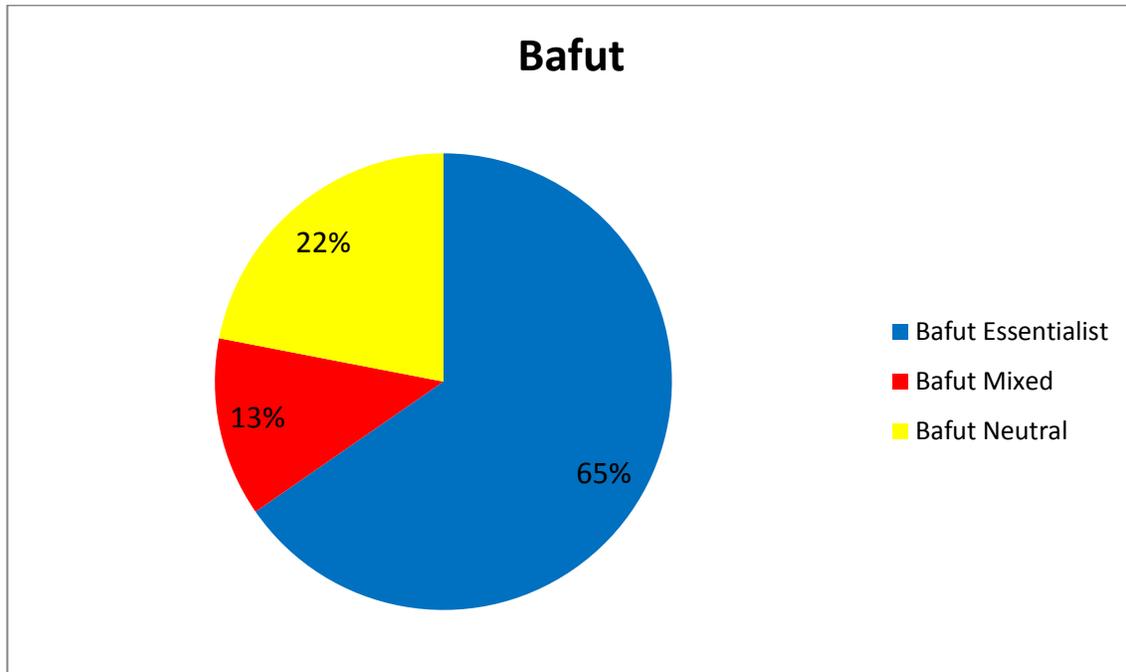
On chart 5 above, blue represents essentialism and red represents mixed essentialism while yellow represents neutral essentialism.

Bafut is highest in essentialism and lowest in mixed/neutral essentialism.

Chart 6: Essentialism, Mixed Essentialism and Indexical use of Mbakong
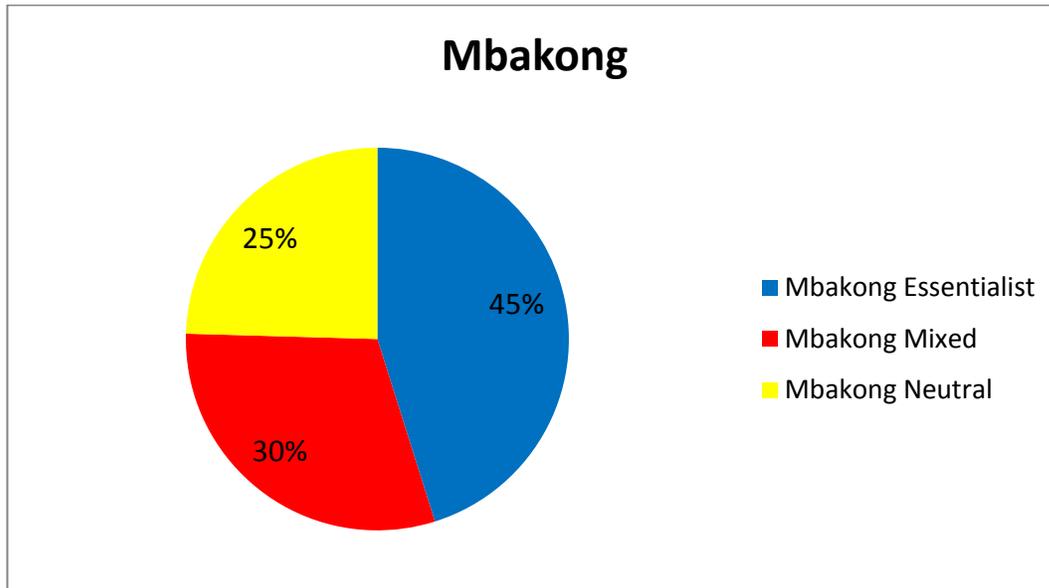
On chart 6 above, blue represents essentialism, red represents mixed essentialism and yellow represent neutral essentialism.

Mbakong is second in both essentialism and mixed/neutral essentialism.

Chart 7: Essentialism, Mixed Essentialism and Indexical use of Obang
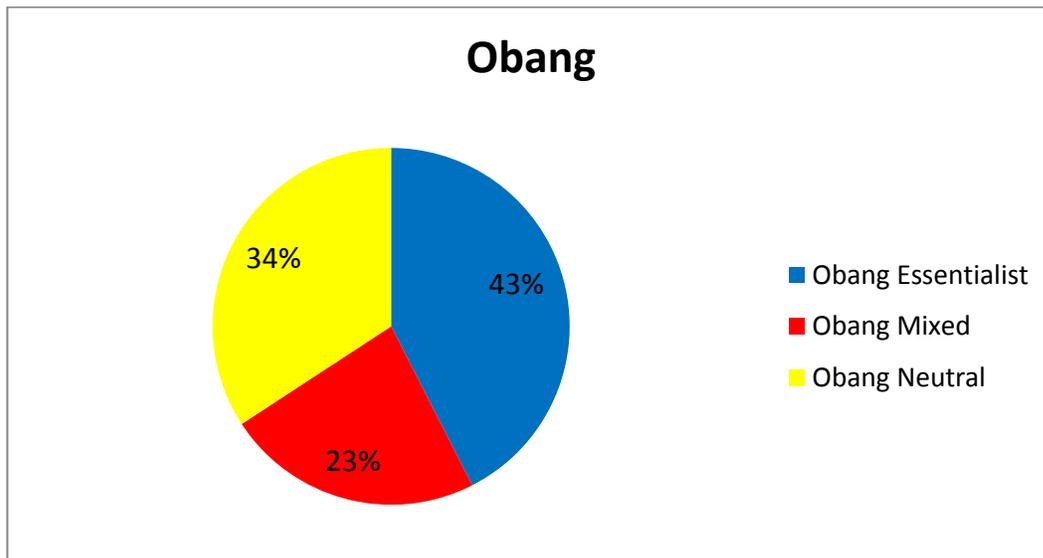
On chart 7 above, blue represents essentialism, red represents mixed essentialism and yellow represents neutral essentialism.

Obang is least in both essentialism and mixed/neutral essentialism.

Chart 8: Cline in the essential, mixed and non-essential use of Bafut, Mbakong and Obang
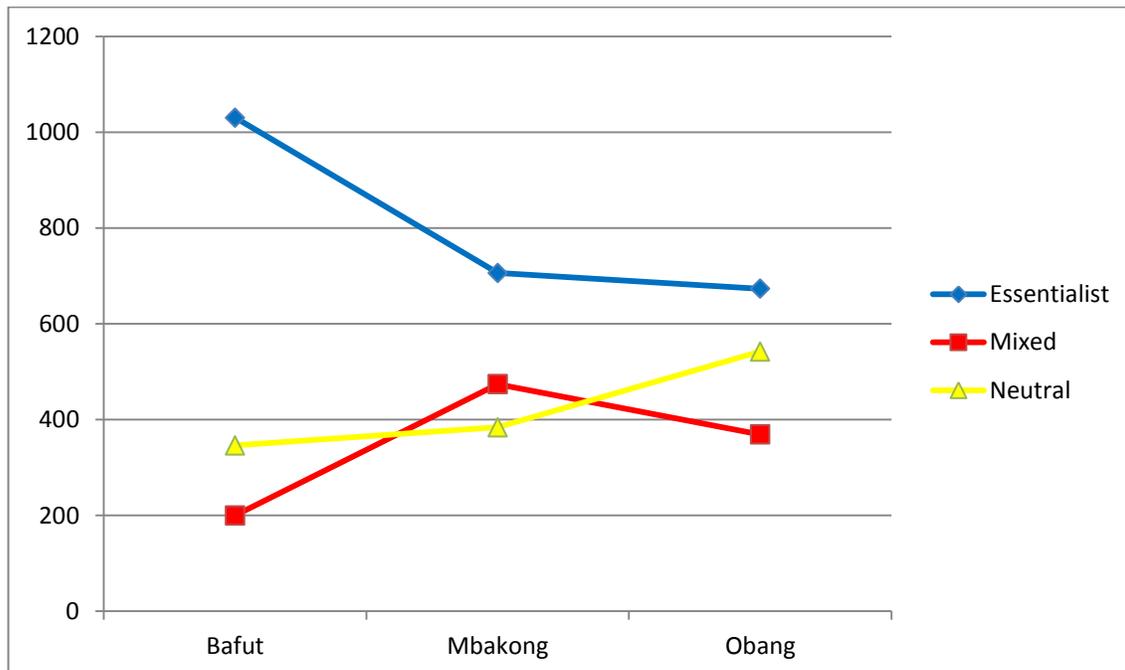
From chart 8 above, we realize clines in Bafut's highest essentialism and lowest mixed/neutral essentialism. Mbakong's both essentialism and mixed/neutral essentialism. Obang's least in both essentialism and mixed/neutral essentialism.

7.12 Summary of findings

- Both essentialism and indexicality are present in Lower Bafut. Our task was then to look at the degrees of differences between these ideologies.
- Obang had more neutral responses; the more neutral the responses, the more indexical the language use.
- Bafut had more essentialism responses, meaning that Bafut is highly used essentially while Mbakong and Obang are used less essentially.
- Mbakong had more mixed responses, meaning that it is mildly essential and mildly indexical.
- The MGT results revealed distinctly how languages are conceptualized. It will be easier by this method to map out language ideologies according to communities these ideologies refer to.

7.13 Discussions on the MGT Results

We dare say this has been the first attempt of using the MGT in a context of small, largely unwritten languages. It is thus an experimental application of this method and the reason why we made this point clear in our work by reviewing the literature on MGT which was first applied in Canada to measure people's attitudes towards English and French, the national languages. Well, this is extremely different from what we have done.

As with all experiments, our adaptation of this technique to a different context means that the results we obtain will show insights on how to improve on our tool.

In every society there exist multiple ideologies due to the fact that each society accommodates people of quite different status, education, profession, level of literacy, religion and so on. It would be illusory to expect it to have a uniformity of culture characterized by one and the same language ideology. In addition to what we said at the beginning concerning the experimental nature of this work, we cannot overestimate the results of our inquiry which we consider a modest contribution in this field.

Exposure to highly essentialist ideologies like those of the British colonial administration which basically confirmed existing notions cannot apply here, and should not be taken for granted. Each inhabitant will likely have in mind both essentialist and indexical ideologies, as revealed in our data and interpretations.

Everything we have said above points to the fact that it would be illusory to look for 100% essentialist versus 100% indexical ideologies. All respondents will obviously yield complex data, causing the differences to be in degree, not in kind.

Our problem here was therefore to merge the results of the ethnographic informed questionnaire with those of the MGT and come up with key findings on the essential and indexical use of language in Lower Bafut.

Inadequacies of the MGT

This work is experimental in many respects. As such, it is obvious that our highlights, including results, and also failures in this domain, take advantage of our shortcomings in order to propose improvements based on experience.

Taking into consideration the fact that our study is a rare case in which the MGT is being used in an African multilingual context, it cannot be shown to be 100% effective in highlighting clear

differences. What we did, however, was to focus on detailed calculations and express all differences in terms of degrees. Nonetheless, there were differences between the attitudes towards the different languages. Our task was then to provide even the slightest difference with some interpretations.

We equally looked at it at the level of accuracy in the respondents' answers. That is, we noted that because of their level of education they were unable to qualify speakers' personalities in comparative and superlative terms like less, least, for negative adjectives and more and most for positive adjectives. They were able to use just three grades; not good, normal, and good. This left us wanting in determining which of the five grades to note.

This calls for an improved use of the MGT in future work on this subject.

However, the results of the interviews and the ethnographic informed questionnaire guided us towards the degrees of existence of the essential and indexical uses of the languages demonstrated by the MGT.

Can two tools be showing different results on the same inquiries? Of course! Much of the history of science revolves around the use of one or another tool, which give different results as they filter readily in different ways. Our duty is then to evaluate the degree of reliability of one or the other tool for what kind of data.

7.14 Conclusion

In this chapter we have presented the personality traits that represent the language ideologies of essentialism and indexicality as projected by the people of Lower Bafut, in terms of the languages spoken in the area. From the results of the MGT, we realize that Bafut is considered more prestigious while Mbakong and Obang are considered less prestigious: meaning that Bafut is used more essentially, Mbakong is used averagely essentially, while Obang is used more indexically. Chapter eight coming up will be the presentation of key findings.

This chapter highlights the dichotomy between urban and rural configurations of multilingualism in Lower Bafut, a rural multilingual area. Our objective is to evaluate the degree to which the essentialism versus indexicality dichotomy can help account for the findings of our work. If our results reveal that indexicality is the ultimate determinant of language choice in this area, this will obviously entail many other motivations for individual and societal multilingualism apart from hierarchy and prestige. Consequently, our findings will have a great impact on sociolinguistic scholarship as it will seem to add an important element of indexicality without essence to the current understanding of language ideologies.

CHAPTER EIGHT
PRESENTATION OF KEY FINDINGS

8.1 Introduction

Chapter eight presents the key findings emanating from the interdisciplinary approach of investigation including the sociolinguistic and the ethnographically-informed perspectives. The administration of the GGA, the RTT, the Lexicostatistics and the Matched-Guise Technique resulted in the fine-grained data analysis, revealing that multilingualism is both a societal and a geographical phenomenon in Lower Bafut.

8.2 Summary of Key Findings of the Sociolinguistic Approach

We shall start by presenting a recapitulation of the key findings of this work and subsequently make a rundown of the rest of the findings.

8.2.1 Presentation of the Global Group Appraisal Method

The G.G.A method takes into consideration the point of view of the native speakers in terms of the following declarations:

- That Mbakong, Butang, Obang, Mantaa, Buwi, Otang are not dialects of Bafut but different languages of their own.
- Bafut is the most widely used language in intercommunication in the Bafut Fondom.
- Obang is the second most widely used language in intercommunication in the Bafut Fondom, and its intelligibility with Befang is quite high.
- Bafut, Mantaa and Buwi are highly intelligible and could constitute a dialectal group of the same parentage.
- Bafut and Agah (Beba) are mutually intelligible and so confirm the fact that Beba is a variety of Bafut.

Chart 9: Propositions of Grades of Linguistic Varieties According to Localities of Comprehension
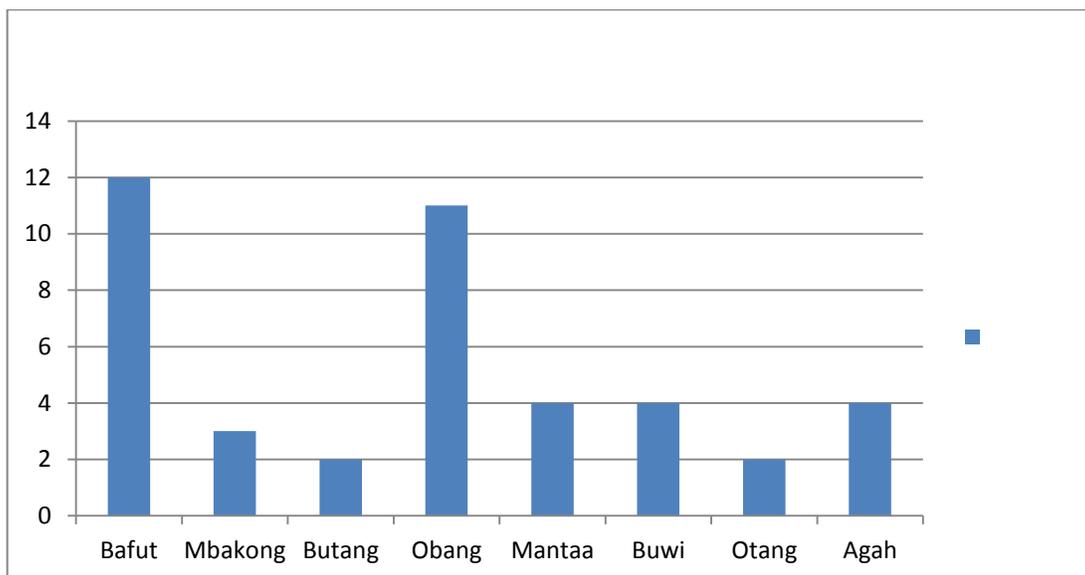
The column chart (9) above presents the degree of extension of comprehension by a linguistic variety.

8.2.2 Results of Recorded Text Testing Method

The R.T.T came to attests to the truth that was already established by the Lexicostatistic method and which could still be confirmed by another simpler method, the G.G.A. Apart from the barest truth that Mbakong, Butang, Obang, Mantaa, Buwi and Otang are not dialects of Bafut, there is another new development has emerged from regrouping the languages.

Results from the R.T.T proved that the high range of scores (70% and above) for the Bafut test was not due to inherent intelligibility but rather to the one-way bilingualism practised by the speakers of the six other languages, whereas the speakers of Bafut neither understand nor speak any of these languages. This still confirms the fact that there is no inter-comprehension between the languages.

From the results of the Mantaa and Buwi tests (90%), involving the Mantaa, and Buwi speakers, we can conclude that these two languages are highly intelligible or are dialects of the same language. Similarly, the high performance in the Mantaa and the Buwi tests by the Bafut speakers (75%), reveals that Bafut is highly intelligible to Mantaa and Buwi.

Consequently, the languages in the Bafut Fondom could be regrouped as follows: inherent intelligibility: (Bafut, Mantaa, Buwi); acquired intelligibility: (Mbakong, Butang, Obang and Otang); and mutual intelligibility: (Bafut and Agah).

Chart 10: Propositions of Average Score per Test
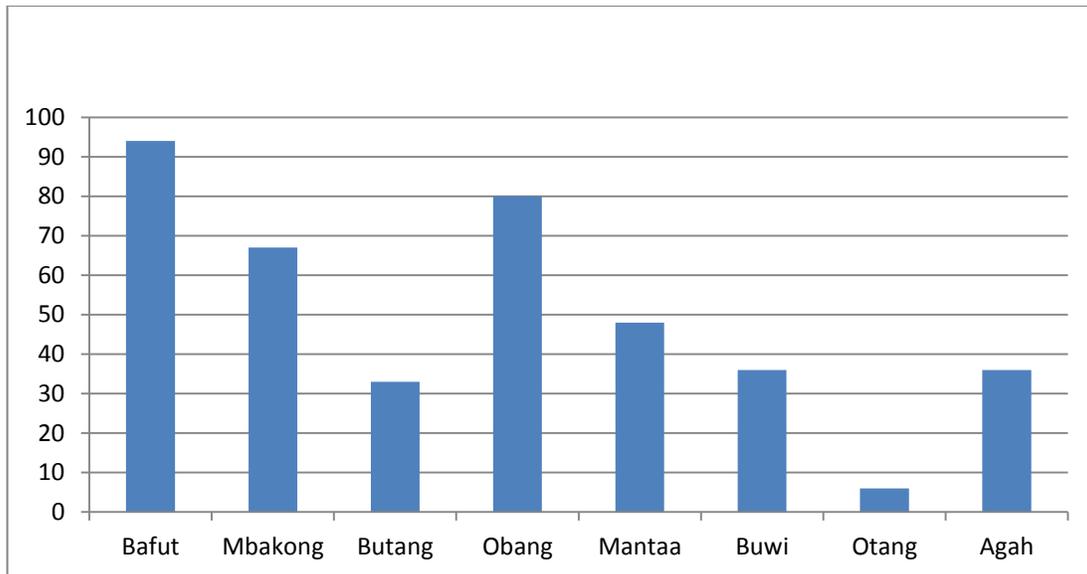
The column chart (10) above presents the degree of highest performances in the seven tests.

8.2.3 Presentation of Results of the Lexicostatistics Method

The Lexicostatistics method states that for linguistic varieties to be called dialects of the same language, they must have a rate of 60% and above in similarities of vocabulary. From the results of our matrices of similarities and differences on 10 words, 100 words and 200 words and their plural forms respectively, we realize that only one of the linguistic varieties has similarities of up to 60% in vocabulary with Bafut. From our results, we were able to come up with six undocumented languages in the Bafut Fondom. These languages are Mbakong, Butang, Obang, Mantaa, Buwi and Otang. It should be noted that the results of Agah confirmed the fact on ALCAM (1983) that Agah (Beba) is a dialect of Bafut.

From table 24, we realize that the more the words compared, the lesser the value of similarities and intelligibility between Bafut and the other six linguistic varieties, except for Agah (Beba), as stated above.

The charts below present a summary of the values of similarities and differences.

273

Chart 11: Propositions of Values of Similarities in Vocabulary
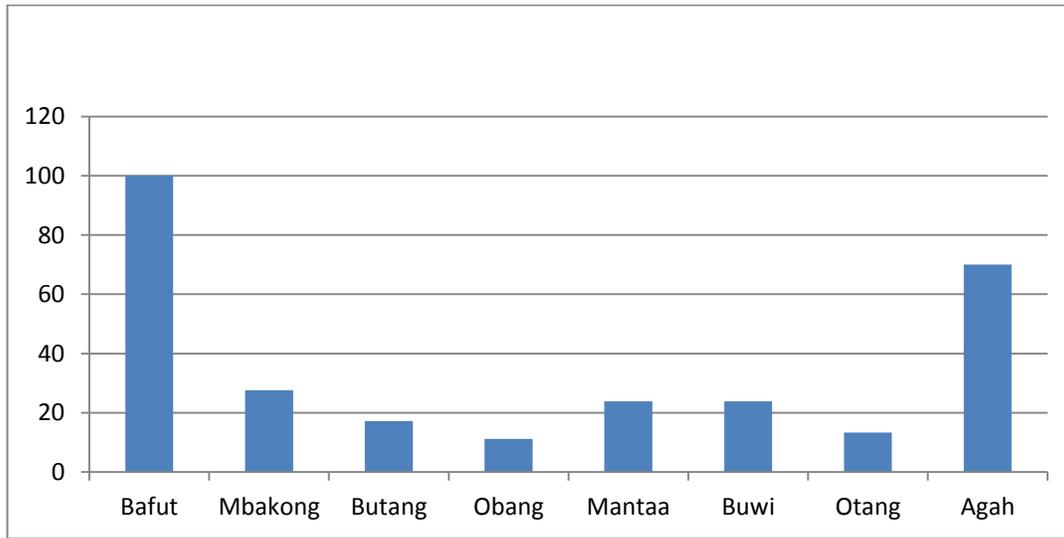
The column chart (11) above presents in clear terms the values of similarities between Bafut and the other seven linguistic varieties.

From table 25, we notice that the more the words compared, the more the values of differences and the further the linguistic distances between Bafut and the other seven linguistic varieties.

Chart 12: Propositions of Values of differences in Vocabulary
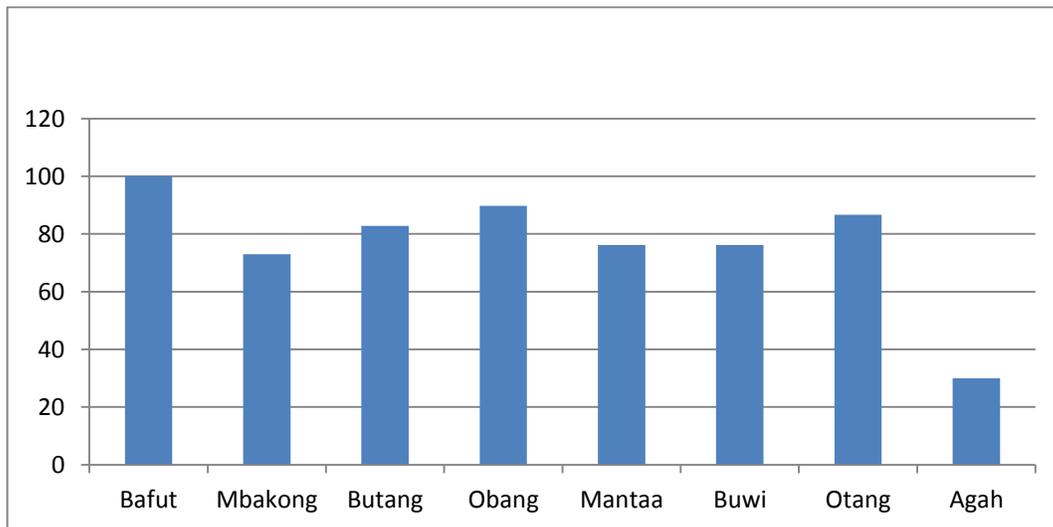
The column chart (12) above clearly presents the values of differences between Bafut and the other seven linguistic varieties.

8.3 Summary of findings on the Lexicostatistic, the RTT and the GGA

Our findings were based on the evaluation of intelligibility and inter-comprehension between the eight linguistic varieties in the Bafut Fondom. It is worth noting that a systematic application of the Lexicostatistics, RTT and GGA clarifies our doubts on the implications of each of the methods. The application of this comparative approach in a multilingual context enables us to realize four types of intelligibility: mutual intelligibility, acquired intelligibility, neighbour intelligibility, and non-reciprocal intelligibility. Since the three methods cannot directly determine intelligibility only on the basis of linguistic features, other research methods could be adopted in order to resolve the problem.

The results of Lexicostatistics reveal from the matrices of similarity a range of values of 56%-13% which is far below 60%, meaning that Mbakong, Butang, Obang, Mantaa, Buwi and Otang are not dialects of Bafut but could be languages on their own. The results of G.G.A from the questionnaire beginning from question 13 reveal the degree of inter-comprehension between the different linguistic varieties. Question 8 reveals the geographical extension of a variety and question 15 reveals a probable variety of reference.

-Firstly, Bafut is spoken in the whole of Bafut as well as Lower Bafut. Secondly, Obang is spoken in all the villages of Lower Bafut.

We have already come to terms with the fact that the linguistic varieties in Lower Bafut are not dialects of the same language but different language units, except Agah which has been proven from our findings to be a dialect of Bafut as stated on ALCAM (1983). We have also been able to prove from results of the various methods that two varieties: Bafut and Obang, are widely used in this area.

8.3.1 Discussions

Using three different methods in analyzing a linguistic problem can be very rewarding. It is surprising that the Lexicostatistics, the RTT and the GGA have produced different results in terms of statistics but to a certain extent, the findings turn out to give similar results.

With the Lexicostatistics, the more words compared, the more accurate the results. This method served as a basis on which the RTT and GGA were administered. SWADESH (1950) states that a lexical data of less than 200 words will be inefficient for investigation on the cognate value. The comparison and quantification of lexical data is an objective measure of dialect distance.

Though it is painstaking when it comes to the calculation of values of semblances and differences, it is within reach.

On the other hand, the RTT is very complex and entails the use of expensive equipment. The preparation of the test, the administration, the analysis and interpretation of the results take too much time. More and more authors and researchers have found out that this method alone cannot establish distinct programs of development of languages. However, it helps to differentiate between inherent comprehension between linguistic varieties and distinct languages. Yet for the pertinent problem of bilingualism, the test cannot distinguish between inherent and acquired intelligibility.

The GGA is the easiest method for obtaining results in a large area of research in the shortest possible time. It is efficient because it assesses both the native speaker of the language and the language itself. People who have a positive image about their language tend to speak it while those who have a negative image of their language tend to speak other languages they consider more prestigious. Native speakers of a language have a high sense of linguistic differences between their language and other languages around them, but they can be very subjective at times. This is the basis for dialect delimitation and inter-comprehension between languages.

Similarly, the sociolinguistic approach focuses on the evaluation of intelligibility and inter-comprehension between the eight linguistic varieties in the Bafut Fondom. It is worth noting that a systematic application of the Lexicostatistic, RTT and GGA methods clarifies our doubts on the implications of each of the methods. The application of this comparative approach in a multilingual context helps us to realize four types of intelligibility: mutual intelligibility, acquired intelligibility, neighbour intelligibility, and non-reciprocal intelligibility.

On the whole, it was noted that the inadequacy of these three methods to directly determine intelligibility on the basis of linguistic features was due to the fact that there was no inter-comprehension between the languages of Lower Bafut given that they exist in a bilingual context. Therefore at this juncture we concluded that: Mbakong, Butang, Obang, Mantaa, Buwi, Otang except Agah (Beba) are not dialects of Bafut but different languages of their own. We then came up with the suggestion of ensuring their existence by situating them under the Ngemba languages on the Linguistic Atlas of Cameroon in 2017.

8.3.2 Proposal for a Multilectal Literature for Pedagogy.

Linguistic research on Bafut has been in-depth since the promoters of this language developed its alphabet and its writing system.

The issue posed here is rather how to propose a multilectal literature for pedagogic purposes in such a multilinguistic context as Lower Bafut where the linguistic units are independent entities.

Our objective in this section therefore is to determine from our results of Lexicostatistics, RTT and G.G.A, which of the seven linguistic varieties could be proposed for scrutiny.

The results of G.G.A from the questionnaire beginning from question 13 reveal the degree of inter-comprehension between the different linguistic varieties. Question 8 reveals the geographical extension of a variety and question 15 reveals a probable variety of reference.

From the results, firstly, Bafut is the most widely spoken variety in Bafut as well as Lower Bafut. Secondly, Obang is spoken in all the villages of Lower Bafut.

We were able to come up with suggestions for a language policy in this area and the following were the suggestions we made:

- Bafut be taught in schools in all parts of the Fondom including Lower Bafut.
- Obang be taught in schools in all Lower Bafut.
- The other language languages should be taught in their native villages.

Figure 9: ALCAM (1983) Classification realized by Chenemo (2018)
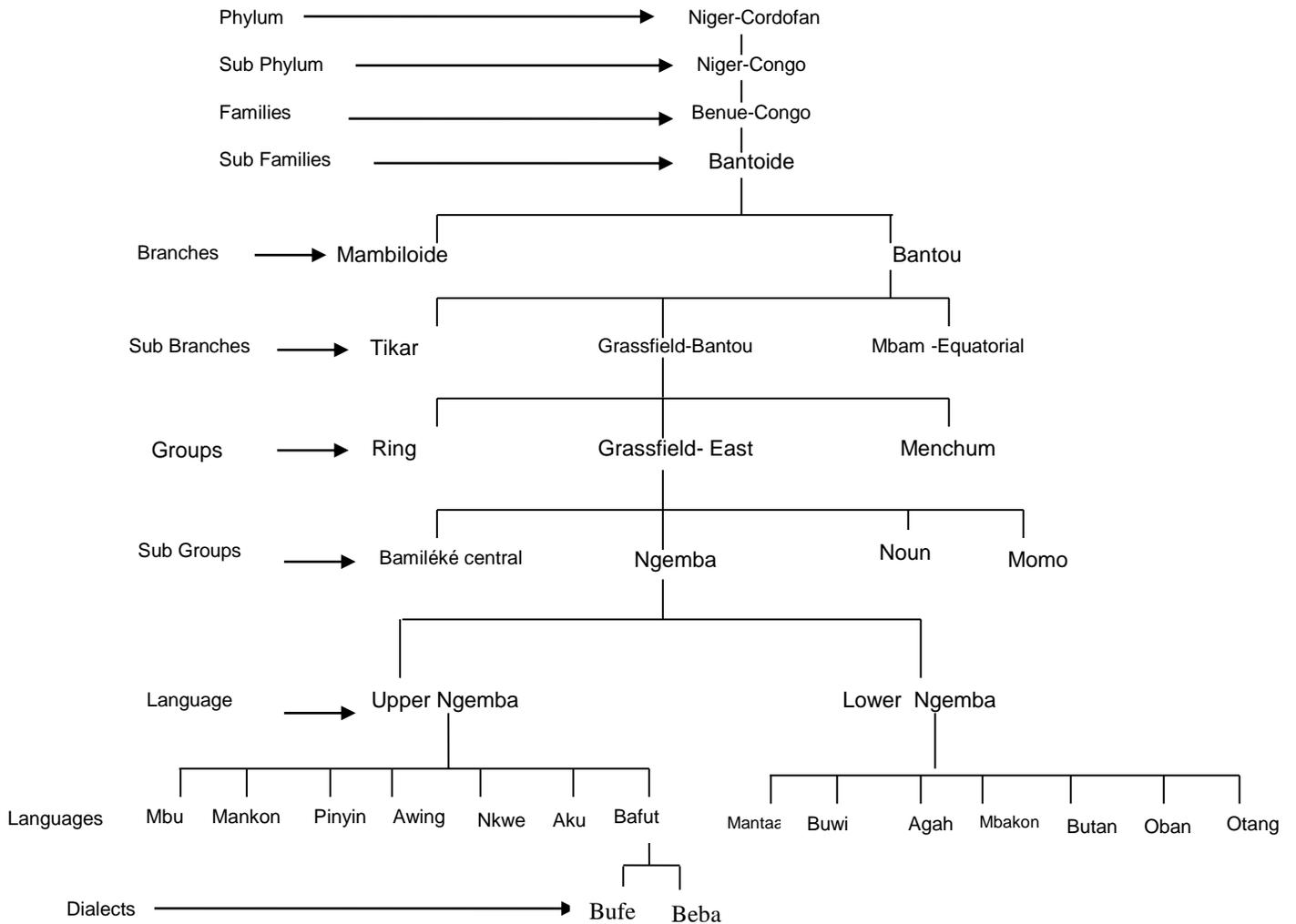
Figure 9 above is the ALCAM (1983) we realised in (2018) by situating: Mantaa, Buwi, Agah, Mbakong, Butang, Obang and Otang under the Ngemba languages sub-grouped under Grassfield East. The Linguistic Atlas of Cameroon (1983) presents the most recent classification of the Cameroonian languages under historical and ethnic groupings. Bafut is found in zone 9 and its code is 912. It is classified under Grassfield-East. It is further regrouped under the Ngemba languages in the Bamenda central zone.

Our new discovery of the languages of Lower Bafut dismisses the gross assumptions that these languages are dialects of other languages. It makes the linguistic situation of the Ngemba sub group clearer as these languages have been identified and are pending codification.

8.4 Key Findings of the Matched-Guise Technique: Summary of MGT results

Chart 13: Essential and Indexical use of Bafut, Mbakong and Obang.
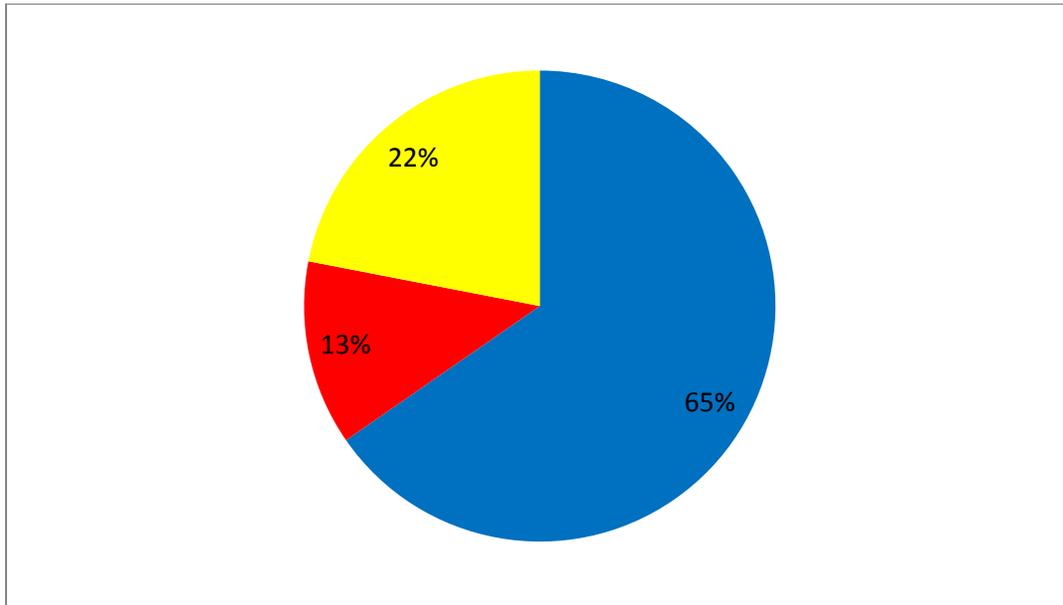
Key

Blue = Bafut essentialism.

Yellow = Mbakong mixed essentialism.

Red = Obang Indexicality.

- Both essentialism and indexicality are present in Lower Bafut. Our task was then to look at the degrees of differences between these ideologies.
- Obang with more neutral responses means the more neutral the responses, the more indexical the language use.
- Bafut had more essentialism responses, meaning that Bafut is highly used essentially, while Mbakong and Obang are used less essentially.
- Mbakong had more mixed responses, meaning that it is mildly essential and mildly indexical.

8.5 Presentation of Results of the Sociolinguistic Questionnaire

1. There are no monolinguals in Lower Bafut. From our analyses of data gathered from the sociolinguistic questionnaire, individuals speak their linguistic repertoire and at least two other local languages plus English and Pidgin.

2. There is a significant rate of multilingualism in the area. Our analyses show that people in Lower Bafut claim to be able to speak 13 languages and understand up to 14 of them.

3. Whole sample: individuals in Lower Bafut claim to be multilingual in 5 to 6 languages. Sociological factors such as blood and individual relations account largely for the reason why people learn languages. Contributing to these blood relations are other factors such as perceptions of proximity and similarity, religion, education, and movements. There are three underlying reasons why people learn several languages: the desire to affiliate to a linguistic community, to gain favour and to intercept evil.

4. Pidgin is spoken as a native language in Lower Bafut.

5. The presence of other languages in the profile of the sampled population of Lower Bafut, especially of elderly people, reveals the importance these languages used to have in the past with regards to trade.

6. Our results reveal that linguistic proximity and social proximity were some of the motivations for language acquisition. Thus, people learn the languages of their blood relations, neighbouring villages and of similarity to theirs.

8.6 Results of the Ethnographic Questionnaire

At the end of the Matched-Guise Experiment, the results of our findings were based on motivations of individual and societal multilingualism and language ideology projections.

8.6.1 Motivations of Individual and Societal Multilingualism

Motivations for speaking the native language ranged from a sense of belonging to privacy, secrecy, rituals, security and social rank.

- Motivations for speaking other native languages included inter-marriages, insecurity, friendship, travelling, and trade.
- Motivations for speaking foreign languages, e.g. English, French, and Pidgin were: education, religion, trade, living in urban centers and intermarriages.

8.6.2 Language Attitude Projections

- Positive attitudes.

- Negative attitudes

- Mixed

- Neutral

8.6.3 Results of Questions on Motivations for Multilingualism

Why do you speak many languages when the people from other villages can understand your language?

The responses from all consultants ranged from:

- High rate of mobility among the people: they frequently make visits to other villages.

- Affiliation through marriage: there is a high rate of intermarriages between the people.

- Family ties: they learn languages of their spouses, grandparents and step siblings.

- Friendship: Lower Bafut people are very friendly and open to everyone.

- Solidarity: they affiliate in many solidarity activities.

- Insecurity: because of the fear of the unknown, they tend to bond together

- Secrecy: always like to know what is being said around them.

- Business: they would want to carry out trading in the neighbouring villages

- Endowment with ability to speak many languages

- Employment: they work and render services in other places apart from their own villages

- Schooling: they learn the languages spoken where they school.

- Good neighborliness: they are always in good with their neighbouring villages

- Linguistic similarities: some of them think their languages are similar to others.

- Bafut is dominantly being spoken in the entire Bafut Sub Division.

8.6.4 Results of Questions on Intermarriages

Why is there a high rate of intermarriages between the villages, in contrast to little intermarriage between Lower Bafut and Bafut?

-High rate of mobility between men and women.

-No tradition prohibiting intermarriages.

-Polygamy as a cultural practice.

-Promiscuity in men and women.

-Women do not belong to a particular village.

-Similarity in cultures eases intermarriages.

-In search of women of good conduct.

-In search of beauty.

-Love has no bounds.

-Marriage institution in Lower Bafut is loose, women do not last in marriage.

8.6.5 Summary of the Ethnographic questionnaire Results

From the interviews, questionnaires and MGT, we came up with the following general results. Multilingualism is a cultural practice in Lower Bafut.

- There are no monolinguals in Lower Bafut. Every individual happens to have in his/her linguistic repertoire at least two languages, that is, their native language and Pidgin English, or other foreign languages.

- Also, the absence of prestige is revealed in the indexical use of the languages of Lower Bafut, while the presence of prestige in the use of Bafut is seen in the sense of belonging and bonding of the Lower Bafut people to the people of Bafut.

- The people of Lower Bafut practise active multilingualism. They are able to speak thoroughly well the languages they claim to know.

- Bafut is a dominant language in Lower Bafut and it is called the language of the Fondom.

- Bafut is regarded as a prestigious language and people who speak it admire the Bafut people and would want to be like them.

- The Mbakong people are the most multilingual people of the area, seconded by the Buwi people. The reason is that they are very friendly to their neighbours, welcoming to strangers and also create a lot of relationships outside their villages through intermarriages, trade, education, and jobs. They speak Mbakong, Bafut, Obang, Butang and understand many others.

- Obang people are the least multilingual people in the area because they are a radical set of people in the Fondom. They are aggressive towards strangers, proud and self-centred. They are mostly monolinguals with regards to the local languages. They claim to speak only Obang and Pidgin English.

- The Butang people are conservative and closed since they are very few. They are bilinguals in terms of the local languages, Butang and Obang.

- The Mantaa people being very few in number also adopt a self-defence policy by fortifying themselves with wicked masquerades believed to scorch vegetation and kill massively within enemy territory. They are the third most multilingual people in the area, with almost everybody speaking Mantaa, Buwi, Obang and Bafut as local languages.

- The Otang people are calm, reserved, and almost non-existent in the Fondom. They speak Otang, Aghah, Obang, and many languages of Menchum Division.

- Agah people are aggitative when it comes to talking about their origin because their history is characterized by betrayal and bloodshed. They were formerly part of the Beba in Menchum Division who broke away and came to live in Agah in Mezam Division. Formerly refugees, they have since settled and gained recognition as part of the Fondom. They speak Beba, Mundum, Bafut, Mankon, Otang, Obang and some languages of Menchum Division.

- The Bafut people too are monolingual in terms of the local languages. They consider Bafut as the prestigious language of the Fondom that everybody should, speak while minimizing the languages of Lower Bafut.

- Because of the powerful influence of the Bafut Fondom, the chiefs of Lower Bafut live in total subservience to the Fon of Bafut who is the paramount chief, while they are classified as second class and third class chiefs of the Fondom. From our interviews we were able to notice some kind of political rivalry between the chiefs and their own variants. This is the case with the Lower Bafut people who believe that Bafut is superior to their own languages.

8.7 Summary findings on Motivations of Multilingualism

Multilingualism is a societal phenomenon in Lower Bafut, the main reasons being language contact, high rates of intermarriages, most men being polygamists, high rates of divorce, child-naming, and solidarity group activities.

The people of Lower Bafut practise active multilingualism. Many of them speak up to seven languages including English and Pidgin. A good number of them speak at least three local languages.

We came across a rare case being a woman who spoke 13 languages. Her parents came from Bafut and settled in Titaisi, an isolated quarter between Buwi and Mantaa. She got married to a

Bafut man and lived in Mbakong doing business. She bought a farm in Butang and another one in Obang center. She relocated with her husband to Essimbi where she did business with the people of Essimbi, Okoromanjang, Beba, Befang, and the Mudele. So in all, she speaks Bafut, Buwi, Mantaa, Mbakong, Obang, Butang, Essimbi, Okoromanjang, Beba, Befang and Mudele, pidgin and English.

8.7.1 Factors that Motivate Multilingualism

8.7.1.1 Solidarity and Identity

The issue of identity is very peculiar in Lower Bafut. At birth, children are given either a paternal or a maternal name depending on the turn of the parent to name. Traditionally, it is the mother who names the first child and the rest of the children who follow are named by the father. These names are considered very sacred by the various families and the children as the embodiment of the people they are named after. Hence you will hear a woman calling her son tata- meaning father or her daughter nana- meaning mother. But with intermarriages, children are given double identities; that is, a name from the paternal side and another from the maternal side, and they are expected to speak the languages of both the mother and the father. Reason why multilingualism is a cultural practice.

8.7.2 Spiritual Insecurity

There are no centralized systems of service providers as insurance, banking and social security. Consequently, they tend to seek protection and assistance from solidarity and identity groups. The more the solidarity groups one belongs to, the more secured one feels in the society. So, an individual could belong to as many solidarity groups as possible. There are social, cultural and political solidarity groups and each of these is beneficial to the members. Some solidarity groups are in the form of secret cults and one must be initiated to become a member.

8.8 Social Motivations of Multilingualism in Lower Bafut

This study shows that the reasons for the high rate of multilingualism in Lower Bafut include marriage, and its attendant connections, educational, religion, blood relations, perceived similarity, proximity and the need to create individual relations. The above factors were deduced, thanks to our fine-grain ethnographic data.

The desire to get married, to travel and to trade, for example, has also been deduced in the work of WARNIER (1979:15), O'BARR (1982) and CONNELL (2009:7). These factors have accounted for developing multilingual attitudes in past works and still hold true in this study. However, our ethnographic data revealed that almost all the participants learned languages because of blood relations. This will mean that the drive behind people learning languages is mainly promoted by natural relations. Although both urban and rural inhabitants feel the need to learn their parents' languages, this feeling maybe more intense and significant in the rural areas. Almost every individual interviewed responded that they understand and speak excellently languages from their background or origin. What is more interesting here is that in the rural areas, people even stretch beyond bounds to learn their grand parents' languages in case they are different.

8.8.1 Marriage Patterns

Marriage patterns in Lower Bafut were a necessary tool in understanding the pattern of multilingualism there. This also helped to reveal local language ideologies and understanding of the construction of multiple identifies. In Lower Bafut the marriage institution is very loose, thereby resulting in high rates of instability between spouses, infidelity, multiple marriages, polygamy and divorce. Similarly, intermarriages are the order of the day, that is, people get to marry not only from their native villages but also from neighbouring or distant villages. The Excel meta data spread sheet reveals statistically that from the total number of 200 or more consultants interviewed 40% of the people are married internally and 57% externally, while 03% are not married at all and 30% are in polygamous marriages.

What is specific to Lower Bafut is that all children from dual linguistic backgrounds are 99% competent in the two languages; therefore, those who marry externally are plurilingual. All the cases interviewed proved at least passive competence in their partners' languages. This is not a common practice in urban settings where French, English and Pidgin are used in homes of inter-marriages. This is the reason why intermarriages are a major motivating factor of multilingualism in Lower Bafut.

Furthermore, what we noticed was an issue of gender-based difference. We saw that all females who marry externally are 100% competent in their husbands' languages whereas it is not the case with men. Men are usually indifferent to the languages of their spouses. Our results show that just about 40% of men actively speak their spouses' languages, while 60% possess passive

competence. This is due to male chauvinism and also the fact that traditionally, it is the woman who moves to meet her husband and definitely has to learn her husband's language and adapt to his culture. Overwhelmingly, the marriage patterns of the people of Lower Bafut play a very big role in individual multilingualism and multiple identities.

8.8.2 Proximity

As we have already said, proximity is a relative criterion. People living in different villages will have a different set of proximal languages. We notice that learning languages in the proximal subcategory is accounted for in most cases by blood relations and marriage partners. From the significant intermarriage practices in Lower Bafut, consultants who developed multilingual competence did so as a consequence of exogamy. For example, a male respondent from Mbakong speaks a language of proximity because his father got married to a woman from Obang and his grandfather got married to a woman from Otang. This peculiarity of language learning is explained by the fact that people in Lower Bafut learn not only languages which are close to them but also those of their blood relations (especially from the maternal side).

8.8.3 Multilingual Men

From our results, men are more plurilingual than women for the following reasons: marriage, trade, movements, family relations, friendship, jobs, affiliation in cults, solidarity groups and education. Most men travel for trade, in search of jobs and also to attend cult ceremonies in other villages while women stay at home to take care of their families. In the course of travelling, the men also make friends that they keep visiting.

One of the causes of male dominance over women in multilingual practice is the absence of education. Most of the females responded that they did not know English because they got married rather early and consequently could not go to school. This gender bias in girl child education is till practised in Lower Bafut, O'BARR (1971:5).

8.8.4 Perceived Prestige

This stems from a concept of a community that their language is primitive or common or strange, and sounds funny to those who speak standard languages. The Lower Bafut people think as

such when they relate with the Bafut people; so, they tend to speak Bafut in public because they consider it prestigious.

The results from the MGT show that Bafut people are judged by the Lower Bafut people to be handsome, tall, trustworthy, kind, industrious, devoted, though not sociable; whereas they see themselves as untrustworthy and lazy, though very sociable and friendly. These two types of favourable and unfavourable judgements reflect the projections of the stereotypes they have about the languages. To them, Bafut is prestigious and superior while Lower Bafut languages are primitive and inferior.

8.9 Accents and Dialect Assessment

Some language communities can boast of more than one dialect or language variety characterized by their various attendant accents and vocabulary. And as such varieties can be considered standard or non-standard. For example, in Bafut we have the central dialect which is standard and the Upper territories' dialect "ntare" which is considered sub-standard with just a few differences of vocabulary. We equally have the royal variety which is considered more prestigious, while the common variety is regarded as funny or even strange by the royalty. On the same count, there are differences, however negligible, between both varieties and the old variety is called "mubaako'o". The "mubaako'o" was associated with myths and legends of the people, ie, the dictionary.

An interview conducted with Bafut respondents on their evaluation of competences in, and attractiveness to their three dialects revealed that the central variety is considered standard and associated with greatest competence, attractiveness and intelligence. This was not the Matched-Guise Technique in that different speakers provided the speech samples. The royalty variety of Bafut was associated with prestige, the common variety was regarded as funny and even strange by the speakers themselves. The royal variety is considered too limited in scope, though associated with prestige. As for the "mubaako'o", the old variety, it has since died with the test of time.

In summary, here is an organisational framework in which there are two broad determinants of language perceptions: Standardization and variety. Standardization consists of identifying and establishing a unique written form of a language that makes it most concurrent of the others. There are some guiding principles of written communication which include other speakers of the language,

A standard variety is one with modified norms and is associated with dominant social groups. On the other hand, a dialect is a variety of a language which could be distinguished from other dialects of the language (lexical, phonological, morphological and syntactical). It is worth noting that all languages have dialects. In Bafut, the central dialect is the standard or the written form. Vitality refers to the number and importance of functions served, and is clearly bolstered by the status of standardization processes. It can also be a feature of non- standard varieties, given that there are sufficient numbers of speakers and community support.

8.10 Summary of Findings of the Historical Reconstruction of the Language Villages

8.10.1 The Pre-colonial Era

Prior to the colonial era, there existed multilingualism in rural Cameroon. WARNIER (1979) holds strongly that there was no lingua franca in nineteenth century Grassfields. The implication here is that there was the lack of a language of wider communication, so the people of the Grassfields relied solely on their indigenous languages. With the coming of the Germans in 1884, practical multilingualism gained grounds before the wide spread of Pidgin English. This was so because the people learned some indigenous languages and used them as languages of instruction. In that light, missionaries of the Basel Mission, for instance, introduced. Douala for the coastal region and Mungaka for the Grassfield region: reasons why the oldest generation of people in Lower Bafut speak Mungaka. Pidgin English became wide-spread when both parties sought easy means of communication. The phenomenon further spread for reasons of mobility of the population due to trade, plantation labour in the coast, missionary activities, education and politics. Finally, the period between18[th] century and early 19th was characterized by the slave trade, wars, family feuds and a lot of social insecurity. This marked the beginning of multilingualism.

8.10.2 The colonial Era

What distinguished the Tikars from the Widikum peoples was that the former had centralized political institutions headed by powerful chiefs (Fons) with fearsome regulatory societies, while the latter had decentralized institutions. The chiefs were merely family heads. The colonial authorities thus were more attracted to the centralized traditional system of governance that served their administration better than the segmentary or decentralized ones that needed re-organisation. So,

while they engaged in the in-depth studies of the Tikars, they did not care much about segmentary societies. Thus, there is very little available information about our area of study. Whatever little information we have about the people comes from the slanted perspective of their larger neighbour, Bafut.

Before the advent of the German colonial rule in Cameroon in the last quarter of the 19th century, the area had been under the control of the Bafut Fondom. How did this come about? When the Tikari derived dynasty gained control of the Bafut chieftaincy after deposing the indigenous ruler, Nibachi of Mbebeli; it embarked on conquest and expansion.

Firstly, the Bafut subdued the Bukari and Buwi people who were the original or indigenous inhabitants of the area along with Mbebeli. This expansion was accelerated with the incursion of the Bali-Chamba into the Bamenda area at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The Chamba entry into the region profoundly affected the balance of power. It brought them into conflict with the bigger chiefdoms and sent the smaller chiefdoms seeking refuge under the bigger ones. Bafut, as one of the large and powerful chiefdoms, clashed with the Chambas and became a rallying point for refugees from the Ngemba area. The chiefdoms which sought permanent refuge under Bafut were Mambu and Mankaanikong, both of whom claimed to have come from Mberewi.

The expansion of the Bafut chiefdom northwards into the Menchum valley, that is, our area of study, after the Chamba incursion sometime in the middle of the 19th century was dictated by expantionist tendencies as well as the quest for tribute. In a series of raids, the Bafut conquered and subdued some of the peoples of the area, such as the Otang, Buwi and Bugri. The rest of them, namely, the Mbakong, Mantaa and Butang voluntarily submitted.

The supply of meat, fish, leopard skins, elephant tusks, buffalo horns, palm oil and slaves to the Bafut palace made the Fondom (chiefdom) economically self-sufficient, in contrast to its neighbours, like Mantaa and Bikom (WARNIER 1985).

By the time of the German arrival, the Bafut Fondom had roughly assumed its present capacity as a powerful and economically self-sufficient political entity.

It was able to put up stiff resistance against German incursion and thus fought a series of wars with the Germans. When the Germans finally defeated Bafut in 1907 and exiled the Fon, Abumbi 1, to Fernando Po, they left the Fondom intact. Re-instated after one year in exile, the Fon became a convenient tool in the hands of the colonialists. By a policy of indirect administration, they used him to rule and exploit the people. For instance, he collected taxes for the colonial administration. He

was also forced to supply labour for government projects in the various stations and in plantations in the coastal areas. Most of the taxes and labour came from the Lower Bafut "Mbu'untii" area.

Following the defeat of the Germans in the First World War (1914-1918), the British continued with the German policy of indirect rule by formally creating the Bafut Native Authority (NA). It comprised the neighbouring chiefdoms of Nkwen, Bambui, Big Babanki, Babanki Tungo, Bamendakwe, and Bambili. And with Bafut credited with the largest land area with a corresponding large population, the colonial authorities logically designated the Fon of Bafut as head of Native Authority, assisted by the chief of Big Babanki. His duties consisted of maintaining order and collecting taxes from the other chiefs and his entire population, and pay into the divisional treasury. But the Fon exceeded his bounds by collecting not only government taxes but his share, as well, in addition to tributes of all kinds from the people of Lower Bafut, the [mbu'untii] people with the tacit support of the colonial administrators. The Fon of Bafut thus became extremely rich much to the detriment of the chiefs of Lower Bafut who protested in vain to the colonial administration. And till today, they are feeling the pinch.

8.10.3 The post-colonial period

The petitions and protests were more vocal from chiefs of[mbu'untii]. They did not only protest against paying their taxes through the Fon of Bafut, but they challenged the whole notion of paying tribute to the Bafut palace. This time there were no slaves. The most outspoken opponent and ring leader was chief Nano of Obang.

The local administrators unfortunately did not want to interfere with the status quo. So they always ruled in favour of the Fon of Bafut, their agent and chief tax collector. The chiefs resorted to petitioning to higher authorities, even to the chief's commissioner in Enugu, Nigeria, to no avail. The Fon of Bafut too resorted to legal action to claim his rights. Nano chief of Obang was once gailed for insubordination. These problems between the Fon of Bafut and the chiefs of Lower Bafut have been examined by Ngwa Divine (2011).

The protests have continued even till this date especially with The Cameroonian government policy of bringing administration closer to the people has worsened the matter. Following the chieftaincy Decree of 1977, the Bafut Fondom was designated as a first-class chiefdom. Eight other chiefdoms were recognized as second class chiefdoms attached to the first-class chiefdom of Bafut.

The chiefdoms of Mbakong and Obang were recognized as second class chiefdoms by the Cameroon Government. The creation of Bafut sub-division in Mezam Division in 1992, and later the Bafut council in 1996, only whetted the people's appetite for more local autonomy. The ambition of Nano II is to have a sub-division.

8.10.4 Chronology of Arrival

Investigations into the chronology of arrival of the groups in the area and the impact of the Ring Road construction on the people revealed reasons for language change, conflicts, rivalry and resettlements in the area.

a. Many consultants claimed that the Mbakong people were the first to arrive the present site given that the Catholic Mission was built there during missionary activities in Cameroon since 1884.

b. Others claim that the Obang people first came to settle at the river banks, given that their main occupation is fishing.

c. On the whole, the Ring Road construction through the area has had both positive and negative impact on the people. While providing accessibility thereby promoting multilingualism and language change, it has also sparked off most of the conflicts, and violence in the area, as well as high rates of intermarriages, flirting and marriage instability in Lower Bafut.

8.11 Conclusion

Multilingualism is both a geographical and a societal phenomenon in Lower Bafut because of the presence of many languages in the area. The main reasons for societal multilingualism are: language contact, high rates of intermarriages, polygamy promoted by men, high rates of divorce, child-naming, and solidarity group activities. The people of Lower Bafut practise active multilingualism. Many of them speak up to seven languages including English and Pidgin and at least three local languages. There are no monolinguals in Lower Bafut. From our analyzes of data gathered from the sociolinguistic questionnaire, individuals speak their linguistic repertoire and at least two other local languages plus English and Pidgin. On the whole, the sociolinguistic survey reveals the ideologies that the people have about the speech forms, that they are not dialects of the same language. The GGA and the RTT methods show how multilingualism has led to the ideology above. The Lexicostatistics confirms the reality. The MGT finally reveals that the languages of Lower Bafut are not spoken for prestigious reasons but for identity and affiliation.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

Introduction

The relevance of this work has been emphasized with regard to language endangerment as being not only associated with only the loss of knowledge in a particular language, but also with the disappearance of distinctive ecologies. More importantly, the study of the languages of the area was undertaken from a sociolinguistic and an ethnographically-informed perspective. It focused on dialect intelligibility, language dynamics, that is, language control, the numerical strength of speakers, its status, attitudes and representation of speakers and their cultural and socio political realities, unlike the canonical approach which tries to impose western ideology on African languages and which doesn't take local realities into consideration.

Languages in contact can become languages in conflict because when communities come together, need arises for bilingualism, multilingualism, translation, lingua franca. Our sociolinguistic survey attempted to indicate that the languages of Lower Bafut exist in such contexts.

Language Ideology Revealed by the Sociolinguistic Survey

The sociolinguistic survey reveals the ideologies that the people have about the speech forms, pointing out that they are not dialects of the same language. The GGA and the RTT methods show how multilingualism has led to the ideology above. The Lexicostatistics confirms the reality that the speech forms are really different languages of their own. It should be noted that, comprehension here is not treated as inherent intelligibility but as acquired intelligibility. This is due to the pertinent problem of bilingualism in this situation with the exception of the Agah people who speak Beba, a variety of Bafut. This notwithstanding, native speakers of each linguistic variety are quite conscious of the linguistic peculiarities with which others speak their language. It is thanks to the internal study of language that this ideology was revealed.

From the separate languages, a new situation emerges, which is a multilectal situation arising, in which members in a plurilingual context use their linguistic repertoire as one language in a real life situation, and another language in other contexts. This is how the whole ideology is founded, and subsequently revealed in the results of the GGA, the RTT and the Lexicostatistics.

Language Ideology as Revealed through the Historical Approach

The thought of replicating methods and tools of analysis used in western contexts elsewhere in the world without posing the question whether these people are different from others is what we have defiled in this approach. Here we have used a closer nuance approach to show how the peoples' lives are built on their culture, beliefs and occupations such that the supernatural is what determines their future.

The question of spiritual insecurity as a strong force that keeps moving people in and out of groups, associating with one cult or the other, or pacifying gods here and there with rituals, has been demonstrated by connecting cultural data to sociolinguistic data. As a matter of fact, the greatest hindrance to self-development for the people of Lower Bafut is the fear of the unknown. They are afraid to venture into new spheres of life so as not to arouse the anger of the gods; to travel because of accidents; to invest in businesses or build good houses because they may not live long to enjoy the fruits of their labour; to eat at gatherings because they suspect everyone; of the night because of ghosts; of rivers and oceans because of mermaids; of the rain because of thunder and lightning and so on and so forth.

Their whole life is dominated by uncertainty, reason why they affiliate and bond together. They live in solidarity, looking up to their chiefs who are custodians of culture, representatives of the gods on earth, to intervene and mediate for them. Even with Christianity, churches are packed full of those who need some kind of exorcist prayers and deliverance from evil spirits. The people of Lower Bafut long to know what will happen to them in the nearest future, so they do not hesitate to give away all that they have in exchange for spiritual security. Equally, because there are no central service providers, we find many ``njangi`` houses, false prophets and charlatans prospering while folks live in abject poverty.

Language Ideology as Revealed through the Ethnographic Approach

In every society there exist multiple ideologies due to the fact that it accommodates people of diverse status, educational and professional levels, religion and so on. It would be illusory to expect it to have a uniformity of cultures and language ideology. In addition to what we said at the beginning concerning the experimental nature of this work, we cannot underestimate the impact which we consider a modest contribution in this field.

Exposure to only highly essentialist ideologies like those of the British colonial administration, which basically confirm existing notions cannot apply here any longer because inhabitants will likely have in mind both essentialist and indexical ideologies, as revealed in our data and interpretations.

It would be illusory to look for 100% essentialist versus 100% indexical ideologies. All respondents will obviously yield complex data, making the differences to be in degree, not in kind. Our task here was therefore to merge the results of the ethnographic informed questionnaire with those of the MGT and come up with key findings on the essential and indexical use of language in Lower Bafut.

Language Ideology as Revealed through the MGT

The languages of Lower Bafut are used more indexically than essentially.The theory of essentialism can be observed in the sense in which the Bafut man considers the people of Lower Bafut. Due to the domineering attitude of Bafut people, the people of Lower Bafut shy away from speaking their languages in public in the presence of Bafut people. They tend to speak Bafut, English or Pidgin English to identify with the Bafut people whose language they need   with connect to the outside world. Meanwhile, the Bafut people do not need their languages at all. This theory of language dominance in Lower Bafut apparently accounts for indexical use of the languages of Lower Bafut.

Our inquiries on this subject are based on the MGT adapted from LAMBERT (1959) and used to investigate the personality traits that project language ideologies. Our purpose is to contribute to knowledge about the motivations for which people speak many languages. In Lower Bafut, the people choose to speak one or more languages within their locality not because the native speakers of those languages are perceived by hearers as possessing certain desirable and moral qualities, but because it is a cultural practice for people to affiliate through the act of speaking many languages. Consequently, an in-depth exemplification of the language ideologies and cultures of Lower will give room for their revalorization and revitalization.

Discussions on Essentialism and Indexicality

The absence of prestige is revealed in terms of affiliation and belonging expressed in the use of the languages of Lower Bafut, while the presence of prestige in the use of the Bafut language is seen in their sense of seeking to identify with the people of Bafut.

The theory of essentialism can better be understood in the sense in which the Bafut man relates to the people of Lower Bafut. They are addressed in the pejorative term "Mbu'untii" which means "people of the low land", or, worse still, "primitive people". They are regarded as tools for the exploitation of resources of the area and the payers of tributes to the ruling class. And as we have said before, this attitude of the Bafut people tends to work in favour of the essential use of the Bafut language.

Discussions on Language Ideologies

Multilingualism works against nationalism. Development in the sense of a nation shows a marked difference between a multilingual state and a monolingual one. With a monolingual state, communication difficulties can act as impediment to the commerce and trade industry. For example: Ethiopia and Zimbabwe use one language for national unity. But today, they want to speak smaller languages. This is socially disruptive.

Multilingualism, on the other hand, can be an asset to a nation. For example, in Cameroon the linguistic diversity is as a result of societal multilingualism which acts as an interactional resource for the multiplicity of life styles, multiculturalism and the different world views of the citizens. Taking a view on Africa, language plays a very important role in the four pillars of development which are: education, health, economy and governance, and how these are comprehensively planned and carried out.

Language documentation differs from the old ways of studying multilingualism using the predominant methodology of surveys, though that relied largely on self-reports of linguistic repertoires and language domains. Documentation exercises take into consideration the myths and ideologies of African languages so as to reveal real life situations of the people whose languages are being documented. On the spot observation has been used to investigate patterns of language use.

Broad Groupings of Individuals Rating-Scale Assessment

An observation of how broad evaluation is done reveals that intelligence and industriousness are seen to reflect a speaker's competence while friendliness and a sense of humour reflect his social attractiveness.

The interesting thing about this broader evaluation is that speakers of high-status varieties do not fare equally well in all of them. (For example, the results of the MGT reveal that the Bafut people are less friendly and less sociable).

Although standard accents and dialects connote greater prestige and competence, some non-standard accents may evoke a greater sense of integrity or social attractiveness.

Note that the "covert prestige" phenomenon can be misleading in that those whose speech suggests competence, intelligence and status may not necessarily be those we can most readily identify with, or trust and get along with.

However, since personal competence is a factor of some importance, one may consider that the non-standard speaker with a regional or class speech style may come out somewhat worse off in an exchange, particularly in such vital aspects of life as school and employment. This matter becomes even more interesting when we recall the "minority" group reaction noted above, when we realize the general tendency for non-standard dialects speakers to accept the often negative stereotypes of their own variants. This is the case with the Lower Bafut people who believe that the Bafut language is superior to their own languages.

Discussions on the Matched-Guise Technique

With the MGT, we see something of the detailed way in which social stereotypes and views of social stratification affect reactions to language varieties. Readers will not need to be told that the attitudes here can be of considerable importance, however illogical they may be, in our dealings with individuals and groups. The issue can further be developed by the attitude – belief distinction alluded to earlier. Consider for example a case in which speaker A sounds more intelligent to judges than does speaker B. Might it not be valuable to probe further, to attempt to find out something of the reasons for the choice, to try to add the effective element to the belief component already assessed? Research along these lines will wholly be original; it could profitably draw up support for earlier work. For example, the view that non-standard varieties evoke less favourable reaction has typically been discussed in terms of speaker's differential status or prestige. It would be reasonable to confirm this from the judges' point of view by asking them the basis of evaluation. This is especially interesting given that non-standard varieties do elicit positive ratings along some dimensions, and the more standard varieties sometimes are viewed positively in terms of solidarity and attractiveness. Also of interest is the phenomenon of convert prestige. It is surely sensible to

gather as much information as we can find from the actual judges in language studies rather than impose theoretical interpretations upon their responses

Criticism of the Matched- Guise Technique

The MGT has been criticized most especially for its alleged artificiality. For instance, judges hear a series of disembodied voices all speaking the same words and are asked to rate the speakers at various personality scales. Do the judges who generally comply with requests to assess speakers in this way nevertheless feel that it is a pointless task? How would the judges stand up in the light of more information about the speakers? The MGT does appear useful, however, in that when used in many different contexts, it seems to provide a modest addition to, rather than a distortion of, our understanding of a speaker's evaluation through speech.

Finally, it is worth recalling exactly what the MGT methodology aims to elicit: it is not the speech which is being evaluated but the speaker. The speech sample serves as a convenient identifier, facilitating the evocation of those stereotypes which in turn lead to language evaluation.

A study by Lambert and his associates considered reactions towards French and English guises in Montreal. English speaking judges generally reacted more favourably to English than to French guises; more interestingly, French speaking evaluators also rated English guises more favourably. Findings by Lambert and his associates demonstrate not only favourable reactions from members of the high-status group but also the minority group reaction and a revealing comment on the power and breadth of social phenomenon in general, as well as the way in which these may be assumed by those who are themselves the object of unfavourable evaluation.

Statistics Explanation

In the mathematical exercises a large number of personality evaluation scales is reduced to a smaller set of more basic dimensions. However, it will be apparent that, in exercises of this sort, what you get out depends very much on what you did to achieve prominence in. In the early studies, it was because scales relevant to it were not presented to listeners. Still, technicalities and inputs aside, we can see that, over three decades, researchers have continued to come up with important language judgments based on speakers' competence, prestige and status on the one hand, and their wrath, integrity and attractiveness on the other.

Figure 10: The Pyramid of Prestige and Status of Languages in Lower Bafut

This pyramid changes if, instead of considering status and competence, we inquire about the warmth or integrity of the speaker. As with the "general moral" noted above, this pattern holds good for rang language settings.

One further complicating factor is that among those languages having a standard form, there may be more than one standard.

Discussion on the Notion of Internal African Frontier

The making of African political culture aims to introduce a particular perspective on African societies and African cultural history; the perspective of the frontier from which we may better understand the formation of these societies and the perpetuation of a Pan-Africanism political culture.

FREDERICK, J., in KOPYTOFF, I. (1981) assigns the notion of frontier, a major role in shaping American political character. To him, frontier is a natural force for cultural transformation; a force for historical continuity and conservation; the local frontier being the fringes of numerous

established African societies, as well as the base on which African politics and societies have been constructed out of the bits and pieces of human culture of existing societies.

This concept of political development is entirely opposite to those of "evolutionary theories" that see small politics as arising out of some hypothetical archaic bands. These theories have nothing to do with the formation of real historic African societies. The frontier perspective suggests a particular model of the process by which many African societies developed. It calls into question the prevalent tribal African model which is considered socially and politically, a pejorative term by some Africans. Also, scholarly, and more relevant to our discussion, the term is considered analytically inadequate and historically misleading.

The term tribe is a European notion of the 19th century that arose out of the struggle of a New Europe Self- Conscious nations, rather than one mere state. To some European explorers, administrators and anthropologists, tribe is used to a variety of groupings with emphasis on one criterion or another such as politics, linguistic unit, or cultural groupings. However, some African societies do not fit into these tribal models and seem to deserve more attention than they have received before.

Tribe on the contrary, in its ideal form, is a collectivity within whose boundaries one found a uniform breed of race; it is an embodiment of uniformity of such traits as physique, customs, language and group identity (ethnicity). The unity of a tribe results from common descent, common blood, and common formative historical experience. Tribe gives a sense of deep roots in the past and makes their history into progressing from tribes of people to a nation. Finally, tribe could be considered as an embryo of nation whose character serves for national independence; the nation being a natural historical self-realization of common descent, common blood, and unique character.

Implications of the Study

This study has several implications pertaining to the ethnographic approach used in the reconstruction of the historical trajectories of the languages of Lower Bafut. There are two main evaluative dimensions: social status and solidarity, the latter including the integrity and attractiveness already discussed. Finally, this study suggests three major measurement techniques: content analysis, direct and indirect assessment.

Content Analysis: - historical and sociological observation as well as ethnographic studies.

Direct Assessment: - usually involves questionnaires or interviews methods.

Indirect Assessment: - the Matched-Guise Technique is the best example of indirect assessment of language attitudes.

Equally, several implications point to the three methods used in inquiring intelligibility and inter-comprehension between the linguistic varieties in the Bafut Fondom. The Lexicostatistic method which is geared towards establishing a percentage of common root based on vocabulary to explain the degree of similarities between linguistic varieties does not base its findings on the deep structure of the word but rather on the surface structure. This is a weakness on the part of the method because the phonological representation of a word is different from the surface structure.

The RTT is said to be the most widely used method for intelligibility testing. But the validity of intelligibility testing as a measure of linguistic proximity and the implications of inter-lingual communication are questionable. Inadequacies of the method include: the problem of translation of the test into the test language and the subject's proficiency in the language of the test. Also, for areas with a high degree of bilingualism, the test cannot distinguish between acquired intelligibility and mutual intelligibility. It cannot equally explain the significance of non-reciprocal intelligibility.

With the GGA method, but for the case of mutual intelligibility, neighbour and non-reciprocal intelligibility are influenced more by economic, political and intergroup attitudes than by linguistic factors. Moreover, intelligibility can be more directly determined by language dominance, inter-dialectal learning and other sociological considerations rather than by linguistic features which indicate genetic relationship. The results of intelligibility testing and inter-comprehension are expected to be different from those obtained by comparative linguistic methods.

This study also contributes to the world of research by implementing the Lexicostatistic method, the RTT, and the GGA as complementary, each coming up with varying degrees of findings, but giving identical results. Similarly, the study has been able to identify different linguistic varieties in a multilingual context.

Pedagogically, as soon as the alphabets of the linguistic varieties under study are established, experimental teaching can commence in junior primary. Furthermore, the study will serve as a working document for teachers and students of linguistics because it raises many issues on the concepts of intelligibility and presents methods of implementation, results, and proposals for future studies.

Contributions to the study

It is a highly interdisciplinary study which entails a combination of linguistic, ethnographic, archeological and ethno-historical disciplines. Its approach could be recommended for students carrying out research studies in rural areas where there has been little or no documented material on target communities. This approach helped us compare some key features of the target languages, and reconstruct the language ideology and histories, and showed unexpected possible historical readings of how linguistic diversity came about in Lower Bafut. The approach also enabled us to widen our horizon in more than one discipline.

The sociolinguistic approach focused on the evaluation of intelligibility and inter-comprehension between the eight linguistic varieties in the Bafut Fondom. It is worth noting that a systematic application of the Lexicostatistic, RTT and GAA clarified our doubts on the implications of each of the methods. The application of this comparative method in a multilingual context helped us to realize four types of intelligibility: mutual intelligibility, acquired intelligibility, neighbour intelligibility, and non-reciprocal intelligibility.

The ethnographically-informed perspective discussed language endangerment (language death) which, more often than not, had been associated with the loss of the bulk of knowledge found in that language. We came to this revelation by exploring in greater depth the key aspects of the local language ideologies that bring about change, such as: incorporation, transfers, monolingualism, bilingualism, multilingualism, multidialectalism, variation and the use of lingua-franca. All of these are contrary to the canonical approach to language study; a direct implementation of western rules unsuitable in the African multilingualism context. The approach best suits the context of linguistic pluralism in Lower Bafut, especially as it introduces the dimension of diversity that stems from peoples´ backgrounds, behaviour, activities, events, age, sex, status and social roles (NETTLES, 1996).

Significantly, this demonstrates new methodologies as to how language documentation projects could be carried out in extreme cases of linguistic diversity such as in Lower Bafut. It equally illustrates the importance of ethnographic studies in language documentation, taking into consideration the whole language system as well as the geographical, historical and cultural space; that is, language in use (DI CARLO, GOOD, 2012).

Furthermore, it portrays two very important aspects of ethnographic studies: firstly, it calls for greater involvement between the researcher and the language consultants; the researcher has to live with the people, experience their ways of life and be part of them; and secondly, he/she should never take anything for granted because there are many dimensions by which identity can be constructed, for instance cultural specific and context specific.

Unlike what is commonly found in studies of linguistic prehistory where the magnitude of the problem raised requires that the geography considered be expanded to cover continent-size, this study focuses on a very small region: Lower Bafut, and unlike most work on linguistic prehistory which considers that populations are passive bearers of a language, hence language movements are equivalent to demographic movements and vice versa, the study considers speakers as social actors engaging in an ever-changing relationship with the language(s) they speak. As a result, it explores the possibility of using geographically-informed evidence of demographic history to reconstruct the development of the ideology that may have conditioned the various ways in the history of languages under study. In other words, this study accords language ideologies a primary role of shaping the historical trajectories of any given language. Furthermore, the study contributes greatly to the catalogue of Lower Bafut languages (STORCH, 2011).

It introduces language documentation methodology in a situation of language endangerment, using multimedia equipment and a metadata. It explores methods in data gathering from naturally occurring social and cultural events in the communities whose languages are being endangered, using the best practices of multilingual recording with HD cameras and recorders. This data is then analysed and structural corpora built using the platform of ELAN, FLEX, and ARBIL, and then subsequently transmitted through the platform of LAMUS onto the digital archives ELAR where it could be consulted online by other researchers worldwide.

From the sociolinguistic approach which focused on the evaluation of intelligibility and inter-comprehension through the implementation of the Lexicostatistics method, the GGA and the RTT, we have been able to ascertain that, except for Agah alone, all the rest, namely Mbakong, Butang, Obang, Mantaa, Buwi and Otang are not dialects but different languages of their own. This comes as an initial step towards the documentation and development of the languages of Lower Bafut as separate linguistic entities. Documenting and a language means documenting a culture and thereby giving a new self-image to the speakers of that language. This will further create and

awareness and motivate Linguists and Language planners to set up local language committees that will develop the languages.

Obstacles Encountered

Even though this study, to a large extent, can be considered to be a work of magnitude, it must be mentioned that it was accomplished with such major difficulties as limited time, ill health, inaccessibility, inclement weather, hostility of some villagers, power failure, delicate manipulation of digital tools, and prolonged ill- health. Emphasis must be laid on the health issue because, although the researcher was so passionate about her work, she had to battle it out with hospitalization and two surgical operations within three years that practically paralyzed the work. Thank God, she survived it in time to complete the study.

The study, being interdisciplinary in nature, also proved to be enormous in span. We mention in particular a 200-wordlist and plural forms audio recorded from eight different languages; all transcribed and given metadata entries. Also, the GGA, the RTT and the MGT all required a lot of time in the field. Then the researcher had to shuttle between training seminars and fieldwork repeatedly. It was thus difficult to carry out systematic investigations without necessarily interrupting the researcher's academic program and other imperatives.

As far as handling of digital tools is concerned, it must be admitted that ICT knowledge is completely new and most challenging to the researcher; but thanks to the training given to her by KPAAM-CAM, she was able to manage her way through.

There was also constant power failure due to poor electricity supply in the rural areas of the North West Region such that it was almost impossible to charge our machines and batteries.

Another very serious problem encountered by the researcher was that of inaccessibility of Lower Bafut during the rainy season. It is very difficult to access the interior villages by motor vehicle during the rains because the roads are narrow, muddy and slippery. The researcher therefore had to resort to a rough ride on commercial motorbikes over bumpy roads and steep hills, and this with all the risks involved. At times crossing the River Mezam in the area required the services of a hired canoe driver

We equally wish to remark that it was extremely difficult to work with the uneducated masses and in areas where some members of the community were unwilling to cooperate with the

researcher. Some villagers threw slangs at her, while others caused commotions in order to extort money and material from her.

Recommendations

Following the language awareness that this work will have created, we would like to recommend that linguists and language documentalists be encouraged to now come and document the languages of Lower Bafut. One great motivating factor will be the resistance that the languages of the area have been able to put up against the dominant Bafut language by dint of their ideologies of essentialism and indexicality. The contribution of linguists and language documentalists should aim at placing these languages on the Linguistic Atlas of Cameroon and the Ethnologue of World Languages.

Final Conclusion

On the whole, the inter-disciplinary approach of this study has attempted to address all the issues raised in the hypothesis, including especially a comparative study which entails the establishment of the degree of intelligibility between linguistic varieties of a given geographical area so as to come up with dialectical groups belonging to the same percentage. Similarly, there has been an attempt at examining the fundamental questions raised in this research concerning social motivations of multilingualism and the exploration of the essentialist and indexical use of language by the people of Lower Bafut. With the analysis statistically achieved through the sociolinguistic and ethnographically- informed approaches, it is hoped that this study has abundantly clarified existing doubts on the linguistic diversity of Lower Bafut and provided an impetus for more research work to be carried out on the languages of Lower Bafut.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: Questionnaires

Questionnaire of Inter-comprehension

I Personal Identity

1) Name and Surname_____

2) Age_____

3) Village of Origin _____

4) Place of residence _____

5) Other place of residence for at least a year

- Town or City _____

- Villages_____

6) Level of education _____

7) Profession _____

II Linguistic Identify

8) Language or languages spoken _____

9) a) What is the dialect of your father?_____

   b) What is the dialect of your Mother? _____

10) What is the division or the sub division of your language? _____

11) In how many villages is your language spoken?_____

12) Which are the villages in which your language is well understood?_____

   a) Well understood _____

   b) Averagely understood _____

   c) Not understood_____

13) Which Villages speak different dialects from yours and which one do you understand?

   a) Well understood_____

   b) Averagely Understood _____

14) Which are the villages you have tried to learn their languages.

List of villages	List of languages
1	1
2	2
3	3
4	4
5	5

15) Which are the dialects close to yours that you find:-

a) Easy to understand_____

b) Easy to speak_____

  c) Difficult to understand _____

d) Difficult to speak_____

16) Have you ever been to those different villages where your dialect is not spoken? _____

17) Have you ever held a conversation with the natives of these villages? _____

18) If yes, did you speak in his dialect _____

        Or did he speak in your dialect _____

        Or did each of you speak in each own dialect? _____

19) Can a child of between 7 – 10 years speaking your dialect be able to understand another of the same age speaking another dialect?_____

- Is there inter-comprehension? _____

20) According to you; what variant can be retained if a text has to be written in your language?

_____

21) In the case where you think many variants could be written; which of them will be accepted by the overall native speakers? Classify them according to order of preference.

1 _____   4 _____

2 _____   5 _____

3 _____   6 _____

22) According to you, which of the six linguistic varieties spoken in Lower Bafut Should the Written and standardised?_____

_____

_____

23) Would you like to read and write in your own language?_____

24) What is the relationship between your language and the others?

 a) Cultural (b) Economical (c) Historical (d) Genetically (e) Geographical (f) Political

APPENDIX 2 : Sociolinguistic questionnaire

Researcher:
Date:
Audio files:
Village:
Quarter

<div align="center">Personal Details</div>

Paternal name:...

Maternal name:...

Other names:...

Gender:...

Date of birth:..

Occupation:...

Paternal affiliation (quarter):..

Maternal affiliation (quarter):...

Spouses provenance (quarter):..

Spouses languages:..

Father's languages:..

Mother's provenance:...

Mother's languages:...

Children's languages:...

Known languages

Date:.. Village...

Consultant's paternal name...

1. Language name   Degree of competence

    1 = hears a bit, 2 = hears everything but cannot talk, 3 = talks a bit, 4 = fluent, 5 = native

    Language sheet village............................... consultant's paternal name..

    Language name...

    Where did you learn it?...

    Where did you use it?..

a- Language name

Where did you learn it?

Where did you use it?

What are advantages from knowing this language?

Any special occasions in which you use it? (e.g. prayers, songs, invocations)

b- Language name

Where did you learn it?

Where did you use it?

What are advantages from knowing this language?

Any special occasions in which you use it? (e.g. prayers, songs, invocations)

c- Language name

Where did you learn it?

Where did you use it?

What are advantages from knowing this language?

Any special occasions in which you use it? (e.g. prayers, songs, invocations)

d- Language name

Where did you learn it?

Where did you use it?

What are advantages from knowing this language?

Any special occasions in which you use it? (e.g. prayers, songs, invocations)

e- Language name

Where did you learn it?

Where did you use it?

What are advantages from knowing this language?

Any special occasions in which you use it? (e.g. prayers, songs, invocations).

APPENDIX 3: MGT Texts in English

2 Speaker's Questionnaire

Oral Questions

- From the questionnaire, you have claimed to speak; Bafut; Mbakong and Obang.
- Now read this text in English carefully and slowly many times.
- Memorise the text in each of the languages you claim speak above.
- Speak out the text in each of target languages once.
- Repeat the task while it is recorded, each version at a time.

Written Texts

Bush Fire Outbreaks

When you get up in the morning before going to the farm, cook food for your children. After lighting the fire, hide the match in the ceiling so that children cannot reach. When you finish cooking the food, quench the fire before leaving your house, because we are in the dry season and the heat is very oppressive. Even those of you who burn grass in the farms are not allowed so anyone caught in the act of grass burning will be sanctioned very heavily by the Kwifon.

3 Listener's Questionnaire

Oral instructions

- Listen to the first tape and don't answer the questions. Then listen to the second tape carefully once and answer the questions that I will asked.
- Each text will take three minutes and there will be a five minutes pose before the next reading.
- You will only give the answers after the second reading.

Recorded Texts

Bush Fire Outbreaks

When you get up in the morning before going to the farm, cook food for your children. After lighting the fire, hide the match in the ceiling so that children cannot reach. When you finish cooking the food, quench the fire before leaving your house, because we are in the dry season and the heat is very oppressive. Even those of you who burn grass in the farms are not allowed so anyone caught in the act of grass burning will be sanctioned very heavily by the Kwifon.

Questions

1. Which language has he spoken?
2. Is he a native speaker or a non-native speaker?
3. What is your impression about the speaker?
4. What are the personality traits of the speaker?

Scale of Listeners Evaluation and Evaluation of Speakers Traits

A- Very little = 1; B- less than normal = 2; C- normal = 3; D- more that normal = 4; E- very much = 5

1. Body height. How tall is the speaker?
2. Good looks. Is the person physically appealing?
3. Leadership. Is the person apt to be a leader?
4. Joviality. Is the person jovial?
5. Intelligence. Is the person intelligent?
6. Devotedness. Is the person a devout Christian?
7. Self confidence. Is the person confident in himself?
8. Trust-worthiness. Is the person trustworthy?
9. Kindness. Is person kind?
10. Ambitious. Is the person ambitious?
11. Sociable. Is the person sociable?
12. Traditional-ness. Is the person attached to local traditions e.g accents on rituals and traditional medicines?
13. Respectfulness. Does the person respect the village chief and traditional rulers?
14. General likability. Is the person generally nice? The aim here is to see whether the respondent thinks he would be optimistic in establishing a friendship relationship with the speaker?

APPENDIX 4: Ethnographic Interviews

Researcher :

Date :

Audio files:

Village:

Quarter:

Personal Details:

Paternal name:..

Maternal name:...

Other names:...

Gender:..

Date of birth:...

Occupation:...

Paternal affiliation (quarter):...

Maternal affiliation (quarter):..

Spouse's provenance (quarter):..

Spouse's languages : ....

Father's languages: ....

Mother's provenance:...

Mother's languages:..

Children's languages:..

Known languages

Date:.. Village...

Consultant's paternal name..

2. Language name   Degree of competence

1 = hears a bit, 2 = hears everything but cannot talk, 3 = talks a bit, 4 = fluent, 5 = native

Language   sheet   village............................   consultant's   paternal

name..

Language name

Where did you learn it?

Where did you use it?

What are advantages from knowing this language?

Any special occasions in which you use it? (e.g. prayers, songs, invocations)

Questions on the MGT

1. Why do you speak many languages when the people of the other villages can understand your language?

_____

_____

2. Do you like Bafut people? _____

3. Do you like speaking Bafut even they Bafut people like speaking your language? _____

4. Why do you like speaking Bafut?

For prestige? _____

For solidarity? _____

For family? _____

For gain? _____

Are you forced to speak it? _____

Is it normal to speak it? _____

5. If you are asked to grade the languages of the BafutFondom, how are you going to do it?

a_____ e_____

b_____ f_____

c_____ g_____

d_____ h_____

6. Are you proud of being a _____ village and are you proud of your language?

_____

7. Do you speak your language to Bafut people? _____

Why?

_____Do

you think that Bafut people are more enlightened than Lower Bafut people? _____

- If Yes, why? _____

- If No, why? _____

8. Do you think that Bafut is superior to language? _____

Why? _____

Questions on multilingualism Issues

1.　　Why do you speak many Lower Bafut languages when they can hear your own language?

_____

_____

2.　　Why do you make friends in my many villages? _____

3.　　Why do you belong to many groups? _____

4.　　Why do you intermarry a lot in lower Bafut? _____

5.　　Do Bafut men marry women from lower bafut or do lower Bafut men marry women from

Bafut?

_____

_____If

Yes, why? _____

If No, why? _____

6.　　Do the names that you give your children have meaning? _____

7.　　How many names are given to one child and why? _____

8.　　Who names a child at birth? The father or the M_____

And why? _____

9.　　Do you want your children to identify with your family or your wife's family_____

10.　　What is your social rank? _____

11.　　Name the groups or cults to which you belong _____

Questions on History

 1. Tribe Name: What is the name of your village? _____meaning_____

 2. Geographical Location: Where is your village located? _____

Name the neighboring villages. _____

3. Population: What is the population of your village?

_____

4. Life-span: What is the age of the oldest person in your village? _____

5. Historical Origin: Can you narrate the story of where your people came from to where your people came from to settle here?

They left _____stayed in_____

and_____and_____

Separated in_____, reunited in _____,

got married to _____ and finally came to _____

6. Language Ecology: If we trace your origin, will we find people speaking your same language?

_____   where   _____   and,   where?

_____

7. Founders of Village: Who founded this village, or who was/were the first fathers of this village?

_____

8. Kinship Lineage: Can you name the kings of your tribe chronologically I.e from the first to the present. _____

9. The Socio-Political Organization: Can you describe the traditional Government of your village. That is from the highest in hierarchy to the lowest? _____

10. Quarters: How many quarters are there? _____

   Name them _____

11. Settlements: are you settled on _____ or _____,

Or _____

- Which is the oldest quarter and newest?

- Which is the reason for these settlements?

- Farming _____

- Fishing _____

- Development _____

- Witchcraft _____

- Family Compounds _____

- Protection _____

- Irrigation Rice Project _____

- Conflict _____

- Friendship _____

12 Peculiar traditions: What makes your tribe different from the other tribes of Lower Bafut? e.g Languages, Tradition, food, attire. _____

13. Occupations: what are your major occupations that earn you a livelihood and empower you economically?

_____

_____

14. Chronology of arrival: Can you remember who are the first to arrive this area and the last people who arrived? _____

15. Impact of the Ring Road construction: How has the construction of this ring road help you and your village people?

_____

_____

Do you gain by this road passing or you lose something? _____

Explain and give reasons. _____

_____

The Mark Sheet

	GUISE SPEAKER 1			GUISE SPEAKER 2			GUISE SPEAKER 3			GUISE SPEAKER 4		
	BAFUT	Mbakong	Obang	BAFUT	Mbakong	Obang	BAFUT	Mbakong	Obang	BAFUT	Mbakong	Obang
1. Which language has he spoken?												
2. Is he a native speaker or a non-native speaker?												
3. What is your impression about the speaker?												
4. What are the personality traits of the speaker?												
	SCALE OF LISTENERS EVALUATION OF SPEAKERS TRAITS 1-5											
a. Body height. How tall is the speaker?												
b. Good looks. Is the person physically appealing?												
c. Leadership. Is the person apt to be a leader?												
d. Joviality. Is the person jovial?												
e. Intelligence. Is the person intelligent?												
f. Devotedness. Is the person a devout Christian?												
g. Self confidence. Is the person confident?												
h. Trust-worthiness. Is the person trustworthy?												
i. Kindness. Is person kind?												
j. Ambitious. Is the person ambitious?												
k. Sociable. Is the person sociable?												
l.Traditional-ness. Is the person attached to local traditions												
m. Respectfulness. Does the person respect traditional rulers?												
n. General likability. Is the person generally nice?												
TOTAL												

APPENDIX 5: Transcribed Texts

RTT Text in Obang

Bó nù wáà bóm

    Wáà bóm wú mɔ́'ɔ yà mú, bá tê nyɔ́ koka ò yè kíbí bó ɑ mɔ́ wûmé yà fɔ́ ɑ́ bôm. ǝtúgɔ́ gûm útúgú mɔ̀'ɔ koka nù bó í mɔ̂ mà fɔ́ ɑ́ bóm ù mú ɑ́ mbɑ́sí dzɔ̂m bò ú mɘ̀ ɑ́kómbìŋ.

    Wú ù yì mɔ́ lɔ́ŋ bò yì tímí kɑ́h mà bógɔ́, koka wǔ dɔ̀ɔ fɔ̃ akómbìŋ ú fɔ́ lɔ́ŋ úbɔ̂ wú dɘ̀sɔ̂. Ù wú lɔ́ŋ ɑ́mbóbɔ́ fɔ̀dzúò fɔ́ lɔ́ŋɘ̀ nɘ̀ ɑtúɘ̀ ɘ́zíbɘ̀ ʧĭ ɑ̀kómbìŋ wǔ bó.

    Koka mà bɔ́ ɑ́ tɑ́ŋɘ̀ úbɔ́ wú kí wùl, bó yí nɑ́'ɑ́ kó ɑ́tó fɘdzúò zìgì ʃué'é adzɑ̆b.

    Koka wǔ nǝŋ fúbɔ́ yɘ̀blè ɑ́túò fɘdzúò gɨ́. Ù wú lìbì dú fɘdzúò gɨ́. Bò tímí kiɘ́n mɘ̀ ŋyɑ́ŋɔ́ mɔ́ nù úmwɑ́nɘ̀ ɘyísɔ́.

    ɑbómɘ̀ kɔ́ yà mú bôŋ, bɘ̀mɔ́ sí kpɘ̀ɔ́. nìkòfɘ̀ nwɑ̂ wú ó yí koka wú nyɔ́m ɑ̀gɘ̀kɘ̀ úsúbɘ̀ŋíŋɘ́ nù nyɑ́mɘ fɘdzúò yí

    íbɘ́fĭ

1. Ífuɑ́ yì koka yà mú hɔ́ɘ́ ?
2. Ò yà fɔ́ ɑ̀bòm ɔ́ hɔ́ɘ́ nù lèè?
3. ɘ̀ yà gàn hɔ́ɘ̀ kɔ́ gɨ́l?
4. Koka yà gàmtɘ̀ nɑ́ŋ bó yí í zwí fɘdzúò?
5. Ò yí koka yɘ̀ nyɔ́m hɔ́ɘ́ nìkòfè?

RTT Text in Butang

        Ízú bú'gú bómɔ́ tswùgɔ́ òkí'í kól ʤí'í

    Wūl ó mɔ'ɔ gha'a nékílí wanù mɔ́ ókúmɔ́mɘ òwúné koka wúŋɔ́ wa'à té kɔŋ ɑŋwɑ́lè. Ízù mói bɔ́dɨ́n àghɔ́ɔ́ kɘ ndɨgɘ ɑŋwɑ́lè, koka wúŋɔ́ai tòŋ búgɔ́ nɔ́ dùlé ábóm. Ò mɔ́ dùl à yà kìkɔ nà'àʃuɑ́ ò wú tɑ́ŋɔ́ ghée wɔ́n ghɔ́ bóm ké bɔ́l é mɔ̀'ɔ́.

    Ò mɘ̀ ghɘ̀n fùgɘ̀ yɔ́ ghɘ̀n ʃi'i èndóm tíní bugɔ́ i mɔ́ kɘ̀ ʤim èndóm ʒɔ́. mɔ́ mí búgɔ́ í mɔ́ ʒóŋ èndóm ʒɔ́ ízí dòi ghɘ̀ ɲí kɔ́ bú bû.

    fúʒùgɔ́ ò mɔ́'ɔ́ fà'à né kɔ́ bû zɔ́ koka ù né sɨ́mɘ bû zɔ́ ghɘ̀ zɔ́n ó kó nó fúʒùgɘ̀ fɔ́. Kól nɔ́ ʃù'hɔ́ ú fó dùl éngí, ó wú zéní ghée àné fúʒùgɔ́ ò wú mé'é fúʒùgɘ̀ fɔ́. Kól nɔ́ ʃù' hé ú fó dùl éngí, ó wú zéní ghée àné fúʒùgɔ́ ò wú mé'é fúʒùgɘ fɔ́ fó dói.

    Koka wú ʃù'hé nɨŋhɑ́ kún tɑ́ŋɔ́ ɑ́tógó mɔ́ ghee búgɔ́ wón tɑnɔ́ ghɘɘ kɘ ndɨgɘŋwɑlè búgɔ́ ó wón mɘ zɔ́lí ndim íkɑ́' iŋwó ízú wɔ́nɔ́ òwúsì nòmɔ́ tógó mɔ́ kɔ́ àŋwɑ́lè.

1. Koka wà tínɔ́ mɔ́ zé?

2. Koka ghɑ' ghee kə̀ bóm nì ghəə?

3. Ò wà ʃì'í ŋɑm í kə̀?

4. kə̀ bû zə̀ à né èngwétí ŋàm zè ɲí?

5. Koka wà taŋhe àghə́kitaŋhì ze ɲi?

RTT Text in Mbakong

Búc bié wè bòng

    Fyó mbí ndɔ́ɔ̀, wè bòng màɑ̀lìg.βə́ tɔ́ ikúŋ mié níng koka i gɔ̀tə búk mié dzɑ̌ ì diə̀ bòŋ nə̀ wéŋ ɛ́mɑ̀ lìg

    Wɑ̌ ligə̀ mɔ̀ɔ̀, koka bí búc mié bə̀ tɑ́ diə̀ bòŋ. Koka tíŋkɑ́ndzìŋ, búk tɑ yiè kì sì. I mà zé bukə̀ tiŋ mbə̀'ìŋì tɑ́ bòbà, koka ɑ nzé an yúò tsɑ́ níŋ. Ì zéŋ akàngɔ́'ɔ́ ŋgbóm zə̀ fífí dzɑ̀ ì sànkɑ́ ɑ́túkə̀ mié fuó ʃó búk.

    Koka màɑ tɑ́ fénkɑ́ ɑ́ŋyû ìnɑ̀ fɑ́'ɑ́ níŋ, búk mié nə̀ fə́ŋ fuó kɑ̀ ɑ́túkə̀ ŋgbóm, ŋgbómé bí lìtì nyú mié tièⁿsìg. Koka hi wɑ̀tə̀ àtúkə̀ ŋgbómé wɑ̀ ŋwí mié ì hì bə̀k à tə̀sê nyuó fə̀ʤɔɔ bùk mié tiŋ tɑ̀ nyè'è mié wɑ̀ ŋwànkɑ̀ yié mié.

    ɑ́bóŋə màɑ́ bòŋ dzɑ̌ ŋgbéŋ ka he kówíŋ. Ì yì koka lɛɛ ɑdzíní zɑ́ shí' ni fuó mbià fə̀ʤɔ̀ɔ̀ nyùŋ kwɑ.

    <u>Abítì</u>

1. Á túg fuà koka à ghɑ́ɑ́?

2. Koka kà tɑ́ yié fíg, bí wàà?

3. À kɑ tsɑ́ ghɑ́ɑ́ tié njìé?

4. Koka ka kwɛ́tə̀ búkɑ̂ ɑ nvì fə̀dzɔ̀ɔ̀ fuó níŋ?

5. Ìyì koka kàɑ lɛ́ ghɑ́ɑ́ nyùŋ kwɑ́?

   MGT Spoken texts

    Bafut

Ò kɨ mbɨ̀ɨnə tɨtugə bôŋ kɨ ghɛɛ afɔ̀ ò tàa mɨ̀jɨ nləə̀ mbô bɔɔ̀ bô. Bɛɛ̀ ò ŋɨtɛ̆ mɔ'ɔ ò lɔ'ɔsə̀ ŋgwàrə̀ ya a tə̂tàrə̀ a dɨgɨ yǐ mô mbɛ̆ bɔɔ wa'a ghu kɔ'ɔ ŋkù'lù. Bɛɛ̀ ò maŋsɨ bôŋ kɨ fɛ'ɛ̀ ò bwetə̀ mɔ'ɔ wâ, nloŋ mə tsɨ̀tsɔ̀ŋ bə̀a nòò lòò, ɨdɨgɨ loò si'i. bə̀ bia mə bo tɔɔ̀ ŋgɛ̀ɛ̀ mum nsòò à, ta bo kɛntə̂ nloŋ mɛ̆ kwɨ'ifɔ̀ bə̀ tswa waa boŋ à kɑ̆ jì'ì nsoò wàa.

332

Mbakong

à ló kɔ' mié mié ta dìɘ à lɛɛ jíní bu ya bɔ́ɔ́. À léétí vî à lîŋ ŋ̀gbwàlè kǐ kà'lè. à lɛŋ mɛ̀ɛti à lìmi ví loŋnǐ tàtsɔ̀ŋ ná ŋyòò lòŋ, ìdí' zɨ lɔ̀ɔ́ ŋkiɘ́ŋ. À diɘ́ ŋgbwéŋ, kání tɔ̀ɔ vî bɔ kwí'fɔ̀ wàà dzìg ya sóŋ.

Obang

sí wɔ̀ náídǔ bìsɘ̀ bìsɘ̀ mɘ kê fɔ́ kú sóm, ŋyɘ́m súbɘ ŋyíŋɘ́ kú bɔ́nɘ́. Sí wɔ̀ kásé gús wɔ ňlé ŋgbàl kɘ́ sáì kɘ lé' gu bɔ́nɘ́ dáà fɘ kwɛ́nɘ̂ gɨ. Sí wɔ̀ ŋyɘ́m lɘ́s wɔ́ nɨ́m gús sí lɘ̂s dùl ǩ ndɘ̌p, bɘ' ŋyɘ̌ á mú ŋyǔm, ǔlé'é gú mɘ̌ tɘ̌m tswɔ̀.bɘ̂ bú bɘ̀ kwí sóm, á bɘ̀mɘ́ kiɘ́n kɨ dáá kwìsɘ̀ bɘ́' ŋyɘ̌ kwí'fɔ̀n kíì làŋɘ̀ bɘ̀mɘ̌.

APPENDIX 6: Cognates Count of 200 Words

	V1	V2	V3	V4	V5	V6	V7	V8
1	1	.75	.75	1	.5	.5	1	1
2	1	.5	0	.5	0	0	0	1
3	1	.75	.75	.75	.5	.5	.75	1
4	1	0	0	.5	0	0	0	1
5	1	.5	0	0	0	0	0	1
6	1	.5	0	0	0	0	0	1
7	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
8	1	0	0	.5	0	0	0	1
9	1	0	0	0	.5	.5	.5	1
10	1	.5	.5	.5	0	0	.5	1
11	1	.5	0	0	0	0	0	1
12	1	.5	0	0	0	0	0	1
13	1	.5	.5	0	0	0	0	1
14	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
15	1	.5	.5	0	.5	.5	.5	1
16	1	.5	.5	0	.5	.5	.5	1
17	1	.5	0	0	0	0	0	1
18	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
19	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
20	1	0	.5	.5	0	0	.5	.75
21	1	.25	.25	0	0	.25	1	1
22	1	0	0	.5	1	1	0	1
23	1	1	1	.5	0	.25	1	1
24	1	1	1	.5	0	.5	1	1
25	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1

	V1	V2	V3	V4	V5	V6	V7	V8
26	1	1	.75	0	0	0	0	0
27	1	1	.75	0	1	1	1	1
28	1	.5	.5	.5	.5	.5	.5	1
29	1	.5	.5	.5	.5	.5	.25	1
30	1	.25	0	0	.5	.5	0	1
31	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
32	1	.75	.75	.75	.75	.75	.75	1
33	1	0	0	0	.25	0	0	.75
34	1	.75	.75	.75	.75	.75	.75	1
35	1	.75	0	0	.25	.5	0	0
36	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	.25
37	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
38	1	.25	.5	.25	0	0	.5	1
39	1	.75	.5	0	.25	.25	0	1
40	1	.25	.5	0	.25	.25	.5	1
41	1	1	.5	.5	.5	.75	0	1
42	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	1
43	1	0	0	0	.25	.5	.5	1
44	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
45	1	0	0	.5	.75	.75	0	0
46	1	1	0	1	0	.25	1	1
47	1	1	0	.5	.1	.5	1	1
48	1	1	0	.5	0	0	1	1
49	1	.5	.5	.5	.0	0	.5	1
50	1	.5	0	0	0	0	1	1

	V1	V2	V3	V4	V5	V6	V7	V8
51	1	.5	0	0	.25	.25	0	0
52	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	.75
53	1	.25	0	0	0	0	0	1
54	1	.5	0	0	0	0	0	1
55	1	0	.5	0	.5	.5	0	1
56	1	.25	.25	0	.5	1	.25	1
57	1	.25	0	0	0	0	0	1
58	1	.25	.25	0	0	0	0	1
59	1	.5	.25	.5	.5	.5	.5	1
60	1	.75	,75	0	.25	.5	0	1
61	1	.5	0	0	.5	.5	0	1
62	1	0	.5	.5	0	.5	.5	1
63	1	.5	.5	0	.5	0	.5	.75
64	1	1	.5	0	0	.5	0	1
65	1	.5	1	.5	0	.5	0	1
66	1	.5	0	0	.5	.5	0	1
67	1	.5	.5	0	.5	.5	0	1
68	1	.5	0	.5	.5	.5	0	1
69	1	1	1	0	.5	.5	.5	1
70	1	.5	0	0	.5	0	.5	1
71	1	0	1	.5	1	1	1	.75
72	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	1
73	1	1	.5	.5	.5	.5	.5	1
74	1	.5	.5	0	0	0	0	1
75	1	.5	.5	.5	0	0	.5	1

	V1	V2	V3	V4	V5	V6	V7	V8
76	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
77	1	0	0	0	.5	.5	0	1
78	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
79	1	.5	0	0	.5	.5	0	1
80	1	.5	.5	1	1	1	.5	1
81	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
82	1	.5	.5	.5	0	0	0	1
83	1	0	0	0	.5	0	0	0
84	1	.5	0	0	0	.5	0	1
85	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
86	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
87	1	0	0	0	.5	.5	0	1
88	1	.5	.5	0	0	.5	0	1
89	1	0	0	0	.5	0	0	1
90	1	.5	0	.5	.5	.5	0	.25
91	1	0	0	0	0	.5	0	1
92	1	.5	.5	0	.5	.5	.5	1
93	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
94	1	.5	0	0	0	0	0	1
95	1	.5	0	0	.5	.5	0	1
96	1	.5	0	0	.5	.5	0	1
97	1	.5	0	0	.5	.5	0	1
98	1	1	.5	0	.5	.5	0	1
99	1	0	0	0	.5	0	0	1
100	1	0	1	0	.5	0	1	1

	V1	V2	V3	V4	V5	V6	V7	V8
101	1	0	1	0	.5	.5	0	1
102	1	0.5	.25	1	.5	.5	.25	1
103	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
104	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
105	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
106	1	1	.5	0	1	1	1	1
107	1	0	.5	0	.5	1	0	1
108	1	.5	.5	0	0	0	0	1
109	1	.5	0	.5	.5	.5	0	1
110	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
111	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
112	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
113	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
114	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
115	1	0	0	0	.5	.5	0	1
116	1	.5	.5	0	1	.5	1	1
117	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
118	1	1	.5	.5	.5	.5	.5	1
119	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
120	1	0	.5	.5	0	0	.5	1
121	1	.25	1	.5	.25	.5	.25	1
122	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
123	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
124	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
125	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1

	V1	V2	V3	V4	V5	V6	V7	V8
126	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
127	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
128	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
129	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
130	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
131	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
132	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
133	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
134	1	0	0	0	.5	.5	0	1
135	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
136	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
137	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
138	1	0	0	0	.5	.5	0	1
139	1	0	0	0	.5	.5	0	1
140	1	0	0	0	.5	.5	0	1
141	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	1
142	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
143	1	.5	0	0	0	0	0	.5
144	1	.5	0	0	0	0	0	1
145	1	0	0	.5	.5	.5	.5	1
146	1	.5	.5	.5	.5	0	0	1
147	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
148	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
149	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
150	1	.5	.5	.5	.5	.5	.5	1

	V1	V2	V3	V4	V5	V6	V7	V8
151	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
152	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
153	1	0	0	0	.5	.5	0	1
154	1	0	0	0	.5	.5	0	0
155	1	.5	0	0	.5	.5	0	1
156	1	1	0	0	0	.5	0	1
157	1	.5	0	0	0	0	0	1
158	1	.5	0	0	0	0	0	1
159	1	.5	0	0	0	0	0	1
160	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
161	1	.75	0	0	.25	1	0	1
162	1	.5	.25	0	0	0	0	1
163	1	0	0	0	.75	.75	0	1
164	1	.75	.5	.5	.5	0	.25	1
165	1	1	0	0	0	1	1	1
166	1	.75	0	0	.75	.75	0	1
167	1	.75	.25	0	0	.75	0	1
168	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
169	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
170	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
171	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
172	1	.25	0	0	.75	.75	0	1
173	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
174	1	.25	0	0	0	0	0	1
175	1	1	.5	.5	1	.75	.75	0

	V1	V2	V3	V4	V5	V6	V7	V8
176	1	1	.75	.25	1	.5	.25	1
177	1	.5	.5	0	.25	.25	.25	1
178	1	1	1	.25	1	.25	1	1
179	1	0	.5	.25	.25	.25	.5	1
180	1	0	0	0	.75	.75	0	1
181	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
182	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
183	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
184	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
185	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
186	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
187	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
188	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
189	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
190	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
191	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
192	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
193	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
194	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
195	1	.25	0	0	0	0	0	1
196	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
197	1	0	0	0	0	.25	0	1
198	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
199	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
200	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
T	200	55.25	34.5	22.25	48.5	47.75	26.75	180

APPENDIX 7: Wordlists

English	Bafut		Mbakong		Butang		Obang		Mantaa		Buwi		Otang		Agha	
	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P
head	àtû	ītû	atuk	ituk	átókó	ītókó	átó	ótó	kítúə	túə	kító	ītó	átú	ótú	átù	ītù
eye	nìlíˈì	míˈì	íyí	áyí	éʃí	aʃí	áyís	áyís	ʃí	tíʃí	ʃīə	aʃīə	úguʃuá	íguʃuá é	nīliə	miə`ə
mouth	ǹtsù	mìntsù	íts ù	tìts ù	ótsó	í tsó	ótsŏ	ītsŏ	tswúgè	tiwúgè	tswūə	tìtswūə	ógu	ìtsú	ǹtsù	ǹtsù
nose	nìlwì	mìlwì	íví	avitivi	iwi	áwɨ	ízwí	ézwí	ví	tíví	áviə	áviə	ézí	izí	nìlwī	mìlwì
hand	àbô	m̀bô	ábuo	ibuo	ìkwəŋ	kìkwəŋ	ógwê	tígwé	kíwó	tíkwé	akpé	kpê	akwòŋ	íkwòŋ	àbòə	mbòə
body	nūū	nūū	íɲó	tìɲó	ógíl	agíl	ógíl	tígíl	wéŋ	tíwéŋ	wūnə̄	áwūnə̄	ogî	igî	nūū	nūū
legs	ǹtāā	mìntāā	ŋ̄kɛ̄ɛ̄	ŋkɛɛtí	afən	tìfən	ókwás	tíkwás	feíŋ	tifeíŋ	fɛnə	afɛnə	kàs	kálé	ākrō	mìkrō
foot	àkòrè	mìkòrè	ŋ̄kɛ̄ɛ̄	ŋkɛɛtí	ofən	tìfən	áwó	ówó	kíwò	wo	áwòlé	áwqlé	áwù	kálé	àkrò	mikro
neck	ǹtɔ̃ŋ	mìntɔ̃ŋ	ǹgwi	ngwili	ómî	tìmi	ómwíŋ	tìmwíŋ	kítɔ́	tɔɔ	kītɔ̃ŋ	tɔŋ	ómís	límîs	ǹtɔ̀ɔ̀	mìtɔ̀ɔ̀
shoulder	àbɛ̀ɛ̀mbə̀kə̄nĭ	ìbɛ̀ɛ̀mbə̀kə̄nĭ	m̀bə̂	mbə̂ˈtí	èmbə̂	èmbə̂lé	ɛmbə̀awabe	ówabə́	kìghéhé	ghéhénə̀	kìghèhé	ghehe	ághábámbê	ághábámbɛ	atombə̄nə̄	ìtombə̄nə̄

338

English	Bafut		Mbakong		Butang		Obang		Mantaa		Buwi		Otang		Agha	
	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P
stomach	àtò'ò	ìtò'ò	íbùŋ	tìbùŋ	óníŋá	tìnìŋá	óniə̀	tíniə̀	lía	mílɫía	twúhɫ	mìtqhr	óníá	líníá	nìbùm	mìbùm
face	ǹʃíí	mìǹʃíí	íʃí	tíʃí	éfə́ə́ní	tìfə́ə́ní	óʃwí	tíʃwí	ʃū	tíʃū	ʃuə̄	tìʃuə̀	ífén	lífén	nsíí	mìnsíí
jaw	nìghà'á	mìghà'á	ighə́'	tìghə	ághə́	tìghə́	ə̀ghɪ̂	tíghɪ̂	kíghə́'ə́	ghə́'ə́	kíghə̀'ə̀	ghə̀'ə̀	àghas	líghas	nìghà'à	mìghà'à
chin	àlìgə̀tì	ìlìgə̀tì	ídìə̀tí	tídə̀lg	édél	tìdel	ílée	ílée	tílée	tídígə́	líə̀lə́	alíə̀lə́	ítsídé	lítsídé	àlə̀tì	ìlə̀tì
lips	aghóŋ ǹtsù	ìghóŋ ǹtsù	ghū tswū	tswūtí	ghū étswù	tìghūmətswù	òkáb ótsú	òkáb ótsú	kígoə́ tswúgə́	tagoə́ tswúgə́	kígoətsuə̀	goə́ tswúə̀	ákóbə́ tswú	likóbə́ tswú	ghōō	ìghōō ǹtsù
elbow	ngìrí nìkwéé	mìŋkwɛ	ŋgrhkwəŋ	ŋgr'lik	ŋ̄gò' ékwéŋ	ŋgrŋə ekwéŋ	ogwé	ógwe	ŋgìgíkéé	tíŋgìgíkéé	ngə́lkwə́	tíŋgə́lkwə́	ǹgémó Kwéŋ	lìŋgémó Kwéŋ	ǹdiə̀ nìkwéé	ǹdiə̀ mìkwéé
finger	múʃwébwò	bóóbìʃwébó	wébwò	bqbwò	wá wó	brwó	yə́nə̀ ówò	bonə ówò	wékìwó	bɔɔwékìwó	fíəwó	bowɔ	wákuó	bRkuó	mə́ʃwébwó	bɔɔʃwébwó
nail	ànííbó	ìnííbó	íkɛbi	tíkɛbi	ékʰə́alé	ték'alé	ékáfé	tíkáfé	kíŋí	ŋí	kíŋíə̀	íŋíə́	íkasikwo	líkásiokaókwó	àŋììbwó	ìŋììbwó
knee	àkù'ùtì	mìkù'ùtì	ìlwí	álwí	éŋwú	úŋwú	ínú	ə̀nú	lú	tílú	àluə̀	luə̀	íné	líné	àkù'ùtì	mìkù'ùtì
back	ǹdʒɪ̃m	ǹdʒɪ̃m	ìnjíŋ	njíŋti	dʒɪ̃m	dʒɪ̃mí	ndʒɪ̃m	ədʒɪ̃m	bóm	tíbóm	djúmə̀	tídjúmə̀	dʒɪ̃m	dʒɪ̃mli	ndjòb	ndjòb

English	Bafut		Mbakong		Butang		Obang		Mantaa		Buwi		Otang		Agha	
	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P
Food	mìdʒíə	mìdʒíə	ádʒíní	ádʒíní	óʃuàʒíní	óʃuàʒíní	óʃué búɲíné	óʃuéɲə búɲíné	fiáʒní	fiáʒní	fáʒīné	fáʒīné	áfiáɲiní	ifiaɲiní	mìdʒí	mìdʒí
Cocoyam	mákàbè	bìmákàbè	ílàŋ	ílàŋ	óɴáŋ	onáŋ	onàŋ	àkàbè	mákàbè	bímákàbè	màkàbè	màkàbè	máŋkábà	máŋkábə	mákàbè	mákàbè
Corn	ànsáŋè	ànsáŋè	ãsàŋ	ãsàŋ	ãsàŋ	àsáŋ	ásáŋ	əsəbə̄	sēē	sēē	Siàŋ	aSiàŋ	ãsãŋ	ãsãŋ	ǹgwàsà	ŋgwasa
Beans	mìkūūmí àsàmbà	mìkūūmí àsàmbà	ãsãmbã	ãsãmbã	ãsãmbã		áláb	áláb	Kóìŋ/sam ba	sàmbà	Sãmbã	Sãmbã	alRbə	alRbə	mìkárá	àssàmbà
Fish	fìbwùe	mbwùe	íbîk	tìbîk	óbìké	óbìké	ábúi	obui	ndjà	ǹdjálè	ndjà	ndjàlè	óbúi	óbúi	fìbwùe	mbwue
Meat	m̀bà	m̀bà	antèŋ	antèŋ	ɲám	ɲám	ŋyém	ŋyém	nyãm	nyãm	ŋyàm	ŋyàmlə	nyàm	nyàmli	ǹdʒà	ǹdʒà
Chicken	ŋ̀gû	ŋ̀gû	ŋ̀gú	Ǹgúli	èŋgú	èŋgúlí	gôh	ígôh	ŋgvlí	ŋgvuulé	ǹgwúə	nguulə	ǹgíb	ǹgíbli	ŋ̀gû	ŋ̀gû
Goat	m̀bî	m̀bî	bí	bíli	bí	bíilí	bí	íbí	bî	bîlə	bíə	bílə	bís	bílí	m̀bî	m̀bî
Rice	mìkùùmí ákáré	mìkùùmí ákáré	àkéŋ àkálá	àkéŋ àkálá	ákón àkálá	ákón àkálá	áláb ákàlá	áláb ákàlá	Kóìŋ mìkálè	Kóìŋ mìkálè	ákònè èkálè	ákònə èkálè	álɔ́b àkálà	álɔ́b àkálà	mìkáré àkárá	mìkáré àkárá
Cook	ǹlãã	ǹlãã	Léŋ	Léŋ	Énám	Énám	íɲyém	íɲyém	lámè	lámè	lámè	lámè	Nám	Nám	Lìí	Lìí

340

English	Bafut		Mbakong		Butang		Obang		Mantaa		Buwi		Otang		Agha	
	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P
Monkey	ǹkàà	ǹkàà	kɛŋ	bəkɛŋ	Èntóm	èntómé	nyãmàtí	ìnyãmátì	nyàm kìtì	nyàblètî	fìtánè	mìtán	nyàm àtié	ŋyamlí	ǹkìèrè	ǹkèrè
Potatoes	mìtú'ú ɑndɔ̀ŋè	mìtú'ú ɑndɔ̀ŋè	ñdɔ̄ŋ	ñdɔ̄ŋ	ǹdɔ̀ŋ	bəndɔ̀ŋə	ndɔ̀ŋè	bə́ndɔ̀ŋé	ndɔ̀ŋé	ndɔ̀ŋé	ndɔ̀ŋè	bìndɔ̀ŋè	ǹdɔ̀ŋ	ǹdRŋli	mìtú'ú ɑndɔ̀ɔ̀	bandɔ̀ɔ̀
Plantain	nìŋgɔ̀ɔ̀	nìŋgɔ̀ɔ̀	Ǹgwú	tìŋgwú	áfãã	ofaà	édìè	édìè	ǹgɔ̄ɔ̄	tíŋgɔ̄ɔ̄	ŋgyRm	tìŋgwɔ̄m	afaà	ofàà	nìŋgàà	mìŋgàà
Cassava	Kàsárè	Kàsárè	Kàsálà	Kàsálà	Kàsálà	bəkalà	Kàsálà	Kàsálà	Kàsálà	bíkàsálà	Kàsálà	bìkàsálà	Kàsálà	béKàsálà	Kàsálà	Kàsálà
Huckleberry	àmbɔ̀rè	àmbɔ̀rè	ambɔ̄ɔ̄	ambɔ̄ɔ̄	éndjím bùgé	éndjímbuagə	bèndjà	bèndjābə	mbùg'ɔ́	mbùg'ɔ́	m̀bólè	mbRlè	ǹdʒáp ónàng	ǹdʒáp ónàng	ǹdʒã́ŋkáá	ǹdʒã́ŋkáá
Garden eggs	àŋèré	bèŋèré	fìkɔ̄ɔ̄	mìkɔ̄ɔ̄	fùkɔ̄ɔ̄	ŋkRR	fìnyá	mìnyá	Kìnkɔ̄ɔ̄	nkɔ̄ɔ̄	komè	bìkRmè	fìnkómɔ̀	mìnkómo	àzé'ɛ́	zé'ɛ̀
Bitter leaves	ìghìì	ìghìì	íyéŋ	íyéŋ	Áyíŋ	áyíŋ	kéŋ	ìkeŋ	Kíʒí	Kíʒí	Kíʒiŋ	Kíʒié	Kiéŋ	Kiəŋú	ghìì	ìghìì
Fufu	àbáà	àbáà	Ábéŋ	ebéŋ	Ábán	óbán	ébìén	ébìén	Kíbaíŋ	báiŋ	Kíban	Kíbɑà	ábán	óbán	àbGí	àbɪ̄ī
Pounded colocasia	àtswúgè	àtswúgè	Átswú	àtswú	étsú	útsú	ákók	ákok	Kítswú	tswú	Kítswú	tsù'ù	ákú	ókú	àtswû	àtswû
Yam	àyú'ù	ídzú'ù	azû	ezû	ázû	ozû	éʃuè	óʃuè	kízû	zû'ù	kízû'u	zû'u	ázû'	ózû	àzû	zû

341

English	Bafut		Mbakong		Butang		Obang		Mantaa		Buwi		Otang		Agha	
	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P
Pot	àntɔ̀ɔ̄	bàntɔ̀ɔ̄	ǹtɔ̄ŋ bə̀ǹtɔ̄ŋ		ɛ̀ntɔn	entRRní	ɛtRn	batRn	ǹtóiŋ	bə̀ntóiŋ	ǹtɔ̄n	bə̀ntɔ̄n ə	mbùi'í	mbuíl'i	àntɔ̂	bàntɔ̂
Bucket	àbókɛ́	bə̀bókɛ́	ábɔ̀ké	ébɔ̀ké	ãbɔ̄kɛ̄	bəbRkɛ̀t	bókét	bə̀bókét	bókét	bəbókét	ǹtɔ̀ntúmɔ̄	bìǹtɔ̀ntúmɔ̄	àbóké	íbóké	àbóké	íbóké
Calabash	ãtə̄ə̄	ítə̄ə̄	Gnʃiŋ	Gnʃíŋtí	óŋkə̀nə́	tiŋkən	sûk bóm	ésúk bNbóm	Kítɨi	tɨi	Kítə̀m	tə̀mə	áténmɔ́	otén	átéé	Ìtéé
Cup	ndóŋə̀	ndóŋè	Ǹtú'	ntú'lí	átɔ̀ŋé	ótQŋé	óghóŋ	tíghóŋ	ǹdɔ̄ɔ̄	ǹdoŋnə	ǹdɔ̄ŋ	ǹdɔ̄ŋlə	owuŋ	liwuŋ	ǹtû	ǹtû
Spoon	lú'ú	bílú'ú	m̀bɜ̂'	m̀bɜ̂'li	émbɜ̂	mbɜ̂lí	lô	bəlô	lû	bɨblû	lɯ̄'ù	bɨblū 'ù	ombê	mbêli	mbɜ̂	mbɜ̂
Plate/pan	àkáŋə̀	ìkáŋè	ákáŋ	ìkáŋ	átèlè	Ótélé	Ä̀kàŋ bán	bàbán	Kíkə̄ə̄	kə̄ə̄	Kíkáŋ	káŋ	àkáŋ	bɔmli	àkáá	ìkáá
Bottle	ìǹtsíŋ	ìǹtsíŋ	ǹtsíŋ	ǹtsíŋti	éntsíŋ	entsiŋi	sūk àkálà	ísuka-akala	ǹtsíŋ	ǹtsíŋnə	ǹtsià	ǹtsiàlə	ǹtsíŋ	ǹtsíŋli	ǹtsɨ́ɨ́	ǹtsɨ́ɨ́
Bowl	àkáŋə̀	ìkáŋè	ásèŋ	ìsəŋ	átélé	Otele	ákan ù wó	okan ù wó	Kíkə̄ə̄	kə̄ə̄	kómbò	bìkómbò	bRm	òkáŋ	ákáá	ìkáá
Basin	àkáŋə̀ nkɨ̄	ìkáŋè nkɨ̄	ásèŋlietí	Gsəŋ	àkáŋámɔ́	okaŋamR	àkáŋámɔ́	okáŋámɔ́	Kítókíké é	tokə̄ə̄	Kítókikɑŋ	tókáŋ	àkáŋmɔ́okaŋkikiə	Òkáŋkikiə	àkáá ǹkì	ìkáá ǹkì
Knife	mɨnwɨ́	bRRǹwí	fíŋwì	mɨ́ŋwì	Fúbié	ŋgəmbié	Óbé fibé	tíbé	fíŋí	mɨ́ŋí	fíŋíə̀	mɨ́ŋíN	fúbí	líbì	máŋwɛ́	baŋwɛ́

342

English	Bafut		Mbakong		Butang		Obang		Mantaa		Buwi		Otang		Agha	
	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P
Cutlass	nwí	nwí	iǹwí	ǹwíli	Óbié	ŋgəmbíé	fíbə́	óbə́	ŋí	ŋílə	Ɲíə́	ŋyiə́lə́	Óbí	líbí	ŋwέ	ŋwέ
Chair	àlèŋ	ìlèŋ	ántíŋ	ìntsíŋ	ántὲn	òntén	ánáŋ	onáŋ	Kìŋkə́nὲ	tìŋké n	Kὶkíə́	Kìə	áténé	liténé	àtὲrì	tὲtì
Bed	ìkūū	mìkūū	íkéŋ	tíkeŋ	Ἄbà	Obà`	àbá 'à	Òbá`à	Kíkòí	kóiŋ	Kíkonὲ	konə	abâ	obâ	Ìkὲrì	Keri
Table	tábὲlὲàtέti	bìtabὲl ə ìtέtì	tébìlí	bətebilí	ánténoʃúa	Onɛnoʃua	ədʒə̀/table	tídʒə̀	títì	bìtítì	tábὲl	bìtabὲl	tabὲl	tabəl	table	bìtable
Door	ǹtsùdá	mintsù	atsundig	inkondilì	ōtsó ndìgέ	titsu ndiglí	ónûk éndób	éndéb	ǹtswúgə́ ndɑlə	kɨ́ ǹtsw úgə́ ndɑlə	tswóndá	tìtswóndɑɑ	ótsúnì/a libí	olíbì	ǹtsù ndíɑ	mìntu ndia
House	ǹdɑ̌	ǹdɑ̌	ñdíg	ñdíglì	ǹdígə́		éndéb	bὲndəb	ndíɑ	ndáálə	ǹdã	mìlà`à	ǹdə́p	ǹdə́pli	ǹdiá	mìnda
Floor	mìnīī	mìnīī	mìlíèndíg	mìlíèndíglì	éndéné ndìgə́	tìloŋ	ónén	ónén	Kìndéndìa	ndén dia	kíndà	bìkíndà	níñdə́p	níñdə́pli	nʃé	nʃé
Radio	nìlòŋ	mìlòŋ	lləŋ	tiléŋ	Élóŋ		ábə́m ákálá	óbə́m ákálá	ló	lólə	lió	tiliə̀	abɛmə ɑkala	obə́mé ɑkala	nìtòò	nilùù
Mirror	ñkì'ì	ñkì'ì	ǹké	ǹkéli	Ɲké	nkὲ	ǹké	bàntὲ	ŋké'é	ŋké'é lə	ǹkē	ǹkələ	ǹké	ǹkéli	ǹkì'ì	ŋkí `
TV	ñkì'ì lìléŋ	ñkì'ì lìléŋ	nkì`lìləŋ	ǹkélìlìlék	ὲnkὲ élóŋ	ŋkè`li loŋ	ǹké ízìlí/television	bàǹké ízìlí/bətelev ision	ŋké'é bìlinə	ŋké'é bilinə	ǹkəliənə	ǹkəliliənə	ŋkekalə	ŋkekalə	tὲlὲbisɔn/olì'ì	bì mìlì'ì

343

English	Bafut		Mbakong		Butang		Obang		Mantaa		Buwi		Otang		Agha	
	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P
Market	mìtaā	bìmìtāā	mìtèŋ	bìmìtèŋ	éwíŋ	éwíŋ	éwéŋ	áwéŋ	mìtaíŋ	bì mìtaíŋ	mìtàn	bìmìtán	éyúŋ	liyúŋ	mìtìì	mìtìì
Buy	yúù	yúù	Zə̄ŋ	Zə̄ŋ	zón	zón	yón	yón	zóiŋ	zóiŋ	zónə	zónə	zún	zún	zô	zô
Sell	fí ì	fí ì	ǹfiŋ	Ǹfiŋ	finì	finì	sùnè	súnè	mfiné	mfiné	fə̄nə	fènə	fíní	fíní	fə̀rə̀	fə̀rə̀
Expensive	ātīndūū	ātīndūū	ntíndūū	ntíndūū	tèn ndūū	tèn ndūū	tèn óká	tèn óká	Ká vì tía	Ká vì tía	nduuta	nduuta	tén tswɔ	tén tswo	ǹdùù tə̀rè	ǹdùù tə̀rè
Cheap	ŋkwóndūū	ŋkwóndūū	àbónə̄nndūū	àbónə̄nndūū	Kwûndūū	Kwûndūū	bònə óká	bònə óká	Ká vibúgè	Ká vibúgè	ndūū níkwūa	ndūū níkwūa	bóní	bóní	ǹdùù báni	ǹdùù báni
Shop	ǹdaᵐìtāā	ǹdaᵐ̀ mìtāā	ǹdígmī̄tɛn	ǹdígl īmī̄tɛn	éndìgé éwíŋ	ŋdiglí	éndèp eweŋ	bèndèp eweŋ	ǹdía mìtaiŋ	ǹdalə mìtaiŋ	ndɑ mìtánə	ndalə mìtán	ndəb éyùŋ	ndəbli éyùŋ	ǹdɑ̂ mìtìì	mìndi ɑ̂ mìtìì
Poor man	ǹgàŋ àmfúmé	bèbénfúmé	wéŋfum	bienfùm	wólàmfúm	olanobə	wú élané	bəbélané	bigəwúlefúm	wúlefúm	wūlfùmé	bəlefùmé	álàk ɑwè	olakèbé	àmfubá	bəmfúmə ŋə
Richman	ǹgàŋ ǹkábè	bəbìnkábè	wēŋkáp	beiŋkap	wólókéɑ	bətíka	wuloka	bəoka	wúlèkā	bigə wuloka	w̄ul kā	bələka	wûkā	bəlila	ŋə̂nkáp	bənk ap
Dress	àtsè'è	ìtsè'è	ātsə̄	ìtsè	átsə̄ə̄	otsəə	èndú	bèndú	ǹtsə́'ə́	ǹtsə́'ə́lə	ntsə̄`è	tsiàlə	àtsé	otsé	àtsə̂	tsə̂
Cap	àtsè'ə̄ tû	ìtsè'ə̄ tû	tsíˆ	bitsíˆ	ádə́mə́	odəmə	áfóó	ófóó	ǹtsə́'ə́ kitió	ǹtsə́'ə́ kìtwúə	lā	bìlá	àtú tsíˊí	litú tsíˊí	àtsè'e tû	àtsè'e tû

English	Bafut		Mbakong		Butang		Obang		Mantaa		Buwi		Otang		Agha	
	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P
Head tie	yángísí	bìyángísí	ikwetsètuk	tíkwè	yángís	tiyanŋges	éyãŋgés	íyaŋgés	yàŋgís	bìyáŋgsì	yáŋgés	biyáŋgés	àtútsí'i wubiən	beyanges	yángírí	biyángírí
Shoes	ìbãã míkòrè ǹtámè	àbàà àkorə	íbãã	tìbãã	gwólí	gwólí	égób	ágób	ǹtããmè	tìntààmè	ntãm	tìntám	gúb	gúblí	ŋ̀gòb míkrò	miǹgòb míkrò
Bargain	ǹtáŋ	ǹtáŋ	ǹtáŋ	ǹtáŋ	étáŋ	étáŋ	táŋ óká	táŋ óká	ǹtēē	ǹtēē	tàà	tàà	taŋyuŋ	tálíyúŋ	sùŋ̂ ndùù nkáp	sùŋ̂ ndùù nkáp
Umbrella	àkóŋè	ìkóŋè	àŋkóŋ	iŋkóŋ	àŋkóŋ	oŋkoŋ	ábá'álì	óbá'álì	Kìkóó	nkóó	áŋkōō	bìkōō	áŋkóíwú	oŋkóíwú	áŋkùú	ŋkùú
Handbag	ábãã nǐkwéé	ìbãã mkwéé	ãbéé kí kwèŋ	ebeŋ ji kwən	àbàmə ntá	obamə ntá	àbàmə ógwé	òbàmə bìgwé	Kìfɛ̀lə	fɛ̀ɛ̀lə	ǹdəfēnē	ǹdəlifēnē	àbáma okwəŋ	obáma okwəŋ	ábì'ì níkwéé	mìbì'ì níkwéé
Necklace	ǹdjóó ntóŋ	ǹdjóó ntóŋ	ǹsəhə	tìǹsəhə	èŋkə́gmì	èŋkə́gmì	ísíŋ ómwéŋ	bəsíŋ ómwéŋ	nsə̄'ə̀	nsə̄'ə̀lə	nsìgè	tinsìgè	mɛ́ŋkə́ŋ	mɛ́ŋkə́ŋ	nsərə	minsərə
Exchange	Kwínsí	Kwínsí	àkuunì	íkuunì	kóhóní	kóhóní	kóbé	kóbé	Kwíní	Kwíní	Kwíní	Kwíní	kúblí	líkúblí	Kwésɨ	Kwésɨ
Debt	nìkárè	mìnìkárè	ǹjò	ǹjòlí	éndʒógə̀	ndʒogə	ìndjúə	bəndjúə	Kíkà	tiKíkà	Kíalə	tìkialə	ǹdjóh	ǹdjóhli	mìkέ	mìέ
Money	ŋ̀kábè	ŋ̀kábè	ǹkáb	ǹkáb	ókɛ́ə	ókəá	óká	tíká	ká	tìká	ká	tìka	óká	líká	nkâp	nkâp
Pay	twū	twū	tʃwū	tʃwū	tswū	tswū	twū	twū	twūe	twūe	tswuɔ̀	tswuə	tswúŋ	tswúŋ	twú	Twú

345

English	Bafut		Mbakong		Butang		Obang		Mantaa		Buwi		Otang		Agha	
	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P
Sickness	nìghɔ̄ɔ̄	mìghɔ̄ɔ̄	áʒáŋé	eʒáŋé	ézóghé	tizoghé	obién	ɛbién	záhá	tìzáhá	yáhá	tiyáhá	ízáf	zaflí	nìghàrì	mìghàrì
Headache	àtúìbū'ū	ìtúìdʒibū'ū	àtúgbú'úní	àtúgbú'úní	átógó kwéné	átógó kwéné	ébù àtó	ébù òtó	Kìtúkwíné	túkwíné	Kìtùkwíné	tùkwínè	ákùkè kénté	lítúlì kéntí	àtúzé bù'ù	ìtúzé bù'ù
Fever	m̀fá'ə̀	m̀fá'ə̀	dʒɔkie	bejokie	ójūū	bəójūū	ógɨl	tigɨl	fá'hé/ záhá	tèzaha	wūndjówè	wūndjówè	ógí	lígí	nìghari	mìghari
Stomach	nìbúm nī lōō	mìbúm mī lōō	íbùŋ lóŋ	tibuŋ	óníg ónómé	bə óníg ónómé	óniá ùwnómè	tiniá ùwnómè	líɑlóné	mìlia mìlomə	mítòlùmé	bìmítòlùmé	óŋiá ónómə	líŋià lìnómé	nìbúəp lébé	mìbúəp lébé
Cough	àkwɛ̄'ɛ̄	àkwɛ̄'ɛ̄	ándzô	ndzoli	ándzô	bə ándzô	Kòyòlò	bìkòyò	kìnjóh	kìnjóh	Kìnjóh	njóh	àzò̀ɔ	òzò̀ò	àzô	zô
Vomit	àfí 'íkì	ìfí 'íkì	ító	tító	zēŋ	bəzēŋ	éjèŋè	tijèŋè	twéhékí	twéhékí	ǹtwíhè	bitwíhèkè	ʒèn	ʒènlì	mìtió	mìtió
Blind man	m̀fə̀'ə̀nì	bìfə̀'ə̀nì	fùbàyí	bifubayí	fōháʃì	bə fōháʃì	ə̀fə̀fwúl	òfə̀fwúl	mféhéní	bìmféhéní	nfəənə	bifəənə	fə̀fə̀ʃié	lìfə̀fə̀ʃié	nfignì	mìfignì
Deaf (man)	àkútû	ìkútû	kabito	bikobi	Kwó átògó	bəkwofago	Kúkú'hé	bə Kúkú'hé	Kìkúkɨ̀	kóhóné	kikoho	kiho	ókúghè	ókúghé	akwótû	kwótû
Epilepsy	àbùbùrì	àbùbùrì	aŋgwu	aŋgwu	ìféŋàngú	ìféŋàngú	ìŋgwù	ìŋgwù	zaha nsié	tizaha nsie	ŋgwò	bìŋgwò	àvèmfɨ	àvèmfɨ	nìghari nsie	mìghari nsie
wound	àlà'à	ìlà'à	álé	elé	ánàhè	ónáhé	òdiè	ódiè	Kíláhá	láhá	Kílàhá	làha	òdiè	òdíè	àlà'à	là̀'à

346

English	Bafut		Mbakong		Butang		Obang		Mantaa		Buwi		Otang		Agha	
	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P
Wicklo	ŋ̀gɔ̀ʼɔ̀	ŋ̀gɔ̀ʼɔ̀	aŋgiənə	aŋgyiəna	émból	ómból	emból	bamból	ŋgɔsə̀wɔ́	m̀búgə̀	ŋgósə̀	lɔ̀wɔ̀bíŋ	dzɔb	liJɔb	àŋgènè	àŋgènὲ
Medicines	àfù	ìfù	áfùg	éfùg	áfùké	ófùké	ətsí	otsi	Kífuὲ	tifuὲ	Kífùὲ	tsifùə	áfúní	ófúní	àfù	fù
Nose bleeding	átûsã̄ã̄	ìtûsã̄ã̄	injiŋ	njíŋlí	èndzém	óndzém	ánói	anói	dzə̃m	dzə̃m	dzə̃m fõlẽvíə	dzə̃m fõlẽvíə	aŋíní	óŋini	àŋὲnì	àŋὲnì
Menses	nõ̃õ̃	nõ̃õ̃	nyoŋ	bìnyoŋ	ézu bézígè	ózu bézígè	bəmbiəm	bəmbiəm	díʼímɔ̀ʼɔ	díʼímɔ̀ʼɔ	díʼə̀mɔ́	bidíʼə̀mɔ́	dzɔ́b wù kiən	dzɔblí Kiən	nəp	bìnəp
Palms	nyàní nû	nyàní nû	anzàŋá ŋu	inzàŋá ŋu	ódjú òzɔ́hɔ́ní		ógíl biénὲ	ógíl biénὲ	nzɑhgnὲ	nzɑhgnὲ	wún yánὲ	wún yánὲ	ŋyaŋli	otɔ́f	ǹzàŋénû	mìzàŋénû
Labor pains	ntsìgə mû	ntsìgə bɔɔ	nìtsìʼ/matsi	batsi	énómé	ónómé	ówùnùmὲ		tsíʼɨ	tsíʼɨ	tsíʼə̀	batsíʼə̀	numlé	númlí	tsíʼɨ̂ə̀ ndZέ	bìtsíʼɨ̂ə̀ ndZέ
Diarrhea	àtóósì	àtóósì	ǹká	ǹká	énká	énká	enka'é	onka'é	Káʼà	Káʼà	Káʼà	mɨ Káʼà	ábíʼlóniá	ábíʼlóniá	ŋ̀kɑ́	ŋkɑ́
Dysentery	ǹká'á	ǹká'á	ǹká	ǹká	ènká	énká	ókàé	tìkàé	Káʼà	Káʼà	Káʼà	mɨ Káʼà	éŋkà	éŋkà	ŋ̀kɑ́	ŋkɑ́
Swelling	ǹkɔ̀ʼɔ̀kɨ́	ǹkɔ̀ʼɔ̀kɨ́	mòò	mɔ̀ʼɔni	émál	tìmamál	èmúə	tìmamúə	ǹkɔ́ʼɔ́kɨ́	mkɔ́ʼɔ́kɨ́	múlə́	muəkɨ	múə̀	múə̀	afɔ̀ʼɔ	ifɔ́ʼɔ
abscess	ǹsɔ́ŋ	mìǹsɔ́ŋ	ífóŋ	tìfóŋ	ǹsɔ́ŋ	tìǹsɔ́ŋ	álə̀mé	alə̀me	fiʃiá	miʃiá	fɨsaà	mɨsaà	éféŋ	eféŋlí	minsòò	mìǹsòò

English	Bafut		Mbakong		Butang		Obang		Mantaa		Buwi		Otang		Agha	
	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P
Go	ghɛ̃ɛ̃	ghɛ̃ɛ̃	Yle	ylè	ghɜ̃ɜ̃	ghɜ̃ɜ̃	ǹdùé nɑifɘ́	ǹdùé nɑifɘ́	gè'ɘ́	gè'ɘ́	gɘ̂	gɘ̂	yɛ̀nɘ̂	yɛ̀né	ŋɘ̀rɘ̀	ŋɘ̀rɘ̀
Come	ʒĩ̀ĩ	ʒĩ̀ĩ	ʒiê	ʒiê	Ŋgí	ŋgí	zí	zí	giɘ̂	giɘ̂	giɘ̂	giɘ̂	ghiɘ́	ghɘ́	ʒɛ̃ɛ̃	ʒɛ̃ɛ̃
Run	kì'ɘ́	kì'ɘ́	dɔ̂	dɔ̂	Dóò	dóò	dɔ̀ɔ́	dɔ̀ɔ́	dùgí	dùgí	dòlè	dòlè	duɔ̀	duɘ́	krɘ̂	krɘ̂
Sit down	tswínSiɘ́	tswínSiɘ́	tsùŋtá	tsùŋtá	néʃì'í	néʃì'í	kíən ʃúe`e	kíən ʃie`e	dɔ́'ɔ̀ʃì'ì	dɔ́'ɔ̀ʃì'ì	dɔ̂ʃi'ɘ̀	dɔ̂ʃi'ɘ̀	dʒím kwíbí	dʒím kwíbí	tsínSíɘ́	tsínSíɘ́
Lie down	nɔ̀ŋɘ́	nɔ̀ŋɘ́	békwò	békwò	nìmSì'í	nìmSì'í	bwenə ʃúe`e	bwenə ʃúe`e	si`ì	si`ì	ŋyúmʃiɘ̀	ŋyúmʃiɘ̀	Sì'í kwíbí	Sì'í kwíbí	tsínSíɘ́	tsínSíɘ́
Throw	m̀ɑ̃'ɑ̃	m̀ɑ̃'ɑ̃	mɑ̃'ɑ̃	mɑ̃'ɑ̃	mɑ̌	mɑ̌	tsíɘ̀	tsíɘ̀	mɑ̃'ɑ̃	mɑ̃'ɑ̃	miɘ̀`	miɘ̀`	mɑ̃'ɑ̃	mɑ̃'ɑ̃	mɑ̃'ɑ̃	mɑ̃'ɑ̃
Pick	bíè	bíè	bíkɘ́	bíkɘ́	Bɛ̃ɛ̃	bɛ̃ɛ̃	líbí	líbí	bwí	bwí	bwɛɘ	bwɛɘ	dímí	dímí	béè	béè
Stand	tɘ́'ɘ̀	tɘ́'ɘ̀	Tíè	tíè	Tíí	tíí	tímí	tímí	tiímɘ́	tiímɘ́	tímɘ̀	tiɘ̀m	tiém	tiém	téè	téè
Fall	wò'ɔ̃	wò'ɔ̃	Wù	wù	fɛ́ŋ	fɛ́ŋ	gwùɘ́	gwùɘ́	gwvù	vwù	gwuɘ	vwú'ɘ̀	viɘ	viɘ	wũ	wũ
Leave	lô	lô	Yiè	yiè	Ŋwõ	ŋwõ	nái	nái	lɔ̂	lɔ̂	lɔ̂	lɔ̂	ŋwûɘ	ŋwûɘ	líô fuŋə	líô fuŋə

348

English	Bafut		Mbakong		Butang		Obang		Mantaa		Buwi		Otang		Agha	
	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P
Stay	tswî	tswî	muə̀	muəní	mùgə̀	mùgə̀	kién	kién	mùə́	mùə́	mùə́	mùə́	dʒ̃ĩm	dʒ̃ĩm	tsé	tsî zútə́
Arrive	ǹyùiʼí	ǹyùiʼí	ɲíe	ɲíe	kúʼɲí	kúʼɲí	kwə̃nə	kwə̃nə	líə̀	líə̀	líə̀	líə̀	ghə́	ghə́	zéŋkû	zéŋkû
Rest	mìntí	mìntí	Tswílí	tswílí	Tswìlì	tswìlì	ítsweˋə	ítsweˋə	miimə̀	mímə̀	mìblə̂	mìblə̂	tsíʼíə́	tsíʼíə́	ʒwétə́	ʒwétə́
Kneel	twúm mìkùʼùtì	twúm mìkùʼùtì	Ǹwùlé	ŋ̀wùlé	Ŋghwúlí	ŋghwúlí	m̀vùgə́ nú ʃueˋ	m̀vùgə́ ʃueˋ	gwvùlə	gwùlí	gwùlé	gwùlé	ghə̀ʼə́	ghə̀ʼə́	kéné ǹSíe	kíné ǹSíe
Bow	sígítə́	sígítə́	Ǹwùlé	ŋ̀wùlé	Ŋghwúlí	ŋghwúlí	zìmə́ ʃueˋ	zìmə́ ʃueˋ	ʃíʼtə̀	ʃíʼtì	ʃíʼtə̂	ʃíʼtə̂	ghìmlə́ʼə́	ŋghə̀ʼə́	ghuˋté	ʃíté
Carry	bíʼí	bíʼí	mbíʼ	mbíʼ	biə́	biə́	tə́ghí	tə́ghí	bìʼí	bìʼí	bèʼé	bèʼé	bìʼə	bíʼí	bèˋə	bê
Run away	kiə́nghɛ̃̀ɛ̃̀	kiə́nghɛ̃̀ɛ̃̀	ñdɔ̃yɛ̃	ñdɔ̃yɛ̃	Dõõ	dõõ	dɔ̃õ nái	dɔ̃õ nái	dùgə́	dùgə́	dòlééwò	dòlééwò	dwò	dùə́	krə̀ŋə̀ə̀	krì ŋgə̀rə̀
Wait	yúʼútí	yúʼútí	Zùklá	zùklá	ʒuété	ʒuété	yòlé	yòlé	ʒúʼútə́	ʒúʼútə́	zõtə́	zõtə́	ʒú	ʒú	zúʼútə́	zúʼútə́
Walk	tə́ʼə̀	tə́ʼə̀	Yìnì	yìnì	Égí	égí	gə́ŋ	gə́ŋ	tiímə	gí	kìdʒə̃lə́	kìdʒə̃lə́	ghán	ghán	zíntə́	zíntə́
dance	bínə́	bínə́	Bié	bíé	Ébíŋ	ébíŋ	bĭn	bĭn	bĭĩ	bĭĩ	biə̃	biə̃	bíŋ	bíŋ	bìrə́	bírə́

349

English	Bafut		Mbakong		Butang		Obang		Mantaa		Buwi		Otang		Agha	
	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P
Father	tã́ã̃	bɨ tã́ã̃	té	bɨté	Tà	bəta	dɑ̂	bàdɑ̂	tìgá	bɨ tìgá	tálè	bɨ tálə	dɑ̂	bə dɑ̂	taà	bitaà
Mother	ǹdè	bɨ ǹdè	nɨŋ	bɨ nɨŋ	Eŋgí	bèŋgì	nnê	bènnê	nyã̀	bɨ nyã̀	Nã̀	bɨ nã̀	nê	bə nê	mĩĩ	bɨ mĩĩ
Brother	ndòõnsí	bɨ lò'onsɨ	wiŋɨ̀ŋ	bòbí	wánɨ̀ŋgí bè nómé	bonəŋgí bənomə	yénə́ʒí ú wɑɑnum	bonəʒi ú wɑɑnum	wu loómé	bo nyà	wã̀n nã̀ wã̀ ílòmnè	bona wã̀ bi ílòmnè	wánì ndzɨ bènúm	bone ndzɨ bènúm	mə́mí́o məma wú bã́ã̃nĩ̆	bə mə́míé bə bə bã́ã̃nĩ̆
Sister	ndʒàã̄ntí	bɨ ndʒàã̄ntí	ìŋí wúŋ wú wã̀ã̃yì	bɔnana ba biéyí	wánɨ̀ŋgí bõzégẽ	bonəŋgí bəzigé	yénə́ʒí ú wááyí	bonəʒi úwááyí	wu ví	bo nyà	wà ívùné	bona wã̀ bi vùné	wánì ndzɨ bèkiè	bone ndzɨ bèvién	mə́míé wú màŋgĩe	bə mə́míé bə bə màŋgĩe
Uncle (maternal)	ndòõnsí má	bɨ lò'onsɨ má	ìŋí té wúŋ mbálòŋ	bɨŋí tɛwuŋ	oŋɨŋaŋgí	bəniŋa nai	óŋə́b búnə́ʒí	bonə búnə́ʒí	lóhìnyà	bɨ lóhìnyà	lõm nã̀	bɨ lõm nã̀	wu bənum	wu bənum	mə́míɛɑ wú ndìì bã́ã̃nĩ̆	bimə́míɛɑ bəbibã́ã̃nĩ̆
Aunt (paternal)	ndʒàã̄ntí tá	bɨ ndʒàã̄ntí tá	ìŋí ní wúŋ wàyì	bɨŋí nɨwuŋ	oŋɨŋaŋgí	bə	óŋə́b tə́ʒí	bonə tə́ʒí	nyà tìgá	bɨ nyàbɨ tìgá	nyã̀ nã̀	bɨ nyã̀ nã̀	wu bəkien	wu bəkien	mə́míé tẽ̄ẽ wù mã̀ŋgĩe	bə bã́ã̃nĩ̆ bə mã́ŋgĩe
Child	mû	bɔ̃ɔ̃	wẽ̄ẽŋ	bɔ̃ɔ̃	Wán	bónə́	yén	bónə́	wàíŋ	boiŋ	wã̀nə	bone	wán	bónə́	mɔ̂	bɔ
Girl	mû màŋgiè	bɔ̃ɔ̃ baŋgiè	Wíwáyí	bɔbieyí	wádeòzgé	bɔdzozigə	yénə́ wàayí	bónébàyí	wándèvíŋ	boókié	wã̀nə vúnè	bɔl kié	wánà bé kién	bə wánà bé vién	mɔ̂ mã́ŋgĩe	bɔ mã́ŋgĩe
Boy	mû mbaŋnì	bɔ̃ɔ̃ mbaŋnì	wímbálóŋ	bɔmbaloŋtí	wádeo nómé	bɔdzo nome	yénéwánúm	bóné baanum	wándè lõ̀õmè	bɔɔ lõ̀õmè	wã̀n lómnə	bobì lomnə	wánà bé nùm	bónə́ bənúm	mɔ̂ mbã́ã̃nĩ̆	bɔ mbã́ã̃nĩ̆
Woman	màŋgiè	baŋgiè	wàyì	biéyí	wùzgè	bəzigə	wááyí	bááyi	vinn	kiə	vùnè	kiè	wù kién	bèkíen	màŋgĩe	bàŋgĩe

350

English	Bafut		Mbakong		Butang		Obang		Mantaa		Buwi		Otang		Agha	
	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P
Man	ŋûmbàŋ́nɨ́	mbàŋ́nɨ́	mbàlòŋ	mbaloŋtí	wúnòmé	bənomə	wáá núm	báà núm	lõõmé	bɨl lõõmé	olomné	bɨ lomnə	wù núm	bənum	ŋùmbã́ã̀nɨ̀	mbã́ã̀nɨ̀
Daughter	mûmbàŋgié	bɔɔ mbàŋgié	wẽŋ wi wàyɨ̀	boɔ bíeyí	wádú zìgé	bodəzigə	yéné ó wàyí	bonə bàyí	wé wùm ù vínn	bo wùm bun vínn	wã̀n wũm ívùné	boi kiə	wán bé kién	bonə bé vién	môi maŋgie	boɔ ba nggie
Son	mûmbáŋnì	bɔ̃õ mbáŋnì	wẽŋ wí mbálòŋ	bɔɔ mbálòŋ	wádú nómé	bodemome	yéné wa nóm	bonə banum	wé wùm ù lõõmé	bo wùm bun lõõmé	wã̀n wũm ílòmé	bobɨ lumə	wán bé núm	bonə bé núm	mô í mbã́ã̀nĩ̀	bɔɔ mbã́ã̀nĩ̀
Grandfather	tábɨ̀tàà	bɨ̀ tábɨ̀tàà	ítété	bɨ̀tété	tã̀tã̀'m̃	bətata`m	dɑ̌	bàdɑ̌	tébɨ̀tí gɑ	bi tébɨ̀tí gɑ	tã̀bĩ̀tal	bɨ̀ tã̀bĩ̀tal	tízɨ̀ tízɨ̀	bə tízɨ̀ tízɨ̀	tété	bɨ tété
Grandmother	máà mã̃ã̀	bɨ̀ mã̃ã̀	ìnìŋìŋ	bìnínìŋ	ngĩgĩ̀'m	bèŋgìŋgí	nã̀	bənɑ̌	nyã̀ìnyà	bɨ̀ nyã̀ìnyà	nã̀ bĩ̀ nã̀	bɨ̀ nã̀ bĩ̀ nã̀	ngí ndzì	bə ngí bə ndzì	ndè ndègə	bɨ ndè ndègə
Baby	mû ìmbóré	bɔɔ bĩ̀bóré	wéŋwĩ̀bó weŋ	bɔɔba bɔ̀	wádìǹ wù bóló	bodinə bolɔ	yén	bonə yén	waìŋo bugə	Boiŋ bə bugə	wanbol	bo bolə	wán ó bêbɔ	bo dìèn bè bɔ̀ɔ̀	mɔ̀ ɑmbló	boɔ bi mbló
Adult	ndíí	bɨ̀ tíí	ǹtìèŋkàŋ	bɨ̀ ǹtìèŋkàŋ	bóné bézĩ̀ní	bətega	wǔ námà	bəbə	wùré	bəgə	wũl/ lèmê	bɨ̀ ləmə	wú tén	bətèn	ndẽ̀ẽ	bəlee
Twins	nìmfà'à	mìmfà'à	Weibinwi	boobɨnwi	wùtéká	bonə bəzì	yən ʃwúəs	bonə ʃwúəs	fɑ'ɑ	tífá'hɑ	fàhà	tifàhà	wané bèzè	bóné bèzè	mu bí ŋwê	bɔ̃õ bí ŋwê
Father-in-law	ntsĩ̀	bɨ̀tsĩ̀	ɨ̀tsí	bɨ̀tsi	tã̀ònóm	bətao nom	òkì	bèkí	tsĩ̀	bɨ tsĩ̀	tʃi	bitʃi	òtsì	bètsì	ntsî	bitsi
Mother-in-law	nóŋsì	bɨ̀ nóŋsì	ŋyunì	bìŋyunì	ngĩ̀ònóm	bengio nom	òməs	bèmès	ŋýɔhì	bɨ ŋýɔhì	nyõŋwũ mɔ́	bɨ̀ nyõŋwũ mɔ́	òmès	bə mès	nɔ́'ɔ́	bìnɔ'ɔ́

English	Bafut		Mbakong		Butang		Obang		Mantaa		Buwi		Otang		Agha	
	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P
Mountain	ǹtá'à	mtá'à	íkwě	tìkwe	Ókwèné	tìkwene	ə̃kúnè	tìkúnè	ǹta'ɑ	tɨ ǹta'ɑ	ndɔ̃ɔ̃ ǹtã'ɑ̃	tɨ ndɔ̃ɔ̃ ǹtã'ɑ̃	ókwénè	likwénè	ŋkərə	mìtɑ̌
Valley	ìmfárè	m̀fárè	íbaà	tìbaa	Ébã̀l	tìbal	ághóŋ	ághóŋ	ké'ə́	kɨ ké'ə́	bíɑlè	tɨ bíɑlè	ébá	líbá	mfû	mì fû
River	mìyàà	bìmìyàà	mìdzɛ̂	bìmìdzɛ̂	mã̀ntsám	dzɔɔlí	esoŋ	tisoŋ	mugə	bɨ mugè	mɔmwé	bɨ mɔməwe	múèŋkién	mɔlinkiən	mighìì	mìǹkì
Water	ŋ̀kì	ŋ̀kì	ìkí	tìkí	m̀ô	ḿô	mɔ́	mɔ́	mɔ̀'gɔ́	mɔ̀'gɔ́	mɔ̃	mɔ̃	mɔ́	mɔ́li	ŋ̀kì	mìǹkì
Tree	àtì	ìtì	àtʃú	ìtʃú	fókà óʒù	ìŋka`	ə́tí	títsi	ítí	kɨtí	kítiə	tíə	ɑtié	otié	àtì	mìtì
Grass	ǹgèè	ǹgèè	ŋgiəntí	ǹgièn̈ı	Éŋgén	éŋgén	èŋgyèŋ	èŋyèŋ	ǹghẽ̄ẽ	tɨ ǹghẽ̄ẽ	àghíɑ	àghíɑ	ághéŋ	óghéŋ	ǹgèè	ǹgèè
Stone	ŋghɔ̀'ɔ́	ŋghɔ̀'ɔ́	ítík	atík	Étégé	atigí	íté	áté	tíe	títié	tíe	titiə	átí	ótí	àlɔ̀	lɔ̀
Boil	ǹsóŋ	mìǹsóŋ	ífóŋ	tìfóŋ	efəŋ	tifəŋ	zúk	zuk	fíʃiã	míʃtă	fúsà	mísă	ɛfə́ŋ éfóŋ	lifəŋ	àmbìì	mìbìì
Plant	àtì	ìtì	àtʃú	tìtʃú	àʃuà	oʃua	ə́tí	títsí	kítí	tí	kìtí	tiə	fítíə	ólié	àtiə	bətiə
Farm	Ǹsòò	mìǹsòò	Ísóŋ	tìsóŋ	Ósóm	tisóm	ósóm	ísóm	sóm	mìsòm	sòmé	mìsòmé	ósùm	líʃúŋ	nsɔp	mì ǹsɔp

352

English	Bafut		Mbakong		Butang		Obang		Mantaa		Buwi		Otang		Agha	
	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P
Plain	nìbórə̀	mìbórə̀	íbáá	tìbáá	Ébã̀l	tìbal	ébíə	ibìə̀	kílɑmtí	lɑmtí	biálə̀	tìbíalə̀	ébá	líbá	nìbɛ̀	mì ǹbɛ̂
Road	mɑ̀ɲì	bìmɑ̀ɲì	ílôɲì	tìlôɲì	Djí	djílí	gíl	gìl	djílí	ìdjílí	jì	nàjìə̀	gì	gílí	méndʒì	bìméndʒì
Village	àlá'à	ìlá'à	ábéɲ	ibən	kɑ̃l	káále	dʒən	idʒeɲ	lá'á	mì lá'á tì	líà`à	tìlía`à	ká	káli	àlá'à	bìlá'à
Sand	àwàɲ	àwàɲ	àtisik	ìsisik	òŋgáhè	òŋgáhè	ósén	óseŋ	wáɲé	tì wáɲə́	kisè	kisè	òghàsà	bèghàsà	fùnkuànì	wáníʃìə
Mud	àtsìtsá'à	mìtsìtsá'à	àtìtsɑ	ìtìtsɑ	étsá'á	étsá'á	étám	ítàm	kíts´ɑ̀	kitʃɑ̀	kítʃa`á	kítsà	étsá	étsa`	títsɑ́	bìtsɑ́
Rain	m̀bə̀ɲ	m̀bə̀ɲ	m̀bə̃ɲ	m̀bə̃ɲ	éwúlé	éwúlé	éwólə	éwólə	bíí	bíí	bə̀ə̀	bə̀ə̀	íwú	íwú	mbìi	m̀bəɲ
Sky	àbùrì	àbùrì	ábúə	ábúə	áwúlé	áwúlé	ndzàíwúlə	idjáwùlé	kéɛ̀	kéɛ̀	kiɑ̃	tíkiɑ̃	éʒúbí	éʒùbí	àblô	àblô
Wind	àfìsì	àfìsì	fɨfɨ	fɨfɨ	òkúfùhé	òkúfùhé	ìɲyóm	ìɲyóm	kífúm	kífúm	kwúə̀	kwúə̀	ólòfù	ólòfù	m̀fig	m̀fág
Sun	ninõõ	bìninõõ	nìŋyòɲ	nìŋwòɲ	tswùkè	tswùkè	tswĩ	twì	títswí	títswí	tìtswì	tìtswì	tsɨ̀	tsɨ̀	nínə̀p	nínə̀p
Moon	Sàɲ	bɨ̀sàɲ	ibuɨ	tɨ̀buɨ	èndjóɲ	èndjóɲ	ótáɲ	tìtàɲ	ñdʒõ̀õ̀	ñdʒõ̀õ̀	ndʒõ̀ɲ	ndʒõ̀ɲlə̀	ótáɲ	ótáɲ	méŋró	méŋró

English	Bafut		Mbakong		Butang		Obang		Mantaa		Buwi		Otang		Agha	
	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P
One	mɔ́ɔ́	mɔ́ɔ́	mɔ́ɔ̀	mɔ́ɔ́	mô	mô	mô	mô	mɔ́ɔ́	mɔ́ɔ́	mô	mô	mɔ́	mɔ́	mɔ́ɔ́	mɔ́ɔ́
Two	báá	báá	báà	báá	bɑ̂	bɑ̂	bàfé	bàfé	báá	báá	báà	bwã̂	fíí	fíí	bíá	bíá
Three	táɾɘ́	táɾɘ́	tálɘ́	táá	tɑ̂ĺ	tɑ̂ĺ	ótái	ótái	tálɘ́	tálɘ́	tálə̀	tálə̀	tá	tá	trá	trá
Four	kwà	kwà	kwà	kwà	kwɑ̂	kwɑ̂	ékwúɔ	ékwúɔ	kwá	kwá	kwɨ́ə̀	kwɨ́ə̀	kwá	kwà	kpwà	nkwà
Five	ǹtáà	ǹtáà	tèŋ	téŋ	tɑ̂ĥ	etɑn	étán	étán	tɑíŋ	tɑíŋ	tiã̀n	tiã̀n	étán	étán	tìì	tìì
Six	ǹtɔ́ɔ́	ǹtɔ́ɔ́	ǹtànfú	ǹtànfú	tàmfógó	étàmfógó	éndɔ́fɔ́	éndɔ́fɔ́	ǹtóhò	ǹtóhò	ntõ̀hõ̀	ntõ̀hõ̀	éndùfú	ndùfú	ntɘ́fóò	ntɘ́fó
Seven	sàmbɑ	sàmbɑ	sèmbíà	sɛ̃mbiã̀	kwànátà	ékwànátà	ékwúə nàtái	ékwúə nàtái	ǹsáŋbè	ǹsáŋbè	sámbáá	sámbà	ékwànátá	ékwànátá	sèmbìà	sèmbìɑ
Eight	nìfúà	nìfúà	éfúá	ńfúɑ	fùɘ́mɘ́	éfùɘ́mɘ́	éfɔ́mɔ́	éfɔ́mɔ́ nátaí	fɔ́mè	fɔ́mè	fiɔ́mè	fiɔ́mè	éfùɘmɘ́	éfùɘmɘ́	nìfúà	nìfúà
Nine	níbú'ú	níbú'ú	ébu`ú	ńtʃɔ̃ɑ̃mɔ́ɔ	bólèmo	ébólèmo	ébólámô	ébólámô	bũ'ũ	bũ'ũ	bũ'ũ	bũ'ũ	étánnìkwá	étánnìkwá	àbù`ɔ	àbù'à
Ten	nìwúm	nìwúm	éwúŋ	nə̀wúŋ	éwùm	éwùm	éwúm	éwúm	yũm	yũm	yũm	yũm	éghúm	éghɨ́m	nìwó	nìwó

354

English	Bafut		Mbakong		Butang		Obang		Mantaa		Buwi		Otang		Agha	
	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P
Much	ŋ̀ghà'á	ŋ̀ghà'á	ŋ̀ghá	ŋ̀ghá	èndím	èndím	ǹdìm ǹdìm	ǹdìm ǹdìm	ǹdìm ǹdìm	ǹdìm ǹdìm	nghã'ã	nghã'ã	ghãã	ghãã	ŋ̀ghɑ̌	ŋ̀ghɑ̌
Few	ŋ̀kɛ̃'ə́	ŋ̀kɛ̃'ə́	ŋ̀kɛ̀tì	ŋ̀kɛ̀tì	fídí'í	fídí'í	qwásé	qwásé	fiŋì`í	ǹkɛ̀hə́	fidì`ə	ǹkɛ̀hə́	fífí	fífí	nikik	kɛ̀'ə́
All	ɨ̀tsə̀m	ɨ̀tsə̀m	sítsíɲ	bitsíɲ	òdʒím	òdʒím	égùm	égum	víntssùm	víntssùm	ntsím	ntsím	ighìm	ighə̀m	ìntsóp	nìtsôp
Full	ǹlũ̀ũ	ǹlũ̀ũ	ǹléŋ	ǹléŋ	élón	élón	ʃúlí	ʃúlí	ʃí	ʃí	ʃíə	ʃíə	ʃíní	ʃíní	ìnloò	ɨ̀lõ̀õ
Empty	àdáŋàdáŋè	àdáŋàdáŋè	nəlaŋ	nəlaŋ	nàlwúə	nàlwúə	kayiè	káyié	zóm zóm	zóm zóm	nzómè	nzómè	kə́ghia	kə́ghia	tə̀kɔ̃kɔ̃ ɔ̃	tə̀kɔ̃kɔ̃ ɔ̃
Light weight	ǹyáŋ	ǹyáŋ	ǹviàŋə́	ǹviàŋə́	ʒuàŋé	ʒuàŋé	wásè	wásè	wàŋhɨ̀	nwáɑhɨ̀	wàŋhə	nwáhə	waflí	wáfí	yuɑ̌	yuɑ̌
Fat	fàŋə́	fàŋə́	ghɑ̌	ghɑ̌	ghɑ̌	ghɑ̌	ídón	ídóɲ	ǹghã̀'ã	ǹghã̀'ã	ǹghã̀'ã	ǹghã̀'ã	ghãã	ghãã	ghɑ̌	ghɑ̌
Small	ŋ̀kɛ̃'ə̀	ŋ̀kɛ̃'ə̀	kɛ̀ètí	kɛ̀ètí	kwàŋé	kwàŋé	ékwásé	ékwásé	fiŋì`ì	ǹkɛ̃'hɛ̃	ǹkɛ̃'hɛ̃	ǹkɛ̃'hɛ̃	kwáŋsí	kwáŋsí	kìgì	kìgì
Tall	Sà'á	Sà'á	ʃɛ̀ə	ʃɛ̀ə	dɑ̌há	dɑ̌há	édiə́f	édiə́f	dàhà	ǹdà'há	ǹdà'há	ǹdà'há	dáf	dáf	sà'	sà'á
Time	nòò	nòò	ŋyuŋ	bɨ̀ŋyũ̀ŋ	Ézú	ézú	íyób	íyób	ʒó	ʒó	yõ	yõ	éjúbí	éjúbí	nə̀p	nə̀p

English	Bafut		Mbakong		Butang		Obang		Mantaa		Buwi		Otang		Agha	
	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P
Today	sìí	sìí	tàtsõŋ	tàtsõŋ	nɑ̃n	nɑ̃n	nyén	nyén	lɑíŋ	lɑíŋ	lànwùnè	láŋwùnə	nánté	nánté	tìtsɔ̀ɔ̀	tìtsɔ̀ɔ̀
Yesterday	yõ̃õ̃	yõ̃õ̃	féwó	féwó	kínʃué	kínʃué	úwúɔ̀	ówuə̀	meíŋ	meíŋ	njwén	njwén	ówɛ̃ɛ̃	ówɛ̃ɛ̃	wanzó	wénɔ́
Tomorrow	ndʒúi	ndʒúi	ifílέ	ifílέ	kínʃué	kínʃué	nìtúgè	nìtúgè	méíŋ	méíŋ	njwén	njwén	ówὲὲ	ówὲὲ	tìtû	tìtû
Day	aʃì'ìnì	aʃì'ìnì	álíg	ílíg	Tsùgè	tsùgè	ótúk ɲén	ótúk	tú'ù	mìtu`u	twí`ə̀	mìtwì`ə	atî	otî	ǹdzɛ̂	ǹdʒé
Night	nìtúgè	mìtúgè	ǹdʒìŋ	ndʒíŋtí	ɑffũũ	ofuu	ízim	izim	kílúm	tílúm	nìtu`è	mìtu`ə	áfûf	áfûf	tû	tû
Afternoon	aʃì'ìnì	iʃì'ìnì	tínínjún	tiniŋ yuŋ	Tsugè	tsugè	ónúmútswí	ónúmútswí	tswé	mìtwé	nítswì	místí	kà'àtsî	kà'àtsî	áyê	íyê
Evening	ŋ̀kwέέfɔ̀	bìŋ̀kwέέfɔ̀	ŋùŋkkwà	binyuŋ kwa	kiŋku´ulì	kiŋku´ulì	nékófé	nékòfé	ʒúkòokí	tiʒukookɨ	yuŋkalə	yuŋkalə	éŋkùfì	éŋkùfì	nə̃ə̃ ŋkwέfó	bìnə̃ə̃ŋkwέfó
Month	sàŋ	bì sàŋ	íbúì	tibuì	énjóng	ndzɔŋne	ótáŋ	tìtáŋ	ndzo	ndɔŋnè	ǹjò	njo`lə	ótáŋ	lítáŋ	méŋró	bìŋró
Week	ǹgiá	ǹgiá	ŋgià	ŋgiàlí	Éwíŋ	awiŋ	Éwéŋ	awèŋ	ŋgià	ŋgàbè	ŋgà	ŋghàlè	oyun	liyuŋ	ǹgiá	ǹgiá
Darkness	ḿfii'idgì	ḿfii'idgì	ídí'iŋ́	infiní	ídí'íwùfiŋ́ infíní	énʃwímí	énʃwímí	ízim	ízém	kiɬúm	kiɬúm	dì`finè	bidìfínè	ágì	lígì	m̀fìrè ìdì	m̀fìrè ìdì

356

English	Bafut		Mbakong		Butang		Obang		Mantaa		Buwi		Otang		Agha	
	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P	S	P
Sunset	ǹtsónõ̃	ǹtsónõ̃	ɲòŋkwá	ɲòŋkwá	ènkóhólì	ènkóhólì	ímàné	ímàné	ǹtswúə tìtswí	ǹtswúə tìtswí	titsiha tswɔ	titsiha tswɔ	éŋkùfì	éŋkùfì	nã̃ã̃ʼnìnõ̃	nã̃ã̃ʼnìnõ̃
Sunrise	nsãañõ̃	nsãañõ̃	míe míe	míe míe	téménéméné	téménéméné	ímèdùl	ímèdùl	ǹsáʼá tìtswí	ǹsáʼá tìtswí	tìtsi há fúʼə̀	tìtsi há fúʼə̀	létíəti	létíəti	nsã̃ã̃ʼnìnəp	nsã̃ã̃ʼnìnəp
Sunny	Ǹtanõ̃	ǹtanõ̃	ídíwùkónè	ídíwùkónè	òtswùgé	òtswùgé	ótswí	ótswí	túʼùoyó	túʼùoyó	titsabanə	àbɛ̀ŋná náné	kɑ̃tsî	kɑ̃tsî	nfənənə nɔp	ǹtianìnəp
Year	Àlõ̃	ìlõ̃	àlóŋ	ílôŋ	àɲóm	onom	àɲóm	aɲóm	kílóm	lôm	kìlóm	ìlómè	onúm	línúm	àləp	ìləp
Morning	tìtúgùə	bì tìtúgùə	míe míe	miémié	mini mini	təmini mini	bìsə̀bìsə̀	bisəbisə	mbàʼámbàʼá	mbaˋambaˋa	yõmẽnã̄	yoméné	létíəti	lətìətì	lìtútû	bìtìtútû
Lastweek	Ǹgiá	ǹgiá	aŋgía juoni	ŋgialí tuoni	kéwíɲzè	kéwíɲzè	éwèŋ yé àbásídzem	eweŋye gbasí	ǹghiá	ŋgiaàlə	ǹghã̄ mã̄ nítsá lá	ŋgàmə tsàlə	oyuŋ wu	Liwuŋ wù tsà	ŋgiá	ŋgia
Minute	àbàɲtì	ìbàɲtì	fìbaŋkè	ìbaŋkè	éʒú	éʒú	áyób	íyób	m̀fééʃì	bənfəəʃí	tén	tɛn	ókíd	ókíd	mìtáŋkì	mìtáŋkì
Second	afèʼèʃí	m̀fèʼèʃí	fìbàŋkè	ìbàŋkè	éʒú	éʒú	mílìəné	mílìəné	m̀fééʃì	bəmfəəʃí	fã̄	fè	bàŋkì tɛ	libaŋkìtɛ	mìtáŋkì	mìtáŋkì
Wake up	bììné	bììné	gweètá	gweètá	tsíkèbí gèní	tsíkèbí gèní	kíentsí	kíentsí	lokɔˋó	lokɔˋɔ	lokɔˋɔ	bwɛ̃nã̄ kjɛ̃nã̄	nɔkwè	nɔkwè	líoŋkóʼó	líoŋkóʼó

357

INDEX

INDEX OF WORDS

INDEXOF AUTHORS

362